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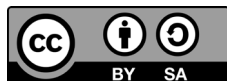
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■ UVODNA REČ

Philologia je recenzirani naučni časopis u izdanju Filološkog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, posvećen istraživanjima u oblasti nauke o jeziku, književnosti, studija prevođenja, studija kulture i srodnih humanističkih disciplina. Časopis se objavljuje u režimu otvorenog pristupa i indeksiran je u međunarodnim bazama podataka DOAJ, EBSCO, ERIH PLUS i MLA Bibliography. Okupljajući radove različitih teorijskih i metodoloških usmerenja, *Philologia* podstiče naučni dijalog u nacionalnom i širem međunarodnom akademskom kontekstu.

U rubrici Nauka o jeziku predstavljena su četiri rada posvećena gramatičkim, kognitivnim i diskurzivnim aspektima jezika. Irena Popović analizira procesuiranje slaganja roda kod imenica epicena u srpskom jeziku iz psiholingvističke perspektive. Miloš Mirković razmatra konceptualne metafore u pravnom diskursu Evropske unije i njihovu ulogu u oblikovanju pravnog rasuđivanja. Ljubica Darković ispituje rodnu performativnost i redistribuciju diskurzivne autoritativnosti u predsedničkoj debati u SAD, dok Oleksandr Kapranov analizira modalnost u apstraktima radova o obrazovanju za održivi razvoj primenom korpusnih metoda.

Rubriku Primenjena lingvistika predstavlja rad Adriane Kostić o jezičkim praksama vođanskih Mađara u digitalnom okruženju. Polazeći od pojmova višejezičnosti i digitalne nativnosti, autorka razmatra obrasce upotrebe jezika na internetu i njihove implikacije za očuvanje manjinskih jezika.

U rubrici Nauka o književnosti zastupljena su dva rada. Milica Bulatović analizira književne reprezentacije stigme i društvene izolacije obolelih od Hansenove bolesti u japanskoj književnosti, sa posebnim osvrtom na roman *Slatka pasta od pasulja* Durijana Sukegave. Milica Rađenović razmatra prikaz američkih likova u britanskim akademskim romanima druge polovine dvadesetog veka i njihovu ulogu u konstruisanju kulturnih i akademskih identiteta.

U rubrici Studije prevođenja objavljen je rad Svetlane Milivojević Petrović, koji se bavi didaktikom specijalizovanog prevođenja i zalaže za nastavni model zasnovan na kontekstualizovanom učenju, diskurzivnoj svesti i korpusno utemeljenoj praksi.

Rubrika Prikazi sadrži prikaz monografije *Jezici u kontaktu: engleski i srpski* Nenada Tomovića, koji je sačinila Ana Efendić.

Redakcija zahvaljuje autorima i recenzentima na doprinosu kvalitetu časopisa. Doslednim poštovanjem naučnih i etičkih standarda i podsticanjem interdisciplinarnog dijaloga, *Philologia* nastavlja da doprinosi razmeni i dostupnosti naučnih saznanja u oblasti jezika, književnosti i kulture.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik
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■ A WORD FROM THE EDITORS

Philologia is a peer-reviewed scholarly journal published by the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade. It is devoted to research in linguistics, literary studies, translation studies, cultural studies, and related fields in the humanities. The journal is published in open access and indexed in international databases including DOAJ, EBSCO, ERIH PLUS, and the MLA Bibliography. By bringing together contributions representing diverse theoretical and methodological approaches, *Philologia* fosters scholarly dialogue in both national and international academic contexts.

The Linguistics section features four papers addressing grammatical, cognitive, and discourse-related aspects of language. Irena Popović examines the processing of gender agreement in Serbian epicene nouns from a psycholinguistic perspective. Miloš Mirković explores conceptual metaphors in European Union legal discourse and their role in legal reasoning. Ljubica Darković investigates gender performativity and discursive authority in a presidential debate in the U.S., while Oleksandr Kapranov analyzes modality in abstracts of research articles on education for sustainable development using corpus-based methods.

The Applied Linguistics section includes a study by Adrianna Kostic on the digital language practices of Vojvodina Hungarians. Drawing on the concepts of multilingualism and digital nativeness, the author examines patterns of language choice in online environments and considers their implications for minority language maintenance.

The Literary Studies section comprises two contributions. Milica Bulatović analyzes representations of stigma and social isolation associated with Hansen's disease in Japanese literature, with particular reference to Durian Sukegawa's novel *Sweet Bean Paste*. Milica Rađenović examines representations of American characters in British academic novels of the second half of the twentieth century, focusing on cultural difference, academic identity, and transatlantic relations.

The Translation Studies section features a paper by Svetlana Milivojević Petrović on the didactics of specialized translation, advocating a teaching model grounded in contextualized learning, discourse awareness, and corpus-based practice, particularly in institutional and legal translation.

The Book Reviews section contains a review by Ana Efendić of Nenad Tomović's monograph *Languages in Contact: English and Serbian*.

The Editorial Board thanks the authors and reviewers for their contribution to the quality of the journal. Through adherence to scholarly and ethical standards and by encouraging interdisciplinary dialogue, *Philologia* continues to promote the dissemination and accessibility of research in language, literature, and culture within the wider academic community.

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■ PROCESSING OF GENDER NEUTRAL NOUNS (EPICENA): TESTING THE COGNITIVE RELEVANCE OF SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC AGREEMENT OF SERBIAN EPICENE NOUNS ENDING IN -ICA IN DIFFERENT SYNTACTIC ENVIRONMENTS USING ACCEPTABILITY JUDGEMENT MEASURES

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Cilj ove psiholingvističke studije je proučavanje procesuiranja kongruencije roda epicena (imenica nedefinisanog roda) u srpskom jeziku. Epicene u srpskom jeziku podržavaju dve paradigme slaganja (kongruencije), semantičku i sintaksičku. Naime, imenica epicena kao što je *tvrdica* sa sebi pridruženim atributom se može slagati semantički, tj. po muškom rodu (*naporni tvrdica_{m.rod}*), ili sintaksički (gramatički), tj. po ženskom rodu (*naporna tvrdica_{ž.rod}*). Takođe, radni glagolski pridev kao deo složenog glagolskog vremena perfekta će u srpskom jeziku dozvoliti obe kongruentske paradigme u slučaju slaganja sa epicenama (Tvrdica je nerado kupio_{m.rod} / kupila_{ž.rod} kartu za gradski autobus.). U okviru ovog rada, koristeći Likertovu skalu kao metod istraživanja, proučavaju se razlike u preferencama između dve gorepomenute paradigme kongruencije. Kako bi se eliminisao uticaj sintaksične udaljenosti na izbor između ovih dveju paradigmi, maternjim govornicima su prikazani stimulusi koji uključuju slaganje imenice sa pridruženim atributom (unutarsintagmatsko slaganje), imenice sa radnim glagolskim pridevom (izvansintagmatsko slaganje), i imeničkim predikativom (izvansintagmatsko slaganje). Krajnji cilj rada je, naime, procena prednosti koju maternji govornici pripisuju semantičkom ili sintaksičkom obrascu kongruencije u različitim sintaksičkim okruženjima, kao i potvrđivanje ili opovrgavanje validnosti Korbetove hijerarhije kongruencije (Corbett 2006b) kod epicena. Analiza podataka je ukazuje da, iako je većina ispitanika prednost davala sintaksičkoj paradigmi slaganja u svim prezentovanim sintaksičkim okruženjima, u izboru između ova dva tipa kongruencije postoji izvesna sistematičnost, čime se donekle implicira validnost hijerarhije kongruencije.

Ključne reči: procesuiranje roda, hijerarhija kongruencije, epicena, kongruencija, zadatak odabira roda, vreme reakcije.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The word gender has a well-established technical sense in linguistic discussions (McConnell-Ginet 1988). Gender is considered an inherent feature of nouns, based on arbitrary formal features, the meaning and form of the noun (e.g., Corbett 2006a; Hanulíková/Carreiras 2015). Gender processing is confirmed to integrate available linguistic cues (Vigliocco/Franck 1999; Vigliocco/Hartsuiker 2002; Popov 2020). Moreover, gender is considered to entail practical implications for agreement relations (McConnell-Ginet 1988). Research in the field of gender processing examines how the human brain stores and retrieves gender information, and how gender information affects agreement processes, both in production and comprehension. Psycholinguistic research has focused on discovering the mechanisms that the language processor uses to comprehend gender processing (Hagoort/Brown, 1999) and gender agreement processing (Molinaro *et al.* 2011). This research led to the development of theories and methods describing gender processing (Vigliocco/Hartsuiker 2002). However, instead of focusing on gender processing of more researched *common nouns*, we will focus on the gender processing in gender neutral (*epicene*) nouns. Moreover, we will adopt a perspective that highlights the difference between the two agreements gender neutral nouns allow for, namely syntactic and semantic agreement in different syntactic conditions with the aim of disambiguating the effect of syntactic distance on the choice between the two aforementioned agreement types.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. GENDER

According to Molinaro and colleagues (2011) gender presents a very complex pattern across languages. Gender is defined as one of the main agreement categories (Molinaro *et al.* 2011), meaning that noun gender is a property reflected in the morphosyntactic behaviour of other words (Hockett 1958). Molinaro and colleagues (2011) state that it is often impossible to tell the gender of a noun only by the noun's morphological composition or semantics, claiming that gender values can be both grammatically and semantically interpretable. Gender values are semantically interpretable only when they refer to animate entities and humans, whereas semantic interpretation of gender values is rendered impossible in case the noun denotes inanimate referents.

2.2. GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC GENDER

Gender is further classified into the following subcategories: grammatical, conceptual (semantic) and biosocial gender. Grammatical or syntactic gender is an inherent property of nouns which establishes morphologically marked agreement relations between different syntactic elements (Bußmann/Hellinger 2003). Grammatical gender is always carried by inanimate nouns, as well as animate nouns without transparent gender morphology (Piazza *et al.* 2022).

However, although grammatical gender value cannot be inferred from semantic properties of the noun or from contextual information (Corbett, 1991; 2006), certain nouns entail predictable gender features based on their semantic content, mirroring

the biosocial gender of the noun's referent (Vigliocco *et al.* 2005; Popov 2017). In fact, Corbett (1991) argues that the gender of a noun can be derived from other properties of the noun or the noun referent (Hagoort/Brown 1999).

The gender that mirrors the noun's semantic properties is referred to as 'semantic' gender in literature (Vigliocco/Franck, 1999; Piazza *et al.* 2022). According to Vigliocco and Franck (1999) the semantics of the noun entailing semantic gender can aid overall gender decoding. This raises the issue whether the processing of grammatical gender is driven purely by syntactic form or is influenced by conceptual factors (Hagoort/Brown 1999). In terms of phonology, certain phonological endings explicitly indicate information about the referent's biological gender, which means they have overt gender. (Bobb/Mani 2013; Piazza *et al.* 2022) Other nouns have an opaque ending, whereby the ending is not indicative of grammatical or semantic gender (Piazza *et al.* 2022). Some researchers also consider grammatical, semantic and biosocial gender to be conceptually connected (Konish 1993; Irmen/Kurovskaja 2010; Ackerman 2019).

2.3. NOUN GENDER

According to Corbett (1991), the nouns are divided into two groups, rational and non-rational. Rational nouns denote living beings, whereby the grammatical gender corresponds to the biosocial sex. Nouns with neutral gender agreement are non-rational, and they denote all living beings without a specified biological sex, or objects whose gender cannot be explained by the existence of a biosocial sex (Pišković 2011).

Semantic gender can only be a feature of rational nouns, whereas referential gender can be entailed in both rational and non-rational nouns denoting animate entities. Nouns with referential gender do not require a semantic gender, as their biological sex is either irrelevant or inconspicuous (Pišković 2011). Košprdić (2016) concludes that only nouns with semantic gender can have a grammatical gender corresponding to their biosocial features. Moreover, if the feature value of the grammatical and semantic gender is not the same, these nouns are considered to only have a referential, and not semantic gender. Radić (2010) points further at such discrepancies, saying that a grammatically masculine noun can denote a semantically feminine entity (e.g. *devojčurak* 'girlie') and vice versa (e.g. *neženja* 'bachelor') (Radić 2010). Epicene nouns are believed to mostly enter syntactic agreement relations, with an additional ability to also employ semantic agreement (Piper, 2005).

2.4. NOUN GENDER IN SERBIAN

Serbian is a highly inflected language employing to an extent a free word order (Piper, 2005). Serbian nouns are marked for case, grammatical number and grammatical gender. They agree with adjectives, some pronouns and some verb forms in gender, number and case. Each case is marked by an inflectional suffix and the order of these suffixes determines the declension class of Serbian nouns (Baayen/Schreuder 2011). According to Arsenijević (2021), declension classes do not seem to offer a suitable explanation for many instances of unexpected gender agreement patterns (e.g. *tata* 'dad', *vojvoda* 'duke'). Henceforth, a noun can show an agreement pattern that fails to match the natural gender of the referent or its designated declension class (Arsenijević 2021).

2.5. AGREEMENT

As previously mentioned, nouns are marked for three essential grammatical features, otherwise known as phi-features: number, gender, and person (Adger/Harbour 2008). They are the building blocks of an operation called syntactic agreement (Pesetsky/Torrego 2007), but before agreement happens the phi-features on the noun have to be valued (Popov/Bastiaanse 2018). After they have been valued, the lexical items can enter the syntactic derivation (e.g., Chomsky 2001; Pesetsky/Torrego 2007; Bošković 2011; Popov 2017).

Agreement is a formal and/or semantic accommodation of grammatical forms of morphosyntactic units of language. The function of agreement as a morphosyntactic operation in Serbian is to express the syntactic and semantic dependencies that would have existed in language even without rules for agreement regulation (Piper *et al.* 2005). Agreement establishes a relationship between two sentential elements asymmetrically by transferring feature values from one sentential element, named the goal, to another element, the probe (Pesetsky/Torrego 2007).

Agreement can be complete and incomplete. Complete agreement means that all dependent syntactic elements agree with the goal in terms of grammatical form and meaning, whereas incomplete agreement pertains to either syntactic or semantic agreement (Piper *et al.* 2005; Košprdić 2016).

2.6. GENDER AGREEMENT

Gender agreement is a universal syntactic process whereby a relationship is established between elements at the syntactic level (Hagoort/Brown 1999). Gender and gender agreement used to be considered a formal feature engaging in a strictly syntactic relationship (Hagoort/Brown 1999). Additionally, gender is a fixed property of the noun and gender values of dependent agreeing elements are interpreted from the value of the trigger noun (Ritter 1988). Online processing of gender agreement is demonstrated to be not a content-driven, but a syntax-driven process (Hagoort/Brown 1999). The type of agreement which is triggered by a noun on declinable modifiers and predicates is thought to be decided by the grammatical gender (Arsenijević 2021). Syntactic and semantic agreement in Slavic languages causes problems even for native speakers, as inconsistencies in relation to person, number and gender resolution are quite common (Puškar 2018).

2.8. GENDER AGREEMENT IN EPICENE NOUNS

The nouns with both semantic and syntactic gender entering hybrid agreement patterns are called hybrid nouns (Puškar 2018). Epicene nouns are a subgroup of hybrid nouns, considered to have a purely referential gender as they denote both biologically male and female entities without change in form (Corbett 2006). Epicene nouns, although they are morphophonologically feminine, are considered not to have an inherent gender as their gender is considered to be determined by contextual factors and allow for both syntactic and semantic agreement (Košprdić 2016). Moreover, their grammatical gender is not informative about the biosocial gender features, as epicene nouns do not differentiate between the biosocial gender of the human beings they denote (Vigliocco *et al.* 2005; Janse 2023). Semantically, they denote a person who engages in a specific

type of social behaviour or entails a certain negative character trait (Košprdić 2016), such as *pijanica* 'drunkard', *pričalica* 'chatterbox' (Puškar 2018).

The agreement in epicene nouns is believed to be established on the basis of the morphosyntactic gender values of the noun and not on its semantic properties, meaning that gender agreement in epicene nouns is established regardless of semantic noun properties (Ogneva 2020). Ogneva (2020) postulates that epicene nouns allow variability in agreement if additional information about the biosocial gender of the referent is present, which subsequently results in syntactic or semantic agreement marked on the probe. This is not in line with Košprdić (2016), who came to different conclusions investigating Serbian, concluding that providing an unequivocally male referent does not influence the agreement pattern. Babić (1973) believes that a mismatch in noun declension and the referent's biological sex leads to a noun entering different types of agreement, whereby gender neutral (epicene) nouns will always follow the agreement type imposed by their noun declension (Babić 1973; Košprdić 2016).

In Serbian, epicenes elicit two types of agreement. The biological sex of the referent they denote depends on the type of agreement they elicit (Puškar 2018). The following examples illustrate the agreement in Serbian epicene nouns: (1a) syntactic/grammatical agreement or (1b) semantic/logical agreement is found when the referent is biologically male, and (1c) overlapping syntactic/grammatical agreement when the referent is biologically female (Puškar 2018). These are the terms that will also be used in the present study, although the awareness of the referential nature of epicene noun gender still exists.

(1a) *Tvrđica* *je* *nerado* *platila* *račune za vodu i struju.*
 scrooge-FEM has reluctantly paid-FEM utility bills.
 "The scrooge has reluctantly paid his utility bills."

(1b) *Tvrđica* *je* *nerado* *platio* *račune za vodu i struju.*
 scrooge-FEM has reluctantly paid-MASC utility bills.
 "The scrooge has reluctantly paid his utility bills."

(1c) *Tvrđica* *je* *nerado* *platila* *račune za vodu i struju.*
 scrooge-FEM has reluctantly paid-FEM utility bills.
 "The scrooge has reluctantly paid her utility bills."

2.9. GENDER AND SYNTACTIC DISTANCE

Examining dependencies involving agreement has the potential to enable better understanding of the multifaceted ways agreement features are recruited during language processing. There are two major currents attempting to explain how a parser establishes dependencies and which factors play a role in the resolution of those dependencies. Other researchers have shown that the ability to form or resolve a dependency weakens with the increase in distance between dependent elements (Just/Carpenter 1992; Gibson 1998, 2000; Lewis *et al.* 2006). Gibson (1998, 2000) postulates that the integration of gender and number feature values becomes more costly with

the increase in distance between a goal and the probe (the terms *head* and *syntactic dependent* are used, respectively).

Previous research, such as the study conducted by Bañón and colleagues (2012) suggests that the distance between the agreeing elements influences the processing of agreement. The researchers differentiate between the contribution of structural distance (number of intervening syntactic phrases) and linear distance (number of intervening words) to the processing of agreement. The researchers modulated gender agreement by creating within-phrase (local) and across-phrase (non-local) gender violations. Within-phrase violations contained a gender violation on the agreeing adjective, and across-phrase violations a gender violation on an agreeing verb. Bañón and colleagues (2012) kept the linear distance and syntactic category constant for both levels of structural distance. Bañón and colleagues (2012) failed to observe amplitude differences in number and gender violations, suggesting similar processing of gender and number, implying that it is the syntactic distance that influences the overall establishment of agreement. The findings are consistent with sentence processing models emphasising the importance of the hierarchical structure on processing of syntactic dependencies (Bañón *et al.* 2012).

The neuroimaging results of Bañón and colleagues (2012) confirmed that the hierarchical nature of sentence structure affects the processing of agreement, and henceforth supported the models of sentence processing predicting that the online processing of linguistic dependencies is influenced by structural distances.

This sends us on a different path, and one cannot help but wonder if similar (or comparable) effects can be obtained in a psycholinguistic study of gender agreement processing. As epicene nouns are the only noun group that entails both semantic and syntactic agreement paradigm in singular form, whereby a gender violation is if not impossible, then very difficult to achieve, they seem like a perfect candidate for the endeavour. Namely, the present study aims to investigate if there are differences in gender agreement processing in different syntactic and structural environments that are not measured using a gender violation paradigm. In sum, the present study investigates the effects of structural distance and syntactic category on the processing of gender agreement of epicene nouns in Serbian.

2.10. AGREEMENT HIERARCHY

As previously mentioned, the noun (goal) functions as the agreement controller (Wechsler 2010). In case that a goal entails both syntactic and semantic gender features, the choice between syntactic and semantic agreement on the probe is believed to be made systematically. Corbett (1979) postulates that not only is the choice systematic, but it is dependent on the type of the agreeing constituent (target).

Namely, syntactic and semantic agreements enter a hierarchy otherwise known as the Agreement Hierarchy (Corbett 1979), which postulates a hierarchy of agreement positions (depending on agreeing constituents). The hierarchy aims to make predictions as to the possibility and relative frequency of semantic as compared to syntactic agreement. According to Corbett (1979), in case the adjective shows grammatical gender agreement, the verb can still show either grammatical or semantic agreement. On the other hand, if the adjective agrees with semantic gender, it is impossible to go back to

grammatical agreement, and the verb can only show natural gender agreement (Puškar 2018). This also means that the possibility of semantic agreement increases with the syntactic distance (Corbett 1979).

The Agreement Hierarchy is a theoretical model aiming to explain the seemingly unpredictable relationship between grammatical and semantic agreement distribution, postulated by Corbett (1979). In sum, it postulates that the possibility of syntactic agreement decreases monotonically moving from left to right on the constituent type scale (Corbett 1979). Subsequently, gender agreement including a certain constituent type on the left of the scale poses constraints for the type of gender agreement located on the right side of the scale. In practice, this means that the semantic gender agreement is obligatory on the predicate (across-phrase) once it has been established on the nominal modifier (within-phrase).

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. AIMS

The present study aims to investigate gender agreement of epicene nouns across three different conditions (within-phrase and across-phrase) to investigate if predefined gender agreement (syntactic or semantic) will influence the choice of referent.

Based on these findings and the fact that gender processing is usually considered to be a syntactic process rather than semantic, we expect a higher ratio of grammatical agreement options overall. We can also predict that opting for grammatical agreement will be easier in the within-phrase condition, due to the lower syntactic distance between the agreeing elements, thus reinforcing the notion that gender agreement is processed syntactically. The fact that epicenes allow for both gender agreements (without introducing a gender agreement violation that will render a sentence unacceptable), should result in a relatively even ratio between gender responses (Vigliocco *et al.* 2005). However, due to the syntactic influence of the syntactic distance, the ratio of grammatical vs. semantic agreement during the selection process might differ across conditions.

Based on dictionary classification of epicene noun gender and the results obtained by Košprdić (2016) two predictions were created. The present experiment tests this prediction using an Internet-based acceptability judgement task. The use of this technique is primarily motivated by practical considerations due to the ease of access to a wider and more diverse set of participants.

It was already mentioned that nouns have two separate groups of features: grammatical features entailing formal properties, and semantic features, denoting semantic and referential information. The limitations of previous studies of Agreement Hierarchy in Serbian are reflected in the fact that only hybrid nouns (e.g. *tata* "dad", *vladika* "bishop") were researched. These nouns follow the feminine declension paradigm, but enter hybrid agreement relations (Corbett 1991, 2011). Additionally, although the dual gender agreement properties of epicene nouns were formalised, and formal accounts of their gender representation and agreement pattern were stated (Wechsler/Zlatić 2000, 2003), the reasons why they allow for two agreement patterns have not been formally explained. Moreover, literature on the validity of the Agreement Hierarchy on epicene noun gender agreement seems to be scarce for the time being.

3.2. PARTICIPANTS

A randomly selected sample of 110 native speakers of Serbian (93 female, 16 male, 1 other, mean age 26.3, age range 19–53, were contacted for voluntary participation using snowball and convenience sampling and simple random sampling via social media posts. Prior to data collection, ethical approval was obtained from the Research Ethical Review Committee (CETO) of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Groningen. All participants were expected to disclose their native language, highest achieved education level, as well as information about other foreign or second languages they speak. All participants listed Serbian as their native language. All participants reported to be of legal age to provide informed consent before participation (at least 18 years old) and were informed about the aims of the study upon completion.

The initial attrition was 68 (62%) participants. This includes participants that did decide to not participate in the experiment at all after being contacted, declined to provide consent during the survey, or ended up not completing the full survey.

3.3. MATERIALS

A total number of 13 gender neutral epicene noun items were chosen for the experiment from Serbian dictionaries (Košprdić 2016). The nouns were integrated into an initial set of 156 experimental sentence items and 48 sentence filler items created for the main experiment (78 experimental items and 24 filler items per participant group). All items are presented in Appendix A and B.

Each item described a unique situation. The items consisted of a well-formed stimulus sentence with a blank space, and two options for a potential response to sentence completion. However, no context was provided that would provide potential semantic congruence. The response options were presented in both agreements, masculine (M) and feminine (F), as one of the three following sentence constituents: attribute (ATTR), past participle (PART) or noun predicative (PRED). The target sentence entailed either a masculine or a feminine agreement. The constituent types posed one independent variable, and the two potential agreement options were examined as their subconditions, resulting in six subconditions overall: attribute semantic agreement (M-ATTR), attribute syntactic agreement (F-ATTR), past participle semantic agreement (M-PART), past participle syntactic agreement (F-PART), predicative semantic agreement (M-PRED) and predicative syntactic agreement (F-PRED). The two factors, constituent type and agreement, were crossed within-item factors, thus resulting in six versions of each item.

An example of an epicene noun item across all conditions and subconditions is presented below (3a–5b). Each noun item was presented across three conditions, with the subconditions being chosen by the participant during the online experiment, so that the final list of test items contained all (potential) versions of a given item.

(3a) Syntactic agreement and active past participle (within-phrase) condition (F-PART):

Tvrđica je nerado kupila kartu za gradski autobus.
 scrooge-FEM has reluctantly bought-FEM the ticket for the city bus
 “The scrooge reluctantly bought the ticket for the city bus.”

(3b) Semantic agreement and active past participle (within-phrase) condition (M-PART):

Tvrđica je nerado kupio kartu za gradski autobus.
 scrooge-FEM has reluctantly bought-MASC the ticket for the city bus
 "The scrooge reluctantly bought the ticket for the city bus."

(4a) Syntactic agreement and passive past participle (across-phrase) condition (F-PRED):

Tvrđica iz komšiluka je dosadna i uvek traži kusur.
 scrooge-FEM from the neighbourhood is being bothersome-FEM asking for change
 "The scrooge from the neighbourhood is being bothersome asking for change."

(4b) Semantic agreement and passive past participle (across-phrase) condition (M-PRED):

Tvrđica iz komšiluka je dosadan i uvek traži kusur.
 scrooge-FEM from the neighbourhood is being bothersome-MASC asking for change
 "The scrooge from the neighbourhood is being bothersome asking for change."

(5a) Syntactic agreement and attribute (within-phrase) condition (F-ATTR):

Dosadna tvrđica će konačno kupiti autobusku kartu.
 tiresome-FEM scrooge-FEM will finally buy bus ticket
 "The tiresome scrooge will finally buy a bus ticket"

(5b) Semantic agreement and attribute (within-phrase) condition (M-ATTR):

Dosadni tvrđica će konačno kupiti autobusku kartu.
 tiresome-MASC scrooge-FEM will finally buy bus ticket
 "The tiresome scrooge will finally buy a bus ticket"

The noun items were selected based on their subtype (epicene ending in -ica), the natural gender (biological sex) of their potential referents, as well as their declension class (class III) according to Stevanović (1986). The noun items were of approximately the same length (7 to 10 characters). All noun items were animate. The target items (the agreeing attribute, past participle and predicative) were of varying length (5 to 13 characters) and frequency, as making adjustment reinforcing the semantics denoted by the epicene without creating a potential implicit genderization was prioritised. Target constituents consisted of an adjective (in either attributive or predicative function) or a verb participle (predicate function).

The structure of the sentence stimuli was mostly consistent across conditions: in attribute [Attribute-N-Adverb-V], in participle [N-Aux-Adverb-V] and in predicative condition [N-Aux-Adverb-V]. Sometimes the adverb was moved or omitted to ensure an unmarked, natural-sounding sentence of comparable length. Moreover, the sentence length was balanced. The epicene entailed the function of sentence subject, and was therefore presented in nominative singular form. The target verb in the participle condition was always provided in past tense, as subject-verb gender agreement is only apparent in compound tenses that contain the L-participle (Brown/Alt 2004). The target adjective in attribute and predicative condition were presented in their nominative singular form. The conjugated present tense verb in the sentence items with the within-phrase (attribute) condition was expected to prevent gender bias as overt gender markers in past tense provide a salient cue to the referential gender. Thus, all PART and

PRED experimental items, as well as two thirds of filler items, had past tense verbs. The target constituents in predicative and participle conditions were followed by either a noun phrase or a short dependent clause consisting of two or three words to reduce the impact of sentence wrap-up effects on the target region (Just/Carpenter 1980) and provide context.

In addition, an initial set of 24 filler sentence items was created. The filler items were similar to experimental items in that they entailed all three conditions (attribute, participle and predicative), amounting to 8 filler sentence items per condition. Importantly, unlike experimental items, the sentence subject was not an epicene noun, henceforth prompting a specific gendered response (incorrect response would yield agreement violation and ungrammatical target sentences). The filler items included nouns with feminine grammatical gender, but masculine biological sex and semantic agreement pattern (FN agreement violation).

In addition to filler sentence items, a set of 6 training sentence items was created to help the participants familiarise with the testing environment. All items in their original Serbian form are available in Appendix A (experimental sentence items) and Appendix B (filler sentence items).

3.4. PROCEDURE

The goal of the study, conducted via Google forms, was to confirm the (un) acceptability of the masculine and feminine agreement in the initial set of sentence stimuli. and examine the perception of the biological sex referred to by the noun + adjective / verb agreement in each of the sentences. Native speakers of Serbian provided acceptability judgments (from 1 – completely unacceptable to 6 – completely acceptable, that even number was chosen to keep the methodology in line with some previous research) and were asked to attribute either a male or female referent to each sentence stimuli. Participants were instructed to read each sentence carefully and judge whether it was acceptable, relying on their native speaker's intuition. They responded by selecting a numerical value with a corresponding description of acceptability. In addition, they were asked to attribute either a male, female or both gender to noun + adjective / verb agreement pairs in each sentence (one agreement per sentence stimuli). If the participants chose to attribute both genders, they were also prompted to choose one preferred gendered response.

In sum, each participant saw one of the lists with 78 experimental and 24 filler items. Each of the items contained one sentence acceptability judgement question and two gender attribution questions. The order of presentation was randomised for each participant to avoid repetition of similar test items and to obscure the intentions of the study.

4. RESULTS

4.1. ACCURACY

Forty-two native speakers of Serbian completed this experiment. Based on the filler items and unanswered experimental items, five participants (12%) were excluded from further analysis, as they did not reach the predefined 80% threshold of providing correct results for the filler items.

This resulted in the responses of 37 participants being further evaluated (27 female, 10 male, mean age 29.5, range 21–53). Additionally, taking a closer look at the filler sentence items revealed that two items had a relatively high acceptability score (> 4). However, the filler average score was 2.02, which means that filler items in general were judged as unacceptable on the Likert scale. Thus, items containing inadequate sentences were marked as candidates for exclusion (and were ultimately excluded). Due to the low number of responses, both groups were treated as one group for analysis.

4.2. ACCEPTABILITY AND ATTRIBUTION DATA

The purpose of the acceptability judgement portion of the task was to disambiguate the preferred agreement by analysing the acceptability of paired experimental sentence items across all conditions. The stimuli containing preferred gender agreement would be graded with high acceptability scores across all conditions, which turned out to be true, as all experimental sentence items scored an average value of at least 4.5 for all participants. Due to the low number of responses, stimuli were not analysed individually.

Data from the study were analysed in R 4.4.2 (R Core Team 2022). The results for the acceptability scores of all conditions (the grammatical conditions and the used gender context), and the ratio of masculine responses are shown in Table 1.

	Participle			Predicative			Attribute		
	masc.	fem.	Ov.	masc.	fem.	Ov.	masc.	fem.	Ov.
Mean score m	4.93	5.23	5.08	4.69	5.14	4.91	4.47	5.21	4.84
SD of m	0.79	0.67	0.74	0.90	0.68	0.82	0.95	0.65	0.89
Ratio masculine attribution	88.4	23.1	55.7	87.2	22.9	55.0	85.9	37.3	61.6
SD of ratio	25.9	23.1	19.3	26.2	21.6	18.9	27.8	27.9	23.5

Table 1. Mean score m of acceptability, its SD, ratio of masculine attribution and its SD for the acceptability experiment in all conditions, by genders and overall values for each condition.

The results show a higher acceptability for all grammatically feminine cases compared to their masculine counterparts.

The participants seemed to show a slight preference for denoting a biologically male entity as referent. When looking at the percent of gendered entity responses for the individual conditions, some male bias is also observable. For all masculine conditions, the association with a male entity is at 87%, while the feminine conditions have an association with a female entity of only 72%. In total, there were 1658 masculine responses provided by the participants, while there were only 1228 feminine responses. Comparing the individual conditions, it is also noteworthy to mention that for Participle

and Predicative conditions (both across-phrase) show a common value of around 55% male referents, while the Attributive condition (within-phrase) exposes a higher percentage of 61%.

For each condition, the acceptability scores were analysed using a t-test comparing the masculine and feminine responses with each other. It was found that for all conditions, the masculine and feminine acceptability are statistically different from each other, which, combined with them having higher average values, shows that the feminine cases have a significantly higher acceptability than the masculine cases. The results are presented in Table 2.

	Participle	Predicative	Attribute
p	.005	.001	<.001
Is p significant?	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 2. (Adjusted) P-values of paired Bonferroni t-tests for masculine and feminine acceptability responses of the acceptability experiment per condition.

Responses gained in the acceptability judgement were analysed using a repeated measures ANOVA test for the separate conditions and all (filtered) participants by taking the difference of the score between the masculine and feminine responses of each condition. There was a statistically significant main effect of condition $F(2,72) = 14.487$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .065$. This means that there are strong indications that the conditions are statistically different from each other.

Furthermore, the responses gained for the gender attribution were analysed using a repeated measures ANOVA test for the separate conditions and all (filtered) participants, taking the overall male responses per condition as the dependent variable. This is done to check if the attribution is higher or lower in specific conditions, and the overall values are used as a measure since each condition was presented equally often in masculine and feminine context in the experiment. 11 values from 4 participants (three having low masculine attribution for all conditions and one having a high masculine attribution for two conditions) were identified as outliers. There was a statistically significant main effect of condition $F(1.57,56.68) = 12.538$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .022$ in the remaining data. This confirms that the condition has an effect on the attribution as well.

In addition, a pairwise t-test (Bonferroni) was performed on the difference of the scores and revealed that some of the pairwise values are also significantly different from each other between all available conditions ($p \leq .05$). In particular, the Participle and Attribute conditions were highly statistically independent from each other. In addition, the same was performed on the attribution and revealed that the same of the pairwise values are also significantly different from each other between all available conditions ($p \leq .05$). The full results are shown in Table 3.

	Participle - Predicative	Participle - Attribute	Predicative - Attribute
p(m)	.15	<.001	.011
Is p(m) significant?	No	Yes	Yes
p(ratio)	.549	.002	<.001
Is p(ratio) significant?	No	Yes	Yes

Table 3. (Adjusted) P-values of pairwise Bonferroni t-tests for difference of acceptability scores m and masculine attribution ratio of the acceptability experiment.

5. DISCUSSION

The aim of this paper was to address the issue of gender agreement in epicene nouns in Serbian. Based on the findings of syntactic distance effects on the processing of gender agreement in common nouns (Bañón *et al.* 2012), the goal of the present study was to extend these inquiries into the domain of gender processing in epicene nouns in regards to syntactic distance between the agreeing elements. With this aim in mind, an Internet-based study was conducted, namely a grammatical acceptability study. The study collected grammatical acceptability ratings and gender attribution for sentences that contained either within-phrase (noun-adjective) or across-phrase (subject-verb) gender agreement. Namely, both grammatical acceptability ratings and gender attribution in epicene nouns depended on the utilised gender agreement in said sentence (syntactic vs. semantic).

5.1. GRAMMATICAL ACCEPTABILITY

It was predicted that the syntactic agreement would be deemed more acceptable. The grammatical acceptability was measured with a Likert scale as per Langsford *et al.* (2018). The syntactic gender agreement was predicted to yield higher acceptability ratings than semantic agreement across all conditions.

The data showed the acceptability scores between gender agreement types were significantly different from each other. The syntactic agreement obtained consistently higher acceptability scores than semantic agreement in all conditions. Higher acceptability ratings for syntactic gender agreement confirmed the prediction, and the obtained results were consistent with the findings by Košprdić (2016). The results implied that epicene nouns are processed syntactically, similarly to common nouns (Hagoort/Brown 1999).

5.2. GENDER ATTRIBUTION

The gender attribution study was designed to investigate if predefined gender agreement (syntactic vs. semantic) will influence the choice of the referent. Firstly, the sentences containing semantic agreement type were predicted to prompt the reader to choose a male referent. Secondly, the sentences containing syntactic agreement were predicted to not show bias towards any of the possible genders, whereby the differences in preference is expected to be coincidental.

The results showed that the participants seemed to show a slight preference for denoting a biologically male referent across all sentences. This is in line with the grammar definitions of epicenes (Klajn 2005), and in line with the findings by Košprdić (2016), stating that syntactic gender processing in epicenes is independent from the referent's biosocial gender and semantic information.

5.3. FUTURE RESEARCH

The experimental design should be altered to include neutral gender agreement in epicene nouns, as such an agreement is ungrammatical in Serbian (Klajn 2005). Even though the present study showed unequivocal preference for the syntactic agreement pattern, a violation paradigm design could account for the shortcomings of the present study. Namely, such a design could utilise reaction time measures to more successfully confirm the preferred gender agreement in epicene nouns. Furthermore, the effect of syntactic distance on other types of agreement, such as number, could offer insights into the factors that determine agreement processes, particularly as Bañón and colleagues (2012) theorised that syntactic distance effects would occur nonetheless. Moreover, a gender attribution task with measured reaction times could be used to allow us to delve further into not only the native speaker's preference for a certain agreement paradigm, but also give us further insight into gender agreement processing in real time.

In summary, the present data confirmed the syntactic processing of gender in epicene nouns, as well as the syntactic distance effect on gender agreement processing. However, the nature of the syntactic distance effect and the reasons why it occurs in agreement dependencies are still up for debate.

6. FINAL REMARKS

The study set out to investigate the gender agreement processing of epicenes in Serbian. The experiment focused on the acceptability and gender attribution of epicenes.

Despite the fact that not all predictions in the present study were confirmed, the study seems to particularly emphasise the importance of the syntactic distance in gender agreement processing. Namely, the grammatical acceptability indicated differences between within-phrase and across-phrase conditions for both syntactic and semantic agreement. Moreover, the differences in perception as processing of within-phrase and across-phrase were maintained regardless of agreement. This is in line with the findings of Bañón and colleagues (2012), as gender agreement in epicene nouns is heavily influenced by the syntactic distance exactly as other types of agreement dependencies such as number, or gender agreement in common nouns.

It is notable that the responses in all tasks were never as extreme as the predictions based on theoretical notions of gender processing and hierarchy models seemed to suggest. Namely, both syntactic and semantic gender agreements were rarely attributed the lowest acceptability scores, even in case of strong preference of one agreement to the other. In conclusion, the variety in the obtained results, as well as the influence of syntactic distance on gender agreement, indicate that gender agreement processing in epicene nouns is dependent on other factors than syntactic, and that the belief of syntactic nature of gender processing is influenced by the syntactic distance between the goal and the probe.

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APPENDIX A

Experimental Items

No.	Condition		Sentence	Gender
1	PART	AP	Tvrđica je nerado kupio kartu za gradski autobus.	m
2	PART	AP	Tvrđica je nerado kupila kartu za gradski autobus.	f
3	PRED	AP	Tvrđica iz komšiluka je dosadan i uvek traži ksur.	m
4	PRED	AP	Tvrđica iz komšiluka je dosadna i uvek traži ksur.	f
5	ATTR	WP	Dosadni tvrđica će konačno kupiti autobusku kartu.	m
6	ATTR	WP	Dosadna tvrđica će konačno kupiti autobusku kartu.	f
7	PART	AP	Varalica je ipak uspeo da naplati nepostojeću štetu u stanu.	m
8	PART	AP	Varalica je ipak uspela da naplati nepostojeću štetu u stanu.	f
9	PRED	AP	Varalica je nažalost spreman na sve zarad novca.	m
10	PRED	AP	Varalica je nažalost spremna na sve zarad novca.	f
11	ATTR	WP	Lokalni varalica ide po gradu prodajući polovne satove.	m
12	ATTR	WP	Lokalna varalica ide po gradu prodajući polovne satove.	f
13	PART	AP	Zvanica nije znao šta da kupi mladencima za svadbu.	m
14	PART	AP	Zvanica nije znala šta da kupi mladencima za svadbu.	f
15	PRED	AP	Zvanica se čini tužan uprkos veseloj muzici na proslavi.	m
16	PRED	AP	Zvanica se čini tužna uprkos veseloj muzici na proslavi.	f
17	ATTR	WP	Nepoželjni zvanica juri da pozdravi mladence pred slikanje.	m
18	ATTR	WP	Nepoželjna zvanica juri da pozdravi mladence pred slikanje.	f
19	PART	AP	Izdajica se domogao vlasti odmah nakon velike recesije.	m
20	PART	AP	Izdajica se domogla vlasti odmah nakon velike recesije.	f
21	PRED	AP	Izdajica je smiren i promatra odvijanje konflikta u zemlji.	m
22	PRED	AP	Izdajica je smirena i promatra odvijanje konflikta u zemlji.	f
23	ATTR	WP	Ubijeni izdajica zauzima naslovnice svih novina u zemlji.	m
24	ATTR	WP	Ubijena izdajica zauzima naslovnice svih novina u zemlji.	f
25	PART	AP	Izelica se večeras prejeao slavskih kolača i ima glavobolju.	m
26	PART	AP	Izelica se večeras prejela slavskih kolača i ima glavobolju.	f
27	PRED	AP	Izelica je većito gladan kada krene sezona slava.	m

28	PRED	AP	Izelica je većito gladna kada krene sezona slava.	f
29	ATTR	WP	Matori izelica užurbano od dece sklanja čokolade.	m
30	ATTR	WP	Matora izelica užurbano od dece sklanja čokolade.	f
31	PART	AP	Kukavica je zurio u akvarijum sa anakondom u zoo-vrtu.	m
32	PART	AP	Kukavica je zurila u akvarijum sa anakondom u zoo-vrtu.	f
33	PRED	AP	Kukavica je jako uplašen i govori nam da smanjimo brzinu.	m
34	PRED	AP	Kukavica je jako uplašena i govori nam da smanjimo brzinu.	f
35	ATTR	WP	Obični kukavica ne sme da pomazi zmiju u zoo-vrtu.	m
36	ATTR	WP	Obična kukavica ne sme da pomazi zmiju u zoo-vrtu.	f
37	PART	AP	Pijanica je upravo izašao iz oronule kafane na uglu.	m
38	PART	AP	Pijanica je upravo izašla iz oronule kafane na uglu.	f
39	PRED	AP	Pijanica je iznerviran neučtivim ponašanjem konobara.	m
40	PRED	AP	Pijanica je iznervirana neučtivim ponašanjem konobara.	f
41	ATTR	WP	Okoreli pijanica se svake nedelje odaje alkoholu.	m
42	ATTR	WP	Okorela pijanica se svake nedelje odaje alkoholu.	f
43	PART	AP	Prznica se celo večje brecao na konobare u restoranu.	m
44	PART	AP	Prznica se celo večje brecala na konobare u restoranu.	f
45	PRED	AP	Prznica je celo večje besan zbog jedne obične greške.	m
46	PRED	AP	Prznica je celo večje besna zbog jedne obične greške.	f
47	ATTR	WP	Pravi prznica ne okleva da se svima brecne u lice.	m
48	ATTR	WP	Prava prznica ne okleva da se svima brecne u lice.	f
49	PART	AP	Pridošlica je privukao svu pažnju iznenadnim dolaskom.	m
50	PART	AP	Pridošlica je privukla svu pažnju iznenadnim dolaskom.	f
51	PRED	AP	Pridošlica je veoma zbunjen brojem gostiju na proslavi.	m
52	PRED	AP	Pridošlica je veoma zbunjena brojem gostiju na proslavi.	f
53	ATTR	WP	Raspevani pridošlica jedva čeka da zabava počne.	m
54	ATTR	WP	Raspevana pridošlica jedva čeka da zabava počne.	f
55	PART	AP	Propalica je došao na stadion sa namerom da napravi haos.	m
56	PART	AP	Propalica je došla na stadion sa namerom da napravi haos.	f
57	PRED	AP	Propalica je dobrodušan uprkos teškoj životnoj priči.	m

58	PRED	AP	Propalica je dobrodušna uprkos teškoj životnoj priči.	f
59	ATTR	WP	Lokalni propalica se uvek žali na cene prolaznicima.	m
60	ATTR	WP	Lokalna propalica se uvek žali na cene prolaznicima.	f
61	PART	AP	Svađalica je juče opet vikao na sve u redu ispred pošte.	m
62	PART	AP	Svađalica je juče opet vikala na sve u redu ispred pošte.	f
63	PRED	AP	Svađalica je prepadnut šefovim pretnjama o otkazu.	m
64	PRED	AP	Svađalica je prepadnuta šefovim pretnjama o otkazu.	f
65	ATTR	WP	Agresivni svađalica se uvek raspravlja ni oko čega.	m
66	ATTR	WP	Agresivna svađalica se uvek raspravlja ni oko čega.	f
67	PART	AP	Udvorica se među prvima učlanio u vladajuću stranku.	m
68	PART	AP	Udvorica se među prvima učlanila u vladajuću stranku.	f
69	PRED	AP	Udvorica je prezauzet razmišljanjem o rezultatima izbora.	m
70	PRED	AP	Udvorica je prezauzeta razmišljanjem o rezultatima izbora.	f
71	ATTR	WP	Lakomisleni udvorica razmišlja o stranačkom zaposlenju.	m
72	ATTR	WP	Lakomislena udvorica razmišlja o stranačkom zaposlenju.	f
73	PART	AP	Ulizica je stalno pokušavao privući pažnju nastavnicima.	m
74	PART	AP	Ulizica je stalno pokušavala privući pažnju nastavnicima.	f
75	PRED	AP	Ulizica je zadovoljan povodom visoke ocene na testu.	m
76	PRED	AP	Ulizica je zadovoljna povodom visoke ocene na testu.	f
77	ATTR	WP	Predusretljivi ulizica donosi ministru pripremljen govor.	m
78	ATTR	WP	Predusretljiva ulizica donosi ministru pripremljen govor.	f

Table A1. List of experimental items of group 1. Conditions are Participle (PART), Predicative (PRED) and Attribute (ATTR), which can be within-phrase (WP) or across-phrase (AP). Possible gender agreements are masculine (m) and feminine (f).

