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TEKSTAI IR KONTEKSTAI:
KONFLIKTAI IR SUSITARIMAI

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TEKSTAI IR KONTEKSTAI: KONFLIKTAI IR SUSITARIMAI

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TEXTS AND CONTEXTS: COLLISIONS AND COLLUSIONS

Selected Papers



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Neišsemiamos tekstu ir kontekstų žaismės subtilybės

Šis testinio mokslinio leidinio *Tekstai ir kontekstai* straipsnių rinkinys su paantrašte *konfliktai ir susitarimai* atspindi tolimesnius bandymus išskleisti neišsemiamas teksto ir konteksto sąveikos subtilybes: jas aptarinėja literatūrologai, kalbininkai, kultūrologai, edukologai iš Latvijos, Lenkijos, Vengrijos, Rumunijos, Vokietijos ir Lietuvos.

Rinkinio straipsniuose, skirtuose literatūros klausimams, apžvelgiama lietuvių, latvių, britų, amerikiečių, rusų autorių grožinė kūryba. Literatūrinio teksto ir politinio konteksto sąveika per daugialypius konfliktus ir susitarimus atskleidžiama savitame migracijos – šiuolaikinio socialinio ir kultūrinio reiškinio – fone. Ji leidžia giliau pažvelgti į rasės sampratą, t. y. į konstruktą, paneigiantį susiformavusius stereotipus bei kultūrinius tabus. Grožinė literatūra gali būti susijusi su filosofiniu kontekstu visiškai netikėtu rakursu: atkreiptas dėmesys į tokią konfliktišką situaciją, kai garsaus filosofo įžvalgų sklaidą stabdo vertėjai, atsisakantys versti idėjinui požiūriu tautiečiams nepriimtinus kūrinius. Tokiu atveju susitarimas vykdomas, pasitelkiant vertimus į kitą plačiau žinomą kalbą arba nutolstant nuo originalo, kai perimamos vertimo kalba rašančių autorių interpretacijos. Tiriamos literatūrinės nesutarimų tarp autorių priežastys bei jų tolesnė transformacija – peraugimas į rimtą konfliktą, kuris traktuojamas kaip sudėtinė struktūra, suformuota privataus konteksto. Literatūros kontekstų įvairovė provokuoja tarpdalykinį tyrimų kryptis, suteikiančias galimybę polemizuoti ir ieškoti kitokių žiūros projekcijų, apmąstant konflikto sąvoką, jo prielaidas bei neutralizavimo galimybes. Teorinių ekopsichologų įžvalgų perspektyvoje analizuojamas grožinis tekstas, kuriame subtiliai koduojamos priešpriešos ar nesutarimai ir beveik tuo pat harmonizuojami nedarnūs sąskambiai. Plėtojama teksto terapijos samprata – kokį poveikį skaitytojui daro literatūra, sutaike gamtos ir kultūros dichotomiją ir taip sumažinanti konfliktų tikimybę. Esė tekstas savitai perteikia konflikto ir susitarimo paradigmą, per autoriaus dialogą su skaitytoju ir monologą su pačiu savimi, žanriniu požiūriu atskleisdamas filosofijos, grožinės literatūros ir mokslo projekcijų žaismę. Literatūrinė epifanija kaip meno tiesos manifestacija per kalbą suponuoja dvasinio apsireiškimo lygmenį, kuriame akimirksniu paaiškėja tiesa, kylanti iš atsikitinių ir kintančių aplinkybių. Tiriami ir literatūros kritikos tekstai, kuriuose publicistas-kritikas prabyla kaip konfliktiškas intelektualas, balansuojanties tarp teatro sąjungininko ir teatro priešininko pozicijų.

Iškeliamas aktuali skaitomo teksto suvokimo problema, siejama su jaunosios kartos skaitymo įgūdžių įsisavinimo sunkumais. Žema skaitymo ir tekstu suvokimo kompetencija trukdo formuoti esminį gebėjimą integruotis į socialinį bei kultūrinį gyvenimą.

Skaitymo kompetencija ir kokybė lemia teksto vertimo kokybę. Vertimo procese iškyla konfliktai su tekstu, kuriuos lydi neišvengiami susitarimai. Tai apibėžiama tokiomis vertimo studijų kategorijomis kaip išverčiamumas, ekvivalentišumas, adekvatumas, tikslumas / ištikimybė originalui ir kt. Vertimas iš esmės turi būti siejamas su vertėjo nuostatomis ir pasirinktu tikslu. Vertimas gali pasitarnauti mokant(is) užsienio kalbų, pvz., pasitelkiant kino filmų titrus. Tačiau čia glūdi

saviti iššūkiai: įvairios originalo kalbos modifikacijos, kalbos struktūrų pakeitimas, leksinis neatitikimas, ribotas laikas perskaityti ir suvokti titrus ir pan.

Dar vieną straipsnių grupę sudaro darbai, skirti kalbotyrinei dimensijai. Ti-riamos netikslumą žyminčios frazės, remiantis tekstynų duomenimis. Gilinamas ių klausimą, kaip kontekstas lemia tokią frazių vartoseną, nes jos dažniausiai yra suvokiamos tik dėl atitinkamo konteksto. Kalbininkų dėmesį atkreipia ir interneto forumų kalba, kuri yra palanki pragmatinei mandagumo strategijų analizei. Čia ypač svarbus susitarimo faktorius, nes yra siekiama, kad prašymas būtų išpildytas: skirtinges mandagumo strategijas lemia kultūriniai skirtumai. Aptariamos dažniausiai pasitaikančios konvencionalizuotų ironiškų posakių struktūros, pristatomos įvairios įvesties erdvės, lemiančios iš pirmo žvilgsnio nesuderinamų prasmų trintį, teikiančią ironiškos prasmės dekodavimo malonumą. Dėl atitinkamų įvesties erdvijų ironijos suvokimas yra daugiau ar mažiau priklausomas nuo konteksto. Analizuojama, kaip skirtiniose kalbose gramatiniai santykiai yra susiję su jais reiškiamais semantiniai aspektai, atspindinčiai kalbančiojo mintis bei požiūrį į apibūdinamą situaciją ar objektą. Pateikiama istorinė perspektyva tyrinėjant XVI a. vardyną, aptariami vyru ir moterų įvardijimo atvejai, susiejant juos su socialiniais luomo, pareigybių, tautybės, šeimyninės padėties ir giminystės kontekstais.

Straipsnių rinkiniui intriguojančių posūkį suteikia aptariama tinkamo publikacijų skelbimo būdo pasirinkimo problema, kur ypač svarbu, kad neiškiltų konfliktas tarp medijų rūšies ir publikuojamo teksto turinio: turinio įvairovė turi būti siejama su mediumu ir žanro variantiškumu.

Straipsnių rinkinys pirmiausia yra skiriamas filologams, kulturologams, mokytojams, tačiau jis gali sudominti ir studentus, vyresniųjų klasių moksleivius ir visus besidominčius teksto ir konteksto sąveikos žaisme.

Prof. dr. Jadvyga Krūminienė

Inexhaustible Subtleties of Text and Context Playful Interaction

The present volume of the *Selected Papers* representing the series of *Texts and Contexts* with the subtitle *Collisions and Collusions* reveals further attempts at unfolding the inexhaustible subtleties of text and context interaction, which are discussed by literary scholars, linguists, specialists in cultural and educational studies from Latvia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Germany and Lithuania.

The papers exploring literary problems embrace Latvian, British, American, Russian and Lithuanian literature. The interaction between a literary text and political context through manifold collisions and collusions is reflected on the basis of migration as a contemporary social and cultural phenomenon. It allows for a better understanding of race as a construct rejecting the established stereotypes and cultural taboo. Fiction may turn to be related with the philosophical context from a most unexpected angle: special attention is given to such a conflict provoking situation when the spread of the insights of an outstanding philosopher is interrupted by translators who refuse to translate the texts which they regard as ideologically unacceptable to their countrymen. In such a case, collision takes place either with the translations into another, more widely known language, or by distancing from the original, when the interpretations of the authors writing in the language of translation are adopted. The reasons causing literary collisions between authors and their further transformation into a serious professional conflict are explored, where conflict is treated as a complex structure established on the basis of the private context. The variety of literary contexts evokes the interdisciplinary research that opens up the possibilities for entering into polemics and discover fresh points of view by reconsidering the conception of collision, its preconditions and possibilities for conflict neutralisation. A literary text serves as a gratifying material to be analysed within the perspective of the theoretical insights of ecopsychology since it encodes the antinomies, or collisions, and nearly instantaneously harmonizes the non-concordant accords. The concept of the text therapy is introduced in the field of literary research to find out what impact fiction makes on the reader by reconciling the dichotomy nature/culture and thus diminishing conflict probability. The esseistic text renders the paradigm of collision and collusion in a specific way – through the author's dialogue with the reader and his soliloquy, in the generic perspective revealing the interplay of philosophical, artistic and scientific projections. Literary epiphany as a manifestation of the truth of art through language evokes the level of spiritual illumination where truth is revealed instantaneously by some accidental and altering circumstances. It is important to stress that texts of literary criticism may offer a challenging material for analysis within the given frame of collision and collusion, where the voice of a conflicting intellectual balancing between the positions of theatre ally and theatre enemy is recognised.

The above mentioned analytical cases are logically followed by the discussion of a relevant problem of reading comprehension related with the difficulties of as-

simulating good reading skills among the representatives of the young generation. The low competence of reading and text comprehension hinders the formation of a basic competence for full integration into social and cultural life.

Reading competence and quality determine the quality of translation. During the process of translation the collisions with the text occur and they are accompanied by inevitable collusions. This phenomenon is defined by such categories as *translatability*, *equivalence*, *adequacy*, *faithfulness/fidelity* etc. In its essence, translation should be related with the translator's determination and aim. Another perspective of translation tries to find the answer to the question whether translation may contribute in the process of teaching/learning the foreign languages – for instance, in the case of film subtitles. Yet, it should be maintained that the specific challenges are confronted here: various modifications of the original language, transformations of the structure of language, lexical inadequacy, time restriction for reading and comprehension of the subtitles etc.

Another group of papers represent the linguistic dimension. The vagueness markers are described from the perspective of a corpus-based analysis. The problem under discussion is how the context determines the usage of such phrases since, most frequently, they are perceived solely due to an adequate context. Some scholars have discovered the language of the Internet chats as complementary for the pragmatic analysis of the strategies employed in the discourse of politeness. Here the factor of mutual agreement is significant since an attempt is made to have the request fulfilled: different languages may employ different strategies of politeness which, in fact, depend on cultural differences. The most frequently occurring structures of conventionalised ironic utterances are discussed, various input spaces presented, which determine the friction of the meanings that seem incongruous at a first glance, yet offer the pleasure of decoding the ironic messages. Due to adequate input spaces the understanding of irony is more or less context-dependent. The reader of the *Selected Papers* may also get acquainted with the problem of how closely grammatical relations are linked to various semantic functions in different languages to reflect the speaker's thoughts and his/her consideration of a described situation or object. The historical perspective is presented in the analysis of the 16th century records of male and female namings, which are discussed in relation to the contexts of social layer, duty, nationality, family status and kinship.

An intriguing turn in the volume is given by an attempt to discuss the problem of an adequate way of text presentation for publicity. Escaping the collision between the type of media and the content of the text appears to be of vital importance – content variety should be related with the media and generic variation.

The *Selected Papers* will be beneficial to philologists, culture researchers and teachers. It will excite the curiosity of students, senior pupils and all the readers interested in the playful interaction between text and context.

Prof. Dr Jadvyga Krūminienė

KONTEKSTO VAIDMUO TEKSTO KŪRIMO / SUVOKIMO STRATEGIJOJE

THE ROLE OF CONTEXT IN THE STRATEGY OF TEXT CONSTRUCTION / COMPREHENSION

LIETUVIŠKOJO TEATRO PROBLEMOS BALIO SRUOGOS KRITIKOS STRAIPSNIUOSE

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Anotacija: Straipsnyje apžvelgiami Balio Srugos 1930—1947 metų teatro kritikos straipsniai, analizuojamos pagrindinės straipsniuose atskleistos tarpukario Lietuvos teatro problemos: politikos ir teatro konfliktas, ideoleginio repertuaro bei cenzūros klausimai, spaudos ir teatro santykiai, diskusijos ir konfliktai. Srunga turėjo talentą naujai, be perdėm nihilistinio požiūrio ir skvarbiai žvelgti į problemas. Ir straipsniuose, ir ypač recenzijoje Balsys Srunga demaskuoja nekvalifikuotus kritikus, iškelia neobjektyvius vertinimo problemų, nepriataria kalbėjimui teatre apie piniginius reikalus ir pan.

Iki šiol Srugos 1930—1947 metų teatro kritikos straipsniai dar gana mažai tyrinėti, tik palaipsniu atgyja jų vertė. Kiek daugiau dėmesio šiemis kritikos straipsniams knygoje Balsys Srunga — dramaturgijos teatro kritikas (1968) skyrė Algimantas Samulionis. Kituose Šaltiniuose išsamiai nagrinėjama tik Srugos grožinė kūryba, bet ne publicistika. Naujai ir nuosekliai leidžiamas šio kūrėjo kūrybinis palikimas nugula į storiausius tomus ir skatina permąstyti jo idėjų slaidą ir reikšmę.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: publicistika, tarpukario kultūra, lietuvių teatras, Valstybės teatras, kritika, drama.

Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas nutarė publikuoti lietuvių kultūrai labai reikšmingą Balio Srugos visą literatūrinį palikimą. Šis darbas atliekamas jau dešimtmetį. Pasigilinus į Balio Srugos poeziją, vertimus, literatūros kritikos straipsnius, tautosakos darbus¹, įdėmiai dera patyrinėti Raštų 10-tą ir 11-tą tomos. Straipsnio objektas — Srugos XX amžiaus ketvirtuoju dešimtmeečiu (1930—1940) teatro kritikos straipsniai; tikslas — ištirti pagrindines straipsniuose atskleistas lietuviškojo teatro problemas. Tyrinėjamuose tomoose Balsys Srunga atskleidžia savo naujajį amplia: labai svariai prabyla ne tik rašytojas-poetas ar rašytojas-dramaturgas, bet ir publicistas-kritikas ar net konfliktiškas intelektualas, sielojęsis dėl teatro, mylėjës jį, nesitaikstës su teatro blogybëmis. Raštų 10-ame tome — ankstyvieji Srugos teatro kritikos straipsniai, o 11-to publicistika rodo Srugos kompleksi-

¹Žr. BANKAUSKAITĖ-SEREIKIENĖ, G. *Balsys Srunga — tarp tradicijos ir modernumo: monografija*. Vilnius, 2007. BANKAUSKAITĖ-SEREIKIENĖ, G. Balio Srugos tautosakos darbus pasklaidžius (B. Srugos *Raštai*, t. 9^o, 9ⁱⁱ recenzija). *Literatūra ir menas*, 2006 vasario 10. SEREIKIENĖ, G. Literatūros sūkuryje (B. Srugos *Raštai*, t. 7 recenzija). *Literatūra ir menas*, 2003 rugpjūčio 1. SEREIKIENĖ, G. Tveriančiojo gyvenimo teoretikas (B. Srugos *Raštai*, t. 6 recenzija). *Literatūra ir menas*, 2002 rugpjūčio 19. SEREIKIENĖ, G. Nenoriu būti formula... *Literatūra ir menas*, 2002 kovo 8.

nių teatro pokyčių siekinį. Šio dešimtmecio Sruogos teatro kritikos straipsniai ir publicistika tyrinėti, tačiau pavieniu. Be abejo, kai kuriuos straipsnius analizuojant literatūrologai, kalbėdami apie bendrąją XX amžiaus pirmos pusės kultūros ir literatūros situaciją (R. Karmalavičius, B. Pociūtė), specifines dramaturgijos problemas (A. Martišiūtė, I. Aleksaitė). Daugiau dėmesio kai kuriems šių straipsnių, sudėtų knygoje *Apie tiesą ir sceną: straipsniai apie teatrą* (1994) ir studijoje *Balys Sruoga – dramaturgijos ir teatro kritikas* (1968), skyrė Algimantas Samulionis. Daug straipsnių ir juose atskleidžiančių dramaturgijos problemų yra apibendrintos Aušros Martišiūtės straipsnyje „*Polemikos dvasia Balio Sruogos teatro kritikoje*“. Tačiau Raštų 10-tas ir 11-tas tomai pateikia chronologiską, be cenzūravimo 1930–1940 metų Sruogos straipsnių medžiagą. Ji skatina tam tikras ižvalgas.

1930-ųjų svarba

Kaip teigia Jurgis Blekaitis, arčiausiai teatro Sruoga buvo 1928–1934 metais. Ši laikotarpi „pagal žymiausiąjį mūsų teatro menininką galima būtų vadinti žiliinskiniu“ (Blekaitis 2001, p. 148), kai teatre dirba Sruogos bendražygis, bičiulis Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas². Algimantas Samulionis teigimu, produktyviausias Sruogos laikotarpis – tarp 1924 ir 1940 metų, nes tada recenzuota keliasdešimt „Vilkolakio“, Valstybės teatro pastatymų, paskelbta apie dvidešimt straipsnių, kuriuose analizuota teatro padėtis ir bandyta nubrėžti jo ateities kelius (Samulionis 1968, p. 119). Tą įrodo ir žanrų gausa: abiejuose raštų tomuose galima rasti recenzijų, aršių diskusių straipsnių, oponentus koneveikiančių rašinių, teatro gyvenimą gvildenančių ir teatro istorijai skirtų straipsnių.

Kas lémė Sruogos susidomėjimą teatro aktualijomis apskritai ir kodėl atskaitos taškas – 1930-ieji?

Pirmausia minėtinis Sruogos fundamentalus išsilavinimas Rusijoje, interesų platumas, karštasis siekis visais įmanomais būdais kelti lietuviškojo teatro profesionalumą, poreikis asmenines gausias teatro istorijos ir moderniojo teatro žinias, patirtį skleisti Lietuvoje įvairiomis formomis. Antra – reikia pabrėžti, kad Sruogos kaip literatūros kritiko misija, pradėta 1911-tais, praktiškai jau įvykdinta. Literatūros sampratos ir specifikos Lietuvoje problemas aptartos ne kartą, kūryba aiškinta atsiremiant į klasikinę spekulatyvią, hermeneutinę ir formalistinę vokiečių estetiką, į rusų simbolizmo ideologiją siekiant psichologinio, istorinio ir estetinio požiūrių sintezės. Polemiką dėl kūrėjo problemų, pradėtą su Adomu Jakštu, toliau tėsiai Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas. Literatūros mokslo, metodų ir kritikos opūs klausimai toliau analizuojami Liudo Giros, Kosto Korsako, Antano Vaičiulaičio, Juozo Keliuočio ir kitų kritikų darbuose. Rašydamas apie kultūros, literatūros ir kritikos problemas, Sruoga niekada neapeidavo teatro, tą rodo Raštų 10-tas tomas, tačiau šie straipsniai susilaukdavo mažiau recepcijos. Todėl teatro kritikos, publicistikos straipsniai – natūralus Sruogos veiklos tarpsnis, iš dalies nulemtas specifinių teatri-

²Sruogai bendraujant su A. Oleka-Žilinsku, gimė ne viena teatrinė idėja, buvo aptariami būsimi spektakliai ar pjesių rankraščiai, dalijamas višejo ir užkulisinio kultūrinio gyvenimo naujenomis (Sruoga 1994, p. 9). Tai buvo savotiška meninio pakilimo fazė teatre (*Varpai, Šarūnas*). Amžininkai pastebė, kad režisierius A. Oleka-Žilinskas turėjo daugiau sceninės patirties, o Sruoga – bendrijų kultūros ir dramaturgijos žinių.

³Knygoje *Vilkolakio teatras* Antanas Sutkus rašė: „Jei jau kuo nors jisai susižavėdavo, jei kas patraukdavo jo dėmesį, bet kokio saikingumo jausmo nustodavo, tapdavo aklas reiškinio garbintojas“ (Sutkus 1969, p. 294).

nių ir kūrybinių dramaturginių, iš dalies – dar studijų laikais išryškėjusios asmenybės spontanikos³. Trečia, Sruogos aktyvų kūrybinį–kritinį santykį su teatru lémė ir tuo metu suklestėjusios kitos kultūros sritys: lietuvių spauda, nauji leidiniai „Pjūvis“, „Granitas“, „Trečias frontas“, „Naujoji Romuva“ (kurioje spausdinta daugiausia šio tomo straipsnių) ir kiti, dažnos ir populiaros visuomenėje dailės parodos (taip pat ir užsienio dailininkų), kūrybinės diskusijos.

Matydamas Lietuvių teatro izoliaciją nuo Vakarų Europos bei Rusijos teatrinių naujovių ir eksperimentų, Sruoga nerimo. Iki 1930 metų lietuvių teatro sceną sujudino tik Aleksandro Tairovo teatro (1925) ir žydų teatro iš Maskvos „Habima“ gastrolės (1926). 1926 m. Sruoga įkūrė *Teatro seminarą*, kuriam rengesi Maskvoje ir Peterburge, taip pat Miunchene⁴. 1927 m. Boriso Dauguviečio rūpesčiu pasirodė specialus teatro leidinys – žurnalas *Septynios meno dienos* (éjo iki 1934 m.). 1931 m. vasario mėnesį émė veikti Kauno universiteto *Studentų teatro draugija (Stedra)*, įkurta Sruogos iniciatyva⁵. Itin susirūpinus originaliaja dramaturgija, prie Lietuvių rašytojų draugijos buvo suorganizuota ir dramaturgų sekcija, užsibrėžusi ginti profesinius dramaturgų reikalus, mėginusi atkreipti visuomenės ir valdžios dėmesį į sunkią materialinę dramaturgų padėtį, į teatro ir dramaturgų santykius (Samulionis 1968, p. 92). 1930 m. Sruoga paraše *Milžino paunksmę*.

Probleminiai aspektai

Analizuojamo laikotarpio Balio Sruogos teatro problemas galima suskirstyti į penkias grupes: 1) teatras Lietuvoje ir už jos ribų, 2) bendrosios teatro problemos, 3) teatro personalo problemos, 4) teatro kritikos problemos, 5) dramaturgijos problemos (žr. 1–5 pav.).

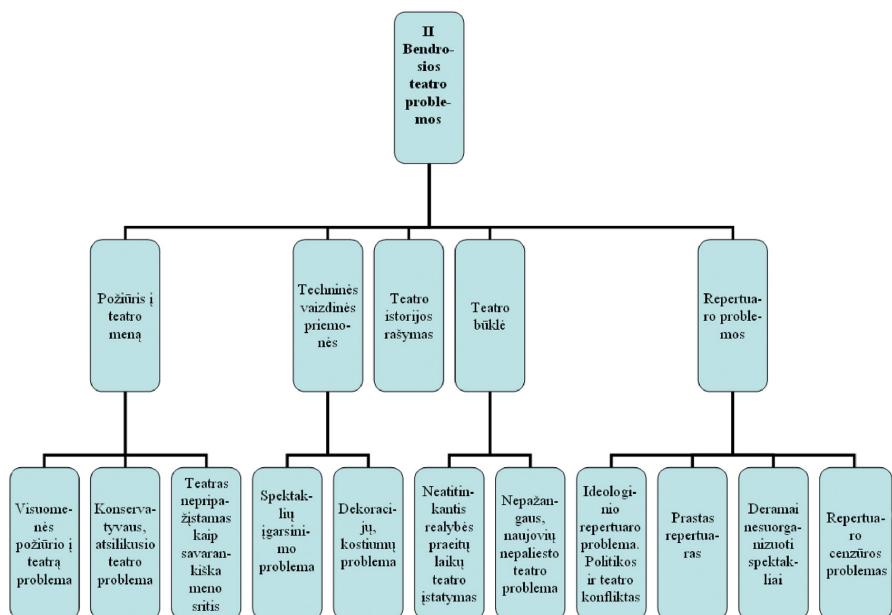
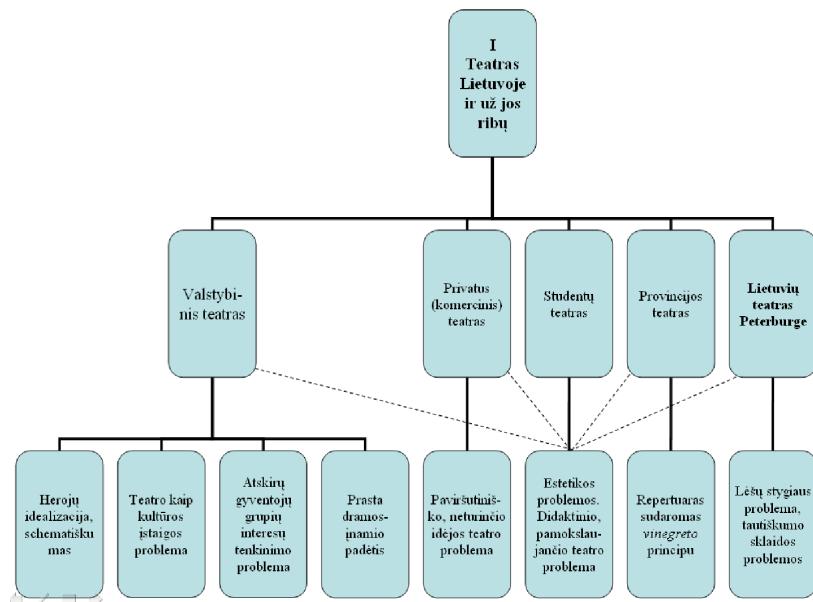
Viena vertus, kategoriski Sruogos straipsniai ir recenzijos siekė apibendrinti, suvokti esmines laikotarpio problemas, išreiškė kritišką, bet ne rezignuojančią nuomonę apie lietuvių teatralų darbus, lietuviškojo teatro reikalus. Kita vertus, Sruoga naujoms literatūrų kartoms įtaiką darė pirmiausia savo populiaruoju *Teatro seminaru* (Viliūnas 1998, p. 51). Seminaro veikla, kaip ir apskritai savo kultūrine veikla, Sruoga stengėsi įtvirtinti lietuviškų valstietiškų bruožų sasają su universitetine erudicija. Rašytojas tikėjo, kad būtent tai sudaro mūsų inteligenčijos, net politikos pagrindus, kurių Vakarų Europa nepajégia suprasti (Sruoga 2006, p. 48). Straipsniuose griežtai vertindamas kritikos reiškinius, jis tuo pat metu seminare užsispyrės ugđė būsimą kitaip mąstantį teatro žmonių kartą: pirmiausia – teatro kritikus ir pačius teatro praktikus, nuo kurių labiausiai ir priklausys lietuvių teatro rytdiena (Sruoga 1994, p. 15). Kaip teigia A. Guobys, Lietuvoje aukštąjį lietuvių teatro moksłą pradėjo formuoti būtent Balys Sruoga ir Vincas Mickevičius-Krėvė (Zemlickas 2010).

Lietuvių teatras Peterburge

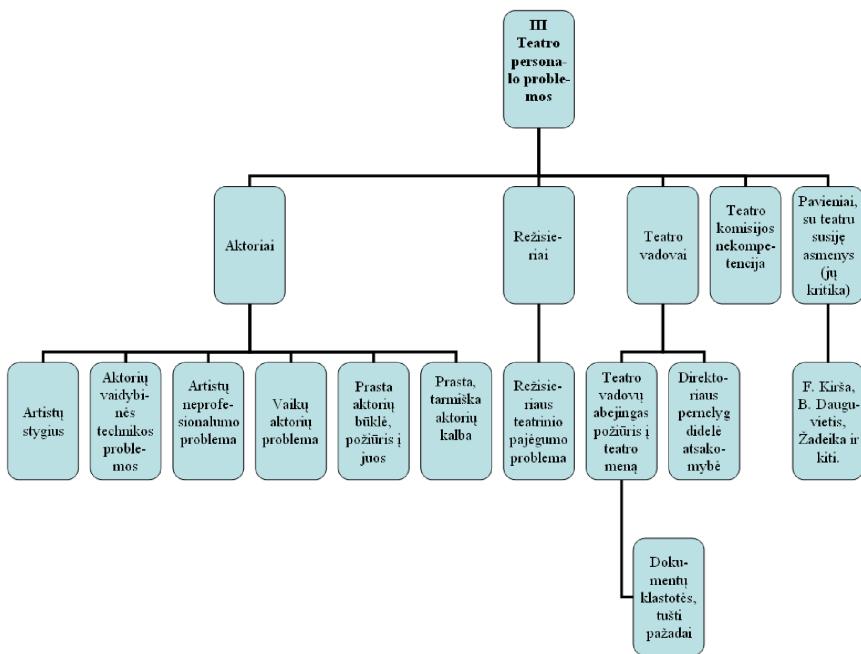
Apibendrinančio pobūdžio ir istorinės vertės studija *Lietuvių teatras Peterburge* – didelės apimties ir stambiu užmoju veikalas, kuriame surinkta 1892–1918 m. Petrapilio lietuvių teatrinių ir muzikinės veiklos medžiaga. Už šį analitinio-dokumentinio pobūdžio traktatą Sruogai buvo suteiktas profesoriaus vardas. Viena

⁴1939 metais iš Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto į Vilniaus universitetą perkėlus Humanitarinių moksłų fakultetą, prie jo veikęs seminaras buvo pertvarkytas į Teatologijos katedrą.

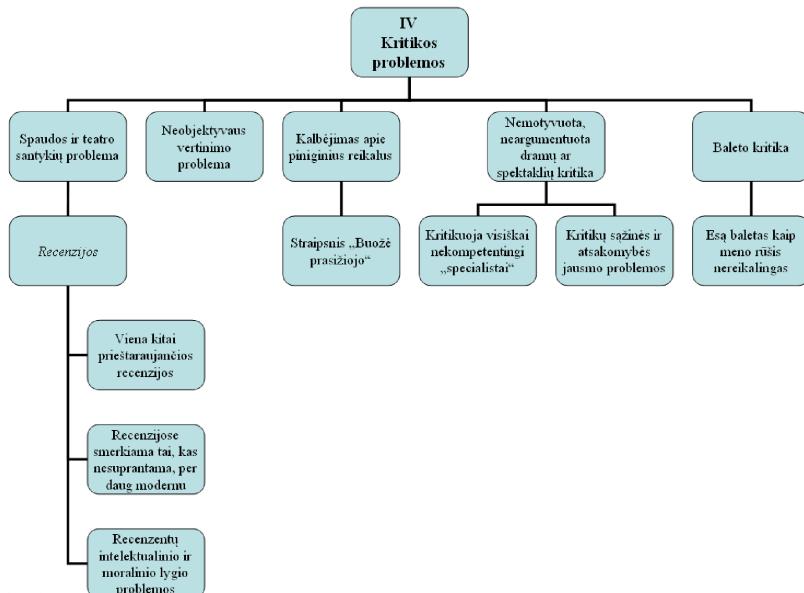
⁵*Stedra* parodė vienintelį spektaklį „Skrajojantis gydytojas“, kurį parengė ir tame vaidino Romualdas Juknevičius ir Juozas Grybauskas.



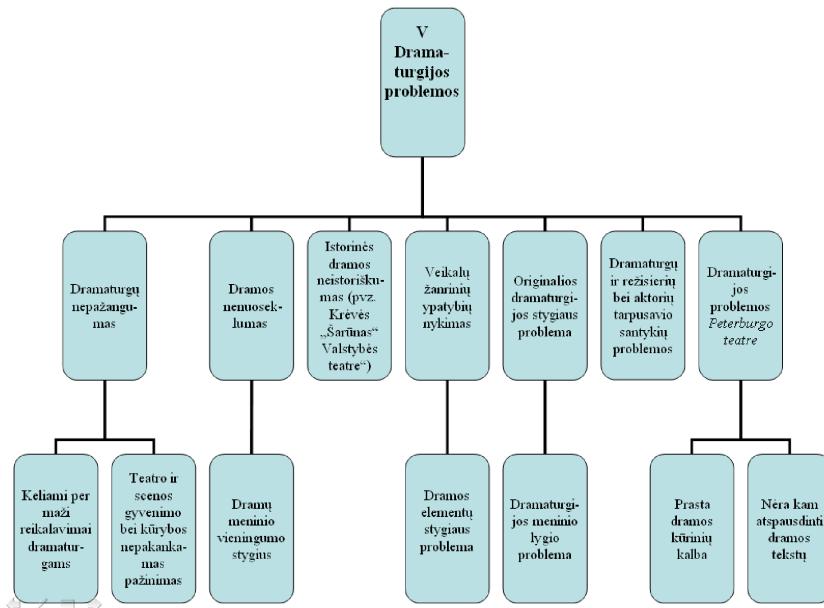
2 pav. Bendroios lietuviškojo teatro problemos



3 pav. Teatro personalo problemos



4 pav. Teatro kritikos straipsnių ir recenzijų problemos



5 pav. Bendrosios lietuviškosios dramaturgijos problemos

vetus, 1914–1918 m. studijavęs Rusijoje, itin aktyviai domėjėsis teatrinėmis Vsevolodo Mejerholdo, Aleksandro Tairovo, Konstantino Stanislavskio, Gordono Craigo konцепcijomis, jis nepamiršdavo ir lietuviškojo teatro reikalų. Kita vertus, kartu su V. Mickevičium-Krėve kreipėsis į visuomenę ir prašės medžiagos teatro muziejui Lietuvoje įkurti, jis gavo dovaną Antano Jasūdžio archyvą. Jame buvo sukaupta daug medžiagos apie lietuvių teatinę veiklą Peterburge. Remdamasis šia medžiaga, Srunga 1930 m. ir paraše studiją.

Studijoje argumentuotai iškeliamos lietuviškojo teatro užsienyje problemos, kurias iš dalies lemia lėšų trūkumas: repertuaro silpnumas, aktorių-mégėjų vaidyba, stiprus rusų kalbos ir kultūros substrato poveikis aktoriams, tekstams, spektakliams bei reklamai, tinkamų dekoracijų ir kostiumų stygius, režisierių trūkumas, kritikų „nepasiruošimas“, publikos stereotipinis mąstymas⁶. Tačiau net ir konstatavus lietuviškojo teatro Peterburge vis dar literatūrinius, o ne specifiniaus teatrinius interesus, nurodomas jo išskirtumas Europos teatry ir teatro draugijų kontekste: lietuvių identiteto, tautiškumo problemų sklaida. Taigi *Lietuvių teatras Peterburge* Sruogai – tai kultūros imitacijos ir transformacijos dermė, stiprus atsparos taškas tolesniams kalbėjimui apie lietuviškajį teatrą Kaune. Studija parašyta atlaidžiu, globėjišku tonu, tačiau nevengiama ir tiesaus kalbėjimo apie problemas. Vélesniuose tekstuose Sruogos kalba vis dažniau įgaus ironišką atspalvį, o artėjant prie profe-

⁶ „Didžiuojasi peterburgiečiai, jei jiems tenka statyti tragedija, istoriška pjesė, ir liūdi jie, jei jiems tenka vaidinti komedija ar farsas, — jiems atrodo, kad farso ar komedijos vaidinimas vis tiktais nėra labai rimtas darbas“ (Sruoga 2006, p. 118).

sionaliojo teatro, vaidybos klausimų, menui, menininkui, kritikui bus keliami vis didesni reikalavimai.

Problemos Valstybės teatre

Centrinė ašis, apie kurią fokusuoja dauguma Sruogos straipsnių, tai Valstybės teatras – pagrindinis tarpukario teatras Lietuvoje. Jam, teatro meno sklaidos pirmtakui, Sruoga ir skyrė daugiausia dėmesio. Greta Valstybinio teatro šliejosi privatūs, komerciniai teatrai, studentų ir provincijos mažieji teatrai. Sruoga nuolat diferencijavo šiu „kultūros įstaigelių“ veiklą ir pabrėžę, kad Valstybės teatro ir kitų teatrų siekiai niekada nebus vienodi: „Ir vėl, nė vienam komisijos nariui neatradu, kad teatro, kaip kultūros įstaigos, uždavinys anaipolt nėra suvedamas į teatro meno populiarinimą placiųjų masių tarpe. Tam populiarinimo reikalui yra specialūs teatrai“ (Sruoga 2006, p. 247). Be to, jis konstatuoja didžiąją problemą, kuri susijusi su politiniu, ideologiniu ir visuomeniniu kontekstu – tarpukario teatrus jungia bendroji estetikos, „psichologinės formos“ (Karmalavičius 1996, p. 3) problema, kurios dažnai teatre nenorima pripažinti ir matyti kaip pagrindinės. Sruoga ne kartą akcentuoja, kad teatras pirmiausia yra estetinis veiksny, kalbantis savo meno kalba, gyvenantis kitaip nei visos kitos meno sritys. Vėliau, po 1935 m., iš Valstybės teatro pasitraukus A. Olekai-Žilinskui ir M. Čechovui, estetikos klausimams bus skiriama labai daug dėmesio.

Sruoga itin kritikuoja teatro – pasilinksminimo įstaigos – faktą, kai pamiršta mas estetikos lygmuo. Tokio pobūdžio kritika buvo ypač dažna, kai Valstybės teatrui vadovavo Borisas Dauguvietis. Sruoga parodo, kaip formuojamas visuomenės požiūris į teatrą, kurį suponoja pataikavimas tam tikroms visuomenės grupėms, dramų schematiškumas – „*blynų kepimo* sistema“⁷: „Taip pat ir su *blyniskais* spektakliais. Pradžioje jie yra skanūs, tai yra įdomūs. Koks tas režisierius prašmatnus: tiek daug šukų jisai moka! Bet kai štampų atsarga išsemta, kai publika suvokė meлагystę – tuomet jau: sudiev“ (Sruoga 2006, p. 316). Sruoga įžvelgia, kad Valstybės teatras artėja prie komercinių teatrų lygio.

XX amžiaus pradžioje pastebimas itin didelis atotrūkis tarp miesto ir kaimo publikos. Komercinių miesto teatru (tokiu jau netiesiogiai laikomas ir Valstybės teatras) lankytojus Sruoga kritikuoja, o provincijos teatro žiūrovus giria už išlaikytą pagarbą teatro menui: „Kaip dažnai miestelėnui teatras téra pramoga, poilsio vieta, proga pasižmonėti, su pažystamais susitikti, nerūpestingai vakarą praleisti, – proga pasipuošti naujas drabužiais ar paunksmėj tyliai ramiai snūstelėti. Sodžiui gi teatras – didelė didelė šventė. <...> Teatras jiems didelis daiktas, kaip jie jo nepagerbs!“ (Sruoga 2006, p. 403). Pastebima tik viena blogybė – per daug įvairius repertuaras, Sruogos vadinamas *vinegretu*.

Didžiulė problema, buvusi aktuali dar Peterburgo laikais ir skyrusi Lietuvą nuo Vakarų Europos, ta, jog teatras nepripažystamas kaip savarankiška meno ir estetikos sritis: „Teatras nebesiskiria nuo laikraščių, nuo diskusijų jų klubuose; teatras pavirto galas žino kuo, tik ne meno įstaiga“ (Sruoga 2006, p. 328). Galima

⁷Paviršutiniško, neturinčio idėjos, konservatyvaus, nepažangaus teatro problemas givildenamos straipsnyje „Pastabos apie tiesą ir sceną“: „Teatras, pagristas trafaretiniais štampais, geriausiu atveju bus tikтай *regykla*. <...> Ir pačiom artistėm rūpi kiekviename veiksme su nauja suknele pasirodyti ir nugara ar aptempta pižama scenoj pasibaustyt. Šiem dalykam reikalingas kitas menas, ne teatrališkas“ (Sruoga 2006, p. 316–317). Pastebima, kad tam įtakos turi ir teatro lankytojai.

daryti prielaidą, kad dėl to ir aktorių situacija itin prasta, o požiūris į juos – kaip į nieko vertus: „Aktorius pasidarė kažkoks baudžiauninkas, privalas kentęti už kitų nuodėmes“ (Sruoga 2006, p. 541). Ilgainiui aktorius imamas traktuoti jau ne kaip menininkas, bet kaip amatininkas: „Kokius batus silkių pardavėjas užsako kurpiui, tokius jis ir siuva. Kitaip – jo amatas niekais nueitų. Tokiu amatininku pagal mūsų nuostatus turi būti ir aktorius“ (Sruoga 2006, p. 377). Problema pasiekia kulminaciją, kai aktoriai priversti ne vaidinti tikraja žodžio prasme, o apsiriboti perukų ir kostiumų kaitalojimu.

Naujasis teatro „estetinis“ tarpsnis pirmiausia neatitiko teatro įstatymo. Kaip teigia Sruoga straipsnyje „Teatro reformos reikalų“, tai daugybės teatro problemų priežastis: „Dabar veikišas teatro įstatymas yra paskelbtas palyginti jau labai seniai. Jis visiškai nebeatinkina dabar gyvenamojo laiko sąlygų ir uždaviniių. Pakeista teismų santvarka, net du kartu pakeistas Universiteto įsakymas, pakeista net konstitucija, o teatro įstatymas vis tebeveikia senas senobiškas. Jis apibrėžia teatro veiklą, santvarką, nustato jo uždavinius, nužymi darbo gaires, o tos gairės nuo laiko ir vėjo visiškai sutriušo. Tasai įstatymas turi tokį trūkumą, kurie paralyžiuoja kūrybos darbą“ (Sruoga 2006, p. 423).

Kone paralyžiaus situacija po 1935 m. ištiko dramos kūrinius. Pagal 7-ąjį Spaudos įstatymo straipsnį apskrities viršininkas „valstybės ar tautos saugumo arba kitų valstybės ar tautos reikalų sumetimai“ galėjo sulaikyti spaudinio išleidimą iš spaustuvės (Riaubienė 2005, p. 109). Taigi spausdinti ar platinti dramos kūrinį bet kada galėjo būti uždrausta ir net nepaaiškinta dėl ko. Tačiau be kliūčių buvo galima spausdinti tik ideologijai nepavojingus, ne itin originalius tekstus, kurie nebeatliko meninės, estetinės funkcijos. Tad režisieriai, net ir gavę galimybę patys formuoti repertuarą, dažnai privalėdavo laviruoti tarp dramos kokybės ir galimos cenzūros.

Sruoga atveria politikos ir teatro konfliktą atskleisdamas ideologinio repertuario ir cenzūros problemas: „Pjesės „ideologinis išlyginimas“ paprastai iščiulpia iš jos gyvybę, sultis, menišką prasmę, užtai tokia sufalšyvinta pjesė pasidaro tinkama... net numirėliams linksminti“ (Sruoga 2006, p. 328). Klasikiniai veikalai imami perdirbinėti ideologiniai sumetimai, o Sruogai belieka stebėtis, kad net tobulas kūrinių gali būti atmestas, nes teatras nesuinteresuotas statyti tokio spektaklio. Kartais jau pastatytas spektaklis išbraukiamas iš repertuario ir nesistengiamai paaiškinti kodėl.

Kita teatro problema – teatro direktoriaus kompetencija, gebėjimas ir galėjimas priimti tinkamus sprendimus. Valstybės teatre dirbę režisieriai – Konstantinas Glinskis, Boriss Dauguvietis ir Antanas Sutkus – turėjo nuolat kovoti su teatro direkcija, kuri su jais beveik nesiskaitė ir labai dažnai pati formavo repertuarą arba šias funkcijas skyré prie teatro sudarytai tarybai. Kitas svarbus aspektas – teatro direkcija ne visada užtikrindavo elementarias darbo sąlygas (scena dalintasi su baletu trupe), reikalaujavo įvairaus žanro ir visiems žiūrovams įtinkančio repertuario (nuo „senobiškų melodramų“, „Amerikos pirtyje“ iki „Hamleto“), dažnų premjerų. Dėl to režisierius buvo priverstas tapti amatininku. Akivaizdu, kad Sruoga atskleidžia teatro režisieriaus kūrybiškumo slopinimo problemas.

Teatro ir spaudos probleminiai santykiai

Sruoga daug dėmesio skiria teatro ir spaudos santykiams, diskusijoms ir konfliktams. Sunku suskaičiuoti, kiek kartų Sruoga, nevengdamas visuomeninio rezono-

nanso, polemizuoja su nekompetentingais, negebančiais argumentuoti, neobjektiviais teatro kritikais. Jam itin aktualios kritikų sąžinės ir atsakomybės jausmo problemos, neteisingos kritikos žala. Analizuodamas recenzentų intelektinio ir moralinio lygio problemas, Sruoga itin šmaikštus: „Taip jau pasidarė pasauly, kad teatro kritikas netikėtai išdygsta. Nebuvo pasauly vyro – žiūrėk, ir išlindo lyg Pilypas iš kanapių. O jo sprendimai tokie kategoriški, rūstūs, jo pamokslai – visažinančiojo balsu skelbiami. Ir, kas svarbiausia, sprendimai ir smerkimai niekuo nemotyvuo-jami“ (Sruoga 2006, p. 342). Recenzijose, kurias Sruoga vertina kaip abejotinas, smerkiama tai, kas nesuprantama ar per daug modernu: „Kur baigiasi mūsų žinios, kur prasideja mūsų neišmanymas, ten mes labai dažnai mēgstame apie aukštus reikalus kalbėti.“ Recenzentai peikia tai, ko negali suprasti, pyksta ant režisierių. Sruogai koktu, kai recenzentas nejaučia atsakomybės už savo žodžius, apsiriboja tik savo asmeninėmis simpatijomis bei antipatijomis, siekia parodyti ne erudiciją, bet prastą skonį: „Matyti, mes įžengiame į sunkiausį kultūrinės raidos laikotarpį, kada buožės ima virsti realia jėga, jie jau sugeba ginti savo teisę – viešai kalbėti apie tokius reikalus, apie kuriuos jie nei *be*, nei *me* neišmano“ (Sruoga 2006, p. 531).

Netradicinės dramos formos ieškojimai lietuvių dramaturgijoje prasideda kartu su pirmaisiais draminiais bandymais XIX amžiaus pabaigoje (Martišiutė 2006a, p. 247), tačiau labai ilgai nesuvokiamas, kad drama – specifinis žanras, išskiriantis ne tik forma, bet ir problemų daugiasluoksnį, išsamumu. Recenzuodamas dramos kūrinius, Sruoga ypač neigiamu jų bruožu laikė nesceniškumą, elementarių dramaturgijos dėsnį nepaisymą. Esą, tai būdavę dramos tik dėl formos arba tik autoriu taip pavadintos.

Nusprendęs dramaturgiją atskirti nuo literatūros, Sruoga priverstas teoriškai išaiškinti, kuo dramos kūrinys skiriasi nuo epo ir lyrikos, koks jo žanrinis savitumas. Dramos specifikos problema buvo neišsemama: svarbu išsiaiškinti, kuo skyrėsi dramos veiksmas nuo kitų žanrų veiksmo. Tačiau tai dar néra įrodymas, kad kūrinys bus geras, nors ir atitiks visus dramos kriterijus. Straipsnyje „Mūsų teatro raida“ Sruoga pateikia pavyzdžių: „Visas pjesės įdomumas buvo – dramaturgo pjesės eigoje statomos svarbiausių personažų tikslui pasiekti kliūtys ir jų nugalėjimo procesas. Va, šią senąją dramaturgijos problemą ir primena Vaičiūno pjesės“ (Sruoga 2006, p. 519).

Kritikas nuolat stengėsi suvokti savo dramaturgijos principus, lygino juos su bendraisiais dramaturgijos dėsniais. Kaip teigia A. Martišiutė, kritikos straipsniai pasižymi minties daugiasluoksnį, ir šakotumu: nuo fundamentalių teatro esmės klausimų svarstymo einama prie konkrečių lietuvių teatro raidos problemų, jas sprendžiant, ieškoma amžinųjų teatro vertybių, teorinė mintis glaudžiai siejama su teatro praktika, teatro istorija – su dabartimi (Martišiutė 2006b, p. 692).

Receptas lietuviškajam teatrui

Kokį receptą mūsų teatrui išrašo Sruoga? „Norint gelbėti mūsų dramos teatras, reikia revizuoti pažiūrų į teatrą esmę. Reikia teatras pripažinti savaimingo meno įstaiga. <...> Teatro meno esmė, atrodo, pagrindžiama ne pasirinktomis pjesėmis, bet kūrybos priemonėmis ir metodais. <...> Svajojant apie mūsų teatro renesansą pirmoj eilėj reikia pasirūpinti *kas nors padaryti, kad jisai pajustų, ko jis nori kaip kūrybinis organizmas*. <...> Teatrą tegalima gelbėti tiktais iš vidaus. Ir išgelbėti ji tegali

tiktai patsai teatras. [...] Reikia tiktai griebtis tinkamų priemonių, kad patsai teatras pajustų savo gyvenimo prasmės troškulį. Reikia, kad jis pradėtų gyventi savo meno uždaviniais! (Sruoga 2006, p. 330—332).

Sruogos literatūros kritikos straipsniai — sąmoningas „naujojo meno“ teorijos kūrimas, moderninistinės kūrybos manifestacija ir asmenybinė jos motyvacija bei intelektuali saviinterpretacija. Aptardamas teatro reikalus, Sruoga dažnai konstatoja krizės laikotarpi, tačiau laikosi ir maištininko-modernisto nuostatų — žvelgia pirmyn ir nurodo, kad „*ateities teatro ir dramos tikslas — atgaivinti tą ypatingą poeikį, kuris lémė išskirtinį teatro vaidmenį žmonijos dvasios istorijoje*“ (Martišiūtė 2006a, p. 317). Jis to siekia gausiomis dramaturgijos problemų įžvalgomis apie kai kurias pjeses ir pastatymus. Būtent teoriniai kritiko svarstymai apie teatrą ir dramaturgiją lemia tam tikrų pjesių ir spektaklių analizę bei vertinimą. Ir bendroslės teatro, ir specifinės dramaturgijos problemos analizuojamos kultūros aktualijų kontekste. Apmastymų atomazga — straipsniuose, rašytuose jau Štuthofe — originali poetinio teatro koncepcija. Teoriniai principai įkūnijami vienintelėje naujojo teatro dėsniais pagrindoje dramaže „*Pavasario giesmė*“ (Martišiūtė 2006a, p. 316). Sruogos apmastymai apie naujają teatrą toliau plėtojami straipsniuose „*Teatro romantika*“, „*Tikrovišumas vaidybos mene*“, „*Apie estetinę ir anestetinę tikrovę*“. Taigi ir šių dienų, ir ateinančių kartų lietuvių teatrinė kultūra iš Balio Sruogos straipsnių gali pasisemti ne vien teatrinių minties vingrybių, bet ir tikėjimo teatro meno galia bei prasmingumu, nuolatinio kūrybiškumo siekio.

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THEATRE-RELATED PROBLEMS IN BALYS SRUOGA'S LITERARY CRITICISM

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Summary

The object of the paper is Balys Sruoga's articles in theatre criticism written in 1930–1940. The paper aims at the analysis of the main theatrical problems as distinguished by the critic. In Volume 10 and Volume 11 of *The Selected Works* Sruoga reveals himself in a new role. He speaks not as a writer-poet or novelist-playwright, but as a publicist-critic. Sruoga laments over 'sick' theatre and expresses his appreciation of dramatic art. He disapproves of theatre maladies and even goes into a daring conflict with the authorities. Volume 10 contains his earliest articles in theatre criticism. The publicistic writings of Volume 11 show the complex objectives of theatrical changes. The problems touched upon by Sruoga can be divided into five groups: Lithuanian theatre at home and abroad, the general problems of drama and theatre, the theatre personnel, the problem of theatre criticism and issues of dramatic art.

Sruoga's articles demonstrate multilayered and furcated insights. His critical mind moves from the discussion of the essential issues of theatre to the specific problems of the development of Lithuanian dramatic art. When dealing with these problems, he is in quest for everlasting creative values and emphasizes the significance of the theatre's aesthetic level. Here the theoretical insights are closely related with the practical theatrical attempts, and history of theatre is related with the present situation. Sruoga was an expert in the history of the theatre and was well acquainted with the contemporary problems of Lithuanian inter-war culture in the broad sense. As it is obvious from his papers, he prefers Public Theatre.

However, due to his often sharp criticism he had to balance between the position of an ally of the theatre and theatre enemy. Sruoga's critique is addressed against the theatre law, which did not comply with reality. He reveals the collision between politics and theatrical art. The critic buoys up to the surface the issues of ideological repertoire and censorship. Sruoga also concentrates on the relationship between the press and the theatre, their debates and conflicts. He discusses the problems with a new deeply penetrating insight, avoiding a too nihilistic approach. His controversial discussions eventually grew into the original conception of Lithuanian poetic theatre.

Key words: publicistic writings, inter-war culture, Lithuanian theatre, State theatre, criticism, drama.

О САМООПРЕДЕЛЕНИИ ЛИЧНОСТИ В ЭССЕ

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Абстракт: Длящийся на протяжении нескольких веков период развития эссе позволяет определить ряд черт, отличающих его от подобных жанров. Часть их можно назвать устойчивыми, характеризующими жанр на протяжении долгого времени, другие – непостоянными, приобретенными согласно потребностям времени или обусловленными личностью автора. Можно выделить основополагающие черты жанра – философское взирение на мир, свободное размышление, раскованность и афористичность мысли, опыт как основа рассуждения, использование тропов, парадокс и др. Переменные характеристики эссе – самоопределение, способность автора к самопротиворечию, самовыражению и самоанализу.

Ключевые слова: эссе, самоопределение, личность, интерпретация, значение, диалог.

История эссе – это опыты блестящих интеллектуалов, многие из которых привносили в жанр новые краски, обогащали и разнообразили язык, стиль и форму. Несколько столетий, начиная с «Опытов» Монтеня, эссе называется жанром, направленным на самоопределение и самооснование личности. Следует уточнить, что происходит двуединый процесс – благодаря постоянному диалогу автора и читателя самоопределяется и размышающий эссеист и воспринимающая личность. Монтень писал: «Так как у меня не было никакой другой темы, я обратился к себе и избрал предметом своих писаний самого себя» (Монтень 1979: 337). Он создавал свои «Опыты» (1580 – первые книги) в эпоху заката Возрождения. Это время гражданских войн, крушения веры и идеалов европейского гуманизма. Человек, названный гуманистами центром мировоззрения Ренессанса, рожденный для счастья и будущего, в это печальное время унижен и подвергнут тотальному насилию. В таких условиях создается совершенно новый жанр, родоначальником которого стал французский мыслитель. Монтень видел Ренессансное движение как «новый порыв», он рассуждал о появлении новых идей, чувств, размышлений, выводов. Одна из глав «Опытов» Монтеня называется «Об искусстве жить достойно», и эта афористическая фраза может быть девизом жанра эссе в целом со временем его создания до наших дней. «Опыты» давали Монтеню возможность совершенно свободно и непринужденно излагать свои мысли по любому поводу. Уже название «эссе» (франц. *essai* – попытка, проба, очерк; от лат. *exagium* – взвешивание, *exigo* – взвешиваю) указывает на продуманное, требующее времени, мыслительных экспериментов усилие. В своих заметках Монтень обращается то к одной, то к другой теме, казалось бы, нарушая очевидную логическую последовательность. Примечательно, что автор видит себя сторонником скептической философии древнегреческого мыслителя Пиррона. Этот скептик учил избегать участия в событиях, уклоняться от открытого высказывания мнения или суждений. Той же позиции придерживается Монтень. Он описывает жизнь во всех ее противоречиях, во всем красочном богатстве ее граней и тонов. Философские размышления

сочетаются с автобиографическими деталями, исторические примеры располагаются рядом с цитатами из текстов древних и современных авторов. Кажущаяся несогласованность тем оказывается обоснованной и оправданной. Монолитность книге придает образ создателя, его свободное, диалектически развивающееся «я». Его мысль продолжает гуманистические традиции Возрождения и отражает разностороннюю – изменчивую и подвижную – личность автора. Длящийся на протяжении нескольких веков период развития эссе позволяет определить ряд черт, отличающих его от подобных жанров. Эти черты обуславливаются важнейшей характеристикой эссе – свободой рассуждения. Часть их можно назвать устойчивыми, характеризующими жанр на протяжении долгого времени, другие – непостоянными, приобретенными согласно потребностям времени или обусловленными личностью автора. Несомненно, эссе трансформируется постоянно – даже в течение XX–XXI века можно заметить качественные перемены в его содержании, например, усиление интертекстуальности, внимания к языку и т. д. Вместе с тем, возможно выделить основополагающие черты жанра. Это, прежде всего, такие качества как философское воззрение на мир, свободное размышление, раскованность и афористичность мысли, опыт как основа рассуждения, использование тропов, парадокс и др. Переменные характеристики эссе, связанные с личностью автора в большей степени, чем с особенностями эпохи, это интеллектуальная мысль, ирония и юмор, скептицизм, тончайший психологизм и анализм, свободная композиция, подчиняющаяся авторскому потоку сознания, соединение высоких и низких тем. Возвышенная и земная, углубленно-философская и непосредственная капризная и легкая мысль в эссе является его особым качеством. Вместе с тем важнейшей характеристикой эссе, начиная с века с XVI века по настоящее время теоретики жанра называют самоопределение, способность автора к самопротиворечию, самовыражению и самоанализу. Смысл жизненного самоопределения – одно из актуальных направлений духовного развития современного человека – делает жанр интересным для исследователей, привлекает читателей, побуждает к диалогу. Именно вопросу самоопределения личности, т. е. переоценке системы ценностей человека новейшего времени, активизации личности, ее идентификации в культурном пространстве посвящены яркие эссе прошлого века. Они в значительной мере сконцентрированы на самовыражении автора. В них есть собственное, личностное отношение к тексту. Автор говорит о мире, но это, прежде всего, разговор о себе. Автор в таком тексте может менять свои роли – быть участником, наблюдателем, двойником. Следовательно, он приобретает автономию необычного качества – создает текст-мир, образ, «созданный воображением гения» (Набоков). Эссе так же можно представить как духовный, трансцендентный, эмпирический опыт писателя. Творец выступает как субъект собственного развития, определяющий и описывающий свою жизненную программу. Он прошел путь самосовершенствования, построения себя как личности. Он свободно и мудро осознает собственные реальные достижения и недостатки, занимает определенную позицию в цивилизации, ненавязчиво и спокойно рассуждает о своем опыте. И этот опыт принимает воспринимающий субъект – читатель.

Пространство эссе можно определить и как отражение авторского ми-ра, и как образ мира, в котором живет автор. Такая рецепция жанра дает возможность представить эссе как источник информации. Это сообщение о нераздельности двух самостоятельных и самодостаточных сил – автора и текста. Проблема формы и содержания эссе уже длительное время рассматривается и философией, и литературоведением, и смежными, и отдаленными от изучения литературы науками. Современные исследователи приходят к выводу, который обобщить можно так – эссе стремится к двум целям – диалогу с читателем и разговору автора с собой, поисками своего «я». Такое представление о жанре в процессе его анализа предполагает реконструкцию авторского замысла, декодирование и раскрытие культурных кодов, обнаружение соответствий между текстовыми символами и их значениями в культурной традиции.

Эссе полнокровно в том случае, когда в нем пересекаются откровенность, искренность письма для себя, глубина размышления, научность статьи, свобода рассказа. В эссе соединяются художественные, эстетические, и антропологические проблемы. Здесь можно говорить о синтезе философского суждения, литературной рефлексии и научной дисциплинированности. В эссе, как замечает Эпштейн, «соединяются бытийная достоверность, идущая от дневника, мыслительная обобщенность, идущая от философии, образная конкретность и пластичность, идущая от литературы» (Эпштейн 2005: 12). Несвязанный конвенциями жанра автор становится все более независимым. Текст же требует от читателя не столько понимания, сколько нового аспекта диалогизации – включения в его пространство, способности к сопереживанию, эмпатии. Такой текст обращен и к интеллекту, и к сердцу читателя. Его особым качеством можно назвать персонификацию, которая понимается как индивидуализация самого себя или другого. Диапазон персонификации очень широк – от непосредственного восприятия автора через текст до почти полного вытеснения из сознания какого-либо представления об авторе. В эссе усиливается личностный подход к любому рассматриваемому образу. Новые отношения автора и мира развиваются те сферы личности, которые ранее оставались за рамками литературного анализа. Проблема персонификации обостряется как узловая проблема взаимодействия индивида и времени. В ней высвечиваются основные моменты этой согласованности, важной для эссеистского миропонимания: социальная обусловленность индивидуального сознания и роль собственной активности автора в мире. Эссе иллюстрирует общую тенденцию духовной жизни XX века – участие в реальности каждого индивида и углубленное внимание к неповторимому внутреннему Я отдельной личности. Эссеист отражает важнейшие кризисные моменты сознания эпохи – размывание границ между субъектом и объектом, сомнения в адекватности традиционных методов художественной презентации. Современный человек переживает свое Я как суверенное, самоценное, подчиняющееся специфическим частным интересам и одновременно попадает в плотную сеть отношений и коммуникаций. Эссеисты готовы к выражению собственного глубинно-зрелого, ответственного индивидуального опыта. В мире нарастают глобальные изменения, порождающие для каждого человека необходимость принять жизненно важные решения. Вместе с тем

необходимо выработать собственное отношение к тому, что составляет духовное богатство современной цивилизации – к мировой культуре, философии, религии, искусству. Мыслители понимают, что у современника возникают проблемы в осознании собственной истории, личных истоков, принадлежности к культурным традициям, осознанию себя и других. Они не склонны воображать читателя в образе коллективного субъекта, толпы. В эссе чаще всего сохраняется дух интимности творческого процесса, несмотря на определенную художественную задачу быть рядом с читателем и участвовать в реальной повседневной жизни. Эссе не увлекается риторическими приемами, не снижает собственного интеллектуального напряжения. Самоопределение автора эссе дает ему право на мудрое и независимое слово. Самоопределение в этом случае следует понимать как длящийся во времени процесс и следствие выбора личностью своей позиции, определения и приемов реализации себя в конкретных обстоятельствах жизни. Это важнейший путь обретения и проявления творческой и личной свободы.

Чтение любого текста, в том числе и эссе, это серьезная, требующая подготовки процедура. Эссе предполагает некую совокупность конвенций и условий чтения. При этом под процедурой следует понимать готовность читателя сотрудничать с автором. Интеллектуальноесотрудничество становится частью текстовой стратегии эссе. Почему необходимо подобное включение читателя в поток авторского сознания и самовыражения? Эссеистский текст является интеллектуально насыщенным образованием, требующим со-знания, со-переживания, со-чувствия. Михаил Эпштейн замечает: «Эссеистический метод состоит в том, что сам предмет письма превращается в метод письма. Предмет, постигаемый эссеистически, как бы сам создает науку о себе, из объекта методологии превращается в субъект, из мыслимого понятия – мыслящее понимание самого себя» (Эпштейн 1998: 31). Эссе существует под влиянием центробежных и центростремительных сил, изнутри взрывающих текст. По мысли Эпштейна, такой текст отличает особая «упругость». (Ср.: «Упругость – это способность предмета к деформации при одновременном сохранении или восстановлении своей формы. Упругость мысли состоит именно в том, что понятия не сводимы друг к другу, сближаются в той же мере, что и отталкиваются. Вообще упругость есть сила напора, действующая против самой себя. Мысль продуктивна не тогда, когда она действует в одном направлении, то есть сводит частные понятия к общему, а когда она обнаруживает наибольшую силу в действиях против самой себя, то есть наиболее обширное поле играющих сил – притягивающих и отталкивающих друг друга понятий» (Эпштейн 5005 а: 678). Так, эссе стремится к двум целям – диалогу с читателем и разговору автора с собой, поискам своего «я». Следя за процессом творчества, читатель ведет своеобразную игру с текстом. Ее суть – в некоем сотворчестве: наблюдающий за рождением произведения отчасти становится соучастником его создания, а значит, в какой-то степени и соавтором. Текст освобождается от автора и попадает во владение читателя, который становится основным источником смысла.

Одним из примечательных качеств эссе является юмор и ирония, дополняющие внутреннее пространство текста. Теоретики эссе называют такую

иронию эпистемологической. Риторика новейшего времени по сравнению с традиционной «сократовской» иронией эту фигуру речи обозначает как ироническую игру. Здесь дословное значение противопоставляется скрытому, внутреннему. Одобрение может быть выстроено таким образом, что сквозь него просвечивается осуждение и тонкая насмешка. Фигура речи используется так, что за внешним отрицанием, даже уничижением скрыта явная похвала, утверждение этической или эстетической ценности. Как известно, юмор наполнен гораздо более глубоким скептицизмом, чем ирония, он гораздо более позитивен. Юмор в более мягкой форме обращается к традиции риторики называть явления противоположными их сущности именами. Фраза может быть построена таким образом, что только умеренная гиперболизация, метафора или смена интонаций речи указывает на игру смысла. Это скорее намек на противоположное состояние предмета речи или изображения, чаще всего на утаенную легкую насмешку. Обращение к такому типу юмора предполагает высокий интеллектуальный и эстетический уровень того, к кому она обращена, осведомленность о предмете обсуждения. Ироническая тональность начала произведения, подчиняясь внутренней эмоции, все же не достигает беспощадности сарказма. Эссе всегда корректно, основано на ироническом аллегоризме. Таким глубинным иронизмом пронизано творчество многих известных творцов XX в., например, Джеймса Джойса, Самюэля Беккета, Эжена Ионеско, Питера Гринуэя и философов Мартина Хайдеггера, Ролана Барта, Жака Деррида и др. Ироническая игра смыслами в эссе связывает жанр с эстетическим опытом, т. е. расширяет границы только дискурсивного представления о мире.

Эссе заявляет о собственной единичности. Своеобразной исключительности в культуре. В таком заявлении есть и постоянное противоречие. Ведь эссе вбирает в себя и художественный образ, метафору, жизненный или исторический факт. С их включением в поле эссе происходит разрушение единичности переживания как первичного, предшествующего слову опыта. Олицетворяется текст, замещающий уникальный экзистенциальный опыт личности. С проблемой олицетворения текста и самоопределения автора в эссе связан вопрос о субъективности читателя.

Специфика эссе требует, чтобы различные составляющие текста – части культурных кодов, формул, ритмических структур, фрагменты социальных идиом оставались в нем неизменными, нетрансформированными в единое целое. Эссеистический метод моделирует произведение из всевозможных цитат, вставок и реминисценций к другим текстам, развивая тем самым его интерпретационные возможности. Эссеистическая мысль может быть независимой от традиции века, существовать параллельно метафизической всеохватывающей идее времени, рядом с системами и учениями. Эссе, основанное на синтезе и антиномии, опыте над собственной мыслью и над жизнью, становится не только работой, но и игрой ума. Это условие дает начало и основание отличному от литературы способу мысли.

Метафизическое содержание эссе передается необычными средствами – через вещный мир. Поворот к вещному миру был общекультурным явлением времени создания ядра эссеистики XX века. Его можно было наблюдать и в философии, и в художественном творчестве. Одной из важнейших декла-

раций, заявленных в те годы, была идея познания таинственной тени, которую отбрасывают «вещи» на весь остальной мир, идеалом было бы сделать каждую вещь центром универсума. Здесь можно говорить об одной из важных интуиций культуры – мышление в эссе есть индивидуализированные, может быть, даже интимные отношения с предметностью. Этот жанр наиболее адекватно постигал смысл вещей. Можно предположить, что фотография – открытие XX века – обратила внимание литературы на деталь. Как полагает Ю. Лотман, кинематограф научил вниманию к предмету как участнику сюжета. (Ср. замечание Ю. Лотмана «Только поняв язык кино, мы убедимся, что оно представляет собой не рабскую бездумную копию жизни, а активное воссоздание, в котором сходства и отличия складываются в единый, напряженный – порой драматический – процесс познания жизни» (Лотман 1973: 6).

Стилистика любого текста определяется авторским семиотическим подходом – выбором типа отношений между означаемой вещью и создаваемым знаком, ответом на вопрос, что и как с помощью знака можно означать. В эссеистике такая стратегия применяется для именования сути – создания знаков субстанциональных, а не качественных. Эссеист говорит о вещи вообще, о роде, а не о видовых признаках. Эссе представляет не конкретную книгу, тело, чувство, а их «смысл». Целью эссе становится не просто интерпретация вещи в знаке, но предельная формализация представления о ней – достижение идеальной формы, «чистого знака», как бы лишенного языковой оболочки. Автор представляет имена естественного языка как предельно обобщенные объекты. В эссе художественный образ естественно сливаются с рассуждением. Ассоциация и интуиция синтезируются с логической стройностью, четкостью мысли. Такую авторскую позицию можно видеть в названиях эссе. Традиционно эссе в наименованиях отдельных рассуждений отказывается от надуманности и усложненности. Вместе с тем, уже название эссе указывает на аналитическое осмысление какого-либо, преимущественно гуманитарного, предмета мысли.

Можно предположить, что в эссе определенная авторская позиция в познании мира разворачивается в помогающий гармонизации диалог с читателем. Эссеист предполагает состояние знания своего читателя и готовность довериться чужому опыту. Это потенциальное скрытое авторское руководство становится частью стратегии текста. Читатель или слушатель вовлекаются в процесс актуализации текста, а чтение приобретает драматичность, напряженность. Сам жанр эссе предполагает подобную рецепцию. Эссе – удобное жанровое пространство для конкуренции условности и реальности, для проникновения текста в жизнь и наоборот. Автор эссе всегда максимально жизнен, но при этом и условен. Пропорцию соотношения вымышленного и реального определить нельзя, однако эссе, подобно дневниковым записям, неизменно подкупает кажущейся искренностью и прямотой. Отсюда и характерное для него соперничество художественности с действительностью.

Неделимость и согласованность дискурсивного и образного представления о мире в эссе позволяет преодолеть жанровые ограничения. Однако такой разнонаправленный текст приобретает единство только при условии, если он основан на мифологической цельности мышления. Миф в эссе – авторский.

В авторском мифе растворяется авторитарность традиционной мифологии. Именно эссеизм как качество эссе нового времени позволяет наполнить пустоты и лакуны между различными направлениями единого текста включенной автором игрой, иронией, интерпретацией. Эссеизм направлен на создание неомифологической цельности соединяет не только слово и понятие, но пытается объединить культуру и бытие. И здесь необходима помочь Эпштейна, объясняющего различие между синкретической мифологией древних эпох и современной эссеистикой: «Эссеизм воссоединяет распавшиеся части культуры, но оставляет между ними то пространство игры, иронии рефлексии, отстраненности, которые решительно враждебны догматической непреклонности всех мифологий, основанных на приоритете» (Эпштейн 2005: 12).

Со времен Монтеня и формируется представление об эссе, и шире, о свойствах эссеизма в культуре. Эссе создавали самые известные творцы XX века – Т. Адорно, А. Швейцер, А. Камю, М. Цветаева, В. Набоков, М. Кундера, Ч. Милош, Т. Венцлова и др. На протяжении веков формировалась некая особая интонация эссе – неровная, ориентированной на внутреннее состояние автора, в ней есть и неуверенность, и бескомпромиссность, «печаль изгнанника и дерзость бродяги» (Набоков), что и составляет параметры самоопределения личности.

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SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF PERSONALITY IN THE ESSAY GENRE

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Summary

Essayistics is a special quality of contemporary culture. The union of philosophy, literature and science can be argued to be present here. The space of the text unites cultural, social, linguistic and mental features of a creator. Text strives to the achievement of two goals – the dialogue with the reader and the monologue of the author with himself in search for the inner ‘I’. In the genre of essay, these relationships are directed to self-revelation and self-identification of a personality. Here the authorial ‘I’ is treated as being located beyond the common, the norm, or the boundaries. One may remark that the reality with its details

reflected in an essay confirms the temporariness of the being-consciousness. This may serve as the foundation for the freedom of interpretation. In an essay, the subjectivity of an artist acquires independent creative meaning. Multiple layers of meaning constitute one of the conditions upon an essayist's creativity.

Key words: essay, self-identification, individuality, interpretation, meaning, dialogue.

INTERPRETATION, HUMAN NATURE AND THE DEMYTHOLOGIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE

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Abstract: The recorded history of humanity begins about 5,000 years ago, with the ancient civilizations of the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Of course, besides the very nature-oriented and anthropomorphic character of these cultures—which can be seen on the basis of the ancient religions, in which deities possessed human attributes, whilst the Earth and humanity were often treated as the centre of the universe—there was a strong belief in supra-sensible forces and realities that were obtainable through rites of magic. In a psychological sense, magical (mythological) thinking marks an attempt on the part of ancient humans to escape from or overcome sensational existence.

Key words: magical practices, onto-theological tradition, demythologization, metaphysics, interpretation of reality, intuitive insight.

Magical Practices in Pre-Attican Cultures

Humans have always tried to transcend the physical dimension of being. A clear example of this is to be found in ancient Egypt, where there existed the practice of mummifying the dead. We can only suppose that mummification was performed as the result of a belief in an afterlife. Whatever it stood for, however, the idea of mummification was very specific to the Egyptians—although it was also practiced by other ancient cultures, and was primarily connected with preparing the dead for their journey into the afterlife.

Thus we know of people being buried and adorned with amulets that were designed to offer protection to the deceased on their journey into the afterlife. Such was the purpose of the most important amulet: the *Scarabaeus sacer*, the scarab. It was called *kheprer* in Egyptian; a name that corresponded to the Egyptian word meaning “to come into existence.” Of course, today the scarab brings to mind primarily the idea of disgust; but for the Egyptians, burying people with scarab amulets was a common practice, perhaps because of what the scarab symbolized. It was believed that the scarab was responsible for creating the form of the world, and its action was compared to that of the sun—i.e., the sun was called the “roller” that moved around the heavens just like the scarab that supposedly rolled its balls of dung. There was even a deity that the Egyptians called *Chepera* that came to symbolize the scarab. *Chepera* was considered to be the father of all the gods and simultaneously the creator of heaven and earth. He was the one that was able to reproduce himself out of the same material that he produced. Thus scarab amulets were placed on the limbs of the dead so as to bring them back to being in the afterlife. The practice mirrored the symbolic movement of the sun, which was thought to die in the west and come back to life in the east. Moreover, it was believed that the scarab amulets would empower the deceased and give them control over the gods. The same meaning and role is attributed to the writings found on the bandages of mummies. As Aveni observes, “mind over matter, script over matter, spoken word over matter, all serve the purpose of setting into play the interaction of the body of the deceased and the forces of the supernatural” (Aveni 2002: 12).

Beliefs in supra-sensibility and the possibility of controlling the sensual world through magic, however, were not only limited to the Egyptians and the Nile Valley. They also grew between the Tigris and the Euphrates. Numerous societies

flourished between these two rivers. Among those worth mentioning are the Sumerians, who invented cuneiform writing. On the other hand, Mesopotamia—which produced *The Epic of Gilgamesh*—was famous for its astronomers, who could predict certain events by reading the sky. Most importantly, however, the Mesopotamians created the basis for arithmetic. By the year 2000 B.C., the Semites had begun to play a dominant role in the region, and later came to be the founders of Babylon. By far the most famous Babylonian myth is the *Enuma Elish*, which tells the story of Marduk (who allegedly gave the legal code to Hammurabi), his magical destruction, and his creation of an item of clothing by means of a spoken word (Fromm 1957: 231–232).

Additionally, we find another use of spells that inspire a material change by means of language, in the god Ea, who symbolized the Earth. Ea defeated Apsu, the god of the fresh underground waters, by “pouring poisonous words into the ears of his rival” (Aveni 2002: 14)—just like Shakespeare’s Claudius, who, “with juice of cursed hebona in a vial,/ And in the porches of my ear did pour/ The leprous distilment, whose effect/ Holds such an enmity with blood of man” (Shakespeare 1980: 62–65).

Spells were also very important in Nineveh, in the art of exorcism, where the exorcist played the part of a doctor. He could literally extract the disease from the body using words instead of scalpels. The ability to separate the word from the thing (the abstract from the concrete) was a skill attributable only to magicians. The difference between modern people and the ancients, in terms of the value of the word, is that we have learned to abstract meanings from words. It is this ability that lets us construe symbolic meanings, a thing that the ancients could not do; i.e., they treated words as things, and not as signs that possess only a referential relation to objects. In other words, the ancients did not differentiate between a sound and a thing, a signified and a signifier, and thus were not separated from their world like modern people, who observe the world from the window of metaphysical thinking and whose purpose is to ground physical being in a theoretical superstructure. Kołakowski (2001), however, disagrees with the commonly accepted view that we have just outlined:

As to the theory implying that our ancestors were incapable of distinguishing a tree from the word “tree,” and that the persistence of religion may be accounted for by our continuing inability to make such distinctions in certain cases, there is no empirical evidence for it, and the theory is not credible as a commonsense truth (Kołakowski 2001: 158).

In the ancient world of Babylon, the understanding of reality was very different from the one we have today. It was, so to say, more anthropomorphic. The Babylonians did not think that the world in which they lived was governed by mathematical, biological, and physical laws that make reality look more like a mechanism than the work of suprasensible forces. The mechanistic understanding of reality is what western culture owes to the Greeks. This is the reason why in all of the ancient civilizations there exists a correspondence between the type of society and the kind of gods that that society worshipped; i.e., the gods reflected more the nature of the societies in question than the character of some metaphysically superior beings. A similar situation continues to exist in the monotheistic tradition,

where God has acquired the attributes of the ethnic group who believed in him (the ancient Jews). Perhaps such is the nature of all religions. Maybe one of the reasons why religions exist in the first place is that societies need to believe in metaphysical beings that somehow reflect their own nature, in order to identify with and justify their ways of life. In other words, social and individual life needs to be anchored in something given as a defense against the fact that the physical reality we live in is governed by contingently deterministic processes of change. Thus, religious beliefs ground human existence by allowing us to dwell in the Heideggerian sense (Heidegger 2007: 194). At the same time, they introduce some order in existence. They subordinate people to certain modes of conduct, allowing them to synchronize themselves with the movements of nature—although in a structured, organized fashion.

Supra-sensible practices and beliefs also played a special role in Mesopotamia, where it was believed that the work of an exorcist was connected with driving out demons (diseases?) from a person's body. Interestingly enough, however, in addition to the work of exorcists, ancient Mesopotamia also had physicians who used herbs, potions and medical equipment in their practice. The job of the exorcist, however, was connected with curing the soul by using spells that involved the use of words, whereas the responsibility of the physician centered more specifically on the diseases of the body. Thus the exorcist was like a magician who, by using spells and various amulets, could address evil forces:

The exorcist alone held the power to get to the root of the malady—to carve it with words out of the diseased person using his tongue as an implement the way a surgeon removes a tumor with a knife. His tool kit contained amulet and incense rather than scalpel and laser beam. The technology, methods, and procedures associated with the craft of exorcism would have been as legitimate and benevolent in his day as those of today's doctor (Aveni 2002: 14).

Nevertheless, the exorcist could also establish contact with benevolent forces, and therefore exorcists often played the role of interpreters. They had to look for signs of demons in a person's body and then, by finding the right magical formula, they had the potential to drive out evil forces. However, signs were not only derived from bodily ailments. In Babylon, for example, astrology was considered to be a form of magic. Adorno, for example, comments on astrology in its connection to science and the occult in the following way:

Astrology, and occultism as a whole, has as indicated before a strong urge to overcome suspicions of magical practices in a rationalized<... >culture. Science is the bad conscience of occultism, and the more irrational the justification of its pretenses, the more it is stressed that there is nothing phony about it (Adorno 1994: 127).

Thus, just as modern people place their trust in the verities of scientific thinking, the ancients enjoyed a more irrational attitude to being. The ancients, however, did not only hope to interpret the patterns of the sky, they also practiced interpretation by referring to the human body. For example, in Babylon there were diviners—*extispicists*—who specialized in reading entrails, as it was believed that their organization and contents could disclose the future.

Today, somewhat stereotypically, it is believed that the heart is the symbol of life, since it is the source from which the rhythm of life commences. The ancients, however, did not attribute so much importance to the symbolic aspects of the heart. For them the liver was the internal organ that seemed to be of the greatest significance, as it is the organ from which blood is produced. And blood after all is the substance that makes both heart and mind possible. Both are contained in blood, which is the primordial ontological substance. We can say loosely that reality and consciousness take place in blood, and not in the heart or mind.

For the Babylonians, as for the Etruscans, *hepatoscopy*—foretelling the future by inspecting the liver and treating whatever is found on its surface in symbolic terms—was quite a popular practice. The art of reading body parts need not be limited only to the cultures of the Middle East; the reading of the entrails was also practiced by the Aztecs and the Incas with the same intention, i.e., to foresee the future. The practice of interpretation was, however, reserved for seers. They would extract an animal's liver and analyze its surface, thus practicing the art of interpretation. By inspecting the liver the interpreter was in a sense establishing a communion with the will of the gods. Liver reading evolved into a very complex phenomenon, but generally put it was believed that certain parts of the liver corresponded to different aspects of life. In other words, it was the need to interpret the world and escape from the rigid dimensions of sensation that stood behind the development of hermeneutics, which in itself is a historical anchorage of meaning. This epistemological arbitrariness is what Foucault meant by his coined term *episteme* (Foucault 1994: XXII). All thinking inspired by the western onto-theological tradition is immersed in the idea of correspondence, in which meanings are normatively bent to the *episteme* of the cultural era.

The diviner of the ancient world believed that by reading the liver he was establishing a union with the gods; he classified his data and organized them into an art that is very similar to, as Aveni observes, what we today call science—except that science does not try to establish a union with the gods. Of course, at first glance, when we think of reading the internal organs of animals, we think that it was quite an irrational and perhaps barbaric practice that had nothing to do with rational knowledge. And yet even today, scientists—not diviners—inspect the internal organs of animals to monitor diseases for scientific reasons like environmental control (Aveni 2002: 16–18).

The Pre-Socratics and the Demythologization of Experience

The difference between the Greeks and the cultures that predated them is that they did not merely try to interpret nature and incorporate themselves into it. Rather, the Greeks endeavoured to understand nature by organizing it. However, at the same time, they automatically expelled humanity from the natural universe and instead made us orphans of being. No longer fostered by natural instinct, humans came to be supported by rationality, a quality that was to separate us from the natural world of being.

What characterized the pre-Socratic thinkers of ancient Greece was their quest for the *arche*. This was the first step towards metaphysics, which in itself is the result of the attempt to stop the uncontrollable flow of being. Metaphysics is, of course,

strictly connected with rationality, which in itself is based on the classification of experiences and not just on the observation of individual instances of things (which is the role of sensation). In itself, sensation is the starting point of rationality, i.e., it delivers material to the cognitive categories of the mind that order the material according to the available concepts. Rationality, which the western world owes to the Greeks, provides us with a theoretical picture of things which emerges from its conceptual framework.

We automatically link the birth of rationality to the findings of the Greek world. Any history of philosophy, which at its base marks the evolution of rationality, begins with the words of Thales, who held that everything was created from water. In point of fact there were others before Thales who entertained a similar point of view, claiming that water exists in a variety of forms like ice, liquid or vapour (Guthrie 1996: 23). However, they did not speak of water as an objective reality *per se*, but rather of mythological deities that represented it symbolically. This was, therefore, not a rational evaluation of the physical properties of the substance, but a mythological one connected with an intuitive and affective approach to reality. In other words, the development of rationality was very closely tied to the idea of the demythologization of reality.

However, there stood another question behind the one that referred to the origins of the world and nature. It was one that addressed the origins of *ὕλη* (matter). The Pre-Socratics, however, did not yet have an abstract conception of matter; instead, they thought of matter sensationally, i.e., they believed matter to be a collection of individual bodies. Therefore, they did not differentiate between matter, form, and force, and moreover, they did not think of matter as being formless. The differentiation between matter and form was something that was introduced later, with the development of rational forms of mentation.

Much as Thales ignited philosophy with an interest in the origins of the world, it was Anaximander of Miletus who was the first to introduce the term *arche* (beginning), which was believed to determine everything that came to be created afterwards. As we have mentioned before, *arche* can be seen as the first concept of metaphysics. Anaximander believed that the substance which existed in the beginning of the universe did not vanish, but rather evolved into new forms of being. On the other hand, Thales thought that the initial *prima materia* underwent extinction as it lent itself to the perpetual process of transformation. From the Anaximanderian perspective, the source of everything that exists was to be found in the *apeiron*—the boundless:

<...> in describing the indeterminate boundless as the unoriginated and indestructible primary substance, he speaks of this as also having eternal motion. As a consequence of this motion, the various specific elements come into being as a “separating off” from the original substance, and thus there was an eternal motion in which the heavens came to be. But first warm and cold were separated off, and from these two came moist; then from these came earth and air (Stumpf 1989: 7).

While Thales established his views on the basis of observation, Anaximander arrived at his convictions by means of deduction; thus, by deduction he tried to discover the laws that stand behind the creation of nature. We remember that Thales

believed that everything was based on the process of transformation of one element into another, the first being water. Anaximander, on the other hand, thought that the change from the *apeiron* into nature happens by means of a separation from it. Thus, he opined that the *apeiron* is a reservoir of antithetical energies which can flourish only in nature; all creation is based on and created out this antithetical emergence. At the base of this process of transformation there is motion (eternal in nature) which inheres in matter (Windelband *A History of Philosophy*: 33–34). Unlike both Thales and Anaximander, Anaximenes believed that the *arche* was *aer*—air. Since air easily undergoes changes, it fills everything; it is the womb in which matter exists. Additionally, the Greeks held that the soul wore the countenance of air, i.e., that it was an attribute of air (Guthrie 1996: 27–28). Another pre-Socratic thinker, Heraclitus, also looked for the *arche* and found it in fire, which he considered to be the primordial element that initiates transformations in the world of nature. He maintained that the universe undergoes a series of changes through periodical fires (*ekpyrosis*) after which it recreates itself, a phenomenon known as *palingenesis*.

In opposition to the previously mentioned thinkers, Xenophanes was mainly a poet, although he was familiar with the ideas of Ionian philosophy. In this vein he created his own theory, which took earth to be the *arche*, i.e., the primal substance of nature. However, his texts abound in mythological elements—the effect of an intuitive approach to being—as he did not so much focus on nature as a phenomenon, but rather as a deity. As we have remarked earlier, such behavior is a feature that separates the mythological perspective of the ancient world, based on pragmatic intuitive existence, from the rational, theoretical thinking that we owe to the post-Platonic perspective:

The sense of the mystery of birth and death is capable of detachment and generalization from its original objects. On the one hand, we find in philosophy a preoccupation with the phenomena of change in general, with the visible impermanence of things and with the supposed origin and possible destruction of the physical universe. On the other hand, there is a felt need to understand man's station in the world, his relationship with supernatural beings, and his prospects of happiness and of life after death. These interests are not a distinguishing mark of philosophy, for they are also the subjects of poetic myth and religious faith. The difference is often expressed by saying that in philosophy we have a rational attempt to understand the origin of things and the nature and destiny of man (Cavendish 1964: 2).

Empedocles, a contemporary of Parmenides, was, like Xenophanes, a poet—and he considered himself to be of divine origin. To prove his divinity, Russell claims, he jumped into “the crater of Etna” (Russell 1972: 53). He considered air to be a separate substance and distinguished between four different types of matter, i.e., he was the first to categorize the four elements of fire, air, water and earth. However, the elements were not believed to exist in a solitary state, but instead were said to penetrate each other, creating other substances. In turn these substances were the victims of two processes: “love,” which unites elements together, and “strife,” which was responsible for their dissolution. Thus there was a cycle that was said to inhere in nature, namely, when all the elements are fully united through love, they are then separated by strife. Love and strife are eternal, creative and

destructive processes that inhere in nature, whereas individual substances are to be considered as finite.

The categorizing of nature that we find in Empedocles was another brick in the wall of metaphysics. Subsequently, these are the early stages of the development of rationality. Or to put it differently, the organization of nature is a feature of the onto-theological age. For this reason, we can regard metaphysics to be the backbone not only of post-Platonic philosophy, but also of science, which makes its discoveries through the separation of realities into more basic constituents.

In opposition to Empedocles, Eleatic philosophy—linked to Parmenidesian monism—stressed the importance of being (not becoming). Parmenides, who was also a poet, believed that the only thing that really exists is being, and that a state opposite to being—nonbeing—is ontologically impossible:

There is one way left for us to tell of, that it is; many signs in this way point to this, that what is without beginning, indestructible, entire, single, unshakeable, endless; neither has it been nor shall it be, since not it is; all alike, single, solid. For what birth could you seek for it? Whence and how could it have grown? I will not let you say or think that it was from what is not; for it cannot be said or thought that anything is not. What need made it arise at one time rather than another, if it arose out of nothing and grew thence? So it must either be entirely, or not at all (Nahm 1964: 93).

According to Parmenides, being has no beginning and no end. Moreover, it was not created out of anything, since this would eventually lead to the conclusion that being had to be created from non-being, and this was absurd—yet not absurd enough, for such is the conclusion of Hegelian rationalism, which actually maintains that there is no difference between being and nothingness. The latter is only the pure state of being, i.e., a state in which being is not attributed in any way. Being for Parmenides is eternal and unalterable, since the only thing that it could change into would be non-being—and again, the latter supposedly does not exist.

In comparison to Heraclitus, who stressed the ever-changing nature of things, Parmenides claimed that the only things that change are phenomena that are perceived by the senses, whereas understanding gives us a true picture of being which is conceived as a static, immutable idea. This reasoning leads us to the conclusion that we participate in being not through sensation but through the intellect, which stands behind the process of understanding.

It follows from the above that Parmenides was the first Greek thinker to differentiate between the physical and the metaphysical, i.e., the reality of the senses and the reality of the intellect. However, it seems that Zoroaster was one of the first to point to the dualistic nature of reality. He considered life to be a struggle, as perhaps this thing we call life is the place where the reconciliation of the Anaximanderian opposites takes place. Zoroaster maintained that the battle between good and evil will prevail for a long time, but in the end goodness will win and this will result in a day of redemption. It is then that all evildoers—as opposed to the virtuous—will be drowned in rivers of molten metal that will come flowing from the mountaintops. When this happens, Ormazd (the personification of Zoroaster) will come to rule as the one supreme God (Aveni 2002: 15). This violent aspect of Zoroaster's thinking definitely reminds us of Heraclitus, who believed that opposite forces unite to create

harmony, which leads to the worrying conclusion that “war is the father and king of all things; he has shown some to be gods and some mortals, he has made some slaves and others free”—or elsewhere, “opposition is good; the fairest harmony comes out of different; everything originates in strife,” and “The harmony of the world is of tensions, like that of the bow and the lyre” (Nahm 1964: 71).

One of the most important followers of Parmenides’ philosophy was Zeno, the founder of dialectics. Following Parmenides, he endeavored to prove that plurality and change do not exist. Today he is principally remembered for his four arguments against motion, the most popular being the argument of Achilles and the turtle:

The slow runner will never be overtaken by the swiftest, for it is necessary that the pursuer should first reach the point from which the pursued started, so that necessarily the slower is always somewhat in advance. This argument is the same as the preceding, the only difference being that the distance is not divided each time into halves (Nahm 1964: 102).

By proving that motion does not exist, Zeno only gave support to Parmenides’ claim with regard to the stability and immutability of being. However, Zeno made a categorical mistake, for he simply confused geometrical space with physical space. If we take Achilles and the turtle to be objects in geometrical space, then Zeno’s argument holds true. This perspective has us assume that when an object is to undergo movement in a certain direction, it first must move half that distance—then again half, and half again. Thus theoretically movement does not exist, since no progress is being made.