No.	Condition		Sentence	Gender
1	PART	AP	Tvrdica je nerado platio račune za struju i vodu.	m
2	PART	AP	Tvrdica je nerado platila račune za struju i vodu.	f
3	PRED	AP	Tvrdica iz ulaza je naporan kad prodaje staro gvožđe.	m
4	PRED	AP	Tvrdica iz ulaza je naporna kad prodaje staro gvožđe.	f

5	ATTR	WP	Naporni tvrdica će konačno prestati da pita za cenu.	m
6	ATTR	WP	Naporna tvrdica će konačno prestati da pita za cenu.	f
7	PART	AP	Varalica je pokušao da nam iznudi još više novca.	m
8	PART	AP	Varalica je pokušala da nam iznudi još više novca.	f
9	PRED	AP	Varalica je uživo nepokolebljivo uporan pri trgovini.	m
10	PRED	AP	Varalica je uživo nepokolebljivo uporna pri trgovini.	f
11	ATTR	WP	Gradski varalica po kućama prodaje jeftine šampone.	m
12	ATTR	WP	Gradska varalica po kućama prodaje jeftine šampone.	f
13	PART	AP	Zvanica se dugo pitao o mestu proslave Nove godine.	m
14	PART	AP	Zvanica se dugo pitala o mestu proslave Nove godine.	f
15	PRED	AP	Zvanica je zaista opčinjen vatrometom sa prošlog dočeka.	m
16	PRED	AP	Zvanica je zaista opčinjena vatrometom sa prošlog dočeka.	f
17	ATTR	WP	Veseli zvanica uz čašu vina uživa u starogradskoj muzici.	m
18	ATTR	WP	Vesela zvanica uz čašu vina uživa u starogradskoj muzici.	f
19	PART	AP	Izdajica je prvom prilikom prešao pravo u protivnički tabor.	m
20	PART	AP	Izdajica je prvom prilikom prešla pravo u protivnički tabor.	f
21	PRED	AP	Izdajica je nervozan zbog okršaja sa opozicijom u emisiji.	m
22	PRED	AP	Izdajica je nervozna zbog okršaja sa opozicijom u emisiji.	f
23	ATTR	WP	Osuđeni izdajica će ipak provesti tri godine u zatvoru.	m
24	ATTR	WP	Osuđena izdajica će ipak provesti tri godine u zatvoru.	f
25	PART	AP	Izelica je sakrio dva velika kolača u džep svog kaputa.	m
26	PART	AP	Izelica je sakrila dva velika kolača u džep svog kaputa.	f
27	PRED	AP	Izelica nije svestan da je predstojeća slava posna.	m
28	PRED	AP	Izelica nije svesna da je predstojeća slava posna.	f
29	ATTR	WP	Sebični izelica sa drugog kraja stola odmerava sarme.	m
30	ATTR	WP	Sebična izelica sa drugog kraja stola odmerava sarme.	f
31	PART	AP	Kukavica je umislio da nam se ajkula približava u plićaku.	m
32	PART	AP	Kukavica je umislila da nam se ajkula približava u plićaku.	f
33	PRED	AP	Kukavica je premoren od grčevitog plivanja ka obali mora.	m
34	PRED	AP	Kukavica je premorena od grčevitog plivanja ka obali mora.	f
35	ATTR	WP	Prestrašeni kukavica se nažalost boji i da uđe u vodu.	m

36	ATTR	WP	Prestrašena kukavica se nažalost boji i da uđe u vodu.	f
37	PART	AP	Pijanica se jako obradovao novoj flaši vina za Božić.	m
38	PART	AP	Pijanica se jako obradovala novoj flaši vina za Božić.	f
39	PRED	AP	Pijanica je razočaran ukusom bezalkoholnog piva.	m
40	PRED	AP	Pijanica je razočarana ukusom bezalkoholnog piva.	f
41	ATTR	WP	Ostareli pijanica pije već sedmu veliku čašu špricera.	m
42	ATTR	WP	Ostarela pijanica pije već sedmu veliku čašu špricera.	f
43	PART	AP	Prznica se okretao oko sebe tražeći nekog za svađu.	m
44	PART	AP	Prznica se okretala oko sebe tražeći nekog za svađu.	f
45	PRED	AP	Prznica je ljut na pretpostavljene zbog refiskalizacije.	m
46	PRED	AP	Prznica je ljuta na pretpostavljene zbog refiskalizacije.	f
47	ATTR	WP	Dežurni prznica ne dopušta da sastanak protekne mirno.	m
48	ATTR	WP	Dežurna prznica ne dopušta da sastanak protekne mirno.	f
49	PART	AP	Pridošlica se odmah ubacio u najzabavnije društvo.	m
50	PART	AP	Pridošlica se odmah ubacila u najzabavnije društvo.	f
51	PRED	AP	Pridošlica je odmah po dolasku izveden na plesni podijum.	m
52	PRED	AP	Pridošlica je odmah po dolasku izvedena na plesni podijum.	f
53	ATTR	WP	Veseli pridošlica se odmah pridružuje božićnoj zabavi.	m
54	ATTR	WP	Vesela pridošlica se odmah pridružuje božićnoj zabavi.	f
55	PART	AP	Propalica se pokajao zbog niza loših životnih odluka.	m
56	PART	AP	Propalica se pokajala zbog niza loših životnih odluka.	f
57	PRED	AP	Propalica je uvek prljav zbog loših životnih uslova.	m
58	PRED	AP	Propalica je uvek prljava zbog loših životnih uslova.	f
59	ATTR	WP	Ulični propalica čeka na sažaljenje i novac prolaznika.	m
60	ATTR	WP	Ulična propalica čeka na sažaljenje i novac prolaznika.	f
61	PART	AP	Svađalica je juče opleo po svim članovima upravnog odbora.	m
62	PART	AP	Svađalica je juče oplela po svim članovima upravnog odbora.	f
63	PRED	AP	Svađalica je veoma sklon provociranju upravnika odbora.	m
64	PRED	AP	Svađalica je veoma sklona provociranju upravnika odbora.	f
65	ATTR	WP	Nadmeni svađalica srećom danas ne dolazi na sastanak.	m
66	ATTR	WP	Nadmena svađalica srećom danas ne dolazi na sastanak.	f

67	PART	AP	Udvorica je celo več laskao predsednikovej supruzi.	m
68	PART	AP	Udvorica je celo več laskala predsednikovej supruzi.	f
69	PRED	AP	Udvorica je razočaran postignutim rezultatima stranke.	m
70	PRED	AP	Udvorica je razočarana postignutim rezultatima stranke.	f
71	ATTR	WP	Poznati udvorica piše članak o vladinim funkcionerima.	m
72	ATTR	WP	Poznata udvorica piše članak o vladinim funkcionerima.	f
73	PART	AP	Ulizica nije uspeo da se dočepa priznanja uprkos svemu.	m
74	PART	AP	Ulizica nije uspela da se dočepa priznanja uprkos svemu.	f
75	PRED	AP	Ulizica je veoma nezadovoljan postignutim rezultatima.	m
76	PRED	AP	Ulizica je veoma nezadovoljna postignutim rezultatima.	f
77	ATTR	WP	Domišljati ulizica već zna ko je upravnik odeljenja.	m
78	ATTR	WP	Domišljata ulizica već zna ko je upravnik odeljenja.	f

Table A2. List of experimental items of group 2. Conditions are Participle (PART), Predicative (PRED) and Attribute (ATTR), which can be within-phrase (WP) or across-phrase (AP). Possible gender agreements are masculine (m) and feminine (f).

APPENDIX B

Filler Items

No.	Condition		Sentence	Gender
79	PART	AP	Komšija se besno izdrala na nas zbog silne buke.	f
80	PART	AP	Stanodavac je početkom rata povećala cene nekretnina.	f
81	ATTR	WP	Nenaspavana komšija se tužno tetura do prodavnice.	f
82	ATTR	WP	Bezobzirna stanodavac ne prilagođava cenu zakupa tržištu.	f
83	PRED	AP	Vojskovođa je veoma sposobna za vođenje dugih ratova.	f
84	PRED	AP	Plašljivac je jako uplašena i govori nam da smanjimo brzinu.	f
85	PART	AP	Gost nije znala tačno šta da kupi mladencima za svadbu.	f
86	PART	AP	Proždrljivac se večeras prejela slavijskih kolača i ima glavobolju.	f
87	ATTR	WP	Nepoželjna gost juri da pozdravi mladence pred slikanje.	f
88	ATTR	WP	Oduševljena saradnik odobrava dekoraciju za božićnu proslavu.	f
89	PRED	AP	Prosjak je dobrodušna uprkos teškoj životnoj priči.	f
90	PRED	AP	Tata je nasmejana nežno gledajući u novorođenu bebu.	f
91	PART	AP	Zavodnik se i večeras osmehivala svima na zabavi.	f
92	PART	AP	Izdajnik se domogla vlasti odmah nakon velike recesije.	f
93	ATTR	WP	Dosadna škrtac će konačno kupiti autobusku kartu.	f
94	ATTR	WP	Odgovorna mašinovođa nikada ne rizikuje svoje putnike.	f
95	PRED	AP	Poslovođa je uvek razočarana pritužbama zaposlenih u firmi.	f
96	PRED	AP	Gazda je nepromišljena pri objavljivanju oglasa za stan.	f
97	PART	AP	Kolega se jako obradovala dekoraciji za božićnu proslavu.	f
98	PART	AP	Ljutiša se celo veče brecala na konobare u restoranu.	f
99	ATTR	WP	Lokalna prevarant ide po gradu i prodaje polovne satove.	f
100	ATTR	WP	Dežurna zavodnik osmehom uvek ulepša veče gostima.	f
101	PRED	AP	Vojvoda je na svečanosti odlikovana svetlucavim medaljama.	f
102	PRED	AP	Starac je zadovoljna uspesima svih svojih unuka.	f

Table B1. List of filler items of group 1 and experiment 2. Conditions are Participle (PART), Predicative (PRED) and Attribute (ATTR), which can be within-phrase (WP) or across-phrase (AP). Possible gender agreements are masculine (m) and feminine (f).

No.	Condition		Sentence	Gender
79	PART	AP	Komšija je odmah istrčala na terasu goruće zgrade.	f
80	PART	AP	Preduzetnik je skoro pročitala priručnik o uspješnom poslovanju.	f
81	ATTR	WP	Nova komšija se već uveliko druži sa celom zgradom.	f
82	ATTR	WP	Loša preduzetnik nikada ne vodi računa o dobrobiti radnika.	f
83	PRED	AP	Vojskovođa je odvažna pri napadu, ne prezajući ni od čega.	f
84	PRED	AP	Plašljivac je premoren/a grčevito plivajući ka obali mora.	f
85	PART	AP	Gost se dugo pitala o mestu proslave Nove godine.	f
86	PART	AP	Proždrljivac je sakrila dva velika kolača u džep svog kaputa.	f
87	ATTR	WP	Vesela gost uz čašu vina uživa u starogradskoj muzici.	f
88	ATTR	WP	Iznervirana saradnik saopštava odluku o otkazivanju sastanka.	f
89	PRED	AP	Prosjak je uvek prljava zbog loših životnih uslova.	f
90	PRED	AP	Tata je iznervirana hrpom rasutog brašna u kuhinji.	f
91	PART	AP	Zavodnik je namerila da nam sutradan pomogne u garaži.	f
92	PART	AP	Izdajnik je prvom prilikom prešla pravo u protivnički tabor.	f
93	ATTR	WP	Naporna škrtac će konačno prestati da pita za cenu.	f
94	ATTR	WP	Usplahirena mašinovođa proverava stanje šina pred polazak.	f
95	PRED	AP	Poslovođa je uvek iskrena pri evaluiranju svojih zaposlenih.	f
96	PRED	AP	Gazda je revoltirana novim zakonom o sigurnom poslovanju.	f
97	PART	AP	Kolega se odmah izvinila zbog ometanja današnjeg sastanka.	f
98	PART	AP	Ljutiša se okretala oko sebe tražeći nekog za svađu.	f
99	ATTR	WP	Gradska prevarant po kućama prodaje jeftine šampone.	f
100	ATTR	WP	Nepopravljiva zavodnik ne odustaje od osvajanja.	f
101	PRED	AP	Vojvoda je na dodeli proglašena za najistaknutijeg borca.	f
102	PRED	AP	Starac je istrošena mnogim godinama vrednog rada.	f

Table B2. List of filler items of group 2. Conditions are Participle (PART), Predicative (PRED) and Attribute (ATTR), which can be within-phrase (WP) or across-phrase (AP). Possible gender agreements are masculine (m) and feminine (f).

SUMMARY

PROCESSING OF GENDER NEUTRAL NOUNS (EPICENA): TESTING THE COGNITIVE RELEVANCE OF SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC AGREEMENT OF SERBIAN EPICENE NOUNS ENDING IN -ICA IN DIFFERENT SYNTACTIC ENVIRONMENTS USING ACCEPTABILITY JUDGEMENT MEASURES

This experiment adds to the growing literature on gender agreement processing, and processing of gender neutral nouns, having collected data from speakers of a less-represented Indo-European language. Although Serbian shares many similarities with other morphologically rich languages that have been more thoroughly researched, the results of the present study emphasise the necessity for a more balanced and thorough investigation of small and rarely studied languages. As gender processing is becoming a more prevalent research topic in psycholinguistics, yielding a vast body of research and linguistic theories (Corbett 1979, 2006) attempting to account for miscellaneous and often conflicting research results (Bañón *et al.* 2012) the necessity for a more uniform research approach to rarely studied languages becomes paramount. Otherwise, forming a linguistic theory with the ability to account for a vast array of inconsistencies and discrepancies found in rarely studied languages becomes unattainable. In addition, this study is the first investigation into both within-phrase and across-phrase gender processing of epicene nouns in Serbian. The study of gender agreement processing, such as the study conducted by Popov (2020), had long focused only on either processing of common nouns, different subtypes of epicenes in either within-phrase position (Košprdić 2016), or the general influence of syntactic distance on gender processing (Bañón *et al.* 2012). Studies focusing on gender agreement processing of epicenes are, in my opinion, crucial, as they examine how humans process agreement of nouns that do not disposing of clearly defined, stable gender features, or in other words, where agreement depends on both the linguistic and non-linguistic (referential) context. The study of epicenes and gender processing of epicenes in different syntactic positions has yet to reach this more ecologically valid step. The present experiment provides the important first step in understanding how gender agreement processing of nouns with ambiguous gender might be facilitated by the syntactic proximity of the agreeing elements. Studying these questions brings us closer to understanding gender agreement processing and language comprehension more broadly.

KEYWORDS: gender processing, agreement hierarchy, epicene, agreement, gender selection task, reaction time.

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■ EXAMINING CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR IN THE LEGAL DISCOURSE OF THE EU ACQUIS

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U ovom radu se analiziraju pojmovne metafore u malom specijalizovanom korpusu koji sačinjavaju tri pravna akta iz pravnih tekovina EU: po jedna uredba, direktiva i odluka. U radu se dovodi u pitanje ustaljena pretpostavka da u pravnom diskursu nema figurativnog jezika, tako što se pokazuje da su pojmovne metafore neodvojiv i funkcionalan element pravnih tekstova. Istraživanje se zasniva na teoriji pojmovne metafore, koju su uveli Lejko i Džonson (Lakoff/Johnson 2003), a koja razlikuje tri glavna tipa metafora – strukturne, orijentacione i ontološke – pri čemu se utvrđuje u kojoj meri je svaki od ovih tipova zastupljen u korpusu. Za identifikaciju metaforičkih izraza i njihovih natkriljujućih preslikavanja korišćene su dve komplementarne metode: Procedura za identifikaciju metafora (MIP), koju je razvila grupa naučnika Pragglejaz (Pragglejaz Group 2007), i Stenova metoda koja se sastoji iz pet koraka (Steen 1999), a koja otkriva pojmovna preslikavanja prema modelu CILJNI DOMEN JE IZVORNI DOMEN. Pojedinačna analiza odabranih primera prikazana je u formatu koji je takođe predložila grupa Pragglejaz (Pragglejaz Group 2007). Rezultati potvrđuju da sva tri tipa metafora prožimaju analizirane pravne tekstove. Ontološke metafore su najzastupljenije, pri čemu se najviše ponavljaju metafore sa izvornim domenom SADRŽATELJ i POSEDOVANJE, kao i brojne metafore koje proizlaze iz personifikacije. Strukturne metafore su takođe široko zastupljene u sva tri pravna akta, a najčešće preslikavanje je DONOŠENJE ZAKONA JE PUTOVANJE. Orijetacione metafore se javljaju ređe, pre svega kroz preslikavanja PODREĐENO JE DOLE i VIŠE JE GORE. Mnogi metaforički izrazi se ponavljaju u više pravnih akata, pri čemu se pojmovi iz izvornog domena preslikavaju na niz različitih pojmova iz ciljnog domena. U korpusu je identifikovano ukupno 35 preslikavanja, od kojih većina spada u konvencionalne metafore. Reč *under* je najčešća metaforički upotrebljena reč u korpusu. Ova analiza potvrđuje da pravni jezik obiluje metaforički upotrebljenim izrazima, što dovodi do širokog spektra pojmovnih metafora sva tri tipa, koje imaju važnu ulogu u strukturiranju pravnog značenja i u konceptualizaciji apstraktnih pravnih principa unutar zakonodavnog okvira EU.

Ključne reči: pojmovna metafora, preslikavanje, pravni diskurs, pravo EU, grupa Pragglejaz.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades, several subtypes of language for specific purposes (LSP) have gained considerable autonomy from language for general purposes (LGP). These subtypes of LSP are used by professionals in their respective fields, e.g. doctors or lawyers, and their primary goal is to get a clear message across with very little room left for emotive features. The language that they use is meant to be unambiguous and as precise as possible, contrary to what we experience in regular everyday speech or literary language (Twardzisz 2014: 238). The language of the law (or legal language) is one of those subtypes of LSP and was long perceived as being virtually devoid of any figurative elements (like metaphors) and other similar devices (Tiersma 1999: 128). Wojtczak and Witczak-Plisiecka substantiate this claim further by pointing out that lawyers often explicitly deny that the texts may at all be phrased in a metaphorical way (2019: 274).

However, with the publishing of *Metaphors We Live By* in 1980, a seminal work by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, the very notion of metaphor started gradually shifting from being a language phenomenon to being a mental one (Gražytė 2017: 71). Understanding them in this way, this research aims to show that metaphors, in spite of being both understudied and underestimated in legal language (Jumanca 2012: 366), are an inseparable element in this field. This is evident in one of the most frequent expressions of legal language – *to break the law*, which maps a concept that lay people are more likely to be familiar with onto a more abstract concept. That is to say, the actions of a person who does not obey the law are equated with the actions of a person who inflicts physical damage to something. In the words of Wojtczak and Witczak-Plisiecka, “[t]he concepts of law, even the simplest ones, such as that of the ‘legal person’ or ‘crime’, draw on metaphorical imagery and involve metaphor-related processes which can be seen as important in the course of legal interpretation” (2019: 273). The main hypothesis behind this research is that figurative expressions in the form of conceptual metaphor constitute an integral part of the language of the law, playing a not insignificant role in it, despite the widely accepted belief that legal language is free of such expressions. This is exemplified through a number of different types of metaphors being used in various legal acts of EU legislation.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The position of metaphor within the scope of cognitive linguistics is of central importance and it was assumed when *Metaphors We Live By*, a highly influential book in this field written by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, was published in 1980. It extends the limits of metaphor to those of a cognitive mechanism used to perceive external surroundings, making it indispensable to the everyday use of language rather than just a figure of speech. At the very beginning of *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson suggest that “metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action” (2003: 3). Wojtczak and Witczak-Plisiecka further argue that “metaphor is an omnipresent element of human categorization, a predominant tool thanks to which people may organize their thoughts about the world” (2019: 275). Developing conceptual metaphor theory, Lakoff and Johnson claim “that most of our normal conceptual system is metaphorically structured; that is, most concepts are partially understood in terms

of other concepts" (2003: 56). If the entire notion of metaphor is approached from this different angle, it adopts a new function of being a conceptual mechanism. That is to say, conceptual metaphor occurs when we encounter abstract concepts that are not part of our everyday personal experience and try to explain them with concepts that are experientially more familiar to us. Such mental projections provide answers as to how we explain new concepts and they prompted Lakoff and Johnson to come up with the term *mapping*, which they define as systematic correspondences across conceptual domains shaped by our bodily experiences (2003: 246). Kövecses further explains such domains suggesting "[t]he conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain" (Kövecses 2002: 4). Therefore, the primary conceptual pattern behind conceptual metaphor is TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN. Typical examples of conceptual metaphor would be sentences like "He *attacked every weak point* in my argument" or "I'd never *won* an argument with him" (Lakoff/Johnson 2003: 4), in which it is clear that the concept of argument is linked to metaphorical phrases suggesting war, which means that the conceptual pattern behind this conceptual metaphor is ARGUMENT IS WAR.

Various groups of metaphorical expressions are based on the metaphorical extension of underlying image schemata. Johnson defines such schemata as recurrent patterns, shapes and regularities in activities that put our actions, perceptions and conceptions in order (Johnson 1987: 29). He also points out that image schemata are more general and more abstract than concrete rich images, consisting of a small number of parts and relations, by virtue of which they can structure indefinitely many perceptions, images and events (Johnson 1987: 29). Examples of such metaphorical expressions are presented in Section 5 of this paper.

There are various criteria according to which conceptual metaphors can be classified. On the basis of cognitive functions that metaphors perform, Lakoff and Johnson suggest three types of conceptual metaphor: structural, ontological, and orientational (2003: 14, 25).

In the first type of conceptual metaphor, *structural metaphors*, "the source domain provides a relatively rich knowledge structure for the target concept" (Kövecses 2002: 33). Lakoff and Johnson define them as "cases where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another" (2003: 14). Such metaphors were touched upon earlier in this section when the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR was provided as an example. To further exemplify this kind of metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson suggest the TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT metaphor, illustrating it in sentences such as "The time for action has arrived" and "I look forward to the arrival of Christmas" (2003: 42). Kövecses provides the explanation for this metaphor by introducing the following mappings: "[t]imes are things. The passing of time is motion. Future times are in front of the observer; past times are behind the observer. One thing is moving, the other is stationary" (2002: 33). These mappings help us understand the nature of structural metaphors as it would be difficult to visualize abstract concepts without them.

Ontological metaphors offer something vastly different in that they help us perceive abstract experiences as tangible entities and they "provide much less cognitive structuring for target concepts than structural ones do" (Kövecses 2002: 34). Lakoff and

Johnson state that “[o]nce we can identify our experiences as entities or substances, we can refer to them, categorize them, group them, and quantify them – and, by this means, reason about them” (2003: 25). Inasmuch as these categories (e.g. substances, entities and containers) are too general, we don’t get to learn much about target concepts and “[t]his is, as has been seen, the job of structural metaphors, which provide an elaborate structure for abstract concepts” (Kövecses 2002: 34). This is why ontological metaphors are sometimes accompanied by structural metaphors. Let’s take a look at the MIND IS A POSSESSION metaphor in the phrase “my mind.” We know very little of this concept, but “[o]nce a “nonthing” experience has received the status of a thing through an ontological metaphor, the experience so conceptualized can be structured further by means of structural metaphors” (Kövecses 2002: 35). For example, we can apply the MACHINE metaphor to provide more structure, as in “My mind is *rusty* this morning” (Kövecses 2002: 35).

Another quintessential ontological metaphor is the CONTAINER metaphor, which is very frequent as we tend to perceive many abstract experiences as something that we can both move into or out of. Lakoff and Johnson perceive people as containers bounded by the surface of their own skin and thus separated from the rest of the world and they claim that “[w]e project our own in-out orientation onto other physical objects that are bounded by surfaces” (2003: 29). For instance, there is a CONTAINER metaphor in the sentence “There’s a lot of land in Kansas” because Kansas is a US state with clear boundaries (Lakoff/Johnson 2003: 30). These metaphors are based on the metaphorical extension of underlying image schemata related to our experience of physical containment and Johnson calls these schemata “an ordinary instance of image-schematic structure” adding that “[o]ur encounter with containment and boundedness is one of the most pervasive features of our bodily experience” (Johnson 1987: 21).

Finally, personification allows us to attribute human characteristics to abstract experiences and we can thus perceive it as an ontological metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson state that “[p]erhaps the most obvious ontological metaphors are those where the physical object is further specified as being a person” (2003: 33). For example, inflation is personified in the sentence “Inflation has attacked the foundation of our economy” (Lakoff/Johnson 2003: 33).

Orientational metaphors, the third and final kind of conceptual metaphor, deal with various spatial relationships between different concepts. Such relationships are binary-structured such as UP-DOWN, IN-OUT, FRONT-BACK or CENTRAL-PERIPHERAL (Kóczy 2018: 116). These metaphors “provide even less conceptual structure for target concepts than ontological ones. Their cognitive job, instead, is to make a set of target concepts coherent in our conceptual system” (Kövecses 2002: 35). For instance, MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN are typical orientational metaphors, which is exemplified in sentences like “My income *rose* last year” and “His income *fell* last year”. The physical basis for these metaphors is the following: “[i]f you add more of a substance or of physical objects to a container or pile, the level goes up” (Lakoff/Johnson 2003: 16). Orientational metaphors are highly entrenched metaphors and Johnson illustrates this by providing several examples of IN-OUT orientations that might occur in the first few minutes of an ordinary day such as waking *out* of a deep sleep and peering *out* from beneath the covers *into* your room (Johnson 1987: 30). He points out that “[i]n a few ordinary minutes you have performed

more orientational feats than you could ever keep track of [...] [a]nd these are only a fraction of *in-out* orientations, let alone those for *up-down*, *near-far*, *left-right*, *front-back*, *toward-away from*, and so forth" (Johnson 1987: 31). Orientational metaphors are also based on the metaphorical extension of underlying image schemata. The OUT schema would be a perfect example. Johnson provides a sentence "Tell me your story again, but leave out the minor details" and analyzing it, he claims that it is "a primitive case of metaphorical extension of the preconceptual OUT schema" and adds that "the OUT schema, which applies prototypically to spatial orientation, is metaphorically projected onto the cognitive domain" (Johnson 1987: 34).

Conceptual metaphors can also be classified according to other respects, e.g. conventionality. The term *conventional metaphors* is used "in the sense of well established and well entrenched" and "speakers of English use them naturally and effortlessly for their normal, everyday purposes" (Kövecses 2002: 30). At the opposite end of the spectrum are *unconventional metaphors*, which Kövecses describes as metaphors that are "not worn out, clichéd linguistic expressions" and "we probably couldn't find these linguistic expressions in a dictionary or hear them every day from ordinary speakers for everyday purposes of communication" (Kövecses 2002: 31). He illustrates this through the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor by providing two examples – "He had a head start in life" and "Two roads diverged in a wood, and I – I took the one less traveled by" (Kövecses 2002: 31) – the former of which is conventional and the latter (lines from "The Road Not Taken" by Robert Frost) is unconventional. Most examples provided in Section 5 of this paper instantiate conventional metaphors.

Although Lakoff and Johnson clearly stated in the 2003 edition of *Metaphors We Live By* that the original division of conceptual metaphors into structural, ontological and orientational was artificial as it might be quite difficult to tell the exact type in most cases (Lakoff/Johnson 2003: 264), this classification is used as the fundament for the purposes of this paper. The degree to which conceptual metaphor is used in the legal acts of the European Union is evaluated according to the presence of all three types in the selected corpus.

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

A multitude of other authors have studied figurative elements in legal language, claiming that metaphor is an inseparable part of it. Among others, Bosmajian (1992) examines the specific genre of judicial opinions and points out the great importance of figurative language for judicial decision making. Hibbitts (1994) analyzes the shift from visually-oriented to aurally-oriented figures of speech in legal language. Stålhammar explores grammatical metaphor and metonymy in EU documents and concludes that it is "frequently used in general Swedish language usage and would facilitate the writing, as well as the reading of Swedish European Union texts" (2006: 115). Twardzisz focuses on a corpus consisting of commercial contracts and asserts that "legal language employs metaphor as a convenient tool which makes the comprehension of otherwise abstract concepts easier" (2014: 251).

There is a vast number of different types of legal texts whose metaphorical dimension can be analyzed, ranging from statutes and legislation, court opinions and

judgements, wills and trusts to contracts and agreements. The main focus of this research is on examining conceptual metaphor in the very specific genre of legal acts – the EU acquis, which makes it different from the studies mentioned in the previous paragraph. Although Stålhammar's (2006) research also focuses on EU documents, it is still different in that it deals with the notion of grammatical metaphor, the term introduced by Halliday and Martin, who define it as "a substitution of one grammatical class, or one grammatical structure, by another" (1993: 79). This paper, on the other hand, centers around conceptual metaphor.

4. METHODOLOGY AND CORPUS

This research uses a two-stage methodological framework:

- the *identification* of lexical units conveying metaphorical meaning
- the *analysis* of these lexical units by way of applying the basic principles of conceptual metaphor theory delineated in Section 2 to the identified metaphors

The first stage included the identification of a small specialized corpus relevant to this research. Three different legal acts comprising the secondary sources of European Union law were carefully chosen so as to differ with respect to the type of legal act and its subject matter. They were also chosen without any prior insight into the extent of the metaphorical and non-metaphorical usage of lexical units therein. In addition, with a view to making this research as contemporary as possible, it was ensured that the selected acts were published no earlier than January 2023. The length of the entire corpus is 9804 words. The acts that were selected as a corpus for the purposes of writing this paper are as follows:

- 32023R2419 – Regulation (EU) 2023/2419 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 October 2023 on the labelling of organic pet food (published in the *Official Journal of the European Union* on 27 October 2023) – 2355 words
- 32024L1654 – Directive (EU) 2024/1654 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 31 May 2024 amending Directive (EU) 2019/1153 as regards access by competent authorities to centralised bank account registries through the interconnection system and technical measures to facilitate the use of transaction records (published in the *Official Journal of the European Union* on 19 June 2024) – 3514 words
- 32023D1461 – Decision (EU) 2023/1461 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 12 July 2023 providing macro-financial assistance to the Republic of North Macedonia (published in the *Official Journal of the European Union* on 17 July 2023) – 3935 words

Selecting the appropriate corpus was followed by identifying lexical units with metaphorical meaning within the aforementioned legal acts, which was a lengthy process accounting for most of this research. However, not all the lexical units were listed in the corresponding section of this paper due to its limit regarding length. Instead,

only a portion of these units was provided and the selection was made according to their frequency and diversity with regards to the type of conceptual metaphor. The identification process itself was conducted using a method called the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP), which was established by a group of scholars known as Pragglejaz Group (2007). This procedure was developed with the aim of creating a unique, explicit and reliable method that can be used by scholars for research projects of various kinds since linguists often “differ in their intuitions about what constitutes a metaphoric word or phrase” and because they “often do not provide criteria in their empirical investigations for specifying what is, and what is not, metaphorical” (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 1–2). The MIP is a highly detailed procedure since adopting it means carefully analyzing every single lexical unit in the text/discourse in an attempt to determine whether it bears any metaphorical meaning. Having picked out every lexical unit (usually just one word), their meaning in context should be established, whereupon it should be determined whether they have a more basic contemporary meaning (more concrete, related to bodily action, more precise or historically older). If the unit does have a more basic meaning and if the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it, that lexical unit can be marked as metaphorical (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3).

The second stage of the research was the analysis of the lexical units selected in the first stage in terms of how they relate to conceptual metaphor theory, the outline of which is provided in Section 2 of this paper. In other words, every metaphorical expression identified in the first stage and listed in the corresponding section of this paper is analyzed and presented in the form of the primary conceptual pattern behind conceptual metaphor – TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN. Getting from metaphorically used words to this pattern is done according to the method proposed by Gerard Steen (1999). He was the first scholar in cognitive linguistics to tackle this issue, the process he described as building “a bridge between linguistic and conceptual metaphor by proposing a series of five analytical steps. Together they may form the beginning of a procedure for conceptual metaphor identification in discourse” (Steen 1999: 57). He also tried to explain what leads linguists to arrive at certain conceptual mappings in departing from metaphorical expressions in discourse (Steen 1999: 58). In the 2011 version of the method, the five steps are as follows:

1. Identification of metaphor-related words
2. Identification of metaphor-related propositions
3. Identification of open metaphorical comparison
4. Identification of analogical structure
5. Identification of cross-domain mapping (Steen 2011: 94)

Steen applies the steps to the sentence “Lakoff attacked Glucksberg” (2011: 94). The first step of the procedure is “the identification of any metaphor-related words in a stretch of text” (Steen 2011: 94), which corresponds to the MIP, and it is the word “attacked” that is used metaphorically in this example. The second step is the identification of metaphor-related propositions in which “non-metaphor related words are indexed as evoking target-domain concepts whereas metaphor-related words are indexed as

evoking source-domain concepts" (Steen 2011: 95). The corresponding proposition in this case would be:

P1 (ATTACKS LAKOFF GLUCKSBERG) (Steen 2011: 94)

Deignan describes the third step as a procedure in which "the proposition is rewritten as two incomplete propositions, one for the source domain, one for the target domain" (2017: 105), which produces:

SIM {*F*, *x*, *y*
[*F* (LAKOFF, GLUCKSBERG)]*t*
[ATTACK (*x*, *y*)]*s*} (Steen 2011: 94)

In this notation, *F* indicates an activity that is not explicitly denoted, *x* and *y* indicate entities that are not explicitly denoted and SIM denotes similarity, the analogy derived from which comprises Step 4 (Deignan 2017: 105), which is as follows:

SIM
[CRITICIZE (LAKOFF, GLUCKSBERG)]*t*
[ATTACK (ATTACKER, ATTACKED)]*s* (Steen 2011: 94)

In the last step, "the source-target domain mapping is constructed, which, in terms of CMT, generates a conceptual metaphor" (Deignan 2017: 105). The mapping is ordered according to the format popularized by cognitive linguists and the most likely label in this example would be CRITICISM IS ATTACK or ARGUMENT IS WAR, which is a more general label based on a more encompassing set of data (Steen 2011: 96–97).

Finally, the explication of the results obtained and discussion on these results are provided in this paper as a separate subsection with the aim of creating a link between the listed examples and analyzing the corpus as a whole. That is to say, the entire corpus is studied with regards to the usage of all three types of conceptual metaphor in it – structural, ontological and orientational.

One of the limitations of this research is a relatively small corpus consisting only of legal acts of the secondary sources of European Union law. To increase diversity, three different types of legal acts were chosen – one regulation, one directive and one decision. On the other hand, there are advantages of using small specialized corpora. For instance, they allow a much closer link between the corpus and the contexts in which the texts in the corpus were produced. In addition, while very large corpora give insights into patterns in the language as a whole, smaller specialized corpora give insights into patterns of language use in particular settings (Koester 2010: 67). Finally, since specialized corpora are carefully targeted, they are more likely to reliably represent a particular register or genre than general corpora (Koester 2010: 69).

The final stage aims to show that all the aforementioned types of conceptual metaphor are present in each of the three acts. Still, the results are by no means meant to generalize the main hypothesis of this research and broaden it to a wider corpus. Instead, this paper aims to conduct outreach regarding metaphorical expressions in

legal language to other linguists and researchers and bring about further discussion and analysis.

5. PRESENT RESEARCH AND RESULTS

5.1. METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The first stage of the research is related to the identification of metaphorical expressions using MIP (Pragglejaz Group 2007) in all three legal acts the corpus is comprised of. These documents abound in such expressions, making it virtually impossible for all of them to be analyzed in this section. Therefore, emphasis is laid on pinpointing several representative metaphorical expressions of each type in every document so as to exemplify the diversity of such expressions. Examples of certain subtypes of conceptual metaphor are also presented in this section. For instance, CONTAINER metaphors and metaphors arising from personification are subgroups falling into the category of ontological metaphors and examples of lexical units that belong to these two subcategories are also provided in this section.

Two very important points should be stressed before the list of examples is provided. Firstly, it is sometimes very difficult to tell whether a word bears a metaphorical meaning or not. The scholars of Pragglejaz Group state that they "also disagreed over certain cases, and sometimes had different reasons for supporting the same judgments as to whether a specific word should be judged as metaphorical" (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 13). And secondly, placing metaphors in one of the three categories can be quite arbitrary. Lakoff and Johnson argue that "[a]ll metaphors are structural (in that they map structures to structures); all are ontological (in that they create target domain entities); and many are orientational (in that they map orientational image schemas)" (Lakoff/Johnson 2003: 264).

5.1.1. REGULATION (EU) 2023/2419

1. *[T]he pet food sector has a role to play in contributing to the objectives of the European Green Deal[.]* (Preamble to Regulation (EU) 2023/2419)

role

(a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, "role" indicates that the pet food sector is one of the contributors to the objectives of the European Green Deal.

(b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning of the word "role" implies a character assigned or assumed or a part played by an actor or singer (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: By way of mapping the concept of playing a role to the concept of contribution, we can understand that the pet food sector is one of many contributors to the objectives of the European Green Deal.

Conceptual metaphor: CONTRIBUTION IS A PLAY (structural metaphor)

2. *Moreover, such feed cannot bear the organic production logo of the European Union.* (Preamble to Regulation (EU) 2023/2419)

bear

(a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, “to bear” means having a production logo on the pack of the product.

(b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning of the word “bear” implies supporting the weight of something (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: We can understand that “bearing a logo” means having a logo printed on the pack. In this example, a physical object is specified as being a person (a bearer), which is another example of ontological metaphor (it was mentioned in Section 2 of this paper that personification falls into the category of ontological metaphors). In addition, metaphorically using the word “bear” further implies that the object in this sentence, which is the organic production logo, can be perceived as a burden, which is a typical object following the verb “to bear.” This helps us better understand the concept of logo on account of the concept of burden being a more concrete and more tangible entity.

Conceptual metaphor: A PACK IS A BEARER / A LOGO IS A BURDEN (ontological metaphor)

The word “bear” is also used metaphorically in Decision (EU) 2023/1461, but the context is slightly different so it is explicated separately in Subsection 5.1.3.

3. [T]he Union may adopt measures, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity[.] (Preamble to Regulation (EU) 2023/2419)

adopt

(a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, “to adopt measures” means choosing a plan or method for dealing with a situation or problem.

(b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning of the word “adopt” suggests taking someone or something by choice into a relationship such as taking a child born to other parents voluntarily as one’s own (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: We can understand that “adopting measures” means choosing a method for dealing with a situation, even though this sentence provides no information pertaining to a child being voluntarily taken by someone other than its parents as their own.

Conceptual metaphor: MEASURES ARE CHILDREN (ontological metaphor)

This example was selected on account of its frequent usage in all legal acts of the secondary sources of European Union law. Concluding the preamble to every regulation/directive/decision with *has/have adopted this regulation/directive/decision* makes this conceptual metaphor highly entrenched in all of the aforementioned types of legal acts. It is also very frequent in other parts of legal acts as well, not just at the very end of the preamble.

4. *consumer confidence and fair competition between operators in the pet food sector* (Preamble to Regulation (EU) 2023/2419)

in

(a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, it is clear that the phrase “operators in the pet food sector” refers to people whose job is in one way or another related to the production of or trade in pet food.

(b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning of “in” suggests that it is used as a function word to indicate inclusion, location or position within limits (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: We can understand that the operators in question are not physically positioned or located inside anything. Instead, they are simply employees whose field of work is related to pet food.

Conceptual metaphor: PET FOOD SECTOR IS A CONTAINER (ontological metaphor)

5. *Having regard to the opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee* (Preamble to Regulation (EU) 2023/2419)

of

(a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, the word “of” suggests possession since it is part of a Norman (analytic) genitive construction.

(b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning of the word “of” is manifold. Being a function word, it can indicate a point of reckoning, origin, cause, parts, belonging or a possessive relationship (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: The contextual meaning of the word “of” corresponds to one of its basic meanings. However, it implies one entity possessing another entity which is abstract. Once conceptualized as such, similarly to the conceptual metaphor MIND IS A POSSESSION, which is mentioned in Section 2 of this paper, an abstract experience receives the status of a real experience through an ontological metaphor.

Conceptual metaphor: AN OPINION IS A POSSESSION (ontological metaphor)

6. *Under that Regulation, non-organic ingredients of agricultural origin may be authorised for all types of organic feed[.]* (Preamble to Regulation (EU) 2023/2419)

under

(a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, “under” means “according to” or “in line with.”

(b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning of the word “under” indicates being in a position below or beneath something (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: The contextual meaning of the word “under” implies that certain rules set out in the regulation have to be followed by those to whom that regulation applies. In other words, those who are subordinate have to abide by the rules laid down by those who are superordinate. In this particular case, permission is granted to companies operating in the pet food sector to use non-organic ingredients of agricultural origin in the production of all types of organic feed. That is to say, if it weren't for the superordinate (the Regulation) to give this permission, the subordinates (the companies) would not be able to legally produce organic feed in the aforementioned way.

Conceptual metaphor: SUBORDINATE IS DOWN (orientational metaphor)

5.1.2. DIRECTIVE (EU) 2024/1654

7. [m]easures to facilitate access to law enforcement information by Financial Intelligence Units (FIUs) for the prevention and combating of money laundering (Article 1(1)(a) of Directive (EU) 2024/1654)

combating

(a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, if used as a verb, “combat” means attempting to stop something harmful from happening.

(b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning of “combat” is to engage in a fight (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: The concept of physically fighting someone or something is mapped onto the concept of prevention, which is less concrete, and it makes it easier for us to understand that combating money laundering means stopping or preventing money laundering because we perceive it as an adversary that should be fought.

Conceptual metaphor: PREVENTION IS COMBAT (structural metaphor) / *MONEY LAUNDERING IS AN ADVERSARY* (ontological metaphor)

The word “combat” is metaphorically used twice in this Directive (the other one can be seen in Example 8 of this paper). The word “fight” can be metaphorically used in a very similar fashion to “combat” and there are three examples of this in Decision (EU) 2023/1461, one of which is provided below:

North Macedonia should take appropriate measures relating to the prevention of, and fight against, fraud, corruption and any other irregularities linked to that assistance. (Preamble to Decision (EU) 2023/1461)

8. *combating serious criminal offences [...] by swiftly tracing, freezing and confiscating illegally obtained assets* (Preamble to Directive (EU) 2024/1654)

freezing

(a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, freezing assets suggests officially and legally preventing their use.

(b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning of “freeze” is to become congealed into ice by cold (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: The basic meaning of freezing, which is nothing other than a phase transition from a liquid state of matter into a solid state of matter, suggests restricting or completely preventing any movement. For example, liquids, unlike solids, always fill its container and take on a new shape. This prevention is mapped onto a new concept in this example and we can understand that it is the use of assets that is prevented.

Conceptual metaphor: PREVENTION IS FREEZING (structural metaphor)

9. *procedural rights, including the right to an effective remedy and to a fair trial* (Preamble to Directive (EU) 2024/1654)

remedy

(a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, the word “remedy” is used the way it is normally used in legal English and it indicates a legal means of finding a solution or solving a problem.

(b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning of “remedy” is a medicine, application or treatment that relieves or cures a disease (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: The contextual meaning suggests solving a problem, but the basic meaning also indicates solving a problem by way of curing a disease, which makes it easier for us to understand the meaning of the word “remedy” in this example.

Conceptual metaphor: SOLVING A PROBLEM IS A CURE (structural metaphor)

10. *Member States shall ensure that technical and organisational measures are in place to ensure the security of the data to high technological standards[.]* (Article 1(5)(b) of Directive (EU) 2024/1654)

high

(a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, the word “high” indicates the level of quality and, in this case, it means “good.”

(b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning of the word “high” is to be rising or extending upward a great distance or to be taller than average, usual or expected (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: The basic meaning of the word “high” implies a physical feature having nothing to do with the level of quality. Still, we can understand that the phrase “high standards” means “standards of good quality” because we tend to perceive things that are higher than others as something positive, whereas things that are lower than others are perceived as something negative.

Conceptual metaphor: GOOD IS UP (orientational metaphor)

Mapping a vertical spatial concept onto the concept of quality is a quintessential orientational metaphor. This metaphor ascribes positive features to entities that are up, high or rising, whereas entities that are down, low or falling are portrayed as negative.

5.1.3. DECISION (EU) 2023/1461

11. *[T]he Commission put that request on hold because the country's economy was still proving quite resilient at the time[.]* (Preamble to Decision (EU) 2023/1461)

on hold

(a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, the phrase “on hold” implies being in a state of intentional and indefinite suspension.

(b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning of “on hold” is that of being “in a state of interruption during a telephone call when one party switches to another line without totally disconnecting the other party” (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: This example is based on the BLOCKAGE schema, which Johnson describes as “obstacles that block or resist our force” (Johnson 1987: 45). In this sentence, the process of responding to the request is delayed because of the economy being resilient. In other words, the economy acts as a sort of blockage.

Conceptual metaphor: ECONOMY IS A BLOCKAGE (structural metaphor)

12. This decision shall enter into force on the third day following that of its publication in the Official Journal of the European Union. (Article 9 of Decision (EU) 2023/1461)

enter

(a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, “to enter” means to make a legal act valid or operative.

(b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning of the word “enter” is that of going or coming in (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: The concept of entering is an example of the JOURNEY metaphor and it is mapped onto the concept of passing a law. This metaphor is based on the FROM-TO or PATH schema, which “consists of three elements (a source point A, a terminal point B and a vector tracing a path between them) and a relation (specified as a force vector moving from A to B)” (Johnson 1987: 28). In this particular example, the decision makes a journey (the process of entering, which stands for the vector) from not being in force (the source point) to being in force (the terminal point).

Conceptual metaphor: PASSING A LAW IS A JOURNEY (structural metaphor)

This metaphor is deeply entrenched in this kind of discourse since it is stated at the very end of every legal act that it shall enter into force on a specified day.

13. North Macedonia shall bear all costs incurred by the Union which relate to the borrowing and lending operations under this Decision. (Article 5(4) of Decision (EU) 2023/1461)

bear

(a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, “to bear” means to pay all costs incurred by the Union.

(b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning of the word “bear” implies supporting the weight of something (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning*: The concept of bearing something is related to bodily action. Therefore, being a more concrete entity, it is mapped onto

the concept of paying. In addition, similarly to the word “logo” in Example 2 in this subsection, the word “costs” can be perceived as a burden, which is a typical object following the verb “to bear.”

Conceptual metaphor: PAYING IS BEARING (structural metaphor) / COSTS ARE A BURDEN (ontological metaphor)

14. *Considering the potentially significant impact of assistance of more than EUR 90 000 000, it is appropriate that the examination procedure as specified in Regulation (EU) No 182/2011 be used for operations above that threshold.* (Preamble to Decision (EU) 2023/1461)

above

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, the word “above” indicates a sum of more than 90 million euros.

(b) *basic meaning:* The basic meaning of the word “above” is that of being in or moving to a higher place (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning of the prepositional phrase “above that threshold” implies more money than the aforementioned sum and it is expressed using a word indicating a physical position. In other words, more money is associated with being physically positioned in a higher place, and analogous to that, less money is associated with being physically positioned in a lower place.

Conceptual metaphor: MORE IS UP (orientational metaphor)

5.2. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

After the completion of the first two stages of the research, namely the identification and analysis of the selected group of metaphors, the third and final stage deals with looking into these metaphors in a broader sense. The chosen examples have been analyzed on an individual basis thus far in this paper. These analyses were presented according to the format proposed by Pragglejazz Group, the outline of which was provided in Section 4. The aim of this section is to find a link between these examples and analyze the entire corpus with regards to the frequency of conceptual metaphors being used and their diversity.

The main goal of the identification stage was to identify conceptual metaphors of all three types (according to the classification suggested by Lakoff and Johnson, which is mentioned in Section 2). Using MIP, an exceptionally large number of metaphorical expressions was identified in the three acts the corpus is comprised of. Not all of them were selected for individual analysis in the previous subsection. Instead, only the ones that are more representative of the three types of conceptual metaphor and more similar to the examples provided in Section 2 were examined in great detail. All metaphorical expressions identified in the corpus brought about a total of 35 mappings.