Following Parmenides and Zeno, Anaxagoras did not believe in absolute change like becoming or death, for he did not believe in non-being. He was, however, the first to postulate that the mind is responsible for exercising influence over physical changes. In his thinking he maintains that everything is infinitely divisible and that each and every piece of matter contains a mixture of all four elements. Thus it is the predominance of a particular element that is said to create the final form of a thing. Most importantly, however, Anaxagoras’ name is associated with the term *nous*, which characterizes all living creatures. It is *nous* that distinguishes animate from inanimate matter. In other words, all things that exist are a mixture of the elements, however, *nous* is unalloyed and is not mixed with the other elements. Additionally, *nous* is believed to be the source of all motion as well as the force that provides things with a structure: “And when mind began to set things in motion, there was separation from everything that was in motion, and however much mind set in motion, all this was made distinct. The rotation of the things that were moved and made distinct caused them to be yet more distinct” (Nahm 1964: 142).

Like Socrates, Anaxagoras was imprisoned for voicing views that were not in concord with the *episteme* of the time in the Foucauldian sense. For example, he maintained that the sun is nothing but a red hot burning rock (i.e., not a deity, but only a physical object) and that the moon is made of earth and does not emit its own light, “but the sun puts its brightness into the moon” (Nahm 1964: 143).

In opposition to Anaxagoras’ *nous*, Pythagoras sustained that “number holds sway over flux” as Russell states (Gould 1989: 136–137). Pythagoras treated numbers as geometrical shapes, which is why even today we speak of squared and cubed numbers. The supra-sensible aspect of mathematics is another characteristic

of metaphysical thinking which is based on the subordination of sensual reality to the abstract. Form comes to be superimposed on matter through the use of number. Additionally, form that derives from rationality as conceivable through “number” is the quality of nature that gives form and order to everything. This is why it was so important in music, as it allowed for a harmonious division of sound into intervals.

Mathematics was considered to be the major source of our belief in the idea of eternal truth and in the supra-sensible reality of thought. Thought came to be seen as a more perfect medium than the senses. Moreover, the relations between time and eternity also have their principles in mathematics, as mathematical objects (numbers) are eternal and they are not slaves to a phenomenal understanding of time. The eternal objects are, in turn, what we understand, for example, as thoughts emanating from the mind of God.

The counter position between the ephemeral aspect of sensation and the eternal aspect of thought, of course, reverberates later in Plato's thought. Pythagoras, like Plato after him, thought that the soul, which is eternal, exists separately from the body and that the body is a like a cage for the soul, which was to be imprisoned in its confines for the sins that it had committed. The pursuit of the meaning of life, on the other hand, was to clean the soul of its sins.

A partial answer to the abstract and concrete understandings of reality was reconciled by the atomists. They maintained that everything is created out of atoms that in themselves are physically but not geometrically divisible. Atoms were said to exist in a vacuum. They could not be destroyed and they appeared to be in constant motion. Moreover, supposedly there was a countless number of atoms that varied according to size, shape, as well as heat and weight. As a consequence of the movement of the atoms, collisions took place which created vortexes (whose creation was contingent).

Russell reminds us that Aristotle accused the atomists of not explaining the reasons for causation that allegedly governed the primary motion of the atoms. The atomists, however, believed that causation must have a beginning, which itself was not caused by any other causes that govern physical existence. This, of course, leads to the impasse of the origin of the first cause—which conventionally was attached to the idea of God. The atomists gave a strictly mechanistic answer to their explanation of things; in other words, they tried to explain everything in terms of the state of earlier circumstances that provoked the occurrence of a given event. In opposition to the mechanistic explanation, there existed a teleological one which endeavoured to account for the purposes for which a given event occurs. The atomists, as Russell writes, explained events mechanistically, and their followers teleologically, which is why science did not really develop much until the Renaissance (Russell 1972: 67). Here we have to observe that the mechanistic explanation is more rooted in the past, i.e., the explanation of all events is based on past causes. The teleological explanation, on the other hand, alludes to the future, i.e., the future purpose for which the event occurs, not the circumstances that brought it about.

There are, of course, some obvious problems with both types of approaches to reality. Their weaknesses consist in the fact that they both can be applied only to fragments of reality and not to reality *in toto*, including God. The teleological explanation concludes with the idea that the world serves a divine purpose—as we find in Hegel, where the world was said to develop through dialectics until it

reached the Absolute. This explanation, however, cannot account for the reason for which God exists. The mechanistic explanation, on the other hand, is a reduction to the primary cause, and thus we also end up with the explanation that God had to be the initial source and cause without explaining the origins of His existence.

In conclusion, we should remember that when we study the ancient world we should treat it with respect, as many a time our own practices—science and technology—are also based on guesses and assumptions, on interpretations that we have of the world in the historical period that we find ourselves belonging to. In other words, the interpretation of reality involves an active interplay of sensation with intuition. It marks an attempt to organize sensually experienced reality by means of the intuitive insight of the viewer, i.e., interpretation of the world is the conduit between the supra-sensibility of the gods and the physical dimensions of being.

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INTERPRETACIJA, ŽMOGAUS PRIGIMTIS IR PAŽINIMO DEMITOLOGIZACIJA

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Santrauka

Užrašyta žmonijos istorija siekia maždaug 5 000 metų, t. y. Vidurinių rytių ir Viduržemio senovės civilizacijos laikus. Iš senovės religijų matyti, kad be į gamtą orientuotų ir antropomorfinių kultūrų, būta dievybių, turėjusių žmonėms būdingų savybių. Žemė ir žmonija dažnai buvo traktuojamos kaip visatos centras. Gyvavo tvirtas tikėjimas ypatingo proto jégomis ir tikrove, kuri pasiekiamą atliekant magiškus ritualus. Psichologiniu požiūriu magiškas (mitologinis) mąstymas rodo senovės žmonių pastangas ištirkti iš jutiminės būties arba ją įveikti.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: magijos praktika, ontoteologinė tradicija, demitologizacija, metafizika, tikrovės interpretacija, intuityvi įžvalga.

REDEEMING THE WHITE MAN'S GUILT: WILLIAM FAULKNER'S NARRATIVES OF THE OLD SOUTH

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Abstract: In revisiting three of Faulkner's novels of the Old South from the perspective of cultural criticism, I argue that they make up a certain configuration of racial encounters that bespeaks the growing efforts of a white, liberal consciousness to understand the racially other. These narratives, in which black portraiture is central, posit, *avant la lettre*, the notion of race-as-construct by denouncing the clichés and cultural taboos instrumental in consolidating the white identity, while simultaneously relegating the African American persona to positions of marginality or exclusion.

Key words: race, otherness, identity, culture, miscegenation, stereotyping.

More often than not, to be concerned with *images* of people usually means to focus on those considered outsiders in a culture. ("Images of Whites in American Literature," for instance, would be a very unlikely title). Moreover, in the case of black portraiture in white fiction, such images are of an entire group of people placed together only on the basis of race, which is itself a problematic term. Tom Sawyer's Aunt Sally significantly makes the point in an oft-quoted passage from *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*: "Good gracious! anybody hurt?" When Huck replies: "No'm, killed a nigger," her comment is: "Well, it's lucky because sometimes people do get hurt" (Twain 1954: 222). In a society that has not always considered blacks to be "people," attention to image is crucial indeed.

Aunt Sally's remark helps to explain much of the polemic around the images of blacks in (white) literature: are these images positive or negative? Stereotypical or realistic? Archetypal or idealized? Half a century after Faulkner's death—and although the terminology has changed from "colored" and "Negro" to "black" and "African American"—the writer's freedom to present a variety of images without concern for the audience's reaction remains an issue that is still worth discussing.

Sterling Brown's 1966 essay *A Century of Negro Portraiture in American Literature* elaborates on the topic at length. Covering the period from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1960s, Brown identifies a whole range of stereotypes found in pre-Civil War literature, especially in fiction by whites: (a) the contented slave/the wretched freedman (these two tellingly often occur in pairs), (b) the comic minstrel, (c) the persecuted victim, (d) the noble savage, (e) the submissive Christian, and (f) the tragic octoroon. Looking at post-Civil War fiction, again especially that by whites, he adds: (g) the brute Negro, and (h) the tragic mulatto.

With several remarkable exceptions, figures of blacks are not usually central in Faulkner's narratives; they are given "supporting roles," as it were. In such early works as *Soldier's Pay* and *Sartoris*, Faulkner's own consciousness and prejudices coincide with those of his white characters. The roles performed by blacks are traditional ones—faithful servants, black mammies, train porters, and yard men—and they appear as a validation of whiteness. In opposition to a stereotyped background for the blacks, always presented on the basis of group identity, white individualism is always foregrounded and exemplary. The case of Thomas Sutpen

in *Absalom, Absalom!* is such a success story, telling of the hero's ascension from the life of a "poor white trash" to that of a rich southern landlord. Equally, Carothers McCaslin in *The Bear* creates a plantation out of the wilderness, even though his life is marked by moral ambiguity, by the raping of the land and the dispossession of the Indians, and also by incest.

Blacks are always judged more for what they do than for what they are; their performative roles are valued over their individual worth. Quentin Compson praises total devotion and submission and echoes Faulkner's own cryptic tribute to blacks: "They endured." For Quentin, the behaviour of the blacks has a quality of "shabby and timeless patience, of static serenity... and paradoxical reliability," showing "a fond and unflagging tolerance for whitefolks' vagaries like that of a grandparent for unpredictable and troublesome children" (Faulkner 1954: 107–8).

Such benign stereotyping is countered by malignant stereotyping in two major forms: 1. *Blacks as animals*: "mules," "coons," "monkeys," "wild buffaloes"—"They ain't human," says the sheriff of *Go Down, Moses*. "They look like a man and they walk on their hind legs like a man and they can talk... But when it comes to normal human feelings, they might just as well be a herd of wild buffaloes" (Faulkner 1991: 133). 2. *The black man as rapist and murderer*: Joe Christmas, in *Light in August*, illustrates this stereotype in a paradoxical way. He kills Joanna Burden because she wanted him to become a reformable "nigger," but in so doing, he endorses the white stereotype and proves to be unreformable; he acknowledges his black blood by acting according to the expectations of the white others. His subsequent death is meant to cleanse evil and reestablish the status quo. What is regarded as a violation of the Southern laws serves, ironically, the social system and reinforces divisions in terms of color.

In speaking of the process involved in the writing of *The Sound and the Fury*, Faulkner admitted that having failed to tell the story in the first three sections (from the pre-linguistic perspective of Benjy and then the narrative perspectives of Quentin and Jason, respectively), he tried to retell it more directly in the fourth, concluding section of the novel. A more balanced view of the Compsons' household could have been provided by Dilsey's narrative perspective. However, Faulkner chose to speak on her behalf and mediate her image through his omniscience.

Nevertheless, by recreating the domestic universe of her life and by bringing forth the qualities demanded by the performance of her daily chores, Dilsey, the black mammy, emerges, for the first time in Faulkner's fiction, as a fully delineated character who is a bearer of positive human values. Her luminous presence is contrasted with the devilish character of Jason (for whom Dilsey is just "somebody in the kitchen") and the arrogance of Miss Quentin ("you damn old nigger"), and her endurance and sense of purpose ("I does de bes I kin") with the erratic, hectic life of Quentin. She is the retainer of the few basic moral values: strength, endurance, compassion, and altruistic love, and this brings her close to Benjy and his intuitive sense of values, for Benjy cannot be judged in moral terms.

It is noteworthy that the psychological distance Faulkner takes to look at Dilsey results in a portrait that appears to be idealized, a desired projection rather than a plausible prototype. As a matter of fact, he never uses a black character as the centre of his consciousness, preferring the agency of white observers. It is true that Dilsey

endures, and this is seen as an affirmative quality. However, the statement has to be qualified by adding that such endurance is not tested in rebellion, or at least in protest, but in submission to the demands of her white masters. The author does not quite engage Dilsey's otherness, but substitutes celebration for close scrutiny. As the result of benign stereotyping (the "good nigger"), she is rather a narcissistic tribute paid to the old southern order, reinforcing the idea of benevolent racial superiority. Warren suggests that her treatment is "condescending," while Ellison sees in her portrait "merely the comforting illusion of black forgiveness which the white man must cling to" (Warren 1966: 258). In Howe's opinion, Dilsey is the last of Faulkner's major characters "who feels at home" in the South. His assessment of the black servant challenges critical consensus and questions her image as a "moral archetype": "No sensitive reader would care to deny her strength and moral beauty, but I should like to register a dissent from the effort of certain critics to apotheosize her as the embodiment of Christian resignation and endurance. The terms in which Dilsey is conceived are thoroughly historical, and by their nature become increasingly unavailable to us: a fact which, if it does not lessen our admiration for her as a figure in the novel, does limit our capacity to regard her as a moral archetype or model" (Howe 1962: 107).

However, Faulkner's treatment of Dilsey is not unidimensional; as the novel progresses to its climax, she gradually assumes a role that runs counter to the wide-spread stereotype of the submissive black: she becomes a moral yardstick used to judge the Compsons for having fallen short of their self-imposed obligations, judging them not in terms of race but in generic human terms. For Dilsey is the one character who lives in the present, as the moral survivor of a world that is epitomized by the fall of one of its aristocratic families—the Compsons.

None of the other major characters live authentic lives: Jason, Faulkner's "favorite monster," interested only in money and sex, is a "modern" man, closer to the Snopeses than to the old world; Mr. Compson, a witty "philosopher," has taken to drinking; Mrs. Compson thinks mostly of her honor and of the faded glory of the past, and now finds consolation in religion; Caddy has her affair with Dalton Ames, marries another man, and eventually leaves Jefferson; and Benjy is helpless, emasculated, beyond good or evil. Quentin Compson, by literally breaking his watch, escapes time and consciousness by committing suicide. His monologue becomes the record of what Bleikasten aptly calls "a process of derealization" (Singal 1997: 177).

It is ironic that the only characters capable of achieving the solid sense of self that Quentin is seeking are the blacks: Dilsey, and also Deacon, the janitor who befriends Southern students at Harvard and who, while giving lip-service to the whites, is always capable of shedding "that self he had long since taught himself to wear in the world's eyes" (Faulkner 1954: 99, 123) and returning to his authentic self. Or Louis Hatcher, "a man prepared for living" who "displays a personal integration of self and harmony with the world" (Davies 1983: 98), with his primitive faith that he can keep danger at bay simply by keeping his lantern clean. He, too, represents an alternative identity, one deeply rooted in physical reality and human communion. This is exactly what Quentin craves, and if he understands black behaviour intuitively, he realizes that it will always remain inaccessible to him.

The fact is, however, that as a Southerner, he is “always conscious of niggers,” and this is apparent in his stream-of-consciousness narrative by the constant presence of his “shadow,” suggesting a link between it and the black identity. In his mind, the shadow becomes an almost autonomous creature, dark, histrionic, simultaneously fascinating and threatening. He both enjoys its presence and seeks to destroy it in an effort to remain “white” and “civilized.” This shadowy presence/absence, in Singal’s opinion, “embodies in concentrated form all the traits that southern whites have traditionally projected onto blacks in order to shore up the supposed ‘purity’ of white identity” (Singal 1997: 106).

In *Light in August* (1932), the issue of race as “colour” embodies a metonymical function which displaces the black character. Definition on an exclusively racial basis is a re-definition from the dominant standpoint of the white cultural ideology. A black’s inward perception of personal worth runs counter to the culturally-constructed image. In such a case, self-definition becomes problematic, as it is attempted against heavy odds. Hence, the tragedy of characters who try to assert themselves violently, like Joe Christmas.

The irony of his condition comes from the unresolved riddle of his birth. According to Faulkner, this is “the most tragic condition a man could find himself in—not to know what he is and to know that he will never know” (Singal 1997: 316). He is, as one critic felicitously put it, “a walking oxymoron,” both white and black, and neither. Or, he is a “tabula rasa <...> on which anyone can write out an identity for him and make him believe it” (Kazin 1966: 148). His negro blood is only a *possibility*. The much-quoted scene at the orphanage, involving Joe and a black boy, may be the crucial moment in his life-long quest: “‘What you watching me for boy?’ and he said, ‘How come you are a nigger?’ and the nigger said, ‘Who told you I am a nigger, you little white trash bastard?’ and he says, ‘I ain’t a nigger,’ and the nigger says, ‘You are worse than that. You don’t know what you are. And more than that, you won’t never know. You’ll live and you’ll die, and you wont never know<...> don’t nobody but God know what you is’” (Faulkner 1993: 288–9).

Yet Joe Christmas cannot accept the sentence; he feels he must know. The orphanage scene triggers his awareness of self as estranged, and foretells a future of alienation and loneliness. His sense of self-estrangement comes from his internalizing his otherness, or, rather, from the judgments passed on him by hostile others. Racism draws its power from prejudices and misconceptions, from fictions shared by all his victimizers.

The first of them is his grandfather, Doc Hines, the foul-mouthed racist and sexist, upholding the idea that only white males can claim the dignity of humanity, while women and blacks are of an inferior essence. Marginal as he may be in the narrative, Doc Hines is, nevertheless, an important presence, for he is not only instrumental in Joe’s struggle to identify himself, but also in voicing general “truths” concerning race and gender. His behaviour expresses itself as religious fanaticism, misogyny, or verbal violence. Nevertheless, when he says that Joe is black, the community believes him. And this is so because the sexual myths that Hines invokes are cultural stereotypes to which the community subscribes, even though it realizes that Hines is fanatically obsessed with them. To be more specific, the white communities of Mottstown, Jefferson, and elsewhere fear miscegenation

because it “taints” white blood and confuses the distinctive categories of white and black. Consequently, this community fears black men, and stereotypes them as rapists and defilers of Southern womanhood.

Given these cultural constructions, when his daughter Milly is “seduced” by a circus performer and gets pregnant, he “naturally” assumes that the circus performer has “nigger” blood, since both Hines and his community see the sexual appetite of the black man for white women as part of his “nature.” The stereotypes and myths are so deeply in place, so naturalized, that as soon as the townspeople find a white woman murdered, they readily believe that it was an anonymous crime “committed not by a negro but by Negro.” Since this is a “Negro’s” crime, any person committing it could be categorized as “negro,” regardless of their skin color.

Joe’s second victimizer is his foster father, Simon McEachern, who taught him the harsh virtues of white Protestantism: manhood and a strong contempt for women. These are supposed to turn him into a white southern male, but as long as he believes himself to be tainted with blackness, he cannot accept them. As such, he is confronted with an impossible choice: he is simultaneously imprisoned in and excluded from his white father’s value system. However strong his desire to assert his freedom and not take sides, he cannot break the circle of his fate. Ironically, only death will give him a recognizable identity: as a black who kills a white woman, he acts predictably, according to the expectations of others, and becomes of service to the community only as a scapegoat. In Bleikasten’s words, “Through Christmas’s scapegoating racial purity is restored, white supremacy reaffirmed; through his emasculation the danger that hung over southern ladyhood is warded off” (Bleikasten 1997: 312).

In a community governed by such strict divisions, identities are distributed according to prevalent codes that function on an either/or basis; every identity is tied to a class, gender or race. In this respect, Joe Christmas is a living challenge to the community’s sanctioned norms: “He never acted like either a nigger or a white man <...> That was what made the folks so mad. For him to be a murderer and all dressed up and walking the town like he dared them to touch him, when he ought to have been skulking and hiding in the woods, muddy and dirty and running. It was like he never knew he was a murderer, let alone a nigger, too” (Faulkner 1993: 263). These are the comments of the people on Joe’s behaviour at Mottstown shortly before his capture. What “makes the folks so mad” is less the presumed miscegenation than the lack of any sign of it—the visible invisibility of Joe’s blackness, so to say. Joe’s presence subverts the either/or logic and, at the same time, points to the unacknowledged origin of racism, exposing it as a mere fiction, as a cultural construct.

Discussing the process of identity formation in the case of Joe Christmas, Kartiganer argues that the hero instinctively attempts to rebel against the cultural conditioning that has molded him and seeks to attain a genuine identity of his own. Given the color of his skin, Joe might have passed for white if he had chosen to, and could have thus enjoyed “a single identity” that would have spared him much trouble. That choice, however, would have required giving up the “black” part of his self, which would have meant surrendering his authenticity. That is why Joe is keen on preserving, to the very end, an identity based on “doubleness,” and chooses “a wholeness that serves alike the dual sides of himself” (Kartiganer 1979: 41–43).

I would submit that the races compete, rather than mix, in Joe Christmas; they claim him equally to the extent that his body may be said not to have a racial identity, but to be a site occupied by more than one (racial) identity. Given the lack of reliable information concerning Joe's black blood, his racial status is actually based upon a relationship with no positive terms. Being neither white nor black, he can be both.

In *Tristes Tropique*, Levi-Strauss distinguishes between two opposing types of society: *anthropophagic* (from the Greek *phagein*, to digest) and *anthropoemic* (from the Greek *emein*, to vomit). Whereas the former absorbs and "digests" deviants, assigning them to specific positions in society, the latter expels them to marginal positions or into prisons, asylums, or, in extreme cases, physical annihilation. Obviously, the community of Jefferson belongs to the latter category, and the "vomiting" metaphor is particularly apt for a society that becomes sick whenever it is confronted by its others.

Joe Christmas's plight is indicative of how Faulkner had come to see the Southern race relations in a radically new manner, different not only from his previous novel, but also from the prevailing cultural ideology of his time. Joe's real predicament is "a continuous psychological emasculation at the hands of white society stemming from the stereotyped racial identities embedded in his consciousness during his youth," a stealing of his manhood appropriately objectified by his effective castration, as a supposed black rapist, by Percy Grimm. In the Southern racist climate of the time, Faulkner suggests, to be black means to be unable to exercise one's own true powers as a man. That is why "what Faulkner provides here is a damning portrait of the wellsprings of Southern racism so advanced in its insights that it was decades ahead of its time" (Singal 1997: 175).

As Wittenberg remarks, what is striking in Faulkner's novel is that, although primarily concerned with race, *Light in August* does not actually feature a significant character who is "identifiably African-American." Thus, this "absence only emphasizes the text's predominant concern with race as a linguistic and cultural construct rather than a biological given" (Fadiman 1975: 24–5, 42–3). Indeed, it can be stated that in the course of the novel, Faulkner indirectly provides a meditation on the issues regarding racial notions in the American South in the early twentieth century and, simultaneously, explores the role of language in the construction of subjectivity.

The tragic effects of unfounded racial categorization are dominant in the novel. The narrative intensifies these effects by examining the function of socio-linguistic structures set in the cultural context of a closed, xenophobic Southern town at the beginning of the twentieth century. In such a small town, the ideology of the community is strictly codified and extremely judgmental of anybody or anything that challenges it. The only outcome for rebellious individuals is perpetual separation, flight or even death. By giving centrality to the notion of "race," Faulkner's *Light in August* problematizes both the inevitable human tendency to categorize and classify, and the validity of such categories themselves. It examines not only the tragic paradox of racial designation, but also the processes whereby such cultural constructs affect human subjectivity and determine the functioning of an entire culture.

The figure of Thomas Sutpen, the protagonist of this extremely complex narrative, is illustrative for the theme of miscegenation which, here, is both real and potential. It is real in the case of Sutpen and his first quadroon wife, Eulalia Bon, whom he had repudiated back in New Orleans. It is real again in the relationship he has with one of the two black women slaves brought along with his pack of “niggers” to build Sutpen’s Hundred, the result of which is Clytie.

However, miscegenation is also a *possibility* only—in the case of Charles Bon and Judith—but one so frightening that it has to be rejected by Sutpen even at the cost of losing both his sons and condemning his daughter to a life of desperate loneliness. Whether real or imaginary, the differences between “whiteness” and “blackness” are made absolute by the pervasive fetish of blood: white blood, black blood, the purity of blood, and the fear of contamination. The threat of miscegenation releases the anxieties of Sutpen’s white consciousness and leads him to several acts of rejection. They occur in the novel under many guises, and they can be looked at from the triple perspective of class, race and gender.

The first rejection will determine the whole course of events and is performed in terms of class. Thomas Sutpen is what Dilsey would have called “poor white trash,” a man on the rise, an upstart elbowing his way into respectability. “He wasn’t a gentleman,” Mr. Compson recalls, “he wasn’t *even* a gentleman” (Faulkner 1995: 14). As the son of a poor white, he is turned away from the door of the plantation house by, ironically, a liveried black servant (a “monkey”), even though he has come innocently, sent on an errand by his father. Later on, when telling the story to Shreve, Quentin discovers that Sutpen’s fallacy has been “innocence”: he “didn’t even know there was a country all divided and fixed and neat with a people living on it all divided and fixed and neat because of what color their skins happened to be and what they happened to own” (*ibid.*, 221). He is so outraged that his instinctive reaction is to take a rifle and kill the man. But soon he realizes that “this ain’t a question of rifles. So to combat them you have got to have what they have that made them do what the man did.” This is the moment when his “grand design” takes shape, in his determination to have “land and niggers and a fine house” (*ibid.*, 238). Sutpen’s “grand design” fails for reasons both historical and personal. The Civil War ruins his ambitions of being a prosperous landowner, and his rejection of his son on fears of miscegenation brings about the ruin of his family. Both reasons are deeply ingrained in the Southern mentality: unscrupulous greedy materialism, and the rejection of the black as a legitimate son of the land. The latter is what Miss Rosa calls “the fatality and curse on the South,” but both will continue to take their revenge until, in Mr. Coldfield’s words, “the South would realize that it was now paying the price for having erected its economic edifice not on the rock of stern morality but on the shifting sand of opportunism and moral brigandage” (*ibid.*, 260).

The second rejection is acted out by Thomas Sutpen on the grounds of race. Indeed, the main reason Sutpen rejected his first wife and child was the discovery that they had black ancestry, a fact irreconcilable with his “design.” His racist essentialism, coupled with his blind ambition, motivates his attitude as a husband and son and ultimately explains the tragic failure of his “design.” The vision of the total blurring of race distinctions and ultimate chaos voiced by Shreve McCannon at the end of the novel is associated with the ghostly presence of the last survivor, haunting the white family whose blood he also shares: “I think that in time the Jim

Bonds are going to conquer the western hemisphere. Of course it won't be quite in our time <...> but it will still be Jim Bond; and so in a few thousand years, I who regard you will also have sprung from the loins of African kings" (*ibid.*, 378).

Charles Bon's rejection by Thomas Sutpen is even more dramatic as it is both racial and paternal. Furthermore, it leads to other instances of rejections like, for example, the estrangement between the two brothers, or the tension between the two half-sisters, Judith and Clytie. When, in a short exchange, Henry cries out to Charles, "You are my brother!", the latter, now fully assuming his blackness, answers back: "I'm the nigger that's going to sleep with your sister. Unless you stop me, Henry" (*ibid.*, 358). And Henry does stop him, for good.

The fact that Henry had highly admired Charles and had always tried to emulate him, and that Judith had loved him too, perhaps more than she had ever loved her brother, exposes once again the idea of "race" as a culturally contrived concept that has nothing to do with personal, human worth. Literally, Charles and Henry are sons of the same father; symbolically, they are also inheritors of his initial act of renunciation—which leads, in the words of the Romanian critic Alexandrescu, to an "acceleration of destiny"—and, consequently, of the doom it entails. A doom perpetuated in the second generation by Charles himself, who repudiates both his octoroon mistress in New Orleans and his own son, Charles Etienne.

Individual tragedy is reinforced by its projection onto a larger historical background. In the end, Henry finds ultimate refuge in a house ruined by a war fought to maintain an order that had itself allowed for the tragedy to happen. The "good" (*Bon*) that might have eventuated from racial hybridity and male companionship becomes "slavery" (*Bond*), or perpetuation of racial divisions. In victimizing the black, Faulkner seems to suggest, the South loses its integrity and homogeneity.

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PIETINIŲ VALSTIJŲ PORTRETAI VILJAMO FOLKNERIO KŪRINIUOSE

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Santrauka

Sraipsnio tikslas – remiantis kultūrinės kritinės srovių paradigmą, pateikti trijų Viljamo Folknerio romanų, kurių veiksmas vyksta pietinėse JAV valstijose, analizę. Straipsnyje apžvelgiamos įvairios rasinių kontaktų konfigūracijos ir apraiškos, kuriuos atspindi baltųjų gyventojų liberaliosios minties atsiradimą ir pastangas pažinti greta esančią *kitą*. Siuose tekstuose aprašoma pagrindinė figūra – juodaodis – padeda giliau pažvelgti į rasės sampratą, t. y. į konstruktą, paneigiantį susiformavusius stereotipus bei kultūrinius tabu, kurie dažni kuriant baltųjų identitetą bei apibūdinant afroamerikietį kaip atstumtajį.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: rasė, *kitas*, identitetas, kultūra, mišri rasinė santuoka, stereotipai.

RECEPTION OF FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE'S IDEAS IN LATVIA AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY

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Abstract: At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the ideas of Friedrich Nietzsche experienced extreme popularity in Latvian culture. Researchers consider it difficult to find an early 20th century writer whose writing was not influenced by Nietzsche's philosophy. Nietzsche's ideas were most widespread among the so-called Latvian decadents: the problem of the übermensch was regarded by Eldgasts, Eglītis, Austrīņš, etc. Many Latvian interpreters at this time, though acknowledging Nietzsche's popularity, did not yet accept his views and pointed out that they were alien to contemporary Latvians. The major factor that contributed to the spread of Nietzsche's ideas in Latvia was the Latvian translation by Vilis Plūdons of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, published in 1908. The übermensch was one of the most popular Nietzschean ideas in Latvian culture in the early 20th century, at which time the majority of Latvian intelligentsia learned about Nietzsche's philosophy via Russian culture—where the idea of the übermensch had been essentially transformed and united with Solov'ev's conception of the all-human as well as with the ideas of Tolstoy and other writers.

Key words: Nietzsche, Latvian culture, Latvian decadents, übermensch, Russian culture.

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the ideas of Friedrich Nietzsche experienced extreme popularity in many cultures, and Latvian culture was not an exception in this respect. Researchers consider it difficult to find an early 20th century writer whose writing was not influenced by Nietzsche's philosophy.

"This influence was determined by many factors: the charming beauty of language that seduces and intoxicates even where the content passes over to mysterious hints; the symbolism saturated with foreboding that, especially in Zarathustra's poetic creation, admits the twilight sinking into the uncertain; also the aphoristic form of explication that never demands from the reader logical thinking but, just the other way round, lets him decide to what extent he may give in to the wittiest excitement and let himself enjoy the striking fantasies, splendid formulations, fitting comparisons, and paradoxical combinations" (Виндельбанд 1998: 436). These words by Windelband may be fully related also to the reception of Nietzsche's philosophy in Latvia.

The major factor that contributed to the spread of Nietzsche's ideas in Latvia was the Latvian translation by Vilis Plūdonis into Latvian of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, published in 1908 in the journal *Zalktis* (Adder). However, an interest in Nietzsche's ideas had already appeared by the end of the 19th century. Theoretical reception of Nietzsche in Latvia was initiated by the deeply analytical and well-argued article by Jānis Poruks, *Nākotnes reliģija* (The Religion of the Future), published in 1894. The Latvian writer compared the ideas of Leo Tolstoy and Friedrich Nietzsche concerning the man of the future by opposing the übermensch⁸ and a Christian.

Bringing together the ideas of Tolstoy and Nietzsche in one text, Poruks was the first to introduce into Latvian culture the tendency to regard Nietzsche's philosophy through the lens of Russian culture, a trend that was to become quite topical in the times to come. In the early 20th century, the majority of the Latvian

⁸Scholars disagree on the best English translation of this concept, often rendered as "overman," "superman," etc. (Ed.)

intelligentsia were learning about Nietzsche's philosophy via Russian culture, where the idea of the *übermensch* had been essentially transformed and united with V. Solovyov's conception of the all-human as well as with the ideas of Tolstoy and other writers. Interest in Nietzsche's personality and writing in Russia was huge, and he was perceived there in a completely different way than in the West, where his biological philosophy, struggle for the aristocratic race and culture, and will to power were discussed. In Russia, great attention was paid to Nietzsche's religious ideas (Бердяев 1990: 246). According to researchers, the reception of Nietzsche in Russia was greatly affected by Solovyov, whose article *Идея сверхчеловека* (The Idea of the *Übermensch*) was published in 1899 in the journal *Мир искусства* (The World of Art). He metaphorically compared philosophical ideas with windows, through which a certain part of a room may be seen. Solovyov considered Nietzsche's philosophy to offer wide possibilities for finding one's own way, as it does not limit the human mind but leaves an opportunity of choice. He acknowledged the demonic origin of the *übermensch*, yet treated it as a necessary element that facilitates human spiritual development. Researchers agree that Solovyov perceived Nietzsche's philosophy in a very original way through the lens of Russian culture, through the artistic legacy of Dostoyevsky, Pushkin, and Lermontov. Solovyov emphasized the positive aspects of the *übermensch*'s essence. According to Solovyov, the most essential peculiarities of the *übermensch*—which also determined the overall perception of the idea of the *übermensch* by the Russian intelligentsia—are the ability of perfection (which makes it possible for a human being, after going through several development phases, to become an *übermensch*) and permanent contradictoriness. The human road towards the *übermensch* is accounted for as a battle between the individual and the generally human, the all-human. In the ideal case, the victory is held by the latter. Human life is treated as an incessant battle between good and the evil, truth and lies, the individual and the generally human. Contradictions are ineradicable and the boundary between opposite poles is very slight, thus contradictoriness and ambivalence are intrinsic parts of human life. However, Solovyov offered an opportunity to approach the ideal, namely, Christ, the God-human. To create this conception, Solovyov had to correct Nietzsche to a certain extent—"to 'eradicate' from his teaching the demonstrative anti-Christianity filling his writing with that wide, free, modernized Christianity that was constructed by Solovyov himself" (Кондаков, Корж 2000: 180). An essential aspect in gaining the essence of the *übermensch* is his ability to perfect not only himself, but also the surrounding reality, thereby creating something new; these creative potencies distinguish the *übermensch* from passive humans who neither change nor create anything. The Russian conception of the idea of the *übermensch* created by Solovyov and developed by other Russian philosophers laid the basis for realizing a number of individual conceptions of the *übermensch* in works by different writers, poets, and artists. To a great extent it determined the realization of the idea of the *übermensch* in Latvian writers' works as well. Poruks intuited this bond as early as 1894, when the bonding of Nietzsche's philosophy with the conception of the all-human and Christianity had not yet been established in either Russia or Latvia. The great influence of Poruks on the Latvian decadents accounts for the popularity of the conception of the *übermensch* among the Latvian

decadents, as from all of Nietzsche's ideas, that of the *übermensch* gained the most profound conceptual consideration in Latvian culture. Thus Poruks's interpretation of basic Nietzschean philosophical standpoints may be considered the basis of the formation of the future reception of Nietzsche in Latvian culture.

Nietzsche's philosophy was spiritually close to Poruks and he understood it well; regarding the *übermensch* concept, Poruks suggested his own interpretation of the development of humankind, and it is at times hard to tell where Nietzsche's ideas end and those of Poruks begin—they organically complement each other. Poruks's profound and individual understanding of Nietzsche's ideas was an exception at the end of the 19th century; this was related to the fact that he had studied in Germany, where he had an opportunity to read Nietzsche's works in the original. The general cultural layer was far behind Poruks in its understanding of Nietzsche's ideas, which entered Latvian culture very gradually.

In 1896 in the journal *Baltijas Vēstnesis* (The Baltic Newsletter), a concise introduction to Nietzsche's philosophy was published as an editorial. After that, in 1898 in a supplement of the same journal, the philosopher Edgars Baumans shared his opinions on the topicality of Nietzsche's ideas and, beginning in 1900, the interest in Nietzsche's philosophy in Latvia grew steady. Articles on him were published in *Mājas Viesa Mēnešraksts* (House Guest Monthly), *Dienas Lapa* (Day Leaf), *Austrums* (Orient), etc. At that time, the authors of the articles had a rather vague understanding of Nietzsche's ideas—their knowledge was based on fragmented utterances and citations from Nietzsche's works by foreign critics and philosophers, instead of on their own studies of his works. In 1900, Nietzsche's popularity was greatly enhanced by his death; it attracted attention not so much to his philosophical views as to his personality. At that time, Latvian recipients did not even try to perceive Nietzsche's ideas as a united system; instead they perceived and related only separate elements of the philosopher's personality and opinions, pointing out distinctive features of his works. Most often his illness was emphasized; it was treated as a factor of interest that undoubtedly attracted attention and made Nietzsche a notorious personality. Another reason for his popularity was his fragmented, inconsistent manner of philosophizing, sudden changes of thought, and disclaiming of his former authorities. Nietzsche's cultivated poetic language was valued extremely highly. It is significant that Nietzsche's poetry was among the first translations of his works into Latvian. This fact stands out as a peculiar feature of Nietzsche's reception in Latvian culture. It may be accounted for both by the dominance of poetry in the history of Latvian literature in general, and also the fact that Nietzsche's longer philosophical works seemed strange and incomprehensible to Latvian recipients, while the philosopher's poetry is more laconic, lyrical and basically oriented towards an emotionally intuitive perception. The rather large proportion of Nietzsche's poetry translations testifies to his talent as a poet, which was also emphasized in the critical reviews of those times.

Latvian interpreters' opinions on the reason for Nietzsche's popularity differ, and at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century many of them, though acknowledging his popularity, still did not accept his views and pointed out that they were alien to their Latvian contemporaries. For this reason, critical descriptive reviews on Nietzsche's philosophy were instigated more by

foreign fashion than as an outgrowth of some inner cultural necessity. Nietzsche initially entered Latvian culture as one of many foreign writers and philosophers; it was necessary to acknowledge them as part of the great foreign culture in order to choose what was most important and topical for Latvian culture. The figure of Nietzsche in Latvia became a representative sign of European culture, one that was able to perceive and express all culture topicalities. Latvian recipients often did not even tend to understand the specific standpoints of Nietzsche's philosophy and their place in the common system of European philosophy. The philosopher's personality was closely associated with his life and became an object of colourful metaphors. Critically evaluating Nietzsche's views, Latvian recipients often accounted for his peculiar artistic expression and unusual, striking ideas by reference to his mental condition. Hence, Jansons (Brauns), in referring to the research of the French psychiatrist Michot in 1904 in the magazine *Vērotājs* (Observer), pointed out the chaotic and contradictory expression of Nietzsche, especially in his later works. Nietzsche's way of thinking had lost any causation, he expressed himself in aphorisms, his works were not logical and resembled a hotchpotch of senseless ideas. Jansons (Brauns) reproached Nietzsche for his inability, due to amnesia, to recall the words he needed, which led to his coining new ones, in addition to focusing on their sound over their meaning. According to Michot, all works by Nietzsche after 1881 were written in a state of mental illness. The signs of illness were considered to be most distinctly apparent in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*; the theory of the *übermensch* set forth therein was thought to reveal precisely the spiritual peculiarities of Nietzsche, and Zarathustra—the *übermensch*—was considered to be Nietzsche himself. However, despite all these reproaches, Jansons (Brauns) acknowledged Nietzsche's popularity and his significance in the culture of his time. This explication of Nietzsche's human weaknesses brought him closer and made him more understandable to Latvian recipients. Even though his philosophical views were complicated and often unacceptable, they were nevertheless accepted through the prism of the philosopher's personality and thus assumed new semantics.

In 1904–05, Nietzsche's philosophy in Latvia gained a more constant place and gradually became an organic part of Latvian creative thought. The philosopher's ideas were expressed in literary texts, and his works were read mostly in German or Russian (as only separate fragments and poems had been translated into Latvian by that time).

In 1907, Nietzsche became so topical that Bittner's *Friedrich Nietzsche and His Works* was translated into Latvian and published by Abavietis. This work introduced a Latvian readership to Nietzsche's personality and the most essential points of his philosophy, for it is rather descriptive and makes it easier to comprehend the views of the German philosopher. Bittner provided his own individual interpretation, which gained new nuances and emphases in Latvian translation. However, until 1908, only a few fragments of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* had been translated into Latvian and published in periodicals (the literary supplement of *Dienas lapa*, *Mājas Viesa mēnešraksts*, *Apskats*, *Balss*, *Pret Sauli*, *Dzelme*, etc.), together with several other aphorisms and poems that did not provide a unified overview of Nietzsche's philosophy. The translation of Bittner's work gained a great resonance, as it was the

first longer work on Nietzsche's philosophy in Latvian. Reviews of this book still presented a sceptical attitude towards Nietzsche, as well as a critical evaluation of Bittner's work, yet reviewers acknowledged the value of this work within the context of the Latvian culture of those times. Criticism gradually clarified the essence of Nietzsche's philosophy as individual interpretations appeared in reviews; as a result of these overlapping opinions, the image of Nietzsche became more many-sided and objective. Hence, Artūrs Bērziņš, in his review of Bittner's work, pointed out that Nietzsche was an alien and unacceptable philosopher for Latvians, who might learn his views but could not incorporate them into their culture. Bērziņš not only reviewed the book but also went into the essence of Nietzsche's views; he was one of the first to regard Nietzsche's ideas in the overall context of the European philosophical system. Moreover, he analyzed the German philosopher's ideas as a united whole, instead of focusing only on his most popular opus *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. He interpreted the idea of the *übermensch*, the opposition of the Dionysian and the Apollonian, the understanding of music, etc.

The *übermensch* was one of Nietzsche's most popular ideas in early 20th century Latvian culture. Many people were interested in what human beings would be like in the future. Hence, at the end of the 19th century Rainis was already speaking of the human of the future, trying to unite in his conception the Nietzschean idea of the *übermensch* and the investigations by L. Bichner and K. Timiryazev and Marx's idea about the necessity of a new ethics. Nietzsche's ideas were most widespread among the so-called Latvian decadents: the problem of the *übermensch* was considered by Eldgasts, Eglītis, Austrīņš, etc.

Eldgasts' novel *Zvaigžnotās naktis* (Starry Nights, 1905) is one of the most programmatic works by the decadents, one which embodies the idea of the *übermensch* in a most salient way. In his introduction to the novel, the author provides a theoretical introduction into his version of the *übermensch* and considers that the ideal example is the artist who is opposed to the crowd. The artist is the only representative of society who stands in for the idea of the freedom of personality and may thus become an *übermensch*. In his works, the artist also creates the image of a supreme human being, an *übermensch* who is a model for imitation. Eldgasts borrows Nietzsche's idea that the *übermensch* exists beyond the categories of good and evil and is absolutely free of the norms created by society. It is important that Eldgasts regards this idea in a positive way, emphasizing the responsibility and self-criticism of the *übermensch*, rather than his permissiveness (as was done by the majority of cultural figures in the early 20th century). The *übermensch* creates his own morality; that is the positive base of his creativity. Eldgasts considered Nietzsche to be an example of an *übermensch*; society considered him mad and did not understand him, he bitterly felt the tragedy of loneliness, but finally gained recognition and even became an idol of the creative intelligentsia. Nietzsche was considered by Eldgasts to be the founder of the philosophy of decadence; it was he who marked the transition from positivism to modernism and thus became the idol of all adherents of this new type of culture. Eldgasts positioned Nietzsche alongside Buddha and Christ. Uniting Nietzsche's ideas with Christianity is an important feature of Eldgasts' conception of the perception of the idea of the *übermensch*. This gave rise to interesting plot developments in Eldgasts' novel. Envisioning

Nietzsche's philosophy through the lens of Christianity was widespread among other creative personalities, and may be considered specific to the Latvian perception of Nietzsche. Matching the mindset of the people, Nietzsche's philosophy in Latvia lost its aggressive assault and became moderately dissident. It is quite possible that this is one of the reasons why Nietzsche became so popular in Latvia.

The Nietzschean ideas suggested in the preface of the novel are slightly transformed. The novel focuses on the formation of the personality of Jovans Mermanis. He was brought up in a religious family where the name of God had great significance, and though Mermanis tended to depart from the family values, enjoying the forbidden fruit offered by freedom, he remained faithful to Christian morality. Mermanis goes through a stage of decadent searching—free love, the pleasure of intoxication—but later criticizes the decadents, pointing to their shallowness and superficiality. In his search he has defined the only right way—striving for the *übermensch*. He is lonely, alienated from his family, yet capable of finding solace in theatre, music, and literature. At first Mermanis's personality is formed by the conflict of his Christian notions with Nietzschean ideas, yet gradually these oppositions are united in a harmonious whole. The harmony is based on his love for a woman. The hero cannot accept the weakness that is revealed in love: he cannot control his feelings, and thus is withdrawn from the Nietzschean *übermensch*, who must be a strong and cool individual and stay apart from everyone else. Mermanis cannot remain alone—all his life he has been searching for his better half, his ideal woman. And finally he finds her in the governess Ada Norsena, who becomes the embodiment of the ideal woman. She is a perfect match for the *übermensch* (Jovans Mermanis), a supreme woman. At the close of the novel, Ada's personality assumes a symbolic scope, becoming the ideal of a woman who is elevated to the universal world order.

Eldgasts suggests a Christian, harmonious development of the Nietzschean idea of the *übermensch*. Love, denied by Nietzsche both in his works and his life, creates harmony in the world—the union of two loving and initially pure people may give rise to a new life, the basis of complete world harmony and the propagation of the race of the *übermenschen*. According to the conception of the novel, it is love that makes humans into gods.

Nietzsche's ideas had a great impact on Austrīņš's work as well. His short stories gain additional nuances owing to intertextuality—the conception of the *übermensch* is treated through the prism of works by Pszybiszewsky, Wilde, Hamsun, etc. Austrīņš's perception of Nietzsche's philosophy was formed to a great extent by Russian culture. Due to Nietzsche's extremely heavy influence on early 20th-century Russia, Austrīņš's creative work was especially affected by Solov'yov's ideas, in which Nietzsche's philosophy is seen through the prism of Russian culture.

Austrīņš's conception of the *übermensch*, like Nietzsche's, is contradictory and vague. It reveals a certain development determined by the writer's changing views throughout his lifetime. The issue of the *übermensch* was most topical for Austrīņš at the initial stage of his writing, in the so-called decadent period (from 1905 till about 1911). The writer was concerned with the problem of what the *übermensch* must be like and whether he is needed by society at all. At the beginning of his creative work, Austrīņš's characters—who reveal features characteristic of the

übermensch—are opposed to the rest of the grey masses. A sense of superiority is a factor testifying to the fact that a character identifies himself with the *übermensch*. One of the most distinctive works dealing with the problem of the *übermensch* is the story *Kaspars Glūns* (1908). The main hero of the story, Kaspars Glūns, goes through a complicated process of identification and personality development. At the beginning of the story, he imagines himself to be an *übermensch*, but later realizes that he is too insignificant; this sense of insignificance provokes his spiritual growth and makes it possible for him to approach, by gradual development, the *übermensch* as a human ideal. The story sketches out the most popular features of the conception of the *übermensch* of the early 20th century, i.e., the character who claims to be reaching the essence of the *übermensch* differs from other people: he is an individual who is not understood by society; his ability to overcome himself, change, and develop is one of the major prerequisites for reaching the state of the *übermensch*; the permanent contradictoriness of his personality, that is impossible to level out, is a stimulus determining the personality development.

In *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Nietzsche points out several times that the supreme human differs from the grey crowd; he is not understood by society and this is a basis for the conflict of the individual and society. In Austrījs's story *Kaspars Glūns*, the problem of the individual and society has an essential role in the solution of the conception of the *übermensch*. The separation of Glūns is determined by both his personality traits and the clichés existing in the society concerning the norms of human existence. Hence the conflict is mutual and stimulated both by Kaspars Glūns and the surrounding people.

Glūns's imagining himself to be an *übermensch* is related to the idea of the motherland and patriotism: he wishes to be a prophet and a leader of his people. His missionary actions and sense of superiority are intertwined in him with pride and contempt for others. To him, other people are merely an uneducated, unreasonable, dirty crowd (Austrījs 1908: 30). Kaspars Glūns's sense of superiority emphasizes his conflict with society, perceived by him as a grey mass. This conflict facilitates the inner contradictions of Glūns's personality: he wishes to be an *übermensch*, a leader of the people, yet he despises his people and thus gets into a deadlock.

Having gained experience during his journey, Glūns later realizes that his concocted image of himself as an *übermensch* is just an illusion. The only opportunity to create a more perfect humanity lies in trying to harmonize oneself, yet in one's lifetime it is only partially feasible. Glūns remains an eternal searcher, and sets out on a new journey at the end of the story. Progress towards a more harmonious person in the story is shown as life experience that enlightens the main hero and gives him a sense of freedom. Kaspars Glūns finds solace in reading, which he considers work—creative work. Through reading he ascertains his usefulness to society and finds a source for dreams and reflections. This transformation of Glūns's personality at the end of the story, within the context of Nietzsche's philosophy, may be regarded as the first step towards reaching the essence of the *übermensch*. It is essential that Glūns develops a creative approach to life and a wish to develop, incessantly overcoming his own inner conflicts. The sense of life for Glūns is life itself and development. This idea is the basis of Nietzsche's concept of humans, where he compares a human being to a bridge instead of an aim, and states that

what is lovable in a human is that he is transition and perishing (Niče 1939: 5). At the end of the story, Kaspars Glūns becomes aware that he has not reached perfection but remains in development that is incessant—therefore he is a bridge, transition and perishing. This idea, according to Austriņš, is the greatest that a human may reach in his life; it partially harmonizes his personality and, through individual personalities, the whole society is harmonized.

In the story *Psihopāts* (Psychopath), the Nietzschean ideas about the freedom of the *übermensch* to ignore moral norms are actualized through Pszybiszewsky's text. The main hero of Austriņš's story, Jurdens, quotes Falk, the character of Pszybiszewsky's novel *Homo sapiens*. Jurdens tends to be like Falk. Using Pszybiszewsky's text, he defines his life position and follows the example of Nietzsche's *übermensch*, who is able to rise above the system of values set by society. Jurdens justifies his striving to live according to the laws of nature and to rely on his instincts by the crisis of humanism that has assaulted the world. The *übermensch*, according to him, marks an exit from the crisis, as he is free in all his self-expressions.

However, the idea of a Nietzschean *übermensch* is never completely realized by Austriņš. Jurdens in the story *Psihopāts*, Peizums in the story *Atrakti miroņi* (Unearthed Dead), Kalns in the story *Kalns*, and many others as well, all end up too weak to carry out their ideas and become *übermenschēn*. They imagine themselves to be supreme humans or prophets, but in fact they are ordinary people; they dream of an exciting life, full of events and experiences, while remaining passive. In a similar way, ideas in works by other early 20th-century authors that are related to acquiring the essence of the *übermensch* remain just an abstraction. Latvian culture has never created a true Nietzschean *übermensch*.

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FRIEDRICO NIETZSCHE'S IDÉJU RECEPCIJA LATVIJOJE XX A. PRADŽIOJE

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Santrauka

XIX a. pabaigoje XX a. pradžioje Friedricho Nietzsche's idėjos Latvijos kultūroje labai išpopuliariėjo. Tyrejams sunku rasti tokį XX a. pradžios rašytoją, kurio nebūtų paveikusi Nietzsche's filosofija. Labiausiai jo idėjos buvo paplitusios tarp Latvijos dekadentų: *übermensch* problemą plėtojo Eldgasts, Eglītis, Austriņš ir kt. Daugelis tuometinių latvių vertėjų, nors ir pripažindami Nietzsche's populiarumą, vis dėlto nepriėmė jo filosofinių įžvalgų ir teigė, kad tuometiniam latviam jos buvo svetimos. Pagrindinis veiksnys, nulémęs Nietzsche's idėjų sklaidą Latvijoje, buvo knygos „Taip kalbėjo Zaratustra“ (1908) vertimas į latvių kalbą; ją išvertė Vilnis Plūdons. Iš esmės *übermensch* idėja buvo viena populiariausiai Nietzsche's idėjų Latvijos kultūroje XX a. pradžioje. Tada dauguma Latvijos inteligenčių susipažino su Nietzsche's filosofija per Rusijos kultūrą, kur ši idėja buvo esmingai transformuota ir susieta su Solovjovo visžmogio koncepcija ir Tolstojaus bei kitų rusų autorių idėjomis.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Nietzsche, latvių kultūra, latvių dekadentai, *übermensch*, rusų kultūra.

LEONARDAS ANDRIEKUS IR KAZYS BRADŪNAS: LITERATŪRINIAI KONFLIKTAI

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Anotacija: Straipsnyje nagrinėjami Leonardo Andriekaus ir Kazio Bradūno literatūriniai bei gyvenimiški santykiai. Andriekus ir Bradūnas – egzodo literatūros atstovai. 1947–1948 m. Andriekus rūpinosi Bradūno šeima trempyje, tuo metu jie neakivaizdžiai ir susipažino susirašinėdami laiškais. Tiesioginiš bendradavimas tarp jų prasidejo Bradūno šeimai atvykus į JAV. Poetus jungė panaši poezijos tematika: istorija ir davininė kultūra. Abu autorai vertindavo vienas kito knygas. Nesutarimai prasidejo, kai Bradūnas supeikė Andriekaus knygą „Po Dievo antspaudais: Vytauto Didžiojo godos“ (1969). Vėliau nesutarimai virtos konfliktu ir persikelė į nepriklausomos Lietuvos spaudą.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Andriekus, Bradūnas, poezija, Aidai, afidevitas.

Straipsnyje pažvelgsime į Leonardo Andriekaus ir Kazio Bradūno literatūrinius bei gyvenimiškus santykius, literatūrinio nesutarimo priežastis, jų atsiradimą, taip pat į tolesnę nesutarimų transformaciją – konfliktą. Conflictus, išvertus iš lotynų kalbos, reiškia susidūrimą. Tai priešingų požiūrių susidūrimas, neišvengiamai sukeliantis nemalonius, prieštarungis jausmus. Konfliktas gali turėti keturias fazes: pradinė ir kilimo fazės, pikas ir kritimo fazė. Pažiūrėsime, kokios fazės būdingos Andriekaus ir Bradūno nesutarimams bei konfliktui.

Penktam dešimtmeečiui einant į pabaigą, Andriekaus galvoje kilo sumanymas išeisti religinio ir kultūrinio pobūdžio metraštį; pratarmėje jis rašė, „paskutiniaisiais metais užjūrio išeivijoje jau visai mažai bepasirode gimtoje kalboje knygų“ (Andriekus 1950, p. 6). Andriekus kvietė į metraštį savo kūrybą ir straipsnius siuštį dvasininkiją ir rašytojus. Andriekus kvietė metraštyje bendradarbiauti ir Bradūną. Apie tai jam užsiminė 1948 m. gruodžio 7 d. rašytame laiške: „Taip pat prašyčiau ir Jus paskirti kokį eiléraštį iki 1949 m. birželio mén., nes iki tol jau reikyturėti medžiagą“ (MLLM-106268, p. 2). Bradūnas į „Metraštį“ atsiuntė 4 eiléraščius, iš kurių buvo išspausdinti trys: *Kančios Lietuva*, *Viltis* ir *Ažuoléliai*. Tai aiškėja iš Andriekaus laiško Bradūnui, kuris užsimena, kad iš siustyjų eiléraščių „Metraščiu“ buvo tik vieną trumpą eiléraštį užsilikęs (MLLM-106272, p. 2), kuris vėliau publikuotas „Aiduose“. Andriekus 1950 m. sausio 23 d. laiške Bradūnui dėkojo už neblogus atsiliepimus apie „Metraštį“ ir prašė parašyti recenziją apie jį „Draugo“ laikraštyje.

Andriekus rūpinosi trempyje atsidūrusiais Lietuvos rašytojais. Padėdavo jiems gauti afidevitus (angl. *affidavit* – rašytinis pareiškimas, patvirtintas priesaika). Dažartinę JAV „žaliajā kortā“ galima prilyginti to meto afidevitui. Andriekus su kitais pranciškonais atvykėliais parūpindavo gyvenamajį plotą bei darbą, nes kitaip nebūtų suteiktas afidevitas, kuris „reiškia, kad imigrantas nebus našta, negyvens iš valdiškos pašalpos“ (Januta 2010). Panašiai jis pasirūpino ir poeto Bradūno šeima. 1947 m. lapkričio 14 d. laiške Andriekus džiaugiasi galėdamas asmeniškai susipažinti su Bradūnu, nors ir neakivaizdžiai, nes jis ir jo kūrybą pažįstęs jau seniai iš spaudos ir branginantis jo literatūrinius talentus (MLLM-106261, p. 2). Jau kitaime laiške Andriekus prisipažista, kad Amerikos lietuviai rūpinasi kaip padėti savo tautiečiams treminiams, o jis pats tarp kitų brangių asmenų tarpo pasirinko padėti Bradūnui (MLLM-106262, p. 1). Kol rūpinosi kaip gauti Bradūnų šeimai afidevitą,

Andriekus 1947–1948 m. jiems siųsdavo maisto ir drabužių siuntinėlius, o siųsdamas laišką, į atviruką nelegaliai įdėdavo pinigų: „Atplėšęs čia įdėtą paveikslėlį, rasisite pirmuosius „trupinėlius“. Tik plėškite atsargiai ir man parašykite, ar ką radote. Prieš tris savaites taip pat išsiunčiau du kostiumus, megztinuką, baltinių, kojinių...“ (MLLM-106267, p. 2); kitame laiške taip rašo: „Jau visai arti Kalėdos. Ta proga priimkite mano sveikinimą ir geriausius linkėjimus. Čia pridėtoje atvirutėje yra „Kalėdų Senelio“ dovana. O maisto siuntinėlį jis jau anksčiau surišo ir išleido. Tuo tarpu gi linksmų švenčių Jums, žmonai ir mažajai dukrai!“ (MLLM-106268, p. 2). V. Aidaitė mini, kad atsiradus palankioms sąlygoms, Bradūnų šeima išvyksta į Baltimorę (Aidaitė 2010). Tačiau ji nenurodo palankių sąlygų atsiradimo priežasties. Ta priežastis buvo Bradūnų šeimai Andriekaus parūpintas afidevitas. Tai aiškėja iš Andriekaus laiškų Bradūnui. 1948 m. vasario 29 d. laiške Andriekus pasižada, kiek galėdamas ir toliau padėti Bradūnų šeimai. Jau kitame laiške, rašytame tų pačių metų gegužės 31 d., aiškina afidevito gavimo galimybes, tačiau tik Bradūnų šeimai, o ne visai jų giminei, nes afidevitas „visados turi remtis nemažu turto kiekiu (Maino Valstybėje 5000 dol.)“ (MLLM-106264, p. 2). Užsimena apie alternatyvią afidevito galimybę, tam tikrą globos liudijimą, kuriuo siuntejėjas įsipareigoja suteikti būstą atvykstančiajam ir padėti jam susirasti darbą. Kitą laišką Andriekus parašo labai greitai, po 7 dienų, birželio 6 d. Jame užsimena apie tai, kad pasitarus su broliais pranciškonais, nuspręsta parašyti globos liudijimą Bradūnų šeimai ir jo giminei, kad jie visi kartu galėtų atvykti į JAV ir pažada suteikti gyvenamąjį plotą ir parūpinti darbą, nes išrašyti afidevitą gausiai Bradūnų šeimai su giminėmis nebeatsveria turtas. Andriekaus manymu, Bradūnas, atvykės Amerikon, gautų darbo ir spaudoje (MLLM-106265, p. 1–2). Kitame laiške, liepos 28 d., Andriekus džiaugiasi, kad Bradūnų šeima gavo afidevitus pagal išduotą globos liudijimą, nors nesitikėjo, kad tos žinios bus tokios geros (MLLM-106266, p. 1). Dar rugsėjo 29 d. rašytame laiške Andriekus rašo, kad Bradūnui, jo šeimai ir artimiesiems (tėvams, broliui, seserai) tévas J. Vaškys parūpino būsto ir darbo liudijimus bei juos pasiuntė Bendram Amerikos Lietuvių Salpos Fondui (MLLM-106267, p. 2).

Bradūno ir Andriekaus kultūrinis, literatūrinis gyvenimas yra glaudžiai susijęs su „Aidais“. Bradūnas buvo pirmasis „Aidų“ redaktorius, vadovavęs leidiniui 1944–1948 m., kol jis éjo Vokietijoje. 1945–46 m. dar besiformuojantis žurnalas užsiėmė ir knygų leidyba. Tuo metu žurnalui vadovavo V. Bieliauskas. Kol „Aidai“ éjo Vokietijoje, po jų ženklu pasirodė penkios knygos. Pirmoji ir viena iš jų buvo Bradūno „Svetimoji duona“, išleista 1945 m. (Misiūnas 2003, p. 128). Andriekus jį savo laiške sveikina redaguojant „Aidus“, „taip sėkmingai sutraukusį mūsų tremties inteligenčią didžiam kultūros labui“ (MLLM-106261, p. 2). Jau vėliau, „Aidus“ perkėlus leisti į JAV, jo redaktoriai buvo J. Grinius, P. Jurkus, A. Vaičiulaitis, J. Girnius ir Andriekus. Amerikos pranciškonų veikla buvo glaudžiai susijusi su „Aidais“. 1949 m. spalio 4 d. J. Girniui tarpininkaujant, pranciškonai perėmė „Aidų“ leidybą. Kaip teigia Andriekus, „pranciškonai, apsiėmę leisti žurnalą, tuoju su-[likusi žodžio dalis nenukelta] į naują eilutę, bet numanomas žodis *suejo* – aut. past.] į glaudų kontaktą su visa išeivijos šviesuomene, ir tai turėjo daug reikšmės visoje jų veikloje“ (PVKK⁹-2, p. 1). Pranciškonams perėmus leisti „Aidus“, Bradūnui buvo pasiulyta redaguoti „Liet. žinias“ Pittsburghe, žadant pakelti atlyginimą, nei buvo anksčiau

⁹PVKK – Pranciškonų vienuolyno prie Kryžių kalno archyvas.

siūlyta (MLLM-106270, p. 1–2). Andriekus „Aidams“ vadovavo 1980–1991 m., nors su juo buvo susijęs nuo pat jo leidybos pradžios JAV. Net 42 metus buvo „Aidų“ leidėjų įgaliotinis žurnalo reikalams. „Aidus“ perkėlus į Valstijas, Andriekus „tampa jo techniniu redaktoriumi, o vėliau – ir literatūrinės dalies, ir apžvalgos skyriaus redaktoriumi“ (Andriekus 2010). 1991 m. „Aidai“ perkeliama į Lietuvą ir sujungiami su „Naujuoju židiniu“. Leidinys pavadinamas „Naujasis židinys-Aidai“. Šia „Aidų“ transformacija labai buvo nepatenkintas Brazdžionis: „Naujasis židinys-Aidai“ jau ne tas visiškai. „Aidų“ nebéra <...> Bet, matai, nebenorėjo redaguoti Leonardas Andriekus, atskratė ir viskas. Aš manau, kad Bradūnui dėl šito labai gaila. Jis tiek daug įdėjęs“ (Peleckis-Kaktavičius 2002, p. 17). Tai buvo konflikto kilimo fazė, kurios pikas (kurį aptarsime vėliau) pasiektas jau periodinėje Lietuvos spaudoje.

Pranciškonams perėmus leisti „Aidus“, buvo nuogąstavimų, kad „jis bus gryna religinis arba, jei išliks kultūrinis, tai pasidarys žemo lygio“ (MLLM-P59540, p. 1). Tačiau taip nenutiko, bet vis dėlto atsirado kunigų ir kitų skaitytojų, kurie teigė, kad žurnalo iliustracijos esančios per daug modernios ir bjaurios. Tad Andriekus primygintai prašo Bradūno, kad „spudoje reikėtų pažymeti, kad meninės dalies prižiūrėtojas yra vienas iš žymiausių dailininkų, kad iliustracijų autoriai yra gavę premijas užsienio parodose, kad pagaliau jų darbai besiremia mūsų liaudies kūryba, kuri padės išlaikyti lietuviybę tremtyje“ (MLLM-106271, p. 2). Andriekus su A. Vaičiulaičiu ir pranciškonais tikėjosi, kad perėmę „Aidus“, apjungs „vieningam darbui visas kūrybiškas pajėgas, o labiausiai gi nekatalikiškojo sparno“ (MLLM-P59541, p. 1). Jie manė, kad perėmus „Aidų“ leidybą, bus įmanoma visas literatūros ir kultūros asmenybes pakviesi bendram darbui viename leidinyje. Tačiau vadovaujančias asmenybes ne taip jau lengva pajungti savo valiai. Sunku suvokti tokį dalyką, kad Bradūnas, redagavęs „Aidus“, nenorės kokios nors konkrečios veiklos, o apsiribos tik straipsnių rašymu į „Aidus“ kaip bendradarbis. Todėl Bradūnui ir kilo mintis leisti literatūrinio pobūdžio laikraštį atskirai nuo pranciškonų valdomų „Aidų“. 1951 m. Bradūnas sudarė ir išleido literatūros antologiją „Žemė“, kurioje buvo publikuoti H. Nagio, A. Nykos-Niliūno, V. Mačernio, J. Kėkšto ir paties Bradūno kūriniai. Tai buvo lyg įžanga į „Literatūros lankus“. Bradūno redaguojamas žurnalas „Literatūros lankai“ buvo leidžiamas 1952–1959 m. Iš viso buvo išleisti 8 „Literatūros lankų“ numeriai. 1951 m. pradžioje Andriekus apsilankė pas Bradūną, kad įtikintų jį neleisti periodinio literatūros laikraščio. Misija įtikinti, pavyko. Susitarta dėl metinio literatūros leidinio, kurį būtų galima spausdinti pranciškonų spaustuvėje. Anot Andriekaus, literatūros metraštis galėtų būti išsiuntinėjamas „Aidų“ prenumeratoriams, kurie to pageidautų. Si idėja labai patiko T. Justinui Vaškiui ir A. Vaičiulaičiui (MLLM-106273, p. 1–2). Tačiau „Aidams“ nepasisekė, nes Bradūnas su žemininkais „Literatūros lankus“ nusprendė spausdinti Buenos Airėse jo leidybą prižiūrint J. Kėkstui.

Bradūnas tik vieną kartą, prašomas paties Andriekaus (MLLM-106287, p. 1), literatūrinėje spaudoje recenzavo jo knygą. Tai buvo jo antroji knyga „Saulė kryžiuose“ (1960), už kurią 1961 m. buvo apdovanotas Lietuviių rašytojų draugijos premija. Tuomet Bradūnas Andriekų „labai gražiai įvertino, išsamiau išanalizavo“ (Andriekus 1993, p. 3) jau minėtą jo knygą. Bradūnas recenzijoje analizuoją lietu-

vių religinės poezijos ištakas nuo A. Baranausko iki Andrieckaus knygos pasirodymo. Ši analizė užima du trečdalius recenzijos, kol pradedama Andrieckaus knygos apžvalga. Bradūnas konstatuoja, kad Andrieckaus knygoje poezija yra be teologijos traktatų, kaip būtų galima tikėtis iš kunigo: „Todėl ir poeto santykis su Dievu yra visur ne išmoktiniai teologinės prasmės, bet labiau senelių – išminčių apmastymai lietuviškos buities, lietuviško peizažo fone kur nors pavasario saulės atokaitoje, prieš akis regint sprogstančius medžius, arimų tolumas, dunksantį piliakalnį, beržais apaugusias kaimo kapines ir tuos, kurie ten po darbų ilisi“ (Bradūnas 1960, p. 1). Minėtą recenziją komentuoja ir išeivijos lietuvių žurnalistas L. Kojelis. Anot jo, Bradūnas „palygina Andrieckaus sukurtąjį Dievo paveikslą su brazdžioniškuoju Keleiviu iš Edomo arba Andrieckaus žmogų su Ad. Mickevičiaus žmogumi, bendraujančiu su Dievu“ (Kojelis 1996, p. 323). Tai Andrieckų paskatino toliau kurti ir padėjo atsistoti jam ant kojų, „nors jos dar nelabai tvirtos buvo“ (Andrieckus 1993, p. 3). Dar S. Gedos ir Andrieckaus pokalbyje pastarasis labai vertina Bradūno literatūrinę pagalbą jam. Nors Andrieckus draugavo su J. Aisčiu ir jam buvo labai artimas, tačiau J. Aisčiui 1958 m. antroje pusėje išvykus gyventi ir dirbtį į JAV Kongreso biblioteką Vašingtone (Kubilius 1999, p. 245), ne itin pavyko domėtis Andrieckaus kūryba. Tuomet Bradūnas émësi proteguoti Andrieckų ir taip įtvirtino jų literatūrinę erdvę.

Andrieckaus kūrybiniame palikime matome dvi istorinės tematikos poezijos knygas: „Po Dievo antspaudais: Vytauto Didžiojo godos“ (1969) ir „Balsai iš anapus“ (1988). Pats Andrieckus „Po Dievo antspaudais: Vytauto Didžiojo godos“ laikė silpniausiu savo eiléraščių rinkiniu. Tai, anot jo, buvës perėjimas į istorinę tematiką, tačiau jis savo siekiamam tikslui lietuvių literatūroje pavyzdžių neturėjęs. Beveik tuo pat metu, tik truputį vėliau už Andrieckų, istorinę tematiką savo poezijoje pasitelkė ir Bradūnas, pats suveikęs rinkinį „Po Dievo antspaudais: Vytauto Didžiojo godos“, minédamas, kad autorius nuéjo šunkeliais. Jis knygos ne tik nereczenvavo, bet net nepaminėjo „Draugo“ kultūriname priede¹⁰. Vėliau Bradūnas savo istorinės tematikos rinkinį „Donelaičio kapas“ (1970) atsiuntė Andrieckui. Jį perskaitęs, Andrieckus pasveikino Bradūną, „nes eilérašciai tikrai buvo šaunūs, o pats savo antrajį eiléraščių rinkinį „Balsai iš anapus“, nors parašytą tuo pačiu laiku (Pakalniškis 1994, p. 216), paskelbė tik po 19 metų. Galima manyti, kad tai buvo pradinė konflikto fazė. Mintis rašyti eiléraščius istorine tematika kilo „dėl kai kurių Lietuvos rašytojų ir istorikų veikalų, kur buvo pateikiami iškreipti faktai, kad įtiktų komunizmo vadovams“ (Pakalniškis 1994, p. 217). Knyga „Balsai iš anapus“ 1987 m. Ateitininkų Federacijos poezijos konkurse, paskelbtame Lietuvos krikšto 600 metų jubiliejui paminėti, laimėjo pirmąją premiją, o 1988 m. ją išleido Šv. Kazimiero lietuvių pranciškonų provincija.

Bradūnui už poezijos knygą „Devynios baladės“ (1955) buvo paskirta penktoji „Aidų“ premija, o 1971 m. jis jau antrą kartą tapo Lietuvių rašytojų draugijos laureatu ir gavo Lietuvių Fondo įsteigtą 1000 dolerių premiją už eilių rinkinį „Donelaičio kapas“. Geriausios metų knygos rinkimams buvo sudaryta speciali komisija. Ją sudarė pirmininkas dr. K. Ambrozaitytė, atstovaujantis Lietuvių Fondą, ir keturi nariai rašytojai: V. Ramonas, P. Gaučys, A. Antanaitis ir A. Kairys (PVKK-1, p. 2). Tuo

¹⁰Bradūnas tuo metu buvo „Draugo“ kultūrinio priedo „Mokslas, menas, literatūra“ redaktorius.

metu Andriekus jau metus buvo Lietuvių rašytojų draugijos pirmininkas¹¹ ir turėjo tarti sveikinimo žodį. Kalbos pradžioje jis pasidžiaugė Lietuvių Fondu, iš kurio galima teikti premijas laureatams. Taip pat gyre Bradūną už jo tautinio charakterio literatūrą. Andriekus teigė, kad „jis net dešimtyje poezijos knygų atvérė save liepsnodamas proistorinių morenų ugnim, spindėdamas kamanų sidabru, skambédamas pasakų baladėm, čiurlioniškom sonatom ir Vilniaus varpais, stebédamas protėvių pėdas arimuos, maitindamasis svetima duona ir pagaliau rymodamas prie Donebaičio kapo“ (PVKK-1, p. 4). Apibendrindamas Bradūno kūrybą ir akcentuodamas knygą „Donelaičio kapas“, Andriekus teigė, kad Bradūno poeziijoje kapas yra tik simbolis, ne mirties, bet prisikėlimo simbolis, kuris „išreiškia slépininges mūsų tautinių lobių gelmes, atšiauraus likimo pažymėtas mirties ženklu“ (PVKK-1, p. 3–4).

Jau nepriklausomybės metais, kai Andriekus buvo atvykęs Lietuvon, tarp jo ir Bradūno buvo pasiektais konflikto pikas Lietuvos spaudoje. Andriekus labai artimai bendravo su Aisčiu ir pokalbyje su Geda yra prasitaręs: „Buvo laikas – rodos, pats Aistis yra sakes, – kad kai gaudavo iš Bradūno laišką, jo neatplėšdavo, pasiūsdavo atgal. Matyt, Bradūnas jam rašydavo, kad jis bendradarbiautų „Kūrybos“ priede. Nežinau“ (Andriekus 1993, p. 3). Andriekus formuoja nuomonę, kad žemininkai konfliktavo su jaunesnės kartos rašytojais. Tačiau Bradūnas piktinasi tokiu Andriekaus pasakymu, kai kalbama apie tai, ko nežino, kas tik rodosi ir oponuoja jam, teigdamas, kad tai „buvo dviejų literatūrinių kartų dialogas, toli gražu neperėjęs į nekontroliuojamas kautynes“ (Bradūnas 1994, p. 4). Kitaip sakant „užsimezgė visur literatūros raidoje įprastas dviejų kartų dialogas“ (Peleckis-Kaktavičius 1999, p. 203), kuriuos skyré dešimties metų tarpsnis. Bradūnas atsakomajame straipsnyje pranciškonus ir paveikslus palieka nuošalyje, bet visą dėmesį sukonzentruoja į poezių ir rašytojų santykius, nes „aname pokalbyje tiesiog pirštu rodoma į mane“ (Bradūnas 1994, p. 4). Tačiau perskaičius minėtą pokalbį tarp Andriekaus ir Gedos, ne galima sakyti, kad Andriekaus pasisakymai perkrauti užuominomis apie Bradūną. Bradūnas teigia, kad „perkratęs visą savo atmintį, pervertęs visą savo turimą laiškinį archyvą, nieko panašaus į Andriekaus užuominas neradau. Atvirkščiai, randu 92 Jono Aisčio laiškus, rašytus man nuo pirmųjų pokario metų ligi mirties. Visi laiškai yra kolegiško ir bičiuliško mudviejų bendradarbiavimo liudininkai“ (Bradūnas 1994, p. 4). Be to, jis užsimena, kad Aistis jam savo poezią siūsdavęs ne į kažkokią „Kūrybą“, bet į „Draugo“ kultūrinį priedą.

Andriekus su Bradūnu susipažino bendraudami laiškais tuo metu, kai Andriekus rūpinosi gauti Bradūnų šeimai afidevitą. Bendravimas toliau tęsėsi Bradūnui atvykus į JAV. Pastarasis Andriekų ir stumtelėjo į platujį literatūros lauką. Gal

¹¹ Andriekus 1970–1980 m. buvo Lietuvių Rašytojų Draugijos pirmininkas, nors jis pats savo autobiografijoje (Andriekus, L. *Tilt liepsnelė mažytė: autobiografiniai metmenys*, in: *Egzodo rašytojai: Autobiografijos*, parengė A. T. Antanaitis, A. Mickienė, Vilnius, 1994, p. 37) nurodo 1960–1970 m., o A. Žalys (Žalys, A. *Zemiškumo ir dievoškumo sąsajos Leonardo Andriekaus poeziijoje, jų raiskos problemos*, in: *Tiltai*, 2005, Nr. 3, p. 107) mini 1969–1979 m. Kitur nurodomi 1970–1980 m. (Juškaitis, J. *Apie Kazimierą Leonardą Andrieką*, in: *Literatūra ir menas*, 1989 m. rugs. 9 d., p. 8; *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija*, t. 1, Vilnius, 2001, p. 497). Žvelgiant į faktus, LRD Valdyba, pirmininkaujama Andriekaus, pareigomis pasiskirštė ir savo veikla pradėjo 1970 m. vasario 15 d., nors dar 1969 m. lapkričio 18 d. ji jau buvo išrinkta. 1979 m. lapkričio mėn. buvo paskelbti naujos LRD Valdybos rinkimai, o 1980 m. sausio 8 d. buvo suskaičiuoti balsai, o senoji Valdyba, vadovauta Andriekaus, su LRD nariais savo laiške atsišveikino 1980 m. sausio 20 d. Andriekus LRD pirmininkavo taip vadinanuosis „tris trimečius“. Faktiškai Andriekus LRD pirmininku ir buvo 1970–1980 m. Matyt, Andriekus savo autobiografijoje sumaišė pirmininkavimo dešimtmecius.

tai buvo atsidėkojimas už parūpintą afidevitą. Konflikto užuomazgos, arba kitaip pirminė konflikto fazė, prasidėjo Bradūnui supeikus Andriekaus knygą „Po Dievo atspaudais: Vyauto Didžiojo godos“. Netrukus ir Bradūnas atsiuntė savo knygą “Donelaičio kapas” Andrieikiui ivertinti. Andriekus, nors ir jausdamas tam tikrą nuoskaudą, apie ją atsiliepė palankiai. Konflikto kilimo faze galima laikyti Brazdžionio užuominą apie tai, kad sujungus „Aidus“ su „Naujuoju židiniu“, „Aidų“ nebeliko, o Bradūnui, kaip leidinio įkūrėjui, dėl to skaudu. Konflikto piku galima laikyti Andriekaus ir Bradūno susirašinėjimą Lietuvos spaudoje, kurio iniciatoriumi iš dalies buvo Andriekus, inspiravęs Bradūno atsakymą. Konflikto kritimo fazės Andriekaus ir Bradūno bendravime nepastebėta.

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LEONARDAS ANDRIEKUS AND KAZYS BRADŪNAS: LITERARY CONFLICTS

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Summary

The paper deals with literary and everyday life relationship between Leonardas Andriekus and Kazys Bradūnas, two Lithuanian poets in exile. In 1947–1948 Andriekus took care of the Bradūnas family in exile and thus the two poets became acquainted by letters. The apparent friendship between them started when the family of Bradūnas arrived in the United States. Both poets were united by similar poetic topics – history and spiritual culture. Both authors started evaluating each other's books. Their disagreement started when Bradūnas animadverted the book of Andriekus titled “Under the Seals of God: The Dreams of Vytautas Magnus” (1969). Later on this controversy grew into conflict and passed into the press of Independent Lithuania.

Key words: exile, poetry, affidavit, controversy, Independent Lithuania.

KONFLIKTAS EKOPSICHOLOGIJOS POŽIŪRIU

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Anotacija: Šiuolaikinė literatūrologija neapsiriboją konkretaus teksto teikiama medžiaga – platūs literatūros kontekstai provokuoja įvairias vis labiau ryškėjančias tarpdalykinių tyrimų kryptis, suteikiančias galimybę polemizuoti ir ieškoti kitokų žiūros taškų. Svarbiausias šio straipsnio tikslas – pasitelkus ekopsichologijos, vienos iš ekokritikos šakų, siūlomą požiūrį, apmästyti konflikto sąvoką, nedarnos prieštaradas ir galimybes konfliktams sušvelninti. Šiam tikslui igyvendinti ir išdėstytioms mintims iliustruoti pasirodė itin tinkama Romualdo Granausko kūryba. Teorinės ekopsichologijos ižvalgos ir jų siūlomas sąvokos – aiški nuoroda į tarpdalykinių tyrimų erdvę, ne visada palankiai vertinančią tradicinės literatūrologijos meistrių dėl vadinamojo „utilitarinio požiūrio į literatūrą“. Literatūros kūriniam tyrinėti pasirinktas ekopsichologijos rakursas pelnytai gali susilaikti priekaištų. Abejonių nekelia tik vienas aspektas: taikant ekopsichologijos raktą, galima išsiaiškinti teksto poveikį skaitytojui, o pasitelkus skaitytojų-tarpininką, įmanoma išsiaiškinti, kiek skaitytojas jautrus teksto terapijai ir kiek literatūra svarbi mėginant priartinti žmogų prie aplinkos ardatant gamtos ir kultūros dichotomiją ir slopinant savitus konfliktus.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: konfliktas, ekokritika, ekopsichologija, literatūrinis tekstas, ekologinė pasąmonė.

Ivadas

Šiuolaikinė literatūrologija neapsiriboją konkretaus teksto teikiama medžiaga – platūs literatūros kontekstai provokuoja įvairias vis labiau ryškėjančias tarpdalykinių tyrimų kryptis, suteikiančias galimybę polemizuoti ir ieškoti kitokų žiūros taškų. Svarbiausias šio straipsnio tikslas – pasitelkus ekopsichologijos, vienos iš ekokritikos šakų, siūlomą požiūrį, apmästyti konflikto sąvoką, nedarnos prieštaradas ir galimybes konfliktams sušvelninti. Šiam tikslui igyvendinti ir išdėstytioms mintims iliustruoti pasirodė itin tinkama Romualdo Granausko kūryba, subtiliai koduojanti prieštaras ar nesutarimus ir kone iškart harmonizuojant nedarnius saskambius, pritylančius didžiuliame plačiosios aplinkos lauke. Teorinės ekopsichologijos ižvalgos ir jų siūlomas sąvokos – aiški nuoroda į tarpdalykinių tyrimų erdvę, ne visada palankiai vertinančią tradicinės literatūrologijos meistrių dėl vadinamojo „utilitarinio požiūrio į literatūrą“. Šiame straipsnyje tikriausiai taip pat nepavyks išvengti minčių apie savitą „praktinį“ literatūros pritaikymą ir ypatingą literatūros terapiją. Literatūros kūriniam tyrinėti pasirinktas ekopsichologijos rakursas pelnytai gali susilaikti priekaištų – remdamasis ekokritikos tiesomis, menkai ką tepasakysi apie konkretaus kūrinio meninę vertę, apie jo svarbą visam literatūros kontekstui, apie galimus interpretacijų variantus. Abejonių nekelia tik vienas aspektas: taikant ekopsichologijos raktą, galima išsiaiškinti teksto poveikį skaitytojui, o pasitelkus skaitytojų-tarpininką, įmanoma išsiaiškinti, kiek skaitytojas jautrus teksto terapijai ir kiek literatūra svarbi mėginant priartinti žmogų prie aplinkos ardatant gamtos ir kultūros dichotomiją ir slopinant savitus konfliktus. Natūralu, jog rimstant dvasiai, sumažėja ir konfliktų tikimybė. Literatūra, suprantama, netaps panacėja, tačiau nebūtų sunku empiriškai įrodyti, jog tikrai yra „gydančių“ – harmonizuojančių – tekstu.

Ekopsichologijos punktyrai

Ekopsichologijos terminas pirmą kartą buvo apibrėžtas 1992 m., kai amerikiečių istorikas ir kultūrologas Theodoras Roszakas išleido knygą „Žemės balsas“ (*Voice of the Earth*). Vis dėlto ekopsichologijos tiesos užsimetgė gerokai anksčiau, dar devinto dešimtmečio pradžioje. Naują tyrinėjimų srityį Roszakas grindė Z. Freudo

ir C. G. Jungo metaforomis ir ypač sureikšmino vadinamąją „ekologiškojo ego“ sąvoką (Roszak 1992). Jo ekologiškasis aš buvo suprantamas kaip gebėjimas patirti plačiu tinklu išsišakančius ryšius, jungiančius su didžiąja ir pačia artimiausia aplinka. Šis „junglusis“ aš priartina aplinką ir visas industrinės kultūros sukeltas negandas: aiškiu pamatyto bėdos skatina ieškoti išmintingų sprendimų ir spręsti pačius įvairiausius konfliktus, kurių turėtų būti mažiau išugdžius ekologiškajį aš. Telieka iššiaiškinti, kaip tą ekologiškajį aš pažadinti. Literatūra galėtų būti vienas tokių būdų, tačiau derėtų pasvarstyti, kokio pobūdžio kūrinius būtų galima vadinti geriausiu ekologiškosios pasąmonės katalizatoriumi.

Andis Fisheris, amerikiečių psichologas ir radikaliasios ekopsichologijos atstovas, domėjėsis ekokritikos tiesomis, teigia, jog ekopsichologija – tai laukas, kuriame atitinkama patirtis jungia visa, kas žmogiška ir kas gamtiška. Šiame lauke žmogus tiesiogiai patiria netinkamo požiūrio į aplinką padarininus, todėl gali pajusti poreikių gyventi kitokiame pasaulyje. Pasaulyje, kurio centre yra pats gyvenimas, o ne vi-suomenę žlugdantys to gyvenimo aspektai (Fisher 2006, p. 8). Kad tokiai patirčiai atsivertų, žmogus turėtų iššiaiškinti, kas jis yra, kokia tikroji jo prigimtis; atsakymas iš anksto numanomas – užslopinta ekologiškoji pasąmonė ir yra vienas pamatiniių žmogaus dvasios akmenų. Ekologines problemas Fisheris siūlo pirmiausia traktuoti kaip psichologines: „Šiuolaikinė visuomenė apimta patologinės būsenos, nes yra pagrobtą iš gamtos pasaulio realybės, ir štai atspindi kasdien visų minima ekologinė krizė. Tačiau nenorima pripažinti viešai, kad ši krizė iš tikrųjų yra psichologinė“ (ibid., p. 7).

Gyvenant urbanizuotoje aplinkoje neįmanoma patirti kitoniškumo, t.y. kitokios, nei mums įprasta aplinkos, nuolat kintančios ir labai įvairios gamtos, kuri, anot ekopsichologų, turėtų būti suvokiamą kaip „įsielinta“ ar „idvasinta“, savitai pratęsianti mūsų vidinę esatį ar sąmonę. Itin įdomi Jungo idėjų šalininko ir propaguotojo Jameso Hillmano mintis, antrinanti Fisherio išsakytais būtinybei gelbėtis iš ekologinės krizės, į visus biosferos narius žvelgti kaip į jaunesniuosius brolius, turinčius sie- lą: „Miręs, besielis pasaulis nesušildo intymumu, todėl žmonių tarpusavio sanykius prislegia nepakeliamas svoris – jiems suteikiama perdėtai sureikšminta archetipinė prasmė: mūsų motinos palūžta, nes jos visada privalo būti Didžiosios Motinos... jos turi savimi pakeisti negyvą nuasmenintą pasaulį, tapti žemės metų laikais, mėnuliu ir karvėmis, medžiais ir tu medžių lapais. Ir viso šito tikimės iš žmonijos atstovų“ (ibid., p. 10). Žmogaus atskyrimas nuo gamtos, kultūros ir gamtos dualizmas sukelia esminį konfliktą tarp išorės ir vidaus, įsiūbuoją vidinių nerimų ir įtampą, prasiveržiančią įvairiausiais būdais – agresija, savigrauža, melancholija ar kitaip.

Konflikto profilaktika

Žodynинė „konflikto“ reikšmė ganėtinai aiški – tai „priešingų nesuderinamų norų, poreikių, tikslų susidūrimas, sukeliantis sunkių išgyvenimų; vidinis konfliktas – bemaž vienodai stiprių, bet priešingų norų, poreikių, interesų susidūrimas; konfliktas tarp individų – susidūrimas tokį žmonių, kurie siekia nesuderinamų tikslų, turi priešingu interesus“ (Vaitkevičiutė 2003). Įsiklausius į ekopsichologų teiginius, galima daryti prielaidą, jog nesuderinamų poreikių ar interesų, kalbant pačia plačiausia prasme, kils išties daug, jei nebus užmegztas ryšys su gyva aplinka, jei toji aplinka apskritai nebus matoma kaip gyva, nes neliks erdvės tolerancijai

skleistis. Čia derėtų prisiminti vieną iš aštuonių Roszako suformuluotų ekopsichologijos principų, teigiantį, jog ekologiškasis *aš* brėsta augindamas etinj atsakomybės už visą planetą pojūtį, o šis pojūtis patiriamas kaip mūsų etinė atsakomybė už kitus žmones; būtent tokia atsakomybe turi būti grįsti visi socialiniai santykiai ir politiniai sprendimai (Roszak 1992). Méginant įtvirtinti išganingąj toleranciją, ekologiškas požiūris ar mąstymas grindžiamas žmogaus ir gamtos santykii metaforomis: „gamta suvokama kaip namai ir šeima (artimiausi giminaičiai ir Motina), gamta – tikrasis *aš*, jsišamoninta tapatybė, išplečiama įtraukiant platesnį nei vien žmogišką pasaulį“ (Davis 1998, p. 60).

Panašių svarstymų kodus galima rasti kone visoje Granausko kūryboje, liudjančioje prigimtinę nedalomą žmogaus ir gamtos vienovę, laiduojančią personažų būsenas – ne visada giedras, bet gana stabilias, sustiprintas žinojimo, jog žemės gyvybės pakaks kiekvieno dvasiai atgaivinti. Granausko personažai aiškiai įterpti į savą vietą, galinčią ribotis sodybos sklypu arba išplintančią iki neįsmatuojamų aukštynbių ir platybių. Jau pačiame pirmame apsakymu rinkinyje „Medžių viršūnės“ (1969 m.) išryškėja granauskiškas visa ko matymas: aplink viskas gyva, viskas kalba, viskas sava, nes susjeta niekada nenutrūkstančiomis gijomis: „Seni akmenys, seni medžiai, seni žmonės, – jie mažai besikeičia ir susitikę be vargo atpažista vieni kitus“ (Granauskas 1969, p. 11). Rašytojo tekstuose aiškiai veriasi Fisherio minimo alchemiko Sendivogijaus įžvalga: „Didžioji sielos dalis glūdi jau už kūno ribų“ (Fisher 2006, p. 9). Apsakymu veikėjai gyvena vis dar girdėdami vadinamosios ekologiškosios pasąmonės balsą, instinktyviai jasdami animistinio pasaulio tikrumą ir giminystę: „Senas kalnas guli nejudėdamas, prispaustas prie kažko, prislėgtas juodžemio, žvyro ir molio, jausdamas sunkumą didelių akmenų, glūdinčių giliai jo įšciose. Ant kalno žolė ir vertikalūs medžiai, aplinkui erdvė, kurioje jie auga. Paukščių linijos pinasi ore, susiraizgydamos viena su kita iki nevilties, ir norisi kažką ižvelgti už jų. O ten – tik virpanti šviesa ir žydruma, ir viskas labai platu ir erdvu, ir neaprēpiama, ir per daug vietas, kad prisipildytų minčių ar medžių“ (Granauskas 1969, p. 64). „Kalnas“, „medžiai“ ir „paukščiai“ tapatinami su vėliau tekste pasirodančiais „juo“ ir „ja“ – cituojamо apsakymo „Žolė“ personažais. Šiam teksste žmonės įpinami į visokeriopos gyvasties grandinę be jokių išskirtinių teisių: „Jie susiémė už rankų ir nuėjo tolyn, lydimi saulės šviesos ir žolės žalumo. Jų galvose pynësi paukščių linijos ir sparnų šlamėjimas, skverbési pavakario spinduliai, kuriuose gyveno lašteliés, pasakančios jiems, kas yra meilė, švelnumas, laikas“ (ibid., p. 65). „Švelnumas“, „meilė“ ir „laikas“, įprasti vadinamojo kultūros poliaus atributai, patikimi „saule spinduliams“. Būtent spinduliai sukelia nekonflikтиškas būsenas, galinčias brėsti laike. Atrodytų, kad „jis“ ir „ji“ įkurdinami kalno viršūnėje kartojant evoliuciją: iš pradžių – namai, o jau paskui tie, kas juose gyvens. Apsakyme tarsi metaforizuojama sistemų teorija, kuria savo darbuose dažnai remiasi Roszakas: „Šiais laikais visatą matome kaip besivystančią sistemų hierarchiją, kurioje randame sau vietą mes patys – viena iš sudétingiausiu sistemų. Laikydamasis tokio požiūrio į pasaulį, Freudas tikriausiai būtų padaręs visai kitokias išvadas. Gyvenimas ir sąmonė – toli gražu ne baugiai keisti ir išsimtiniai, bet natūralūs ir harmoningi ilgo evoliucijos proceso rezultatai. <...> visas gyvenimas šioje planeteoje skleidžiasi evoliuciujos proceso metu, o šis procesas vyksta sklandžiai ir natūraliai“ (Roszak 1998). Apsakymo atmosfera nėra idiliška – nerimas, baimė, nežinia šešė-

liuoja menamai atkartodami surizgusias paukščių linijas, bet tekste juntama žmonių ir gamtos vienovė išryškina būtent emocijas, o ne prieštaras, suponuojančias vienosius ar kitokius konfliktus.