Structural metaphors, the first type of conceptual metaphors, are used in all three acts as exemplified in the previous subsection. Various concepts belonging to the source domain, namely PLAY, COMBAT, FREEZING, CURE, BLOCKAGE, JOURNEY and BEARING, are mapped onto concepts which are less concrete such as CONTRIBUTION, IMPLEMENTATION, PREVENTION, SOLVING A PROBLEM, ECONOMY, PASSING A LAW and PAYING. Many of the metaphors arising from these source domain concepts are used multiple times, in more than one act and they are often mapped onto different target domain concepts, which can be seen in the table below:

target domain	source domain	times used (density – count per 1,000 words)	documents
CONTRIBUTION IMPLEMENTATION	PLAY	2 (0.204)	Regulation (EU) 2023/2419 Directive (EU) 2024/1654
PREVENTION	COMBAT	2 (0.204)	Directive (EU) 2024/1654
PREVENTION	FIGHT	3 (0.306)	Decision (EU) 2023/1461
PREVENTION	FREEZING	3 (0.306)	Directive (EU) 2024/1654
SOLVING A PROBLEM	CURE	1 (0.102)	Directive (EU) 2024/1654
ECONOMY	BLOCKAGE	1 (0.102)	Decision (EU) 2023/1461
PASSING A LAW	JOURNEY	8 (0.816)	Regulation (EU) 2023/2419 Directive (EU) 2024/1654 Decision (EU) 2023/1461
PAYING	BEARING	2 (0.204)	Decision (EU) 2023/1461

Figure 1. Structural metaphors

Ontological metaphors are more numerous than any of the other two types on account of a virtually endless list of CONTAINER and POSSESSION metaphors, both of which are highly entrenched and sometimes difficult to identify as metaphors. For instance, it is stated in one of the final articles of every single regulation, directive and decision that it shall enter into force on a specified day following its publication in the *Official Journal of the European Union*, which is an example of a CONTAINER metaphor because of the word “in” not denoting the physical location or position of anything. In addition, countless instances of the word “of” denoting possession indicate a plethora of POSSESSION metaphors. There is a multitude of metaphors arising from personification and a few of them were analyzed in the previous subsection. Such metaphors, along with a selection of the other ontological metaphors identified in the corpus, are listed in the table below:

target domain	source domain	times used (density – count per 1,000 words)	documents
PACK NORTH MACEDONIA	BEARER	3 (0.306)	Regulation (EU) 2023/2419 Decision (EU) 2023/1461
LOGO COSTS	BURDEN	3 (0.306)	Regulation (EU) 2023/2419 Decision (EU) 2023/1461
MEASURES RULES REGULATION DIRECTIVE SPECIFICATIONS ACTS MEMORANDUM DECISION BUDGET	CHILDREN	15 (1.530)	Regulation (EU) 2023/2419 Directive (EU) 2024/1654 Decision (EU) 2023/1461
MONEY LAUNDERING PREDICATE OFFENCES TERRORIST FINANCING CRIMINAL OFFENCES CORRUPTION ORGANIZED CRIME FRAUD IRREGULARITIES	ADVERSARY	5 (0.510)	Directive (EU) 2024/1654 Decision (EU) 2023/1461

Figure 2. Ontological metaphors

There is a very limited number of different orientational metaphors to be found in the corpus. However, the word “under,” when conveying the same meaning as “according to,” is quite frequent and is metaphorically used as many as twenty times in all three acts. This metaphor implies that those who are “under” are subordinate to their superordinate counterparts, which range from regulations, directives and decisions to law, rules, procedures and arrangements. Selected orientational metaphors are provided in the table below:

target domain	source domain	times used (density – count per 1,000 words)	documents
SUBORDINATE	DOWN	20 (2.040)	Regulation (EU) 2023/2419 Directive (EU) 2024/1654 Decision (EU) 2023/1461
GOOD	UP	1 (0.102)	Directive (EU) 2024/1654
MORE	UP	8 (0.816)	Regulation (EU) 2023/2419 Decision (EU) 2023/1461

Figure 3. Orientational metaphors

6. CONCLUSION

The research presented in this paper examined the usage of conceptual metaphor in legal discourse, the identification of which was done according to the combination of the procedure established by Pragglejaz Group (2007) and the method proposed by Steen (1999). Having identified the metaphors, the results were presented in the format proposed by the same group of scholars with a view to proving the main hypothesis behind this research, which states that conceptual metaphors constitute an integral part of the language of the law, despite the widely accepted belief that there are no such expressions in legal discourse. The results set forth in the previous section confirm that the hypothesis is plausible – the corpus does include numerous words that are metaphorically used, bringing about a diverse range of conceptual metaphors of all three types (structural, ontological and orientational) in all the acts comprising the corpus of this research. Most of the examples listed in Section 5 instantiate conventional metaphors and many of them appear several times and in more than one act, having their source domain concepts mapped onto various target domain concepts.

To conclude, the reasons behind legal discourse making use of conceptual metaphors are twofold. Firstly, since the language of the law is full of terms and phrases that denote abstract concepts, most of which are not easily accessible to lay people, it resorts to the use of metaphor in order to make the comprehension of such terms and phrases easier. And secondly, as Lakoff and Johnson claim that “most of our normal conceptual system is metaphorically structured” (2003: 56), there is no reason why legal language, as a variety of language for specific purposes, should be left immune to it, as the arbitrary dichotomy between LGP and LSP should not be understood as a borderline for the use of metaphor (Twardzisz 2014: 251).

Other authors have also examined figurative elements in legal discourse (see Section 3), but what makes this research different is that it focuses on the usage of the conceptual metaphor types of the original classification suggested by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980. Also, the corpus of this research is different in that it centers on a very specific type of legal discourse – the EU acquis.

The findings presented in this paper are obtained from analyzing a small specialized corpus and no general conclusions are meant to be drawn based on these findings. The study could be extended to a larger corpus, possibly including legal acts other than those belonging to EU law, in order to gather more quantitative and qualitative data supporting the use of metaphor in legal discourse.

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SUMMARY

EXAMINING CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR IN THE LEGAL DISCOURSE OF THE EU ACQUIS

This paper analyzes conceptual metaphors in a small specialized corpus comprising three legal acts from the EU acquis: a regulation, a directive, and a decision. It challenges the long-held assumption that legal discourse is devoid of figurative language by demonstrating that conceptual metaphors are an inherent and functional element of legal texts. The study is grounded in Conceptual Metaphor Theory, as introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (2003), which classifies metaphors into three main types – structural, orientational and ontological metaphors – and the extent to which each of these types is present in the corpus is evaluated. To identify metaphorical expressions and their underlying mappings, the research employs two complementary methods: the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP), which is developed by Pragglejaz Group (2007), and Steen's five-step method (1999), which reveals conceptual mappings following the TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN model. An individual analysis of a selected group of examples is presented according to the format which is also proposed by Pragglejaz Group (2007). The findings confirm that all three metaphor types permeate the legal texts analyzed. Ontological metaphors are the most prevalent, dominated by recurring CONTAINER and POSSESSION metaphors, along with a multitude of metaphors arising from personification. Structural metaphors are also widely used in all three acts, with PASSING A LAW IS A JOURNEY being the most common mapping. Orientational metaphors appear less frequently, primarily as SUBORDINATE IS DOWN and MORE IS UP mappings. Many metaphorical expressions occur repeatedly across legal acts, with varied source domains mapped on a range of target domain concepts. In total, 35 mappings are identified in the corpus, most of which instantiate conventional metaphors. The word "under" is the most frequent metaphorically used word in the corpus. This analysis affirms that legal language abounds in metaphorically used expressions, bringing about a diverse range of conceptual metaphors of all three types, which play a significant role in structuring legal meaning and conceptualizing abstract legal principles within the EU legislative framework.

KEYWORDS: conceptual metaphor, mapping, legal discourse, EU law, Pragglejaz Group.

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■ TREĆI GLAS: RODNA PERFORMATIVNOST I JEZIČKA REDISTRIBUCIJA AUTORITETA U PREDSEDNIČKOJ DEBATI U SAD

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Ovaj rad analizira predsedničku debatu između Kamale Haris i Donalda Trampa iz septembra 2024. godine iz perspektive kritičke analize diskursa, s fokusom na rodno obeležene stilove komunikacije i performativnost autoriteta. Cilj je da se ispita kako hibridizacija „muških“ i „ženskih“ diskurzivnih resursa doprinosi uspostavljanju i preraspodeli političke moći. Debata se posmatra kao visoko ritualizovan politički diskurs u kojem se, uz ideološke suprotnosti, ispoljavaju i rodno uslovljeni obrasci moći. Analiza je sprovedena na transkriptu debate kroz tri faze: (1) identifikaciju rodno obeleženih jezičkih strategija prema teorijskim okvirima Lakoff (1975) i Tannen (1990); (2) pragmatičku interpretaciju segmenata radi utvrđivanja njihove funkcije u konstrukciji autoriteta, uz fokus na kombinovanje „muških“ i „ženskih“ govornih modela; (3) tematsku sintezu u kojoj su prepoznati obrasci reprodukcije, zaobilaženja i transformacije rodni očekivanja. Rezultati pokazuju da Kamala Haris uspešno kombinuje asertivne i empatične strategije, čime gradi hibridni model političkog govora. Korišćenjem direktnih optužbi, imperativa i prekidanja sagovornika ona preuzima kontrolu nad tokom debate, dok narativnim i emotivnim apelima gradi kredibilitet zasnovan na bliskosti s publikom. Ključ njenog retoričkog uspeha leži u fleksibilnosti i sposobnosti prilagođavanja diskurzivnih resursa kontekstu i komunikacionim ciljevima. Analiza sugerise da moć u savremenom političkom diskursu ne proizlazi iz pripadnosti jednom rodnom registru, već iz sposobnosti njihove strateške kombinacije i manipulacije. Rod se tako pokazuje kao dinamičan, instrumentalni repertoar retoričkih sredstava, a ne fiksna kategorija identiteta. Ovakav pristup doprinosi redefinisanju pojmova autoriteta, liderstva i legitimiteta u savremenoj političkoj komunikaciji, nudeći nove uvide u proučavanje rodne performativnosti i političke retorike.

Ključne reči: rodni diskurs, politički diskurs, performativnost, autoritet, Kamala Haris, analiza diskursa.

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1. UVOD

Način na koji se komunikacija odvija, a interakcija gradi, zavisi ne samo od onoga što akteri žele da postignu, već i od toga ko su, kako ih drugi vide i koju simboličku težinu u javnosti nose. Svaka reč izgovorena u javnom prostoru nosi sa sobom čitav niz pretpostavki – o tome ko govori, iz koje pozicije, sa kakvim pravom i kolikom dozvoljenom slobodom. Poruke ne odjekuju isto kada ih izgovaraju muškarci i žene, čak i kada oni dolaze sa jednakih društvenih, političkih ili institucionalnih pozicija. Ni publika ni sagovornici ne čuju ih na isti način, niti ih vrednuju kroz iste ideološke filtere.

Dinamika javnog diskursa, u tom kontekstu, neizbežno trpi uticaj stereotipnih uverenja. Svaka javna reč ulazi u prostor koji je već zasićen značenjem, očekivanjima i istorijskim obrascima. Kao jedna od karakteristika najpodložnijih generalizacijama i predrasudama, rod učesnika u javnoj debati potencijalno oblikuje kako tok razmene, tako i njen ishod. Određuje koliko će se neka tvrdnja smatrati legitimnom ili verodostojnom, koliko će se neka emocija tumačiti kao slabost ili snaga, a neka tišina kao mudrost ili nesigurnost.

I pored nesumnjivih dostignuća žena u oblastima koje u velikoj meri određuju društveni status, poput obrazovanja, nauke i menadžmenta, rodne nejednakosti postoje su i mnogostruke. Nejednak pristup liderskim pozicijama ne može se u potpunosti objasniti samo institucionalnim barijerama, jer je duboko ukorenjen u kulturološkim obrascima i normativnim očekivanjima o „prikladnim“ ulogama za žene i muškarce. Kako istraživanja iznova pokazuju, rodni stereotipi i dalje snažno oblikuju radne uslove žena, kao i njihovu percepciju u hijerarhijskim strukturama, te vrednovanje njihovih kompetencija (Beker *et al.* 2023). Rodna platna nejednakost je globalna realnost koja odoleva reformama i retoričkom zagovaranju ravnopravnosti. Da žene širom sveta i dalje zarađuju u proseku svega 77 centi na svaki dolar koji zarade muškarci (Equal Pay Today 2025) – podatak je koji otkriva trajnu strukturalnu neravnotežu u vrednovanju ženskog rada. Još poraznija je projekcija da će, ukoliko se trenutni tempo zadrži, biti potrebno 134 godine da se ovaj jaz u potpunosti zatvori. Takva dinamika postavlja pitanje suštine promena: da li svet zaista teži ravnopravnosti ili joj se tek formalno priklanja, dok temeljne ekonomske prakse ostaju nepromenjene? Liderske kompetencije se, u skladu sa tim, često (ne)svesno vezuju za muške karakteristike, što žene stavlja u poziciju da dodatno moraju da dokazuju svoju vrednost i legitimitet u profesionalnim i javnim sferama. Proizilazi da se rodna nejednakost, pored statističke podzastupljenosti, generiše i iz načina na koji se autoritet i sposobnost vrednuju kroz rodno obeležene društvene filtere.

Američka socijalna psihološkinja Kej Dou prikazuje samo neke od osobina koje se stereotipno pripisuju ženama i muškarcima:

Muškarcima se pripisuje niz osobina koje reflektuju kompetentnost, racionalnost i asertivnost. Smatraju se nezavisnim, objektivnim, aktivnim, takmičarski i avanturistički nastrojenim, samopouzdanim i ambicioznim. Ženama se pripisuju karakteristike suprotne ovim. Smatraju se zavisnim, subjektivnim, netakmičarski i neavanturistički nastrojenim, bez samopouzdanja i neambicioznim. (Deaux 1976: 13)²

Stereotipno opažanje rodni razlika ne može se posmatrati izolovano od savremenog političkog trenutka, niti od prostora koji žene sve češće osvajaju na najistaknutijim pozicijama. Iako su rodni stereotipi i dalje prisutni, sve je više primera koji pokazuju kako žene uspevaju da ih nadigraju, preoblikuju i iskoriste kao retoričku prednost. Rodni stereotipi ne nestaju tiho – oni opstaju, prilagođavaju se i često se najjasnije očitavaju upravo u načinu na koji govorimo i slušamo druge. Žene danas sve češće zauzimaju vodeće uloge u politici, ekonomiji i društvu, ali način na koji ih javnost percipira i vrednuje njihov govor i dalje je pod uticajem ukorenjenih pretpostavki o tome kako jedna žena „treba da govori“. Jezik javnog prostora ostaje duboko obeležen rodnim očekivanjima – šta se smatra odlučnim, a šta nepristojnim, šta ubedljivim, a šta emocionalnim.

Kritička analiza diskursa upravo u tom spoju jezika i moći pronalazi polje svog istraživanja. Ne interesuje je samo *šta* je rečeno, već *kako, kada i ko* to govori – i sa kojim posledicama. Upravo zato, politička debata se nameće kao idealan kontekst za ispitivanje odnosa između jezika i moći, naročito kada je reč o rodu. Kao visoko ritualizovan i javno izložen oblik komunikacije, debata funkcioniše kao arhetipski prostor u kome se ne sukobljavaju samo političke ideje, već i stilovi govora, diskurzivne strategije i predstave o legitimnom autoritetu. U tom prostoru, način na koji se govori – intonacija, izbor reči, odnos prema sagovorniku, čak i pauze i gestovi – postaje jednako važan kao i ono što se govori. A kada se tom prostoru pridoda rodna dimenzija, politička debata postaje idealan okvir za ispitivanje pitanja kako se govornice, svesne stereotipnih očekivanja, pozicioniraju unutar diskursa moći: da li ga preuzimaju, podrivaju, ili redefinišu?

U tom kontekstu, ovaj rad za svoj korpus uzima potencijalno najvažniji politički događaj u 2024. godini – predsedničku debatu između Kamale Haris i Donalda Trampa – kako bi ispitao način na koji se rodno obeleženi komunikacijski obrasci koriste u svrhu političke moći. Fokus nije samo na kontrastu između muškog i ženskog govornog stila, već na tome kako jedna politička akterka poput Haris uspeva da manevriše između očekivanja i odstupanja, istovremeno potvrđujući i kršeći stereotipne obrasce „ženske“ komunikacije, i to čineći u svoju korist. Njen nastup se ne može svesti na imitaciju muškog modela govora, niti na dosledno sprovođenje ženskog; naprotiv, reč je o svesnom i strateškom kombinovanju elemenata oba registra, čime se kreira nova vrsta diskurzivne moći. Ona je istovremeno inkluzivna, autoritativna i retorički precizna.

2. TEORIJSKI OKVIR – KO POSTAVLJA PRAVILA?

Stereotipno opažanje rodni razlika donekle objašnjava Igli (Eagly 1987) u svojoj teoriji društvene uloge. Autorka ističe da rodna podela rada u društvu prema kojoj muškarac ima ulogu hranitelja, dok je ženi poverena uloga domaćice, utiče na ponašanja i uverenja o ženama i muškarcima. Uverenja koja nastaju kao proizvod podele rada prerastaju u očekivanja koja pojedinci i kolektiv imaju o osobinama i ponašanjima žena i muškaraca, ali i njihovim ličnim percepcijama sopstvenih sposobnosti i veština koje bi mogli ili bi trebalo da razviju. Bez obzira na to da li su pomenute razlike slika realnosti ili ne, mogu uticati na interakciju žena i muškaraca uopšte, pa samim tim i na način na koji se oblikuje javna komunikacija i diskurs moći.

Mur i Vudrou naglašavaju da zajedničke elemente i repetitivne kulturne obrasce centralne za jednu grupaciju treba shvatiti kao moguće ili čak verovatne tragove koji

bi mogli predvideti ponašanje njenih članova (Moore/Woodrow 2010: 6). Ipak, autori upozoravaju da generalizovane pretpostavke mogu dovesti do stereotipno motivisanih reakcija i samim tim imati katastrofalne posledice po uspešnost strane koja im pribegava. Takav oprez otvara prostor za kritičko sagledavanje rodno obeleženih jezičkih praksi.

Jedna od najznačajnijih lingvističkih teorija koja se bavi razlikama u govoru muškaraca i žena jeste teorija „ženskog jezika“ koju je razvila Robin Lejkof. U svojoj knjizi *Language and Woman's Place* (Lakoff 1975), autorka ukazuje na niz jezičkih karakteristika koje su često prisutne u govoru žena: jezičke ograde (hedges), upitni privesci (question tags), izrazi nesigurnosti, preterana uljudnost i izbegavanje direktnih naredbi. Lejkofova smatra da ove karakteristike nisu, kako bi se stereotipno moglo zaključiti, odraz prirodne govorne nesigurnosti već posledica društvene pozicije u kojoj se žene nalaze – pozicije u kojoj su naučene da ne izazivaju autoritet, da ne prekidaju i ne zauzimaju prostor.

Sličnu perspektivu razvija i Debora Tanen, autorka teorije različitosti ili modela dve kulture, koja postulira da žene i muškarci različito komuniciraju, ali i različito razmišljaju pa i različito delaju. Uglavnom su žene te od kojih se očekuje promena i prilagođavanje muškim standardima. Muški stil se uzima kao norma od koje žene odstupaju. Pa ipak, kako sama autorka nastoji da pokaže, načini na koje muškarci i žene komuniciraju, a u skladu sa tim i nastupaju u javnosti, nisu inherentno ni dobri ni loši, ni superiorni ni inferiorni, već isključivo različiti (Tannen 1990).

Tanen ističe da je svet za muškarce visoko kompetitivno mesto, a komunikacija je u službi postizanja statusa i izbegavanja neuspeha. Sa druge strane, ženama su status i uspeh takođe bitni ali ih, kako autorka navodi, ne drže uvek u fokusu, već se više orijentišu ka traženju i pružanju podrške u svrsi uspostavljanja veza (Tannen 1990: 24–25). Kao posledica toga, u javnoj sferi, od muškaraca se očekuje da budu autoritativniji i dominantniji, dok se od žena očekuje pasivniji i empatičniji pristup (Maccoby/Jacklin 1974: 228–234). Kompetitivni pristup potencijalno ugrožava ostvarivanje konekcije, te bi mu, u teoriji, žene bile manje sklone. Ipak, direktan konflikt i suočavanje sa jedne strane i indirektniji i mirniji pristup sa druge mogu biti jednako efikasni u postizanju ciljeva, u zavisnosti od situacije i sagovornika.

Kako bi dostigli željeni status, muškarci su skloniji prekidanju sagovornika kako bi uspostavili dominaciju nad razgovorom i nametnuli svoju poentu (Tannen 1990: 53–77). To se manifestuje direktnijim govorom koji se može primetiti kod muškaraca, odnosno uopštenijim izrazima kojima u teoriji više pribegavaju žene. U toku diskusije, nastojanje govornika da kontroliše interakciju može predstavljati prednost. Ipak, druga istraživanja dovode u pitanje stav da su muškarci ti koji češće preuzimaju red govorenja, dok ističu da su žene razvile određene strategije da sačuvaju svoj red govorenja (Savić 1995).

Korišćenje imperativa, zapovednog načina izražavanja, Tanen navodi kao mušku komunikativnu odliku, dok ljubazne forme obraćanja smatra karakterističnim za žene (Tannen 1990: 19). Samim tim, bilo kakvo prihvatanje agresivnijeg i zapovednijeg pristupa od strane žene moglo bi biti protumačeno kao prednost u odnosu na muškarca, s obzirom na odstupanje od očekivane norme „damskog“ govora (Kolb 2000). To bi mogao biti jedan od primera negativnih posledica stereotipnih uverenja koja imaju direktan uticaj na rezultat komunikacije strane koja im pribegava.

Kao jedna od ključnih osobina dobrog govornika izdvaja se aktivno slušanje. Aktivno slušanje je dinamičan proces koji uključuje tri faze – fazu parafraze, fazu postavljanja

pitanja i fazu refleksije (Pon Staff 2020). Tanen navodi da muškarci i žene imaju različite poglede na proces slušanja. Dok je za muškarce to znak nižeg statusa u odnosu na pričanje, žene ga vide kao način da se uspostave veze i učvrste odnosi (Tannen 1990: 67). Istraživanja su pokazala da žene imaju veću sposobnost da zapaze pojedinosti i promene u izgledu i ponašanju drugih ljudi, što se neretko naziva „ženskim intuicijom“. Sa druge strane, teorije koje se uglavnom pozivaju na biološke razlike, tvrde da muškarci lošije zapažaju neverbalnu komunikaciju (Pease/Pease 2003).

I pored važnih zaključaka do kojih dolaze Tanenova i drugi autori kada je u pitanju komunikacija uslovljena rodnim kategorijama, nameće se zaključak da nijedna konverzijska strategija ne mora biti u direktnoj vezi sa rodom govornika (Filipović 2009: 131). Teorija različitosti, oslanjajući se u velikoj meri na biološka i antropološka istraživanja, ne pravi razliku između roda i pola. Ona kategoriju roda predstavlja kao binarnu opoziciju muško-žensko, kao nešto konstantno i nepromenljivo, što je u suprotnosti s razumevanjem roda kao društveno konstruisanog identiteta.

3. METODOLOGIJA

Metodološki okvir istraživanja se oslanja na kritičku analizu diskursa kako bi se ispitao način na koji je Kamala Haris hibridno integrisala rodno obeležene komunikacijske obrasce tokom predsedničke debate 2024. godine. Korpus čini kompletan transkript debate koja se posmatra kao visoko ritualizovan politički diskurs u kome se, pored suštinskih idejnih suprotstavljenosti, ispoljavaju i nijansirani obrasci moći povezani sa rodnim stereotipima.

Analitički proces strukturisan je kroz tri međusobno povezana koraka. U prvoj fazi definisane su jezičke kategorije rodno prepoznatljivih strategija prema uspostavljenom teorijskom okviru, nakon čega je kroz sistematsko čitanje materijala izdvojen korpus segmenata u kojima se takvi obrasci javljaju. U drugoj fazi, svaki segment je interpretiran unutar diskurzivnog konteksta debate sa ciljem da se razotkrije njegova funkcija u konstrukciji autoriteta – naročito se pratilo kako se „ženski“ i „muški“ modaliteti kombinuju kako bi se uspostavila ili osporila retorička pozicija govornika. Konačno, u trećoj fazi, sprovedena je tematska sinteza u kojoj su uočeni ključni obrasci: reprodukcija rodnih očekivanja, njihovo svesno zanemarivanje, te strateška interakcija oba registra u pravcu redefinisanja autoriteta.

Uzimajući u obzir simboličku težinu događaja i njegov globalni domet, društveni kontekst debate posmatran je kao sastavni deo analitičkog okvira, što je detaljnije prikazano u narednom odeljku.

3.1. DEBATA KAO POLITIČKA POZORNICA: KONTEKST I DOMETI NASTUPA PREDSEDNIČKIH KANDIDATA

Predsednička debate između Kamale Haris i Donalda Trampa održana je 10. septembra 2024. godine u Nacionalnom centru za ustav u Filadelfiji. Privukla je značajnu pažnju javnosti, okupivši oko 67,1 miliona gledalaca – znatno više od prethodne debate između Trampa i Džozefa Bajdena (Johnson 2024).

Kamala Haris nastupila je kao kandidatkinja Demokratske partije i aktuelna potpredsednica Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Bila je poznata po svom dotadašnjem

angažmanu u oblasti pravde, zaštite reproduktivnih prava i reforme zdravstvenog sistema. Njena kampanja akcenat je stavljala na inkluzivnost, institucionalnu stabilnost i društvenu ravnopravnost. Donald Tramp, bivši predsednik SAD i kandidat Republikanske partije, fokusirao se na pitanja bezbednosti granica, ekonomski populizam i povratak tradicionalnim vrednostima. Njegov diskurs bio je prepoznatljiv po direktnosti, opozicionom stavu prema establišmentu i insistiranju na „ponovnom usponu Amerike“.

Reakcije koje su usledile neposredno posle debate otvorile su prostor za brojna istraživanja o percepciji uspešnosti kandidata. Anketa CNN-a pokazala je da je 63% ispitanika smatralo da je Haris pobedila u debati, dok je 37% podržalo Trampa (Edwards-Levy 2024). Iako izborni rezultat na kraju nije išao u njenu korist, među analitičarima i publikom preovladavalo je uverenje da je Kamala Haris u debati ostavila snažniji utisak – zahvaljujući smirenosti, jasnoći izlaganja i retoričkoj sigurnosti. U ocenama koje su usledile nakon debate, pažnju je privukla kontrastna dinamika između kandidata: Kamala Haris ostala je smirena, fokusirana i retorički dosledna, dok je Donald Tramp u više navrata delovao defanzivno i reaktivno. Njujork tajms je tu razliku posebno naglasio, ocenjujući da je Haris imala primat u trenucima kada je njen protivkandidat gubio ritam, te izdvojio šest ključnih tačaka³ koje su oblikovale percepciju debate (Goldmacher/Rogers 2024).

Iako joj izborni ishod nije išao u prilog, evaluacije koje su usledile nakon debate ukazuju na to da je Kamala Haris u tom susretu ostvarila značajan retorički uspeh. Predstavila se kao stabilna, promišljena i jasno artikulirana liderka, uspevši da pomeri granice političkog očekivanja i preuzme kontrolu nad narativnim okvirom javnog nastupa. Slika pobednice, koju su delili i analitičari i veliki deo publike, svedoči o diskurzivnoj moći koja prevazilazi trenutne političke ishode i ostavlja dugotrajan simbolički trag. U tom svetlu, predstojeća analiza izabranih delova njenog izlaganja fokusiraće se upravo na to kako Haris upravlja diskurzivnim prostorom – koristeći stilove koji su u savremenoj lingvistici često označeni kao „ženski“ i „muški“, ne da bi se uklopila u postojeće obrasce, već da bi ih preusmerila, preoblikovala i iskoristila kao sredstvo političke artikulacije i komunikacijske moći u izuzetno strukturisanom javnom okruženju.

4. REZULTATI – KRITIČKA ANALIZA DEBATNOG DISKURSA KAMALE HARIS

U sledećim primerima prikazani su segmenti izlaganja Kamale Haris u kojima se prepoznaju karakteristike diskursa često povezane s takozvanim „muškim“ stilom govora – direktnost, asertivnost, dominacija nad narativnim tokom i odsustvo ublaživača. U političkom kontekstu, ovakav pristup ne može se okarakterisati kao imitacija ili preuzimanje komunikacijskog modela. To je promišljeno korišćenje jezičkih sredstava radi postizanja efekta autoriteta, kontrole i jasnoće u javnoj areni. U nastupu Kamale Haris, ovi obrasci dobijaju novu dimenziju: njen rodni identitet, umesto da obrišu, ugrađuju u strategiju koja menja pravila retoričke igre.

3 Šest tačaka na koje se autori članka pozivaju obuhvataju: 1) strateški pristup Haris kojim je Trampa primorala da zauzme defanzivnu poziciju; 2) njegovu upečatljivu potrebu da brani svoj prethodni mandat; 3) retoričku nadmoć Haris u raspravi o abortusu; 4) izražen telesni i verbalni kontrast među kandidatima; 5) propuštene prilike Haris da detaljnije izloži sopstveni politički program; i 6) Trampov neuspeh da uverljivo poveže Haris sa nepopularnim aspektima Bajdenove administracije (Goldmacher/Rogers 2024).

4.1. „MUŠKI“ RETORIČKI MODELI KAO ORUĐE POLITIČKE DOMINACIJE

Donald Trump left us the worst unemployment since the Great Depression. Donald Trump left us the worst public health epidemic in a century. Donald Trump left us the worst attack on our democracy since the Civil War.”

(„Donald Tramp nam je ostavio najveću nezaposlenost od Velike depresije. Donald Tramp nam je ostavio najgoru zdravstvenu krizu u ovom veku. Donald Tramp nam je ostavio najteži napad na demokratiju od Građanskog rata“ – prev. aut)

Kamala Haris ovde pribegava tripartitnoj anafori – ponavljanje strukture na početku svake rečenice stvara ritam i pojačava značenje tvrdnje do tačke simboličke kulminacije. Ova forma omogućava postupno gomilanje optužbi, a svaka naredna izjava se nadovezuje na prethodnu, te tako uvećava ukupnu snagu argumenta. Emocionalni intenzitet pojačava se referencama na velike istorijske traume američkog društva: Veliku depresiju, pandemije, Građanski rat. Time se ne gradi samo kritika protivnika, već i narativ kolektivnog gubitka i institucionalne destabilizacije.

Konstrukcija rečenica je jednostavna, direktna i bez ikakvih ublaživača. Govor ne ostavlja prostor za sumnju, dijalog ili pregovaranje. U njegovoj osnovi nalazi se dominacija – kako tematska, tako i retorička. Haris pokazuje potpunu kontrolu nad diskurzivnim prostorom, insistira na vlastitim tumačenjima stvarnosti bez retoričke skromnosti koja se često očekuje od govornica u javnoj sferi.

Repetitivna upotreba Trampovog imena u svakom početku rečenice ima i funkciju personalizacije krivice: ona ne kritikuje sistem, politiku ili administraciju – već konkretno i dosledno adresira ličnost. Ovakvo preuzimanje inicijative oslikava veštinu preformulisanja političkog sukoba u moralnu osudu, bez upotrebe eksplicitno emocionalnog jezika. Umesto emocionalne eksplozije, Haris bira hladnu jasnoću, čime njena izjava dobija još veću težinu.

Zanimljivo je da u ovom primeru nema elemenata koji bi se stereotipno vezivali za ženski komunikacioni stil. Nema ublažavanja, usklađivanja s očekivanjima, niti tragova govorne nesigurnosti. Ton je autoritativan, rečenice kratke i decidne, a narativ zatvoren: protivnik je identifikovan, njegova odgovornost imenovana, a pozicija govornice jasno određena. U političkom kontekstu, ovakva izjava ima funkciju signalizacije moći. Haris ne traži saglasnost – ona je već u posedu istine koju nudi publici. Diskreditacijom protivnika legitimiše sopstveni autoritet. Umesto da se brani ili objašnjava, ona napada i imenuje.

„So, Donald Trump has no plan for you.”

(„Dakle, Donald Tramp nema plan za vas“ – prev. aut)

Naizgled jednostavna, ova izjava je diskurzivna presuda. Haris ne ulazi u detalje, ne nudi poređenja, ne pokušava da ubedi – ona konstatuje. Odsustvo ublaživača, eksplicitne argumentacije ili emocionalne elaboracije proizvodi efekat apsolutnosti. U tom smislu, ovaj iskaz ne ostavlja prostor za repliku: njegov smisao ne poziva na debatu, već je zatvara.

Već sama upotreba konektora „so“ signalizira da se govornica pozicionira iznad dijaloga – ne kao učesnica u razmeni mišljenja, već kao instanca koja zatvara prethodni narativ i nameće vlastiti zaključak. U pragmatičkom smislu, „so“ ovde funkcioniše kao diskurzivni marker konsekvencije i legitimacije. Uvodi kratak, imperativni iskaz koji ne nudi argument, a zaključak nameće kao neupitan. Taj trenutak označava vrhunac diskurzivne kontrole. Govornica više ne reaguje na prethodne tvrdnje, već ih poništava gestom retoričke jednostavnosti.

Kritička analiza diskursa to identifikuje kao akt jezičkog zatvaranja narativa – momenat u kome govornica svesno preseca tok diskusije i uspostavlja novu normu značenja.

Efekat ove izjave leži upravo u njenoj diskurzivnoj ekonomiji: što manje reči, to više moći. Njena snaga proizlazi iz sposobnosti da istovremeno izvrši dijagnozu i donese presudu. Haris ne kaže šta bi ona uradila, niti upućuje na moguće alternative – ona isključivo delegitimiše oponenta, i to ne tako što analizira njegove politike, već tako što u jednoj rečenici osporava njegovo prisustvo.

Sa stanovišta rodno obeležene komunikacije, ovakav iskaz je primer potpunog odbacivanja očekivanog ženskog govornog stila. Nema emocionalne gradacije, kolektivnih označitelja ili izraza nesigurnosti. Umesto toga, Haris koristi jezik tvrdnje, sličan modelima komunikacije koji se tradicionalno povezuju s muškim stilom govora: kompetitivnim, dominantnim i bez pokušaja da se ostvari emocionalni kontakt. Ujedno, sama konstrukcija iskaza – kratka, ritmički zaokružena, završava konverzacioni tok i pozicionira govornicu kao krajnju instancu tumačenja političke stvarnosti. U tom smislu, deluje kao politički *mic drop*⁴: konačna potvrda retoričke kontrole koja se gradi diskurzivnim presekom. To je izjava koja se postavlja kao institucionalno i retorički nadređena. Samim tim, ne traži veru, već očekuje saglasnost.

„I was at the Capitol on January 6th. I was the Vice President-Elect. I was also an acting senator. I was there. And on that day, the president of the United States incited a violent mob to attack our nation’s Capitol, to desecrate our nation’s Capitol.”

(„Bila sam u Kongresu 6. januara. Bila sam izabrana potpredsednica. Bila sam i senator. Bila sam tamo. Tog dana, predsednik Sjedinjenih Država podstakao je nasilnu rulju da napadne i oskrnavi Kapitol“ – prev. aut)

Kamala Haris u ovom segmentu uspostavlja sebe kao svedokinju događaja koji poseduje i simboličku i istorijsku težinu. Repetitivno korišćenje prvog lica jednine („I was... I was... I was...“) služi kao svojevrsna diskurzivna akumulacija koja gradi momentum i kredibilitet. Govornica ne dozvoljava da se njeno prisustvo u tom trenutku dovede u pitanje; ona ne polaže pravo na istinu kroz funkciju, već kroz fizičku i emocionalnu prisutnost u političkoj areni u momentu krize. To je čin lične legitimacije, ali i javne optužbe.

4 Izraz *mic drop* potiče iz popularne kulture i označava trenutak u kome govornik, nakon upečatljive ili završne izjave, demonstrativno spušta mikrofona. Sugerise da je izgovoreno bilo koliko snažno i konačno da ne zahteva nikakav dodatni komentar. U ovom kontekstu, koristi se metaforički da označi kraj retoričke sekvence koja nosi jaku uverljivost i diskurzivnu konačnost.

Odsustvo modalnih izraza i bilo kakve jezičke mitigacije samo osnažuje strukturu poruke. Leksika visokog intenziteta („violent mob“ i „desecrate“) ovde je moralni vokabular koji prenosi poruku potpunog narušavanja simboličkog poretka. Iako naizgled govore o napadu na instituciju kao zgradu, njihov doseg dopire do sknavljenja same ideje demokratije.

Ovaj primer pokazuje kako se moć može uspostaviti upravo kroz kombinaciju narativne ekonomije i moralne urgentnosti. Iako Haris ne igra direktno na kartu emocije, koristi jezičke strukture koje zadiru u kolektivno pamćenje i pozivaju publiku da učestvuje u evaluaciji jednog političkog pada. Ona ovde gotovo da ne komunicira sa Trampom – ona govori u ime vrednosti koje su napadnute i kao subjekt koji ima pravo da ih brani. To je trenutak u kojem se politička retorika pretvara u svedočenje, a javna izjava postaje čin simboličkog otpora.

„Yet again, I said it at the beginning of this debate, you’re going to hear a bunch of lies coming from this fella. And that is another one.”

(„I opet, rekla sam to na početku ove debate: čućete gomilu laži od ovog tipa. I ovo je još jedna od njih“ – prev. aut)

U ovom iskazu Kamala Haris svesno koristi višeslojnu retoričku strategiju kako bi delegitimizovala protivnika i učvrstila svoju poziciju dominantne govornice. Na semantičkom nivou, ova rečenica je i napad i predikcija. Ona unapred pozicionira konkretnu tvrdnju svog oponenta kao deo kontinuiranog obrasca neistina. Na taj način, verifikuje već uspostavljeni narativ o nepouzdanosti sagovornika.

Frazom „yet again“ Haris upravlja temporalnim okvirom debate i stavlja sebe u ulogu osobe koja pažljivo prati, pamti i ukazuju na obrasce ponašanja i retorike. Ovim se pozicionira kao racionalni svedok koji ima autoritet da prepoznaje i označava neistinu. Upotreba neformalne fraze „this fella“ doprinosi efektu retoričke nadmoći. To je svesno odabrana kolokvijalnost koja diskurzivno umanjuje značaj protivnika, a njegovu poziciju gotovo da karikira ili čak izuzima iz ozbiljne diskurzivne razmene.

Haris ne pokazuje ni nesigurnost, ni potrebu za uljudnim obaziranjem na protivnika. Upotreba imenice *lies* učvršćuje retoričku poziciju govornice kao autoriteta koji ne priznaje legitimnost protivnika, čak ni kao sagovornika. Ovaj leksički izbor naizgled funkcioniše kao neutralna oznaka neistinitosti, ali suštinski predstavlja moralnu kvalifikaciju. Signalizira da govornica ne vidi potrebu za uljudnim formalnostima, već svesno bira strategiju jezičke diskreditacije. Umesto imenica koje bi ublažile optužbu („falsehood“, „distortion“), Kamala Haris koristi termin najjače normativne težine i njim razbija očekivanu političku pristojnost, te otvoreno osporava etičku osnovu prisustva sagovornika. Jezički izbor u ovom slučaju potvrđuje da Haris u datom trenutku debate komunicira isključivo sa publikom, a sebe pozicionira kao jedinu relevantnu instancu tumačenja istine.

U stvari, ona svesno krši očekivanja o diskretnoj, pomirljivoj ženskoj retorici i ulazi u prostor tradicionalno rezervisan za maskulini diskurs u kome je osuda direktna, moć se ne opravdava, a autoritet se ne deli, već se demonstrira. Spajanje kolokvijalnog tona sa autoritarnim stavom stvara utisak pristupačnosti bez gubitka dominacije, ali se retko

dodeljuje govornicama jer zahteva balans između retoričke agresivnosti i emocionalne kontrole. Kamala Haris ovde upravo to i postiže.

„Answer the question, would you veto–“

(„Odgovorite na pitanje, da li biste stavili veto...” – prev. aut)

U ovom trenutku debate, Kamala Haris koristi imperativnu formu („answer the question”) i direktno preuzima diskurzivnu inicijativu, odnosno uspostavlja kontrolu nad situacijom. Takav čin, naročito u kontekstu govornice u veoma formalnom političkom prostoru, snažno je odstupanje od tradicionalnih „ženskih” komunikacionih obrazaca koji se odlikuju uljudnošću, oprezom i indirektnošću.

Imperativ u ovom kontekstu ima dvostruku funkciju. Sa jedne strane, to je eksplicitni zahtev za transparentnost – Haris odbija da dopusti sagovorniku da izbegne konkretan odgovor i insistira na jasnoći. Sa druge, imperativni ton je instrument kontrole nad dinamikom razgovora. Takvo preuzimanje kontrole retko se u teoriji pripisuje govornicama jer se može doživeti kao „preterano agresivno”, ali u ovom slučaju, ono deluje usklađeno sa njenim celokupnim nastupom: odlučno, ali ne i histerično; autoritativno, ali ne i agresivno. Ova kratka, ali oštra izjava efikasno preokreće raspored uloga, a Haris preuzima ulogu implicitnog moderatora.

U svetlu kritičke analize diskursa, imperativ uspostavlja vertikalni odnos između govornice i sagovornika. Haris ne koristi modalne konstrukcije („could you”, „would you mind”), niti strategije ublažavanja. Njen zahtev je plasiran kao normativni pritisak – ako ga oponent ne ispuni, implicitno potvrđuje svoju nekompetentnost ili izbegavanje odgovornosti. U tom smislu, Haris otvara prostor retoričke osude čak i u slučaju tišine sagovornika.

4.2. „ŽENSKI” STIL GOVORA KAO STRATEGIJA SUBVERZIVNE MOĆI

U okviru javnog govora, naročito u kompetitivnom kontekstu kao što je predsednička debata, od žena se često očekuje da govore drugačije: da budu oprezne, empatične, indirektna, da ublažavaju kritiku i ostavljaju prostor saglasnosti. Takvi obrasci, iako stereotipno doživljeni kao znak slabosti ili nedostatka autoriteta, u rukama govornica poput Kamale Haris dobijaju drugačiju funkciju. Umesto da ih odbaci, Haris ih koristi – selektivno, promišljeno i sa jasnom političkom svrhom. U narednim primerima, biće prikazano kako ona gradi autoritet upravo kroz strategije koje bi, u drugačijem kontekstu i u tuđem glasu, možda bile potcenjene. U njenoj izvedbi, pripovedanje, emocionalna rezonanca, upotreba ublaživača i posrednog govora ne služe za povlačenje, već za pozicioniranje.

„I’m the only person on this stage who has prosecuted transnational criminal organizations...”

(„Ja sam jedina osoba na ovoj bini koja je krivično gonila transnacionalne kriminalne organizacije...” – prev. aut)

Ova izjava može se smatrati izuzetno uspešnim primerom upotrebe lične biografije i profesionalnog iskustva kao osnove za legitimizaciju diskurzivne moći. Kamala Haris bira da svoju kompetenciju izrazi kroz narativ koji podseća na svedočanstvo umesto kroz eksplicitno isticanje pozicije ili autoriteta. Time koristi ono što Robin Lejkof prepoznaje kao etos iskustva – oblik autoriteta koji se zasniva na moralno zasluženju poziciji. U ovom tipu iskaza nije prisutna klasična retorika nadmoći. Ne postoji ni otvoreni napad, ni konfrontacija sa protivnikom. Ipak, izjava nosi snažnu dozu simboličke moći upravo zato što se ne poziva na hijerarhiju, već iskustvo kao izvor prava na argument: govorim jer sam prošla kroz to, a ne zato što sam politički iznad tebe.

Haris na ovaj način konstruiše sopstvenu stručnost tako da se ista ne percipira kao elitistička već kao proživljena, čime otklanja potencijalni otpor auditorijuma. Takođe, u svetlu teorije Deборе Tanen, u pitanju je karakteristična ženska strategija povezivanja (*rapport talk*), ali je Haris, umesto za uspostavljanje bliskosti koristi za osvajanje prostora moći. Pozicionira se kao jedina osoba koja ima autentičan kontakt sa temom i tako suptilno delegitimiše prisustvo drugih bez direktnog napada: empatično po formi, konkurentski po funkciji.

„I believe very strongly that the American people want a president who understands the importance of bringing us together...”

(„Verujem veoma snažno da narod SAD želi predsednika koji razume važnost ujedinjenja...” – prev. aut)

U ovom iskazu Kamala Haris vešto koristi *hedging* – jezičku ogradu u formi „I believe” – ali ne da bi umanjila snagu poruke, već da bi je emocionalno utemeljila. To joj omogućava da izrazi uverenje koje je snažno, ali ne dogmatično. Iskaz „I believe” se zasniva na kognitivnom, epistemičkom glagolu u konstrukciji *I believe that P* (pri čemu je *P* propozicija), koji, za razliku od tvrdnje u obliku same propozicije (*P*) ili jakog epistemičkog iskaza *I know that P*, ublažava sadržaj propozicije koja se umeće u opis višeg reda. Takav oblik jezičke ograde omogućava govornici da izrazi uverenje koje je politički snažno, ali komunikacijski otvoreno. Formulirano je tako da ne pretenduje na činjeničnu istinu, već da gradi prostor identifikacije sa publikom. U tom smislu, iako često označava ublažavanje ili nesigurnost, *hedging* ovde pruža emocionalni amortizer koji izrečeno čini prihvatljivijim i inkluzivnijim.

Ovaj pristup u saglasju je sa teorijom Deборе Tanen o uspostavljanju bliskosti (*rapport talk*). Haris koristi ovu konvenciju ženskog govornog stila kako bi artikulisala poruku političkog jedinstva i zajedničkog identiteta. Ključno je, međutim, to što ona ovu strategiju ne ostavlja u domenu pasivnosti: empatija koja se komunicira služi kao platforma za afirmaciju političke pozicije. Rečenica je strukturisana tako da uključuje kolektivni subjekat („the American people”) i podseća na ideju narodne volje, što bi njen govor trebalo dodatno da legitimizuje. Ona govori kao portparolka društvenog sentimenta. Pozivanje na inkluzivnu viziju nacije deluje kao simbolička hegemonija, govor koji formira prostor značenja tako da onemogućava protivljenje bez moralne cene.

„It's insulting to the women of America.”

(„To je uvredljivo za žene Amerike” – prev. aut)

U ovoj kratkoj rečenici Kamala Haris se još jednom pozicionira kao reprezent čitave društvene grupe. Ipak, njen iskaz ne izgleda kao emocionalna reakcija jedne žene, već kolektivni odgovor u ime miliona njih. Pozicija koju zauzima je svojevrsni diskurzivni zaokret jer sama preuzima zaštitu kao svoj politički zadatak i čineći to, zauzima mesto moralnog arbitra.

U okviru teorije Robin Lejkof, ovakav iskaz može se tumačiti kao primer „kolektivne solidarnosti” – strategije u kojoj govornica koristi rodnu pripadnost kao polje zajedničke identifikacije i legitimacije. Umesto individualnog ogorčenja, Haris artikuliše uvredu kao politički prekršaj prema celokupnoj zajednici žena, čime iz lične reakcije prelazi u sferu moralnog apela. Takve strategije nose snažan mobilizacioni potencijal jer funkcionišu kao čin delegitimizacije. Iako protivnika ne targetira direktno, implicira da njegovi postupci izlaze izvan granica prihvatljivog i povređuju temeljne vrednosti zajednice. Pridev „uvredljivo” postaje etiketa i oruđe moralne osude, a njena primena na nacionalnu kategoriju – „žene Amerike” – proširuje značenje uvrede na kolektivni identitet. Ova izjava je retorički primer kako emocionalna reakcija može postati instrument političke moći i društvene akcije.

„Couples who pray and dream of having a family are being denied IVF treatments.”

(„Parovima koji se mole i sanjaju o porodici uskraćuje se pravo na vantelesnu oplodnju” – prev. aut)

U ovoj izjavi Haris pribegava emocionalno snažnom narativu koji iz političkog konflikta uklanja ideološku oštricu i usmerava pažnju na univerzalno ljudsko iskustvo. Umesto tehničke ili pravne formulacije, bira slike koje evociraju ranjivost i nadu – „mole se”, „sanjaju”, „žele porodicu”. Ovi izrazi sugerišu duhovnu posvećenost i intimnu borbu, čime se pozicija subjekata prikazuje kao moralno ispravna i suštinski ljudska.