Biologinių modelių paralelės

Ekokritikai artimas „biologinių modelių“ požiūris į literatūrą galėtų būti traktuojamas kaip itin radikalus. Ekopsichologijos šalininkams jis priimtinas būtent dėl to, kad įtvirtina savitą lygiavertišumo principą – smulkiausia sistemos grandis veikia pagal tuos pačius dėsnius, kaip ir viena stambiausiajų, t. y. lastelėje vykstančios procesai „ištinka“ ir parašytą literatūros kūrinį, ir jo suvokęją. Tokios prielaidos įrodinėjamos pasirinkus svarbiausias gyvo organizmo funkcijas – kvėpavimą, mitybą, augimą, bendravimą, evoliuciją ir t. t. Pavyzdžiuui, lastelės kvėpavimo funkcija apibendrinama kaip energijos perteikimo kontrolė; atitinkamai literatūros kūrinys kontroliuoja ar valdo skaitytojo lūkesčius. Besimaitinanti lastelė maistą paverčia energija, o skaitant literatūros kūrinį, skaitytojo susidomėjimas taip pat kokybiškai kinta – virsta susižavėjimu (arba pasipiktinimu); augdama lastelė brėsta, o į tekstą įsitraukęs skaitytojas gali keliauti laiku. Kalbant apie lastelės ir teksto „bendravimą“, galioja tas pats apibendrinimas – lastelė sąveikauja su savaja aplinka ir ją keičia, tekstas taip pat sąveikauja su socialine aplinka ir gali ją pakeisti¹². Visas sistemas jungia persmelkiantis vienakryptis energijos srautas, svarbiausias energijos šaltinis – saulė; saulės energiją naudoja įvairūs organizmai ar populiacijos. Vienakryptis energijos srautas – universalus gamtos reiškinys, paklūstantis termodinamikos dėsniniui – energija nesukuriama ir niekur neišnyksta, ji gali keistis, silpti, išsisklaidyti, bet materija cirkuliuoja, ji gali būti perdirbta ir naudojama vis iš naujo. Ištrūkus iš biologijos ir perėjus į žmonių bendruomenę, kur egzistuoja kalba ir simbolių sistemas, šios energijos virsmai keičiasi. Kalbant apie literatūrą, ekokritikų teigimu energija randasi iš kūrybingos vaizduotės, bet ne iš kalbos, kuri yra tik viena iš priemonių, padedančių kūrybinę energiją kaupti. Ši sukaupta energija negali būti išeikvota ir pranykti be pėdsako – ji paverčiama literatūros kūriniu, pratęsančiu ypatingosios energijos cirkuliaciją. Todėl galima teigti, kad žmonių bendruomenės gyvybė priklauso nuo nenutrūkstamo kūrybinės energijos srauto, kūrybingos vaizduotės ir sąmonės, atstojančios biosferai gyvybiškai reikalingą saulės šviesą (Rueckert 1996). Laikantis ekokritikų dažnai minimo antrojo termodinamikos dėsnio (šiluma uždaroje sistemoje negali būti perduota iš šiltesnio kūno šaltiesniam), reikėtų daryti prielaidą, jog ir socialinėje sistemoje, kaip ir visoje gamtoje, nuolat siekiama pusiausvyros. Vadinas, kūrybine energija dalijamasi, t. y. dalijamasi kūriniu materializuota energija, provokuojančia naujus kūrybinius impulsus. Tai turėtų galioti kalbant apie visas meno šakas – muziką, dailę, literatūrą. Beje, gyvybinės ar kūrybinės energijos fenomeną įtvirtina vadinamasis energijos maksimumo principas, teigiantis, jog „visos atviros sistemas (lastelės, žmonės, visuomenės ir t. t.) besivystydamos atiduoda maksimalų kiekį energijos didesnėms sistemoms, kurių dalis ir pačios yra, kad šios nuolat vystytusi ir visada egzistuotų“ (Hanson 2001). Siekiama optimalios entropijos, suponuojančios pusiausvyros būseną. Įdomu, ar šie dėsniai išryškėja literatūros tekstuose, pavyzdžiuui, jau minėtoje Granausko kūryboje. Ekop-

¹²Cituojama iš internetinio leidyklos Litlangs Ltda. puslapio <http://www.poetrymagic.co.uk/literary-theory/biological-models.html>. Žiūrėta 2011 01 11.

sichologijos tiesoms įtvirtinti ypač tinka naujausias šio autoriaus romanas „Rūkas virš slėnių“, neginčiamai teigiantis atgaivinto ekologiskojo aš svarbą ir neabejotiną visų biosferos narių priklausomybę vieniems nuo kitų:

„- ...toks jaunas, o jau tokias mintis galvoji...

Juk visi galvoja. Žmogus galvoja, gyvulys galvoja, medis galvoja.

Nu, medis tai jau tikrai negalvoja, – užginčijo Vyniautienė. – Gyvulys – tai dar, dar...

Gera. Štai mūsų sodnas. Per žiemą, per šaltį, gruodą, vėjus – gal ir nieko negalvojo, kentėjo susitraukęs ir laukė pavasario, o kai iškentėjo, atšilo ir visas apsi-pylė žiedais, ar misliji, kad neatsiminė, kieno rankos ir duobes kasė, ir žemes pylė, raišiojo, skiepijo, pirmųjų žiedų laukė... Jeigu atsimena, tai ir galvoja. Medis žiedais galvoja“ (Granauskas 2007, p. 136).

Tokia Vyniauto, vieno pagrindinių romano personažų, laikysena galėtų būti traktuojama kaip nuoroda į nekonfliktišką buvimą suvokiant natūralius dėsningumus ir ramiai reaguojant į ištinkančias negandas. Ekologiškajam aš neturėtų rastis priešingų interesų, sąlygojančių konfliktines situacijas, nes pasąmoningai numanomas visos gyvybės tinklas, jungiantis visas egzistuojančias sistemas, suvienytų esminius poreikius ir juos subendravardiklintų. Energijos maksimumo principas ima veikti romano pabaigoje Vyniautui „išspinduliuvas“ užuojautą, altruizmą, kūrybiškumą : „Daugiau jis nieko ir nebenorėjo, tiktai tylos, rūko ir vienatvés“ (ibid., p. 275.). Šis principas vienodai galioja ir kitai sistemai: „Véliausiai pražydo aukštieji kriausiu bokštai, ir Vyniautas sédėdamas galvojo, ar sodo medis žydi dėl žmogaus, ar pats dėl savęs. Kam jam dėl savęs? Jis juk pats nemato savo žiedų, negirdi čiulbančių mėlynų varnėnų. Jei nėra žmogaus akių, besidžiaugiančių tuo gražumu, – po kelių metų jis sunyks, suvys, suvargs – ir visai nebežydės“ (ibid., p. 268).

Ryškiausiai visa ko vienovės nuojauta įtvirtinama paskutinėje romano pastrai-poje, kai disonuojantys žmogaus buvimo takai turėtų suskambėti aštriausiai. Kai pažeidžiama sąlygiškai rami kasdienos tékmė ir atimama žmogaus gyvybė, tačiau aplink gyvenimas tėsiasi priimdamas netobulą žmogiškumą kaip gamtos duotybę: „<...> o pats Vyniautas tebesėdėjo kaip vakar ant savojo suolo, <...> tik į jo galvą ligi pat koto buvo įkirstas virtuvės kirvelis. Ant to koto galo tupėjo vienas varnėnas ir čiulbėjo, pražiojės snapelj tiesiai į patekėjusios saulės spindulį. <...> į jo šviesiai raudoną pražioto snapelio vidų saulės spindulys švietė tiesiai, ten viduje jam kažką virpindamas, o gal tijo iš ten atgal į saulę kaip koks plonytis auksinis siūlas, ir todėl atrodė taip gražu“ (ibid., p. 276). Plonytis saulės spindulio siūlas, jungiantis gyvybės ir kosminės nežinios polius, stabilizuoją aršiausias prieštaras tarp žmogaus gyvenimo tiesų, vertybų ir laikysenų įtvirtindamas elementarią teisybę – ne pasaulis priklauso mums, bet mes esame viso gyvojo pasaulio dalis.

Išvados

Apibendrinant galima teigti, jog ekokritikų ir ekopsichologų akcentuojama žmogaus ir aplinkos ekologija įtvirtina sąlygiškai harmoningo buvimo galimybę. Metaforiškos pirmojo ir antrojo termodinamikos dėsnį traktuotės – nuoroda į prigimtinę pusiausvyros siekiamybę, kuri visada siesis su nekonfliktiškumu. Brandūs žmogaus ir aplinkos vienovę teigiantys literatūros tekstai perteikia savitai materializuotą kūrybinę energiją, išlaiko ne tik socialinės sistemos gyvastį, bet ir gaivina

ekologiškąjį pasąmonę, koduojančią esminę idėją apie visų gyvybės formų vienovę. Tokie tekstai harmonizuoją būti ir siūlo apmąstyti kasdienybės disonansus nepatiiant prieštarų, kurias sušvelnina „ekologiškojo aš“ ugdoma tolerancija.

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CONFLICT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF ECOPSYCHOLOGY

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Summary

The aim of this entry is to reveal the new possibilities of interdisciplinary studies and to ponder upon the possible contribution of researchers into the work of environmentalists and ecologists, while seeking effective solutions concerning the entire biosphere and ecosystem, and to discuss the concept of conflict from the point of view of ecopsychology. The focus of the analysis is on the role of literary texts, i.e., the texts of Lithuanian prose writer Romualdas Granauskas, in reviving the ecological subconsciousness of the individual *ego*, and on the ways allowing to bring a human being closer to the natural environment in its broad understanding and change man's attitude towards other members of the entire biosphere. The main assumptions and conclusions are based on the ideas of T. Roszak and A. Fisher, the American researchers interested in ecopsychology: the so called ecological *ego* is treated as an ability to experience a wide network of relations connecting man with the closest and broadest environment. This imaginative “conjoining *ego*” should anticipate the environment and at the same time all the problems stipulated by industrial culture. Obvious problems stimulate the urge to look for wise solutions. Hence the only unsolved question is – how to awaken this ecological *ego* in man? Literature could be one of the ways leading to the solution of the mentioned problem.

Key words: conflict, ecocriticism, ecopsychology, literary text, ecological subconsciousness.

HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF IMMIGRATION IN CONTEMPORARY BRITISH FICTION

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Abstract: This paper analyzes migration as a contemporary phenomenon and discusses reasons for emigration from Eastern Europe, as described in the novel *A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian* (2005) by the contemporary British author Marina Lewycka (b. 1946), a descendant of post-World War Two Ukrainian immigrants. The novel contains many historical facts that reveal Ukraine's painful past, and describes the lives of the Ukrainian immigrants in Great Britain. The study is based on the history of emigration of Ukrainians, an analysis of the different periods and types of immigrants, and a discussion of the cross-cultural problems of immigration in Marina Lewycka's novel.

Key words: migration, immigration, emigration, European history and culture, cross-cultural communication.

Contemporary processes of globalization have made the migration of people a usual phenomenon. Different historical periods have exhibited different reasons for emigration. The aim of this paper is to analyze immigration into the United Kingdom as described in Marina Lewycka's novel *A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian* (2005). The reasons for emigration and types of Ukrainian immigrants in the United Kingdom since the beginning of the 20th century are surveyed. Marina Lewycka (born in Kiel, Germany, in 1946) is the author of three novels. Her first novel, *A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian*, became popular immediately and has won many prizes; her other novels are *Two Caravans* (2007) and *We Are All Made of Glue* (2009). *A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian*, a humorous and slightly autobiographical novel, is based on a story about a Ukrainian immigrant family, the Mayevskyjs, living in the United Kingdom. Alongside the description of the immigrants, the novel discusses post-war feelings, emigration, ageing, family bonds, Eastern European and Western European lifestyles, and examines the problems of cultural differences that every immigrant family encounters.

Migration is one of the most important aspects of contemporary society and, as Castles and Miller state, "the last half of the twentieth century has been an age of migration" (Brettell and Hollifield 2000: 1). However, there are many other reasons for migration, generally defined as a movement from one place to another. Hagen-Zanker states that reasons for migration range "from better employment possibilities to persecution" (Gregorovich 1974: 4). Different reasons for migration represent specific types of migrants in the contemporary world. Sales presents the following classification of migrants: *voluntary*, "including labour and family migrants," and *forced*, or "those who migrate as a result of conflict, persecution and natural disaster" (Sales 2007: 29). Accordingly, factors determining migration can be divided into two categories—*push* and *pull* factors. Push factors are those that force people to leave their native country: political and religious persecutions, racial tensions, "also the cases of the persons who are obliged to leave their countries because of the war which threatens their lives" (Tonita 2006: 1). Pull factors are the following: good health care, the possibility to get a job (or to earn more for the same work), good living conditions, education, climate, protection, or love (NWE 2009: 6). Naturally, people try to escape difficult or dangerous situations,

and migration may be considered the only possible solution. Political processes often influence the scope of migration and result in changes in the structure of many countries.

The United Kingdom is a multicultural country, where the number of immigrants is constantly increasing. Hatton and Price notice that “international migration has been an important phenomenon in Great Britain. During the last fifty years migration in general and immigration, in particular, has become a key policy issue” (Hatton and Price 2005: 113). Although often referred to as a conservative country, Great Britain remains an extremely attractive destination for many people from other parts of the world, especially Eastern Europe and Ukraine. Four main waves of Ukrainian immigration into the United Kingdom have occurred since the end of the 19th century. According to Krawec, “the earliest migrants arrived in the 1890s, from the eastern (predominantly Ukrainian) part of the Austro-Hungarian province of Galicia” (Krawec 2009a: 1). It was a period when scientists and writers entered the United Kingdom, for whom the pull factor was education. The First World War reduced the number of Ukrainian immigrants in the United Kingdom, as many Ukrainians chose other destinations.

The second group came to the United Kingdom between 1920 and 1930. Those people were forced to leave their native country because they had been fighters for Ukrainian independence in 1917–1920; however, “the UK was only marginally affected by this wave” (UUK 2009: 1). Some politicians and students immigrated into Great Britain and settled there, but many Ukrainians entered North and South America during this period. The period of 1930–1933 was especially stressful in Ukraine: Ukrainians had to survive the Soviet genocide and the Great Famine of 1932–1933. Many people died of starvation during this period, and the survivors had to think about the primary means of existence, which prevented many of them from making plans to emigrate.

The third wave of emigration lasted from 1940 up to 1954, and during this period “around 34,000–37,000 people came to the UK, some of whom later emigrated to other countries” (UUK 2009: 1). Strong push factors during this period of emigration can be observed: people fled from the Soviet regime, having only two choices—exile or emigration. After World War Two, the number of immigrants from Ukraine increased considerably in the United Kingdom.

The last emigration period began at the end of the 1980s and continues up to the present. Subtelny states that since the collapse of the Soviet Union, “over 2.5 million Ukrainians live outside the border of the Soviet Union” (Subtelny 2000: 559). Since 1991, the independent Ukraine has experienced a broad-scale emigration as it became easier to leave the country. Krawec states that “between 1998 and 2007, a total of 6,350 Ukrainian citizens were granted indefinite leave to remain in the UK” (Krawec 2009b: 3). Nowadays Ukrainians emigrate because of pull factors: better living conditions, employment opportunities, and family reunions. Many Ukrainians consider permanent settlement and later apply for citizenship. Krawec distinguishes three groups of Ukrainian immigrants of the second half of the 20th century according to “significant differences with respect to their socio-economic and demographic characteristics, and their involvement in organised Ukrainian community life”: “post-World War II immigrants, descendants of post-World War

II immigrants, and migrants from independent Ukraine" (Krawec 2009b: 3). Every group of immigrants came to the United Kingdom with their own reasons and goals. The group of post-World War Two immigrants consisted mostly of soldiers and people from refugee camps. At the end of the 1940s, most of the Ukrainian immigrants lived in agricultural areas, though later almost all of them migrated to industrial areas—a process which resulted in the largest Ukrainian communities appearing in Manchester, Bradford, Nottingham, and London. Krawec states that most post-World War Two immigrants were from twenty to thirty years old (Krawec 2009b: 3). Few of the immigrants held certificates of secondary education, because the war had disrupted their education; while others had had no possibility to study because of bad living conditions in their homeland. Another group of this period consisted of the intelligentsia, former officers and graduates of British universities, who had fled from the Soviet regime. The latter, in particular, possessed their own homes, which was of great importance to the Ukrainian immigrants and symbolized the concrete improvement of their lifestyles. After World War Two, the forced migration resulted in a larger population of Ukrainian men than women, as soldiers, politicians and other persecuted people were mostly men.

During the post-war period, life in a foreign country was difficult: immigrants had to adapt to new traditions, laws, rules, and language—all of which caused misunderstandings and stress. Although a law was issued that allowed immigrants to apply for British citizenship “after residing in the UK for 5 years,” only some of the post-World War Two immigrants applied for citizenship—the majority felt themselves to be native Ukrainians, and hoped to return to their native country (Krawec 2009b: 4). As the years passed, it became obvious that independence would never happen in Ukraine, so “the post-war Ukrainian immigrants created a diverse network of community organisations” (*ibid.*). Preservation of the Ukrainian national identity was the main aim in every family: family members spoke the Ukrainian language, the communities organised various activities and meetings. Ukrainians believed in their homeland, and wanted to protect their national heritage and pass it on to their children. Descendants of the post-war immigrants dispersed throughout the country because of their studies, employment and marriage; thus, the roles of Ukrainian communities were weakened as the number of active members decreased. Many descendants received a higher education, as their parents realized the benefits of education and encouraged their children to study at universities and colleges. In this way, descendants naturally received common knowledge about the British lifestyle, history and people, and had no problems communicating in English. All these issues aided their better and faster integration into British society.

Most of the newcomers to the United Kingdom during the period 1980–2000 and later were young people with a strong motivation to succeed. Fewer tendencies to preserve the national identity among the newly-arrived Ukrainians may be observed; many new immigrants speak more than one language and do not feel threatened by the unknown environment, as their compatriots in the past had been. However, Krawec observes that “recent migrants tend to rely on their own informal social networks, with a minority becoming members of newly established organisations” (*ibid.*, 6). The first Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain was

established in 1946; now it has an official website and 28 branches all over the country, with the mission “to develop, promote and support the interests of the Ukrainian community in the UK” (AUGB 2010: 1). The team of this community provides services for new immigrants, organises camps and meetings, celebrates important events, broadcasts radio and television programmes, etc. Many other associations have been founded recently: The Association of Ukrainian Women, The Association of Ukrainian Teachers and Educators, and the Ukrainian Youth Association.

Marina Lewycka’s novel *A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian* (2005) is based on the life of a Ukrainian immigrant family. It describes many historical events of the 20th century. The author clearly uses some personal facts: the same structure of the family and similar circumstances of their arrival in the United Kingdom. In one of her interviews, Lewycka stated that “many of events started in autobiography, but as the characters took on a life of their own, and became distinct from the people in my life, so they created their own stories” (Lawless 2005: 1). Another coincidence is that the novel uses the first-person (younger daughter’s) point of view; Lewycka is the younger daughter in her family. In addition, Lewycka admits that her sister and she are very different and she thought “it would be fun to use those differences as a basis for the terrible arguments between the characters Vera and Nadezhda” (Hewitt 2008: 6). In another interview, Lewycka explains the major theme of the novel, immigration, stating that “there’s a new wave of migration now, in some ways very similar and in some ways totally different, to the wave that washed my parents up on these shores” (MF 2008: 1). Lewycka confesses that she feels Ukrainian in the United Kingdom and British in Ukraine, and there is “the rhetorical question whether she is British or Ukrainian” (Smith 2009: 2). These factors may have been the stimuli to write a novel and to describe the different types of Ukrainian immigrants: Post-World War Two immigrants, their children, and immigrants from the independent Ukraine. In addition, through the portraits of immigrants, Lewycka skillfully discloses the traumatic experiences of earlier immigrants, discusses historical and political processes in Ukraine and other countries at different time periods, and observes many cross-cultural aspects of the immigrant’s life.

The focus of the novel is the life of the Mayevskyjs, Ludmilla and Nikolai, who, with their first daughter Vera, came to the United Kingdom in 1946. This family represents the post-World War Two immigrants of the period 1940–1954. Before coming to the United Kingdom, the family had spent a few years in a refugee camp in Germany. After the war, the Polish were allowed to stay in the west, while the Ukrainians had to return to their native country, where most of them were exiled to Siberia. Ludmilla had a birth certificate which indicated that her birthplace was Novaya Aleksandria, a former part of Poland, and Nikolai had some German work papers that allowed him to enter the United Kingdom. The newcomers “were model citizens. They never broke the law—not even once” (Lewycka 2006: 228). They tried to do their best and not apply to the local government for any help: “what if they gave the wrong answer? <...> what if there was an inspection? <...> what if they weren’t allowed back in? Those who got up the nose of the authorities might be sent off on the long train journey from which there was no

return" (ibid.). Moreover, Nikolai started shaking every time he heard police sirens or somebody mentioning any officer or government: "He catches his breath. He is scared of the police, the local council, even uniformed postman" (ibid., 35). The narrator of the novel provides many details about the main characters' past, and this past reveals the causes of their fears. Ludmilla and Nikolai were born in 1912, so they experienced an extremely difficult period: World War One, the Great Famine of 1932–1933, and World War Two. Both world wars caused many deaths around the world but the Soviet genocide and the famine totally destroyed Ukraine: according to Gregorovich, "estimates of the total deaths vary from 5 to 10 million, but 7 million is the accepted figure. This was almost one-quarter of the population of Ukraine" (Gregorovich 1974: 3). Ludmilla told her daughter how they survived: her grandmother "made watery soup from grass and wild sorrel that they gathered from the fields. <...> They were saved by the remoteness of their *khutor*—if anyone thought about them at all, they probably thought they were dead" (ibid., 66). The novel provides a historical and political explanation of the period: "Stalin had discovered he could use famine as a political weapon against the Ukrainian kulaks" (ibid., 19). The narrator sensitively describes the darkest period in Ukrainian history, when peasants ate everything they had ("In the next village, there was a woman who had eaten her baby" (ibid., 66)). These facts make the novel a significant contribution to European history.

The novel describes different aspects of the immigrant's life: family relationship, links with the Ukrainian community, regained happiness and self-confidence, newly acquired self-esteem, respect for ethnic traditions and values, and language, which, as Lewycka voices in her novel, is "such a beautiful language that anyone can be a poet" (ibid., 26). It is possible to state that the sisters, Vera and Nadezhda, were brought up as British but remained Ukrainian at heart. The mother of the family, Ludmilla, who died in 1994, is the most significant figure in the immigrant family; she is the bond between Nikolai (her husband) and their daughters Nadezhda (the younger daughter) and Vera (the older daughter); there is a tension between Nikolai and his daughters, as well as a tension between the daughters themselves. Ludmilla was the only person in the family who helped to solve problems but never forced her direct opinion. She did not struggle in adjusting to the new life in the United Kingdom; in fact, Ludmilla created her own little Ukraine in the United Kingdom. After Ludmilla's death, Nadezhda acknowledges that their "little exile family, long held by [their] mother's love and beetroot soup, has started to fall apart" (ibid., 11). Ludmilla was the only person who kept the real Ukrainian identity and tried to implant these values in her daughters. Ludmilla tried to protect her children from pain and did everything to see her daughters happy: she told only bright stories about her happy and careless childhood, at the same time preaching love for the native country, Ukraine, and encouraging her daughters to preserve their national identity. She always used to describe Ukraine as an idyll—"the sky blue-blue, and cornfields like a sheet of gold stretching as far as eye could see" (ibid., 52). Thus, Ludmilla was the guardian of their national identity; however, she represents the type of immigrants who were unable to accept a different culture. Her harsh experiences of the wars and the Great Famine, enclosure within the

family boundaries, and language barrier prevented her from integrating into the host country.

The father, Nikolai, was born into a family of intelligentsia (his grandfather was the Minister of Education in Ukraine). This may explain his obsession with writing a history of tractors, which he ardently takes up at the age of eighty-four. Nikolai is a sensitive person; he writes poems and speaks with nostalgia about Ukraine. However, he seems to have been better integrated into British society than his wife: having a permanent job, he had many opportunities offered by the host country. However, nostalgia for his homeland is expressed in Nikolai's idealistic reminiscences and his desire to help everybody from Ukraine, as he thinks that it is his obligation to take care of all his relatives ("there was once a plan to track down members of the family whom he had not seen for half a century, and bring them all over to Peterborough" (*ibid.*, 26)). This attitude explains his interest in helping a young new-type immigrant, Valentina, and her son—because they remind him of the lost homeland: "he sighs, breathing in the remembered scent of mown hay and cherry blossom" (*ibid.*, 1). However, he remains an idealist who does not realize that his homeland and its people may change. Manifestation of nostalgia also explains the strenuous work that he takes up—to write a history of tractors or, rather, his own version of Ukraine's history.

The daughters, Vera and Nadezhda, represent the descendants of post-World War Two immigrants. Vera was born during the interwar period, and Nadezhda was born in the United Kingdom. The narrator of the novel describes them as "a War Baby and a Peacetime Baby" (*ibid.*, 313). Thus, they represent two different types of descendants: one is self-confident and enjoys the benefits of the Western lifestyle; the other rebels against the norms of the consumer society, but is sensitive to the feelings and opinions of other people. Both sisters are stubborn in proving their own truths—these common features are often the reasons for their arguments. Nadezhda is keen on the family's history, but she has to put different pieces of the stories told by her family members together to reconstruct it. The difference and the arguments between the sisters reveal many problems that immigrants face. Nadezhda represents the generation of new social movements of the 1960–70s: "the Beatles, the demonstrations against Vietnam, the student uprising of 1968, and the birth of feminism, which taught me to see all women as sisters" (*ibid.*, 239). Vera is more conservative and appreciates order and justice in the United Kingdom: "They [British] have a natural sense of discipline and order. <...> they have a perfectly preserved class system, in which everyone knows where they belong" (*ibid.*, 241). However, at the end of the novel, after the sisters learn to accept the past and put up with each other's personalities, they finally make peace. Thus, Nadezhda's return to the family roots echoes processes in the lives of many post-World War Two immigrants: some memories must be blocked to be able to accept a different country and its culture.

In an interview with Kelly Hewitt, Lewycka expressed her opinion about new immigrants and confessed that it seemed amusing to describe Valentina, a new-type immigrant, though later she found it even tragic as "it seems a desperate choice

for a woman to have to make" (Hewitt 2008: 5). The narrator of the novel does not approve of Valentina and emphasizes small details to draw an ironic portrait of her. She is 36 years old, a divorced woman who wants to start a new and better life for herself and her son: "with good job, good money, nice car [...], good education for son" (Lewycka 2006: 2). The exaggerated portrait matches the stereotypical image of a new immigrant and emphasizes Valentina's differences from the other characters in the novel. Valentina's plan is to marry 84-year-old Nikolai in order to get a passport and work permit, and to remain in the United Kingdom. Valentina, an intruder into Nikolai's family, is not accepted by the daughters and other members of the Ukrainian community; thus, at the end, she is rejected by both British society and the Ukrainian community—her disregard for the norms and traditions and shocking egotistic behaviour make it impossible for her to integrate into either of them, and at the end of the novel she is expelled from the country. The ironic description emphasizes her inability to function in the British society and shows her as a person who belongs to a different culture and who totally disregards any other culture.

Three major types of 20th century migrants—the post-World War Two immigrants, the descendants of post-World War Two immigrants, and the new immigrants) are described in Marina Lewycka's novel *A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian*. The novel provides a wealth of information on different aspects of the immigrants' life and contains many facts of European history: the novel discusses problems of integration into British society, describes the difficulties of cross-cultural communication, examines the problems of ageing, discusses the relationships among immigrants, and examines the immigrant's social status during different periods of immigration. Many themes related to the immigrant's life are discussed in the novel, such as the fear of being deported, the inability to communicate, the lack of cultural knowledge, experiences of the past and memories, integration into British society, different social norms, lifestyle and culture, preservation of national identity, the problems of cross-cultural communication, and others.

A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian demonstrates how a literary text can impact the analysis of the European past, becoming a part of the historical and cultural heritage of the world. During the last decades there has been a renewed interest in the history of Eastern European countries, especially in the period of 1932–1933 in Ukraine or the period after 1940. For example, during the last decade there has been much discussion on different forms of the Soviet Genocide that happened in the period of 1932–1933 or the 1940s–1950s and later in Ukraine, the Baltic countries, Belarus, Poland, Russia, and other Eastern European countries. Although much evidence (documents, statistics, etc.) has been collected and various representations have been created (recorded reminiscences of the survivors, literary texts, documentaries and feature films), still these genocidal acts have not received adequate political and judicial evaluation worldwide. Thus, any representation of Eastern European history and the problems that Eastern European countries have often faced is a step forward to a final estimation of the processes that have influenced so many generations in the countries of Eastern Europe.

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ISTORINIAI IR SOCIALINIAI IMIGRACIJOS ASPEKTAI ŠIUOLAIKINĖJE BRITŲ LITERATŪROJE

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Santrauka

Straipsnio tikslas – aptarti migraciją kaip šiuolaikinę reiškinį, apibūdinti šiuolaikinės britų rašytojos Marinos Lewyckos romane „Trumpa ukrainietiška traktorių istorija“ (2005) aprašomų imigrantų bruožus bei pateikti emigracijos iš Rytų Europos šalių priežastis. Marina Lewycka gimė 1946 m. ukrainiečių imigrantų šeimoje. Romane yra daug biografinių faktų. Rašytoja teigia, kad ji tik pasinaudojo kai kuriais Ukrainos istorijos ir savo šeimos gyvenimo faktais, norėdama sukurti tipiškus skirtingų kartų imigrantų portretus. Romane aprašomi tragiski 1930–1944 m. Ukrainos istorijos įvykiai. Straipsnyje remiamasi emigracijos iš Ukrainos istorija bei migracijos teorijos teiginiais. Tipiškų imigrantų iš Rytų Europos portretai, jų gyvenimo būdo aprašai Marinos Lewyckos romane demonstruoja daugiauypius Europos istorijos konfliktus ir yra svarus indėlis į Europos istorijos ir kultūros paveldą.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: migracija, imigracija, emigracija, Europos istorija ir kultūra, tarpkultūrinė komunikacija.

EPIPHANY AS A MANIFESTATION OF THE TRUTH OF ART THROUGH LANGUAGE IN JAMES JOYCE'S "THE SISTERS"

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Abstract: The current paper investigates Joyce's literary epiphany as a manifestation of the truth of art through language in his short story "The Sisters" (1914) from the perspective of Hans-Georg Gadamer's hermeneutics. Instead of merely locating the meaning in his story, Joyce employs the explosive technique of language by forcing epiphany to spring forth and stun the reader. Contrary to the inner paralysis overwhelming the city of Dublin, in the artistic world construed by the author, experience is set down in language and the discovery of truth is a gift of the epiphanic revelation. In "The Sisters", Joyce's epiphanic mechanism operates through an insignificant detail (a banal conversation of the women in the wake), which carries a symbolic load and leads both, the boy-narrator and the reader to an inner revelation of the previously veiled truth. As a means for the most profound interiorisation of the Modernist perception of the truth of art, epiphany provides a key to the deep meaning of the story. From the hermeneutical point of view, in the epiphanic flash, the truth emerges from all the contingent and variable circumstances that condition it and is grasped in its essence. The Joycean epiphany asserts its own truth which enters the horizon that had surrounded the reader before encountering the world of the Modernist text. Therefore, by appropriating the world of "The Sisters" unfolded by multiple interpretations the reader broadens his/her horizons and receives an enlarged self.

Key words: epiphany, experience, language, text, understanding, truth, meaning.

It is generally acknowledged that the language of art does not offer itself freely and vaguely for casual interpretation according to the mood of the quester but it sets definite demands on an intellectual reader. The works of the Irish Modernist writer James Joyce (1882–1941) vividly exemplify the capacity of art to resist any forces of the habitual realistic writing patterns in order to constantly generate new fictional worlds. For Joyce, reality was a sort of paradigm; he was always looking for similarities and simultaneities in words and things (Beckett 1994: 21). His Modernist artistry and verbal sensitivity allowed the writer to create and present new experience through the medium of language. The reading of Joyce's short fiction may become a 'cultural festival' (Gadamer 1975: 312) that includes the most creative experience, i.e. a fresh reliving of the event that changes the reader involved in its celebration. Not surprisingly, the phenomenon of Joyce's language constantly raises new aspects of interpretation for the scholars of literature. As a unique construct of the writer's artistic world, the epiphany marks his distantiation from the literary canons established by the nineteenth century and conveys the mock-naturalistic character of his early Modernism.

The current paper is an attempt at approaching Joyce's literary epiphany as a manifestation of the truth of art through language in his short story "The Sisters" (1914). The author focuses on the reading perspectives opened up by the hermeneutics of Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900–2002) which rests on the claim that the understanding of human existence, revealed through the dialogue of the literary text and multiple contexts, is impossible without interpretation.

Gadamer's theory of hermeneutics is deeply rooted within the German tradition (Hamann, Herder, Humboldt) and demonstrates an explicit attempt to break with the assimilation of all functions of language to the cognitive function (language as a vehicle of knowledge) at the expense of its communicative function

(language as a means of understanding). The philosophical interest of this tradition in the analysis of language does not stem only from the crucial role played by language in our relationship with the objective world. Rather, language is held to be essential to our relation with the world, which is fundamentally dependent on intersubjective communication, and even to the experience of our own subjective worlds, which can be expressed only through language.

In his seminal work *Truth and Method* (1960), the hermeneutist starts by approaching the question of truth as it emerges in the experience of art and convincingly maintains that the essential aim of art is to “represent an experience meaningfully” (Gadamer 1975: 118). No doubt, truth may be an aesthetic notion as well as a linguistic or a scientific concept. Yet, the truth that may be experienced through the work art “constitutes the philosophical importance of art, which asserts itself against all reasoning” and thereby transcends any particular method of understanding (*ibid*: xii)

A work of art may be inspired by an experience, and may be intended to represent an experience. Accordingly, the truth of a work of art may, in some cases, be determined by how accurately it represents an experience. Thus, a “work of art may have its being as a form of representation”(118). Although a work of art is able to mirror social reality, art resists all attempts to be co-opted by society and the truth of art rests on its freedom from all laws and forces rather than on its truthful replication of what exists. Gadamer argues that a work of art shares in the being of that which it represents, and that the representation of an experience by a work of art belongs to the being of the experience itself (127). As a consequence, the expressive power of a work of art is, in part, determined by the power of the experience which the work of art represents.

In dealing with the ontology of the work of art and its hermeneutical significance, Gadamer focuses on the concept of play. The point that matters here is the attitude of the player towards the play. Consider Gadamer:

Play fulfils its purpose only if the player loses himself in his play. It is not that relation to seriousness which directs us away from play, but only seriousness in playing makes the play wholly play. One who doesn't take the game seriously is a spoilsport. The mode of being of play does not allow the player to behave towards play as if it were an object. The player knows very well what the play is, and that what he is doing is ‘only a game’: but he does not know what exactly he ‘knows’ in knowing that (92).

For Gadamer, art never turns into a play without players (94). In this perspective, the work of art can be referred to as a game that bridges the gap between work and recipient because a game lacks existence without players who play it. Similarly, art can be understood “neither as the work outside the situation of its reception nor as the subjective experience of aesthetic pleasure that disregards its source”(114). As a consequence, the work of art comes into true existence only in the moment of its reception.

Gadamer addresses language as the “universal medium in which understanding is realized”(350). From this perspective, hermeneutics can be seen as an ontological

relationship between the interpreter and the language which is to be interpreted. The philosopher describes interpretation as a dialogue between the two worlds – the world of the text and that of the interpreter – which results in the so called “fusion of horizons” (273). The concept of ‘horizon’ (*Horizont*) has been employed in philosophy since Nietzsche and Husserl to characterise the way in which thought is bound to its finite determination, and the nature of the law of the expansion of the range of vision. For Gadamer, the ‘horizon’ points to the totality of everything that can be realized by a human being at a particular time in history in a given culture (269). A work of art addresses the interpreter and urges him/her to respond. To have a horizon means not to be limited to what is nearest, but to be able to see beyond it. According to Gadamer, the condition for understanding a text is the interpreter’s openness to the possibilities offered by new experiences (*ibid*). Consequently, in each event of understanding, the interpreter starts with an already existing historical situation, opens this situation to another, historically persistent existence (“effective-history”) and through this encounter checks his/her prejudices in order to experience the fusion of horizons, which, actually, is the achievement of language. Gadamer rejects the scientific ideal of prejudiceless objectivity in interpretation. For him, a good interpretation is not the one that avoids prejudices, but rather the one that makes conscious as many of the interpreter’s prejudices as possible and remains open to the rational acceptance or rejection (240).

By having engaged into the hermeneutic dialogue offered by the language of a text, the interpreter overcomes the limitations of his/her starting position and moves towards a deeper understanding of himself/herself and the world. The meaning of a text is not fixed. It changes with time and according to how it is received and read. Thus, the goal of any textual interpretation is not the discovery of the intention of the author but rather the text itself which is to be investigated from the historical and linguistic perspectives. In Gadamer’s conviction, the truth is reached at the end of the hermeneutic process of interpretation and is not something evaluated against an objective standard (264).

As an experiential knowledge creating new worlds of meaning, epiphany is in the focus of attention of Joyce’s Modernist poetics. In his lecture on James Clarence Mangan given to the Literary and Historical Society on 1 February, 1902 Joyce explicates:

Beauty, the splendour of truth, is a gracious presence when the imagination contemplates intensely the truth of its own being, or the visible world, and the spirit which proceeds out of truth and beauty is the holy spirit of joy. These are realities and these alone give and sustain life. (Joyce, <http://www.robotwisdom.com/jaj/mangan.html>)

This is perhaps the first hint to the notion of ‘epiphany’ as it would be developed in his later works. In order to understand what the writer meant by the concept it might be of great use to consider ‘epiphany’ from etymological perspective. The basic meaning of the Greek verb *epifainw* is “to show to or upon”, “to bring to light”, whereas its second meaning “to appear”, “to become visible” bears a particular reference to the stars. In the figurative sense, the verb *epifainw* denotes “to become clearly known”, “to show one’s self”. The noun *επιφάνεια*, which

stands for “appearance”, was often used by the Greeks with reference to a “glorious manifestation of the gods, and especially of their advent to help” (Grimm 1951: 245). In the Classic epic, the gods affect its action from a continuous present and appear epiphanically on definite occasions to illuminate or cheer the hero.

In the Old Testament, where Yahweh is referred to as truly manifest in defense of His people (2 Macc 15:34), *επιφάνεια* pertains to the deeds and events betokening the presence and power of God as a helper (*ibid*: 60f, 75). Thereby, apart from the occasional secular uses (Ezek 17:6; 2 Macc 12:22; 15:13), the verb *epifainw* has God as its subject. The divine manifestation which takes the form of a vision (Gen 35:7), the shape of a bright light (Deut 33:2), or a shining (Ps 118:27) brings gladness and joy to the people. In the New Testament, the substantive *επιφάνεια* is used with reference to the dual advent of Christ: His Nativity (2 Tim 1:10) and His eschatological return at the end of times (2 Thess 2:8). Hence in the Biblical context, *επιφάνεια* may be seen as God’s personal intervention on behalf of His people and also as His self-revelation.

Although Joyce is generally credited as the initiator of the secular usage of ‘epiphany’ who provided this concept with a particular literary connotation in his novel *Stephen Hero* (1916) and elaborated this theme at a considerable length (Cuddon 1998: 177), the studies of Morris Beja (1971) and Ashton Nichols (1987) trace the literary epiphany back to its Romantic origins. The Romanticist William Wordsworth (1770–1850) describes the mode of perception in life and art as the ‘spots of time’: “There are in our existence spots of time, / That with distinct pre-eminence retain / A renovating virtue” (*The Prelude*, XII.208–210). Apart from its significant influence on modern fiction, this Wordsworthian innovation in *The Prelude* (1850) is regarded as the predecessor of Joyce’s epiphany (Langbaum 1983: 336). The religious derivation of the Joycean secular epiphany reveals the extent to which he contributed to an aesthetic re-evaluation of traditional religious experience that was initiated by the Romantic writers. The writer’s choice of the religious term ‘epiphany’ turned to be very appropriate since it underlined the conception Joyce had of the artist as “a priest of the eternal imagination, a revealer”, humble before the laws of things and ready “to strip himself of all but his mere agency” (McLuhan 1962: 252).

In his youth, the writer applied the term ‘epiphany’ to entitle the genre of the prose poems, which he used to write as an artistic exercise between 1900 and 1904. These often ironical observations made by Joyce in his notebooks were marked by dramatic force and contained a sentence of a revealing character. Although the genuine collection of epiphanies was composed much earlier, a clearer connection of the term ‘epiphany’ with the innovativeness of Joyce’s fiction is established in his novel *Stephen Hero* (1916). Here, a fragment of the accidentally overheard conversation provides Stephen Daedalus with an “impression keen enough to afflict his senses very severely” (Joyce 1963: 57). Further on, Stephen explains that by epiphany he means “a sudden spiritual manifestation, <...> a revelation of the whatness of the thing, the point at which the soul of the commonest object <...> seems *tous* radiant” (*ibid*: 58) and this knowledge is essential in understanding Joyce as an artist. After having read some of the Joycean sketches, W. B. Yeats commented that by the help of epiphany Joyce wanted to “respond to the motions

of the spirit” in his writings (Yeats qtd. in Ellmann 1965: 106). In this respect, Joyce’s fiction may be regarded as a series of increasingly complex and revealing “insights of grace” as well as “intuitions of immortality” (Cuddon 1998: 177). It is important to note, however, that Joyce’s usage of the word “spiritual” does not have a religious reference. According to Morris Beja, by “spiritual” the Modernist writer “seems to refer to the world of emotions, art, intuition – in terms of his aesthetic theory, all that cannot be analyzed” (Beja 1971: 74).

Joyce believed that the artist is supposed to search for an epiphany “not among the gods but among men in casual, unostentatious, even unpleasant moments” (Joyce qtd. in Ellmann 1965: 87). Admittedly, the Joycean epiphany can be either a manifestation of the spiritual truth “in the vulgarity of speech or of gesture” or “in the memorable phase of mind itself.” (Joyce 1963: 58) The material for epiphanies that reaches the writer from the exterior world is usually very slight and sometimes coming together, to put it in Wordsworthian terms, “by chance collisions and quaint accidents.” (*The Prelude*, 1.617). Although the religious derivation of Joycean epiphany points to its transcendental significance, the role of the ‘divine agent’ in his prose is performed exclusively by language. Due to the epiphanic technique, the Joycean language can be experienced as a dynamic process, what the writer himself will later describe as “movables <...> scrawling in motion” (Joyce 2000: 21). Interestingly, most of the Dubliners who are offered with the insights into their inner self are not artists. However, by employing epiphanies with an outstanding aesthetic precision, the writer skillfully transforms the ordinary seemingly insignificant experiences of the citizens of Dublin into genuine works of art.

Dolf Sörensen draws attention to “one-sidedness” as a distinctive aspect of Joycean epiphany (Sörensen 1977: 7). It implies total passivity on the part of the beholder who can only record epiphanies with adequate precision. The peculiar elusiveness of the epiphany in Joyce’s text demands attentive scrutiny from the reader. The epiphanic illumination challenges the received idea and overthrows what one expects to see. Thus, the marvel of the Joycean epiphanies lies in their suddenness which bears the power to constantly surprise the reader. By the use of epiphany Joyce undoubtedly succeeds in shaking the static world of phenomena to its foundations.

As the opening story of *Dubliners* and Joyce’s first published work of fiction, “The Sisters” sets the tone that echoes throughout the entire book. It suggests that the reading of the stories will be patterned by both, a “gnomon”, an incomplete figure “in which meaning is made manifest through lack and darkness” and by epiphany as revelation which brings the hidden sense of the stories “in full light” (Rabaté 2002: 81). Both principles interact so as to bypass, exceed, and finally undermine any explicit “theory” of their meaning, production, and functioning.

After the writer had completed all the stories of the collection, except “The Dead”, the first story went through a number of revisions. This had been performed not only because of Joyce’s dissatisfaction with “The Sisters” but also because it was the initial story of the book he had only dimly envisioned when its first version appeared in *The Irish Homestead Journal* in 1904. Although the two published versions have essentially the same plot, the language of the 1914

version of the story represents an entirely Modernist text. The author intentionally dropped the nonessential commentaries leaving the facts to speak for themselves, thus exercising a style he referred to as that of “scrupulous meanness” (Joyce 2000: xxiii). The collocation itself is rich in the Joycean ambiguity. In *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, the adjective ‘scrupulous’ is defined as “minutely exact or careful; strictly attentive to even the smallest detail”, whereas ‘meanness’ denotes both “sparseness, frugality” and “lowliness, insignificance” (Little 1973: 2164). The minute exactitude comes not only in Joyce’s ‘scrupulous’ distribution of facts and ‘unfacts’ alike but also in his precision when rendering the language of the citizens of Dublin. In majority of the stories Joyce achieves this goal by aligning both the “narrative consciousness and the language <...> of the story with the character of whose life [the reader] catch[es] a glimpse” (Joyce 2000: xxv). In “The Sisters”, Joyce initiates the reader into the illuminating experience of the world of *Dubliners*.

The initial and the concluding story of *Dubliners* are united by the theme of the dead having the impact on the living. “The Sisters” is told from the point of view of a nameless boy narrator who is gazing at the window and contemplating upon the sudden death of his friend Father Flynn:

Night after night I had passed the house (it was vacation time) and studied the lighted square of window: and night after night I had found it lighted in the same way, faintly and evenly. If he was dead, I thought, I would see the reflection of candles on the darkened blind, for I knew that two candles must be set at the head of a corpse (Joyce 2000: 3).

The opening sentence of the story, “There was no hope for him this time” (*ibid*), charges the whole collection of short stories with a feeling of loss and hopelessness. Yet, the patterns of its language suggest that Joyce has a deeper concern. The image of the window in the first paragraph serves to create the sense of quiet and detached observation, which the boy narrator adopts. By this narrative technique Joyce points to an opportunity for a person to observe his life from the outside. The focus on the night through the repetition (“night after night”) reinforces the atmosphere of paralysis and desperation prevailing over the city and its inhabitants. The gloomy mood is intensified by the dim light of the two candles “on the darkened blind” (*ibid*). Since in *Dubliners* the image of the night encompasses the elements of both life and death, it serves best to unveil the situation of the Joycean characters who experience the state of life-in-death. The boy’s first encounter with death, however, is not as painful as the contradictions that the death of Father Flynn evoke in him:

He had often said to me: I am not long for this world and I had thought his words idle. Now I knew they were true. Every night as I gazed up at the window I said softly to myself the word paralysis. It had always sounded strangely in my ears, like the word gnomon in the Euclid and the word simony in the Catechism. But now it sounded to me like the name of some maleficent and sinful being. It filled me with fear, and yet I longed to be nearer to it and to look upon its deadly work (*ibid*).

It is important to note that in the last version of “The Sisters” (1914) Joyce emphasized the relationship between the old priest and the boy by making it stand out as a memorable feature of the story. The boy is fascinated with the interpretation of signs and makes an attempt to “extract the meaning” of his experience. The phrase of the dead priest that the boy recalls first, “*I am not long for this world*”, echoes the words told by Christ to His disciples before His passion and death (cf. Jn 8: 23). The word *paralysis*, which is repeated by the boy and which reverberates throughout the entire collection of the Joycean stories, contains the implications of immobility and overloosening.

In the majority of cases, Joyce chooses to express his characters’ moral paralysis as physical arrest. Father Flynn’s situation recalls that of a paralytic man from St Mark’s Gospel (Mk 2: 1-12). In the Biblical sense, a human being is a pilgrim. His centre is not within him and, therefore, he is on the way to reach it. Man’s inability to move prevents him from reaching his goal. It is fear and the loss of direction that paralyses a human being. Genesis 3 gives evidence that paralysis is a bad disease caused by the poison of the snake and primeval lie. In the Gospel story, four men bring the paralytic to Jesus with a hope that He will heal him. Their faith is so strong that being unable to reach Jesus because of the thick crowd they decide to uncover the roof of the house where He was staying and let down the bed with the sick at the feet of the Divine Physician. The first act that Jesus performs in this situation is the forgiveness of sins made by the paralysed man. In Hebrew, ‘to sin’ means ‘to lose one’s way’. Respectively, a sinner is a person who lost his/her way to the true goal. Man was created in the image and likeness of God. Yet, the lie of the Tempter filled his heart with fear and distrust in his Creator. Thus, turning away from God, man lost his true identity and found himself naked. Man without God cannot accept himself as he is therefore involved in a ceaseless conflict with himself and others in vain trying to cover his nakedness. In other words, a sin expresses human ignorance towards God’s love. In the Joycean story, Father Flynn’s paralysis is expressed in terms of hemiplegia, which stands for the paralysis of the one side of the body. In such a condition, the person is only half alive but not yet dead. In this respect, the situation of the old priest can also be regarded as a metaphor of “the city suffering from hemiplegia of will” (Joyce 1957: 247).

The boy learns about the death of Father Flynn from the conversation among his aunt, uncle and old Cotter. The conversation focuses on the priest and his relationship with the boy:

Old Cotter was sitting at the fire, smoking, when I came downstairs to supper. While my aunt was ladling out my stirabout he said, as if returning to some former remark of his:

– No, I wouldn’t say he was exactly... but there was something queer... there was something uncanny about him. I’ll tell you my opinion... <...> I think it was one of those... peculiar cases... But it’s hard to say...

He began to puff again at his pipe without giving us his theory. My uncle saw me staring and said to me:

– Well, so your old friend is gone, you’ll be sorry to hear.
– Who? said I.

– Father Flynn. <...>

My uncle explained to old Cotter:

– The youngster and he were great friends. The old chap taught him a great deal, mind you; and they say he had a great wish for him.

Old Cotter looked at me for a while.

– <...> My idea is: let a young lad run about and play with young lads of his own age and not be... Am I right, Jack? <...> When children see things like that, you know, it has an effect... (Joyce 2000: 3-4)

The gaps and omissions which prevail in the adults' talk suggest the adults' refusal to speak openly in front of the boy. The adults respond by not saying but by implying that their incomplete sentences cover something significant. The boy who is emotionally honest, tends to narrate the story in a straightforward manner. He openly expresses his anger and contempt for old Cotter by referring to him as a "tiresome old red-nosed imbecile" but simultaneously aims to "extract meaning from his unfinished sentences" (*ibid*: 4). This passage also highlights the clash between the childish world of innocence and the adult world of experience.

Reading the announcement about Father Flynn's death, the boy recalls his earlier frequent visits to the old priest, his Latin lessons and the "meaning of the different ceremonies of the Mass" (6). That night the boy and his aunt go to the house of mourning. They view the corpse and sit with Eliza and Nannie, the sisters of the dead Father Flynn. After viewing the corpse, the boy refuses the offered crackers as if the sound of eating them might disturb the dead priest in his coffin: "She pressed me to take some cream crackers also but I declined because I thought I would make too much noise eating them" (7). The physical presence of Father Flynn permeates through the story colouring the boy's experience of dealing with death in life. The boy's inability to eat and speak during the wake recalls the sense of paralysis that the narrator connects to the dead priest. This scene enables the reader to see Father Flynn as part of the boy's reality and "destroys the myth of the completely separate and detached observer, looking at everything with scientific objectivity" (Merton 1977: 291) Instead, the story proves that "the observer is part of the observed" (*ibid*).

The conversation carried on by the boy's aunt and Eliza reveals that Father Flynn had apparently suffered a mental breakdown after accidentally breaking a chalice:

– Did he... peacefully? she asked.

– Oh, quite peacefully, ma'am, said Eliza. You couldn't tell when the breath went out of him. He had a beautiful death, God be praised. <...> (*ibid*, 7)

– He looks quite resigned, said my aunt.

– That's what the woman we had in to wash him said. She said he just looked as if he was asleep, he looked that peaceful and resigned. No one would think he'd make such a beautiful corpse. <...> He was too scrupulous always. <...> The duties of the priesthood was too much for him. And then his life was, you might say, crossed.

– Yes, said my aunt. He was a disappointed man. You could see that. (*ibid*, 8)

– It was that chalice he broke... That was the beginning of it. Of course, they say it was all right, that it contained nothing, I mean. But still... <...> That affected his mind. <...> So one night he was wanted for to go on a call and they couldn't find him anywhere. They looked high up and low down and still they couldn't see a sight of him anywhere. So then the clerk suggested to try the chapel. So then they got the keys and opened the chapel, and the clerk and Father O'Rourke and another priest that was there brought in a light for to look for him... And what do you think but there he was, sitting up by himself in the dark in his confession-box, wide-awake and laughing-like softly to himself? (Joyce 2000: 9-10)

It is namely this outwardly banal conversation that brings epiphany in the story. At the moment of a sudden inner illumination the boy fully realises the causes of the physical death of the old priest and the paralytic state of his life: “I <...> listened; but there was no sound in the house: and I knew that the old priest was lying still in his coffin, solemn and truculent in death, an idle chalice on his breast” (ibid: 10). The epiphany enlightens the boy regarding the truth of both the late priest and his parents. It also contributes to his spiritual progress towards adolescence. Paradoxically, the death of the old priest turns to be an inevitable condition for the boy’s “freedom”. The experience of epiphany through the death of Father Flynn liberates the boy and suggests him the promise of a new beginning: “I found it strange that neither I nor the day seemed in a mourning mood, and I felt even annoyed at discovering in myself a sensation of freedom as if I had been freed from something by his death” (5).

The epiphany in “The Sisters” offers an insight into the observer as well as into the object observed. By pointing to details, Joyce gives hints to the reader towards the meaning of the story but never completes the puzzle. As Umberto Eco assumes, Joycean concept of epiphany is “the most secular or most religious <...> version of the symbolic mode. <...> And yet it flashes, at least for those of us who accept its invitation to the superfluous” (Eco 2005: 154). The reader is invited to make sense of things, as the boy does, alone. Thereby, in “The Sisters”, it is possible to distinguish between the artistic epiphany, which refers to the experience set down in language, and the reader’s epiphany, which deals with the re-experiencing of a particular event in the life of the reader. From hermeneutical perspective, the aesthetic experience of Joyce’s language may involve an interplay between the subjectivity of his text and the subjectivity of the reader. The Joycean short story is not merely a perceptual object in the mind of the reader but is also a subject capable of expressing itself. To use Gadamer’s wording, “its mode of being is characterized by interplay between its functions as subject and object. Its being is changed as it becomes an experience of the reader, and the being of the reader is changed by experiencing the work of art” (Gadamer 1975: 124).

Above all, the phenomenal language of Joyce’s short prose convincingly proves Gadamer’s rejection of the idea that understanding can ever be finished or complete. The universality of the language of art is “the result of the productivity of the hermeneutic circle and is treated as the infinite unfolding of understanding” (ibid: 261). The very structure of the circle suggests that any theory which implies

the possibility of completion of interpretation is obviously mistaken. Therefore, reading Joyce is an event that may be regarded as a meaning-producing process rather than a mere confrontation with a meaning-laden product.

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EPIFANIJA KAIP MENO TIESOS MANIFESTACIJA PER KALBĄ JAMESO JOYCE’O APSAKYME „SESERYS“

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Santrauka

Straisnyje tyrinėjama literatūrinė epifanija kaip meno tiesos manifestacija per kalbą J. Joyce’o apsakyme „Seserys“ (The Sisters) (1914). Literatūrinės epifanijos išsklaidai pasirinkta H. G. Gadamerio hermeneutikos perspektyva. Užuot vien su-

teikės prasmę savo apsakymui, Joyce'as, pasitelkės sprogstamąjį kalbos techniką, priverčia epifaniją staiga atskleisti ir priblokšti skaitytoją. Autoriaus konstruojamame meniniame pasaulyje, kitaip nei iš vidaus suparalyžiuotame Dublino mieste, potyriai sutelkti į kalbą, o tiesos atskleidimas yra epifanijos apsireiškimo dovana. Hermeneutiniu požiūriu epifanijos akimirką tiesa kyla iš visų atsitiktinių ir kintančių aplinkybių, kurios ją lemia ir yra apréptos jos esmėje. Apsakyme „Seserys“ Joyce'o epifanijos mechanizmą suponuoja nereikšminga, tačiau turinti simbolinį krūvį detalė (banalus moterų pokalbis per šermenį), kuri priartina berniuką naratorių ir skaitytoją prie vidinio gilio tiesos apsireiškimo. Joyce'o epifanija įrodinėja savo pačios tiesą, kuri įžengia į akiratį, supusį skaitytoją prieš jam susiduriant su modernistinio teksto pasaule. Joyce'o epifanija įrodinėja savo pačios tiesą, kuri įžengia į akiratį, supusį skaitytoją prieš jam susiduriant su modernistinio teksto pasaule. Dėl to apropijuodamas Joyce'o teksto pasaulį, atskleidžiamą daugelio interpretacijų, skaitytojas išplečia savo akiratį ir pildo savastį.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: epifanija, patirtis, kalba, tekstas, supratimas, tiesa, prasmė.

TEACHING ADOLESCENT STRUGGLING READERS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF GOOD PRACTICES IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

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Abstract: The ADORE Project has investigated reading instruction for adolescent struggling readers in eleven European countries, searching for examples of "good practice" in the enhancement of these students.

Key words: adolescent struggling readers, good practices, literacy.

Introduction

Reading and understanding texts of all kinds forms a basic competence for participating in social and cultural life and for being successful in a job. The PISA surveys have shown that, although most European adolescents have adequate reading competences at their disposal by the end of school, about a quarter of them cannot meet the minimal standards. Not only has the European Commission failed to decrease the numbers in this risk group of low achievers in reading (a goal aimed at in the Education Benchmarks), but the rate of low achievers has even increased since 2000. The urgency of this societal problem has induced the European Commission to invite tenders for a Socrates Programme with the aim and objective of "Better understanding of the phenomenon of poor reading and poor readers in order to better combat the problem." Within this goal, the participants of this project were reading experts from universities and teacher-training institutions from the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Poland, Romania, and Switzerland. The project was managed and coordinated by Christine Garbe, Karl Holle and Swantje Weinhold from the Leuphana University of Lüneburg (Germany). Hereby we are to introduce the Executive Summary of the project, written by the editorial board.

Constraints for good practice

In 2007 and 2008, the participants of the project visited schools in trans-national teams and analyzed lessons which can be regarded as examples of "good practice" under the respective specific conditions of the different countries. From a comparison of these national methods of good practice and on the basis of international reading instruction research, the members of the project identified constraints and Key Elements which support or, respectively, obstruct good practice.

The central constraints for good practice are the following:

Reading literacy: In all of the countries we have examined, with the exception of the Nordic countries, reading literacy is still defined as a competence which has to be acquired in elementary school and need not be systematically developed afterwards. However, international reading research has shown that, on the contrary, reading and writing skills must be developed continuously and *subject-specifically* in all content areas.

Adolescent struggling readers: Adolescent struggling readers are already readers. Nonetheless, their reading—and especially their reading to learn—is hindered by

different obstacles which they cannot overcome on their own. Effective instruction organizes a differentiated support of their existing strengths.

Ideas behind instruction: Evidence-based instruction should aim at transmitting competences for learning subject area contents and determining student competences (learning for/knowing how). We observed the elements of such a practice wherever teachers know how to work on their students' self-image in a realistic and motivating way.

Teachers' knowledge of literacy instruction: Research tells us that there is a critical transition between "learning to read and reading to learn" in the fifth grade. This transition makes adolescent reading distinctive, and literacy instruction in the secondary grades distinctly challenging. Text comprehension, critical appraisal of texts, and using texts for content area learning become much more important than in the primary grades. This kind of literacy differs in its requirement profiles and skill profiles from one subject area to the next. Extensive knowledge about effective reading instruction is not only essential for language arts teachers, but belongs to the required professional competence of all teachers.

Reading materials and curricula: Reading instruction in the language arts poses a special challenge, made up of two aspects: (1) it must take up the questions of the adolescents, and (2) it must help them to develop their reading literacy in such a way that they can find relevant answers through reading literary and other texts.

Financial and legal resources: There is a connection between the quality of educational institutions and their financial resources; however, it is more than a simple causal relationship. A second determining factor turned out to be crucial: the legally enforceable entitlement of students to individual support and enhancement.

Research and knowledge transfer: We have found considerable differences concerning the links between educational sciences and educational practice. Only in very few countries is there a systematic transfer of scientific expertise into educational practice or a transfer of concrete instructional problems into the sciences. In most countries, this transfer is tied to random cooperation of a narrow range and sustainability. On both sides of this transfer, important competences for the development of good practice lie fallow.

Educational values and systems: In the framework of our research, we encountered serious differences in the educational values of the different national educational systems. We could identify two principles: the support principle and the achievement principle. Educational systems following the support principle show much less administrative differentiation in achievement groups (school levels, class levels) and much less selection pressure than educational systems following the achievement principle. It does not come as a surprise that *poor readers* have better opportunities in support-orientated educational systems. But it is very interesting that *all students* perform better in support-orientated educational systems (for instance in Finland) than in strongly achievement-orientated countries. In the following, we will describe the abovementioned constraints and the Key Elements of good practice in more detail.

Findings and conclusions from the ADORE Project

Issue and research design of the ADORE Project

The ADORE Project was explicitly interested in input. Our main question was: Which are the components of “good practice” in order to support adolescent low achievers in reading? The project focuses especially on instructional practice in public secondary schools (including vocational schools). It does not claim to encompass all forms of reading enhancement. This focal point is based on the idea that the deficits of adolescent struggling readers (ASR) require well-directed, long-term measures of the institution school, and cannot be eliminated by short-term reading campaigns. The most important results can be summarized as 13 Key Elements of good practice and one “superior goal.”

The superior goal: changing the self-image of ASR

As a rule, adolescents handicapped by reading problems look back on many years of school failures. They often lack motivation and have no confidence in their own capabilities. ASR are well-known to try to conceal their deficits in reading literacy by loudly announcing that they do not *want* to read. This self-image prevents them from facing their reading problems and keeps them from developing their skills. These blockades cannot be sorted out with isolated measures (like training programmes or strategy trainings); it is imperative to address the whole personality of the adolescent. We want to underline here that short-term activities to increase the performance of students in the next test (training to the test) do not result in lasting improvements. A modification of the ASR’s self-image constitutes the superior goal of all interventions which the ADORE Consortium recommends with its 13 Key Elements. The target of all action must be the *independent reader and learner*, who no longer requires the help of others. This forms the basis for the lasting (sustained) increase in the reading achievement of ASR, as aspired to by the Educational Benchmark of the EU.

The educational culture in the classroom must change fundamentally

Traditional instruction in most countries is sequentially organized and centred on the teacher: it starts with the teacher’s determination of learning targets and achievement requirements, based on external specifications (curricula, educational standards). The choice of materials and methods, the realization of the lessons and the final performance tests all refer back to this definition of learning targets. The tests compare individual performance against previously defined requirements and lead to a ranking of the students (summative assessments). Organizing instruction in this way is natural for schools and educational systems whose primary goal is transmitting content (learning of/content-centred curricula) and which demand the mastery of this content for determining student success (performance orientated systems). For ASR students, this way of organizing instruction has three main consequences: (1) it provides them with constant evidence of their failures and confirms their negative self-image, hindering them from concentrating on improving their reading; (2) any analysis of their personal strengths and weaknesses only takes place when the instructional sequence is finished, and thus comes too late

for them—instructional support does not accompany lessons and prevent failures, but only reacts to them; (3) they are caught in a system of external differentiation (this includes remedial education, private lessons, repeating of classes, lower school levels). The range and sustainability of even good practice suffers from a lack of time (one remedial lesson per week) and is handicapped by the double task of repeating contents and, at the same time, developing basic competences.

In contrast to this, the examples of good practice we observed show a cyclical and student-centred form of organization. The setting of targets, the choice of materials, and the instruction methods are based on a diagnosis of the students' strengths and weaknesses, and are then communicated to them. Instruction is accompanied by assessments, continually calibrating the targets and methodical decisions with the learning needs and abilities of the students (formative assessments). Organizing instruction in this way is natural for schools and educational systems whose primary goal is developing the competences of students for the learning of subject contents (learning for/competence-orientated curricula). The level of supportiveness of the instructional organization is the main criterion for the quality of instruction (support-orientated systems). In contrast to achievement-orientated systems, support-orientated systems accept the fact of discontinuous individual development and actualize a model of learning in which learners are supported in their learning processes by “competent others,” who work with them in their zone of proximal development (Vygotsky). The professional teacher as a “competent other” represents the competence requirements of society, which he/she is acquainted with as a grown-up person, and which he/she must communicate to the students. First, the teacher has to identify the students' current stage of development, defined by independent problem-solving activities of the students. Next, the teacher has to determine the potential stage of development which the students could attain with targeted support. The teacher's work then consists of helping the students to progress from their current stage of development to their potential stage of development.

Key Elements for changing classroom practices

The Key Elements that we have identified aim at supporting the students' self-image. The cycle of instructional steps is embedded in an environment that enhances learning and presupposes a teacher-student interaction in the sense of the abovementioned “competent other.” For the actual organization of instruction, we present below a set of “Key Elements” that represent good practice beyond the actual instructional practice, at the levels of school, teacher training, and educational policy.

Key Element 1

Design supportive teacher–student and student–student interaction

Numerous science-based international concepts underline the necessity of actively shaping the social dimension of learning in the classroom. There is a psychological and a cognitive aspect to this. (1) The interaction between teachers and students, as well as amongst students, must be organised in such a way that especially the struggling readers are able to voice and handle their problems

with reading and understanding texts without fear of humiliation. (2) According to scientific findings, teacher-student dialogues, in the sense of the “cognitive apprenticeship approach,” are particularly effective for the cognitive progress of the learners. The teacher (as a competent other) models text comprehension by demonstrating and explaining certain strategies (“modelling”). Afterwards, s/he actively assists the apprentices by “scaffolding” while they are practising. Within the process, s/he gradually hands over more and more responsibility to the learners (“fading”). In the end, the students practise the newly acquired strategies independently in groups and pairs and—in the long run—adopt them as their own routines. In the accompanying “meta-cognitive discourse,” the learning processes are continually reflected and made conscious. In the schools we visited, we only seldom found this kind of teacher-student interaction. Concerning this field of action, well-directed further teacher training could activate a large potential by presenting international research on teaching and learning.

Key Element 2

Apply diagnostic (formative) assessments

On our school visits, we found three main kinds of assessments: (1) *Formative assessments* are routines in the course of day-to-day instruction and serve to measure the development of individual students in relation to fixed learning targets, in order to adapt instruction to the identified learning needs. These are always diagnostic assessments. (2) *Summative assessments* (for instance, reading tests) are applied beyond the ongoing instruction. They are used to determine the performance level or the competence profile of the students. They can, but need not necessarily, be diagnostic assessments. (3) *High-stakes assessments* are summative assessments with serious consequences for the students (for instance, grade marks in school reports). We could observe that diagnostic assessments (formative or summative) are rarely employed in achievement-orientated educational systems. Here, high-stakes assessments are the rule. In support-orientated educational systems, high-stakes assessments are seldom necessary: there, formative assessments, supplemented by diagnostic summative assessments, are the rule.

Key Element 3

Involve students in planning the learning process

It is crucial that ASR be given the possibility to take part in decisions about their learning process, or even to control it. The experience of helping to define their own instructional targets can change their sceptical attitude towards education and instruction. This important motivational component boosts self-confidence and feelings of self-efficacy. In most of the countries we visited, this Key Element was more or less distinctively observable, but it was almost always tied to individual professionals. Only in very few countries was it a standard method of instruction.

Key Element 4

Choose engaging reading materials

Student-centred methods of classroom practice are closely intertwined with reading materials. It can be said that ASR benefit from texts that are authentic,

or interesting and relevant for them. Since individual students' interests may vary considerably, it is wise to let students choose their own reading materials whenever possible, and to provide them with a wide selection of texts. As far as instructional methods are concerned, engagement not only in reading but also in the task at hand can be enhanced by promoting real-world interaction and hence, by providing students with hands-on activities. The selection of reading materials in instruction is not free from the surrounding educational and cultural contexts. We could see on our visits that some teachers had very little say in which reading materials to use, since the choice was made on the basis of a national curriculum and national test requirements. In contrast to this, teachers have more room for decisions when the national framework curriculum reflects a relatively wide conception of texts and gives individual teachers (and students) considerable latitude in choosing reading materials. Of course, material resources, such as texts, are meaningless unless the teacher has the opportunity and skills to develop his or her expertise by using the latest research findings and research-based methods. Ultimately, this places teacher education in the centre of all instructional development—along with the needs of individual students, in this case adolescent struggling readers.

Key Element 5

Involve students in the texts

For the development of reading comprehension and the enjoyment of reading, it is necessary that ASR become involved in the texts that they are reading. There are two aspects to this involvement. (1) Involvement in reading refers to affects and emotions such as enjoyment and interest, which can be seen as positive outcomes of reading. This involvement occurs, for example, when readers are fully absorbed in their reading, lose track of time, and forget about themselves and their surroundings. (2) Apart from this, reading involvement refers to the process of responding to the content of the text. This more cognitive and social aspect of involvement focuses on the nature of the comprehension processes involved in effective reading, which allows the reader to understand the message of the text and give a personal answer to it. This involvement occurs when students are allowed to elaborate their personal answers and points of view to a given text in collaboration with their peers and teachers. Whatever the form given to this personal answer (posters, drawings, performances, etc.), such practices have a positive impact on reading motivation by enabling students to exercise their autonomy and their ability to think. On the cognitive area of reading involvement, those discussions about texts, books or plays scaffold the readers' comprehension and provide opportunities to improve their interpretative skills.

Key Element 6

Teach cognitive and meta-cognitive reading strategies

One of the main characteristics of struggling readers is that they cannot identify the reasons for their difficulties. They read little and display negative attitudes towards reading. They cannot use monitoring strategies, only employ very few surface reading strategies, and overestimate their comprehension skills. Relevant reading strategies to be learned can be classified into three groups: (1) prior to

reading (clarifying the reading goals, skimming the text for general information, activating prior knowledge), (2) while reading (identifying the main ideas, making inferences, evoking predictions, monitoring comprehension), and (3) after reading (summarizing, drawing conclusions, self-questioning for comprehension, reviewing the comprehension of the text). One of the important challenges of teaching struggling readers in the secondary grades is to make their reading comprehension more conscious and strategic. Research tells us that using reading strategies well has a significant impact on learning to read better and reading to learn better.

Key Element 7

Create an inspiring reading environment

The schools we visited differ considerably when we regard the aspect of designing classrooms as specific reading and working places. ASR, in particular, need a stimulating reading environment that provides incentives for reading. The following framework requirements play an important role:

The availability of various print and non-print texts and books, bearing in mind the different reading requirements of boys and girls.

The availability of resources such as encyclopaedias, computer workstations, alternative literature on the respective subject area topics, and a variety of school books.

Different learning-places outside the classroom or the school library for working on topics alone or in groups, at various times.

Various places for presenting the results of reading and working, like glass-cases, pinboards, etc.

Key Elements on the school, regional, and national levels

The Key Elements we have presented so far result from our observations of instruction. However, our interviews with teachers, the analysis of concepts and the discussions with colleagues and principals on higher-ranking levels point to superordinate elements which also strengthen or weaken good practice in the classroom.

Key Element 8

Teachers' participation in and principal's support for school programmes

The kind of cooperation between the headperson and the staff turned out to be a central element of good practice. Several times, we came upon the problem that theoretically "good" concepts did not work in practice because they had little acceptance amongst the teaching staff. This mainly happens when a programme has been implemented "from above" (by the principal) or "from the outside" (by the school administration). Money from subsidies is spent more or less appropriately, as long as it comes in, but it does not help to establish support programmes sustainably. On the other hand, even small groups of teachers can manage to install a reading promotion programme if they have convincing concepts, are supported by the principal, and motivate others to participate. Teacher participation must be located on the national, local, and school levels. According to our findings, it encompasses primarily two aspects: (1) the motivation or commitment of the staff

on the subject of reading promotion which, as a rule, requires a bottom-up process for implementing a support programme; and (2) continuous (further) qualification for conveying reading literacy.

Key Element 9

Multi-professional support for teachers

Since the reasons for poor reading lie in so many different areas, help for ASR must also come from a network of different experts who support the teachers. Multiprofessional support measures are necessary in two other areas; we could already observe them in some countries:

1. In order to offer a broad range of reading materials which differ in content and the demands they make on the reader, every school must either have its own school library or cooperate closely with a public library, and both must have qualified staff at their disposal. Especially for struggling readers, a good match between interests, abilities and reading materials is indispensable.

2. Moreover, the diagnosis of poor reading and the evaluation of programmes must be supported by scientific institutions. Nationwide reading screenings must meet psychometric standards which can only be ensured by qualified scientists.

Key Element 10

Community support and involvement for schools

Beyond professional support, schools also need the assistance of local educational providers and private institutions. It seems essential to impart the message that the reading proficiency of adolescents is the decisive prerequisite for their participation in working life and public life. Thus, reading promotion must be seen as a common task of politicians, local companies, foundations, citizens' groups, and networks for the enhancement of reading. We were able to observe some examples of good practice: joint projects between local newspapers and schools, as well as between schools and public libraries.

Key Element 11

Legal and financial resources for supporting ASR

Good programmes for the sustainable enhancement of ASR need reliable, long-term, calculable financial and staff resources, which will only be provided when the support is politically intended and legally stipulated.

Key Element 12

Reading research and knowledge transfer

The ADORE Consortium assumes that every good practice needs a theoretical foundation for the development of the conception, for its implementation by scientifically qualified teachers, and for their scientific evaluation. As regards the institutional forms of reading research in the participating countries, we have paid special attention to the nature of the transfer mechanisms between research and practice. Fundamental research concerning the psychological, cognitive and other aspects of reading must be regarded as highly advanced. Application-orientated research, however, needs to catch up with it. It will have to develop

concepts and instruments and to evaluate the success of the programmes. The most important driving force for the firm establishment of reading research must be its implementation in teacher training.

Key Element 13

Teacher training and professional development

In order to teach students in the abovementioned way, teachers must possess highly developed expertise in their subject (for instance in mathematics). The decisive principle is “literacy across the curriculum”—the development of reading literacy beyond elementary school, in all subjects (and in all kinds of media). The respective qualification of all teachers must be anchored in teacher training.

Closing remarks

The Key Elements specified above have been analyzed systematically in the project. Apart from that, we discovered other important aspects for which we could find evidence but only little empirical material.

One of them is *including media literacy and information/communication technologies (ICT) into reading instruction for ASR*. The next one is *designing and implementing continuous quality monitoring and evaluation at the school, regional, and national levels*. Here, we have to differentiate between activities carried out by the participants (students, principals, other experts) themselves [internal evaluation], and those which are conducted by persons from outside the school (for instance school inspectors or scientists), in terms of quality monitoring [external evaluation]. The third one is *reflecting (and changing) national values concerning education, and national curricula, in order to make them meet ASR needs*. The selectivity of the respective instruction is a nearly inevitable result of curricula which adhere to traditional literature. However, it must remain subject to further research and to in-depth observations of instruction to capture the relationship between value concepts, curricula and instructional practice in more detail.

Our project has discovered diverse starting points for the support of ASR. It must be taken into consideration that all described activities must interlock. We think that improvements which address merely individual Key Elements have little prospect of success.

PAAUGLIŲ, TURINČIŲ SKAITYMO PROBLEMŲ, MOKYMAS: GEROSIOS PRAKTIKOS SKLAIDOS EUROPOS ŠALYSE LYGINAMOJI ANALIZĖ

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Santrauka

Įvairių tipų tekstų skaitymas ir suvokimas suformuoja esminį gebėjimą integruotis į socialinį bei kultūrinį gyvenimą ir garantuoja sėkmę darbo rinkoje. PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) tyrimai rodo, kad Europos pa-

augliai įgyja tam tikrų skaitymo gebėjimų baigdami mokyklą, tačiau apie kevarta-dilio paauglių jie neatitinka net minimalių standartų. Europos komisijai nepavyko sumažinti šių rodiklių, tačiau teko pripažinti, kad nuo 2000 m. mokinii su menkais skaitymo įgūdžiais netgi padaugėjo. Europos komisija *Socrates* programos projektais ėmėsi ryžtingai spręsti šią opią problemą. Buvo iškeltas tikslas „iš esmės suvokti silpno gebėjimo skaityti reiškinį, kad būtų galima geriau su juo kovoti“. ADORE projektas tyrė paauglių, turinčių skaitymo problemą, mokymo specifiką vienuoliukoje Europos šalių ir ieškojo „gerosios praktikos“ pavyzdžių, kaip sustiprinti tokius mokiniių skaitymo kompetenciją. Tuo tikslu į projektą įsitraukė universitetų ir pedagoginių aukštujų mokyklų ekspertai iš Austrijos, Belgijos, Estijos, Suomijos, Vokietijos, Vengrijos, Italijos, Norvegijos, Lenkijos, Rumunijos ir Šveicarijos. Straipsnyje pateikiama išsami projekto santrauka.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: paaugliai, turintys skaitymo problemą, skaitymo įgūdžiai, skaitymo kompetencija, geroji praktika, raštingumas.

VERTIMO IŠŠŪKIAI

CHALLENGES IN TRANSLATION

VERTIMO STUDIJOS: TIKSLO PROBLEMA

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Anotacija: Straipsnyje apžvelgiama vertimo studijose vartojamų terminų, pvz., išverčiamumas, ekvivalentišumas, adekvatumas, tikslumas / ištikimybė originalui ir kt., raida ir kaita. Atskleidžiamas jų kontraversiškas ir neretai fragmentiškas pobūdis. Tai paskatino išvadą, kad vertimas turi būti siejamas su vertėjo nuostatomis ir pasirinktu tikslu. Dažniausiai vertėjui tenka apsispręsti, ko jis siekia, – ar likti ištikimas originalui, ar tenkinti tikslinės auditorijos poreikius. Toks tikslų skilimas lėmė naujas metodologijas, pavyzdžiui, vadinančią skopos teoriją, atvėrusių įvairių manipuliacijų galimybes. Kita vertus, vertimas, orientuotas į tikslinę auditoriją, surado savo vietą aprašomosiose vertimo studijose. Tas pats pasakytiina ir apie daugialypęs terpės kategoriją teksto vertime. Tokiu būdu vertimas gali būti pagrįstai traktuojamas kaip teksto perrašymas, o jo kokybę vertinama, atsižvelgiant į siekiamą tikslą.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: išverčiamumas, ekvivalentišumas, adekvatumas, tikslumas/ištikimybė originalui, skopos, polisistema.

Vertimas – tai ne tik galingas įrankis, leidžiantis tautoms bendrauti, pažinti vienai kitą, bet ir nepamainoma manipuliacijos priemonė.

Nuo tada, kai 1972 metais Jamesas Holmesas (Holmes 2000: 173) įvardijo ir apibrėžė vertimo studijas kaip discipliną, jos tyrimo objektas, anksčiau orientuotas tik į tekstą, ėmė greitai plėtotis įvairiausiomis kryptimis, paskatino naujų, ne tik lingvistinių, bet ir socio-kultūrinių teorijų atsiradimą.

Aptariant tikslų problemą vertimo procese, norėčiau apžvelgti kai kurias svarbias sąvokas: *išverčiamumą* (*translatability*), *ekvivalentiškumą* (*equivalence*), *adekvatumą* (*adequacy*), *tikslumą/ištikimybę originalui* (*faithfulness/fidelity*) bei *Skopos teorijos poziciją*.

Diskusija sprendžiant išverčiamumo / neišverčiamumo problemą kilo susidūrus dviem pagrindiniams argumentams. Pasaulyje nėra vienodų kalbų; kiekviena kalba turi unikalų gramatikos, žodyno sistemą bei skirtinę metaforinę raišką, todėl reikšminį vienos kalbos turinį nėra paprasta perkelti į kitos kalbos rėmus. Tačiau nepaisant šio argumento, vertimas iš kalbos į kalbą vis dėlto vyksta ir dažnai pavyksta puikiai.

IŠVERČIAMUMĄ (*Translatability*) semantiniame lygmenyje dažniausiai užtikrina tinkamai pasirinktos vertimo strategijos, leidžiančios tiksliai perteikti semantinius originalo kalbos bruožus. Deja, vien tik referentinės (denotacinės) reikšmės perteikimas nėra vienintelis išverčiamumo kriterijus. Kitos dimensijos, t. y. pragmatinė reikšmė (konotacija ir kolokacija), teksto ir konteksto ypatybės (poteikstė) bei intralingvistinė reikšmė (įvairiausi formalūs teksto bruožai, pvz., žodžių žaismas, anogramos, įvairiausios poetinės priemonės), itin sunkiai perkeliamos iš kalbos į kalbą. Dažniausiai būtent šios teksto reikšmės sudaro didžiausius vertimo nuostolius.

Galima tvirtinti, kad reikšmė nėra absoliuti, ji neegzistuoja kalboje savarankiškai, o labai priklauso nuo teksto. Taigi ir išverčiamumo sąvoka iš esmės yra ribota.

Šių svarstymų pamatu dauguma vertimo teoretikų tvirtina, kad tiksliai išversti įmanoma tik banalias atvejus. Pavyzdžiu, William Frawley (Frawley 1984: 168) daro išvadą, kad bet kuris vertimas iš vienos kalbos į kitą patiria fiasko dar neprasidejės, jeigu siekia perteikti vien tik semantiką. Gideon Toury pasisako už tai, kad išverčiamumo sąvoka būtų vertinama ne kaip absoliuti, o kaip priklausoma nuo konkretaus vertimo akto bei siejama su teksto pobūdžiu, vertimo tikslu bei vertėjo pasirinktais vertimo principais (Toury 1980: 28).

EKVIVALENTIŠKUMAS (*Equivalence*) – kita centrinė vertimo teorijos sąvoka – taip pat kontraversiška. Vertimo teoretikų požiūris į ekvivalentiškumą kartais radikalai skiriasi. Ekvivalentiškumo terminas dažniausiai vartojamas apibūdinti ryšį tarp originalo ir vertimo tekštų ar mažesniu jų vienetu pobūdžiui bei laipsnį. Toks ekvivalentiškumo kaip kiekybiško įvertinimo traktavimas reikštų, kad vertimas yra tik kiekvieno originalo kalbos vieneto pakeitimasis tinkamiausiu vertimo kalbos ekvivalentu, pasirinktu iš visų potencialių ekvivalentų sąrašo. Mary Snell-Hornby nuomone (Snell-Hornby 1995: 16–22) jis suponuoja tam tikrą simetriją tarp kalbų bei iškreipia esminius vertimo problemų sprendimą paversdamas vertimo procesą tarsi lingvistinėmis pratybomis ignoruojant įvairiausius kultūrinius, konteksto bei kitus situacinius veiksnius, kurie, kaip jau visuotinai pripažištama, vaidina itin svarbū vaidmenį verčiant. Šios ižvalgos paskatino daugelį mokslininkų išskirti įvairias ekvivalentiškumo sąvokos kategorijas. Nors visos išskirtos kategorijos apima tam tikrą ryšį tarp originalo ir vertimo teksto, tačiau nė viena iš jų nėra išsami. Todėl pats terminas „ekvivalentiškumas“, kuriuo siekta moksliškai apibrėžti vertimą, ilgainiu tapo vis sudėtingesnis ir fragmentiškesnis. Štai Toury (Toury 1980: 28) atkakliai laikosi nuomonės, kad kiekvienas vertimas yra konkretus veiksmų aktas (a concrete act of performance) ir ragina atidžiai analizuoti kiekvieną verčiamą tekstą, išsiaiskinti, kokiomis normomis remiantis jis yra sukurtas. Mokslininko teigimu, būtent šios normos apibrėžia išversto teksto ekvivalentiškumo originalui pobūdį bei laipsnį (Toury 1995: 61). Taip tyrėjas pasisako už prioritetą pasirinkimą verčiant. Norint pasiekti vertimo ekvivalentiškumą jau nebereiškia laikytis tam tikrų kriterijų, o tiesiog išlaikyti tam tikras originalaus teksto savybes (taip vadinančias ekvivalentiškumo postulata), charakterizuojančias esminius ryšius tarp originalo ir vertimo tekštų. „Žvelgiant iš vertimo teksto pozicijos, ekvivalentiškumas nėra postuluotas reikalaivimas, o empirinis faktas, kaip ir pats vertimo tekstas“ (Toury 1980: 39).

Panašiai ekvivalentiškumą interpretuoja Katharina Reiss ir Hans Vermeer (1984). T. y. priklausomai nuo kiekvieno atskiro teksto ypatybių, tik, skirtingai nei Toury, žvelgdami per funkcijos ir komunikacinio efekto prizmę. Šie autorai nevertina originalaus teksto kaip turinčio tam tikrų savybių, kurias svarbu išlaikyti verčiant, tačiau ekvivalentiškumo terminą taiko tais atvejais, kai originalo ir vertimo tekstai atlieka tą pačią komunikacinių funkciją (Reiss, Vermeer 1984: 139–40). Jean-Paul Vinay ir Jean Darbelnet nuomone (Vinay, Darbelnet 1958/1995: 342), ekvivalentiškumas pasiekiamas tuomet, kai originalo situacija yra atkartojama kita žodine raiška. Pavyzdžiu, verčiant nusistovėjusius posakius, idiomas, patarles ar klišės, originalo vienetai yra pakeičiami vertimo vienetais, kurie mažai panašūs arba ir visiškai skiriasi nuo originalo. Vis dėlto tokio pobūdžio ryšį dauguma vertimo

tyrėjų vadina *adekvatumu* (*adequacy*), nes terminas *adekvatumas* reiškia laisvesnį originalo ir vertimo teksto ryšį nei *ekvivalentišumas*. Reiss ir Vermeer vartoja terminą *adekvatumas* savo skopos teorijos modelyje kalbėdami apie vertimą, kurio komunikacinė funkcija skiriasi nuo originalaus teksto. Taigi šiame kontekste adekvatumas nurodo ryšį tarp originalo ir vertimo išvertinant visų pirma tikslą (arba *skopos*), kurio siekiama vertimo procese (Reiss, Vermeer 1984: 139).

SKOPOS TEORIJA (graik. *Skopos* – tikslas) kaip vertimo metodologija buvo pasiūlyta baigiantis praeito amžiaus aštuntajam dešimtmečiui. Šios teorijos esminė idėja yra tvirtinimas, kad vertimo tekstas priklauso nuo jam skiriamos funkcijos vertimo kalbos kontekste, arba *skopos*. Reiss ir Vermeer šį bendrajį principą formuluoja dviem skopos taisyklėmis: 1) tikslas apibrėžia bendravimą (kitaip tariant, bendravimas atlieka tikslingą funkciją) ir 2) skopos kinta priklausomai nuo recipiento (Reiss ir Vermeer 1984: 101).

Laikantis šių principų, vertėjo pareiga yra taikyti tas vertimo strategijas, kurios būtų tinkamiausios siekiant vertimo tekstu numeratyto tikslu, net jei naudojamos strategijos kertasi su „*jprastomis*“ konkrečiame vertimo kontekste. Trumpai tariant, kuriant vertimo tekštą, „tikslas pateisina priemones“ (Reiss & Vermeer 1984:101). Touy vertinimu, skopos teorija yra alternatyvi, į vertimo tekštą orientuota para-digma (Touy 1995: 25). Teoretikas tikslai pastebi, kad skopos metodologija „nu-karūnuoja“ originalo tekštą – originalo teksto turinio perteikimas vertimo kalbos auditorijai tampa neprivalomu dalyku, originalo tekstas traktuojamas kaip infor-macijos pasiūla, o vertėjas privalo rinktis tik tas teksto savybes, kurios labiausiai atitinka vertimo situacijos poreikius. Tuo būdu vertimas suvokiamas kaip naujo turinio sukūrimas, o ne tiesiog originalios informacijos perteikimas vertimo kalbos auditorijai.

Taikant skopos metodologiją vertimo procese, mokslinio teksto vertimas gali būti pažodinis. Pavyzdžiui, „Don Kichotas“ gali būti adaptuotas vaikiškam leidi-niui, Budos posakius galima trumpinti išmetant pakartojimus, kurie nepriimtini šiuolaikiniams skaitytojui, amerikietiškus verslo laiškus, verčiamus į vokiečių kalbą, galima papildyti šiai kalbai būdingomis mandagumo formulėmis ir t. t. (Vermeer 1982: 100). Apie vertimo kokybę galima spręsti iš to, kaip jí priima vertimo kalbos auditorija.

TIKSLUMAS/ĮŠTIKIMYBĖ ORIGINALUI (*Faithfulness* arba *Fidelity*) yra bendrieji terminai, vartojami apibūdinti, kaip tiksliai vertimo tekstas atitinka ori-ginalo tekštą remiantis tam tikrais kriterijais. Tradiciškai tiksliu vertimu laikomas toks vertimas, kuris maksimaliai perteikia originalo teksto žodį ir prasmę, kitaip tariant, prioritetas yra teikiamas originalo tekstui. Ši nuostata bendrajā prasme te-béra išlikusi iki šiol, ypač verčiant meninį kūrinį, nes vertimo tikslas yra – kūri-nio nemirtingumas. Anot Walter Benjamin (1970), vertimas visuomet atsiranda po originalo ir dažniausiai daug vėliau nei originalas, todėl jis suteikia originalui naują gyvybę ir sukuria potencialią perspektyvą ateityje būti atgaivintam dar daug kartų, o tai ir atneša kūriniui šlovę. Vertimo tikslumas ilgą laiką buvo svarbiausias vertimo kokybės vertinimo kriterijus. Tačiau Juan Sager nurodo (Sager 1994: 121), kad tikriausiai dėl šiam terminui būdingo vidinio neaiškumo bei subjektyvumo jí imta keisti terminu *ekvivalentišumas*. Ekvivalentišumas ir leido iškilti naujoms metodologijoms.