Rečenica funkcioniše kao strategija narativnog preusmerenja. Haris ne govori o zakonodavstvu, zdravstvenoj politici ili verskim ograničenjima, već o ljudima, emocijama i pravdi. Time se političko pitanje transformiše u etičko, što je mehanizam emocionalne legitimacije u javnom govoru. To je u teorijskim okvirima tipično „ženski” stil – orijentisan na empatiju, brigu i zajedničke vrednosti. Međutim, Haris ovaj stil koristi da bi ojačala sopstveni autoritet. Njena upotreba emocionalnog narativa nije povlačenje iz političke sfere, već naprotiv – sofisticirano sredstvo da se moralna osnova sukoba učini neupitnom. Ova izjava istovremeno vrši i etikalizaciju politike i humanizaciju teme kroz jezičku strategiju emocionalne rezonance. Umetanjem duhovno-emocionalnih kategorija poput „molitve” i „sna” u politički govor, Haris nadilazi podelu između privatnog i javnog i retorički poziva na univerzalni osećaj solidarnosti.

Koristi ono što se često smatra „mekim” govorom da bi konstruisala neoborivu tvrdnju o pravdi i odgovornosti. Time transformiše tradicionalni ženski diskurs u snažno političko oružje.

„I have talked with military leaders, some of whom worked with you. And they say you're a disgrace.”

(„Razgovarala sam s vojnim liderima, neki od njih su radili s vama. Kažu da ste sramota“ – prev. aut)

Kamala Haris u ovom primeru pribegava strategiji indirektno kritike posredovane glasovima drugih (u ovom slučaju, vojnog establišmenta). Forma prenesene osude je retoričko premeštanje autoriteta: umesto da sama izgovori vrednosni sud, ona se poziva na kredibilitet uglednih trećih lica. Time uspeva da zadrži ton uljudnosti i formalne uzdržanosti, dok istovremeno prenosi snažnu poruku delegitimizacije protivnika.

U okviru teorije Robin Lejkof, ova strategija predstavlja tipično „ženski“ mehanizam izražavanja moći – izbegavanje direktne konfrontacije kroz taktično preusmeravanje fokusa na druge izvore. Međutim, Haris ovaj model ne koristi iz pozicije nemoći ili podređenosti. Naprotiv – ona ga osnažuje kroz izbor sagovornika: vojni lideri, simbol nacionalne sigurnosti i autoritativnosti, svedoče u njenu korist. To njenoj tvrdnji daje institucionalnu težinu i pojačava njen kredibilitet.

Iskaz predstavlja i sofisticiranu upotrebu polifonije – prisustva više glasova u jednom govoru. Haris ne govori sama, već otvara prostor za svedočanstva drugih, ali ih filtrira kroz svoj narativ. Izjava „they say you're a disgrace“ deluje gotovo kao završna presuda: oponent je diskreditovan od strane figura koje su prethodno bile njegovi saveznici. Taktičnost izjave ogleda se i u izbegavanju preterane emocionalnosti. Umesto ličnog napada, Haris koristi „hladnu“ formu prenosa mišljenja, čime učvršćuje sopstvenu poziciju kao racionalne i kontrolisane liderke. Takav pristup omogućava joj da, bez upotrebe agresivnog jezika, izazove maksimum političkog efekta jer protivnik ne dobija direktan napad koji može lično i odbiti, već posrednu osudu koju ne može lako osporiti.

5. DISKUSIJA

Analiza pokazuje kako Kamala Haris vešto i strateški koristi oba polarizovana govorna modela – stereotipno „muški“ i „ženski“ stil – u funkciji političkog nadmetanja, izgradnje autoriteta i retoričkog pozicioniranja. Ključ njene diskurzivne efikasnosti nije u potpunom odbacivanju jednog stila u korist drugog, već u sposobnosti da ih kombinuje, preraspoređuje i koristi selektivno, u zavisnosti od konteksta, cilja i očekivanja auditorijuma. Ovaj pristup odražava visoku pragmatičnu i retoričku kompetenciju koja prevazilazi binarne podele i nudi model jezičke prakse koji u isto vreme destabilizuje i preraspodeljuje rodne norme u političkom diskursu.

U segmentima gde dominira „muški“ stil (asertivnost, direktna optužba, imperativ), Haris demonstrira sposobnost da preuzme retoričku agresivnost, ali bez gubitka kontrole, dostojanstva ili moralne stabilnosti. Direktnost, modalni iskazi i taktičko premošćavanje diskurzivne kontrole („Answer the question“, „Donald Trump has no plan for you“) su transformacija muških obrazaca redizajniranih da proizvedu efekat odgovornog liderstva. Time Haris efikasno izvrće očekivanja o tome kako žena „treba da govori“ u javnoj areni. Ranjive tačke pretvara u retoričku prednost. Sposobnost ovladavanja neprijateljskim registrom bez gubitka simboličke stabilnosti ukazuje na sofisticiran nivo diskurzivne intervencije unutar političkog prostora.

Sa druge strane, upotrebom „ženskih“ stilova (empatija, naracija, *hedging*), Haris ne samo da se ne povlači u poziciju ranjivosti već te obrasce upotrebljava za konstrukciju moralnog autoriteta i emocionalne rezonance. Ublažavanje, umesto da deluje kao izraz nesigurnosti, postaje način da se publika uključi, te da se otvori polje zajedničkog značenja. Emocionalno zasićeni narativi, poput pozivanja na žene, vojsku ili porodice koje se bore za pristup zdravstvenim uslugama, postaju oruđa političke mobilizacije. U tom smislu, Haris simultano koristi različite registre kao resurse moći.

Kroz prizmu kritičke analize diskursa, ova dvostruka strategija pokazuje da je rodni diskurs dinamičan, višeslojan i pregovarački konstruisan: on se ne iscrpljuje u opozicijama, već se oblikuje u odnosu na konkretne komunikacijske ciljeve, ideološke konflikte i strukture moći. Haris ne imitira mušku političku paradigmu, niti ostaje unutar tradicionalnog modela ženske retorike – ona uspostavlja novi diskurzivni hibrid u kome moć nije zasnovana na otporu jednom modelu, već na sposobnosti da se istovremeno koristi i preoblikuje više njih. Takav pristup omogućava i učestvovanje u političkoj debati, ali i transformaciju njenih pravila, granica i značenja.

Diskurzivna borba koju je vodila Kamala Haris tako postaje mnogo više od jednostavne razmene argumenata – ona postaje simbol pomeranja granica političkog govora u pravcu inkluzivnijeg, refleksivnijeg, ali istovremeno oštrijeg i efikasnijeg modela javne moći. Njen govor otkriva kako rodno obeleženi stilovi, kada se strateški preklapaju i redistribuiraju, mogu da posluže kao alat za redefinisane političkog subjektiviteta, kao pozicija koja se pregovara, gradi i svesno koristi. U tom svetlu, nastup Kamale Haris može se posmatrati kao primer formiranja hibridnog diskurzivnog autoriteta, koji potvrđuje da savremena politička retorika žena sve više prevazilazi binarna čitanja i pokazuje kako rod u diskursu nije statična odrednica, već dinamičan resurs političke artikulacije.

6. ZAKLJUČAK

Debata Kamale Haris i Donalda Trampa postala je istorijski trenutak koji daleko prevazilazi konkretan politički sukob. Otkrila je mnogo više od razmene argumenata. Postavila je jezičke granice, otvorila ideološke pukotine i donela vidljivost govornim stilovima koji oblikuju percepciju moći. U tim okvirima, diskurs Kamale Haris zaista se čini kao instrument promene. Njene strategije jasno pokazuju kako se rod ne zadržava u okvirima biološke ili društvene uloge, već prelazi u funkcionalnu kategoriju političkog izraza.

Haris koristi različite registre: ponekad dominira jezikom odlučnosti i imperativne intonacije, ponekad gradi osećaj bliskosti kroz pripovedanje ili empatičan okvir. Svaka strategija dolazi sa specifičnim učincima. Asertivni iskazi naglašavaju kontrolu nad debatom i stvaraju jasnu strukturu odnosa među učesnicima. Emocionalno obojene poruke, sa druge strane, mobilišu kolektivno osećanje pravde i učvršćuju identifikaciju sa publikom. Na taj način, jezik prestaje da odražava unapred zadate norme i počinje da oblikuje prostor za nova značenja.

Rod, u ovom kontekstu, deluje kao aktivni element diskurzivne gradnje. Njegova prisutnost ne ograničava domet govora, već mu daje dodatnu dimenziju. Kroz pažljivo birane izraze, Haris konstruiše poziciju iz koje je moguće govoriti i autoritativno i blisko,

bez oslanjanja na ustaljene obrasce koji bi takvu poziciju vezivali isključivo za muški ili ženski stil. Ta fluidnost je upravo ono što otvara prostor za novu vrstu političkog izraza. Diskurs koji se analizira u ovom radu ne oslanja se ni na imitaciju ni na distanciranje. On uspešno koristi retoričke resurse iz različitih stilskih repertoara i kombinuje ih u skladu sa ciljem, sagovornikom i trenutkom. U tom spoju prepoznaje se jezička fleksibilnost koja prevazilazi binarne podele i uspostavlja novi okvir moći. Takav okvir više ne dolazi iz hijerarhije, već iz umeća da se značenje oblikuje na osnovu izbora i rasporeda jezičkih sredstava. Krićka analiza diskursa omogućava uvid u njegovu kompleksnost. Svaki iskaz postaje signal ideoloških pozicija, identitetskih pregovora i komunikacijske dinamike. Diskurs Kamale Haris u ovom slučaju funkcioniše kao teren na kome se oblikuju nove forme političkog subjektiviteta. Izbor reči, ton, tempo i struktura poruke postaju sredstva kroz koja se javna uloga žene u političkom prostoru proširuje i redefiniše.

Novi pristup ne zahteva stabilno oslanjanje na jednu poziciju. Naprotiv, njegova snaga proizlazi iz sposobnosti da se diskurzivne strategije raspoređuju svesno i ciljano. Haris uspeva da koristi obrasce koji se često povezuju sa ženskim stilom bez gubitka autoritativnog glasa. U isto vreme, kada koristi direktne forme, imperativ ili osudu, njen govor ostaje fokusiran i uverljiv. Tako se ostvaruje balans koji ne zavisi od roda, već od funkcije svakog jezičkog izbora.

Ono što govor Kamale Haris čini analitički relevantnim jeste upravo način na koji razgrađuje tradicionalne kodove političke komunikacije i u isti mah pokazuje da su ti kodovi zasnovani na rodnom pretpostavkama, a ne na funkcionalnim ili komunikativnim principima. Diskurzivna moć ne proizlazi iz doslednosti nekom stilu, već iz sposobnosti da se stilovi koriste kao strategije, da se prilagođavaju kontekstu i redefinišu odnose u areni govora. Jezička analiza ovog nastupa otkriva da razlika između „muškog“ i „ženskog“ u govoru nikada nije ni bila neutralna jezička činjenica, već ideološki raspored. Kada govornica te razlike kombinuje, bez potrebe da se uklopi u binarne modele, tada politički subjekt ne prelazi iz jednog sistema u drugi, već stvara treći – fleksibilan, refleksivan i otporan na normativna ograničenja. Pitanje koje ostaje otvoreno nije da li ovaj stil jeste nova forma moći, već da li su svi prethodni obrasci bili tek privremene definicije autoriteta, oblikovane manje potrebama diskursa, a više očekivanjima onih koji su ga u prošlosti određivali.

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SUMMARY

THE THIRD VOICE: GENDER PERFORMATIVITY AND THE LINGUISTIC REDISTRIBUTION OF AUTHORITY IN THE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE IN THE U.S.A.

This article analyzes the September 2024 presidential debate between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), with a focus on gendered communication styles and the performativity of authority in Harris's discourse. The study explores how, and to what extent, the hybridization of conventionally "masculine" and "feminine" discursive resources contributes to the establishment, maintenance, and redistribution of political power.

The full debate transcript is analyzed as a form of highly ritualized political discourse in which, alongside ideological opposition, gendered patterns of power are manifested. The analysis proceeds in three stages which examine how Harris uses linguistic resources to (re)construct authority and (re)define her political position: (1) defining linguistic categories of gendered strategies according to the theoretical framework (Lakoff 1975; Tannen 1990) and systematically identifying segments where these patterns appear; (2) contextual and pragmatic interpretation of each segment to determine its

function in constructing authority, with attention to how Harris combines “masculine” and “feminine” models to reinforce or challenge the debate’s rhetorical dynamics; (3) thematic synthesis identifying key patterns: reproduction of gendered expectations, their deliberate subversion, and the strategic interaction of registers that redefines authority. The analysis is situated within the sociopolitical and media context of the debate, given its symbolic significance and global visibility.

Findings suggest that Harris’s rhetorical effectiveness lies in her strategic hybridization of speech styles. Assertive features, such as imperatives, interruptions and direct challenges, enable her to project authority and contest her opponent’s legitimacy, while narrative and empathetic strategies, including personal testimony, emotional appeals, and mitigation, foster connection and credibility with the audience. This context-dependent flexibility produces a hybrid model of political speech that destabilizes normative gender boundaries and reconfigures the linguistic performance of authority.

The study concludes that discursive power in contemporary political communication derives from the strategic reconfiguration of gendered linguistic resources, offering insights into how political actors negotiate identity, legitimacy, and power through discourse.

KEYWORDS: Critical Discourse Analysis, political discourse, gender and language, performativity, authority, rhetorical hybridity, Kamala Harris, presidential debate.

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■ MODALITY IN DISCOURSE ON EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH ARTICLE ABSTRACTS

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U radu polazimo od pretpostavke da apstrakti istraživačkih članaka (AIČ) sami po sebi čine odvojen žanr, koji se karakteriše nizom specifičnih karakteristika, uključujući i različite manifestacije modala u engleskom jeziku. Iako postoji solidan korpus istraživanja o modalnosti u AIČ, na primer, u „tvrdim naukama”, naučna istraživanja o modalnosti u AIČ u diskursu o obrazovanju za održivi razvoj (OOR) nisu dovoljno zastupljena u literaturi. U svetlu toga, cilj ovog rada je da istraži modalnost u korpusu AIČ o OOR. Korpus se sastojao od 200 AIČ objavljenih u časopisu *Journal of Teacher Education for Sustainability (JTES)*, jednom od vodećih časopisa u oblasti OOR. Korpus je analiziran kvantitativno kako bi se identifikovali i kvantifikovali tzv. centralni modalni glagoli – *can, could, may, might, must, shall, should, will* i *would*. Analiza korpusa sprovedena je uz pomoć kompjuterskom programa AntConc (Anthony 2022), koji je izračunao ukupan broj gore pomenutih centralnih modala po svesci časopisa. Nakon toga, korišćen je SPSS (IBM 2011) kako bi se izračunale srednje vrednosti i standardne devijacije centralnih modala u korpusu. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da su *can* i *should* najčešći centralni modali u korpusu, a njihova upotreba je u narednom koraku analizirana uz pomoć teorijskog pristupa modalnosti koji je formulisao Palmer (1990), koji je predložio sledeće tipove modalnosti: (i) deontičku, (ii) dinamičku i (iii) epistemičku. Utvrđeno je da je *can* povezan pretežno sa dinamičkom modalnošću, dok je *should* u vezi sa epistemičkom. Rezultati ukazuju na niz lingvodidaktičkih implikacija koje bi mogle biti korisne akademskim autorima koji objavljuju istraživačke članke u časopisima iz oblasti OOR. Iz analize proizilazi da korišćenjem modala *should* može da se stekne utisak pažljivog, obzirnog i neasertivnog akademskog autora, čiji se ton odlikuje ograđivanjem. Korišćenjem *can* kao dinamičkog modala mogu se predstaviti i opisati konkretni akciono orijentisani odgovori na sprovođenje praksi vezanih za OOR. Rezultati dobijeni analizom mogu biti od pomoći akademskim početnicima i autorima postdiplomcima u pripremi efektnog i objavljevog AIČ u oblasti OOR.

Ključne reči: akademski diskurs, obrazovanje za održivi razvoj (OOR), modalnost, apstrakti istraživačkih članaka (AIČ).

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1. INTRODUCTION

In order to get published in scientific journals, academic writers and researchers should present their articles in an appropriate manner that is expected in academic writing (Paltridge 2017; Lindsay 2018). Arguably, one of the crucial elements of a research article (RA) consists in providing a concise yet informative description of the whole article that is encapsulated in its abstract (Lorés 2004; Martín/León Pérez 2024). In the realm of academic writing, there is a significant bulk of research on RA abstracts (RAAs), which sheds light on a variety of aspects related to discursive, lexical, pragmatic, rhetorical, and syntactic properties of RAAs in a broad range of disciplines (Esteban/Taladngo 2025; Zhang/Wang 2025). In this regard, it should be noted that the majority of current studies seem to address discursive and other properties of RAAs written in the realms of hard (e.g., medicine) and soft (e.g., English as a Foreign Language) sciences (Cox/Original 2023; Kapranov 2023; Liu *et al.* 2025).

At the same time, however, there is a paucity of studies that investigate RAAs on Education for Sustainable Development, or ESD (Lotz-Sisitka 2010). In this light, the present submission involves a quantitative study that aims at exploring English-medium RAAs on ESD through a linguistic lens associated with modality. As known, modality in English is most prototypically manifested by a set of modal verbs that are commonly referred to as the central modals, such as *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *must*, *shall*, *should*, *will*, and *would* (Palmer 2003). Considering the role of modality in academic writing, the study seeks to gain insight into the frequency of the central modals in a corpus of RAAs that are published in an ESD-themed outlet titled *Journal of Teacher Education for Sustainability* (*JTES*). The choice of the journal (i.e., *JTES*) is accounted by the following considerations: (i) *JTES* is indexed by several prestigious databases, inclusive of Scopus (Q1); (ii) *JTES* is a peer-reviewed outlet, which means that all the submissions to *JTES* undergo a rigorous peer-review procedure; and (iii) *JTES* is an international English-medium outlet, which is characterised by an international authorship in the field of ESD. Accordingly, the study sets to answer the following **research question (RQ)**:

RQ: What are the most frequent central modal verbs in a corpus of RAAs published in *JTES* from 2015 to 2024?

The novelty of the study, which is further presented in the article, consists in providing a quantitative account of the frequency of the occurrence of central modals in RAAs published in *JTES*. Hopefully, the results of the study and the associated linguo-didactic implications will be of help to academic authors, who conduct research in the field of ESD and publish it in ESD-themed peer-reviewed journals. Also, the study will provide useful and practical suggestions that pertain to the use of modality by novice and undergraduate academic writers, who are engaged in ESD-related research and its dissemination in ESD-themed journals.

Further, this article proceeds as follows. First, an outline of the theoretical aspects associated with the genre of RAAs will be provided in section 2. Second, an overview of the literature on modality in RAAs will be given in section 3. Third, the present study will be introduced in more detail and discussed in section 4. Fourth, conclusions of the study will be summarised in section 5.

2. AN OUTLINE OF THE THEORETICAL ASPECTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE GENRE OF RAAs

First of all, we should, perhaps, specify the notion of genre in relation to RAAs. Currently, in the Anglophone research community and, essentially, beyond its realms in the globalised scientific world guided by English as a lingua franca, the notion of genre is envisaged along the lines proposed by Swales (2004). The Swalesian take on genres, particularly, on research genre, is characterised by the properties of (i) discourse communities and (ii) communicative purposes (Flowerdew 2015), which are seen as the prototypical criteria that determine genre identity (Swales 2004: 10).

Having outlined the notion of genre, let us observe that the current operationalisation of research genre of RAs in the Anglophone literature mandates the presence of an abstract, i.e., in the Swalesian terms, an RAA is expected by the scientific discourse community (Swales 2004). Evidently, RAAs are “an indispensable tool for researchers in the selection of papers which may be relevant to them in their research projects” (Noguera 2012: 212). Indeed, an RA without an abstract would be quite unusual in hard sciences as well as in the majority of the so-called soft disciplines (Kaplan *et al.* 1994; Kapranov 2023). However, despite the impression that abstracts are, to a certain degree, extensions of RAs, the abstract is deemed to form its own genre (Pearson 2024). In this regard, Jiang and Hyland (2022) indicate that

Few academic genres have received more attention than the research abstract. Its increasing importance, diverse functions and convenient length mean it has been dismembered and dissected by analysts in countless articles. This is a key genre, central to researchers’ reading decisions and therefore to the creation of new knowledge, and as a result writers use a variety of interactive resources to attract readers to the accompanying article. (Jiang/Hyland 2022: 60)

Presumably, the specificity of the genre of RAAs is manifested by a clear rhetorical purpose of “hooking the reader” (Hyland/Tse 2005: 123), i.e. making the readers want to proceed to the reading of the full text of the RA. Put differently, a well-written and genre-confirming RAA is “likely to influence the readers’ decisions to continue to the full paper or go elsewhere” (Jiang/ Hyland 2022: 60). Accordingly, we may argue that some of the pivotal characteristics of the genre of RAAs involve (i) informativeness, which presupposes a textual piece that provides succinct yet sufficient knowledge about the whole text of the RA and (ii) rhetorical persuasiveness, which involves the qualities of the RA that make it memorable and noticeable by the readers (Sword 2012).

Also, we may single out another central component associated with the genre of RAAs, namely structuredness (Hartley/Sydes 1997; Kraus *et al.* 2024). In terms of the structure, the literature distinguishes several strategic approaches to the genre-specific structural organisation of RAAs (El-Dakhs 2018). The first approach is formulated by Bhatia (1993), who indicates that a typical RAA is comprised of the set of scaffolding elements or moves. In this regard, it should be, perhaps, noted that a move in discourse studies is usually seen as a coherent unit of writing, which serves a specific communicative purpose (Swales 2004).

According to Bhatia (1993), an RAA is characterised by the following moves: (i) the introduction of the purpose of the RA, (ii) the description of research methodology in the RA, (iii) a summary of the results, and (v) the formulation of the conclusions. In contrast to Bhatia (1993), however, Santos (1996) posits that the structure of an RAA involves such moves as (i) the situatedness of research, (ii) the presentation of research, (iii) the description of research methodology, (iv) the summary of findings, and (v) the discussion of findings. It should be mentioned that the structural scheme of RAAs proposed by Santos (1996) is similar to that of Hyland (1996, 2000, 2015), who uses the term “product” instead of the results. Apart from this difference, Hyland’s (1996, 2000, 2015) approach to the structure of RAAs can be argued to converge on that of Santos (1996).

Having anchored RAAs in the notion of genre, let us proceed to an outline of the prior studies that investigate how modality is represented in RAAs in a number of scientific disciplines.

3. AN OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON MODALITY IN RAAs

Whilst the bulk of prior studies on modality in RAAs is not substantial, there is a clear scholarly interest in this research topic, which is determined by the peculiarities of RAAs in specific scientific fields, such as medicine (Salager-Meyer 1992; Panocová 2008; Yang *et al.* 2015; Quintana-Toledo/Cuervo 2020; Montkhongtham 2021), arts (Olaniyan/Adeniji 2015), applied linguistics (Kapranov 2022), and tourism (Álvarez-Gil/Domínguez-Morales 2018).

Given that the prior studies, primarily, are related to medical RAAs, let us commence the present overview of the literature with them. Modality in RAAs on medicine is argued to be (i) move-specific and (ii) reflective of tentativeness and hedging (Salager-Meyer 1992). Furthermore, modal verbs in medical RAAs are thought to be involved in manifesting the authorial stance (Quintana-Toledo/Cuervo 2020). Particularly, modal verbs in them are deemed to be reflective of epistemic possibility and/or probability, which is, largely, associated with hedging due to the author’s (i) uncertainty in the proposition and (ii) intention to withhold their views (Panocová 2008).

In this regard, Yang, Zheng, and Ge (2015) seem to agree with Panocová (2008) on the point that an RAA on medicine is characterised by a certain proclivity to employ modal verbs that are associated with epistemic modality (e.g., *may*) in order to convey a lack of commitment to the proposition. Accordingly, these authors suggest that medical RAAs are marked by a range of modal verbs that are involved in expressing claims in a tentative and reserved manner. It should be noted that the aforementioned argument is in contrast with the study conducted by Montkhongtham (2021), who asserts that modal verbs are used in medical RAAs in order to minimise subjectivity associated with epistemic modality and maximise evidence and the description of objective circumstances.

Modality in RAAs on arts has been found to be quite similar to that of RAAs on medicine in the sense that it is indicative of uncertainty and/or subjectivity and hedging (Olaniyan/Adeniji 2015). Moreover, Olaniyan and Adeniji (2015) report that modality in RAAs on arts is reflective of possibility, necessity, prediction, and permission. In addition, Olaniyan and Adeniji (2015) posit that such possibility modals as *might* and *would*, respectively, are used in RAAs on arts for the purposes of stating (i) the analytical scope

and (ii) research goals, whereas such necessity modal as *must* is involved in (iii) declaring the analytical scope of the RAA and (iv) presenting the main argument. According to Olaniyan and Adeniji (2015), prediction modals (e.g., *will*) are used in stating research aims in RAAs.

In a study of modality in RAAs on applied linguistics (Kapranov 2022), modality is posited to reflect the use of the English language by academic writers who hail from the Inner and Outer Circles of English. Specifically, the study is informed by the construal of the Inner Circle, where English is spoken as the mother tongue (e.g., the United Kingdom) and the Outer Circle, where it is used as a second language in the former British colonies (e.g., Malaysia). The study shows that the use of modality in RAAs on applied linguistics does not seem to depend upon the author's association with the Inner or Outer Circles of English. Particularly, the cohorts of academic writers from the Outer Circle of English have been found to employ a fairly similar number of modal verbs as their counterparts from the Inner Circle of English. To further specify the findings, it is indicated in the study that *can* and *may*, which function as hedging devices in RAAs on applied linguistics, are similarly distributed in the RAAs written by the representatives of the Inner and Outer Circles of English (Kapranov 2022).

As far as the use of modal verbs in RAAs in the field of tourism is concerned, Álvarez-Gil and Domínguez-Morales (2018) show that modality is related to the manifestation of the academic authors' intentions. Grounded in the theoretical premises of modality formulated by Palmer (1990), Álvarez-Gil and Domínguez-Morales (2018) have established that modal verbs in scientific papers in the domain of tourism are related, primarily, to dynamic modality (e.g., *can*), whereas epistemic modals (e.g., *might*) and deontic modals (e.g., *must*) occur not so often in RAAs. These researchers demonstrate that obligation in RAAs on tourism is expressed by *should* and *will*, whilst epistemic modality, which is often expressed by *could* and *would*, is used to impart a sense of authorial modesty and a desire to avoid imposition.

4. THE PRESENT STUDY

As evident from the literature outline, there is a relative paucity of studies that delve into the research theme of modality, in particular, central modal verbs, in RAAs. In this regard, let us observe, as already indicated in the introduction, that there is no published research on the central modal verbs in RAAs on ESD. Taking the current research gap into consideration and seeking to contribute to disentangling the issue of modality in RAAs on the topic of ESD, the present study looks into the frequency of the central modal verbs in a corpus of RAAs in the field of ESD published by *JTES*. Accordingly, the aim of the present study is to learn about modality, which is manifested by the central modal verbs in RAAs on ESD and analyse the corpus of the study quantitatively (see RQ of the study in the introductory part of the article).

The corpus of the study is comprised of 200 RAAs published by *JTES* from 2015 to 2024. The RAAs are freely available in open access format on the journal's web site <https://reference-global.com/journal/JTES>. The descriptive statistics of the corpus are further summarised in Table 1 below.

#	Descriptive Statistics	Value
1	Total number of RAAs	200
2	Total number of words	38 908
3	Mean words	194.5
4	Standard deviation words	63.5
5	Maximum words	489
6	Minimum words	92

Table 1. The Descriptive Statistics of the Corpus

It should be specified that the corpus is comprised of RAAs only, i.e. the whole texts of RAs, editorials, book reviews, and announcements are excluded from the corpus collection.

The corpus is analysed by means of applying a computer concordance program AncConc (Anthony 2022) in order to identify and compute the frequency of the occurrence of the following central modal verbs: *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *must*, *shall*, *should*, *will*, and *would*. The procedure of the identification of the aforementioned central modals in the corpus is as follows. First, the RAAs are downloaded from the journal's web site <https://reference-global.com/journal/JTES>. Second, the RAAs are converted into Word files as one Word file per journal issue. Third, the Word documents are fed into AntConc (Anthony 2022) in order to compute the frequency of the occurrence of the central modals. Fourth, the data that have been garnered by AntConc are processed in the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), version 20 (IBM 2011) in order to calculate means and standard deviations of the central modals in the corpus.

Prior to presenting the results of the quantitative corpus analysis, one important remark should be made concerning the theoretical foundations of modality in the study. In terms of its theoretical premises, the study follows the approach to modality that is formulated by Frank Robert Palmer (1990) in his seminal monograph *Modality and the English Modals*. According to Palmer (1990), there are several types of modality, which are prototypically manifested by the central modals in English: (i) deontic modality, which conveys a speaker's command, permission, obligation, a promise or a threat; (ii) dynamic modality, which conveys physical possibility, judgments about the degree or extent that an action is possible, the ability of the subject that typically collocates with self-mentions and the sense verbs; and (iii) epistemic modality, which conveys the degree of possibility, weak probability, subjectivity, and tentativeness. Palmer's (1990) approach to the central modal verbs is further employed in the discussion of the results of the corpus analysis.

4.1. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the quantitative analysis provide the following answer to the RQ of the study. The most frequent central modals in the corpus are *can* and *should*, respectively. These findings are illustrated by Table 2 below.

#	Modals	Total N	Mean	SD	Max.	Min.
1	<i>Can</i>	77	1.5	1.0	6	1
2	<i>Could</i>	28	1.2	0.6	3	1
3	<i>May</i>	11	1.4	1.0	4	1
4	<i>Might</i>	6	1.2	0.4	2	1
5	<i>Must</i>	7	1.2	0.4	2	1
6	<i>Shall</i>	-	-	-	-	-
7	<i>Should</i>	40	1.3	0.5	3	1
8	<i>Will</i>	22	1.3	0.7	4	1
9	<i>Would</i>	17	1.0	0.2	2	1

Table 2. The Results of the Quantitative Analysis

Let us focus our discussion on shedding light on the major findings. To reiterate, judging from Table 2, the most frequent modals in the corpus are *can* and *should*. As far as the dominance of the central modal *can* in the corpus is concerned, it can be posited that this finding lends indirect support to the study conducted by Álvarez-Gil and Domínguez-Morales (2018), who note that *can* is the most frequent central modal in RAAs in their corpus. Furthermore, this discovery bolsters the literature (Montkhongtham 2021; Kapranov 2022), which demonstrates that the central modal *can* is one of the most frequently occurring modals in RAAs.

Presumably, the highest frequency of the occurrence of *can* in RAAs on ESD-related topics could be explained by the considerations that are associated with the genre of the ESD-themed discourses. To specify, ESD is thought to capitalise on the discourses on climate change, environmental sustainability, ecopedagogy, sustainable pedagogy, and other sustainability-related disciplines (Kapranov 2024; Eilam 2025). In this light, the ESD discourses are argued to be reflective of sustainability awareness (Kapranov 2021) as well as concrete action-oriented responses to the implementation of sustainable practices by the cohorts of teachers and learners (Kirsner *et al.* 2007; Meinhold *et al.* 2025). Accordingly, it is, perhaps, not at all surprising that *can* in the present corpus of RAAs on the topics of ESD is related, predominantly, to dynamic modality. Following Palmer (1990), dynamic modality expressed by *can* renders possibility, which is subject-oriented and indicative of the ability and/or volition of the subject of the sentence.

The dominance of *can* as a representative of the dynamic type of modality (83%) is concomitant in the corpus with the preponderance of active constructions with *can* (62%), such as "*can* + proceed", "*can* + serve", etc., whereas the occurrence of *can* in passive constructions (e.g., "*can* + be + built") is less frequent. For instance, the occurrence of *can* in a passive construction (38% in total) is seen in excerpt (1) below:

- (1) Second, distributed leadership **can be constructed** as an indispensable component of inclusive education, and this has implications for how the target groups of inclusive education are conceptualised. This paper also discusses the wider social and political contexts of the two primary schools and how in each case context significantly constrained and shaped understandings and practices of inclusion and distributed leadership in the practice of teachers and principals. (Miškolci *et al.* 2016: 53)

Furthermore, *can* in the corpus occurs in its affirmative form (88%), whereas *can* in its negative form and in negative constructions is infrequent (12%). The occurrence of *can* in a negative construction is illustrated by excerpt (2) below.

- (2) Although lecturers believe communication skills are very important, they also think that they are not developed as much as they should be in their classes, so trainee teachers **cannot communicate** as effectively as they should. (Gallego Ortega/Rodríguez Fuentes 2015: 86)

Moreover, *can* in the corpus seems to occur, largely, in declarative clauses (96%), whereas *can* in interrogative ones is rare, as evident from excerpt (3):

- (3) Over the last decades the nature and form of what children **can** choose to read has changed radically, partly as a consequence of rapid technological advances and the increasing dominance of the image. The research questions were: 1) How do children learn to read and write by computer? 2) How **can** one support children's learning during the transition from pre-school to primary school? and 3) How **can** we support learning during the transition from pre-school to primary school in the future? This work is based on a questionnaire that was sent to kindergarten and primary school teachers in the Helsinki area. (Nurmilaakso 2015: 99)

Further, the aforementioned statistics are summarised in Figure 1, which illustrates the distribution of *can* (in percentage) along the types of modality, active/passive constructions, affirmative/negative forms and constructions, and declarative/interrogative clauses.

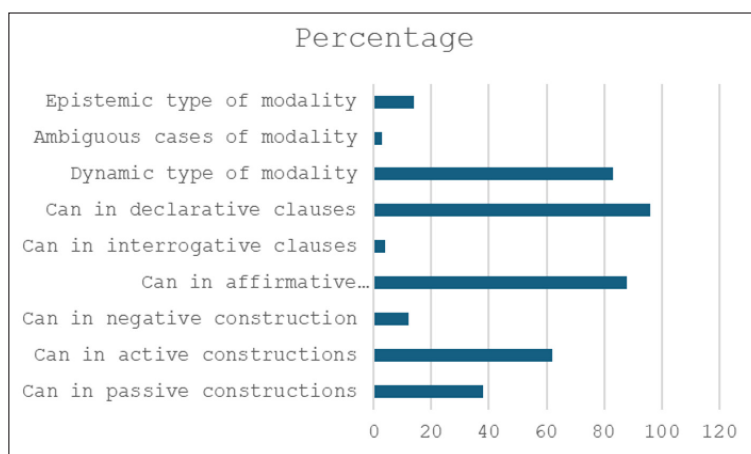


Figure 1. The Properties of *Can* in the Corpus

Judging from Figure 1 above, it seems possible to summarise so far that *can* is frequently employed in RAAs on ESD as a dynamic modal that occurs in declarative clauses as well as affirmative and active constructions.

A relatively high frequency of the occurrence of the modal verb *should* in the corpus is explicable, perhaps, by the academic authors' intention to manifest epistemic modality, which, according to Palmer (1990), refers to what is reasonable to expect and can be paraphrased as "A reasonable inference is that ...", as illustrated by excerpt (4):

- (4) Research on teacher training often focuses on learners' perceptions of that training. The focus of this paper, which uses a research-to-practice approach, is instead on the views of the trainers. It evaluates the perceptions of university lecturers teaching classes as part of primary teachers' training degrees and assesses their views of the communication skills developed by their students to be used in their future careers. The study uses a 17-item ad-hoc questionnaire, completed by 152 lecturers from the University of Granada. Descriptive and inferential analyses are then carried out on the data collected using SPSS. The analysis results show how important lecturers believe it is for trainee teachers to develop communication skills, which they often lack. Although lecturers believe communication skills are very important, they also think that they are not developed as much as they **should** be in their classes, so trainee teachers cannot communicate as effectively as they **should**. (Gallego Ortega/Rodríguez Fuentes 2015: 86).

Whereas *should* in (4) can have a reading associated with a reasonable expectation, there are several cases of *should* in the corpus that appear ambiguous due to their possible interpretation associated with obligation, as illustrated by excerpt (5):

- (5) A questionnaire was administered to members of the public (n = 200) at three different locations. The study found that although the Maltese public strongly appreciates the beauty of Malta's marine environment, the level of knowledge surrounding the marine environment is low. Furthermore, the research indicates that while the public agrees that the marine environment **should** be protected, there is a notable lack of awareness of the five local MPAs. Based on the research findings, a model linking ESD to MPAs and aiming to foster a sense of ownership among the public by encouraging their involvement in the management of local MPAs is proposed. (Mifsud/Verret 2015: 48).

The high frequency of the occurrence of *should* in the corpus seems to support the literature (Panocová 2008; Quintana-Toledo/Cuervo 2020), which demonstrates that epistemic *should* is routinely used by academic writers in order to impart (epistemic) possibility and/or probability that, essentially, is used as a hedging device to signal the authors' lack of certainty and commitment to the results that are, perhaps, tentative, as indicated in the prior studies by Olaniyan/Adeniji (2015), as well as Álvarez-Gil and Domínguez-Morales (2018).

In addition to being predominantly used as an epistemic modal, *should* in the present corpus occurs fairly equally in passive constructions (48%), such as "*should* + be + protected", "*should* + be + used", etc. and in active constructions (52%), for instance, "*should* + go", "*should* + examine", and "*should* + include", as seen in Figure 2.

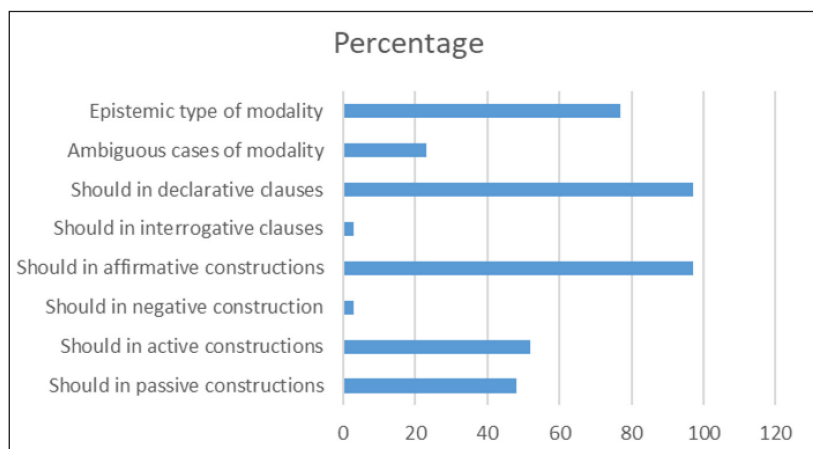


Figure 2. The Properties of *Should* in the Corpus

Similarly to the distribution of *can*, the modal verb *should* occurs, mostly, in its affirmative form and, accordingly, in affirmative constructions (97%), whereas it is not at all common in the negative constructions (3%). Notably, the use of *should* in the corpus seems to be, essentially, restricted to declarative clauses (97%), whilst its occurrence in the interrogative clauses is epiphenomenal (3%), as evident from Figure 2 above.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This article has presented a quantitative study whose aim is to answer the RQ that is related to establishing the most frequent central modal verbs in the corpus of RAAs published in *JTES*, a leading journal in the field of ESD, between 2015 and 2024. The quantitative analysis reveals that *can* and *should*, respectively, are the most frequent central modals in the corpus.

These findings are suggestive of a number of linguo-didactic implications that could be of use to academic writers who publish research in ESD-themed journals. Given that RAAs published in *JTES* are characterised by a substantial presence of *can*, it could be suggested to the academic writers to employ this central modal in order to convey dynamic modality, which is, typically, characterised by the ability of the subject. The use of the dynamic *can* would contribute to the creation of an action-oriented tonality in the RAAs on ESD, which conveys the authorial image of a knowledgeable and action-oriented researcher. Another suggestion that follows from the findings in the present study would be to use the central modal *should*, which is employed by the *JTES* authors in order to render epistemic modality. Assuming that epistemic modality is normally associated with degrees of (un)certainly, the use of *should* adds to the image of a careful, considerate, and non-assertive academic author, whose tonality is characterised by hedging. Hopefully, these suggestions would be of help to novice and post-graduate academic writers in their preparation of an effective and publishable RAA in the field of ESD.

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SUMMARY

MODALITY IN DISCOURSE ON EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH ARTICLE ABSTRACTS

Research article abstracts (RAAs) are argued to form a genre in their own right, which is characterised by a number of genre-specific features, such as the discursive manifestation of modality. Whereas there is a solid body of research on modality in RAAs in, for instance, hard disciplines, currently, however, scientific enquiry into modality in RAAs in discourse on education for sustainable development (ESD) seems to be underrepresented in the literature. In this light, the article presents a study that seeks to explore modality in a corpus of English-medium RAAs on ESD. The corpus was comprised of 200 RAAs published by *Journal of Teacher Education for Sustainability (JTES)*, one of the leading ESD-themed journals. The corpus was analysed quantitatively in order to identify and quantify the so-called central modals in English, namely *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *must*, *shall*, *should*, *will*, and *would*. The corpus analysis was facilitated by the computer software program AntConc (Anthony 2022), which calculated the total number of the aforementioned central modal verbs per issue. Thereafter, SPSS (IBM 2011) was used in order to compute means and standard deviations of the central modals in the corpus. The results of the investigation indicated that *can* and *should* are the most frequent central modals in the corpus. Furthermore, the findings were discussed through the lens of the theoretical approach to modality formulated by Palmer (1990), who proposed the following types of modality: (i) deontic, (ii) dynamic, and (iii) epistemic. It was established that *can* was associated, predominantly, with dynamic modality, whereas *should* was related to epistemic modality. The findings are suggestive of a number of linguo-didactic implications that could be of use to academic writers, who publish research articles in ESD-themed journals. It could be suggested to employ *should* in order to create the image of a careful, considerate, and non-assertive academic author, whose tonality is characterised by hedging. Additionally, it could be advised to use *can* as a dynamic modal in order to present and describe concrete action-oriented responses to the implementation of ESD-related practices. Hopefully, these suggestions would be of help to novice and post-graduate academic writers in their preparation of an effective and publishable RAA in the field of ESD.

KEYWORDS: academic discourse, education for sustainable development (ESD), modality, research article abstracts (RAAs).

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■ VOJVODINA HUNGARIANS IN THE DIGITAL AGE: THE OUTCOMES OF MULTILINGUALISM AND DIGITAL NATIVENESS AND THEIR EFFECT ON LINGUISTIC PRACTICES

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U izrazito višejezičnom kontekstu Vojvodine, ova studija ispituje odnos između digitalne nativnosti i transjezičkih praksi, kao i varijacije u jezičkim izborima i stavovima mladih vojvođanskih Mađara u zavisnosti od stepena digitalne nativnosti. Istraživanje je zasnovano na kvantitativnom pristupu, pri čemu je onlajn upitnik distribuiran putem društvenih mreža (*Facebook*, *Reddit* i *Instagram*). Analiza obuhvata stratifikovani slučajni uzorak od 600 vojvođanskih Mađara, a korišćena je adaptirana verzija testa digitalne nativnosti koji su razvile Helsper i Eynon (Helsper/Eynon 2010), sa ciljem da se prikupe podaci o digitalnim navikama, medijskoj izloženosti i jezičkim praksama ispitanika. Rezultati pokazuju da različiti nivoi izloženosti tehnologiji, jezicima i medijima značajno utiču na jezičke izbore i stavove prema transjezičkim praksama. Jedan od ključnih nalaza ukazuje na jasan starosni obrazac: samopouzdanje u pogledu digitalnih i internet vještina postepeno opada sa godinama. Dok stariji ispitanici u većoj mjeri dolaze u kontakt sa mađarskim i srpskim jezikom, mlađe generacije pokazuju znatno viši nivo samopouzdanja u digitalnim kompetencijama, kao i intenzivniju izloženost engleskom jeziku u onlajn medijskom prostoru. Kada je reč o kreiranju i konzumiranju sadržaja, uočava se izražen i postepen pad upotrebe srpskog jezika sa porastom digitalnog samopouzdanja, dok se, nasuprot tome, upotreba i deljenje sadržaja na engleskom jeziku povećavaju sa višim nivoima digitalne nativnosti. Razlike u stavovima prema transjezičkim praksama dodatno ukazuju na to da digitalni izvorni govornici pokazuju veću otvorenost i fleksibilnost u odnosu na digitalne imigrante. Ova otvorenost može se povezati sa dinamičnom i višejezičnom prirodom digitalnih platformi koje digitalni izvorni govornici redovno koriste, a na kojima su fluidne jezičke prakse široko rasprostranjene i društveno prihvaćene. Studija ističe ključnu ulogu digitalnih kompetencija u oblikovanju jezičkog repertoara pripadnika manjinskih zajednica i ukazuje na to da prihvatanje transjezičkih praksi u digitalnim prostorima može pozitivno doprineti vidljivosti, prilagodljivosti i dugoročnom očuvanju vojvođanskog mađarskog jezika.

Ključne reči: digitalni izvorni govornici, vojvođanski Mađari, transjezičke prakse, jezički izbor, višejezičnost.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past few years, an increasing number of studies on multilingualism have furthered our understanding of how multilingual speakers navigate and simultaneously negotiate their identities using multiple languages during communication (Spilioti 2019; Darvin 2022; Almashour 2024). The concepts and study of multilingualism and translanguaging arose from the dissatisfaction with terms such as code-switching (Almashour 2024) and speech communities (Jacquemet 2019), which are now considered limiting and outdated, due to their rigid view of languages (Jacquemet 2019; Darvin 2022; Almashour 2024). From this perspective, the terms multilingualism and translanguaging capture this shift away from traditional and separatist views of languages, while also signifying a move towards a much more flexible and open-minded approach and practice. Due to globalization and the widening availability of mobile networks, digital devices, and internet connection, the internet is rapidly becoming a space where multiple languages intersect in various ways. Through these means, it has become much easier to practice translanguaging (either consciously or unconsciously), i.e., a communicative practice that involves a speaker's skilful use of their entire linguistic repertoire for more effective and creative communication (Tankosić/Litzenberg 2021; Darvin 2022; Almashour 2024), but it has also made the researcher's job easier to do research into it. Online platforms are therefore viewed as ideal grounds both for conducting research and practicing translanguaging (Spilioti 2019; Jacquemet 2019). However, studies have found that due to their different goals, values, and interests, there are notable differences in people's use of the internet and communication on the internet. Taking this into account, two crucial notions that need to be considered at this point relate to internet users, which Prensky (2001) introduced in his studies as Digital Natives and Digital Immigrants. As opposed to Digital Immigrants who encountered digital technology and the internet at later points in their lives, Digital Natives are defined as individuals who grew up using and being surrounded by technology. Therefore, Digital Natives are described to be very digitally oriented in various areas of life, including communication, studying, looking up information, and running errands digitally, which all require the frequent use of language(s) online, while Digital Immigrants are described as individuals who tend to prefer more traditional, face-to-face interactions and errands.

Due to these differences, research has taken an interest in looking into various potential connections between Digital Natives and teaching, learning, digital communication, digital literacy, language practices, and even upbringing (cf. Pasfield-Neofitou 2013; Milutinović 2022; Chang/Chang 2023; Reid *et al.* 2023), often with the aim to compare these with the experiences of Digital Immigrants. Compared to initial beliefs on the Digital Native and Digital Immigrant divide, research over the years has shown how crucial it is to not exclude any generation from the possibility of being Digital Natives, as outcomes can depend on a variety of other factors, such as a person's experience, not just one's birthyear (Tapscott 1998; Helsper 2021; Kincl/Štrach 2021). Furthermore, research has also taken a turn towards connecting Digital Natives and minority and endangered languages. Very often, the aim of these studies is to reveal whether Digital Nateness could strengthen digital communication among minority individuals and heighten the visibility and awareness of minority and endangered languages online (Galács/Ságvári

2013; Jokinen *et al.* 2017), which could also potentially aid the documenting process of these less visible languages digitally. For these reasons, it is very important to promote and encourage translanguaging among minorities, particularly in digital spaces, as this could give these languages a greater chance at survival by keeping them in use (Kornai 2013). Several studies have explored translanguaging among minority groups in Western Europe (Cenoz/Gorter 2017; Prošić-Santovac/Radović 2018; Ćorković 2019), and while many studies have also looked into Digital Nativeness (Helsper/Eynon 2010; Hargittai 2010; Correa 2016; Helsper 2021; Reid *et al.* 2023) and translanguaging (Tankosić/Litzenberg 2021; Darwin 2022; Dryden/Izadi 2023; Almashour 2024), the two are usually done separately. Because of this, research that specifically looks into the intersection of these concepts is still scarce, especially in a Vojvodina Hungarian context, where various languages intersect.