Šiuolaikinių technologijų pasaulyje svarbą įgijo daugiaterpių tekstu kategorija (multimedia), apimanti tekstus, kuriuose verbalinis turinys yra susijęs kitų terpių elementais. Tokio tipo tekstus Reiss vadina terminu *superstruktūra*. Sie tekstai priklauso kuriam nors iš pagrindinių teksto tipų – ekspresyviesiems, informatyvieisims ar operatyviesiems – ir turi atitiktai tam tikros terpės reikalavimus. Tokius tekstus verčiant, svarbiausia sąlyga yra užtikrinti, kad verstinis tekstas galėtų būti panaudotas tokioje pat terpéje kaip ir originalus tekstas (Reiss 1977: 111). Šiuo atveju vertimui yra svarbi Polisistemų teorija, kurią išvystė Itamar Even-Zohar (1978). Polisistemų teorijos pritaikymas atvedė į verstinį tekštą orientuotas studijas bei deskriptyvias, o ne preskriptyvias vertimo studijų nuostatas. Ši teorija puikiai atitiko mokslininkų grupės, vadinamos „manipuliacijos mokykla“, lūkesčius.

Tačiau manipulacijos problema vertime – tai jau kitos diskusijos tema.

Sumuojant ižvalgas vertimo tikslo problemos tema, galima pritarti André Lefevere požiūriui, kad vertimas – tai originalo „perrašymas“ (Lefevere 1992: 9), o vertimo kokybė gali būti vertinama tik jam keliamo tikslo plotmėje.

Belieka džiaugtis, kad šiandien nėra inkvizicijos, ir vertėjui negresia sudeginimas ant laužo, kaip 1546 m. nutiko prancūzų humanistui Etienne Dolet. Manoma, jog už tai, kad versdamas vieną iš Platono dialogų, jis išdėjo frazę „visiškai nieko“ (*rien du tout*) rašydamas apie tai, kas egzistuoja po mirties. Dėl to Sorbonos universiteto teologijos fakultetas apkaltino jį šventvagyste, neva netikėjimu pomirtiniu gyvenimu ir skyrė mirties bausmę.

Apie grėsmes bei galtingas socialines, politines, religines ir kitokias įtakas vertėjui vėl būtų nauja diskusijos tema.

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TRANSLATION STUDIES: THE PROBLEM OF TRANSLATOR'S AIM

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Summary

The paper reviews the historical sequence of the development of the key concepts in *Translation Studies* such as *translatability*, *equivalence*, *adequacy*, *faithfulness/ fidelity*, *skopos*, *polysystem* and their controversial as well as often fragmented nature. This conceptual limitation caused the generation of each new concept and, finally, led to the discernment of translation orientation dependent on the aim followed. Thus, *equivalence* of translation seeks fidelity to the source, while *adequacy* of translation allows to meet the needs of the target audience. This disseverance gave birth to new methodologies, e.g., the Skopos theory, and opened up the potential for manipulation. On the other hand, the target audience directed translation found its right place in descriptive translation studies as well as translation studies focusing on the multimedial category of text translation. Thus, the translated text can be rightly regarded as rewriting and its quality should be estimated against its sought aim.

Key words: translatability, equivalence, adequacy, faithfulness/fidelity, skopos, multimedial, polysystem.

TRANSLATION OF LOCATIVE SUBJECTS, OBJECTS AND PREDICATES FROM ENGLISH INTO LITHUANIAN

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Abstract: This article focuses on the translation of subjects, objects and predicates functioning as locatives. The subject commonly expresses location when the predicate verbs are of containment (e.g., contain, include, embody, comprise, involve, imply, connote, subsume, abound). An analysis of such examples shows that the translator often keeps to locatives, and that the object in the English sentence often becomes the subject in the Lithuanian sentence. The type of process is not preserved either: verbs of containment are changed into activity verbs. In sentences with locative subjects expressing atmospheric phenomena, in possessive existential sentences, and when the locative subjects denote area, due to the relatively free word order, the Lithuanian language allows two possibilities in translation, i.e., preserving the locative subject, or turning it into an adverbial of place. Examples with holistic locative subjects exhibit full equivalency in both languages. Locative objects are very common in the English language as well. When translated into Lithuanian, locative objects were turned into adverbs of place. In translations of sentences with holistic objects, the same sentence structure is observed, but in the Lithuanian sentences we can see a change in the morphological structure of the verbs, which are used with the prefix ap-. Furthermore, locative elements were found to map onto predicates. Locative predicates exhibit different space relations: they can be formed on nouns which correspond to the placement of an object inside an entity, nouns which correspond to the final location of an object, and nouns which correspond to the place from which the motion of an object began. Locative predicates are not common in the sentences translated into Lithuanian. Locative predicates were preserved in sentences containing the verbs to camp (*stovyklauti*), to garden (*sodininkauti*), to imprison (*ikalinti*), and to shell (*išlukštenti*). Other sentences were translated using adverbials of place. In sum, the translation of locative subjects, locative objects, and locative predicates requires the translator to take into consideration several factors: the type of locative, the pragmatic needs of the sentence, and the derivational possibilities of the language.

Key words: locative subject, locative object, locative predicate, adverbial of place, translation.

At first sight it could seem that the translation of subjects, objects and predicates from English into Lithuanian is quite an easy task for a translator. Semantically, the subject may be in various relations to the predicate. This depends on several factors, such as the meaning of the predicate verb, its form (active or passive), the meaning of the word denoting the subject itself, or the way the subject is expressed. From this point of view the subject may be identified as an AGENT, EXPERIENCER, INSTRUMENT, PATIENT, RECIPIENT, LOCATIVE, or EVENTIVE. The object and the predicate, in the same way, may express different semantic functions. The object may function as an AFFECTIVE, EFFECTIVE, or LOCATIVE. Different semantic functions can be attributed to the predicate as well.

The present paper focuses on the translation of subjects, objects and predicates functioning as LOCATIVES.

Different types of locative subjects may be distinguished depending on their relations to the predicate verb. Is it possible to preserve the same semantic and syntactic functions when translating from English into Lithuanian? To answer the question, a deeper look should be given to the different types of subjects.

It is very common when the subject expresses location to employ predicate verbs of containment: *contain*, *include*, *embody*, *comprise*, *involve*, *imply*, *connote*, *subsume*, *abound*.

Compare these English sentences with their translated versions:

Hagrid's **cabin comprised a single room**, in one corner of which was a gigantic bed covered in a patch-work quilt [JKR, p. 232].

Hagrido **trobelė buvo vieno kambario**, kampe stovėjo milžiniška lova, užklota skiautinių lovatiiese [JKR, p.207].

The Entrance Hall contained a few last-minute stragglers, all leaving the great hall after breakfast and heading through the double oak doors to watch the second task [JKR, p.427].

Vestibiulyje trynėsi keletas užsilikėlių, visi kiti po pusryčių jau éjo pro didžiašias duris žiūréti antrosios užduoties [JKR, p.381].

Originally **the house consisted of very large apartments** <...> [IL, p. 9]. Iš tikrujų, **name labai dideli butai**, mažiausias buvo devintas <...> [IL, p. 9].

The books include clear maps and excellent entries on individual buildings, monuments and fields [Con.]

Knygose pateikiami žemėlapiai ir puikūs straipsniai apie individualius pastatus, paminklus ir aikštës.

As can be seen in the above examples, the translator often uses place adverbials: *vestibiulyje*, *name*, *knygose*. Moreover, what is the object in the English sentence becomes the subject in the Lithuanian sentence. The type of process is not preserved as well: verbs of containment are changed into activity verbs (*trynėsi*, *pateikiami*).

Another group of verbs that restricts the presumed status of the subject to LOCATIVE in translation is: *live in*, *accommodate*, *inhabit*, *dwell*, *occupy*, *reside*, *sleep in*.

However, there are certain restrictions imposed on the use of *inhabit* and *live in*. These verbs generally denote a habitual process carried out by a generic participant. It is possible to say *The town is inhabited by fishermen and hoteliers*, but the sentence *That house is inhabited by John* is ungrammatical. Another restriction concerns the semantics of the locative itself: only locatives that can be affected PATIENTS can become subjects. Thus, the sentence *Chicago has been lived in by my brother* is ungrammatical, since *Chicago* is not conceived as a true PATIENT, while in *Chicago has been lived in by generations of immigrants*, *Chicago* is a true PATIENT: a single agentive participant cannot have a great effect on the location (Bolinger 1981: 54).

Sentences with locative subjects expressing atmospheric phenomena or an acoustic or luminous environment can be translated into Lithuanian by either preserving the same status of the subject or turning it into an adverbial of place:

The dimly lit room was swelteringly hot [JKR].

Prielandoje skendintis kabinetas buvo karštas it pirtis or *Prielandoje skendinčiame kabinete* buvo karšta it pirtyje [JKR, p.445].

Locative subjects can also be observed in possessive existential sentences:

Every hotel had at least one such room <...> [AH, p.15] vs. *There was at least one such room in every hotel.*

Though the process is presented with different verbs (*have* and *be*), both sentences describe the same situation, i.e., they are both existential. The sentence *Every hotel had at least one such room* could be the answer to the existential question *Was there at least one such room in every hotel?* What is more, it cannot be paraphrased by other possessive verbs.

The sentence *Every hotel had at least one such room*, in which *every hotel* is the THEME and *one such room* is the RHEME, does not differ pragmatically from the sentence *There was at least one such room in every hotel* (where again, *every hotel* is the THEME and *one such room* is the RHEME); both sentences exhibit the same informational-pragmatic structure. English uses the alternative construction for two reasons—to make it correspond to both a logical pattern (the basic distribution of communicative dynamism is THEME—RHEME) and a grammatical one (subject—predicate). There is a strong tendency in English to use subjects as THEMES.

In many languages, the relationship between possessive and existential sentences is rather obvious, even superficially. In Russian, for example, the sentence *Na stole estj kniga* and *U menia estj kniga* do not differ on a semantic structural level. A similar relationship can be observed in English: *July has 31 days* vs. *There are 31 days in July*. That the carrier (possessor) can be conceived as a location is evident in the sentences *I have no money on/about me* and *I have no money in my possession*. Lyons (1969: 392–3) quotes similar examples from Latin, Russian, and other languages. As Lyons writes, “However that may be, there can be no doubt that the localist interpretation of so-called possessive constructions is eminently possible on both semantic and syntactic grounds. The question *Where is the book?* can be answered, equally well, with either *It is on the table* or *John has it*; and there is no reason to treat the verb *have* here and elsewhere, as anything other than a transformationally inserted variant of the locative copula.... There is nothing paradoxical, untraditional though it may be, about the postulation of underlying locative subjects. We can say that *John* (or *at John*) is the underlying locative subject in *John has a book*” (1977: 722–3).

Such subjects enable the writer/speaker to preserve the THEME—RHEME dynamic. Owing to its relatively free word order, the Lithuanian language allows two possibilities in translation:

This apartment has four rooms, two baths, five closets [JL, p.9].

Šiame bute yra keturi kambariai, dvi vonios ir penki tualetai [IL, p.9] or **Šis butas turi keturis kambarius, dvi vonias ir penkis tualetus.**

“**The door already has a bolt,**” she said [IL].

—**Duryse jau turi sklendę, —pasakė ji** [IL] or **Duryse jau yra sklendė.**

When the locative subjects denote an area, the situation can be generally presented by the example:

The picture showed a sunlit forest [JKR] vs. There was a sunlit forest [shown] in the picture.

Both sentences are existential. As they have already been subjected to analysis, we shall restrict ourselves to making only one comment: the verb *show* is generally used with agentive subjects and denotes a dynamic process; in an existential sentence it turns into a stative process.

Consider the examples:

Britain hasn't hosted the Cup for thirty years and tickets are extremely hard to come by [JKR, p.32]

Turiu vilties, kad Harj išleisite su mumis į rungtynes, nes toks įvykis pasitaiko tik vieną kartą gyvenime: trisdešimt metų **čempionatas buvo rengiamas ne Britanijoje**, be to, nepaprastai sunku gauti bilietus [JKR, p.111] or Trisdešimt metų **Britanija** nerengė čempionatą.

The map showed the whole of Hogwarts <...> [JKR, p.398].

Plane buvo visas Hogwartsas, <...> [355] or *Planas vaizdavo visą Hogvartsą.*

Both translations are acceptable.

Locative subjects are also found in English sentences with holistic verbs. The term *holistic* is applied to verbs that take a locative subject or object and have a holistic component in their semantic structure. Holistic verbs denote situations of covering, surrounding, and filling, and the holistic effect clearly demonstrates that the entity is totally affected by the process. Cf.:

The garden is swarming with bees vs. Bees are swarming in the garden.

As can be seen, both sentences—the congruent and the non-congruent—have the same communicative structure. They are alternative realizations of one and the same communicative structure. However, it should be mentioned that the sentence *The garden is swarming with bees* can only be treated as a case of *argument alternation* if the congruent variant has the same meaning, i.e., if bees were swarming all over the garden.

Consider the examples:

At this, Myrtle's eyes filled with sudden tears again [JKR, p.360].

Staiga Mirtos akys patvino ašaromis [JKR, p.360].

*An hour later, they had made very little progress, though **their table was littered with bits of parchment** bearing sums and symbols, and Harry's **brain***

was as fogged as though it had been filled with the fumes from Professor Trelawney's fte [JKR, p.195].

Per valandą jie beveik nieko nenuveikė, nors stalas buvo apkreiktas pergamento skiautėmis su skaičiais ir simboliais, o Hario smegenys – taip apdujusios, lyg pripuostos profesorės Treloni židinio dūmų [JKR, p.174].

The examples exhibit full equivalency in both languages.

There are rare cases when locative subjects denote natural force. This can be generally presented by the example: *The sun dried the clothes* vs. *I dried the clothes in the sun*. The sentence *The sun dried the clothes* presents another typical example of a RHEME being turned into a THEME.

Consider more examples:

He died in a thunderstorm. vs. ***The thunder killed him.***
Jis žuvo audroje. vs. ***Audra*** pražudė *ji*.

He got drenched in the rain. vs. ***The rain drenched him.***
Jis permirko lietuje. vs. ***Lietus*** permerkė *ji*.

Lithuanian, which has relatively free word order, does not have to resort to the process of changing the locative to subject for pragmatic purposes: in Lithuanian, any thematic constituent can be placed in sentence-initial position, so the sentence could also be translated as:

Aš išdžiovinau drabužius saulėje. vs. ***Saulėje*** aš išdžiovinau drabužius. vs.
Saulė išdžiovino drabužius.

Locative subjects denoting atmospheric environment can be presented by the examples:

Lee Jordan had let off some of Dr Filibuster's Fabulous No-Heat, Wet-Start Fireworks, so that the air was thick with stars and sparks; <...> [JKR, p.318]

Li Džordanas paleido keletą daktaro Filibustjero garsiuju bedugnių Šlapio degimo petardų, todėl kambaryje lijo žvaigždėmis ir žiežirbomis [JKR, p.283].

The air was suddenly full of the swishing of cloaks [JKR, p.561].

Orq ūmai ėmė plakti plazdantys apsiaustai [JKR, p.499].

As can be seen from these examples, subjects denoting the atmospheric environment do not preserve their locative status when translated into Lithuanian. In the first example, *the air* is even changed into *kambaryje* “in the room,” while in the second example, the subject is turned into the object.

Locative objects are very common in the English language as well. This could be generally demonstrated by the example:

*He searched **the kitchen**. vs. He searched for something **in the kitchen**.*

*Jis apieškojo **virtuvę**. vs. Jis ieškojo kažko **virtuvėje**.*

Consider more examples:

*"I refuse to believe that he gave you orders **to search my office!**" [JKR, p.410]*

*-Né už ką nepatikésiu, kad jis liepė **mano kabinete daryti kratą!** [JKR, p.365]*

*"I suppose there's always Moaning Myrtle," he said gloomily, referring to the ghost who **haunted the girls' toilets** on the second floor [JKR, p.345].*

-Ką gi, dar yra Vaitoklė Mirta, -niūriai tarė jis, prisiminės šmékla, kuri vaidendavosi trečio aukšto mergaičių tualetuose [JKR, p.307].

*Several sixth-year girls were frantically **searching their pockets** as they walked <...> [JKR, p.219].*

*Keletas šeštakursių mergaičių karštligiškai **rausėsi kišenėse** [JKR, p.195].*

As can be seen from the examples, when translated into Lithuanian, the locative objects were turned into adverbs of place: *mano kabinete daryti kratą, vaidendavosi mergaičių tualetuose, rausėsi kišenėse*, though it would have been possible to translate *to search my office* in the first example as *apieškoti mano kabinetą*.

When translating sentences with holistic objects, the same sentence structure is observed:

*John planted **the garden** with apple trees.*

Jonas apsodino sodą obelimiš.

In the Lithuanian sentence we can see a change in the morphological structure of the verb: the verb is used with the prefix *ap-*.

Special mention must be made of locative objects, which could be presented by the sentence *John filled the glass with water*. The congruent sentence of this could be *John poured water into the glass*. Again, these two sentences are not quite synonymous. The verb *fill* has, apart from its lexical meaning, the notion *cause z to change its state by means of causing y to go to z*. So, the meaning of the sentence *John filled the glass with water* is: John caused the glass to become full of water by means of causing water to be in the glass. In other words, the sentence specifies a change of state in the container, the glass. That is, the verb *fill* specifies a change of state

in the location, from empty to full. Other verbs of this group are: *cover*, *decorate*, *bandage*, *litter*, and *soak*. They all describe a change of state in an entity.

The sentence *John poured water into the glass* expresses a different situation. It specifies the particular manner of moving the object, *water*. The meaning of *pour water into the glass* can be expressed by *cause water to go in a downward stream into the glass*; it specifies the particular manner of motion of the moving entity, *water*, but does not specify a change of state in the location, *the glass*. Other verbs of this kind are: *dribble*, *spill*, *slop*, and *ladle*. They have semantic properties in common with *pour*, in that they all describe a specific manner of motion of an entity and no change of state in the location.

The communicative structure of these two sentences is different, even though the situation in both instances is described from the perspective of the same participant, *John*. The sentence constituents *water* and *glass*, however, have different pragmatic weight; in the first sentence, *the glass*, a direct object, is given more prominence, while in the second sentence, a more significant communicative function is ascribed to *water* (Fillmore 1977).

When translating such sentences into Lithuanian, the locative object is turned into a locative subject:

There were rocks littering the lake bottom [JKR, p.433].

Ežero dugnas buvo nusėtas akmenimis [JKR, p.386].

But there were also cases when the locative function of the object was preserved:

The wailing, screeching sound filled the bathroom, <...> [JKR, p.400].

Vonių užliejo šaižus klyksmas, <...> [JKR, p.357].

Locative elements were found to map onto predicates. According to Clark and Clark (1979), locative verbs are homophonous or nearly homophonous with the corresponding nouns. Lyons (1977: 532) and Sanders (1988) argue that these verbs are generally derived from nouns through the process of conversion or zero derivation. As a rule, the verbalization process involves monosyllabic and disyllabic nouns.

Locative predicates exhibit different space relations as well: they can be formed on nouns which correspond to the place of the object inside an entity, nouns which correspond to the final location of an object, or nouns which refer to the place from which the motion of an object began.

Consider these examples:

Harry camped with friends. vs. Harry spent time in the camp with friends.

Haris stovyklavo su draugais. vs. Haris leido laiką stovykloje su draugais.

They jailed Harry. vs. They put Harry into prison.

Jie įkalino Harį. vs. Jie įkišo Harį į kalėjimą.

Josie was shelling peas in the kitchen. vs. Josie was removing peas from their shells.

Džosių lukšteno žirnias. vs. Džosi ēmė žirnias iš ankštis (literal translation).

Locative predicates are not common in sentences translated into Lithuanian. The locative predicates were preserved in the sentences containing the verbs *to camp* (*stovyklauti*), *to garden* (*sodininkauti*), *to imprison* (*īkalinti*), and *to shell* (*išlukšti*). Other sentences were translated using adverbials of place:

Mr Diggory handed Harry his wand and Harry pocketed it [JKR, p.124].

Digoris įteikė Hariui lazdelę, jis ją įsikišo kišenėn [JKR, p.111].

“Do you come from Australia?” Rosemary asked, when the carpet had been blotted, the tray safely kitchened, and the Castevelts seated in straight-backed chairs [IL, p.52].

–Ar jūs atvykote iš Australijos? – paklausė Rozmari, kai kilimas buvo išvalytas, padėklas nuneštas į virtuvę ir Kastevetai jau sėdėjo priešais pastatytose kėdėse [IL, p. 45].

To sum up, it could be said that when translating locative subjects, locative objects, and locative predicates, a translator has to take into consideration several factors: the type of the locative, the pragmatic needs of the sentence, and the derivational possibilities of the language. The free sentence word order in the Lithuanian language allows it to express location by place adverbs in the initial position. Concerning derivational possibilities, it could be said that the ease with which English forms verbs from nouns denoting places explains why locative predicates abound in English sentences. The situation is different in the Lithuanian language, and sentences with locative predicates are translated in Lithuanian using the verb and the noun underlying the predicate verb.

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LOKATYVINIO VEIKSNIOS, PAPILDINIO IR TARINIO VERTIMAS IŠ ANGLŲ KALBOS Į LIETUVIŲ KALBĄ

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Santrauka

Straipsnyje aptariamos veiksnio, papildinio ir tarinio, kurie funkcionuoja kaip lokatyvai, vertimo iš anglų kalbos į lietuvių kalbą problemos. Paprastai veiksny s nurodo lokaciją, kai tarinio veiksmo žodis išreiškia talpinimą (anglų k. tai būtų veiksmo žodžiai *contain, include, embody, comprise, involve, imply, connote, subsume, abound*). Atlirkas tyrimas parodė, kad vertėjas, versdamas iš anglų kalbos į lietuvių kalbą, dažnai pasirena lokatyvus, ir taip originalo sakinyje esantis papildinys lietuviškame vertime virsta veiksniu. Veiksmo žodžius pakeičia veikiamosios rūšies veiksmo žodžiai. Verčiant sakinius, kuriuose lokatyvinis veiksnys išreiškia atmosferos reiškinius posesyviniais egzistenciniais sakinius ir lokatyvinis veiksnys nusako veiksmo zoną, lietuvių kalba dėl sąlygiškai laisvos žodžių tvarkos suteikia dvi vertimo galimybes: išlaikyti lokatyvinį veiksnį arba pakeisti jį lokatyviniu prieveiksmiu. Pavyzdžiai su holistiniu lokatyviniu veiksniu rodo visišką abiejų kalbų atitikimą. Reikia pabrėžti, kad lokatyviniai papildiniai yra dažnai anglų kalbos reiškinys, tačiau, verčiant į lietuvių kalbą, tokie papildiniai paprastai keičiami vienos prieveiksmis. Sakinių su holistiniais papildiniais vertimuose yra išlaikoma tokia pati saknio struktūra, bet transformuojama veiksmo žodžių morfologinė struktūra, pridedant priešdėļ *ap-*. Taip pat buvo pastebėta, kad lokatyviniai elementai buvo perkelti į tarinius. Lokatyviniai tariniai demonstruoja įvairius erdvinius santykius: jie gali būti sudaromi iš daiktavardžių, žymintių objektų išsidėstymą, daiktavardžių, nurodančių objekto galutinę vietą ir daiktavardžių, nurodančių vietą, kurioje prasidėjo objekto judėjimas. Lokatyviniai tariniai nebuvo būdingi sakiniams, išverstiems į lietuvių kalbą. Jie buvo išlaikyti tik sakiniuose, kuriuose buvo pavartoti šie veiksmo žodžiai: *to camp (stovyklauti), to garden (sodininkauti), to imprison (jkalinti) ir to shell (išlukštenti)*. Kiti sakiniai buvo išversti, pasitelkiant vietas prieveiksmius. Atlirkame tyrime buvo prieita prie išvados, kad, versdamis lokatyvinius veiksnius, papildinius ir tarinius, vertėjai turėtų atsižvelgti į šiuos veiksnius: lokatyvo tipą, pragmatinius sakinio poreikius bei derivacines kalbos, į kurią verčiama, galimybes.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: lokatyvinis veiksnys, lokatyvinis papildinys, lokatyvinis tarinys, vietas prieveiksmis, vertimas.

AUDIOVISUAL MARKET NEEDS AND SUBTITLING AS A LANGUAGE LEARNING TOOL

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Abstract: As translation is an inseparable part of any foreign language learning process, it is important to explore this field from various angles, one of which is the subtitling of films. Considering the fact that the original purpose of films (except educational material, e.g., documentaries) is to entertain the audience, the question of whether subtitles can be used as a means of foreign language learning arises. Thus, the aim of this paper is to review and analyse the main advantages and disadvantages of film subtitling as a means of learning foreign languages. This topic has been briefly explored in Baravykaitė (2007), which points out the main aspects and problems of film translation for language learning purposes, supporting its statements with examples of German–Lithuanian subtitles. Baker (1992), wherein the author describes the main types of equivalence in translation theory, serves as the basis for the theoretical premises. The authors of this article also discuss Karamitroglou (1998), where the main rules of subtitling are reviewed and a suggestion for a unified set of rules to the entire European market of film translation is made. For a case study, the film *The Da Vinci Code* as a means of foreign language learning was chosen. The analysis points out the methods of subtitling used, cases of non-equivalence, and logical mistakes made.

Key words: inter-cultural communication, audiovisual translation, market needs, lexical equivalence, source language, target language, subtitles.

In the world of new technologies and a single European economic space, the need for inter-cultural or cross-cultural communication has become crucial. Linguists, philosophers and social scientists agree that there are close links between language and culture that affect people's understanding of the world around them. Language is one of the most important carriers of information during a person's socialization. It is language that helps us to acquire information and knowledge about different cultures, the latest technologies, and society (cf. Malmkjaer 2005: 42). Language is inseparable from history and culture. Different languages come to us not only through foreign language classes, but also through various products from different countries. In addition, the amazingly powerful role played by the Internet, TV, cinema, and video and DVD viewing in the 21st century has brought about an upsurge of academic interest in multimedia translation (cf. Cintas 2009: 240). Naturally enough, the need for audiovisual translation (AVT) arose not only as a necessity for intercultural communication and information exchange, but also as a language learning tool. "Apart from growing as a professional activity, thanks to the digital revolution, AVT has now become a resolute and prominent area of academic research" (Cintas 2010: 1).

Subtitles in any language are a wonderful tool, allowing people to enjoy films from other cultures and countries. For language learners in particular, subtitles offer a new path to language comprehension. When we watch a foreign film, we consider the language of the subtitles we are viewing. A recent study shows that paying attention to subtitles can boost language learning, if we know how to use them (Nicole 2010). On the other hand, considering the fact that the original purpose of films (other than educational material, e.g., documentaries) is to entertain the audience, the question of whether subtitles can be used as a means of foreign language learning arises. This topic has been briefly explored in Baravykaitė's essay, "*Kino filmų titrai kaip kalbų mokymosi priemonė*," which points out the main

aspects and problems of film translation for language learning purposes. The author supports her statements by examples of German–Lithuanian subtitles.

Thus, translation is inseparable from foreign language learning, since it involves both the native tongue and the foreign language one is learning. The involvement of the native tongue in the process of learning may be especially important to inexperienced learners of a particular foreign language by providing a sense of security; otherwise one might perceive the process of learning as somewhat stressful or too intense (Kavaliauskienė and Kaminskienė 2007: 132).

Audiovisual translation, as the name itself suggests, is a form of translation which incorporates both auditory and a visual component. This term is used to describe a method of translation between two languages used in media. Therefore, it is a field which can be used to promote foreign language learning not only as an educational method but as a form of entertainment as well. Combined with regular and fixed learning (lessons, lectures, courses, etc.), it can serve as a great helping hand, especially since one of the most popular forms of audiovisual translation—subtitling—can be combined with one of the most popular forms of entertainment—films. Subtitles typically translate the verbal foreign language (dialogue) of the film into the native tongue of the audience. They are possibly the cheapest and quickest way of translating, and have spread among different means of film watching (i.e., DVDs, cinemas, TV, etc.). Statistics have shown¹ that in 2006, 2.48 million Lithuanians visited cinema theatres. This number is double the 2005 attendance. Moreover, in 10 months of the year 2010, 2.24 million Lithuanians visited the cinema, spending 29.2 million Lt on films. October 2010 saw high numbers of moviegoers as well: nearly 260,000 people visited the cinema that month spending over 3 million Lt². As these figures suggest, the popularity of films is growing every year—and many of them are subtitled. In addition to the numbers shown in the statistics, a great number of films are shown on television every day, some of which are subtitled as well.

One of the advantages of subtitled over dubbed films is that the original language remains unaltered and clear. Learners can deepen their listening and reading skills (depending on whether the source or target language is the native tongue), as well as broaden the lexicon and improve speaking skills (accent, dialect, etc.). Films differ in contexts, lexicons, and forms of dialogues. The potential learner of a foreign language can choose from a great variety of films according to his or her level of knowledge of the language. However, the selection process might seem to be quite difficult without any professional guidance or recommendations. Thus, a number of aspects must be considered before any conclusions can be reached.

Equivalence between source and target languages

Subtitling is possibly the most suitable form of audiovisual translation for foreign language learning, since it allows a learner to listen to the original soundtrack without interference. In any translation, the original language has to

¹Government statistics (2007), <http://kaunastsv.stat.gov.lt/l/>

²Kinas parduodamas vis geriau. 2010 11 29: http://www.lzinios.lt/lt/2010-11-29/verslo_orbita/kinas_parduodamas_vis_geriau.html

be transformed due to the different structures of the two languages—the source language and the target language. When translating films, this transformation of the original language is influenced by the particularity of the methods of translating too (Baravykaitė 2007: 24). Thus, equivalence between the original soundtrack and the subtitles is usually influenced by such aspects as brevity, timing, etc., because only the main point and the intentions of the speaker can be conveyed to fit into the standards of the length of the subtitles per frame, the timing of the frame, and so on.

Generally, equivalence between two languages in translation theory can be divided into several types: equivalence at the word level, equivalence above the word level, grammatical equivalence, textual equivalence, and pragmatic equivalence (Baker 1992: 5). As translation is inevitably involved in any kind of foreign language learning, equivalence is extremely important. According to Culler, “if language were simply a nomenclature for a set of universal concepts, it would be easy to translate from one language to another. One would simply replace the French name of a concept with the English name. If language were like this, the task of learning a new language would also be much easier than it is” (Culler 1976: 12). The greatest part of the quality of a learning process depends on equivalence. Subtitling is no exception; however, the equivalence between source language and subtitles does not usually represent word-for-word translation, because the main goal of the translator is to convey the basic meaning and intentions while fitting the subtitles into certain time intervals, rather than to produce the lexical equivalents of the original words. Therefore, the learner who uses subtitles as a means of foreign language learning should already have at least a basic knowledge of the foreign language in question.

The presence of equivalence does not always mean that the target language text is suitable for foreign language learning purposes (of course, the kinds of purposes matter as well: broadening of the lexicon, improving listening skills or comprehension, etc.). In films, whole sentences or even a few sentences are usually taken as the translation unit; thus, even if the source and the target languages are equivalent, this does not mean that every word has an equivalent. In general, word-for-word translation is very limited, because not all words have exact, single-word equivalents, and most words in context are translated on the phrasal level. In translation theory, the word is the smallest unit of language that can be used by itself, but it is not the basic meaningful element. Meaning can be expressed by smaller units; however, in most cases it is expressed by more complex structures. There is no one-to-one relationship between word and meaning across languages (Baker 1992: 10–11). Thus, while subtitles of films are not particularly suitable for learning lexical equivalents, they can be a great tool when improving one's listening skills and coherent comprehension of a particular foreign language.

Since single words rarely occur on their own, they are almost always parts of more complex structures. However, words are not combined together randomly—every language has a set of rules, restrictions and limitations. Therefore, a translator's goal is to retain the content of the source text while changing the form, following the rules of the target-text language. To develop the point further, the source language of a film is usually colloquial, informal speech, which may contain a great number of fixed expressions and idioms. An idiom is a multiword

construction that can be considered as a self-contained lexical unit, since it has a fixed meaning and its parts, if taken separately, lose sense (*Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*: 518). Some idioms can be translated as a single word—as, for example, the colloquial idiom *to stick one's neck out* means “to adopt an attitude that invites trouble or unfavourable comment.” It can be translated into Lithuanian as *dr̄sti* or *(su)rizikuoti*. Other idioms (e.g., proverbs) are more likely to be translated as phrases with more or less the same meaning but a completely different lexical form; this is usually influenced by the cultural background. An example could be the well-known idiom *a blessing in disguise* and its most common Lithuanian translation, *n̄era to blogo, kas neišėity į gerq.*

As the above examples suggest, subtitles cannot teach one all the lexical meanings of a word or phrase but rather, as discussed, help one gradually develop the skills of listening and, most importantly, catching the meaning of expressions in the foreign language one is learning.

Timing and brevity of subtitles

The timing of subtitles is one of the most crucial aspects when using subtitles as a means of foreign language learning. Much of the quality of the learning process depends on timing. Invoking the estimated average speed of reading, the time allotted for subtitles per frame is only enough to read the text. There is no time to analyse and compare the source and the target languages and, because of that, it may be quite difficult for a beginner to feel comfortable with this type of learning. Thus, certain standards of film translation in Europe have been proposed to make subtitling a unified process throughout the continent. In other words, the aim is to propose general regulations for the whole European audiovisual market, thus perceiving the audience as a unified object. However, this is quite a difficult task, keeping in mind that languages differ in a great number of aspects and, although taking a few languages as a unified object might seem like a convenient way of translating, those general regulations may cause a loss of quality, both in translation-as-process and translation-as-product.

Brevity is as important as timing. There are certain requirements for film translators of where and how subtitles should be placed on the screen in order to ensure convenient viewing of the subtitles without obstructing the visual image. Subtitles are usually positioned in the lower part of the screen, where the importance of the image is least, and are divided into no more than two lines of text. In addition, studies estimating the speed of reading have shown that an average person can read between 2.5–3 words per second. This means that a full two lines of text containing 14–16 words should last for no more than 5.5 seconds. However, an additional half a second must be added in order for the brain to be able to process the information received as a coherent text (Karamitroglou, 1998). For learners, it is extremely important to concentrate on both the dialogue and the written language. Subtitles must be as synchronized with the spoken language as possible, which is very difficult to achieve due to the different timing of frames. The subtitles in one frame last more than long enough, while the subtitles in another remain on the screen for the least amount of time possible. This is one of the main reasons why translators have to shorten the original language in the process of translating

films. It is important to note that translating between an analytic language (any language where syntax and meaning are shaped more by the use of particles and word order than inflection, e.g., English or French) and a synthetic language (a language in which grammatical relationships are indicated by altering the internal structure of words, often by changing their endings, e.g., German or Lithuanian) shortens the target language. Also, the style and meaning of the source language, as well as the artistic reality of the film, decrease because of this condensation and omission for the sake of brevity (Baravykaitė 2007: 24–25).

To develop the point further, Baravykaitė (2005: 9–10) has classified the different methods of translating subtitles into ten groups:

1. Expansion (when a descriptive explanation of source language realia is provided).
2. Paraphrasing (when a point in the source language is expressed using other lexical units in target language).
 - Rendering (when all the meaningful elements of the source language are transferred into the target language).
 - Repetition (imitation of certain source-language constructions).
 - Transcription.
 - Transfer (modification of the semantic content of the source language in order to achieve adequacy).
 - Condensation (when the semantic content of the source language is expressed by a lesser number of units in the target language).
 - Shortening (when some of the semantic content of the source language is lost).
 - Elimination (removal of semantic contents of the source language for the sake of brevity).
 - Omission (removal of certain elements of the source language which have no equivalents in the target language).

Most translations contain examples of all of the methods mentioned above. Nevertheless, only by contrastive analysis of a particular film is it possible to calculate the percentage of a source language text meaningfully conveyed into a target language through subtitles.

Quality of subtitled films

The quality of subtitles is an important factor, determining the quality of a subtitled film for the process of foreign language learning. While mistakes may only be noticed by someone who knows the source language very well, they can be misleading and confusing to learners. Translators play a crucial role, because absent-mindedness, carelessness, or even a lack of competence—which includes perfect skills in both the source and target languages as well as good knowledge of the contexts of a particular film, the position of the author, etc.—may not only lower the quality of the translation and its representation of the cultural and linguistic environment of the film, but also make the audience lose interest in the film itself.

Moreover, film dialogues are often evaluated incorrectly: although they appear to be spontaneous everyday speech, the words are in fact carefully written, developed, edited, and shaped until the desired result is achieved. In addition, film

dialogues convey certain meanings, messages and ideas. It is essential to know the context of certain elements of the dialogues. According to Schwarz (2002), “subtitles have to be read and understood in the few seconds they are visible on the screen. To interpret the text for the target language audience, the translator must ask about the content and purpose of the original work.” In order to achieve cultural and linguistic adequacy, translators are advised to consult various additional sources, such as encyclopaedias, dictionaries, manuals with technical terminology, glossaries, specialized thesauruses, and the Internet.

The main task a film subtitler faces is to adequately and clearly transform a verbal text into a written text. Although spoken and written texts have different functions, it is essential to provide the audience with a naturally readable and coherent text, which is achieved by retaining the same style and mood (Schwarz 2002) as in the primary text (where “text” refers to both the spoken source language as well as the visual channel). This requires not only a rich vocabulary and good skills of perceiving how a particular language functions, but also understanding the characters and moods, which are not always conveyed through the verbal channel. Therefore, the translator’s role in the aspect of quality is of extreme importance. It is even more important when considering watching subtitled films as a language learning tool, because the aims of learners and those of a regular audience differ in a number of respects.

To support these theoretical premises, an analysis of the film *The Da Vinci Code* as a means of foreign language learning is presented below. It points out the methods of subtitling used, examples of non-equivalence, and logical mistakes made.

Case study

The Da Vinci Code was adapted from the best-selling novel under the same title written by Dan Brown. The film involves many historical and religious topics, facts, symbols, titles, and detailed dialogues. Because the storyline is based on logic, the translation of this film requires extra attention to what is being said and how. It is also related to symbols and clues presented visually. Clearly, distortions and logical misconceptions of the source language dialogues are a probability. The Lithuanian translation of *The Da Vinci Code* includes examples of the basic methods of film translating, as well as some mistakes which can be roughly divided into contextual non-equivalence, logical errors, and grammatical mistakes. In some places, the style of the target language is different from the source language, i.e., the colloquial speech is transformed into formal. This disrupts the artistic reality of certain parts of the film and increases the difficulty of reading the subtitles. The mistakes can confuse learners of the English language about, e.g., lexical equivalents or the use of certain grammatical constructions (tenses, clauses, etc.).

Another point to make is that names, once translated using transcription, are later eliminated if they stand in the sentence alone. Most of the titles, e.g., *Madonna of the Rocks* (a painting) and Opus Dei (a religious society), are translated without quotation marks. *Madonna of the Rocks* is translated as *Madona uolose*, even though the generally received Lithuanian title for this painting is *Madona grotoje*.

Some of the dialogues in the film are translated using the most common methods of subtitling described above. Nevertheless, in most cases, part of the

artistic reality of the film is lost due to elimination or condensation to achieve brevity and keep up with the timing of the frames. Some of the methods taken separately seem not to influence the representation of the meaning and style of the film itself; however, when repeated, they negatively influence the artistic perception of the film on the part of the viewer. For example, when the symbolist Langdon is giving a lecture on ancient symbology and referring to pictures³:

SL: *As the saying goes, a picture says a thousand words—but which words?*
TL: *Paveikslai/ pasako tūkstantį žodžių,
bet kokius žodžius?*

The elimination of the underlined phrase, which can be translated as *Kaip sakoma*, does not cause any particular harm, but could have been avoided; one line of a subtitle can contain 35–40 characters. However, the entire sentence is difficult to read due to the mismatch of cases. It would be better to translate the second part of the sentence as *bet kokių žodžių?* Another example of elimination:

SL: *Actually, in those days, the word “companion” literally meant “spouse.”*
TL: *Tais laikais žodis/ “kompanjonė” reiškė “situoktinę”.*

The word *literally* is also omitted. Another point to make is that the lexical units (*companion* and *spouse*) are translated using the feminine gender. In this particular case the characters are speaking about a woman (Mary Magdalene); however, the reference is made about words as lexical units in a general sense.

An example of condensation:

SL: *The Grand Gallery. This is where you found the body.*
TL: *Kūnq radote/ Didžiojoje galerijoje.*

If translated without condensation, this example would read: *Didžioji galerija. Čia radote kūnq.* It is important to note that the dialogue takes place while the characters are actually walking across the Grand Gallery.

After professor Langdon has been shown a phrase written on the floor, he makes a comment:

SL: *It's a phrase. Doesn't mean anything, not to me.*
TL: *Ši frazė man nieko nereiškia.*

This is another example of condensation—two sentences are compressed into one. However, condensation is not necessary here, as a longer translation (e.g., *Tai frazė. Nieko nereiškia, bent jau man*) would not have caused any particular harm to the brevity or timing of the subtitle, while still retaining the artistic reality.

³A slash mark indicates the beginning of a new line of a subtitle.

Paraphrasing is not very frequent in the film. An example referring to the *Mona Lisa*:

SL: Her smile is in the lower spatial frequencies.

TL: Jos šypsena švelni.

Here the scientific style (the term “spatial frequency” is mostly used in the visual arts, e.g., painting, photography, etc.) is transformed into a neutral sentence—but the meaning is retained.

In some places, elimination makes the dialogues sound quite unnatural.

SL: –My mom used to do it when I was scared, I think.

–You think?

TL: –Mano mama man šitaip/ darydavo, kai būdavau išsigandusi.

–Manote?

The function of the question in the source language (considering the tone of voice) is to express wonder at what has been said: the character has not seen her mother since she was four years old, and all of her memories are quite vague. This function changes completely in the translated text.

Expansion is usually used to explain titles, names, and realia which have no equivalents in the target language, e.g.:

SL: Earl Grey?

TL: Earl Grey arbata?

There are cases in the film where single lexical units, tenses, other grammatical units, or even the whole semantic content of a sentence are non-equivalent. For this reason, learners of English could be confused about certain lexical meanings of words or the usage of particular constructions. For example, the title of a book—*The Interpretation of Symbols*—is translated as *Simbolių vertimas*. Usually, the word “interpretation” is used with the meaning of “translation” only when speaking about oral interpretation. In this case, and to make it sound more logical, it would be better to translate it as *Simbolių aiškinimas/interpretavimas*.

Furthermore, non-equivalence between source and target language texts in *The Da Vinci Code* can be divided into grammatical non-equivalence and non-equivalence in meaning.

The non-equivalence of number in the target language text in the following example does not match the visual image, as well as the number in the source language text:

SL: Will you take a look at this photo, please?

TL: Gal galite pažiūrėti šias nuotraukas?

The police officer has only one photo; therefore, this subtitle sounds odd, especially when, considering the source language text, there is no reason to use the plural.

The following example of non-equivalent tenses can be considered a logical misinterpretation:

SL: *How well did you know the curator?*

TL: *Ar gerai pažestate kuratorių?*

The curator that the professor is being asked about is dead; for this reason, it would be better to retain the past tense. Other examples of non-equivalent tenses:

SL: *Fache was never gonna let me just stroll out of here, was he?*

TL: *Fašas man neleis iš čia išeiti?*

A more appropriate translation would be: *Fašas né neketino man leisti tiesiog iš čia išeiti, ar ne?*

SL: *Perhaps a less defensive tack, Your Eminence. The press continue to be harsh with us.*

TL: *Jūsų eminencija, tikriausiai būtų/ geresnė mažiau ginamoji takтика.
Žiniasklaida vis tiek aršiai puls mus.*

The original sounds like a conclusion of the first sentence (if paraphrased—a less defensive tack is needed; however, the press will still be harsh) when it should be the cause (a less defensive tack is needed because the press continue to be harsh). Therefore, it would be better to translate the sentence as: *Žiniasklaida ir toliau mus aršiai puola.*

Another example:

SL: *For a moment, this was getting complicated.*

TL: *Dabar tai šiek tiek sudėtinga.*

A more appropriate translation: *Minutę/Akimirką tai darėsi painu/sudėtinga.*

SL: *How humble. Our saviour—bishop Aringarosa.*

TL: *Kaip kuklu!*

Mūsų *išsigelbėjimas*, / *vyskupe Aringarosa.*

This dialogue takes place after the mentioned bishop asks for money, allegedly to be able to change the Church. This example illustrates one of the differences between analytical and synthetic languages; by choosing the vocative instead of the nominative case, the translator fails to convey the irony. Also, the wrong lexical equivalent is chosen: *saviour* ~ *išgelbėtojas*, *išganytojas*.

Elsewhere, nearly at the end of the quest, when the characters have figured everything out, one of the protagonists asks the rhetorical question:

SL: *What did he want from us? To find her sarcophagus? How was I ever supposed to figure all this out?*

TL: *Ko jis iš mūsų norėjo?/ Kad rastume jos sarkofagą?*

Kaip aš tai galėsiu sužinoti?

The non-equivalence of tenses in the underlined sentence alters the meaning, because the reference is made to the mystery that has been solved (considering the fact that past tense is used), and not the previous sentences. Thus, a more appropriate translation would be: *Kaip aš turėjau visa tai išsiaiškinti?* in the meaning of “alone, without any help.”

When non-equivalence in meaning occurs in subtitles, it does not necessarily sound illogical. For instance:

SL: –“So dark the con of man.”

–No, it doesn't say that.