In light of the above, the present study seeks to gain insight into the extent to which Vojvodina Hungarians exhibit characteristics of Digital Natives, while also focusing on how language choices and attitudes towards translanguaging may vary according to the extent of one's Digital Nativeness.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. DIGITAL NATIVENESS

Initially, Digital Natives were perceived to be primarily determined by birthyear and tied to specific generations who grew up with technology and have grown so close to it that they cannot imagine a world without it. Digital Natives were differentiated from Digital Immigrants, who were usually described as the parents of the generations of Digital Natives. Digital Immigrants were understood to not rely primarily on digital devices for communication, work, or advice (Prensky 2001). The task of looking something up on Google might have been integrated into the daily routine of a Digital Native, while unfamiliar and complicated to a Digital Immigrant. As Prensky (2001: 2) put it, "Digital Immigrants learn – like all immigrants, some better than others – to adapt to their environment, they always retain, to some degree, their 'accent,' that is, their foot in the past", which can explain why they might find adapting to novelties difficult on many occasions.

In recent years more and more studies have focused on Digital Natives but adopting alternate approaches to defining and studying them (Helsper/Eynon 2010; Teo 2013), creating and perfecting tools to assess Digital Nativeness, but with slightly different perspectives. While Teo's (2013) DNAS (Digital Natives Assessment Scale) employs a 7-point Likert-scale questionnaire on a total of 21 situations (the established categories being as follows: growing up with technology, comfortable with multitasking, reliant on graphics for communication, and thriving on instant gratifications and rewards), Helsper and Eynon's (2010) assessment offers a more in-depth and critical perspective. Based on findings, Helsper and Eynon (2010) argue that age is to be considered in combination with the individual's overall experience (i.e. years of contact) with the internet and technology and breadth of use (i.e. how integrated the internet is in one's life, and what activities are done online), while also keeping in mind the potential influence of socioeconomic factors (Tapscott 1998; Helsper 2021; Kincl/Štrach 2021). The results of Helsper and Eynon's

2010 study have further disproved the previously imagined (Prensky 2001; Underwood 2007) unbridgeable gap between Digital Natives and Immigrants, as they revealed that being a Digital Native does not rely solely on one's birthyear (i.e. generational affiliation). It also needs to be highlighted that growing up with technology does not automatically equate to digital competence, and, therefore, Digital Nativeness (Hargittai 2010; Correa 2016; Reid *et al.* 2023), as there might be various underlying factors (socioeconomic status, gender, education, and, importantly, access to digital resources) that could lead to different outcomes (Helsper 2021). Moreover, digital inequalities in the life of all generations, including younger people as well, could also heavily influence their digital skills, digital engagement, as well as overall access to digital media, as was found by Helsper (2021). The original definition of Digital Natives (Prensky 2001) has often been criticized for homogenizing and generalizing a set of behaviours and often strictly tying these to younger generations (born in 1980 and after), overlooking some highly decisive factors such as the level of technological knowledge and experience (Hargittai 2010; Helsper/Eynon 2010; Lee 2014), which anyone might possess, regardless of their birthyear.

Over the decades, Digital Nativeness has become accepted as a rather flexible concept, leaving behind the sole original criterion of strict generational boundaries (Hargittai 2010; Correa 2016; Reid *et al.* 2023), and instead, shifting the focus onto connecting it with an array of socioeconomic and individual (often personal) factors as well as experience with and exposure to technology and the internet (Tapscott 1998; Helsper/Eynon 2010). Although the findings of several studies indicate a higher proficiency among teenagers, university students, and young adults when it comes to digital skills (Helsper/Eynon 2010; Akçayır *et al.* 2016), it also needs to be noted that this is not a universal phenomenon, as digital inequalities exist even among these groups (Helsper 2021). At the same time, others have found that there are many other factors (and their combinations) that also play a vital role in one's Digital Nativeness, mostly individual ones such as personal interests and attitude towards technology and knowledge (Hargittai 2010; Jarrahi/Eshraghi 2019), as well as the level of education and even gender (Helsper/Eynon 2010; Correa 2016). Jarrahi and Eshraghi (2019) also found that Digital Natives and Digital Immigrants approach personal and professional matters quite differently, as Digital Natives easily turn to social networks in both cases, while Digital Immigrants prefer instead more traditional and face-to-face communication and tend to view social networks as professional tools.

2.2. MULTILINGUALISM AND TRANSLANGUAGING ON THE INTERNET

Translanguaging has often been described as a linguistic practice that abandons traditional language boundaries, and instead, brings light to the multiple ways in which multilingual speakers are able to draw on their entire linguistic repertoires, for a variety of reasons, including, often, for the sake of more effective, individual, and also creative communication (Tankosić/Litzenberg 2021; Darwin 2022; Almashour 2024).

One study which captures how translanguaging works and positively affects the actors of a multilingual environment is that of Tankosić and Litzenberg (2021), a linguistic landscape study, in Bosnia and Herzegovina's capital, Sarajevo. This particular study found that, generally, speakers tended to use and come into contact with the

three mutually intelligible languages of Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian interchangeably. Tankosić and Litzenberg (2021: 23) argue that due to the flexibility of translanguaging, the focus in such a context shifts “from languages as ideological constructs to the negotiating practices of a core in which the three native varieties [Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian] mix and mesh, blurring their differences while simultaneously displaying the true, diverse nature of the region.” Their findings not only show that translanguaging is a daily and mundane phenomenon in the region but also help recognize how these practices promote linguistic equality and signify a move towards inclusion.

Moreover, the promotion of translingual practices has been found beneficial for reasons relating to language maintenance as well as language acquisition, especially when it comes to minority and/or multilingual settings (Cenoz/Gorter 2017; Prošić-Santovac/Radović 2018; Ćorković 2019), since translanguaging provides a much more flexible way of communication and makes it easier for people to communicate more effectively. For similar reasons, when it comes to minority languages, it is especially crucial to provide the opportunity for translanguaging, however, as Cenoz and Gorter (2017: 910) argue, it can only be sustainable and successful if the situations where translanguaging takes place and is encouraged are “rooted in the reality of minority languages and [allow] for breathing spaces that create the need to use these languages.”

Lately, more and more scholars have been interested in conducting research in the Balkans (Ćorković 2019; Morozova/Rusakov 2021; Tankosić/Litzenberg 2021; Mandić/Rácz 2023), and minority settings such as Vojvodina have also become areas of research often with the aim to bring light to the multilingual situation and the power dynamics among the languages present in the area (Mandić/Rácz 2023; Rácz 2024). Rácz's (2024) study, which focuses on the visual and linguistic aspects of Vojvodina Hungarian (VH) Facebook pages (interactions with the posts and images) revealed that many Vojvodina Hungarians shape and showcase their VH identities online through the use of Vojvodina Hungarian memes that they can relate to, which very frequently include Serbian loanwords and often translanguaging, alongside humour and other recurring themes. Not only do they strengthen their VH identity, but they also simultaneously differentiate themselves from Hungarian communities in Hungary (Rácz 2024), while also reflecting their multilingual and ethnically mixed environments in real life that also extend into the online space. Lastly, in an earlier study, Mandić and Rácz (2023) looked into the optional school subject “Language of Social Environment” (LSE), which was once part of the Yugoslav education system in Vojvodina (1960s through the 1980s) originally for students whose L1 was Serbo-Croatian. By 2012, the reintroduction of the once taught school subject (now as *Hungarian as LSE*) was requested by the City Council of Subotica on multiple occasions but to no avail. During their fieldwork in Debeljača/Torontólvásárhely, Mandić and Rácz (2023) found that the former teachers and students (as well as their families) of the once taught school subject found it very beneficial as it could not only strengthen the children's multilingual competence, but, due to the subject being grounded in the values of societal multilingualism, it also represented and supported multilingualism. These values are especially important to be highlighted when it comes to minority languages and their position within a society, since this “language-as-resource” approach aims to foster tolerance (Mandić/Rácz 2023), which is something all minorities need to exist.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. DATA COLLECTION

The present study examined a stratified random sample consisting of 600 Vojvodina Hungarians from a diverse range of age groups, occupational backgrounds, and genders. The 600 participants were selected from the original total of 693 participants due to some questionnaire answers being incomplete. An online Google Forms questionnaire was created and shared on various social media platforms (including Facebook and Messenger, Instagram, and Reddit) in late 2024 and early 2025, which included questions on participants' general backgrounds, experience with technology, linguistic and digital habits, and translanguaging. The questionnaire was comprised of different sections, each focusing on a topic (from the list above). The participants were asked to share their experience with technology, including how frequently and in what ways they used digital devices and virtual platforms to see to what extent participants are involved in these digital activities. The 12 online activities established by Helsper and Eynon (2010) are the following: training/studying, e-government, entertainment, finance/e-banking, fact-checking/looking up information, current affairs/interests, travel, shopping online, social networking, diary functions, person-to-person networking, and civic participation (i.e. online forums, more specifically). Regardless of Helsper and Eynon's 2010 test being originally created over 10 years ago, it can still elicit in-depth data on Digital Nateness when adapted to current trends in technology and media. The section that particularly focused on the participants' digital habits was a contemporary adaptation of Helsper and Eynon's (2010) Digital Nateness test (see Appendix for exact questions used), and aimed to provide a clear picture of the frequency and type of digital activity participants usually partook in, how long they have been doing things on the internet, and whether they usually multitasked (e.g. listened to music while messaging friends as well as studying or doing household chores). These questions were simple and aimed to gather data on participants' recent digital activities, the number of regularly used digital devices they owned, and self-report on their confidence regarding digital skills, but they were also asked about their preferences when looking up information and communicating.

Previous studies (Prensky 2001; Helsper/Eynon 2010; Teo 2013; Akçayır *et al.* 2016) have established that there is a combination of factors and activities that are characteristic of Digital Natives. Apart from the birthyear of the individual (1980 or after), Digital Natives process and access information differently, often preferring digital, quick, and visual information as opposed to non-virtual, written, and longer pieces of information. They also engage in multitasking regularly, and "thrive on instant gratification and rewards" (Akçayır *et al.* 2016). While digital skills and new technologies can be learnt and acquired by anyone, even by Digital Immigrants born before a highly digital world, Prensky (2001) argues that the level of knowledge and skills they may acquire could never close the ever-widening gap between Digital Natives and Digital Immigrants due to their social, technological, historical, and cultural backgrounds (Prensky 2001). Therefore, based on these, Helsper and Eynon's (2010) three factors are foregrounded in the present study as the most decisive: that of age (1980 being the dividing birthyear), experience, and breadth of use. The factor of experience is to be portrayed in the number of years and frequency of internet and device use, while the breadth of use is about how integrated

the internet and digital activities are in the lives of participants, including multitasking. Therefore, to give an account of their breadth of use, the study takes into consideration whether participants tend to multitask and how many of Helsper and Eynon's (2010) 12 established activities they engage in in general.

Additionally, participants were asked to answer a range of questions related to their language choices in various contexts, particularly in virtual spaces, and to also provide some general information about their linguistic backgrounds and environment. This approach aimed to capture a broad spectrum of experiences and perspectives, ensuring a rich understanding of their digital and linguistic behaviours.

3.2. PARTICIPANTS

The 600 participants were of various backgrounds and educational history and were selected from a total of 693 participants to ensure equal distribution among age groups as well as genders. In the end, the selected questionnaires were those of 300 male and 300 female individuals. In each established age group, there were 100 participants, 50 males and 50 females. Information on both the place of birth and the participants' current place of residence was collected, which showed that 44% (264 participants) were born in the geographical region of Bačka, and 36% (215 participants) were living in Bačka at the moment of filling in the questionnaire. Regarding the geographical region of Banat, 54% (323 participants) were born there, while 53% (317 participants) were still residing there. A total of 2 participants (0.3%) were born in the geographical region of Srem and 11 participants (2%) were born abroad (mainly in Hungary), while 11.5% (69 participants) currently live abroad. The majority (468 participants, 78%) of the Vojvodina Hungarians see themselves as Hungarian in terms of nationality, some as Serbian and Hungarian (126 participants, 21%), while some selected Yugoslav, Serbian, and even Swiss (1%). Regarding the participants' highest level of education at the time of filling in the questionnaire, of the 600 participants, 42% (249 participants) have a high school diploma, 21% (124 participants) have a bachelor's degree, while 21% (124 participants) have completed elementary school. Another 14% (85 participants) hold a master's degree or higher, and 3% (18 participants) have an associate degree. Additionally, the answers revealed the participants' vocation and their current job status, which had the following results: of the 600 Vojvodina Hungarians, 52% (310 individuals) work a daytime job and regularly go to work, 12% (69 participants) of the participants work from home, 23% (136 participants) are still in school (this category includes the 100 participants from the first age group, i.e. those under the age of 18), 9% (51 participants) are retired, and 6% (34 participants) are unemployed and/or looking for a job. In more detail, those who are working (350 participants) tend to work mainly in business, finances, and sales (34%, 206 participants), and the public sector and services (14%, 83 participants). Another 5% (33 participants) work in health and social care, while the rest are in hospitality and tourism (2%, 12 participants) as well as agriculture (3%, 16 participants).

3.3. DATA ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to analyse the collected data, the answers that could be numerically expressed were analysed for correlation analyses, pivot tables, and general summaries. Based on the study of Helsper and Eynon (2010), the significance of age, experience

(years and nature of digital activities), and breadth of use (i.e. the 12 activities listed in 3.1. above) was analysed when it comes to defining and identifying Digital Natives. The breadth of use was determined by analysing the different ways people use the internet (i.e. the 12 activities listed in 3.1. above), where a scale of 1 to 12 was created in order to measure how many of these activities each participant partakes in regularly. It is also necessary to clarify that while the questionnaire was shared on social media platforms, ensuring that all participants who filled it in were users of the internet, this does not mean that they are automatically Digital Natives. The present study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. To what extent do various groups of Vojvodina Hungarians exhibit characteristics of Digital Natives?
2. In what ways does being a Digital Native impact language choices and attitudes towards translanguaging among Vojvodina Hungarians?

4. DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

4.1. DIGITAL NATIVENESS AND CONTENT CREATION AMONG VOJVODINA HUNGARIANS

To address the first research question, it is necessary to reveal the extent to which the current population of Vojvodina Hungarians exhibit characteristics of Digital Natives. As established previously, when looking at the characteristics of Digital Natives, it is not enough to solely focus on age, but to consider age in combination with other factors as well (Helsper/Eynon 2010; Helsper 2021) to gain a better understanding of the wider context. For this reason, age, gender, employment status, as well as educational background were taken into consideration and checked for correlation and tendencies with a few variables, such as experience with the internet (years of contact, devices used, and general habits), breadth of use (Helsper/Eynon 2010), multitasking tendencies, and also self-reported confidence in internet and digital skills. The second section of the questionnaire specifically focused on raising questions and topics related to digital devices, information seeking tendencies, general questions in connection with the internet (including social media knowledge and use), and the participants' overall digital habits and preferences. Table 1 shows each of the 6 age groups and their averages in a variety of situations, including whether they multitask or not (range: 0 – does not engage in multitasking, 1 – does engage in multitasking), how frequently they use the internet (range: 0 through 4; 0 indicates no use, while 4 indicates daily use), how many digital devices they own, and lastly, the number of places with internet access (the ranges in this and the previous case are not limited). At first glance, the results show that, on average, those in the 18–25 and 26–35 age groups own the most digital devices (the mean average being 2.42 and 2.27, respectively), and also have the most internet access at all times (see Table 1), as opposed to older generations, who score lowest for both among the 6 age groups. Overall, the one aspect that did not seem to play a major role in any case was gender, as not much difference could be observed in internet and device access, nor in terms of information seeking preferences.

Averages of → Age groups ↓	Multitasking (range: 0 – no; 1 – yes)	Frequency of internet use (range: 0 through 4; 0 – never, 4 – daily)	Number of electronic devices	Number of places with internet access
under 18	0.92	3.98	2.04	2.47
18–25	0.90	4.00	2.42	4.91
26–35	0.77	4.00	2.27	3.34
36–45	0.70	4.00	2.02	2.21
46–55	0.53	3.98	1.97	2.28
over 55	0.43	3.98	1.82	1.75
Grand Total	0.70	3.99	2.09	2.82

Table 1. Averages regarding digital devices, frequency of internet use, multitasking, and number of places with internet access based on age groups

When it comes to accessing and looking up information, Table 2 shows rather great differences. Asking AI for information seems to be much more widespread among students as opposed to those who are employed, working from home, or looking for a job, while those who are retired prefer more traditional methods, but they are also quite digital in this sense as they also turn to Google first when seeking information. Additionally, it is important to point out that in Table 2, the majority (67%) of those who only completed elementary school are students currently enrolled in high school, which explains why their first source of information is also AI, followed by Google.

First source of information (range: 0 through 3; 0 – go over to a neighbour to ask in person, 1 – call a friend to ask, 2 – type it into a browser (Google), 3 – ask AI (ChatGPT, Samsung Assistant, or Alexa)		
Employment status	Student	2.64
	Employed	2.08
	Unemployed / looking for a job	2.08
	Work from home	2.01
	Retired	1.94
	Grand Total	2.19
Highest level of education	Elementary school	2.54
	Secondary school (gymnasium, vocational school)	2.12
	College – university (bachelor's degree)	2.09
	Postgraduate education (Master's, Doctorate)	2.07
	Associate degree	1.88
	Grand Total	2.19

Table 2. First source of information by employment status and educational level

Moving on to one of the most important aspects of Digital Nateness, Table 3 shows the averages of participants' confidence in their internet and digital skills (ranging from 1 through 5, with 1 indicating lack of confidence and requiring assistance, and 5 indicating independence and highest confidence in one's digital skills), overall frequency of social media use, as well as their breadth of use. In Table 3, we can see a tendency for confidence in internet and digital skills to decrease as age increases, which aligns with the participants' social media use as well as their breadth of use in general. This is

especially clear in the case of younger age groups, particularly those under 18 and those between 18 and 35. The variety of online activities (breadth of use) participants engage in also appears to decrease with age, which suggests that while older individuals may still use the internet for a variety of reasons and tasks, they tend to feel less secure in their digital skills and abilities compared to younger individuals. Although not too prominent, another notable difference can be seen in the averages of breadth of use and frequency of social media use, particularly focusing on the youngest three age groups in the table. As Helsper (2021) pointed out, digital inequalities can and do exist everywhere, which is especially important to bear in mind, as this could not only impact one's digital skills and engagement with social media but also their access to digital media and devices in the first place. If we compare Tables 1 and 3, it can be clearly seen that there are differences among these three age groups in the number of devices they own, along with the number of places they have access to the internet, which all impact how they interact with media and what activities they choose to engage in online. However, despite these results, those under 18 still feel the most confident in their digital skills, which can be explained mainly by them being exposed to technology from a very young age, which is a much different learning curve from the one older generations had gone through, as they were introduced to digital technologies later in their lives.

Averages of → Age groups ↓	Confidence in internet and digital skills (range: 1 through 5; 1 – not at all confident, 5 – entirely confident)	Frequency of social media use (range: 0 through 4; 0 – never, 4 – daily)	Engagement in the 12 activities (breadth of use) in general: (range: 0 through 4; 0 – never, 4 – daily)
under 18	4.51	2.00	2.44
18–25	4.25	2.00	2.80
26–35	4.28	1.83	2.71
36–45	3.67	1.62	2.55
46–55	3.04	1.34	2.46
over 55	2.07	1.33	2.25
Grand Total	3.63	1.68	2.54

Table 3. Averages of confidence in internet and digital skills, frequency of social media use, and breadth of use across age groups

In connection to these results, the data also showed a correlation between the participants' confidence in their internet and digital skills and their engagement in multitasking, how frequently they used social media sites, as well as their content creation in Hungarian, Serbian, and English. Based on the averages calculated in Table 4, the higher their confidence in their digital skills, the more likely they are to engage in multitasking and visit more social media sites. However, when it comes to creating content (sharing posts, photos, and communicating online) in the three languages, a drastic and steady decrease can be seen in the averages of content creation in Serbian as confidence rises. In contrast to Serbian, for content creation in English, as confidence rises, so does the likelihood of sharing English content online. Table 3 also shows that those who are most confident in their digital skills are the youngest (under 18), closely followed by those between 18 and 35 in age, which indicates that those under 18 are the ones who create the most content in English. On the other hand, those over the age of 55

are the least likely to create content in English, however, the table also shows that they are the most likely to create content in Serbian with drastically different averages when compared to the younger age groups.

<i>Averages of → The participants' confidence in their internet and digital skills ↓</i>	<i>Engagement in multitasking (range: 0 through 1; 0 – no, 1 – yes)</i>	<i>Frequency of social media use (range: 0 through 4; 0 – never, 4 – daily)</i>	<i>Content creation in Hungarian (range: 0 through 1; 0 – no, 1 – yes)</i>	<i>Content creation in Serbian (range: 0 through 1; 0 – no, 1 – yes)</i>	<i>Content creation in English (range: 0 through 1; 0 – no, 1 – yes)</i>
1 – not confident at all	0.41	1.34	0.83	0.80	0.36
2	0.41	1.38	0.80	0.51	0.19
3	0.70	1.59	0.89	0.53	0.35
4	0.77	1.75	0.85	0.38	0.52
5 – entirely confident	0.83	1.89	0.80	0.29	0.61
Grand Total	0.70	1.68	0.84	0.43	0.46

Table 4. Averages of multitasking, social media use, and content creation across confidence levels in internet and digital skills

To also give a clearer picture of which social media platforms are visited by the participants and how often, Table 5 shows the averages of social media consumption based on age. The averages range from 0 to 4, indicating how often these sites are visited by the participants (0 – never, 1 – rarely, 2 – sometimes, 3 – regularly, 4 – on a daily basis). As in Table 4, the results in Table 5 also show that as age increases, social media use decreases, as does the variety of visited social media sites. While those under 18 and between the ages of 18 and 35 regularly visit 4–5 social media sites, while those over the age of 36 tend to use and visit 2–3 sites more regularly, with Facebook being among the most popular ones. One notable finding that needs to be highlighted is the case of Facebook, where the averages reveal that it is much less used among those under 18 than the rest of the participants. This might be due to Facebook becoming a much less desirable social media platform for this age group, especially when compared to Instagram and TikTok. Lastly, Discord and Twitter are the two least visited platforms by all age groups when contrasted with Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, and Pinterest.

<i>Age groups → Social media use ↓</i>	<i>under 18</i>	<i>18–25</i>	<i>26–35</i>	<i>36–45</i>	<i>46–55</i>	<i>over 55</i>	<i>Grand Total A</i>
	<i>(range: 0 – never, 1 – rarely, 2 – sometimes, 3 – regularly, 4 – on a daily basis)</i>						
Facebook	2.07	3.86	3.92	3.87	3.91	3.82	3.58
Instagram	3.78	3.36	3.00	2.57	2.03	1.78	2.75
TikTok	3.14	3.16	2.17	1.47	0.94	0.67	1.93
Discord	0.96	0.24	0.10	0.08	0.04	0.05	0.25
Reddit	0.12	0.15	0.43	0.27	0.14	0.20	0.22
Pinterest	2.34	1.89	1.43	1.45	0.71	1.03	1.48
YouTube	3.09	2.99	2.94	2.91	2.79	2.84	2.93
Twitter (X)	0.47	0.37	0.64	0.23	0.16	0.24	0.35
Grand Total B	2.00	2.00	1.83	1.61	1.34	1.33	1.69

Table 5. Average social media use frequency by age

Finally, Table 6 shows digital skills and activities based on employment status, specifically the participants' overall digital activities regarding the 12 categories within breadth of use, multitasking, and it also contains information on their social media consumption. As it was established previously, the data here too revealed that, in general, students tend to be the most confident in their internet and digital skills, and they are also most likely to multitask and use social media the most actively. Similarly to Helsper and Eynon's 2010 findings, the results of the current study also show a difference regarding breadth of use among students and those who are employed, as students are less likely to engage in e-banking, e-government, online shopping, and travel related activities, as those are often not yet common activities among young students who do not have a stable income. These varying levels of independence and responsibility are also reflected in Tables 7 and 8, which show in detail who engages in these activities the most vs. the least.

Averages of → Employment status ↓	Confidence in internet and digital skills (range: 1 through 5; 1 – not at all confident, 5 – entirely confident)	Engagement in multitasking (range: 0 through 1; 0 – no, 1 – yes)	Engagement in the 12 activities (breadth of use) in general: (range: 0 through 4; 0 – never, 4 – daily)	Frequency of social media use (range: 0 through 4; 0 – never, 4 – daily)
Student	4.45	0.94	2.57	2.02
Employed	3.64	0.72	2.63	1.61
Unemployed / looking for a job	3.08	0.52	2.28	1.63
Work from home	3.39	0.52	2.44	1.68
Retired	2.09	0.37	2.15	1.28
Grand Total	3.63	0.70	2.54	1.68

Table 6. Activities, multitasking, and digital skills based on employment status

Table 7 summarizes the Vojvodina Hungarian participants' range of online activities in general based on their age in order to compare the groups and see if there are any notable differences in activities. The averages in Table 8 range from 0 to 4 (with 0 – no, 1 – rarely, 2 – sometimes, 3 – regularly, and 4 – daily). To begin with, what we can observe in the bottom row of grand totals in Table 8 is that, overall, the internet is more incorporated into the daily routines of age groups 18–25, 26–35, and 36–45, and it is also noteworthy that the averages slowly decrease as age increases. The most frequent activities among all age groups are entertainment, social networking, person-to-person networking, and fact-checking, while the least popular ones are civic participation and writing a diary. As expected, both e-government and e-finance are noticeably higher among those in the 26–35 age group as opposed to the youngest Vojvodina Hungarians and those over 55, while studying is the most frequently occurring activity among students who are under 18 and 18–25. Overall, internet use is reported to be the highest and most varying in terms of activities among those between 18 and 35, which reflects how different age groups are at different life stages and have differing needs as well as priorities.

Age groups → Digital activities ↓	Under 18	18–25	26–35	36–45	46–55	Over 55	Grand Total
	(range: 0 – never, 1 – rarely, 2 – sometimes, 3 – regularly, 4 – daily)						
1. Training/studying	3.31	3.28	2.58	2.67	2.58	2.20	2.77
2. E-government	0.83	1.88	2.23	2.34	2.17	1.66	1.85
3. Entertainment	3.89	3.76	3.54	3.27	3.24	3.19	3.48
4. Finance/e-banking	0.37	2.29	2.49	2.10	1.76	1.68	1.78
5. Fact-checking/looking up information	3.74	3.84	3.69	3.45	3.54	3.41	3.61
6. Current affairs/interests	2.24	3.09	3.09	2.92	3.24	3.44	3.00
7. Travel	2.13	2.65	2.50	2.57	2.65	1.92	2.40
8. Shopping online	1.83	2.51	2.54	2.37	2.02	1.31	2.09
9. Social networking	3.86	3.84	3.73	3.59	3.28	2.94	3.54
10. Diary functions	1.27	0.89	0.76	0.36	0.29	0.24	0.63
11. Person-to-person networking	3.96	3.96	3.84	3.43	3.32	3.61	3.68
12. Civic participation: online forums	1.87	1.65	1.47	1.53	1.44	1.45	1.56
Grand Total	2.44	2.80	2.71	2.55	2.46	2.25	2.54

Table 7. Breadth of use in general based on age

Lastly, contact with the internet expressed in number of years was highest among two age groups: the 36–45 age group with an average of 19.51 years of contact with the internet and the 46–55 age group with an average of 18.41 years, followed by those above the age of 55 with an average of 17.45 years. The two age groups that had the least contact with the internet expressed in years was the 26–35 age group with an average of 17.15 years, while those between 18 and 25 years of age had an average of 12.91 years. Lastly, those under the age of 18 had the smallest average of 7.38 years. Although these numbers do seem to indicate that prolonged contact with the internet would result in higher and more complex internet activities, as well as higher familiarity with internet tools, social media, and digital tasks, based on all of the results so far, in Tables 1–7, it can be established that these averages do not necessarily reflect the reality of how familiar the participants are with the internet, the use of digital devices, and even virtual tools. Despite being users of the internet for nearly 20 years, the results of the above analyses regarding breadth of use, social media habits, and confidence in their internet and digital skills indicate that those above the age of 35 are much less familiar with and involved in digital activities than those below the age of 35, which can especially be observed in detail in Tables 1 and 3.

All in all, the above results show similar outcomes to earlier studies on Digital Natives (Helsper/Eynon 2010; Helsper 2021). The results of the present paper also highlight the importance of looking at multiple factors, but age especially in combination with experience and breadth of use when determining the extent to which an individual can be considered a Digital Native. At the same time, it is also crucial to not exclude any generation from the possibility of being Digital Natives, as studies, including the present one, have shown that Digital Nateness can depend on a variety of interrelated factors (Tapscott 1998; Helsper 2021; Kincl/Štrach 2021), which explains why it is so important

to provide as much context as possible when doing research on this topic. Based on the results and the comparison of the tables, it is not possible to entirely separate Digital Natives and Digital Immigrants, since various age groups share similar digital habits, especially in the case of the 12 activities (breadth of use), as well as have been in contact with the internet for a prolonged period of time. However, it does need to be addressed that in general, the extent of participation, social media use and preferences, as well as content creation slowly but steadily decrease as age increases, which does indicate that there are some noteworthy differences, especially when comparing the youngest age group to the oldest.

4.2. TRANSLANGUAGING AND LANGUAGE CHOICES AMONG VOJVODINA HUNGARIANS: DOES DIGITAL NATIVENESS IMPACT LANGUAGE CHOICES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS TRANSLANGUAGING?

To address the second research question, a number of questions in the questionnaire focused on collecting data on what languages participants come into contact with in their daily lives and how often, what their language choices are in a number of online and offline contexts, and whether or not they tend to engage in translanguaging (the answers participants gave were based on examples of translanguaging included in Questions 23 and 24, which is included in the Appendix). Considering that the most prominent differences could be observed in the results of the data based on age in section 4.1 above, this section will also discuss the results of these questions for the sake of comparability to the results discussed in that section.

To begin with, Table 8 shows how intensively participants are in contact with the three languages of Hungarian, Serbian, and English, with 0 indicating never, and 4 indicating daily. Across all age groups, Hungarian is the language that is most regularly present in the lives of the participants with an average of 3.9, followed by Serbian with averages that range from 3.17 to 3.64. However, Serbian seems to be slightly more present in the lives of those over the age 46 as opposed to those under 18. In contrast to Serbian, the results show entirely different trends when it comes to the Vojvodina Hungarians' contact with the English language, as in this case, as age increases, the frequency of contact with English steadily decreases. The presence of English is especially prominent in the lives of those under 18, as it is nearly as frequently encountered by the participants as Hungarian is.

<i>Averages of → Age groups ↓</i>	<i>Frequency of contact with Hungarian</i>	<i>Frequency of contact with Serbian</i>	<i>Frequency of contact with English</i>
	<i>(range: 0 through 4; 0 – never, 4 – daily)</i>		
<i>under 18</i>	3.92	3.17	3.77
<i>18–25</i>	3.98	3.38	3.34
<i>26–35</i>	3.97	3.44	3.11
<i>36–45</i>	3.98	3.29	2.47
<i>46–55</i>	3.99	3.64	2.41
<i>over 55</i>	3.94	3.53	1.88
Grand Total	3.96	3.41	2.83

Table 8. Frequencies of language contact with Hungarian, Serbian, and English

Another set of questions focused on the Vojvodina Hungarians' language choices in a variety of virtual and face-to-face contexts, the results of which are summarized in Table 9. The averages shown in the table are a range from 0 (Serbian) to 2 (English), with 1 representing Hungarian. When looking at the Grand Total row, Hungarian seems to be the most dominant language chosen by the participants in almost all cases, with the exception of situations where they have to communicate with authorities or in official settings. Another setting where Serbian is also quite often present alongside Hungarian is that of the workplace, as can be seen in the averages of those around and over the age of 36. English, however, is only prominent in one situation, which is the internet, and this is only true in the case of two age groups: those under 18 and, to some extent, those between 18 and 25. While the averages for face-to-face situations are quite uniform and show that Hungarian is the most frequently chosen language, the very minimal difference in these numbers may indicate that those under 18 sometimes choose English, while those over 55 choose Serbian as their language of communication occasionally.

Averages of → Age groups ↓	The language they use the most frequently in face-to-face situations	The language they use the most frequently on the internet	The language they use the most frequently at work/school	The language they use the most frequently with authorities and in official settings	The language they most often see on the internet (based on the languages they encounter on the 8 social media sites)	Grand Total A
	(range: 0 through 2; 0 – Serbian, 1 – Hungarian, 2 – English)					
Under 18	1.03	1.81	0.97	0.30	1.82	1.19
18–25	1.00	1.45	0.90	0.30	1.70	1.07
26–35	1.02	1.12	0.81	0.32	1.52	0.96
36–45	1.01	1.08	0.75	0.28	1.25	0.87
46–55	1.00	1.02	0.72	0.18	0.99	0.78
over 55	0.97	1.03	0.67	0.12	0.95	0.75
Grand Total B	1.01	1.25	0.80	0.25	1.37	0.94

Table 9. The Vojvodina Hungarians' language choices in different online and face-to-face contexts

Lastly, Table 10 shows the averages on three questions relating to Vojvodina Hungarians' translanguaging practices and their attitudes towards the mixing of languages in general. The question which focused on whether participants engaged in translanguaging was accompanied by a linguistic example (see Appendix) along with a short explanation on the phenomenon to ensure that they understood what the question was asking them. The results to the three questions are expressed in Table 10 in averages that range from 0, indicating disagreement, to 1 which indicates agreement with the given questions. Additionally, two more questions followed with specific linguistic examples, asking the participants to share how much their own conversations resembled the ones embedded in the questions, on a scale of 1–5, with 5 indicating a strong resemblance. The two linguistic examples which were included within these two

additional questions on translanguageing were provided by two Vojvodina Hungarians independently of the questionnaire and the participants in the present study: a 36-year-old male participant who was working in business and administration in Novi Sad (Text A), and the other example was given by a 21-year-old female attending university in Novi Sad (Text B). Both examples were taken from their private Messenger conversations with colleagues and friends, who have all given their consent and were ensured the messages and their identities would remain anonymous. The reason why these two examples were included in the questionnaire was not only because they were authentic pieces of conversation that took place among Vojvodina Hungarians online, but also because they included quite different translanguageing practices. While the first example only included Hungarian and Serbian and was a conversation among close colleagues who were around the age of 36 (Text A), the other example (Text B) which was provided by the 21-year-old was a conversation among university friends and included Hungarian, English, and a little Serbian. The responses to these two questions revealed that, in general, the first three age groups (under 18 to 35) found Text B slightly more similar to their own linguistic practices than Text A, which only included Hungarian and Serbian. The situation is entirely reverse regarding the older age groups, where Text B was shown to not resemble their linguistic practices at all, while Text A did to some extent. These results can further be explained when we take into consideration the other three questions on general translanguageing tendencies and their attitudes towards language mixing, as the data shows that the participants' tolerance towards language mixing tends to gradually decrease as age increases, while translanguageing appears to be a more common practice among younger Vojvodina Hungarians, who are also less bothered by language mixing even if they do not understand the language that is being used.

<i>Averages of → Age groups ↓</i>	<i>Engagement in translanguageing (range: 0 – through 1; 0 – no, 1 – yes)</i>	<i>On a scale of 1-5, how much does this type of language use resemble your own? Text A (Serbian- Hungarian) (range: 1 through 5; 1 – not at all, 5 – very similar)</i>	<i>On a scale of 1-5, how much does this type of language use resemble your own? Text B (Hungarian- English- Serbian) (range: 1 through 5; 1 – not at all, 5 – very similar)</i>	<i>Does it bother you when someone you are speaking to switches between languages that you do not speak? (range: 0 through 1; 0 – no, 1 – yes)</i>	<i>Does it bother you when someone you are speaking to switches between languages that you also speak? (range: 0 through 1; 0 – no, 1 – yes)</i>
<i>under 18</i>	0.88	3.10	3.62	0.24	0.02
<i>18–25</i>	0.81	3.28	3.49	0.42	0.03
<i>26–35</i>	0.77	3.40	3.27	0.40	0.03
<i>36–45</i>	0.52	3.31	2.11	0.61	0.12
<i>46–55</i>	0.52	2.94	1.33	0.61	0.16
<i>over 55</i>	0.55	2.80	1.04	0.81	0.12
Grand Total	0.67	3.14	2.48	0.51	0.08

Table 10. Attitudes towards translanguageing among Vojvodina Hungarians

4.3. OVERVIEW

Overall, what the above results indicate is that those who engage in the most digital activities have the highest social media activity and the highest confidence in their own digital and internet skills (see section 4.1 above) among the Vojvodina Hungarians (i.e. those between the ages of 18–25, those under 18, and to some extent those between 25 and 35), have different language choices, and their translanguaging practices also differ from those who are less digitally oriented. Therefore, in the present study there are two age groups: those under 18 and those between 18 and 25, and to some extent a third group – those between 26 and 35 who display the most characteristics of Digital Natives. When comparing the findings elaborated on in section 4.1 with the tables above in 4.2 (Tables 8–10) that summarize the results on the participants' language choices in a variety of settings, frequencies of language contact, and their answers to questions relating to translanguaging, it can be established that Digital Nativeness does seem to have an effect on the language practices and language choices of these three age groups (under 18, 18–25, and 26–35), but also on their openness towards translanguaging. This is especially visible when comparing these younger age groups to the oldest two groups (46–55 and over 55), where the results show that Hungarian is the language the eldest of the participants encounter the most often, followed by Serbian. Furthermore, these two age groups also have the least digital activity, the lowest averages in Tables 4 and 6 on self-reported confidence in their digital and internet skills and are the least likely to multitask despite being exposed to the internet and digital devices for the longest time. This outcome shows us that being around the internet and digital devices for over 20 years does not necessarily have to equal high degrees of use, knowledge of, and engagement with digital technologies, which can often be due to a variety of factors such as access to devices or the nature of their occupation, but it can simply be a matter of personal interest (see also Hargittai 2010; Correa 2016; Jarrahi/Eshraghi 2019; Reid *et al.* 2023). It also should be noted that as times change, people's behaviors and relationship with technology also changes. This could be one of the reasons why so many individuals who would have been labelled Digital Immigrants 20 years ago cannot be unequivocally labelled Digital Immigrants in the present study, as they exhibit quite a few characteristics that are characteristic of Digital Natives.

Due to higher and more frequent exposure to digital media and a more diverse range of social media platforms, younger individuals have also said they encounter much more English language media in addition to Hungarian and Serbian, which could explain their higher tolerance towards language mixing and their higher averages regarding the question on translanguaging, where they had to compare their own linguistic practices to the example provided by the 21-year-old university student. Additionally, their high confidence in their digital skills in combination with the diverse range of platforms they regularly visit could also be behind their higher engagement with translanguaging, and the overall flexibility of their language use, as opposed to the older generations whose results indicate that they do not entirely favour translanguaging. Although English is so dominant in the lives of these individuals, this does not seem to interfere with the use of Hungarian and their desire to choose Hungarian in a variety of settings (including also digital spaces) consciously, which is especially important in minority settings such as Vojvodina. Due to the complexity and lengthiness of the analysis of data in section 4 of

the Discussion, the present study has not had the capacity to explicitly ask participants to share personal experiences of translanguaging and how it affected their day-to-day communication and relationships in more detail. In future studies, this would be an especially important focus to look into building on the findings in the present paper. As mentioned above, in section 2, previous studies have revealed rather positive outcomes of the promotion of translanguaging among minority communities (Cenoz/Gorter 2017; Prošić-Santovac/Radović 2018; Ćorković 2019), which could aid in language maintenance. However, as Cenoz and Gorter (2017: 910) highlighted, this can only be fruitful if translanguaging is happening in contexts that are authentic to the reality of the minority. This way, the encouragement of translanguaging would ideally lead to the speakers realizing that there are a multitude of situations where their own L1 language variety is needed and cannot be left behind.

5. CONCLUSION

The present study has sought to explore the extent of Digital Nateness among 600 Vojvodina Hungarians with an adapted version of the Digital Native Test developed by Helsper and Eynon (2010). Simultaneously, the study has also aimed to see whether Digital Nateness influences the participants' language choices and general attitudes towards translanguaging and three languages in general, those of Hungarian, Serbian, and English, which are usually present in the Vojvodina Hungarian setting both online and in face-to-face situations. The overall results have revealed that, in general, there are visible differences in digital activities and confidence in internet and digital skills among the six age groups, which are also shown to have an effect on the participants' openness towards multilingual language practices. Despite the large number of participants in the present study, the above results cannot be generalized for the entirety of Vojvodina Hungarians: previous studies (Hargittai 2010; Helsper/Eynon 2010; Lee 2014; Helsper 2021) have also found that these experiences are very individual and can often be closely tied to personal interests, which in turn also influences these outcomes both in terms of technology and linguistic practices.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire

Part 1: Background Information

Circle the answer(s) that best apply to you! The questions that have been starred (*) are cases where multiple answers can be given or circled.

1. *Gender*: Male, Female, I do not wish to answer, Other: _____
2. *Age*: under 18, 18–25, 26–35, 36–45, 46–55, over 55
3. *Current place of residence (settlement)*: _____
4. *Highest level of education*: I did not go to school, Elementary school, Secondary school (gymnasium, vocational school), Associate degree, College – university (bachelor's degree), Postgraduate education (Master's, Doctorate)
5. *How can you best describe your current situation in terms of work?* I work outside my home – I go to work, I work from home (e.g. homemaker, teleworking), I am retired, I am looking for a job – I am unemployed, I am a student, Other: _____
6. *If you are working, circle your area*: I am unemployed, Education, Administration, Agriculture, Industry, Health, Other: _____
7. *Nationality*: Hungarian, Serbian, I do not wish to answer, Other: _____

Part 2: Digital Habits

Circle the answer(s) that best apply to you! The questions that have been starred (*) are cases where multiple answers can be given or circled.

8. *Do you use the internet?* Yes, No
9. *For how long have you been using the internet? (number of years)* ____
10. *How often do you use the internet?* On a daily basis, 3–4 times a week, Once a week, Less than one a week
11. *What devices do you generally use to access the internet?* * PC, Laptop, Smartphone, Tablet, Other: _____
12. *Where do you usually access the internet?* * From home, From work, From school, From the city library, From a café, Other: _____
13. *Do you typically do multiple things (multitask) at once on your computer, phone, and tablet? (e.g. listen to music while messaging friends as well as studying or doing household chores)* Yes, No
14. *If you want to find information about something, how do you do it? What is the first thing that comes to your mind?* Type it into a browser (Google), Ask AI (ChatGPT, Samsung Assistant, Alexa), Call a friend to ask, Go over to a neighbor to ask in person
15. *On a scale of 1–5, how would you rate your confidence in your internet and digital skills?* 1 – “I am not confident in using the internet and often need assistance with basic tasks” 5 – “I use the internet with ease and am able to do a variety of tasks without difficulty” (Some examples for tasks can include: browsing the web, sending messages and emails, editing documents, streaming media, using cloud storage)
16. *Do you create online content (post, share images, videos on Facebook, Instagram, or other websites) in the following languages?*

	<i>In Hungarian</i>	<i>In Serbian</i>	<i>In English</i>
<i>Yes</i>			
<i>No</i>			

17. How regularly do you use the following social media sites? (One can be selected per line. Mark the one that best applies to you.)

	<i>On a daily basis</i>	<i>Regularly</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Never</i>
<i>Facebook</i>					
<i>Instagram</i>					
<i>TikTok</i>					
<i>Discord</i>					
<i>Reddit</i>					
<i>Pinterest</i>					
<i>YouTube</i>					
<i>Twitter (X)</i>					

18. Which language do you most often encounter on the following social media sites? (One can be selected per line. Mark the one that best applies to you. Leave it blank if you do not use the given social media platform at all.)

	<i>Hungarian</i>	<i>Serbian</i>	<i>English</i>
<i>Facebook</i>			
<i>Instagram</i>			
<i>TikTok</i>			
<i>Discord</i>			
<i>Reddit</i>			
<i>Pinterest</i>			
<i>YouTube</i>			
<i>Twitter (X)</i>			

19. How often do you use the internet for the completion of the following tasks? (One can be selected per line. Mark the one that best applies to you.)

	<i>On a daily basis</i>	<i>Regularly</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Never</i>
<i>Training/studying</i>					
<i>E-government</i>					
<i>Entertainment</i>					
<i>Finance/e-banking</i>					
<i>Fact-checking/looking up information</i>					
<i>Current affairs/interests</i>					
<i>Travel</i>					
<i>Shopping online</i>					
<i>Social networking</i>					
<i>Diary functions</i>					
<i>Person-to-person networking</i>					
<i>Civic participation: online forums</i>					

Part 3: Linguistic habits

20. How often do you encounter the following languages in your daily life? (You can only select one option per row. Please select the option that best applies to you!)

	<i>On a daily basis</i>	<i>Regularly</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Never</i>
<i>Hungarian</i>					
<i>Serbian</i>					
<i>English</i>					

21. If you speak multiple languages, do you usually mix your spoken languages when talking to people from Vojvodina? (For example: You are talking to a Hungarian friend in Hungarian and they switch the language of the conversation from Hungarian to Serbian and back. The switching of languages can apply only to words, but also to entire sentences.) Yes, No

22. Does it bother you if your interlocutor switches to (an)other language(s) during your conversations? (Circle 1 answer from A and 1 answer from B) **A) If I speak** that other language, it **does not bother me**, **If I speak** that other language, it **does bother me**; **B) If I do not speak** that other language, it **does not bother me**, **If I do not speak** that other language, it **does bother me**

23. You are going to read a short online conversation among good colleagues below who are discussing their summer holidays. Pay close attention to the way they are speaking to each other. On a scale of 1–5, how much does this type of language use resemble your own? (1 – not at all; 5 – “I find it very familiar, and I also often speak like that”) Circle the number you find most appropriate: 1 2 3 4 5

Original message (Text A):

Anna: @Éva ti hogy birjátok ezt a hőséget a **kolektivnin** (= Hungarianized version of the Serbian **kolektivni**)?

Éva: **E pa dobro** 😊 hát milyen lenne a tengeren ha nem jó? 😊😊 Ez a **vikendica** mintha nekünk lett volna kitalálva

Ernő: **Ajde** már, **ne može to** csak úgy 😊 szólhattál volna mentem volna én is

Éva: **Ej majkemi** mondtam, hogy jövünk!

* **bolded** text is in Serbian

English translation:

Anna: @Éva how are you guys handling this heat on the **collective (annual) leave**?

Éva: **Well, it's great** 😊 how could it not be good by the sea? 😊😊 This **weekend house** is like it was made for us

Ernő: **Come on** now, you **can't just say that** [out of the blue] 😊 You could have said something, I would've gone too

Éva: **I swear to God**, I told you we were coming here!

* **bolded** text is in Serbian in the original message above

24. You are going to read a short online conversation among university friends below. Pay close attention to the way they are speaking to each other. On a scale of 1–5, how much does this type of language use resemble your own? (1 – not at all; 5 – “I find it very familiar, and I also often speak like that”) Circle the number you find most appropriate: 1 2 3 4 5

Original message (Text B):

Evelin: *gurl* [girl], ugye nem???! 😊

Szofi: hahahahhh **ja NE MOGU**..... de komolyan 🙄

Evelin: de miéért?? hogy nem veszi észre már?? totál *delulu* [delusional] ez a csaj

Szofi: *tell me about it*

Szofi: annyira *sus* [suspicious] hogy már a vak is látja xddd

* **bolded** text is in Serbian

* *italicized* text is in English

English translation:

Evelin: *gurl* [girl], no way???! 😊

Szofi: hahahahhh **I CAN'T**..... but seriously 🙄

Evelin: but whyyy?? how does she not notice it by now?? this girl is totally *delulu* [delusional]

Szofi: *tell me about it*

Szofi: it's so *sus* [suspicious] even a blind person could see it xddd

* **bolded** text is in Serbian in the original message above

* *italicized* text is in English in the original message above

25. Which one of the following languages do you use most in face-to-face and online conversations? (Mark only one per line.)

	<i>Hungarian</i>	<i>Serbian</i>	<i>English</i>
<i>In person</i>			
<i>On the internet</i>			

26. Please indicate which language you choose to use the most in the following situations by putting **one** X per line!

	<i>Hungarian</i>	<i>Serbian</i>	<i>English</i>
<i>On the internet</i>			
<i>At home</i>			
<i>At work/school</i>			
<i>With friends</i>			
<i>With neighbours</i>			
<i>With authorities</i>			

SUMMARY

VOJVODINA HUNGARIANS IN THE DIGITAL AGE: THE OUTCOMES OF MULTILINGUALISM AND DIGITAL NATIVENESS AND THEIR EFFECT ON LINGUISTIC PRACTICES

The study looked at the link between a speaker's Digital Nateness and their translanguaging practices among the Vojvodina Hungarians in the northernmost region of Serbia. With its main goal, the study aimed to explore to what extent Vojvodina Hungarians of all ages exhibit characteristics of Digital Natives, while also analyzing how an individual's level of digital competence influences and shapes their linguistic practices, mainly their language choices and their overall attitudes towards translanguaging in digital spaces. The study adopted a quantitative approach, and collected data using an online questionnaire shared on social media platforms (including Instagram, Reddit, and Facebook). The final sample consisted of 600 stratified random participants from the Vojvodina Hungarian community out of a total of 693. The extent of one's Digital Nateness was assessed using an adapted version of Helsper and Eynon's (2010) test, which was built into the questionnaire and aimed to collect data on both linguistic and digital habits. The questions related to Digital Nateness measured two main components alongside age: the nature of one's experience with technology and the breadth of their online activities across various digital platforms. The results showed that there are notable differences based on age: as participants got older, their self-perceived confidence in digital skills, their ability to multitask, and the variety of online activities and errands all became lower. While younger individuals (under 35) exhibited more characteristics of Digital Natives, they also demonstrated higher flexibility and open-mindedness towards multilingualism, and also translanguaging. The study concludes that higher degrees of Digital Nateness do have an effect on linguistic practices, linguistic choices, and how translanguaging is perceived among Vojvodina Hungarians. This could be seen in the strong link between digital competence and linguistic habits and choices: as one's confidence in their digital skills increased, they were more likely to share and consume English language media and content alongside Hungarian and Serbian, indicating that the participants are highly exposed to multiple languages online. Consequently, those who exhibited higher degrees of Digital Nateness were found to display greater open-mindedness and flexibility, resulting in them being more accepting of translanguaging practices. Although the results showed that there is increased presence of English in the lives of Vojvodina Hungarians, their answers also demonstrated that Hungarian remains a crucial aspect of their identity and communicative practices.

KEYWORDS: Digital Natives, Vojvodina Hungarians, translanguaging, language choices, multilingualism.

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■ STIGMA I IZOLACIJA PACIJENATA OBOLELIH OD HANSENOVE BOLESTI U JAPANSKOJ KNJIŽEVNOSTI KROZ ANALIZU ROMANA *SLATKA PASTA OD PASULJA* DURIJANA SUKEGAVE

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Ovaj rad analizira teme stigmatizacije i izolacije povezane sa društvenim odnosom prema lepri, odnosno Hansenovoj bolesti u Japanu, s posebnim naglaskom na njenu književnu reprezentaciju u romanu *Slatka pasta od pasulja* Durijana Sukegave. Lepra, istorijski obeležena snažnom društvenom stigmom i sistematskim institucionalnim odvajanjem obolelih, zauzima posebno mesto u japanskoj kulturnoj i književnoj tradiciji. Zbog vidljivih telesnih promena i trajnih ožiljaka, bolest je poprimila simboličko značenje povezano s nečistoćom, božanskom kaznom i moralnom okaljanošću, što je produbilo fizičku i društvenu marginalizaciju obolelih. Ovakva predstava dodatno je učvršćena kroz biblijski pojam *tsara'ath*, koji se prevodi kao „nečistoća“, naglašavajući ideju da su oboleli istovremeno telesno i moralno odbačeni. Tokom 20. veka u Japanu, oboleli su decenijama bili prisilno izolovani u leprozarijume, što je trajno oblikovalo javnu percepciju bolesti i doprinelo ukorenjivanju društvenih predrasuda. U tom kontekstu, analiza lika Tokue u romanu *Slatka pasta od pasulja* pokazuje kako književnost reflektuje iskustva pojedinaca koji su čitav život proveli na marginama društva. Tokuin narativ otkriva dugoročne psihološke posledice izolacije, ali i mogućnost preobražaja odnosa prema bolesti kroz empatiju, solidarnost i razumevanje. Kombinujući književnu analizu i istorijske uvide, rad ispituje način na koji se fikcija i stvarnost prepliću u prikazu društvene stigme lepree, naročito u japanskom kontekstu u kojem su oboleli često prikazivani kao emocionalno i fizički udaljeni likovi. Sukegavin roman nudi savremeni pogled na ovu temu, ukazujući na mogućnost prevazilaženja barijera i transformisanja predrasuda. Na taj način, lepra se u književnoj reprezentaciji preoblikuje iz simbola društvene izolacije u simbol ljudske otpornosti. Analiza ističe uticaj stigme na lični identitet, emocionalnu stabilnost i potragu za prihvatanjem, doprinoseći savremenom razumevanju bolesti kao složenog fenomena koji obuhvata fizičke, psihološke i društvene dimenzije ljudskog iskustva.

Ključne reči: lepra u književnosti, *Slatka pasta od pasulja*, stigma, Hansenova bolest, japanska književnost, izolacija, Durijan Sukegava.

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1. UVOD: KRATAK PREGLED ZAKONA O IZOLACIJI I DRUŠTVENE STIGME LEPRE U JAPANU

Stigma koja se vezuje za lepru dugo je bila značajan faktor u društvenoj marginalizaciji pojedinaca pogođenih ovom bolešću. Istorijski gledano, lepra se razlikovala od drugih bolesti, zbog uticaja koji je imala na značajnu promenu fizičkog izgleda bolesnika, ostavljajući vidljive i trajne ožiljke. Ključni aspekt ove stigmatizacije lepre se može povezati sa biblijskim referencama, naročito sa pojmom *Tsara'ath*, što se prevodi kao *nečistoća* (Gussow/Tracy 1970: 426). Ovo povezivanje lepre sa pojmovima nečistoće i božanske kazne, podstaklo je formiranje društvene slike prema ljudima obolelim od lepre, doživljavajući ih kao moralno okaljane i kažnjene kroz vidljive fizičke ožiljke i izobličenja.

Uprkos značajnim naprecima u medicinskom razumevanju bolesti, lepra i dalje izaziva strah i socijalnu izolaciju na način na koji to ne čine druge bolesti. Pokušaj da se modernim medicinskim saznanjima slika lepre odvoji od ovih drevnih zabuda doveo je do preimenovanja u Hansenovu bolest u 20. veku (Gussow/Tracy 1970: 426). Ovo preimenovanje je imalo za cilj da se bolest odvoji od njenog simboličkog i mitološkog nasleđa, naglašavajući da lepra, kako je danas shvaćena, ima malo sličnosti sa stanjem opisanim u drevnim tekstovima. Međutim, ovaj napor je imao ograničen uspeh u smanjenju društvenih predrasuda.

Lepra je imala značajan uticaj na medicinski i društveni pejzaž Japana od ranog 20. veka. Iako bolest obično nije bila smrtonosna, predstavljala je hronično stanje i mogla je da dovede do veoma vidljivih fizičkih izobličenja i dugotrajnih zdravstvenih problema ako se ne leči na vreme. Japan je 1907. godine doneo *Zakon o prevenciji lepre*, čime je počeo sistematski pristup kontroli bolesti. Ovaj zakon je propisivao izolaciju pacijenata u sanatorijumima, najpre onih koji nisu imali porodičnu ili finansijsku podršku (Hirokawa 2016: 117). Mere izolacije proistekle su iz praktičnih razloga javnog zdravlja, ali takođe i iz uticaja zapadnih ideja o kontroli bolesti. Uprkos globalnim promenama u načinu lečenja, nakon pojave efikasnih terapija poput *Promina* 1943. godine, Japan je zadržao mere izolacije sve do 1996. Ovo kažnjenje u usklađivanju sa međunarodnim standardima lečenja i potpune izolacije, dovelo je do još dublje društvene stigmatizacije, gde su pacijenti postali predmet straha zbog vidljivih deformiteta, a ove predrasude su se širile i na njihove porodice. Čak i nakon ukidanja Zakona o prevenciji lepre, mnogi bivši pacijenti nastavili su da žive u sanatorijumima, ne samo zbog trajnih posledica bolesti, već i zbog svojih poodmaklih godina, budući da su mnogi od njih proveli skoro čitave živote u sanatorijumima (Tsuruwaka/Yokose 2018: 201). Svi ovi faktori su otežavali njihov povratak u društvo.

Kako navode Sato (Sato 2002: 30) i Hirokawa (Hirokawa 2016: 119), u Japanu se zdravlje pojedinca povezivalo sa dobrobiti nacije, pri čemu je kontrola bolesti poput lepre bila shvatana kao ključna za očuvanje zdravlja zemlje, a taj strah je dodatno jačala neizvesnost u pogledu uzroka same bolesti. Pacijenti su zbog toga bili zatvarani u sanatorijume pod izgovorom lečenja i zaštite, ali je ovo takođe odražavalo skoro potpunu društvenu isključenost, predstavljajući ljude sa leprom kao pretnje javnom zdravlju. Iako su postojali određeni pokušaji pojedinaca i zajednice da integrišu obolele od lepre u društvo, politika vlade je naginjala potpunoj institucionalizaciji. Sanatorijumi su postali

mesta ne samo za medicinsku negu, već i za izolaciju pojedinaca, ograničavajući njihov kontakt sa širom populacijom.

Neki sanatorijumi su radili u veoma teškim uslovima, usled velikog broja pacijenata i nedovoljne nege, što je samo pogoršavalo stanje pacijenata u vidu osećaja izolacije i napuštenosti (Hirokawa 2016: 117–128). Iako je zakon o segregaciji ukinut 1996. godine, osećaj i posledice ovog prinudnog odvajanja i dalje su uticali na bivše pacijente, koji su se trudili da se vrate u normalne društvene tokove. Za mnoge od njih, šteta koju su prouzrokovale godine izolacije i društvene isključenosti nije se mogla lako ispraviti. Kako ističe Tanaka (Tanaka 2016: 130), stigma povezana sa leprom, odnosno Hansenovom bolešću, u Japanu je ostala duboko ukorenjena zbog složenog spleta kulturnih, društvenih i naučnih činilaca. Kulturni okvir uključivao je tradicionalna verovanja i simbolička značenja bolesti koja su se prenosila generacijama, dok su društveni faktori obuhvatali institucionalne prakse izolacije i marginalizacije obolelih. Naučni kontekst, naročito u ranijim periodima, dodatno je doprinio stigmatizaciji usled nedovoljno jasnog razumevanja uzroka bolesti i preovlađujućih teorija koje su je poistovećivale sa visokim stepenom zaraznosti. Ova kombinacija faktora stvorila je čvrstu osnovu na kojoj je stigma opstajala decenijama, čak i nakon medicinskog napretka i ukidanja diskriminatornih politika. Do 2014. godine, još uvek je postojalo trinaest nacionalnih sanatorijuma u Japanu, a većinu preostalih pacijenata činila je starija populacija, odavno izlečena od bolesti (Hirokawa 2016: 117).

Tanaka (2016: 134) takođe objašnjava kako veliki deo stigme upravo potiče iz straha od prenošenja bolesti, uprkos činjenici da lepra nije visoko zarazna, što je dovelo do njenog povezivanja sa nečistoćom, dodatno marginalizujući obolele. Pored toga, imperijalne ideologije tog vremena imale su ulogu u pojačavanju ove stigme. S obzirom na to da je lepra viđena kao bolest necivilizovanih, a Japan je, u svom nastojanju da se modernizuje i afirmiše kao svetska sila, želeo da pokaže sposobnost da prevaziđe i izoluje takve bolesti. Ovo je značilo da je lepra tretirana i kao kolonijalno pitanje, kako unutar Japana, tako i u njegovim kolonijama, što je dodatno učvrstilo percepciju da su oboleli ne samo izopšteni iz društva, već i iz ideala moderne civilizacije. Izolacija pacijenata često je bila opravdavana kao mera u njihovu korist, pružajući im negu daleko od društvene osude. Međutim, društvena percepcija pacijenata sa leprom kao onih koji se čine „neljudski“, lišavala ih je individualnosti i identiteta (Tanaka 2016: 141–142).

Upravo je kombinacija drevnih moralnih sudova, vizuelnih obeležja bolesti i istorijskog povezivanja lepre sa marginalizovanim populacijama, ojačala njenu stigmu na globalnom nivou (Gussow/Tracy 1970: 445).

Njeno prevazilaženje ne može se svesti isključivo na medicinske intervencije, već zahteva i kritičko preispitivanje kulturnih narativa i istorijski ukorenjenih predstava koje nastavljaju da oblikuju javnu percepciju ove bolesti. Iz ovog razloga je 2007. godine otvoren Nacionalni muzej Hansenove bolesti u gradu Higašimurajami u prefekturi Tokio, koji nudi jedinstven i složen pogled na istorijski odnos Japana sa ovom bolešću. Kroz izložbe, muzej teži da prikaže duboko isprepletanu istoriju politike javnog zdravlja i socijalne diskriminacije sa kojom su se suočavali pacijenti sa leprom, ali i njihovu upornost sa kojom su se borili za svoja prava (Burns 2012: 297).

Prikaz načina života pacijenata sa leprom u sanatorijumima u Japanu, kako je detaljno i slikovito opisano u romanu *Slatka pasta od pasulja* (Durijan Sukegava),

odražava mnoge istorijske činjenice koje su zadesile obolele od lepre. Roman prikazuje život bivše pacijentkinje, Tokue, čija prošlost nastavlja da je proganja uprkos odavnom izlečenju od bolesti. *Slatka pasta od pasulja* osvetljava duboko ukorenjene društvene predrasude sa kojima se Tokue suočava, ukazujući na izolaciju, strah i izopštenost koju su iskusili oboleli od lepre u Japanu. Roman snažno ilustruje kako ti stavovi, ukorenjeni u društvenim narativima vekovima unazad, i dalje utiču na pojedince na ličnom i zajedničkom nivou, pružajući dirljivu refleksiju o tome kako stigma vezana za lepru prevazilazi medicinsku sferu i ulazi u područje kulturnog pamćenja i identiteta.

2. GENEZA KNJIŽEVNOSTI O LEPRI I NJEN UTICAJ NA TOKOVE JAPANSKE KNJIŽEVNOSTI

Fenomen književnog stvaralaštva koje nastaje unutar specifičnih, zatvorenih zajednica posebno dolazi do izražaja kada su teme vezane za bolest i društvenu izolaciju. U radu Suzan L. Berns „Pretvaranje bolesti u identitet: Pisanje ‘književnosti o lepri’ u modernom Japanu” razmatra se geneza književnog pravca zasnovanog na iskustvima osoba obolelih od lepre koje su boravile u japanskim leprozarijumima (Burns 2004: 192). Ova vrsta književnog stvaralaštva, koja je naročitu prepoznatljivost stekla tokom tridesetih godina 20. veka, razvila se u sadejstvu sa tadašnjim medicinskim narativima i društveno-političkim prilikama, stvarajući spoj umetničkog izraza i svedočenja marginalizovanih pojedinaca. Njena važnost za tok japanske književnosti, ali i za šire kulturne rasprave, ogleda se u tome što bolest i lični identitet postaju središnje teme, kroz koje se osvetljavaju problemi društvene isključenosti, iskustva patnje, ali i snaga ljudske izdržljivosti i prilagodljivosti.

Nastanak ovakve književnosti neposredno je povezan sa otvaranjem državnih leprozarijuma nakon donošenja pomenutog Zakona o prevenciji lepre, koji je u Japanu propisivao trajnu izolaciju obolelih. Takva politika dodatno je učvrstila društvenu stigmą vezanu za bolest. Ipak, upravo u okviru tih zatvorenih zajednica razvila se nova književna tradicija: pacijenti su počeli da pišu prozna dela u kojima su beležili lična iskustva, unutrašnje borbe i posledice koje je izolacija imala na njihovu psihu. Berns objašnjava da ta dela nisu predstavljala samo oblik ličnog izražavanja, već su postala temelj jednog zasebnog književnog žanra (Burns 2004: 192–194). Termin „književnost o lepri” afirmisan je naročito kroz radove Tamia Hođa (Tamio Hojo, 1914–1937), stanovnika leprozarijuma, koji je u periodu između 1935. i 1937. godine, objavio niz kratkih priča u uglednim japanskim časopisima. Njegova dela, među kojima su „Prva noć života” i „Porodica gubavaca”, skrenula su pažnju javnosti na svakodnevicu i unutrašnja previranja ljudi obolelih od lepre, otkrivajući čitaocima svet skriven iza zidina leprozarijuma. Ova književnost bila je prožeta introspektivnim tonom, naglašavajući teme identiteta, egzistencijalne patnje i otuđenja izazvanih bolešću i prisilnom izolacijom.

Brzo širenje žanra ostavilo je dubok trag i na književne tokove i na društvenu svest. Bolest i lična patnja postale su okosnica novih narativnih formi, omogućavajući autorima da istraže slojevita pitanja stigmatizacije, socijalnog isključivanja i kolektivne percepcije bolesti. Prema analizi Suzan L. Berns, ovakvo književno stvaralaštvo otvorilo je prostor za izražavanje glasova potisnutih predrasudama i institucionalnim politikama, dok je istovremeno reflektovalo šire kulturne napetosti u vezi sa zdravljem, čistoćom i strahom

od kontaminacije, karakteristične za japansko društvo tog perioda. Istovremeno, nosilo je slojevitu poruku: s jedne strane, bilo je oblik protesta protiv surovih uslova izolacije i društvene stigmatizacije, a s druge je predstavljalo leprozarijume i kao prostore u kojima su pacijenti, uprkos fizičkoj i društvenoj patnji, uspevali da izgrade funkcionalne zajednice i pronađu osećaj smisla (Burns 2004: 199–206).

Takva dvosmislenost prepoznatljiva je u mnogim delima iz ovog korpusa, gde se često istražuje napet odnos između čežnje za slobodom i osećaja sigurnosti i reda koji su pružale same institucije. Jedan od najupečatljivijih aspekata ovog književnog žanra je njegovo reflektovanje psihološkog uticaja zatvorenosti i stigmatizacije. U delu Tamia Hođa, likovi se često suočavaju sa gubitkom svoje ljudskosti i društvenom smrću koja prati dijagnozu lepre. U njegovoj priči „Prva noć života”, protagonisti je saopšteno da se sa pojavom lepre „njegova 'ljudskost' uništava” (Burns 2004: 203–204).

Tema dehumanizacije je stalno prisutna u književnosti o lepri, gde su pacijenti primorani da se suoče sa ne samo fizičkim razaranjem koju ova bolest donosi, već i sa društvenim odbacivanjem i izolacijom koja je „prati”. Međutim, ova naracija se često završava redefinicijom identiteta, gde likovi pronalaze novu svest o sebi unutar granica svoje bolesti i izolacije.

Osim svoje neposredne važnosti kao žanra protesta, književnost o lepri je postala snažna metafora u japanskoj književnosti za istraživanje šireg kako egzistencijalnog tako i društvenog konteksta. U delima takozvane čiste književnosti *dun bungaku* (jun bungaku), lepra se koristi kao simbol sudbine, moralne korupcije ili društvenog propadanja. Na primer, u romanu Ričija Jokomicua (Riichi Yokomitsu, 1898–1947) *Kočija* (*Basha*), lepra predstavlja neobjašnjivost sudbine i neizbežne sile koje oblikuju ljudske živote. Slično tome, u delu Kensakua Šimakija (Kensaku Shimaki, 1903–1945) *Lepra* (*Rai*), bolest se koristi za istraživanje tema političke posvećenosti, moralnog propadanja i krhkosti ljudskog integriteta pod pritiskom (Burns 2004: 194–198). Ovakva dela, napisana od strane autora van leprozarijuma, pokazuju sam uticaj ovog žanra na širu japansku književnost, gde lepra postaje simbol ne samo bolesti, već i dubljih društvenih kriza.

Berns se takođe osvrće i na književni prikaz lepre posebno u misterijama i *čistoj književnosti*, gde odražava širu kulturnu opsesiju pitanjima kontaminacije, čistoće i moralnog propadanja. Priče poput „Skladište” („Dozo”) i „Gubavi demon” („Raiki”) prikazuju obolele od lepre kao figure užasa i fascinacije, koristeći bolest kao narativno sredstvo za pojačavanje napetosti i moralnih preispitivanja (Burns 2004: 196–197).

Važno je prepoznati da je sam sistem leprozarijuma imao presudnu ulogu u oblikovanju književnosti o lepri. Pored osnovne funkcije lečenja i izolacije, ove institucije su aktivno podsticale književno stvaralaštvo organizovanjem literarnih konkursa i izdavanjem časopisa u kojima su pacijenti mogli objavljivati svoja dela. Takva praksa otvarala je prostor za izražavanje, ali je istovremeno nosila i određene ograničavajuće mehanizme. Naime, iako su leprozarijumi pružali platformu pacijentima-piscima, kontrola nad sadržajem i institucionalna cenzura često su oblikovali konačni izgled tih dela.

Prema zapažanjima Suzan L. Berns, tekstovi nastali unutar ovih ustanova neretko su bili prožeti težnjom da se leprozarijumi prikažu u pozitivnom svetlu kao mesta nege i rehabilitacije, što je kod pojedinih pacijenata izazivalo osećaj nezadovoljstva i neslaganja (Burns 2004: 196, 201).

Pacijenti-autori, poput Tamia Hođa, nastojali su da objavljuju svoja dela izvan kontrole leprozarijuma. Dok su drugi, poput Đosei Učida (Josei Uchida, 1922–1946) sa pričom „Hobotnica“ (“Octopus”), manevrišući unutar ograničenja institucionalne cenzure, ipak uspevali da prenesu surove realnosti života. Ova dela su često prikazivala fizičku i emocionalnu cenu bolesti u detaljnim opisima, osporavajući leprozarijume kao mesta lečenja i nege (Burns 2004: 202). Nasleđe književnosti o lepri prevazilazi njen neposredni istorijski kontekst. Ona predstavlja ključni trenutak u japanskoj književnoj istoriji kada je bolest postala centralna tema za istraživanje šireg pitanja identiteta, ljudskosti i društvene isključenosti. Ovaj žanr ne samo da je dao glas marginalizovanima, već je uticao i na glavnu struju književnosti, uvodeći nove načine razmišljanja o odnosu pojedinca i društva, tela i identiteta, bolesti i naracije.

Obnovljeno interesovanje za ovaj književni žanr, jasno uočljivo kroz objavljivanje zbirke *Collected Works of Hansen Disease Literature*, koju je 2002. godine izdala izdavačka kuća Koseiša (Koseisha), potvrđuje njegovu trajnu relevantnost i sposobnost da komunicira sa savremenim čitaocima (Burns 2004: 191). Ovi tekstovi ne funkcionišu samo kao istorijsko svedočanstvo o jednom specifičnom obliku marginalizacije, već i kao univerzalno upozorenje na posledice isključivanja i društvene izolacije. Kako primećuje Berns, Japan se i dalje suočava sa nasleđem svojih nekadašnjih politika prevencije lepre, počev od zakona iz 1907. i njegovih kasnijih dopuna iz 1931. i 1953. godine, a određene metodološke obrasce prenosi na rešavanje novih javnozdravstvenih i društvenih problema, književnost o lepri zadržava izuzetnu moć da podseti na cenu koja se plaća kada se strah i stigma postave iznad ljudskosti (Burns 2004: 196). Njena vrednost ne leži samo u opisu patnje i izolacije, već i u prikazima otpornosti, solidarnosti i unutrašnje snage, čime se gradi most između prošlih iskustava i savremenih pitanja koja se tiču prava, dostojanstva i društvene pravde.

Slično tome, roman *Slatka pasta od pasulja* stavlja u prvi plan život Tokue Joši, bivše pacijentkinje obolele od lepre, kako bi se osvrnuo na upornu stigmu povezanu sa Hansenovom bolešću čak decenijama nakon ukidanja zakona. Njen život, oblikovan decenijama izolacije, dobija novu dimenziju kroz njenu sposobnost da pronađe utehu i smisao u pravljenju slatke paste od pasulja.

Koncept književnog stvaralaštva kao oblika protesta, ali i načina da se afirmiše život, je ključan kako za književnost o lepri uopšte, tako i za specifičan slučaj romana *Slatka pasta od pasulja*. Priča glavne junakinje Tokue potvrđuje njenu ljudskost i sposobnost da pronađe radost uprkos izolaciji iz društva, veoma slično kao što su pacijenti leprozarijuma kroz svoje pisanje nastojali da pokažu da su njihovi životi i dalje ispunjeni smislom.

Roman razotkriva arbitrarnu prirodu društvenih prepreka, naglašavajući kako Tokue, iako više nije zarazna, ostaje obeležena svojom prošlošću u očima društva. Ova kritika odražava društvenu dinamiku o kojoj govori Berns, gde su osobe obolele od lepre bile gurnute na marginu i izložene diskriminaciji na svim nivoima društva.

Paralela između analize književnosti o lepri i Sukegavinog romana *Slatka pasta od pasulja* leži u njihovom zajedničkom fokusu na presek bolesti, identiteta i društvenog odbacivanja, kao i na tome kako pojedinci i zajednice pokušavaju da prevaziđu ove izazove kroz kreativno izražavanje, ličnu transformaciju i tihe činove otpora.

3. TEORIJSKI I KNJIŽEVNI PRISTUPI DESTIGMATIZACIJI LEPRE NA PRIMERU ROMANA *SLATKA PASTA OD PASULJA* DURIJANA SUEGAVE

Teorijski pristup destigmatizaciji lepre usmeren je na razgradnju i osporavanje višeslojnih kulturnih i društvenih predrasuda koje su se kroz istoriju vezivale za ovu bolest. Osnovna premisa ovog pristupa jeste da poreklo stigme ne počiva na medicinskim činjenicama, već na dugotrajnom nizu istorijskih zabluda, pogrešno tumačenih religijskih tekstova i kolektivnih strahova ukorenjenih u društvenoj svesti. U različitim istorijskim razdobljima, lepra je bila opterećena simbolikom moralne iskvarenosti i božanske kazne, pri čemu je jedan od ključnih uzroka takvih tumačenja bilo pogrešno povezivanje sa biblijskim pojmom *Tsara'ath*, već obrađenim u uvodnom delu ovog rada.

Takva interpretacija dodatno je učvrstila viševekovno verovanje da su oboleli ne samo fizički obeleženi bolešću, već i trajno isključeni iz društva i lišeni moralnog dostojanstva. Na taj način, lepra je u kolektivnoj svesti postala sinonim za dvostruku marginalizaciju: telesnu i etičku (Gussow/Tracy 1970: 447).

U romanu *Slatka pasta od pasulja*, ovakvo viđenje lepre kao moralne kazne osvetljeno je kroz reči glavne junakinje Tokue, čiji narativ razotkriva duboku bol i nepravdu koju stigma uzrokuje.

Božja kazna - tako su je zvali. Znaš, neki ljudi su čak govorili da je to kazna za grehe iz prethodnog života. Ukoliko bi je neko dobio, pozivani su policija i stručnjaci za javno zdravlje, nakon čega bi usledila opšta dezinfekcija. Bilo je grozno i za porodicu. Užasno su se stideli toga. (Suegava 2024: 103)

Koncept destigmatizacije lepre razvijen je kao odgovor na vekovima nagomilane društvene i kulturne predrasude koje su ovu bolest pratile gotovo podjednako istrajno kao i njeni fizički simptomi. U središtu ovog pristupa nalazi se ideja da je lepra, prema savremenim medicinskim saznanjima, izlečiva i slabo prenosiva, što dovodi u pitanje opravdanost stroge društvene izolacije i dugotrajnog obeležavanja obolelih. Zastupnici teorije naglašavaju da promena društvene percepcije zahteva objedinjeno delovanje obrazovnog sistema, naučne komunikacije i javnozdravstvenih politika, kako bi se smanjila marginalizacija osoba pogođenih bolešću. Gusou i Trejsi naglašavaju da društveni teret stigme često prevazilazi neposredne posledice same bolesti, ističući da upravo negativne društvene reakcije, izolacija i diskriminacija mogu imati dugotrajniji i dublji uticaj na život obolelih od samih fizičkih simptoma (Gussow/Tracy 1970: 426).

Ovaj pristup polazi od saznanja da su brojna ukorenjena verovanja o lepri, poput predstave o njenom božanskom poreklu ili uverenja o izuzetnoj zaraznosti, proizvod istorijskih zabluda, među kojima značajno mesto zauzima pogrešna identifikacija sa biblijskim pojmom *Tsara'ath*. Savremena nauka odbacuje takva tumačenja, naglašavajući da su ona više odraz straha i neznanja nego medicinske realnosti. Proces destigmatizacije stoga podrazumeva sistematsko pružanje proverenih informacija i javnu raspravu kojom bi se umanjile predrasude i poniženje koje su oboleli, kroz istoriju, trpeli (Gussow/Tracy 1970: 446).

Ipak, primena ove teorije nije lišena prepreka. Kritičari upozoravaju da se ona neretko fokusira na ispravljanje faktografskih netačnosti, dok zanemaruje dublje emocionalne i kulturne obrasce u kojima stigma opstaje. Prema ovim stavovima, Gusou i Trejsi objašnjavaju da je problem ukorenjen i u psihološkim mehanizmima kolektivnog straha, koji ne nestaju lako pod uticajem novih saznanja. Bez adresiranja tih slojeva, naponi za destigmatizaciju mogu ostati ograničeni i nedovoljno delotvorni (Gussow/Tracy 1970: 427–430).

Refleksije ove teorije jasno su prisutne i u savremenoj književnosti. Roman *Slatka pasta od pasulja* pruža intiman uvid u to kako istorijski nasleđena stigma nastavlja da oblikuje živote bivših pacijenata, čak i kada fizički tragovi bolesti nestanu. Kroz priču se osvetljava ne samo društvena distanca, već i duboki osećaj izolacije i unutrašnje patnje, koji nadilaze medicinski aspekt bolesti i svedoče o trajanju kulturnih predrasuda.

Sentaro je razmišljao da odštampa neke članke koje je pročitao na internetu i da ih pokaže vlasnici. Bolest je bila potpuno iskorenjena u Japanu, tako da je jednostavno bilo nemoguće da Tokue bude izvor zaraze decenijama nakon izlečenja. Da li bi trebalo da joj na to skrene pažnju? Nije bio siguran da bi tako direktan pristup dao rezultate u njenom slučaju. Kada bi jednostavno rekao da, u medicinskom smislu, nema razloga za brigu, to ne bi popravilo štetu koju su zbog bolesti pretrpeli Tokueini prsti. A njeni prsti su ono što su ljudi viđali. (Sukegava 2024: 91)

Kroz ovakve narative, teorija destigmatizacije dobija opipljiv i slikovit izraz, jer na konkretnim primerima osvetljava duboki jaz između medicinske stvarnosti i ukorenjene društvene percepcije. Istovremeno, oni jasno pokazuju koliko je proces destigmatizacije bolesti poput lepre složen i višeslojan, jer se ne ograničava samo na širenje tačnih informacija, već podrazumeva i suočavanje sa duboko usađenim strahovima, kulturnim obrascima i institucionalnim praksama koje održavaju predrasude.

4. ANALIZA DRUŠTVENE REINTEGRACIJE OBOLELIH OD HANSENOVE BOLESTI U JAPANU KROZ LIK TOKUE U ROMANU *SLATKA PASTA OD PASULJA*

Dugotrajna izolacija kojoj su osobe obolele od Hansenove bolesti bile izložene, često u periodima koji su trajali i po nekoliko decenija, oblikovala je njihove živote na način koji je ostavljao duboke i trajne posledice na psihološkom, društvenom i duhovnom planu. Snažna stigma, ukorenjena u istorijskim predrasudama i nerazumevanju prirode bolesti, služila je kao temelj za donošenje zakona i sprovođenje institucionalnih politika koje su podrazumevale prisilno odvajanje pacijenata od njihovih porodica i šire zajednice. Takva praksa najteže je pogađala one koji su u izolaciju dospeli u adolescenciji ili ranoj odrasloj dobi, jer im je time uskraćena mogućnost da razviju socijalne veze, izgrade lični identitet i ostvare svoje životne planove. Umesto podrške i inkluzije, suočavali su se sa zatvorenošću prostora sanatorijuma, tišinom koja je pratila svakodnevicu i teretom dugotrajne usamljenosti, što je dodatno učvršćivalo osećaj odsečenosti od sveta (Yamao et al. 2016: 2).

Povratak u društvo, kada bi do njega došlo, bio je dvostruko opterećenje. Trebalo je živeti sa posledicama bolesti, njenim fizičkim promenama i ograničenjima, i istovremeno

se suočiti sa pogledima i predrasudama koji su nastavili da ih prate. Jamao nam prikazuje kako svedočanstva starijih pacijenata otkrivaju koliko je proces ponovnog uklapanja bio složen: između unutrašnje snage i krhkosti, između potrebe da se živi dalje i sećanja koja to otežavaju (Yamao *et al.* 2016: 2). U sećanjima se često pojavljuje osećaj dubokog duhovnog bola ne samo zbog telesnih simptoma, već i zbog trajnog osećaja odbačenosti i napuštenosti od strane sveta kojem su nekada pripadali (Yamao *et al.* 2016: 11).

U tom zatvorenom prostoru, međutim, nastajale su zajednice koje su, iako oblikovane prisilom, pružale strukturu i podršku. Unutar zidova sanatorijuma stvarali su se društveni sistemi, prijateljstva i neformalne mreže uzajamne pomoći. Takav prikaz posebno dolazi do izražaja u romanu *Slatka pasta od pasulja*, u kojem je Tenšoen, sanatorijum u kome je živela Tokue, opisan kao mala, samoodrživa zajednica. To nije bio samo bolnički prostor, već čitav mali svet sa sopstvenim pravilima. Stanovnici su štampali vlastiti novac, vodili radionice, formirali udruženja stanara (Sukegava 2024: 146). Sve to omogućavalo je stanovnicima da, barem prividno, održe osećaj normalnog života, čak i kada ih je spoljašnji svet odbacivao.

Veze nastale unutar takvih zajednica bile su temelj preživljavanja. Kontakti sa drugim pacijentima, a u retkim slučajevima i sa porodicom, pomagali su u očuvanju emocionalne ravnoteže (Yamao *et al.* 2016: 12). Preuzimanje vodećih uloga u vidu organizovanja zajedničkih aktivnosti, pružanja podrške drugima, davalo je smisao, ali i pomagalo očuvanju osećaja ličnog identiteta u trenucima kada je spoljašnji svet bio izgubljen (Yamao *et al.* 2016: 3).

Jamao objašnjava kako ukidanje zakona o izolaciji 1996. godine je otvorilo mogućnost povratka u društvo, ali nije izbrisalo strah od ponovnog odbacivanja. Mnogi su ostali oprezni, birajući da žive na distanci od svojih porodica ili lokalnih zajednica (Yamao *et al.* 2016: 14). Ipak, oni koji su se odlučili na povratak gradili su nove odnose sporo, sa dozom opreza, ali i sa tihim optimizmom. Njihova iskustva svedoče o izuzetnoj otpornosti i snazi duha, uprkos decenijama izgubljenog vremena.

U poređenju sa romanom *Slatka pasta od pasulja*, jasno se vidi da je bol višedecenijske izolacije i težina reintegracije ključna osovina lika Tokue. Kroz njenu priču otkriva se da prava borba ne prestaje onog trenutka kada bolest prestane da ugrožava telo, već se nastavlja u tišini pogleda drugih ljudi i u tihom preispitivanju sopstvenog mesta u svetu.

Bilo je prekasno. U trenutku u kome mi je rečeno da prvi put nakon mnogo decenija mogu da uđem u društvo i krenem iz početka, to je bilo preteško. Da sam oslobođena dvadeset godina ranije, možda bih uspela da napolju započnem novi život. Mnogo nas je bilo u takvoj situaciji, imali smo šezdeset i sedamdeset godina, i za nas je bilo prekasno. Nakon što smo doživeli radost slobode i boravka u svetu, otkrili smo da, što smo srećniji, to smo više osećali bol zbog izgubljenog vremena i života koji se ne mogu nadoknaditi. (Sukegava 2024: 237)

Među najupečatljivijim motivima u romanu izdvaja se paralela između fizičke i unutrašnje, emotivne izolacije, oličena u liku kanarinca Marvija. Njegovo postojanje unutar uskog prostora kaveza, nametnutog povredama koje su mu oduzele mogućnost letenja, postaje ogledalo sudbine Tokue i svih onih koji su, zbog Hansenove bolesti, decenijama živeli iza zidova sanatorijuma. Marvijev kavez, poput zidova leprozarijuma,

nije bio samo granica u prostoru, već granica slobode, granica u osećaju pripadnosti, granica u životu.

Ova slika ptice koja ne može da poleti prerasta u širu metaforu o psihološkom i emotivnom teretu dugotrajne izolacije. Kavez postaje simbol nevidljivih lanaca koje stigma i strah nameću čoveku, čak i kada fizička bolest više nije prisutna. U toj slici sabrana je suština romana, gde se postavlja pitanje: šta se dešava sa identitetom kada je sloboda uskraćena, ne zbog onoga što jesi, već zbog onoga što drugi misle da jesi.

Tokue, u jednom od svojih pisama Sentaru, otkriva trenutak kada je odlučila da oslobodi Marvija. Njegovo uporno cvrkutanje i neprestano okretanje ka spoljašnjem svetu podsetilo ju je na godine kada je i sama čeznula da izađe iz sanatorijuma, da udahne vazduh slobode bez dozvole ili straha. Shvatila je da bi držanje ptice stvorene za nebo bilo isto što i držati čoveka iza zidova usled predrasuda.

Iako je znala da Marvi, oslobođen, možda neće preživeti bez ljudske brige, Tokue je verovala da sloboda, makar i kratka, ima veću vrednost od sigurnosti koja dolazi s okovima. Njegov let bio je, na neki način, i njen - tih, oprezan i možda kratak, ali ispunjen onim što je nedostajalo tokom godina zatočeništva, a to je osećaj pripadnosti u otvorenom svetu.

Prvo moram da se izvinim što sam tako rano oslobodila Marvija, mada sam obećala da ću se starati o njemu. Što sam više slušala njegovo cvrkutanje, to sam bila sigurnija da traži da bude pušten napolje. Oklevala sam razmišljajući o Vakani, ali pošto sam i sama propatila zbog toga što nisam mogla da izađem napolje, smatrala sam da ne postoji nijedan razlog da neko živo stvorenje s krilima držim zaključano u kavezu. (Sukegava 2024: 231–232)

Povratak Tokue u društvo odvija se kroz složen i postepen proces, ali umesto da dopusti da je dugogodišnja izolacija pretvori u ogorčenu osobu, ona bira da svetu priđe sa blagošću i strpljenjem. Njena unutrašnja snaga leži u sposobnosti da sačuva ljudskost i osećaj dostojanstva, uprkos tome što je društvo često svodilo na identitet bivše pacijentkinje obolele od Hansenove bolesti. Odluka da prihvati posao u prodavnici *dorajakija* predstavlja prekretnicu u njenoj reintegraciji. Iako primećuje nelagodnost vlasnice i Sentarovu početnu rezervisanost, ona odgovara s razumevanjem i empatijom, odbijajući da dozvoli da tuđa mišljenja i predrasude određuju njenu vrednost.

Ova tiha, nenametljiva otpornost omogućava joj da istraje u građenju značajnih odnosa, što na kraju dovodi do toga da osvoji Sentarovo poverenje i prijateljstvo. Kroz svoje delovanje Tokue pokazuje da društvena reintegracija ne počiva samo na spremnosti drugih da nekoga prihvate, već i na čvrstom očuvanju sopstvenog identiteta i integriteta. Njena sposobnost da se suoči s predrasudama bez odricanja od autentičnosti osvetljava ključne tematske slojeve romana, tj. otpornost, dostojanstvo i moć saosećanja.

Upravo tim optimističnim pogledom na svet, Tokue postaje izvor inspiracije za Sentara, pomažući mu da uoči lepotu u jednostavnim, svakodnevnim trenucima i ohrabrujući ga da potraži oproštaj i unutrašnje izlečenje za greške iz prošlosti.

Zato sam pravila slatkiše. Pravila sam poslastice za sve one koji su živeli sa tugom gubitka. I zato sam bila sposobna da živim svoj život. Sentaro, tvoj život ima

značenje. Vreme tokom koga si propatio iza rešetaka, tvoje otkriće dorajakija - verujem da sve to ima svoju svrhu. Sva iskustva se sažimaju u život koji si samo ti mogao živeti. Sigurna sam da će doći dan u kome ćeš moći da kažeš: ovo je moj život. Možda nikad nećeš postati pisac ili vrhunski stručnjak za dorajaki, ali verujem da će doći vreme u kome ćeš moći da stojiš uspravno, onakav kakav jesi, na sebi svojstven način. (Sukegava 2024: 238)

Iako se Tokue sve više uključuje u rad prodavnice i stvara jake veze sa Sentarom i mušterijama, njena prošlost kao pacijentkinje obolele od lepre i dalje je prati.

Čak i Sentaro, koji u početku deluje otvorenije od drugih, pokazuje trenutke predrasuda kada Tokue dolazi na posao sa simptomima poput kašlja i čestog brisanja nosa maramicom. Ovaj trenutak ukazuje na to kako, i pored lične povezanosti, predrasude mogu izroniti čak i kod onih koji se trude da budu saosećajni. Sentarova reakcija odražava složenost procesa reintegracije, gde strah i stigma često nadvladavaju racionalno razumevanje bolesti:

Zastala je i glasno kinula, nakon čega je ponovo izvukla maramicu kako bi obrisala nos. „Prehlade su u ovo doba godine baš uporne.“ Tokue se iznenada nasmešila. „To je bilo naređenje od njega, upozorenje da ga ne pominjem po zlu.“ Sentaro je ljubopitljivo pogledao u Tokue. (Sukegava 2024: 144)

Međutim, kasnije se razjašnjava da su njeni simptomi bili posledica upale pluća, potpuno nevezane za njeno prethodno stanje, što dodatno naglašava postojanost društvenih predrasuda uprkos medicinskom znanju i važnost razlikovanja nepovezanih zdravstvenih stanja. Još jedan značajan trenutak u romanu, koji ilustruje Sentarove predrasude, dešava se kada mu Tokue ponudi keks iz ruke, na kojoj su vidljivi ožiljci od bolesti. Dok mu pruža keks, Sentaro se suočava sa vizuelnim podsetnikom na njeno prethodno oboljenje, zbog čega na trenutak okleva. Njegova početna reakcija odražava duboko ukorenjene društvene strahove i stigme vezane za lepru, uprkos njegovoj ličnoj vezi sa Tokue. Ipak, nakon kratkog trenutka sumnje, on prevazilazi svoju neodlučnost i prihvata keks, što predstavlja suptilan nagoveštaj unutrašnjeg sukoba koji proživljava između društvenih predrasuda i svog rastućeg razumevanja Tokue kao osobe. Ovaj ključni trenutak naglašava složene dinamike stigme i prihvatanja koje prožimaju roman, dodatno ističući emotivne i psihološke borbe sa kojima se suočavaju oba lika:

„Francuski biskvit, vrlo tanak i hrskav“, odgovorila je Tokue, dodajući po jedan Sentaru i Vakani. „Ima u sebi badem i pomorandžu. Vrlo se lako pravi.“... Sentaro je uzeo biskvit i primeo ga ustima. Bila bi laž reći da nije oklevao, ali čim je biskvit dodirnuo njegove usne, bogata citrusna aroma razvejala je sve sumnje. (Sukegava 2024: 140)

Ovi odlomci u romanu ističu duboko ukorenjene predrasude i diskriminaciju sa kojom su se suočavali oboleli od lepre, čak i dugo nakon što su izlečeni i ne predstavljaju zdravstvenu pretnju za druge. Na kraju, Tokue je primorana da prestane da radi u prodavnici jer mušterije počinju da je izbegavaju, plašeći se da njeno prisustvo može nekako ugroziti njihovo zdravlje.

Takođe, u romanu *Slatka pasta od pasulja*, mesec se pojavljuje kao snažan simbol, korišćen da izrazi prosvetljenje i promenu načina gledanja na svet. Jedna od ključnih scena nastaje kada Tokue pripoveda o svom susretu sa punim mesecom, opisujući kako je taj trenutak preoblikovao njeno shvatanje života i sopstvene uloge u njemu. Tokom usamljene šetnje šumom, pod blistavim mesečevim svetlom, osetila je duboku povezanost sa prirodom i celinom sveta oko sebe. To iskustvo postalo je prelomna tačka u njenoj unutrašnjoj borbi. Pomoglo joj je da se oslobodi osećaja tereta zbog godina provedenih u sanatorijumu i nemogućnosti da ispuni očekivanja društva o tome šta znači „koristan” život. U njenoj priči mesec „šapuće”, otkrivajući joj spoznaju da i samo posmatranje i doživljavanje sveta može biti jednako vredan doprinos postojanju.

U poslednjem pismu upućenom Sentaru, Tokue se osvrće na ceo svoj život, nudeći poruku koja prevazilazi lična iskustva i postaje univerzalna. Baš kao što puni mesec razbija tamu i osvetljava noć, ona pronalazi smisao u samoj svesnosti o svetu, prihvatajući ideju da život poseduje vrednost i izvan konvencionalnih mera uspeha ili produktivnosti. Iako otvoreno priznaje bol i nepravdu koje je doživela zbog stigme svoje bolesti, završava sa mirom u srcu, pomirena sa sopstvenim postojanjem.

Ne mogu da ti objasnim koliko puta sam poželela da sam mrtva. Duboko u sebi verovala sam da život nema vrednost ukoliko osoba nije koristan član društva. Bila sam uverena da se ljudi rađaju kako bi bili na usluzi svetu i drugim ljudima. Međutim, u jednom trenutku se to promenilo jer sam se ja promenila. Jasno se toga sećam. Te noći je mesec bio pun, a ja sam se sama šetala kroz šumu. Tad sam već počela da osluškujem šapate drveća i glasove insekata i ptica. Te noći je mesec bacao svoju belu sjajnu svetlost na sve oko mene, a delovalo je kao da energija izbija iz drveća koje se njiše na vetru. Dok sam bila sama na toj stazi u šumi, našla sam se licem u lice s mesecom. Oh, i kako je samo prelep bio taj mesec! Očarao me je. Naveo me je da zaboravim sve patnje zbog ove bolesti i to da sam zatočena i da nikada neću izaći oдавде. Potom mi se učinilo da sam čula glas koji kao da je šapatom dopirao od meseca. Rekao je:

Želeo sam da me vidiš.

Zato ovako sijam.

Od tog trenutka sam sve počela da posmatram na drugačiji način. Da mene nije ovde, ni meseca ne bi bilo ovde. Ni drveća. Ni vetra. Ukoliko nestane moj pogled na svet, onda nestaje i sve ono što vidim. To je tako jednostavno.

...

Počela sam da shvatam da smo se rodili kako bismo videli i čuli svet. I to je sve što ovaj svet želi od nas. Nema veze što nikad nisam bila nastavnica ili deo radne snage, moj život je imao smisla. (Sukegava 2024: 233–235)

Završnica romana, obeležena njenom iznenadnom smrću, donosi snažan i emotivan epilog koji u sebi sabira glavne tematske niti priče - duboku ljudsku povezanost i neponovljivu vrednost svakog života. Iako je njen rad u prodavnici *dorajakija* trajao kratko, Tokuein uticaj nadilazi vreme koje je provela tamo. Trag koji ostavlja u životima onih koji su je upoznali ostaje postojan, oblikovan njenom tihom

istrajnošću, dobrotom i mudrošću. U svom poslednjem pismu, ona ne podučava samo Sentara, već i čitaoca, prenoseći lekcije o empatiji, prihvatanju i pronalaženju lepote čak i usred životnih teškoća. Njena smrt još snažnije ističe centralnu poruku romana, a to je da je vrednost svakog pojedinca neotuđiva, bez obzira na predrasude koje ga prate. Motiv meseca, prisutan kroz ceo roman, ovde dostiže svoj simbolički vrhunac. Mesec postaje znak oslobođenja i unutrašnjeg mira, odražavajući lični put Tokue ka prevazilaženju društvene stigme. Njena sposobnost da prepozna lepotu njegovog večnog postojanja, neokrnjenog spoljnim osudama, simbolizuje njeno uzdizanje iznad ograničenja koja su joj bila nametnuta. Vrhunac ove simbolike ostvaruje se u sceni kada Sentaro i Vakana, stojeći kraj njenog groba, posmatraju izlazak punog meseca. Taj trenutak postaje tiha potvrda njenog duhovnog uticaja i podsećanje na cikličnost života, u kojoj se sećanje i prisustvo nastavljaju i nakon fizičkog odlaska.

Ugledao je sjajan pun mesec koji se uzdizao iznad obrisa ograde od božikovine s druge strane šikare, kao da se upravo rađa u tom trenutku i na tom mestu. „Oh!“, rekla je Vakana u čudu. Mesec se podizao, povremeno zaklonjen drvećem koje se njihalo na vetru, i prosipao svoje pulsirajuće zrake svetlosti po njima. Sentaro se okrenuo ka mladici trešnje i prošaputao: „Mesec je stigao.“ (Sukegava 2024: 251)

Kroz nenametljiv, ali slojevit pripovedni ton, roman otkriva kako pojedinac može pronaći utehu i osećaj smisla čak i u okruženju koje ga marginalizuje i opterećuje stigmom.

5. ZAKLJUČAK

Analiza romana *Slatka pasta od pasulja* Durijana Sukegave pokazuje kako književnost može osvetliti bolne posledice društvene stigmatizacije i institucionalne izolacije obolelih od Hansenove bolesti. Upravo kroz lik Tokue razotkriva se ljudska dimenzija obolelih, jer se njena ličnost ne svodi na identitet pacijentkinje koja je život provela u sanatorijumu, već na kompleksnu i stvaralačku individuu čije postojanje razbija ustaljene stereotipe i otvara prostor za saosećanje.

Sukegavino delo jasno pokazuje da stigma nije prirodna posledica bolesti, već društveno konstruisana kategorija koja proizlazi iz straha, neznanja i institucionalnih mera. Književnost se ovde pojavljuje kao protivteža, kao prostor gde oboleli dobijaju glas i gde se njihova ljudskost ponovo potvrđuje. Tokue nije predstavljena samo kao žrtva stigme, već kao osoba sa snovima, umećem i dostojanstvom, što otvara put ka drugačijem pogledu na obolele.

U budućnosti, prevazilaženje stigme zahteva višeslojni pristup u vidu obrazovanja, informisanja i kulturnog delovanja. Književnost, kao u ovom romanu, može igrati ključnu ulogu u promeni javnog narativa, jer pokazuje da oboleli nisu odvojeni od društva, već mu pripadaju jednako kao i svi drugi. Samo kroz ovakvu transformaciju moguće je stvoriti temelje inkluzije i omogućiti pacijentima da povrate mesto u zajednici bez diskriminacije.

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SUMMARY

STIGMA AND ISOLATION OF PATIENTS SUFFERING FROM HANSEN'S DISEASE IN JAPANESE LITERATURE THROUGH THE ANALYSIS OF THE NOVEL *AN (A SWEET BEAN PASTE)* BY DURIAN SUKEGAWA

This paper examines the themes of stigma and isolation surrounding leprosy, or Hansen's disease, in Japan, with particular emphasis on its literary representation in Durian Sukegawa's novel *Sweet Bean Paste*. Leprosy, historically associated with intense social stigma and institutional segregation of those affected, forms a distinct genre within Japanese literary tradition. Due to its visible physical changes and permanent scarring it causes, the disease has acquired a powerful symbolic meaning associated with impurity and divine punishment. This religious and cultural grounding, particularly through

the biblical term *Tsara'ath*, translated as "uncleanness", helped shape the perception of the afflicted as morally tainted individuals, thereby deepening their physical and social exclusion. During the 20th century in Japan, patients were forcibly confined to leprosaria for extended periods, which further shaped public perception of the disease and reinforced enduring patterns of discrimination. By examining the experiences of the marginalized character of Tokue in *Sweet Bean Paste*, a woman who spent almost her entire life in a leprosarium, this paper reveals how the novel reflects broader themes of societal rejection, solitude, ongoing societal impact of leprosy-related stigma. The novel opens up space for reflection on the possibilities of overcoming social barriers and transforming prejudice through empathy and human connection. By combining methods of literary analysis with historical research, the paper offers a nuanced understanding of how fiction and reality intersect to reveal the ongoing societal impact of leprosy-related stigma in Japan, tracing its impact on the portrayal of characters in literature, where those affected are often depicted as both physically and emotionally distanced from society. Through the lens of *Sweet Bean Paste*, this paper provides insight into the complex intersection of disease, stigma, and human relationships, offering a fresh perspective on the literary representation of leprosy and its implications for understanding societal attitudes toward marginalized communities. In this way, leprosy is redefined from a symbol of social isolation into a symbol of human resilience, with a profound impact on personal identity, emotional endurance, and the search for acceptance, thereby contributing to the contemporary understanding of the disease as a multifaceted phenomenon encompassing both the physical and psychological dimensions of human experience, as well as the dynamics of community.

KEYWORDS: Leprosy literature, *Sweet Bean Paste*, stigma, Hansen's disease, Japanese literature, isolation, Durian Sukegawa.

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■ "THERE ARE AMERICANS CROPPING UP EVERYWHERE": AMERICAN CHARACTERS IN THE BRITISH ACADEMIC NOVELS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20th CENTURY

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Ovaj rad analizira kako su prikazani likovi Amerikanaca u britanskom akademskom romanu u drugoj polovini 20. veka. Iako su tipski likovi uobičajeni u univerzitetskim romanima, prikaz likova Amerikanaca u ovom žanru nije analiziran u stručnoj literaturi. Ovaj period je posebno zanimljiv jer je odnos Velike Britanije i SAD postao složeniji zbog sve veće britanske zavisnosti od Sjedinjenih Država. Glavni cilj ovog rada jeste da se prepozna da li postoje sličnosti u prikazima likova Amerikanaca u ovom žanru i da li takav opis predstavlja odraz odnosa između ove dve države. Ovaj rad je analizirao četiri britanska akademska romana: *Prema zapadu* Malkoma Bredberija, *Britanski muzej propada* i *Zamena mesta: Priča o dva kampusa* Dejvida Lodža i *Zanesenost: Viteška pripovest u prozi i stihu* A. S. Bajat. Ovi romani su odabrani zbog svog značaja u žanru akademskog romana i zato što imaju bitne likove koji su Amerikanci. Analiza je otkrila da likovi Amerikanaca imaju mnogo sličnosti i da odražavaju strah Britanaca od američke dominacije i prevlasti. Analizirani likovi često su prikazani kao da žele da poseduju Britansku kulturu, na ovaj ili onaj način. Takvi prikazi mogu se tumačiti kao potvrda moći koju ima britanska kultura jer podrazumeva da Amerikanci mogu unaprediti svoju kulturu tako što će prisvojiti britansku. Međutim, na ovaj način se opet ističe strah od SAD i moći koju ova država ima nad Velikom Britanijom. Ovi zaključci mogu pomoći u razumevanju likova Amerikanaca u žanru akademskog romana i kako je njihov prikaz bio pod uticajem političkih, ekonomskih i društvenih okolnosti u drugoj polovini 20. veka.

Ključne reči: akademski roman, univerzitetski roman, visoko obrazovanje, stereotipni likovi.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The fifties marked the beginning of a new genre of fiction called university, academic, or campus novels. Although fiction concerning student life had existed for a long time, the novels after World War II dealt with higher education in a different way. These works were about professors and the problems they encountered in their academic careers and private lives. The emergence of this genre in Anglo-American fiction is not unusual if we take into account that the education systems in both countries welcomed larger and larger numbers of students. Universities became more open, which inevitably raised interest in the way they function, as an increasing number of people were connected to them, directly or indirectly.

At the same time, Great Britain and the USA were transforming themselves after the devastation of World War II. Despite many troubles, much-needed optimism was present, and there was a widespread belief that the whole world was on the cusp of a better and fairer tomorrow. Great Britain continued losing its status as a global power, while the USA was increasingly focusing on its superpower rivalry with the Soviet Union, and thus what had once been a great global empire was now just a junior partner of a much more powerful country. The dynamics of this relationship tended to elicit feelings of dissatisfaction in Britain. The British were dependent on the USA and considered it its ally, but at the same time feared its power and dominance. These feelings in turn became reflected in British academic fiction and the way Americans were depicted. In this context, this paper will focus on the following academic novels: Malcolm Bradbury's *Stepping Westward* (1965), David Lodge's *The British Museum is Falling Down* (1965) and *Changing Places: A Tale of Two Campuses* (1975), and A. S. Byatt's *Possession: A Romance* (1990). Besides having prominent American characters, the analyzed novels have been chosen because of their significance in this genre: Bradbury and Lodge are considered two of the most important authors of British academic fiction, while Byatt's novel was one of the most successful British academic novels. *Possession* received a Booker Prize in 1990, and it was translated into 16 languages by 1995 (Moseley 2007: 6). Showalter considers this novel to be the high point of academic fiction of the 1990s (Showalter 2005: 112).

2. THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP

When talking about the relationship between the USA and Great Britain, it is inevitable to mention the common language and cultural heritage as ties that hold these two countries close together. According to David Frost and Michael Shea, besides the obvious social, economic, and political ties, this strong connectedness has its basis not only in the common language but also in the two countries sharing similar morals, ethics, culture, inventiveness, and humor. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to claim that because of this closeness the USA had been, for much of its history, just a British clone, and that after World War II, Great Britain, as some have argued, became a mere copy of the USA (Frost/Shea 1986: 4). This supposed reversal of roles is especially interesting in light of it not being uncommon for British intellectuals to regard the States as "the lowest form of modernity" (Schwarz 2001: 165). According to Schwarz, from the 1880s until the 1950s, harshly criticizing the barbarity of "new" countries, especially the USA, was very popular in such circles (2001: 165).

Britain's international policy became inextricably linked to the USA during the first years of World War II, when Britain was dependent on aid from Franklin Roosevelt's "lend-lease" program in order to keep fighting, and its very survival was largely made possible due to the help it received from its international partner (Hopkins/Young 2005: 499). Hopkins and Young argue that the two countries becoming such important partners at a very difficult time created a strong bond, which was made even stronger thanks to the common language, cultural heritage, and shared attitudes and national interests. The relationship between the two countries was often dubbed "special," and thus it was a prime concern for most British governments (Hopkins/Young 2005: 499). Marr claims that Britain has had the same dilemma since 1945: trying to solve the impossible puzzle of how to maintain its independence and dignity as a partner to a much stronger global power, especially because it relies on it in terms of its defense and intelligence gathering (Marr 2007: 9).

After the end of World War II, Britain found itself fundamentally dependent on the USA, so much so that a fifth of its people's food needs came from the States (Marr 2007: 10). The loan that Britain was forced to take from the USA for bare survival suited the creditor because it meant that Great Britain was under firm American economic control (Marr 2007: 11-13). Hopkins and Young (2005: 500) conclude that "Britain had become the world's greatest debtor, the USA was its greatest creditor," and some even viewed the American loan as exploitative because of its interest rate. Dimbleby claims that it was easily foreseeable long before the 20th century that the United States would emerge as a leading superpower; however, the extent of Britain's decline – it lost a sixth of its wealth after World War I and a quarter after World War II – could not have been anticipated (Dimbleby 1988: 351).

Some perceived this "special relationship" as a hindrance to Britain's commitment to its European future, and the national interests of the two countries sometimes collided (Hopkins/Young 2005: 499). For example, the States refused to share the atomic secret even though British scientists were part of the team working on the discovery of the atomic bomb (Hopkins/Young 2005: 500). Furthermore, such colliding interests became obvious during the Suez Crisis. Relying on American aid, Britain was forced to withdraw (Marr 2007: 157-158), and this situation revealed just how weak and dependent Great Britain had become (Marr 2007: XX).

Yet despite many crises and numerous changes that unfolded in the decades following World War II, the special relationship endured, with both countries working closely together on creating a liberal-democratic world order by establishing the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (Hopkins/Young 2005: 500). Frost and Shea (1986: 123) also point out that the exchange of people and ideas has made intellectual and cultural values between the two countries inseparable, claiming that the ties developed through education are the strongest of all. This lively exchange is described by Malcolm Bradbury in *Dangerous Pilgrimages*:

I was a new graduate, a young researcher and would-be novelist, going off to teach freshman composition and study American literature on a Midwestern American campus, at Indiana University. I belonged in fact to the Sabbatical Generation, the brand-new breed of scholars, students, critics, journalists, poets and novelists

who used to gather on each side of the Atlantic every late summer to exchange themselves for their counterparts on the other, passing each other in midatlantic. [...] we went on Fulbrights, Harknesses, Commonwealth Funds, Jane Eliza Proctors, Henry Fellowships, the new huddled masses of the travel-grant age. (Bradbury 1996: 455)

It is no surprise that such intense cooperation between the two countries influenced British academic novels. Bradbury also writes about his fascination with American abundance and culture. For him, the USA was the country from which came the best books, movies, music, clothes, cars, comics, etc. (Bradbury 1996: 455). The uneasiness caused by the British dependence on the USA and the loss of its former place in the global hierarchy was made even more complicated by the fascination of many Britons with everything American. Such sometimes contradictory sentiments can be seen in the depiction of American characters in British academic novels.

3. AMERICANS IN BRITISH ACADEMIC FICTION IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20th CENTURY

Malcolm Bradbury and David Lodge are two of the most popular British writers of academic fiction. Both authors lived and worked in the USA as a part of exchange programs, and these life experiences influenced their writing. Even before World War II, Marr points out that there was a feeling that the country was becoming "a little more American and a little less British" (Marr 2007: XVIII). During the first post-war years, the USA was often associated with detrimental consumerism (Marr 2007: 80) and regarded as having a negative impact on people's "good taste" and behavior (Marr 2007: 47, 90). Traces of these ideas can be found in Bradbury's first novel, *Eating People is Wrong* (1959). One of the minor characters is the Professor of Sociology, who has just returned from the States. He concludes: "It's like coming back home, looking for England, and finding America again. [...] All the shops are chain stores, all the local societies are ironed out; soon it won't be necessary for us to go to America. It will all be here" (Bradbury 2000: 16).

Bradbury's second novel, *Stepping Westward*, tells a story about a not-so-successful British writer, James Walker, who is offered a teaching position at Benedict Arnold University in a small town in the American heartland. In the story, Walker has written three novels, and even though they have attracted some attention in his mother country, Americans seem more interested in his writing (Bradbury 2012: 22–23). For his generation of writers, it is almost a rule that they should go to the USA at some point in their career, like some kind of necessary apprenticeship (Bradbury 2012: 25). As the novel unfolds, Walker is swept away on a new adventure without his wife and daughter.

What Walker does not know is that he has been offered this job just because Bernard Froelich, a militant liberal, decided to meet a writer he has been studying for the purpose of writing one chapter about him in his new book. He knows that Walker is a liberal, just like himself, and he intends to use this to change the sentiments at the university by having one more liberal in the faculty. In the forward of the 2012 edition of *Stepping Westward*, Bradbury calls Froelich a plotter, while Walker plays the role of the plotted man (Bradbury 2012: IX). Froelich successfully manipulates Walker's decisions

and actions. Walker only later realizes that he has been nothing but a pawn in Froelich's scheme. Here, Walker represents Henry James's American in reverse because he is a naïve and innocent European coming to seek American experience (Bradbury 2012: 45). Unlike before, the New World is the one containing the wisdom needed to survive the changed realities after World War II.

Although Americans are depicted in the novel as resourceful, they are also portrayed as loud, rude, too direct, and even aggressive. They do not seem to be very interested in what the other person might think of them. When compared to them, the British seem too gentle and weak. Walker thinks they are rude so that other people might not perceive them as servile (Bradbury 2012: 130). In the USA presented, there seem to be fewer social constraints regarding etiquette and human conduct than in Great Britain. America is violent and uninhibited, but this unrestrained behavior has two sides: good and bad. Walker describes America as a moral supermarket because you can freely choose to be responsible or irresponsible (Bradbury 2012: 265). He thinks that notions of right and wrong cannot be applied in this society of constant flux (Bradbury 2012: 264). It is interesting that when one American praises the stable morality of Great Britain, saying that in this country the notions of good and bad still mean something, Walker wonders why Great Britain should behave in a way that he describes as spitting against the wind (Bradbury 2012: 153). The USA might not be ideal, but it is more in touch with modern times, while, in comparison, Great Britain seems old-fashioned and unprepared for the changes that have swept the world. These traits can be seen in the two main male characters, Walker and Froelich.

Walker might be benevolent, but he is passive and too slow to notice Froelich's web of deception around him. Froelich is ambitious, quick to act, and devoid of scruples. Unlike Walker, he perfectly understands the world of academic politics. He employs every possible tactic to get Walker under his control, and he does this very successfully, even using his wife, Patrice, by encouraging Walker to have an affair with her. It is only too late that Walker realizes that Patrice is part of Froelich's grand scheme. Unlike the British, Americans know how to get things done. Although Walker enjoys the fact that American women are more relaxed when it comes to their sexuality, he seems naïve in his relationship with Patrice. Just like in Lodge's *Changing Places*, which will be discussed later, American women are presented almost exclusively in regard to their sexual attractiveness. Their more relaxed attitude reflects not only their behavior but also their appeal. They are unashamedly using their good looks to attract attention. While talking to Patrice, he notices the following: "She sat and put her head on her hands and looked at him. Like many American women, she sat closer and looked longer than he expected" (Bradbury 2012: 236). Sexuality holds such a central place in American society that one European professor calls the USA a matriarchal society (Bradbury 2012: 43). According to him, because sexuality is pivotal for American society, young women hold all the power, and that is why all the energy of their country goes into producing them (Bradbury 2012: 42-43).

Morace describes Bradbury's attitude towards both America and England as ambivalent: "the one a visionary world elsewhere devoid of historical as well as moral substance, the other an all too solid land devoid of imaginative alternatives" (Morace 1989: 55). While Bradbury's fascination with the USA could be described as ambivalent,

Lodge's enthusiasm for this country is more than obvious in his novel *Changing Places*. His American characters are written with much more sympathy. Their faults are there to make us laugh and amuse the reader. Still, in both *The British Museum is Falling Down* and *Changing Places*, we come across the idea that Americans want to acquire and possess British culture in some way or another.

The British Museum is Falling Down is Lodge's third novel, but his first novel that can be referred to as an academic novel. Its main character, Adam Appleby, is a poor postgraduate student who is still in the process of writing a doctoral thesis. He is aware that his financial situation might get even worse because his wife may be pregnant with their fourth child. Readers follow Adam during the course of a single day, which is full of bizarre situations and people.

During this day full of daydreaming, adventures, and worrying, Adam keeps crossing paths with one unusual man. For example, by chance, he is the one who answers the phone at the telephone booth with an important message for him (Lodge 1983: 83–84). This man is described as a fat American smoking a fat cigar (Lodge 1983: 28). The American, Bernie, is driven in a luxurious limousine equipped with the latest technology (Lodge 1983: 29). While Adam's lack of money is an ever-present force that shapes his everyday life, Bernie seems ridiculously rich. He is confident, direct, and generous. He was sent to Great Britain to buy rare books and original manuscripts for the featured college in Colorado (Lodge 1983: 151). He even had plans to buy the British Museum. He wanted to transport it stone by stone to Colorado, clean it up, and re-erect it. Surprised at the size of it, he realized that such undertaking was impossible (Lodge 1983: 151). The idea of buying the British Museum can be seen as a comic situation that pokes fun at Americans and their supposed lack of rudimentary knowledge, but it implies that the rich and generous American does not see any problem in taking the cultural heritage of Great Britain to the USA. The British Museum is described with deep reverence throughout the novel. At one point, Adam concludes: "This huge domed Reading Room was the cortex of the English-speaking races, he thought, with a certain awe. The memory of everything they had thought or imagined was stored there." (Lodge 1983: 93)

In the end, Bernie becomes Adam's fairy godfather because he solves his money troubles by offering him a well-paid job of scouting for books and original manuscripts for the Colorado library (Lodge 1983: 152). The poor British postgraduate is saved by the generous and wealthy American. Nevertheless, this job implies the USA acquiring British cultural heritage. Adam's dismal financial situation is improved by enabling this rich American library to buy British books and manuscripts of worth. He is more than willing to do this and sees this as a way out of his situation without thinking of the consequences of his actions. It is interesting that Lodge wrote most of this novel while in the USA, during a year's leave of absence from his post as a lecturer in English Literature at the University of Birmingham; Lodge later wrote that he had finished this novel faster than any of his other works (Lodge 1983: 163). While this was admittedly in part thanks to not having teaching duties, he also credited this to his American experience having been liberating and stimulating (Lodge 1983: 163). Although Lodge's experience of the USA was positive, the fear of American influence and power still underlies *The British Museum is Falling Down*. The central place of this novel is the British Museum, which the rich American wanted to buy and transport to the USA. Even though it is there to make

readers laugh, this ludicrous idea depicts the fear of detrimental American dominance of Great Britain.

Lodge's fascination with the USA is also evident in his next academic novel, *Changing Places*. This novel follows the exchange of two professors, Morris Zapp from the States and Philip Swallow from Britain, in 1969. Even though Showalter sees this novel as critical of excesses and pretensions of the 1960s university, she thinks it celebrates the liberatory aspects of this exciting period without being cynical (Showalter 2005: 77). In order to create comic situations, Lodge relied heavily on defamiliarization and stereotypes. The new environment is seen through the eyes of a stereotypical counterpart from the other country. Martin Bruce describes Morris and Zapp as "a study in contrasts" (Bruce 27: 1999). While Zapp, by the time he was thirty, had published five books and became a full professor at the same age, Swallow had published just essays and reviews (Lodge 1986: 15). Philip Swallow does not lack intelligence or ability, but he lacks the will and ambition Zapp possesses abundantly. The narrator concludes that both men are characteristic of the educational systems they passed through (Lodge 1986: 15). Zapp has worked strenuously to become a renowned and well-paid professor of English literature. Compared to him, British scholars seem amateurish and unprofessional. In the USA of this novel, everything is more seriously done – even the student paper seems incredibly professional (Lodge 1986: 141).

Though Zapp is portrayed with more sympathy than Bradbury depicts Walker's counterpart, Froelich, he is, nevertheless, depicted as self-centered, arrogant, assertive, and loud. He seems narrow-minded and condescending in his ambition to never leave North America, and especially in his original intention to never visit the country whose literature he has studied all his professional life (Lodge 1986: 11, 39, 42). It is interesting, however, that Zapp is seemingly influenced by Britain in such a way that he becomes a "nicer" person:

He cast his mind back over the day – helping Mrs. Swallow look for her husband's book, letting the Irish kid watch his TV, driving O'Shea around to his patients – and wondered what had come over him. Some creeping English disease of being nice, was it? He would have to watch himself. (Lodge 1986: 93)

While Britain is described as old-fashioned, damp, bleak, and impoverished, the USA is depicted as heaven on earth. Philip is amazed at the wealth and liberal behavior of its inhabitants. American society is less restrained and more comfortable. In such a society, there is an array of different people living their lives in ways that might seem incredible to someone coming from Britain at the time. The USA is an opulent and hedonistic society that is less restrictive when compared to Britain. It is a country on the run that does not allow passivity and laziness. Its cut-throat professional atmosphere seems even merciless, especially when compared to the British university system. Thus, it is no wonder that Zapp becomes softer and nicer in Rummidge.

Zapp is also depicted as a man who loves beautiful women and enjoys a hedonistic and materialistic lifestyle. His desire to own transcends the material world. The British fear of American acquisitiveness can be recognized in Zapp's secret ambition to write a book about Jane Austen that would make any other literary research unnecessary:

The object of the exercise [...] was not to enhance others' enjoyment and understanding of Jane Austen, still less to honour the novelist herself, but to put a definitive stop to the production of any further garbage on the subject. [...] After Zapp, the rest would be silence. The thought gave him deep satisfaction. In Faustian moments he dreamed of going on, after fixing Jane Austen, to do the same job on the other major English novelists, then the poets and dramatists, perhaps using computers and teams of trained graduate students, inexorably reducing the area of English literature available for free comment, spreading dismay through the whole industry, rendering scores of his colleagues redundant: periodicals would fall silent, famous English Departments be left deserted like ghost towns... (Lodge 1986: 44–45)

Zapp's endless ambition prompts his desire to possess and own the whole field of studying English literature. He desires to have complete dominance over this subject. Again, we can sense Britain's fear of American avarice, which is not limited to the material world but is also directed at the intellectual world.

American society is portrayed as seemingly cultivating certain traits in people. Its liberal attitude also reflects how women behave. They are more relaxed and less restrained in their behavior. Philip is surprised when he realizes that everyone swears, including the women (Lodge 1986: 143). American women, just like in *Stepping Westward*, are objectified and described almost exclusively in relation to their sexual attractiveness. Désirée Zapp, just like her husband, is loud, even rude, aggressive, and assertive. Philip dislikes her initially because of these traits, but later engages in a romantic relationship with her. Désirée is, additionally, interested in the women's rights movement, which is emerging at that time. Her depiction could be described as a stereotypical depiction of a feminist, a type which would appear in the later academic novels, including Byatt's *Possession*, which is discussed below.

While Lodge portrayed American characters with sympathy, Byatt's *Possession* gives Mortimer Cropper, an American biographer, the role of the main villain. Showalter sees this novel as having a strong element of anti-American satire (Showalter 2005: 112). *Possession* is a complex novel, and at its center are letters exchanged by two imaginary nineteenth-century poets, Randolph Henry Ash and Christabel La Mott. These letters hold a secret about their relationship, which could alter the way their poetry has been interpreted. Maud Bailey and Roland Mitchel are British literary critics who work together to solve this mystery. They feel possessed by the desire to find out what really happened.

Mortimer Cropper is Ash's biographer and an avid collector of any memorabilia connected to him. He works in the Stant Collection at Robert Dale Owen University in New Mexico. The Stant Collection has by far the largest collection of Ash's books, letters, and memorabilia (Byatt 1990: 4). Nevertheless, he is driven by the wild ambition to own everything concerning Randolph Henry Ash. For example, he spends six months persuading the woman who has three letters written by Ash to a child to sell them to him, although they were only valuable because this was the only known instance of him writing a letter to a child (Byatt 1990: 105–107). This restless desire drives him even to dig up Ashes' grave so as to find the box that was buried with him and his wife. Cropper believes that this box might contain the secret about Ash's covert relationship

with LaMotte. Cropper is described as *indefatigable* (Byatt 1990: 4) and *ubiquitous* (Byatt 1990: 35); ruthless and cunning, he can worm his way anywhere with his checkbook and get what he wants (Byatt 1990: 13, 35). When this does not work, he is ready to use other, less acceptable means to obtain what he desires. Other characters fear him as if he has a supernatural ability that helps him achieve his goals because nothing seems to escape his sharp mind.

There is a growing dissatisfaction about so many of Ash's possessions being held in the USA. Blackadder, a British Ash scholar who believes that British writings should stay in Britain, compares this loss of Ash's possessions to a *drain* (Byatt 1990: 35). British scholars in *Possession* feel helpless because they do not have the financial resources to match Cropper's. When the secret correspondence between Ash and La Motte is found out, the British government has no intention of buying the letters so that they can remain in the country (Byatt 1990: 431). The fear of Americans coming to Britain to acquire its cultural heritage is perhaps best summed up in the terrified conclusion of a man in whose house the secret correspondence between the two poets is found: "There are Americans cropping up everywhere. You're all in it together" (Byatt 1990: 351).

Besides having large funds at his disposal, everything about Cropper is extravagant – his slippers, his pajamas, his car (Byatt 1990: 104, 108). He places a lot of value on material possessions. He relishes the fact that his pocket watch used to belong to Randolph Henry Ash (Byatt 1990: 418). His desire is not to understand Ash but to be his lord and owner, as Blackadder concludes (Byatt 1990: 34). Maud notices while reading his biography that he has "the desire to cut his subject down to size" (Byatt 1990: 272) and that his work is as much about Ash as it is about him. Stevoker argues that *Possession* criticizes Cropper's biographical imagination as unethical, which is expressed in Cropper not being the one who discovers the "truth" about Ash and LaMotte (Stevoker 2009: 28).

Besides Cropper, *Possession* features one more American character – bisexual feminist critic Leonora Stern. Just like other American characters analyzed in this paper, she is represented as loud, aggressive, and self-centered. She is so domineering that reserved Maud Bailey, a British literary critic, perceives even her unopened letter as having an "imperious and accusing air" (Byatt 1990: 152). She describes Stern as *pervasive* (Byatt 1990: 293), *single-minded*, and *zealous* (Byatt 1990: 241). Franken (2001: 89) sees her portrayal as a caricature of a lesbian feminist who follows every theoretical trend there is. Alfer and Edwards de Campos (2010: 146) see Byatt's description of her as deeply satirical. She is described as a large woman who is always dressed in such colorful clothes that she is compared to a Christmas tree (Byatt 1990: 437). Her pushy personality is perhaps best seen when she tries to seduce Maud, who eventually breaks into tears because of Leonora's aggressive approach (Byatt 1990: 343). Her character could be viewed as the stock character of a feminist in academic fiction, since similar portrayals of feminists can be found in other academic novels (Rađenović 2023: 288), yet Leonora can also come across as amusing to the reader because of her directness and blunt attitude, and her portrayal is not completely negative. For example, she agrees that the correspondence between Ash and La Motte should remain in Britain:

I think the letters should be in the British Library. We can all have microfilms and photocopies, the problems are only sentimental. And I'd like Christabel to have

honour in her own country and Professor Blackadder here, who's the greatest living Ash scholar, to have charge of the correspondence. I'm not acquisitive, Shushila—all I want is a chance to write the best critique of these letters once they're available. The days of cultural imperialism are over, I'm glad to say... (Byatt 1990: 436)

Also, she takes part in the plan organized to stop him from stealing the box from the Ashes' grave. While there is virtually no way to interpret Cropper other than as a villain, Leonora's character is more complex.

It is interesting to note that Cropper and Leonora are not represented as more professional or hard-working when compared to Maud Bailey and Roland Mitchel. In the context of this novel, British scholars might have fewer resources, but their academic work is depicted as even more serious when compared to the work of their American colleagues, who are portrayed as more resourceful.

4. CONCLUSION

The representation of American characters in the 20th-century British academic fiction examined here clearly reflects the complicated relationship between the two countries after World War II. While Great Britain and the USA were close allies, the British nevertheless felt uneasy in this "special relationship." American characters in the analyzed British academic novels are surprisingly similar – they are typically direct, confident, hedonistic, ambitious, and often loud. American scholars and professors are portrayed as competitive and hard-working. They seem more energetic and capable when compared to their British counterparts. In Lodge's *Changing Places*, British scholars are presented as incompetent and unambitious, whereas the Americans Froelich from Bradbury's *Stepping Westward* and Cropper from *Possession* are manipulative and ruthless. They will do anything to achieve their goals and fulfill their ambitions, and they do this with incredible ease and cunning, leaving the British characters feeling overpowered by their abilities. In general, despite the American characters' behavior at times crossing the threshold of acceptable moral boundaries, their characteristic know-how and confidence are usually described with a mix of envy and admiration in the analyzed academic novels. In comparison, despite some sympathetic traits, the British scholars and professors typically come across as naïve, insecure, and less resourceful.

The British characters presented in this period of academic fiction also regard with a mix of envy and fascination the opulence of American society and the opportunities Americans have when compared to those that are available to them in their own native country. For them, the USA is a land of plenty. Of course, it must be taken into account that these novels were published during a period when there was a greater disparity in wealth and position between these two countries. The analyzed academic novels also exhibit the apprehension Great Britain felt at being so closely connected to a country that was so much stronger and richer than itself. Correspondingly, there is a strong implication of this partnership being far from equal and the tendency of the American characters to seemingly "hold all the cards" and have a head start because of their wealth or knowledge can be interpreted as a metaphor for the relationship between the two countries.

The British fear of American dominance is most obviously embodied in these period novels in the desire of the Americans to possess British cultural heritage. For example, Bernie from Lodge's *The British Museum is Falling Down* comes to Britain to buy rare books and original manuscripts, and, at one point, he even considers buying the British Museum and transporting it to the USA. In Lodge's *Changing Places*, Zapp has the ambition to write a book about Jane Austen that would make any other research in the field useless. He wants to intellectually possess one of the most famous British authors. In Byatt's *Possession*, Mortimer Cropper's ambition to own everything connected to a famous British poet is depicted as a form of cultural imperialism. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the portrayals of Americans in the analyzed academic novels are closely connected to the anxiety many British felt about their country no longer being a global power and that they lived in an economically weakened country with diminishing influence in the world. Their desire to still feel superior in some sense to their former colony can be seen in the depiction of Americans as being less moral and even uncultured. Here was at least one arena in which Britain might claim to maintain the moral high ground and cultural hegemony. That so many American characters want to possess British culture in one way or another could be interpreted as confirmation of the power British culture still held – with the implication that Americans could advance their culture only by taking from the British.

The representation of American characters in British academic novels in the second half of the 20th century is strongly reflective of the relationship between the two countries during this period. Given that the American and British higher education systems worked closely together through numerous exchange programs at this time, it is no surprise that such interconnectedness has left its mark on the genre of academic fiction. It would seem that the depiction of American characters was strongly influenced by the British fear of American dominance and its ever-growing influence in this period. However, this fear was at the same time accompanied by a fascination with American wealth and its way of life. This combination of apprehension and strong interest helped to create many vivid characters in British academic fiction.

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SUMMARY

"THERE ARE AMERICANS CROPPING UP EVERYWHERE": AMERICAN CHARACTERS IN THE BRITISH ACADEMIC NOVELS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20th CENTURY

This paper analyzes how political, economic, and social circumstances that shaped the world after World War II influenced the representation of American characters in British academic novels in the second half of the 20th century. Its primary goal is to find similarities in the depiction of Americans in this genre as the second half of the 20th century unfolded. Britain's global role changed significantly during this time, while its relationship with the USA became more complicated because of its increasing dependence on the States. The author examines how this new relationship was reflected in British academic novels of the time, which displayed not only a fascination with the USA but also uneasiness, as Britain was forced to be a junior partner in this alliance with a much more powerful country. Since the American and British higher education systems worked closely together through numerous exchange programs at this time, this lively exchange of ideas and people is reflected in the academic fiction. The text also examines the differences in the representation of scholars and professors who are from Great Britain and the USA. The paper analyzed American characters in four British academic novels: Malcolm Bradbury's *Stepping Westward* (1965), David Lodge's *The British Museum is Falling Down* (1965) and *Changing Places: A Tale of Two Campuses* (1975), and A. S. Byatt's *Possession*:

A Romance (1990). The novels were chosen because of their significance in the genre and because they feature prominent American characters. The study concluded that these works mirror the British anxiety over the abovementioned disparity and their interest in the booming American society. The analysis revealed that American characters have many similarities and that they reflect the British fear of American dominance. The analyzed American characters are often depicted as wanting to possess British culture, one way or the other. The author argues that such portrayals can be interpreted as confirmation of the power British culture has, with the implication that Americans can only advance their culture this way. These conclusions underscore that it also causes anxiety for the British characters because they fear the American dominance. This paper provides valuable insight into the depiction of Americans in academic fiction and shows that such characters have many similarities. However, this analysis can be expanded by analyzing a larger number of novels. Also, further analysis can include novels belonging to the 21st century.

KEYWORDS: academic novel, campus novel, higher education, stock characters.

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■ DIDACTICS OF SPECIALISED TRANSLATION – FROM MEMORISATION TO CONTEXTUAL LEARNING

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Ovaj rad razmatra ključne izazove u didaktici stručnog prevođenja i predlaže integrisani model nastave koji povezuje teorijsko znanje, kontekstualizovano usvajanje terminologije i sistematsku primenu specijalizovanih korpusa. U tradicionalnoj univerzitetskoj praksi i dalje preovlađuje pristup zasnovan na memorisanju izolovanih termina i učenju terminologije u formi glosara, pri čemu ostaju zanemareni polisemija, kolokacione veze, pragmatičke funkcije termina i širi semantički okvir u kojem se oni koriste. Takav reduktivan pristup dovodi do toga da studenti prepoznaju termin na površinskom nivou, ali ga u prevodilačkoj praksi ne umeju adekvatno primeniti, naročito u pravno-institucionalnom diskursu Evropske unije, koji zahteva preciznost, ustaljenu terminologiju i funkcionalnu usklađenost. Metodologija obuhvata komparativnu analizu, ATA okvir za procenu grešaka i rad sa dvojezičnim korpusima. Studentski prevodi analizirani su segment po segment, u poređenju sa izvornim tekstovima i odgovarajućim prevodima iz Evroteke, što je omogućilo jasno uočavanje terminoloških, semantičkih i stilskih odstupanja. ATA okvir obezbedio je objektivno i konzistentno kategorizovanje grešaka u smislu prenosa značenja, upotrebe terminologije, idiomatske prirodnosti i funkcionalne adekvatnosti, dok je Evroteka poslužila kao empirijski izvor potvrđenih kolokacija, frazeologije i prevodilačkih obrazaca karakterističnih za pravni diskurs EU. Rezultati pokazuju naglašen raskorak između studentskog teorijskog znanja o datom terminu i njihove sposobnosti da ga pravilno inkorporiraju u autentičan kontekst. Najčešće greške uključuju doslovna tumačenja polisemičnih termina, interferenciju lažnih prijatelja, neadekvatne pravne formulacije i pogrešna razumevanja ključnih koncepata, poput „nadležnosti“, „ovlašćenja“ i „sprovođenja“. Rad zaključuje da uspešna nastava stručnog prevođenja mora biti zasnovana na dinamički integrisanom modelu koji spaja teoriju, vođenu praksu i korpusnu analizu, uz jasne i transparentne kriterijume vrednovanja u skladu sa profesionalnim standardima.

Ključne reči: stručno prevođenje, terminologija, polisemija, kolokacije, korpusna analiza, ATA okvir, procena kvaliteta prevoda, prevodilačke strategije.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In today's globalised world, demand is steadily increasing for precise and effective communication across professional fields such as law, medicine, engineering, and finance. Specialised translation plays a pivotal role in facilitating this communication by bridging linguistic and cultural gaps in complex, technical domains. This task requires more than basic bilingual competence; it demands a combination of linguistic precision, deep subject-matter expertise, and pragmatic awareness to ensure that translations are not only accurate but also coherent, fluent, and contextually appropriate.

However, traditional pedagogical approaches to teaching specialised translation often fall short of equipping students with these comprehensive competencies. Many didactic models place disproportionate emphasis on the memorisation of terminology lists and the use of glossaries, while underestimating the importance of subject-matter knowledge, contextual nuance, and phraseological competence. Even familiar terms within a chosen field are rarely analysed for their polysemous meanings, and collocational patterns, essential for producing natural and idiomatic translations, are typically overlooked. Furthermore, students' mastery of the target language, particularly when it is their mother tongue, is frequently taken for granted, with insufficient attention to genre conventions, register, and discourse cohesion. Even though didactics overemphasises terminology, students end up weak both terminologically and stylistically. These limitations risk producing graduates who, despite an overreliance on terminology-focused training, lack both accurate terminological knowledge and linguistic and textual competence needed for professional specialised translation.

Despite the centrality of specialised translation in professional practice, little empirical research has examined how current pedagogical models fail to integrate terminology, subject-matter expertise, and target-language fluency in a balanced and effective manner.

The aim of this paper is to critically evaluate current pedagogical practices in specialised translation, demonstrate their shortcomings through empirical examples drawn from student translations, and propose a more integrated framework that combines subject-matter expertise, terminological accuracy, and fluent target-language production. Through a classroom-based case study, the paper illustrates common challenges faced by students and assesses the effectiveness of an enriched teaching approach. By combining theoretical insights with practical evidence, this study seeks to contribute to the refinement of specialised translation didactics and to offer clear directions for future pedagogical research and practice.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW ON HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES IN TRANSLATION DIDACTICS

According to Dorothy Kelly (2014), for much of the history of translator training, it was assumed that translation competence would emerge naturally through practice alone. Early trainers, often practitioners themselves, rarely engaged in pedagogical planning, relying instead on spontaneous oral translations of texts and offering their own versions as unquestioned models. This method, lacking structured instruction and reflection, proved both pedagogically unsound and frustrating for learners (Kelly 2014: 11).

Kelly (2014) provides a historical overview showing how translator pedagogy moved from unstructured, teacher-led drills to more learner- and process-oriented methods. For decades trainers assumed students would learn simply “by translating,” correcting students’ output after the fact. Christiane Nord (1991) insisted that classroom tasks simulate real translation commissions and carry a meaningful purpose (asking students “Who is to transmit... what for... by what medium... to what effect?”) (Nord 1991: 144). Kelly notes Nord’s model is “very complete and explicitly didactic,” clearly moving pedagogy toward a “student-centred paradigm” with “professional realism in the classroom”. Nord also stresses gradual competence-building, with significant teacher guidance early on to keep authentic tasks feasible and motivating. Importantly, Nord insisted that training focus on the translation process, not merely on final products. (Nord 1991: 143–144). Daniel Gile’s process-oriented model epitomised this shift. He argues that teachers should “focus on the translation process, not the end product” (Gile 1995: 14), isolating components of the task (e.g. comprehension, strategies, drafting) in targeted practice. Gile shows that this approach leads to faster learning – students can “focus... on one aspect of the process at a time” and avoid being overwhelmed by all errors at once (Gile 1995: 15). In sum, Kelly’s historical account highlights how Nord’s realistic task design, and Gile’s process-model collectively shifted translator training toward well-defined goals, authentic assignments, and reflective, learner-centered instruction (Kelly 2014: 11–14).

Kelly (2014) continues her historical account by exploring how cognitive and psycholinguistic research influenced translator training from the 1980s onward. Scholars such as Kiraly advocated pedagogical frameworks rooted in cognitive science, where training emphasised the development of interlingual and intercultural associations, guided error analysis, and the cultivation of intuitive and reflective skills. The goal was to foster a translator’s self-concept and internal monitor, and to recognise that higher-level translation competence rarely develops naturally without specific intervention (Kiraly 1995).

Kiraly (2000), in his later work embraced a *socioconstructivist* approach, advocating collaborative learning and authentic translation projects as entry points into the professional community. Rather than building skills through isolated exercises, he called for holistic, practice-based learning from the outset.

These evolving pedagogical models reflect a broader shift from atomistic, skill-based training toward integrated, learner-centered approaches in translator education. The progression from task-based learning to socioconstructivist models reveals increasing recognition of translation as both a cognitive and social practice. What emerges from this overview is the importance of aligning teaching methods with the complexity of translation as a professional activity. While the early emphasis on discrete competencies provided necessary structure, later approaches highlight the value of experiential learning, collaboration, and authentic context. Importantly, these models are not mutually exclusive but rather address different dimensions of learning and stages of student development. This theoretical foundation proves particularly relevant when addressing one of the most persistent areas of confusion in both teaching and practice: the distinction between specialised and technical translation. The following section explores this conceptual and practical divide, which has significant implications for curriculum design, student expectations, and professional readiness.

2.1. SPECIALISED TRANSLATION VS. TECHNICAL TRANSLATION

Specialised translation is an umbrella term that refers to the translation of texts dealing with specific subject matter, often requiring domain-specific knowledge and terminology. It includes a broad range of fields such as legal, medical, economic, scientific, and technical texts. The focus is on accuracy, domain competence, and terminological consistency.

Technical translation, on the other hand, is a subtype of specialised translation that deals specifically with technical subjects – such as engineering, IT, mechanics, electronics, and applied sciences. It typically involves manuals, product specifications, data sheets, standard operating procedures, and other documents intended for professional users or end-users of technology.

Theresa Cabré (1999) notes that specialised translation is “the translation of texts that contain a high degree of terminological density and require subject-area knowledge” (Cabré 1999: 47–48). Newmark (1988) considers technical translation to be a part of specialised translation, distinct from institutional translation (Newmark 1988: 151).

According to Jody Byrne (2006):

Technical translation has long been regarded as the ugly duckling of translation, especially in academic circles. Not particularly exciting or attractive and definitely lacking in the glamour and cachet of other types of translation, technical translation is often relegated to the bottom division of translation activity and regarded as little more than an exercise in specialised terminology and subject knowledge. Indeed, these factors, particularly subject knowledge, have in some quarters led to technical translation being feared and loathed, like a modern-day barbarian of the linguistic world (Byrne 2006: 1)

Byrne emphasises that technical translation should be strictly understood as the translation of technological content, rather than being broadly applied to any field with specialised terminology. She criticises the tendency to group legal, financial, or economic texts under the technical translation umbrella, arguing that although such texts are specialised, they do not deal with technology per se. For instance, religious texts also have distinct terminology and conventions, yet they are never considered technical. Byrne warns that blurring this distinction is misleading, as each specialised domain has its own specific requirements and constraints that must be addressed individually.

Byrne challenges several widespread misconceptions about technical translation. One is the overemphasis on terminology. While terminology is a prominent feature of technical texts and plays a crucial role in conveying meaning, it actually represents only a small portion – around 5–10% – of a text’s content, as Newmark (1988) argues. Despite this, terminology often receives disproportionate attention in translation practice. Another mistaken belief is that style is irrelevant in technical translation. Byrne refutes this, stressing that linguistic precision and appropriate writing style are just as essential in technical contexts as in any other type of translation. Lastly, he critiques the idea that technical translators must be subject-matter experts in highly specialised fields. Citing Robinson (2003), Byrne explains that successful translators often work across various fields by developing solid foundational knowledge and researching as needed

– essentially learning to “act the part” with competence and adaptability (Byrne 2006: 2–3).

Having distinguished technical translation from other forms of specialised translation, it is important to turn our attention to legal translation – another highly specialised field that brings its own set of linguistic, functional, and cultural complexities.

2.2. LEGAL TRANSLATION AS A TYPE OF SPECIALISED TRANSLATION

A clear example of the growing significance of legal translation can be seen within the European Union (EU). Multilingualism and linguistic equality among the Member States have been the central principles since the EU's establishment. This linguistic and cultural diversity gives the EU its distinct character (Wilson, 2003). The European Parliament, as the law-making body, enacts laws that become binding national laws for Member States. These laws are translated and made available in the official languages of the Member States. Therefore, translation is essential for the operations of the European Parliament, as EU laws cannot function without translation (Correia 2003) (as cited in Cao 2007: 2).

A special purpose register should not be regarded as a completely distinct language, but rather as the standard language adapted to specific contexts and purposes. It is characterised by a range of identifiable features such as syntactic, lexical, semantic, functional, and cohesive elements which tend to appear with varying frequency depending on the communicative situation. These patterns of usage distinguish the register as a linguistic sub-system (Ingram/Wylie 1991: 39).

Legal language can be regarded as a specialised register with technical characteristics. While it is rooted in general language, it diverges from everyday language through distinct lexical, syntactic, textual, and pragmatic features that define its unique status as a form of technical language (Cao 2007: 18).

Many descriptions have been offered of what the legal translator should be like and what skills such a translator should possess. Often, it is said that the legal translator requires both linguistic skills and some basic understanding of law. Smith (1995) believes that there are three prerequisites for successful translation of legal texts: (1) the legal translator must acquire a basic knowledge of the legal systems, both in the SL and TL; (2) must possess familiarity with the relevant terminology; and (3) must be competent in the TL-specific legal writing style. Another slightly different description of the requirements is that the legal translator must possess the ability to retrieve information from the specialised SL, and the ability to process information (Wagner 2003). In other words, the legal translator must understand all the shades of meaning of the SL so that he or she may reproduce it as faithfully and naturally as possible in the TL, and must understand all the mechanisms of the law... (Cao 2007: 37).

In sum, legal translation is a highly specialised domain that requires more than mere linguistic proficiency; it demands familiarity with legal systems, mastery of terminology, and the ability to accurately reflect legal meaning across languages and legal cultures. These complexities underline the need for careful training and methodical instruction in specialised translation. This brings us to a closely related issue: how teaching methods align with students' learning styles. The effectiveness of translation pedagogy often hinges on whether the instructional approach resonates with the cognitive preferences

and learning strategies of students. In the following section, we explore this dynamic relationship and consider how tailoring teaching methods to diverse learning styles can enhance the acquisition of specialised translation skills.

3. THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN TEACHING METHODS AND LEARNING STRATEGIES IN TRANSLATION TRAINING

The way specialised translation is taught significantly shapes how students come to understand and approach it. Pedagogical methods are not neutral; they actively influence students' perceptions of what matters in specialised translation – whether it is the mastery of terminology, the imitation of model texts, or the development of subject-matter competence. This connection is particularly evident at the undergraduate level, where students' learning strategies and expectations are still forming and where the grading system plays a powerful role in reinforcing certain norms and behaviours. For example, a teacher who emphasises terminological precision over contextual analysis may inadvertently lead students to adopt a reductive view of specialised translation as a mechanical transfer of terms rather than a complex, interpretive act. Consequently, the didactic approach adopted by instructors does more than transmit knowledge – it shapes the very skills, strategies, and attitudes that future translators carry into professional practice. Understanding this dynamic is essential for developing pedagogical frameworks that align with the real demands of specialised translation.

Moreover, the assessment strategies employed in specialised translation courses further reinforce specific attitudes toward the learning process. A grading system that rewards accuracy of terms over textual cohesion or contextual reasoning may implicitly discourage critical thinking and creativity, encouraging students to focus narrowly on glossary-matching exercises. This can lead to a superficial understanding of translation, where success is measured by terminological correctness rather than the ability to convey meaning within a broader communicative and disciplinary context.

Additionally, students' learning strategies tend to adapt to the expectations set by the teacher's methodology. For instance, in classrooms that heavily rely on static bilingual glossaries and model translations, students often become passive learners, dependent on memorisation and replication rather than active engagement with the complexities of the source and target texts. In contrast, when pedagogical approaches include collaborative translation tasks, critical reflection, and exposure to authentic domain-specific texts, students are more likely to develop analytical skills and strategies necessary for dealing with the multifaceted nature of specialised translation.

Therefore, the link between teaching practices and student learning strategies should not be underestimated. It has a profound impact on students' attitudes toward specialised translation and on the competencies they develop. Instructors need to be aware that the way they design their courses, structure their assignments, and assess student performance will shape not only the learners' academic success but also their long-term professional development as translators.

Schäffner and Adab (2000) outline a comprehensive model of translation competence that underpins the structure of undergraduate translator training programmes. Their framework includes six interrelated components: linguistic competence in both the source and target languages; cultural competence encompassing general knowledge

of the historical, political, and socio-cultural contexts of the relevant countries; textual competence, defined as familiarity with the conventions of various text types, genres, and discourse structures; and domain-specific or subject knowledge relevant to the translation task. In addition to these, they emphasise the importance of (re)search competence – referring to the translator's ability to identify and resolve problems that arise in cross-cultural transfer – and transfer competence, which entails producing target texts that meet the functional requirements of the translation brief. This holistic perspective demonstrates how translation competence extends beyond linguistic accuracy, integrating broader cognitive and contextual skills essential for professional practice (Schäffner/Adab 2000: 146).

Schäffner and Adab (2000), citing Anderman (1998), raise a critical issue in translator education: attempting to develop translation competence in students who are not yet linguistically proficient or culturally informed may be akin to making them run before they can walk. Yet, Schäffner and Adab also question the widespread assumption that translation competence should only be addressed once students have acquired full mastery of both working languages. Postponing translation training until the postgraduate level presents its own difficulties, particularly because students often enter such programmes with preconceived notions of translation shaped by their earlier experiences. At school and undergraduate levels, translation is frequently used as a language-learning device aimed at vocabulary acquisition, grammatical control, and reading comprehension rather than as a professional skill. These pedagogical translation exercises do not equip students with the broader set of competences required for professional practice. Consequently, students who advance to postgraduate translation programmes must often “unlearn” what they thought translation entailed. Schäffner and Adab's observations suggest that carefully scaffolded training should begin earlier in the educational pathway, so that students not only develop translation-related skills progressively, but also cultivate a more realistic and professional understanding of what translation involves from the outset (Schäffner/Adab 2000: 144).

This unlearning process highlights the indispensable role of theoretical knowledge in shaping competent translators. A solid theoretical foundation not only helps students reframe their understanding of translation but also equips them to make informed decisions in practice. It encourages critical reflection on the nature of equivalence, fidelity, cultural transfer, and the functional purpose of texts – all essential concepts that influence practical outcomes. Far from being abstract or dispensable, translation theory provides the conceptual tools necessary to navigate the complexities of real-world translation tasks. Without this grounding, students risk treating translation as a mechanical or purely linguistic activity, rather than as a dynamic, context-sensitive process requiring both cognitive and strategic competence.

The preceding discussion has shown how students often enter specialised translation programmes with preconceived and limited notions of translation shaped by prior language instruction. Addressing this requires more than just practical training. It calls for an integrated pedagogical approach – one that combines practice with theoretical reflection. The next section explores the role of theoretical knowledge in translator education, arguing that far from being an abstract exercise, theory plays a vital role in shaping informed, reflective, and professionally competent translators.

4. THE ROLE OF THEORY IN TRANSLATOR EDUCATION

While hands-on practice remains a central component of translator training, it is increasingly recognised that theoretical knowledge must underpin this practice. Teaching methods that incorporate basic theoretical principles enable students to understand translation as a purposeful, context-sensitive activity rather than a mere linguistic exercise.

It is essential that students of specialised translation are introduced to fundamental translation strategies and techniques, not with the expectation that they apply them indiscriminately, but rather to develop an informed awareness of their scope and relevance. Although such strategies are often covered in undergraduate translation or language courses, students frequently fail to establish connections between these theoretical components and their practical translation work. Instead, they tend to treat these courses as isolated hurdles to be passed, rather than as integral to their development as translators. A more reflective understanding of translation strategies would enable students to critically evaluate their choices, narrowing the range of techniques to those that are truly applicable to specialised translation contexts. Familiarity with established taxonomies, such as those proposed by Vinay and Darbelnet (1995), Newmark (1988), or Hlebec (2009), can provide a conceptual framework for navigating translation problems and making informed decisions. Moreover, this type of theoretical grounding enhances students' ability to articulate and justify their translation choices. It equips them with the metalanguage necessary to evaluate their own work and that of others, a skill that becomes particularly relevant when assessing translation quality, which will be explored in more detail in the following section.

Fawcett (2003) argues that a translator's limited ability to articulate their decision-making process, particularly in terms of translation strategies, can restrict the quality of both their internal reasoning and their output. While skilled translators may intuitively apply techniques such as hyponymic or antonymic translation, a lack of precise terminology can lead to vague self-assessments based on subjective impressions like "sounding right" or "flowing well". Drawing on insights from psycholinguistics, he suggests that enhancing a translator's metalanguage could improve performance, particularly in challenging translation moments. Although Komissarov cautions that the ability to verbalise one's processes does not equate to the ability to translate effectively, Fawcett maintains that intuition alone can be misleading. He contends that translation theory, when understood not as a constraint but as a corrective and enriching framework, can refine intuition and lead to more consistent, conscious, and ultimately better translation practice. In this view, the "art" of translation evolves from the practical application and internalisation of its theoretical foundations (Fawcett 2003: 50–52).

Theoretical knowledge of translation is not only essential for developing students' competence as translators, but also plays a crucial role in how their translation work is assessed. In order for students to meaningfully engage with feedback and develop professionally, it is important that they recognise assessment criteria as grounded in objective standards rather than as expressions of the teacher's personal preferences. A key element of the author's teaching approach is to demystify the evaluation process by showing students that the criteria applied in assessing their work are drawn from established translation theory and internationally recognised grading frameworks,

such as those used by the American Translators Association. By making the underlying rationale transparent, students are encouraged to view evaluation not as a subjective judgment, but as a structured reflection of the principles and techniques they are expected to master. This understanding fosters greater trust in the learning process and empowers students to critically reflect on their own translations using a shared professional and academic vocabulary.

5. TRANSLATION EVALUATION: FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

A structured and transparent approach to assessment is a crucial component of translator training, especially in specialised translation. Once students are equipped with a basic understanding of translation theory and key strategies, this knowledge must be reinforced through clear and consistent evaluation practices. It is important that students perceive assessment not as a subjective judgment based on individual teacher preferences, but as an objective process rooted in established theoretical frameworks and professional standards. In this context, internationally recognised evaluation models, such as those proposed by the American Translators Association (ATA), offer a valuable benchmark. These models help both educators and students align their expectations and foster a shared understanding of what constitutes a high-quality translation. The following section outlines the ATA's assessment criteria and explores how they can be integrated into classroom practice to support fair and constructive feedback.

One of the main purposes of introducing objective assessment criteria is to give students a clear understanding of what constitutes a good translation and what they should be aiming to achieve. A key step in this process is presenting them with a working definition of a successful translation, such as that provided by the American Translators Association, so they develop a concrete reference point for quality. Once this standard is established, students must also become aware of the types of errors that typically detract from translation quality. This dual awareness, of both the target and the pitfalls, helps guide their learning and self-assessment. In terms of grading, the distinction between prescriptive and descriptive approaches often becomes blurred in real-world educational settings. While a purely descriptive approach may lack clarity and consistency, an overly rigid prescriptive model can ignore context and stifle nuanced judgment. Therefore, a balanced approach is essential, one that is firmly grounded in clearly defined criteria, yet flexible enough to account for textual and situational variables. Such clarity is especially important at the undergraduate level, where students benefit from explicit, transparent feedback and are often frustrated by perceived ambiguity or inconsistency in evaluation.

In teaching specialised translation, the author of this paper adopts the working definition provided by Koby et al. (2014: 416–417), which states that a high-quality translation is one “in which the message embodied in the source text is transferred completely into the target text, including denotation, connotation, nuance, and style, and the target text is written in the target language using correct grammar and word order, to produce a culturally appropriate text that, in most cases, reads as if originally written by a native speaker of the target language for readers in the target culture.” This comprehensive definition emphasizes the multifaceted nature of translation quality, highlighting the importance of accuracy, cultural appropriateness, and linguistic fluency.

To operationalise this definition in the classroom, the author incorporates the American Translators Association (ATA) grading charts as a practical framework for assessment. These charts provide students with clearly defined criteria and categories for evaluating translation quality, helping to demystify the grading process by anchoring it in widely recognized professional standards. This approach enables students to see assessment as an objective, systematic process rather than a subjective judgment, fostering a more critical and informed engagement with their own work.

Together, the theoretical clarity offered by Koby et al.'s definition and the practical guidance of the ATA criteria empower students to understand what constitutes a good translation and to develop the skills necessary to meet these standards consistently.

The ATA grading framework distinguishes errors that pertain to the correct use of the target language itself (grammar, spelling, punctuation – i.e., *Target Language Mechanics*) from those that affect the accurate transmission of meaning from the source text to the target text (i.e., *Meaning Transfer*). While both categories are interrelated – because poor grammar can sometimes distort meaning, and a mistranslation may also violate syntactic norms – the ATA separates them for the sake of clearer evaluation.

Even in the final year of their undergraduate studies, students may still lack a clear understanding of how closely a specialised translation should adhere to the source text. It is therefore essential for instructors to clarify the distinction between accuracy and literalness, and to emphasise that free translation is generally not acceptable in the context of specialised translation. This highlights the importance of basic theoretical and linguistic knowledge, including concepts such as synonymy, near-synonymy, semantic fields, superordinates and hyponyms, denotation and connotation, polysemy, and collocations. Collocations are particularly important because specialised texts often rely on conventional word pairings that contribute to naturalness and precision in the target language. Similarly, polysemy, the phenomenon of words having multiple related meanings, requires careful attention to context and domain-specific usage. The teacher's role, therefore, is not only to introduce these linguistic categories but also to apply them to real translation problems, helping students develop analytical strategies for making informed, justifiable choices rather than relying on intuition or superficial equivalence.

Raising students' awareness of translation standards that are grounded in objective, recognised criteria is a crucial component of specialised translation training. Without this foundation, assessment risks being perceived, and at times truly becoming, an arbitrary reflection of a single teacher's personal preferences rather than a reflection of professional norms. This lack of transparency can lead to confusion, mistrust, and a superficial understanding of what constitutes a high-quality translation. By introducing students to established frameworks, such as the American Translators Association's grading criteria, and by explicitly linking assessment to theoretical and practical standards, educators can foster a clearer, more consistent, and more professionally relevant understanding of translation quality. In doing so, they empower students to evaluate their own work more critically and to recognise translation not merely as an academic exercise, but as a discipline with shared benchmarks and expectations.

Having established the theoretical and pedagogical framework that underpins the teaching and assessment of specialised translation, the next section turns to practical application.

6. METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in this paper integrates several complementary approaches. First, a comparative (contrastive) analysis is conducted through a systematic segment-by-segment comparison of the source text and the students' translations. This is followed by an error analysis based on the ATA error-marking framework, which provides a structured evaluative grid for identifying and categorizing translation errors. Finally, a corpus-based comparison is carried out using Evroteka² as the principal reference tool and source, enabling verification of terminology, phraseology, and established translation patterns in EU legal discourse.

The following case studies present selected examples of student translations, drawn from real classroom scenarios, with the aim of illustrating common patterns of error, successful strategies, and areas where theoretical knowledge, or the lack thereof, directly impacts translation outcomes. By analysing these samples through the lens of established translation standards and criteria, this section seeks to demonstrate how abstract concepts translate into practical challenges. More importantly, it shows how students' performance reflects their understanding of translation norms, language competence, and subject-matter familiarity. These examples serve both as evidence supporting the arguments previously discussed and as a didactic tool for identifying and addressing recurrent issues in translator training.

Since the author teaches specialised translation from English into Serbian and Serbian into English to final-year students at the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, she is well aware of the fact that they enter their fourth year with prior experience in specialised translation acquired during their third year of study. As the curriculum progresses, the fourth year represents an advanced stage that builds on the same foundational knowledge but introduces more complex tasks involving similar text types, most notably, legal and EU texts that combine legal discourse with the specific terminology of the European Union. In order to assess the extent to which students retained and internalised this previously acquired knowledge, the author conducted a diagnostic test at the very beginning of the course, focusing specifically on their command of EU-related terminology in context.

In the first specialised translation class (English into Serbian), prior to administering a diagnostic test, a written consent from the students was obtained to use their translations for the purposes of this study. A total of 51 students participated in the exercise. The aim was to gain insight into their actual familiarity with high-frequency EU terminology, which they were expected to have already encountered and studied during their third year. The test consisted of two tasks.

The first task focused on self-assessment: students were presented with a list of commonly occurring EU legal terms and were instructed to place a tick next to each word

2 Evroteka (<https://prevodjenje.mei.gov.rs/evroteka/>) is a bilingual corpus containing segments of EU legal acts in English and their translations into Serbian. Like Evronim, it is created in the process of preparing the national version of the European Union's *acquis*, based on the translation memories that are produced and used in that process. Evroteka is intended primarily for translators engaged in translating European legislation, but it is also available and useful to other professional translators as well as to a broader circle of users.

they believed they understood. This format mirrors a familiar classroom practice used in previous generations of translation courses, in which such word lists were often provided as a tool for exam preparation. The selection of terms – *regulation, provision, provide, administration, powers, treaty, paragraph* (in legal context), *article* (in legal context), *judicial*, and *competence* – was deliberate, comprising high-frequency items commonly found in EU texts.

In the second part of the test, these same terms were embedded in short passages selected from the *Evroteka* bilingual corpus. Students were asked to translate five short passages containing the previously listed terms, thereby demonstrating their ability to render the words in authentic legal-administrative contexts. This two-phase task was designed to reveal potential discrepancies between students' perceived and actual mastery of specialised terminology.

7. RESULTS

Although a total of 51 students were included in the testing, due to the impossibility of analysing all the tests, only three short passages were selected, and for each passage, three different student translations are presented, along with the author's comments.

In total, three diagnostic tests were administered. Each test is presented in the following sequence: the source text from *Evroteka* in English, the corresponding *Evroteka* translation into Serbian, followed by the translations produced by Student 1, Student 2, and Student 3, each accompanied by the author's commentary. The same structure is applied to the remaining two diagnostic tests. After all the translations and commentaries have been examined, a final section provides an overall assessment summarizing the key observations from all three diagnostic tests.

7.1. STUDENT TRANSLATIONS: DIAGNOSTIC TEST – EXAMPLE 1

Source text:

The implementation of the common foreign and security policy shall not affect the application of the procedures and the extent of the powers of the institutions laid down by the Treaties for the exercise of the Union competences referred to in Articles 3 to 6 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

Translation from *Evroteka*:

Sprovođenje zajedničke spoljne i bezbednosne politike ne utiče na primenu postupaka i obim ovlašćenja organa utvrđenih Ugovorima za vršenje nadležnosti Unije navedenih u čl. 3–6. Ugovora o funkcionisanju Evropske unije.

Student 1:

Uvođenje zajedničke inostrane politike i politike bezbednosti neće uticati na primenu postupaka i na opseg moći institucija osnovanih sporazumom o radu vlasti Unije navedenom u članovima 3 do 6 sporazuma o radu Evropske Unije.

Commentary:

This translation reveals multiple lexical mismatches. The phrase *uvođenje zajedničke inostrane politike* is inappropriate both collocationally and terminologically; *zajednička*

spoljna i bezbednosna politika is the established term in the EU discourse. The student also renders *powers* as *moći*, a common literal error where *ovlašćenja* is required. Furthermore, *sporazum o radu vlasti Unije* is an incorrect and imprecise formulation of *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*, which should be translated as *Ugovor o funkcionisanju Evropske unije*. The misinterpretation of *laid down by the Treaties* as *osnovanih sporazumom* also reflects the student's insufficient awareness of legal translation conventions.

Student 2:

Uvođenje međunarodne strane polise i bezbednosne polise neće uticati na primenu procedura i količinu moći institucija predstavljene u Ugovoru i sprovođenju sposobnosti Unije prikazane u članovima 3, 4, 5 i 6 Sporazuma o funkcionisanju Evropske unije.

Commentary:

This version demonstrates serious terminological and stylistic issues, many of which result from the misuse of literal and false friends. The use of *polisa* for *policy* reflects a false friend error. The word *policy* has been rendered as *polisa*, which in Serbian typically refers to an *insurance policy*, not a political or strategic course of action. These are classic examples of false friends – words that appear similar in both languages but have different meanings. The phrase *količina moći* as a translation of *extent of the powers* demonstrates a misunderstanding of polysemy and results in an inaccurate collocation. The noun *powers* in the legal-administrative EU discourse refers to *institutional authority or competences*, not physical or abstract strength. Translating it literally as *moć* and quantifying it with *količina* (amount) reflects a misreading of its intended meaning. The correct phrase in Serbian should be *obim ovlašćenja*, which accurately captures both the register and semantic field of the source term. Similarly, *sposobnosti* is an inaccurate rendering of *competences*, which in the EU context refers to *nadležnosti*. It is a classic example of polysemy creating confusion in translation. In the context of EU and educational policy documents (such as the CEFR or EU frameworks for key competences), *competence* refers not to someone's *abilities* (*sposobnosti* in Serbian) but to a broader concept closer to *responsibility, authority, or remit* – in Serbian, this would be *nadležnosti* or, depending on the context, *ovlašćenja*. Overall, this student's translation reveals a lack of awareness of the polysemous nature of domain-specific terminology.

Student 3:

Primena zajedničke strane politike i politike bezbednosti ne utiče na primenu postupaka i obim moći institucija određene Uredbom radi pokazivanja kompetencija Unije pomenute u Članovima 3–6 Uredbe o funkcionisanju Evropske Unije.

Commentary:

While somewhat more coherent structurally, this translation still exhibits key terminological and grammatical inaccuracies. *Zajednička strana politika* is again a calque that disrupts the standard formulation. *Određene Uredbom* misrepresents *laid down by the Treaties*, as *Uredba* (Regulation) is a different legal instrument from *Ugovor* (Treaty). The use of *pokazivanja kompetencija* is problematic due to polysemy; *ostvarivanje*

nadležnosti would be a better fit. This translation shows a partial understanding of the structure and function of EU legal language but lacks refined command of the Serbian legal style. Also, in Serbian orthography, the word *član* followed by a number (e.g., *član 5*) is not capitalised, unlike in English, where *Article 5* is typically written with a capital A.

7.2. STUDENT TRANSLATIONS: DIAGNOSTIC TEST – EXAMPLE 2

Source text:

Judicial cooperation in criminal matters in the Union shall be based on the principle of mutual recognition of judgments and judicial decisions and shall include the approximation of the laws and regulations of the Member States in the areas referred to in paragraph 2 and in Article 83.

Translation from Evroteka:

Pravosudna saradnja u krivičnim stvarima u Uniji zasniva se na principu međusobnog priznavanja presuda i pravosudnih odluka i obuhvata usklađivanje zakona i propisa država članica u oblastima iz stava 2. i člana 83.

Student 1:

Zakonodavna saradnja po pitanju kriminala u Uniji treba da se zasniva na principu međusobnog prepoznavanja suda i zakonodavnih odluka i treba da obuhvata ocenjivanje zakona i regulacija Država članica u oblastima navedenim u članu 2. stav 83.

Commentary:

This version shows several conceptual misunderstandings. *Zakonodavna saradnja* (legislative cooperation) is a misinterpretation of *judicial cooperation*, while *po pitanju kriminala* lacks the formality expected in legal discourse and would be better expressed as *u krivičnim stvarima*. The rendering *međusobno prepoznavanje suda* incorrectly uses *sud* (court) in the singular instead of *presuda* (judgments), while *zakonodavne odluke* (legislative decisions) misrepresents *judicial decisions*. Finally, *ocenjivanje zakona* does not capture the intended meaning of *approximation of laws*, which refers to harmonization rather than evaluation.

Student 2:

Sudska saradnja u kriminalnim pitanjima u Uniji se zasniva na principu međusobnog uvažavanja presuda i sudskih odluka i uključuje skup zakona i uredba država članica u oblastima pomenutim u paragrafu 2 i članu 83.

Commentary:

This version is closer to the original in recognising *sudska saradnja* and correctly translating *presuda* and *sudske odluke*. However, *kriminalna pitanja* is ambiguous and less idiomatic than *krivične stvari*. The phrase *skup zakona i uredba* suggests a fixed collocation and fails to express the legal process of approximation. Also, *paragraf* is a false friend in this context and should be rendered as *stav* in Serbian legal usage. Agreement issues appear in *zakona i uredba*, where both elements should be plural and congruent.

Student 3:

Sudska saradnja u vezi kriminalnih pitanja unutar Unije će biti bazirana na principu međusobnog prepoznavanja presuda i sudskih odluka i uključuje približnost zakona i propisa zemlji članica u oblastima navedenim u pasusu 2 i članu 83.

Commentary:

While this translation captures more legal vocabulary than the first one, several expressions are off the mark. *U vezi kriminalnih pitanja* is both semantically and stylistically unidiomatic; *u krivičnim stvarima* is the conventional term. *Biti bazirana* is less preferred in legal register than *zasnivati se*. *Približnost zakona* is not a recognised term in Serbian legal language and should be replaced by *usklađivanje zakona*. Finally, *pasus* is used for a paragraph in a general text, not in legal documents, where *stav* is standard. Additionally, *zemlji članica* is a case error; it should be *država članica* in genitive plural.

This sentence is particularly instructive for assessing students' ability to handle abstract legal concepts and high-frequency EU legal collocations, such as *judicial cooperation*, *mutual recognition*, *judgments*, *approximation of laws*, and *paragraph* versus *article*. It also tests their sensitivity to both syntactic structure and the conventions of Serbian legal style.

7.3. STUDENT TRANSLATIONS: DIAGNOSTIC TEST – EXAMPLE 3

Source text:

In implementing the multiannual framework programme, the Union may make provision, in agreement with the Member States concerned, for participation in research and development programmes undertaken by several Member States, including participation in the structures created for the execution of those programmes.

Translation from Evroteka:

Pri sprovođenju višegodišnjeg okvirnog programa, Unija može, u dogovoru sa zainteresovanim državama članicama, predvideti učešće u istraživačkim i razvojnim programima koje preduzima više država članica, uključujući učešće u strukturama uspostavljenim radi realizacije tih programa.

Student 1:

Tokom izvršavanja višegodišnjeg okvirnog programa, Unija može obezbediti, u skladu sa zemljama članicama koje su u pitanju, učešće istraživačkim i razvojnim programima koje su preuzele nekoliko država članica, uključujući i učešće u strukturama izgrađene u svrhu izvršavanja tih programa.

Commentary:

Polysemy-related error: The verb *obezbediti* in the phrase *Unija može obezbediti* represents a misinterpretation of the English verb *provide*, which is polysemous. In this legal-administrative context, *make provision for* refers to the act of formally allowing, foreseeing, or arranging for something in an institutional framework.

Prepositional error: *učešće istraživačkim programima* is incorrect; it must be *učešće u programima*.

Ambiguity and agreement error: *koje su preuzele nekoliko država članica* misrepresents the original meaning and is grammatically awkward (several = singular in Serbian).

Structural error: The phrase *izgrađene u svrhu* is problematic due to its literal interpretation of *izgrađene* (*built*), which is inappropriate in this abstract administrative-legal context. Additionally, there is a congruence error, as *izgrađene* is feminine plural, but does not agree with the correct noun (*strukture*) in the intended meaning. A more appropriate expression would be *uspostavljene radi realizacije*.

Collocational inadequacy: The phrase *izvršavanje programa* is not a standard collocation when referring to *programmes* in administrative or legal texts. A more appropriate and commonly accepted term is *realizacija programa*, which better reflects the intended meaning of implementation or execution in a formal register.

Student 2:

Tokom sprovođenja višegodišnjeg okvira programa, Evropska Unija može da donese odredbu, u ugovoru sa zaduženim državama članicama, za učešće u istraživanju i razvijenim programima koje je ostvarila nekolicina država članica, uključujući i učešće u strukturama koje su kreirale za izvođenje tih programa.

Commentary:

Polysemy-related error: The verb *obezbediti* in the phrase *Unija može obezbediti* represents a misinterpretation of the English verb *provide*, which is polysemous. In this legal-administrative context, *make provision for* refers to the act of formally allowing, foreseeing, or arranging for something in an institutional framework. However, *obezbediti* in Serbian typically conveys meanings such as *to secure*, *to supply*, or *to ensure*, which implies a more material or protective function. This choice, therefore, reflects a misunderstanding of the source word's specific legal-administrative sense and leads to a semantic deviation.

Lexical inaccuracies: *u ugovoru sa zaduženim državama članicama* → *u dogovoru sa zainteresovanim državama članicama* is the correct rendering. *Ugovor* is a false friend here; *istraživanju i razvijenim programima* mixes participles and nouns in an odd manner – it should be *istraživačkim i razvojnim programima*.

Verb mismatch: *koje je ostvarila* suggests that only one subject (she/it) created them, distorting the meaning. The original implies joint action by several Member States.

The phrase *kreirale za izvođenje* is functional but lacks the legal precision and formality of *uspostavljene radi realizacije*.

Student 3:

Tokom sprovođenja višegodišnjeg okvirnog programa, Unija može, u dogovoru sa zainteresovanim državama članicama, da predvidi učestvovanje u istraživačkim i razvojnim programima koje preduzima nekoliko država članica, uključujući učestvovanje u strukturama koje su uspostavljene za izvršavanje tih programa.

Commentary:

- very close to the official translation in terms of both structure and terminology
- *učestvovanje* is slightly less formal than *učešće*, though still acceptable

- *koje preduzima nekoliko država članica* mirrors the original phrasing well, but *više država članica* would reflect the correct number more clearly
- *izvršavanje tih programa* is not a standard collocation, *realizacija* is more standard in legal-administrative texts

The first result shows that all the students recognized every lexical item on the list and marked it as familiar. By ticking each word, they indicated that they believed they knew its meaning. However, when they encountered the same words in context in the second part of the task, they faced difficulties and often translated them incorrectly. Mere recognition of words without understanding their actual meaning in context was the first finding.

The recurring issues observed in these examples point to a broader problem in students' handling of polysemous terms, false friends, and domain-specific collocations. Many errors stem from a tendency to default to the most familiar or literal meaning of a word, often acquired through rote memorisation rather than contextual understanding. This superficial vocabulary acquisition results in mistranslations that may appear grammatically or stylistically acceptable in Serbian but fail to preserve the semantic integrity of the source text. Such instances are particularly problematic in specialised translation, where precision and conceptual consistency are crucial.

Students often fail to recognise that certain terms belong to specific semantic fields and must be translated accordingly. For example, the term *implementation* has a defined function in legal-administrative discourse that cannot be replaced by a more general or colloquial synonym without altering the intended meaning. Similarly, misuse of terms like *competences*, often mistranslated due to unfamiliarity with its context-dependent meanings in EU and institutional language, demonstrates a lack of awareness of how terminological polysemy operates in practice.

These errors suggest not only insufficient lexical depth but also a gap in students' understanding of how meaning is constructed across linguistic and disciplinary boundaries. They also reflect a failure to integrate theoretical knowledge, such as awareness of semantic fields, register, and functional equivalence, into practical translation work. This underscores the need to strengthen pedagogical approaches that bridge theory and practice, foster critical thinking about lexical choices, and promote a more analytical engagement with translation problems. Ultimately, improving these areas will contribute to the development of more context-sensitive and semantically accurate translators.

8. DISCUSSION

Effective teaching of specialised translation requires a balanced integration of theoretical knowledge with practical training. Students should not only learn how to translate but also understand the underlying principles that guide translation choices. By familiarising themselves with translation strategies and techniques, learners develop critical thinking skills that enable them to evaluate and justify their decisions. This theoretical foundation also equips students to better articulate their reasoning during peer reviews and self-assessment, fostering a reflective approach to translation.

A crucial element in specialised translation is precise vocabulary acquisition within appropriate semantic fields. Students often struggle with polysemous domain-specific terms and false friends due to limited contextual understanding. To address this, educators should emphasise the use of authentic materials, particularly specialised translation corpora, alongside glossaries. Corpora provide rich examples of how terms and phrases are used in real-world contexts, allowing students to explore collocations, frequency, and variations that go beyond dictionary definitions. Training students to consult and analyse corpora encourages autonomous learning, deepens their semantic understanding, and reduces errors linked to improper term usage.

Kübler, Mestivier, and Pecman (2021) provide compelling evidence supporting the effectiveness of specialised corpora in the training of specialised translation. Their quantitative analysis of learner translation corpora, annotated according to error types, demonstrates a marked reduction in errors within the subset of translations produced with corpus assistance, compared to those completed without such support. While certain error categories showed limited improvement and some challenges were identified, such as learners' overreliance on corpora and diminished intuitive processing, the overall benefits of incorporating corpora into specialised translation practice were clear and substantial. Furthermore, the authors emphasise that combining corpus linguistics tools with terminology management and collaboration with domain experts constitutes a robust, multidisciplinary approach to translator training. This methodology not only enhances learner confidence and competence but also offers a valuable framework for evaluating translation quality and identifying recurrent errors through annotated learner productions and varied translation task conditions (Kübler et al. 2021: 822).

Students must also be made aware of the flexibility inherent in specialised translation. It is not a process of mere word substitution but requires navigating a range of translation options and selecting those best suited to the context.

Clear, theory-based assessment criteria are essential to guide students in understanding what constitutes a quality translation. Grounding grading in recognised frameworks, like those of the American Translators Association, helps ensure that evaluation is objective rather than subjective. Providing detailed, constructive feedback based on these criteria encourages learners to identify recurring mistakes and fosters continuous improvement. Furthermore, involving students in self- and peer-assessment exercises based on the same standards cultivates critical evaluation skills and autonomy.

A collaborative learning environment enhances the acquisition of specialised translation skills. Group work and peer feedback promote the exchange of diverse perspectives and collective problem-solving, mirroring professional translation settings. Authentic projects grounded in real-world contexts boost motivation and practical competence. Additionally, encouraging reflective practices, such as translator's journals or commentary, helps students deepen their awareness of translation decisions and learning progress.

Finally, maintaining high teaching standards requires continuous professional development for educators. Staying informed about advancements in translation theory, pedagogical methods, and industry practices ensures curricula remain relevant and effective. Partnerships between academic programs and translation professionals can further enrich learning by providing insights into evolving professional demands and standards.

9. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the teaching of specialised translation must be grounded in a comprehensive approach that integrates theoretical understanding, practical application, and the use of modern pedagogical tools. It is essential for students not only to learn translation strategies and techniques but also to develop a critical awareness of when and how to apply them, recognising that these tools serve as guidelines rather than rigid rules. This theoretical foundation enhances their ability to approach translation tasks thoughtfully and adaptively, which is crucial in specialised fields where precision and contextual appropriateness are paramount.

The incorporation of specialised corpora into translator training has proven highly effective in reducing errors and improving translation quality. When combined with terminology management and collaboration with subject-matter experts, corpus-based methodologies provide a robust and multidisciplinary framework that supports students in acquiring both linguistic accuracy and domain-specific knowledge. Such approaches encourage reflective practice and greater autonomy, equipping learners to handle complex texts with confidence.

Additionally, transparent and theory-informed assessment criteria play a vital role in helping students understand the objective standards of translation quality. By demystifying the grading process and linking it to established professional benchmarks such as those of the American Translators Association, students gain clarity on the expectations they must meet. This clarity reduces ambiguity, fosters motivation, and aligns their learning outcomes with the demands of the translation profession.

Overall, a holistic teaching model that combines cognitive, linguistic, and sociocultural dimensions of translation prepares students more effectively for the realities of specialised translation work. By fostering both technical competence and critical reflection, such education cultivates translators who are not only skilled practitioners but also thoughtful professionals, capable of navigating the nuanced challenges of their field.

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SUMMARY

DIDACTICS OF SPECIALISED TRANSLATION – FROM MEMORISATION TO CONTEXTUAL LEARNING

This paper examines persistent challenges in the teaching of specialised translation and argues for a pedagogical model that integrates theoretical knowledge, contextualised terminology acquisition, and corpus-informed practice. Although traditional approaches in undergraduate translator training often rely heavily on memorisation of isolated terms and glossary-based learning, these methods fail to address core linguistic and conceptual issues that arise in specialised domains, particularly polysemy, collocational behaviour, and the semantic structures characteristic of EU legal and institutional discourse. Consequently, students may recognise individual lexical items but struggle to interpret or translate them accurately in context, resulting in errors that undermine precision, appropriateness, and textual coherence.

To investigate these challenges empirically, the study employs a multi-method approach combining comparative analysis, ATA-based error analysis, and corpus consultation. Student translations were examined segment by segment against original EU legal texts and official Evroteka equivalents. The ATA error framework served as a systematic tool for categorising errors related to meaning transfer, terminological choice, and target-language mechanics, while corpus evidence provided insight into authentic usage patterns, established collocations, and domain-specific phrasing. This triangulated methodology enabled both qualitative interpretation of students' decision-making and quantitative identification of recurring problem types.

The findings reveal a significant discrepancy between students' perceived familiarity with specialised terminology and their actual ability to deploy such terminology appropriately. Frequent errors include literal translations of polysemous

items, interference from false friends, inappropriate Serbian legal-administrative formulations, and misunderstandings of key EU concepts such as 'competence,' 'powers,' and 'implementation.' These issues point to a deeper pedagogical problem: recognition-based vocabulary learning does not foster the conceptual understanding required for accurate specialised translation. Moreover, students often lack awareness of genre conventions and stylistic expectations in Serbian legal discourse.

The paper argues that more effective didactics must move beyond terminology lists toward an integrated model that connects theory, guided practice, and corpus exploration. Theoretical instruction, particularly regarding translation strategies, semantic fields, and functional equivalence, sharpens students' analytical skills and helps them make informed choices. Transparent, theory-based evaluation criteria such as those used by the American Translators Association further strengthen students' ability to understand expectations, interpret feedback, and self-assess their work.

Ultimately, the study demonstrates that a pedagogy grounded in reflection, contextual sensitivity, and empirical evidence better prepares students for the complexities of specialised translation and aligns academic training more closely with the demands of professional practice.

KEYWORDS: specialised translation, terminology, polysemy, collocations, corpus analysis, ATA framework, translation quality assessment, translation strategies.

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Prikazala ANA EFENDIĆ
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Jezici u kontaktu: engleski i srpski Nenada Tomovića, redovnog profesora na Katedri za anglistiku na Filološkom fakultetu u Beogradu, predstavlja jedinstveno štivo namenjeno proučavaocima kulturoloških i lingvističkih fenomena, ali i ljubiteljima jezika uopšte. Objavljena 2024. godine u izdanju Filološkog fakulteta u Beogradu, kao deo edicije Monografije – jezik, i podeljena u dve celine, ova knjiga pruža sveobuhvatan pregled pojma, istorije i širih kulturnih implikacija viševjekovnog kontakta engleskog i srpskog jezika, koji proteklih nekoliko decenija doživljava naročit zamah i otvara brojna pitanja u domenu jezičkog istraživanja i kulturnog opstanka. U prvom delu autor se osvrće na fenomen jezika u kontaktu u opštem smislu, dajući prednost engleskom jeziku kao jeziku globalne komunikacije. U drugom delu fokus je prevashodno na odnosu engleskog i srpskog, tačnije istorijatu, prirodi i posledicama njihovog međusobnog uticaja.

Prvo poglavlje, *Jezički kontakt – istorijat proučavanja*, upoznaje čitaoca s prapočecima kontaktne lingvistike. Počev od 17. i 18. veka, autor istražuje pojam mešanih jezika i jezičkog mešanja i razmatra različite nivoe na kojima se ono odvija, kao i uticaj geografske udaljenosti na taj proces. On uvodi pojmove pozajmljenica, tuđica i kalkova, pozivajući se na lingviste poput Haugena, Vajnrajha, Filipovića i Prčića. Od Haugenovog protivljenja terminu *mešanje jezika* i favorizaciji termina *pozajmljivanje*, preko Vajnrajhove pionirske teorije jezika u kontaktu, ovo poglavlje opisuje korene jezičkog kontakta kao predmeta lingvističkog istraživanja i postavlja donekle retoričko pitanje: postoji li uopšte jezik koji nije mešan?

U drugom poglavlju, *Jezički kontakt i njegova priroda*, sledi detaljnija analiza različitih vidova jezičkog kontakta u zavisnosti od brojnih spoljašnjih faktora koji ga bliže određuju i oblikuju. Shodno tome, termin *jezički kod* prirodno se nameće kao precizniji u odnosu na *jezik*, što autor i naglašava, ističući neodvojivost fenomena jezičkog kontakta od govornika i ekstralingvističkog konteksta, kao i još jednu važnu odliku jezičkog kontakta: naime, da se on odvija unutar govornika, a ispoljava u aktivnoj komunikaciji.

Treće poglavlje posvećeno je razlozima za jezičko pozajmljivanje, fenomen svojstven svim jezicima. Autor se osvrće na kulturno, opšte, bilingvalno i terapeutsko pozajmljivanje, poklanjajući posebnu pažnju sociolingvističkim faktorima poput prestiža i društvenog konteksta (koji čak mogu da podstaknu potiskivanje domaće reči iz upotrebe), ali i prednosti kratkoće i ekonomičnosti kojima se pozajmljenice često odlikuju.

Mada su pozajmljenice prisutne u svim jezicima na planeti, otvorenost, odnosno zatvorenost prema jezičkom pozajmljivanju varira u zavisnosti od brojnih činilaca. Najznačajniji od njih predstavljeni su u četvrtom poglavlju, naslovljenom *Otvorenost jezika prema pozajmljivanju*, koje kao prvi i najvažniji uslov za bilo kakav vid

pozajmljivanja navodi upravo jezički kontakt. U nastavku su opisani spektar i priroda uticaja drugih faktora, počev od stepena pismenosti, preko razvijenosti književnosti i nauke, do političkih činilaca poput jezičkog planiranja i stava govornika prema stranom jeziku u datom istorijskom trenutku. Najzad, autor navodi i jedan faktor fonološke prirode – govornu kompatibilnost jezika davaoca i jezika primaoca.

U petom poglavlju, *Prevođenje i jezički kontakt*, autor ističe dodirne tačke između teorije prevođenja i teorije jezika u kontaktu. On čitaoca upoznaje sa pojmovima interferencije, očitog i skrivenog prevoda, kao i posledicama česte upotrebe elemenata jezika davaoca koji u jezik primaoca uđu putem prevoda. Uticaj prevoda, bilo da potiče od profesionalnih prevodilaca ili klasičnih bilingvala, nemoguće je zanemariti, autor navodi u zaključku, ni jednog trenutka ne gubeći iz vida globalnu rasprostranjenost engleskog jezika, posledičnu demokratizaciju jezika prevoda, pojavu „spontanih“ prevodilaca i nova jezička očekivanja na tržištu rada.

Šesto poglavlje, ujedno i poslednje u prvom delu knjige, posvećeno je posledicama jezičkog kontakta. Kad je reč o njegovom uticaju na pojedinca, ali i zajednicu, autor ističe dvojezičnost (bilingvalizam) i višejezičnost (multilingvalizam), preključivanje i mešanje kodova, kao i pojam diglosije. U posledice jezičkog kontakta potom ubraja i opširnije govori o jezičkom nazadovanju, asimilaciji, konfliktu, diskriminaciji i nesigurnosti. Sa stanovišta samog jezika, autor se osvrće i na smrt jezika kao jednu od potencijalnih posledica kontakta, kao i pojam revitalizacije kojoj se ponekad pribegava kako bi se jezik sačuvao od izumiranja. Potom sledi pregled kontaktnih jezika, uključujući pidžine, kreole i mešovite jezike, a naročita pažnja poklonjena je pozajmljenicama. Tipovi jezičkog pozajmljivanja izloženi su i opisani najpre u opštem smislu, u zavisnosti od nivoa – leksičkog ili strukturnog – na kom se odvijaju, da bi se potom, u skladu s glavnim temom, u fokus stavio pojam anglicizma kao pozajmljenice specifične po svojoj globalnoj dominantnosti.

Sedmo poglavlje, *Adaptacija*, otvara drugu celinu knjige posvećenu kontaktu engleskog i srpskog jezika. U njemu se čitalac upoznaje s adaptacijom, koja neretko predstavlja neizbežan deo procesa jezičkog pozajmljivanja. Kao vid prilagođavanja lingvističkih elemenata prilikom njihovog prelaska iz jezika davaoca u jezik primalac, adaptacija je podrobno opisana na različitim nivoima – fonološkom, morfološkom, ortografskom i semantičkom.

Osmo poglavlje, *Englesko-srpski kontakti u prošlosti – jezik, književnost i kultura*, čitaoca upoznaje s počecima jezičkog kontakta engleskog i srpskog. Počev od prvih kontakata Srba s anglofonim narodima, koji su do 19. veka bili uglavnom sporadični, autor pruža hronološki pregled prvih anglicizama u srpskom jeziku, ističe prvobitnu dvosmernost kontakta engleskog i srpskog i navodi primere iz književnosti koji svedoče o nekada uzajamnom kulturnom uticaju ova dva jezika: prvo književno delo u celosti prevedeno s engleskog na srpski bio je *Robinzon Kruso* Danijela Defoa; *Čiča Tomina koliba* autorke nevešto transkribovanog prezimena „Beher Stove“, umesto Bičer Stou, na primer, po svemu sudeći prvo je delo iz američkog pera prevedeno na srpski jezik; s druge strane, srpska narodna poezija stigla je do engleskog govornog područja još u 17. veku; engleska čitalačka publika se s *Hasanaginicom* upoznala posredno, preko Geteovog prevoda ove pesme na nemački, koji je potom na engleski preveo ser Volter Skot. Slični i podjednako interesantni primeri nižu se paralelno s opisima prosvetiteljskih

i tehnoloških napredaka zabeleženih u 20. i 21. veku, koji su prirodno sve više olakšavali upliv anglofone kulture. Nakon istorijata izučavanja engleskog jezika u Srbiji, nekoliko stranica posvećeno je kulturnom doprinosu engleskog jezika na srpskom govornom području: autor se dotiče filma, stripa, crtanog filma, pa čak i davno zaboravljenog roto-romana.

Sociolingvistički aspekti kontakta engleskog i srpskog jezika predstavljeni su u poslednjem, devetom poglavlju. Autor najpre razmatra pitanje odomaćenosti anglicizama u standardnom srpskom jeziku, pojave poznate i kao *engleski kao odomaćeni strani jezik* (Prčić 2005, prema Tomović 2024), da bi se potom usredsredio na jezičke varijetete najpodložnije usvajanju anglicizama. Reč je o mahom supstandardnim varijetetima koji su zbog svoje prirode naročito otvoreni prema pozajmljenicama – rastuća neformalnost svojstvena žargonu i slengu, na primer, kao i to što često predstavljaju sredstvo identifikacije i komunikacije unutar relativno zatvorene grupe govornika, doprinose njihovoj kulturno-leksičkoj fleksibilnosti. U eri digitalne komunikacije, ova osobina još je izraženija. Posebna pažnja poklonjena je *anglosrpskom* i *serbišu* (Mišić Ilić 2011, prema Tomović 2024), varijetetima specifičnim po obilju pozajmljenog jezičkog materijala, ili pak geografskoj uslovljenosti. Završni deo ovog poglavlja posvećen je pitanju koje se sve češće čuje u poslednje vreme, a proističe iz bojazni mnogih govornika srpskog jezika koji upliv anglicizama posmatraju s izvesnom skepsom: da li ovakav uticaj engleskog jezika ugrožava srpski?

Nalik dinamičnom vodiču kroz fenomen jezika u kontaktu, knjiga prof. Nenada Tomovića prava je riznica za zaljubljenike u jezik. Svojom inspirativnošću i stilom kadriranjem da čitaoca istovremeno poduči i zainteresuje, ona u svakom smislu ispunjava nade svog autora: ne samo da predstavlja bogat resurs za stručnjake, već se može toplo preporučiti i široj publici koju zanima jezička problematika modernog doba.

Časopis izlazi jednom godišnje.

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