TL: –„Kokia tam si žmogaus apgavystė”.

–Ne, ji ne tokia.

This is an anagram that is being quoted, but the reference is made about the anagram in general, not its meaning. The translation should reflect that, e.g.: *Ne, ne tai norima pasakyti*, or *Ne, ne tai turima omenyje*. One more example:

SL: I'll even show it to you, Leigh. Will you just tell us what the hell it's for?

TL: Aš tau ji net parodysi, Lijau./ Ar pasakysi, dėl ko visa tai?

In the source language text, *it* refers to the cryptex, the keystone, that the characters have found but whose purpose they do not yet know. The question thus refers to the actual keystone: *Ar pasakysi, kam, po velnių, jis skirtas?* Also, the colloquial expression is eliminated to make the subtitle shorter.

Some parts of the translation are unreasonably semantically non-equivalent at all, for instance:

SL: No balloon animals. I can make a great duck.

TL: Pripučiamų gyvūnų nėra./ Galiu méginti.

This statement is made when the character is asked to show the ancient symbols for male and female. What should have been said is: *Galiu/Moku padaryti puikią antį.*

If the film was translated without a transcript, mistakes such as the following can be explained, especially when, as in this case, both versions are logically possible.

SL: Well, actually, I have a plane.

TL: Tiesq sakant,/ turiu planą.

When the estate the characters are staying in is surrounded by the police, one of them says that they need to find a way out; eventually, they leave the country by a private jet.

One more similar example:

SL: They hid you with the Grand Master himself, who raised you as his own.

TL: Jie paslėpė/ jus su Didžiuoju meistru, ir jis vienas jus užaugino.

A more appropriate translation would be: *kuris užaugino jus kaip savo*. Non-equivalence of single lexical units occurs in the translation too:

SL: –In Latin: “sub rosa.” Literal translation...

–“Beneath the rose.”

TL: –Lotyniškai “sub rosa”. Literatūrinis vertimas...

–“Po rože”.

Literal means *paraidinis*, *pažodinis*, or *tiesioginis*, while *literatūrinis* has the English equivalent *literary*.

There are cases where non-equivalence between source and target language sentences destroys any logical connection with the sentences coming before or after them. Consider the following example:

SL: I persuaded them, the Council of Shadows, that I was an ally. I even asked them for money so they would never suspect me.

TL: Aš persekiojau juos, Šešelių tarybą, / kurios sajungininkas buvau.

Aš netgi paprašiau jų pinigų, / kad jie manęs niekada neįtartų.

It would be better to translate the sentence as *Aš įtikinau juos, Šešelių tarybą, kad esu jos sajungininkas*. The cause of this kind of non-equivalence might be translating without a transcript and mishearing words.

In *The Da Vinci Code*, the plot is based on a logical development of events which eventually leads to the convergence of the main plot and subplots. The translation process of such a film is more difficult, especially when the storyline includes historical and cultural contexts dating back thousands of years. The use of additional sources of information in this case is therefore essential. However, mistakes were made, for various reasons. They might include translating without a transcript, a lack of attention, not fully understanding the text, etc. For example:

SL: But they would disagree with you in Spain. There, they are robes worn by priests.

TL: Bet Ispanijoje su jumis nesutiktų. / Ten mantijas nešioja kunigai.

This dialogue takes place during a lecture on symbology, after a few attempts by the audience to interpret a symbol (an enlarged part of a robe; the whole picture is eventually revealed). Thus, the reference is made to the symbol itself, and not to the fact that priests wear robes in Spain. It would be better to translate this sentence as *Štai, tai mantijos, dėvimos kunigų*.

Another example:

SL: Does doctrine necessarily include vows of chastity, tithing and atonement for sins through self-flagellation and the cilice?

TL: Ar doktrinoje būtinai turi būti/ skaitybės ižadai, dekalogas ir nuodėmių išpirkimas/ plakantis ašutiniu diržu?

The cilice in the film is a metal chain that one of the characters wears around his thigh to suffer constant pain. Even though self-flagellation is part of the visual presentation in *The Da Vinci Code* as well, a completely different lash is used for that purpose.

There are cases when the meaning of the source language is completely changed for no apparent reason, e.g., when referring to the *Mona Lisa*:

*SL: The horizon is significantly lower on the left than it is on the right.
TL: Kairys lūpy kamputis/ gerokai žemiau nei dešinys.*

It is known that the actual skyline on one side of the *Mona Lisa* differs from the skyline on the other to create an optical illusion, and this does not have any connection with the smile or lips of the *Mona Lisa*.

SL: So the Vatican issued secret orders to be opened simultaneously all across Europe.

TL: Vatikanas išleido slaptą įsakymą vienu/ metu visoje Europoje įsiveržti pas juos.

This subtitle does not have logical equivalence, because what follows after is: “The Pope... said God had charged him with cleansing the earth from [the Knights Templar],” a reference to the “secret orders.” A more accurate translation would be: *Vatikanas vienu metu visoje Europoje išleido/jgalino slaptus įsakymus.* In addition, there is nothing mentioned about an invasion in the source language. Thus, an invasion into a secret society, a group of people, “simultaneously all across Europe” is not a logical translation.

SL: “In London lies a knight a Pope interred.”

TL: „Londone palaidotas riteris Popas.”

The knight referred to by the clue is Sir Isaac Newton, not a Pope. This is later clearly explained in the text: “A knight whose funeral was presided over by the Pope.” This mistake is repeated several times throughout the film. What is meant is: *Londone guli riteris, palaidotas popiežiaus.*

SL: Your precious treasure was almost lost, and with it, my fortune.

TL: Jūsų brangus lobis buvo beveik/ prarastas, o su šitais man pasiseks.

After these words, the character gets money for what he has done; therefore, the translation should reflect that, e.g.: *Jūsų brangus lobis buvo beveik prarastas, o su tuo – mano turtas.*

Such distortions from the meaning of the dialogue of the source language are quite frequent in the subtitles of *The Da Vinci Code*. Some of the subtitles are inexplicably non-equivalent, with no logical connection. For instance, when professor Langdon and Sophie Neveu are talking about the joke that Sauniere (the murdered curator) had made of Langdon, he answers:

SL: He called me a flatfoot. A beat cop of history.

TL: Jis mane pavadino policininku.

Buvau istorijos policininkas.

The meaning of the second sentence is not only completely different, but the style (colloquial speech) is not retained. The adjective “beat” in informal language means *nusivaręs* or *išvargės*. However, it is eliminated from the target language text. To convey the style and irony properly, it should be translated using Lithuanian colloquial lexical units as well, for example, *Išvargusių istorijos faru*.

What follows this dialogue is:

SL: You know, his father was one. A policeman. Sauniere said he was the most honourable man he had ever known. We are who we protect, I think. What we stand up for.

TL: Jo tėvas irgi toks buvo./ Policininkas.

Sonjeras sake, kad jis buvo pats/ garbingiausias jam žinomas žmogus.

Manau, jis ir saugome.

Tai ir palaikome.

The meaning of the underlined text is not retained. A more appropriate translation could be: *Ką saugome, tokie ir esame, manau. Ką palaikome.*

Concluding Remarks

Subtitles as a means of foreign language learning can improve the skills of a person who has an intermediate command of a particular foreign language.

Subtitles are not suitable for learning single lexical units, as there is no one-to-one relation between word and meaning.

Film translation involves methods of subtitling which detract from the quality of translation in relation to foreign language learning purposes.

Most of film translations include mistakes.

The Lithuanian translation of *The Da Vinci Code* can confuse learners of English about the equivalence of certain lexical units, use of constructions, and even meanings of certain expressions.

Differences in accent, dialects, etc., cannot be expressed via subtitles.

The majority of films require consulting various additional sources of information, e.g., dictionaries or encyclopaedias, while translating. This is usually avoided by translators.

When dealing with audiovisual programmes, translators do not always have ultimate control over the final scripts, and their translations are often only used as a first draft. This opinion is also shared by Gilabert et al. (in Cintas 2009: 157); speaking about dubbing, they comment on the false assumption held by many viewers that translators are the only people who manipulate the dialogue before dubbing when, in fact, dubbing is a chain-process involving many professionals. The same can be said about subtitling. Subtitling is, first of all, a bridge between different societies, history, and cultures.

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Audiovisual material

The film *The Da Vinci Code*. 2006.

AUDIOVIZUALINĖS RINKOS POREIKIAI IR SUBTITRAVIMAS KAIP KALBOS MOKYMOŠI ĮRANKIS

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Santrauka

Vertimas yra neatskiriamu užsienio kalbų mokymo(si) dalis, todėl įvairių vertimo rūšių tyrinėjimas yra tiek pat svarbus, kiek ir pati vertimo teorija bei praktika. Viena tokijų rūsių – kino filmų vertimas pasitelkiant titrus. Titravimas, kaip audiovizualiojo vertimo rūšis, unikalus tuo, kad originalus garso takelis išlieka švarus ir nepakitus, todėl titravimas laikomas tinkamiausia audiovizualiojo vertimo rūšimi mokant(is) užsienio kalbų. Kino filmų pagrindinis tikslas nėra užsienio kalbų mokymas, taigi kyla klausimas, ar titravimas gali būti užsienio kalbų mokymo(si) priemonė. Straipsnyje aptariami ir analizuojami subtitravimo – kalbų mokymosi priemonės – teigiami bei neigiami aspektai atsižvelgiant į vertimo teoriją, filmų vertimą bei vertėjo vaidmenį vertimo procese. Analizuoto kino filmo „Da Vinčio kodas“ (originalo kalba – anglų, titrai – lietuviški) pavyzdžiai atspindi pagrindinius filmų vertimo metodus, originalo ir vertimo kalbų neatitikimą (ir gramatinį, ir reikšmės), logines klaidas, kurioms pasiūloma alternatyvų. Teorinė titrų, kaip užsienio kalbų mokymosi priemonės, apžvalga bei atvejo analizė leidžia straipsnio autorėms daryti išvadą, kad titravimas nėra tinkama priemonė mokyti užsienio

kalbų pradedantiesiems. Įvairios originalo kalbos modifikacijos, kalbos struktūrų pakeitimas, leksinis neatitikimas bei ribotas laikas perskaityti ir suvokti titrus reikalauja tam tikrų žinių, kurių pradedantieji mokyti kalbos dar neturi. Taigi žmogus, besimokantis tam tikros užsienio kalbos, gali būti suklaidintas, o mokymosi procesas jam gali pasirodyti per daug sudėtingas. Vadinas, kalbos mokymo(si) procesas naudojant kino filmų titrus nėra pateisinamas.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: audiovizualinis vertimas, rinkos poreikiai, leksinis ekvivalentiškumas, originalo kalba, tikslinė kalba, subtitrai.

LINGVISTINIAI IR EKSTRALINGVISTINIAI TEKSTO PARAMETRAI

LINGUISTIC AND EXTRALINGUISTIC TEXT PARAMETERS

Höflichkeit in deutschen und litauischen Bitten: Untersuchung anhand von Internetforen

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Einleitung: Die heutige Gesellschaft lässt sich als eine elektronische bezeichnen, weil sich die Kommunikation häufig auf das Internet verlagert. Hinsichtlich der Bedeutung spielen die Foren neben verschiedenen anderen elektronischen Kommunikationsformen, wie z. B. E-Mails, Blogs, Chat u. a. eine wichtige Rolle, weil sie sich durch eine große Interaktion unter den Internetnutzern auszeichnen, die an den Forendiskussionen teilnehmen, um eine bestimmte Frage zu beantworten oder eine Lösung des Problems zu finden. Die mehr oder weniger höflichen Bitten stellen einen beträchtlichen Teil ihres Inhalts dar. Daher ist es aus der sprachpragmatischer Sicht interessant und wichtig, die Höflichkeitsstrategien näher zu untersuchen. Das Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrags ist also zu klären, welche Höflichkeitsstrategien von litauischen und deutschen Forenteilnehmern verwendet werden.

Das Material für die empirische Untersuchung wurde aus verschiedenen deutschen und litauischen Internetforen zum Thema Finanzen gesammelt. Das Korpus umfasst insgesamt 800 Belege: 400 litauische und 400 deutsche Forumbeiträge. Die Höflichkeit in diesen Forenbeiträgen wird aus kontrastiver Sicht betrachtet.

Schlüsselwörter: Höflicheitsstrategien, Bitten, Internetforen, positive und negative Höflichkeit.

1. Zum Forschungsstand und Methodik

Höflichkeit lässt sich als eine pragmatische Teildisziplin bezeichnen, durch die man versucht, ein gutes, entspanntes und respektvolles Verhältnis zum Gesprächspartner aufzubauen um somit das Ziel, das durch die Sprachhandlung angestrebt wird, zu erreichen. Die Bitte gilt in diesem Fall als direktiver Sprechakt mit dem illokutiven Ziel, seinen Hörer auf die Ausführung einer Handlung unverbindlich aufzufordern.

Ein größeres Interesse gewann die Höflichkeit erst in den 80er und 90er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts. In dieser Zeit wurde eine Reihe empirischer Studien durchgeführt vor allem aus sprach- und kulturvergleichender Perspektive. Unter solchen Untersuchungen besonders zu nennen ist das CCSARP-Projekt (Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Projekt), das die Grundlage für weitere Untersuchungen im Bereich von Sprechakten, z. B. Bitten und Entschuldigungen, bildete (vgl. Harting 2007, 109f; Hilbig 2009, 55). Der größte Teil dieser Untersuchungen wurde den Ländern der West-Europa und des Nahen Ostens gewidmet. Jedoch finden sich auch in ost- und zentraleuropäischen Staaten immer mehr Arbeiten über das Höflichkeitsphänomen. Über litauische Höflichkeit aus pragmatischer Sicht haben bis jetzt umfangreichere Untersuchungen Čepaitienė (2007), Gudavičienė (2006; 2007) und Hilbig (2008; 2009) veröffentlicht. In der Dissertation von I. Hilbig (2009) wurden die Höflichkeitsstrategien in englischen

und litauischen Bitten untersucht, um interkulturelle Unterschiede festzustellen. Als Methode hat die Autorin den *Discourse Completion Test* (DCT) gewählt. Nach dieser Methode hat sie einen Fragebogen erstellt, in dem verschiedene Situationen beschrieben worden waren, die eine Bitte nach sich ziehen sollten.

In dem vorliegenden Beitrag wird ebenfalls der Sprechakt der Bitte untersucht, jedoch unterscheidet sich unsere Analyse durch viele andere Kriterien: Erstens durch die Vorgehensweise, denn es wird hier keine Umfrage benutzt, sondern schon fertig formulierte Bitten werden analysiert. Zweitens unterscheidet sich die Kommunikationssituation: Es handelt sich nicht um verschiedene Themenbereiche der Alltagskommunikation, sondern um ein konkretes Thema, nämlich Finanzen. Durch die Wahl der Internetforen als Untersuchungskorpus wird auch der Kreis der Kommunikationsteilnehmer eingeengt. Besonders wichtig ist für die pragmatische Untersuchung die Tatsache, dass es sich dabei überwiegend um anonyme Nutzer handelt. Ebenfalls von Bedeutung ist die Größe der Bitten, auf die später näher eingegangen wird. Das für die vergleichende Analyse gewählte Sprachenpaar ist Deutsch und Litauisch.

2. Bitten als direktive Sprechakte

Bitten gehören zu den direktiven Sprechakten, derer illokutiver Zweck darin besteht, den Hörer dazu zu bewegen, eine bestimmte Handlung auszuführen. Von anderen Direktiva (befehlen, anordnen, verbieten, raten, vorschlagen, erlauben usw.) unterscheiden sich die Bitten erstens dadurch, dass sie nicht bindende Aufforderungen sind, und zweitens, dass die auszuführende Handlung im Interesse des Sprechers ist. Verallgemeinernd kann man die Bitten als „nicht-bindende Aufforderungen mit Sprecherpräferenz“ (Hindelang 2000, 64) bezeichnen. Der Sprecher hat weder das Recht, noch die Macht, den Hörer auf die Ausführung der in der Bitte enthaltenen Handlung zu bewegen, d. h. der Hörer führt die Handlung nur aus Freundschaft, Liebe, Höflichkeit, Solidarität, Mitleid oder ähnlichen Gefühlen aus (ebd.).

Damit die Bitte erfüllt wird, hängt es entscheidend von der Höflichkeitsstrategie, die der Sprecher wählt, ab, weil „bei einer Bitte versucht werden muss, eine Gesichtsbedrohung von Hörer zu vermeiden und stattdessen eine Einwilligung mit Hörer zu erreichen“ (Stolte 2005, 35).

3. Bitten in Internetforen

Bei der Wahl der Höflichkeitsstrategien lassen sich meist die drei wichtigsten Faktoren unterscheiden:

- Persönliche Beziehung zwischen den Gesprächspartnern;
- Statusunterschiede der Gesprächspartner;
- Größe der Bitte.

Je ferner die persönliche Beziehung, je größer der Statusunterschied und je größer die Bitte sind, desto riskanter ist der Sprechakt der Bitte. Hinsichtlich dieser Faktoren unterscheidet G. Hindelang (2000, 64-69) zwei Gruppen von Bitten: die symmetrischen und die asymmetrischen Bitten. Bei symmetrischen Bitten kann eine bestimmte Handlung vom S (Sprecher) zum H (Hörer), um die man bittet, in einer gleichen oder analogen Situation auch vom H zum S als Bitte, etwas auszuführen, formuliert werden. Als asymmetrische Bitten „sollen Bitten um

Handlungen bezeichnet werden, zu denen nur H statusmäßig berechtigt ist und die außerhalb der Handlungsmöglichkeiten von S liegen“ (ebd., 65).

Nun betrachten wir unser Untersuchungsfeld, nämlich die Internetforen. Das erste Kriterium, d. h. die persönliche Beziehung zwischen den Gesprächspartnern, spielt hier gar keine Rolle, da die Forenteilnehmer in der Regel einander völlig fremd sind. Dasselbe gilt auch für den Status, denn bei unbekannten Menschen kann man den Status nicht identifizieren. Schließlich müssen wir auch das dritte Kriterium als einflusslos zurückweisen, da es in den Foren häufig um Bitten geht, Informationen zu liefern, über eigene Erfahrungen zu berichten oder einen Ratschlag zu geben, d. h. um relativ kleine Bitten, die weder viel Zeit noch Finanzen von dem Rezipienten beanspruchen. Das heißt, in Internetforen kommen in der Regel symmetrische Bitten vor.

Da die drei genannten Kriterien, die sonst einen großen Einfluss auf die Wahl der Höflichkeitsstrategie haben, in den Internetforen kaum eine Rolle spielen, sind die letzteren für interkulturellen Vergleich sehr gut geeignet, denn die Unterschiede der Höflichkeitsstrategien kann man auf kulturelle Differenzen zurückführen.

4. Strategien der Bitten

Es gibt eine Reihe von Ausdrucksmittel, die der Sprecher wählen kann, um seine Bitte zu formulieren, damit sie möglichst erfüllt wird. Nach dem Kriterium der Direktheit unterscheidet S. Blum-Kulka u. a. (1989, S.45) drei universelle Modelle oder Strategien der Höflichkeit. In den untersuchten Internetforen sowohl in der deutschen, als auch in der litauischen Sprache finden sich Belege für alle drei Strategien.

- 1) **Die direkte Strategie** mit ekspliziten Bitten. Die illokutive Kraft solcher Bitten wird durch Verben im Imperativ oder durch performative Verben ausgedrückt. Als performative gelten Verben in der 1. Person Sg. oder Pl. Indikativ Präsens, die den vollzogenen illokutionären Akt bezeichnen, in unserem Fall *prašau*, *prašom*, *bitte*, z. B.⁴:

Labai prašau visų kas gali užpildyti mano anketą baigiamajam bakalauro darbui apie namų ūkių finansų valdymą, esu ketvirtuo kurso studentas iš Šiaulių Universiteto.

Tach @ all. Gibt es eigentlich sowas wie „sichere“ Aktien mit denen man nix falsch machen kann bzw. keine Verluste einfährt? Wenn ja, verrate mir bitte mal welche Greetz Gustav.

Viel seltener kommen performative Verben im Konjunktiv vor, wie das unten angeführte Beispiel zeigt:

Prašyčiau gal kas iš Jūsų tvarkote daugiabučio namo buh.apskaita ir galite pasidalinti patirtimi.

Möglich ist auch die Futurform des performativen Verbs im Indikativ 1. Pers. Sg. oder Pl. (*prašysiu*, *prašytume*), wie E. Gudavičienė (2006, 65) anmerkt, doch im untersuchten Korpus kommen solche Fälle nicht vor.

Sehr häufig wird die direkte Strategie durch Fragesätze zum Ausdruck gebracht. Der Form nach handelt es sich um Fragen, aber die pragmatische Funktion solcher Fragen ist ja die Bitte, auf sie zu antworten, z. B.:

⁴Die Beispiele aus den Internetforen sind unverändert, nicht redigiert übernommen worden.

Ar reikia daryti buhalterinę pažymą perkeliant iš kasos į a/s pinigus? ir ar taip daryti galima?

Moin moin, ist es sinnvoll und ratsam sich mit Aktien auf die Altersvorsorge vorzubereiten oder eher ein Schuß in den Ofen? Grüße Herbert.

- 2) **Die konventional indirekte Strategie.** In solchen Bitten wird die Sprecherintention meistens durch das Prüfen bestimmter Bedingungen realisiert (Searle, 1975), die zur Erfüllung der Bitte notwendig sind. Es handelt sich hier um das Imstandesein oder die Fähigkeit des Hörers die erwünschte Handlung auszuführen, sein Wunsch oder seine Bereitstellung, dies zu tun oder Bedingungen der in der Zukunft liegenden Handlung. Da es in den Internetforen in der Regel um anonyme Nutzer geht, wendet man sich meistens an eine unbestimmte Person, die Bescheid weiß oder bereit ist, die Bitte zu erfüllen, d. h. in den meisten Fällen eine Frage zu beantworten oder bestimmte Informationen zu liefern. Typisch sind also Indefinitpronomen *wer*, *jemand*, *kas*, *kas nors*, z. B.:

Sveiki, gal kas galite padeti? Pas mus imoneje yra moteris turi vaika ir yra issiskyrusi su savo vaiko tevu, dabar ji susituoke aisku ne su vaiko tevu , kaip man taikyti npd ? aciu :)

Haloo an alle hier im Forum. Kann mir jemand sagen wie man den Nennwert einer Aktie errechnet?

Sveiki, Kiek pamenu vienu metu buvo kalbama apie mokesčines lengvatas darbdaviamas, jeigu idarbins asmeni iki 25 metu ir be patirties, gal kas nors zinote daugiau informacijos apie tai, be to, ar tai imanoma ir patartina? Aciu. Aiste :)

Aber was ändert sich dadurch für den Kunden bzw. was gibt es für den Kunden zu beachten? Weiß jemand was genaueres darüber? Viele Grüßle Schwabe.

Sveiki gal kas turit patirties . Vykdau individualią veiklą . Noriu iš Kinijos nusipirkti 500 marškinelių , Lietuvoje juos išsiuvinėti ir parduoti Lietuvos arba Švedijoje . 1. Ar vykdant individualią veiklą galiu importuoti prekes ? 2. Ar galesiu i leidziamas islaidas itraukti monto mokesči ? 3. Ar patartina registruotis PVM moketoju ? ... nes bus skaiciuojamas pirkimo PVM ?? aciu Haloo wer von euch hat denn schon Erfahrungen mit der Western Union gesammelt? Bräuchte mal eure Erfahrungswerte.

- 3) **Andeutungen** sind nicht explizit ausgedrückte Bitten, d. h. solche, in denen nur bestimmte Elemente der intendierten Bitte ausgedrückt werden, z. B.:

Sveiki. Iškilo toks klausimas, ar galima atsidaryti parduotuvę su verslo liudijimu? Ta prasme, tarkime, kokiame nors prekybos centre, gavus patalpas jose pardavinėti prekes..

Guten Morgen, mich beschäftigt schon seit einiger Zeit die Frage ob man als Rentner auch eine Steuererklärung abgeben muss oder ob das mit dem Eintritt in die Rente endet.

Aus dem untersuchten Korpus der Forenbeiträge ist ersichtlich, dass es sich in den meisten Fällen um einen Teil der gesamten als Bitte aufzufassenden Äußerung handelt. Solche Andeutungen können als Einleitung zur „eigentlichen“ durch direkte oder konventionell indirekte Strategie realisierte Bitte betrachtet werden.

Was die Höflichkeit der Bitten anbetrifft, behauptet Leech (1983, 108–119), dass die indirekten Lokutionen höflicher sind, weil der Hörer dadurch mehr Freiheit

hat, weniger Druck empfindet, etwas zu tun oder zu lassen. Durch indirekte Bitten wird die Kraft der Bitte abgeschwächt. Nach dem Höflichkeitsmodell von Brown und Levinson (1987, 60–66), werden die direkten Bitten nur ausnahmsweise verwendet, weil dann der Sprecher beabsichtigt, den Hörer zu einer nicht geplanten Handlung zu bewegen und schränkt ihn damit in seiner Freiheit ein. Das Problem der Einschränkung von Handlungsfreiheit des Hörers kann man durch die konventionale indirekte Strategie lösen.

Bei der Wahl einer passenden Formulierung für eine Bitte muss sich der Sprecher also entscheiden, wie direkt er sein möchte. Untersucht man die Forumbeiträge, so muss man betonen, dass die meisten davon mehr als aus einer Aussage bestehen. Das heißt, den ganzen Forumbeitrag kann man als eine Bitte im weiteren Sinne auffassen, die aus Teilakkusationen wie z. B. Feststellung des Problems, Erklärung der Situation usw. besteht. Der gesamte Forumbeitrag enthält somit oft nicht eine, sondern mehrere Strategien, die verschiedenartig miteinander kombiniert werden. Um diese gesamte Bitte als eine direkte oder indirekte einzustufen, wurde der einzelne Forumbeitrag danach bewertet, welche Höflichkeitsstrategien vorherrschen.

Beim Vergleich deutscher und litauischer Internetforen hat sich gezeigt, dass im Litauischen die konventionelle Indirektheit gegenüber der für die deutschen Foren typischere direkte Strategie vorherrscht. In 77% aller gesammelten deutschen Bitten wurde die direkte Strategie verwendet. Im Gegensatz zum Deutschen bevorzugen die litauischen Forenmitglieder die konventional indirekte Höflichkeitsstrategie (63%). Was die Andeutungen betrifft, so werden sie in beiden Kulturreisen sehr selten als Strategie der Bitten eingesetzt, nämlich 13 % der Litauer und 2 % der Deutschen. Der Vergleich der Höflichkeitsstrategien zeigt also, dass Litauer im Vergleich zu Deutschen eher indirekte Bitten bevorzugen.

5. Positive und negative Höflichkeit

Für eine Analyse von Bitten lässt sich am besten das Höflichkeitsmodell von Brown und Lewinson anwenden, und zwar der von ihnen für pragmatische Untersuchungen entwickelte Begriff *das Gesicht*. Das Gesicht ist das Selbstbild einer Person, wie es von anderen in einer gegebenen sozialen Begegnung wahrgenommen wird. Je nachdem, ob Sprechakte das Gesicht von anderen bedrohen oder beschützen, lassen sich gesichtsbedrohende Akte und gesichtsbeschützende Akte unterscheiden. Die Bitten sind verständlicherweise eher gesichtsbedrohend, weil der Sprecher den Hörer zur nicht geplanten Handlung bewegt und dadurch die Freiheit des Hörers einschränkt. Aus diesem Grund ist es notwendig, das Gesicht des Gegenübers mit Hilfe von sprachlichen kommunikativen Handlungen zu schützen oder aufzuwerten (vgl. Brown, Lewinson 1987, 59–60; Harting 2007, 4)

Nach dem Höflichkeitsmodell von Brown und Lewinson (1987, 61–64) werden zwei Typen von Gesicht unterschieden: das positive Gesicht und das negative Gesicht. Das positive Gesicht ist mit dem Wunsch nach Anerkennung, Solidarität und Gemeinschaftsgefühl verbunden. Im Gegensatz dazu bedeutet das negative Gesicht Handlungsfreiheit, Distanz und Respekt, d. h. den Wunsch, nicht von anderen behindert oder gestört zu werden.

Analog zum positiven und negativen Gesicht unterscheiden Brown und Levinson auch positive und negative Höflichkeit. Die Begriffe *positiv* und *negativ* sind in keiner Weise mit Wertungen verbunden, sondern bezeichnen lediglich gegensätzliche Pole auf einer Skala. Um derartige Verwirrung zu vermeiden schlägt Čepaitienė (2007, 25) statt der positiven Höflichkeit den Terminus Kontakthöflichkeit und statt der negativen – Distanzhöflichkeit, jedoch haben sich die von Brown und Levinson vorgeschlagene Termini in der pragmatischen Forschung verfestigt und werden auch in diesem Beitrag verwendet. Durch positive Höflichkeitsstrategie wird Respekt, Einverständnis, Solidarität und optimistische Perspektive, was die Erfüllung der Bitte angeht, ausgedrückt, z. B.:

Sveiki, Kiek laiko trunka naujos įmonės steigimas.

Hallo, wie wird sich die Apple Aktie weiterhin entwickeln? Gibts da Prognosen?

Lg Leonie

Sveiki, Ar asmuo gali vienu metu dirbtį UAB' e ir kartu dar dirbtį pagal verslo liudijima? Aciu

Sers, wenn ich mit Aktien gewinne erzielle, wann sind diese Gewinne denn Steuerfrei? Danke&Gruss Fuchur

Durch Verwendung der negativen Höflichkeit in Bitten werden pessimistische Gedanken ausgedrückt. Für Äußerungen der negativen Höflichkeit sind Entschuldigungen typisch, indem der Sprecher bedauert, dass er Zeit und Kraft des Hörers in Anspruch nimmt und somit seine Handlungsfreiheit einschränkt. Als ein typisches Mekmal solcher Strategie lässt sich Verwendung der 3. Person (statt der 1. oder 2.) nennen (vgl. Meibauer 2001, 115), z. B.:

Sveiki, Padėkite naujokui susigaudyti. Bandradarbiauju su EVP International (mokėjimai.lt). Jie veikia taip - suteikia galimybę mano klientams atsiskaityti per visus lietuvių bankus. Pinigai iš klientų visą mėnesį eina pas juos į sąskaitą. Kitą mėnesį jie surinktus pinigėlius perveda man ir nuskaičiuoja komisinį mokesčių. Taip pat išrašo sąskaitą faktūrą.

Haloo Leute, ich suche eine Möglichkeit ein Haushaltbuch herzustellen, am besten mit einer excell-liste oder ähnlich, denn ich habe nicht die Möglichkeit dateien downloaden oder ähnliches und die Dinger die man im Handel kaufen kann sind für mich auch unbrauchbar, da ich rigendwie nicht hindurchfinde, hat jemand richtig wertvolle Tipps für einen totalen Anfänger?

Wäre superglücklich. Gruß, Eve-Lyn.)

Gal kas gali „žaliam“ paaiškinti kaip teisingai apskaitytį šitą klausimą? Aš dirbu su programa CENTAS. Donatas

Labutis, jaučiu parašiau ne tuo adresu, todėl pasikartosiu. Gal kas žinote, ką daryti tokiu atveju, kai UAB-o direktorius prasivedė 500lt. į savo asmeninę s-tą (aišku, prieš tai su niekuo nepasitarės). Kaip dabar visą tą "s" sutvarkius taip, kad visiems būtų gerai? Ir aplamai, kaip ir kada pildoma avansinė apyskaita?

Girdėjau, kad toks daiktas yra, bet susidurti neteko, tačiau atrodo, kad teks...

Pirkimai už grynuos vyksta nuo mén. pradžios, o KPO nupirko tik šiandien. Ar galima kažkaip viską sutvarkyti. kaip parodyti pinigų išgryninimą be KPO?

Patarkite, žmonės mielieji. Ačiū.

Wie man aus den Beispielen erkennen kann, gibt sich der Sprecher bei der Wahl der negativen Höflichkeitsstrategie als unerfahren und inkompetent aus

(*naujokas, žalias, totaler Anfänger*) und stellt sich im Vergleich zum Hörer in eine niedrigere Position.

Die empirische Untersuchung der Internetforen lässt feststellen, dass das negative Gesicht als Ausdruck der Höflichkeit eine zentrale Rolle in litauischen Bitten spielt. Im Gegensatz dazu verwenden die Deutschen viel häufiger das positive Gesicht. Sochle Ergebnisse kann man auf kulturelle Unterschiede zurückführen, indem die Litauer als zurückhaltender gelten und die Deutschen offener und selbstsicherer auftreten. Der Befund, dass es im Litauischen eher die negative Höflichkeit vorherrscht, deckt sich auch mit der häufigeren Verwendung der indirekten Strategie. Entsprechend korrelieren auch die Ergebnisse, dass es in den deutschen Internetforen mehr direkte Äußerungen gibt mit dem öffteren Gebrauch der positiven Höflichkeit.

Schlussfolgerungen

Bei der Untersuchung der Bitten in Internetforen entfallen einige Kriterien, die für die Wahl der Bittensstrategien in anderen Lebensbereichen entscheidend sind. Die Forenmitglieder sind in der Regel anonym, deshalb spielt der Status und die persönliche Beziehung der Kommunikationspartner keine Rolle. Die Größe der Bitte, die sonst als ein wichtiger Faktor für Höflichkeitsstrategien zählt, ist in den Internetforen beinahe gleich, denn es handelt sich um Fragen oder Bitten um einen Ratschlag. Aus diesem Grunde könnte man die unterschiedliche Verwendung von Höflichkeitsstrategien eher auf kulturelle Unterschiede zurückführen.

Beim Vergleich der Höflichkeitsstrategien in deutschen und litauischen Forenbeiträgen zum Thema Finanzen hat sich herausgestellt, dass die Litauer eher dazu tendieren, indirekte Strategien und negative Höflichkeit zu verwenden, während die deutschen Forennutzer häufiger direkte Strategien und die positive Höflichkeit verwenden.

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MANDAGUMAS VOKIEČIŲ IR LIETUVIŲ PRAŠYMUOSE: INTERNETO FORUMŲ TYRIMAS

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Santrauka

Interneto forumai pragmatinei mandagumo strategijų analizei tinkami dėl keletos priežasčių. Forumų dalyviai stengiasi rasti atsakymą į jiems rūpimą klausimą arba gauti patarimą iš kitų dalyvių, todėl juose vyrauja prašymo ilokucioniniai aktai. Prašymuose geriausiai atsiškleidžia mandagumo strategijos, nes norėdamas, kad jo prašymas būtų išpildytas, adresantas turi pasirinkti tinkamą jo raišką.

Visgi interneto forumuose trys pagrindiniai prašymų strategijos pasirinkimą lemiantys veiksnių negalioja. Forumų dalyviai paprastai yra anoniminiai, nepažista vienas kito, todėl socialinis pašnekovų statusas bei jų artumo laipsnis prašymui neturi reikšmės. Be to, ir prašymo dydis, kuris be galio svarbus pasirenkant konkretaus prašymo formuluočę, interneto forumuose nebetenka savo reikšmės, nes visi forumuose pasitaikantys prašymai daugmaž vienodi, t. y. nedideli, nes prašoma informacijos ar patarimo, kurie adresato pernelyg neapsunkina nei laiko, nei finansų atžvilgiu. Todėl galima daryti išvadą, kad skirtingų kalbų forumuose panaudotų nevienodų mandagumo strategijų priežastis – kultūriniai skirtumai.

Ištyrus po 400 lietuviškų ir vokiškų forumų žinučių, paaiskėjo, kad lietuviai dažniau renkasi konvencionaliai netiesioginę mandagumo strategiją ir linkę į neišgiamą mandagumo raiškos formą, o vokiečiai dažniau naudoja tiesioginius prašymus ir teigiamą mandagumo raiškos formą.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: interneto forumai, mandagumo strategijos, adresantas, pragmatinė analizė, socialinis statusas, kultūriniai skirtumai.

DATIVAL BENEFACTIVE IN LITHUANIAN AND ENGLISH

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Abstract: Grammatical relations, as certain structural relations between words in phrases, are closely linked to various semantic functions that exhibit speakers' communicative tasks and express different meaningful aspects. Typologically, the grammatical relations in a clause can be reflected in three ways: by case marking on the nouns, by participant marking on the verbs, and in the particular order of the constituents. Moreover, the morphosyntactic relations are used to express different semantic roles, i.e., to indicate particular participants in the message world that are closely related to real-life situations. The present article discusses the semantic role of **BENEFACTIVE**, marked by dative constructions in Lithuanian and their syntactic-semantic equivalents in English, and emphasizes its prototypical and distinctive features as recognized in discourse. Applying the symbolic thesis and the concepts of personal sphere and target person proposed by cognitive linguists (Dąbrowska 1997, Berg-Olsen 1997), this article typologically compares case morphemes in Lithuanian and syntactic dative constructions in English (syntactic double-object constructions, traditionally called dative shift constructions) and investigates the **BENEFACTIVE** semantic role as expressed by linguistic means.

Key words: dative, grammatical relations, semantic role, benefactive, animacy.

Introduction

While expressing different ideas in words, people use particular grammatical relations that are closely linked to the semantic functions they denote. According to Payne (2006: 210), "grammatical relations are structurally defined relations between words in phrases and clauses." In fact, grammatical relations play a significant role in expressing meaningful distinctions, such as who is acting upon whom, what is topical, etc. Typologically, the ways in which grammatical relations are marked in a clause varies from language to language; however, they are determinable by a cluster of morphological and syntactic properties and subsume nominals with various semantic roles. In Lithuanian, the relations are reflected by case marking on nouns; however, English uses particular syntactic patterns to denote diverse semantic aspects.

Additionally, the semantic functions (roles) depend on the lexical meaning of the word (first of all, of the verb) and the semantic relations between the constituent parts of the sentence (the type of process the verb denotes). The semantic functions specify the meaning of the real situation, i.e., the situation based on people's understanding. As Valeika claims (1998: 14), every sentence is a "drama" in which participants interact with each other. Scholars tend to group these "dramas" into particular processes (e.g., material, mental, existential, etc.) with acting participants (e.g., AGENT, GOAL, BENEFACTIVE, MALEFACTIVE, RECIPIENT, etc.). This paper mostly deals with processes of *doing*, where the primary focus is laid on the semantic role of **BENEFACTIVE**, expressed in Lithuanian by the dative case and in English by particular syntactic constructions (the so-called *dative shift constructions*, which bring out the dative-like character of some positional and prepositional syntactic alternative constructions). To illustrate specific aspects of the **BENEFACTIVE**, examples are mainly taken from two data sources—the Bible and the Internet—which are used to test the meaning of the **BENEFACTIVE** in both recorded settled texts, and in contemporary variable linguistic expressions. In addition to this, the article presents diverse aspects of the **BENEFACTIVE** (so-called *readings*) recognized in both languages and compares the linguistic means used to mark the semantic shades.

The Concept of BENEFACTIVE

The dative case is typically used to denote an animate participant who gets something from the action expressed by the verb. Traditionally, datival constructions are assumed to express the so-called *Dative of Reference*, which denote the person or thing for whose benefit or to whose prejudice the action is performed. Cognitive grammarians analyse the datival constructions as particular patterns which contribute the meaning that “the agent acts to cause transfer of an object to a recipient” (Goldberg 1995: 32). Here the participant marked with the dative case is called the *target person*, i.e., an individual who is perceived as affected by the action, process, or state taking place within or impinging upon his personal sphere⁵ (see Dąbrowska 1997, Berg-Olsen 1997). When the meaning of benefit or advantage is highlighted, the semantic function of BENEFACTIVE is specified. Thus, the BENEFACTIVE may be defined as a semantic role which denotes “a participant to whom something is made available or for whom something is created and the person whom the agent assists or for whose benefit the action is performed” (Dąbrowska 1997: 35). From the cognitive point of view, to express the role a speaker uses the dative case and thus indicates that the agent’s actions affects the personal sphere of the BENEFACTIVE, either by enabling him to do something or by overcoming a desirable feeling or state of affairs (see Berg-Olsen 2004, Dąbrowska 1997, Kerevičienė 2009). The notion of BENEFACTIVE and the linguistic ways of realizing this datival meaning differ in Lithuanian and English; accordingly, the semantic function should be presented in detail.

The Datival Benefactive in Lithuanian

Lithuanian grammarians describe the semantic role of BENEFACTIVE as the semantic function which indicates the participant towards whom some action is directed, who is the addressee of an action or who acquires some property (Valeckienė 1998, Valeika 2006). The following examples illustrate the use of the Lithuanian dative:

(1) *Jis padarys tau namus* (2 Sam 7:11).

“He will establish a house for you.”

(2) *Jeigu Dievas uždaro duris, jis būtinai tau atidaro langą*.

“If God closes a door, he will definitely open you a window.”

(http://www.panevezibalsas.lt/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=4269&Itemid=46)

The Lithuanian examples show that the BENEFACTIVE role serves to indicate someone who profits from the event expressed by the verb. Taking into account the grammatical and semantic aspects of the BENEFACTIVE constructions, four major groups may be established in Lithuanian:

⁵*Personal sphere*: a mentally perceived area which “comprises persons, objects, locations, and facts sufficiently closely associated with an individual that any changes in them are likely to affect the individual as well” (Dąbrowska 1997: 16).

1. BENEFACTIVE constructions with the so-called *dativus commodi*⁶;
2. BENEFACTIVE constructions with transitives, where the dative-marked indirect object is used without an accusative-marked object;
3. Constructions with the dative-marked BENEFACTIVE and adjectives;
4. BENEFACTIVE constructions consisting of a noun with a copula sum, or a copulative verb with a dative-marked indirect object.

There are also datival BENEFACTIVE patterns used in idiomatic expressions.

Semantically, the benefactive is directly encoded in the meaning of the verb; however, the use of dative markers with verbs is motivated by their related inherent meaning. Compare:

(3) *Tomas padarė man paslaugą.*
“Tom did me a favor.”

(4) [?]*Tomas padarė šuniui paslaugą.*
“Tom did the dog a favor.”

(5) **Tomas padarė mašinai paslaugą.*
“Tom did (his) car a favor.”

In these sentences, the transitive phrase *padaryti paslaugą* (to do a favor) denotes an action that is associated with real benefit to the participants, who evaluate it positively. Thus, the action expressed by the verb *padaryti* must include three arguments: *a THEME*, or an object that is made available to the dative-marked participant (who previously had no relationship to the object); *an active animate AGENT* (inanimate AGENTS like *a car* or *a book* can hardly perform actions); and *an animate BENEFACTIVE* who consciously appreciates the performed transfer event and positively evaluates it. In such a case, *the dog* as the BENEFACTIVE in (4) sounds strange, though it is grammatical in the case when Tom does something instead of the dog, for instance, bringing someone slippers or taking the dog out. In turn, (5) is incorrect because the inanimate BENEFACTIVE *the car* cannot be psychologically active in the transfer act denoted by the verb.

The verbs *nudažyti*, *nuspalvinti*, *sukurti*, and *pagaminti* (paint, color, create, make) appear to be a reverse case. Here, the constructions with inanimate objects are preferably used in the genitive case. For example:

*Tomas nudažė mašinos*_{GEN} *stogą*_{ACC} (cf. *Tomas nudažė mašinai*_{DAT} *stogą*_{ACC})
“Tom painted the roof of the car” (cf. “Tom painted the roof for the car”)

*Ji numezgė megztinio*_{GEN} *rankovę*_{ACC} (cf. *Ji numezgė megztiniui*_{DAT} *rankovę*_{ACC})
“She knitted a sleeve of a sweater” (cf. “She knitted a sleeve for a sweater”)

⁶In Lithuanian, this syntactic group with transitive verbs takes an obligatory dative-marked complement and comprises the following verbs: *atleisti* (forgive), *atsiduoti* (indulge), *aukotis* (sacrifice oneself to sb.), *dėkoti* (thank), *meilikauti* (flatter), *nuolaidžiauti* (make concession to sb./sth.), *nusilenkti* (bow, obey), *nusileisti* (yield), *padaryti išpūdį*, *imponuoti* (impress), *padėti*, *pagelbėti* (help), *paklustyti* (obey), *pasiduoti* (surrender), *pataikauti* (indulge, be obsequious to sb.), *patarti* (advise), *patikti* (be liked), *pirštis* (court), *ploti* (applaud), *pritarti* (give support to sb., approve), *simpatizuoti*, *prijausti* (sympathize), *tarnauti* (serve), *tikti*, *derėti* (suit), *vergauti* (be a slave to sb./sth.), *kam nors* (for/to sb./sth/), etc.

Linguistic data taken from the modern spoken and written Lithuanian language allow these preliminary remarks to be made: the variation between possessive genitive and dative BENEFACTIVE affects the uses by restricting the degree of both animacy of the case-coded referent and the speaker's empathy. The distribution between the two ways of indicating the BENEFACTIVE is associated with the animacy and empathy hierarchies⁷. As linguistic data show, inanimate entities that are close to or intimate with the speaker may commonly be marked with the dative case, whereas inanimate objects that are conceived to be metaphorically distant from the speaker's personal sphere are marked with the genitive.

In Lithuanian may be found several commonly used BENEFACTIVE constructions without the accusative-marked objects mentioned above. Instead, propositional infinitival arguments as a substitute for the accusative-marked THEME are employed, as examples (6–7) illustrate:

- (6) *Jie patarė Pauliui vykti į Jeruzalę (Apd 21:4).*
“They advised Paul to embark for Jerusalem.”

- (7) *Jiems plunksna padėjo surasti vietą po saule.*
“Their writings helped them find their place in the world.”
(http://samogitia.mch.mii.lt/KULTURA/Riet_rasytojai.htm)

In the examples above, the actions are inspired by the nominative-marked AGENTS and directed towards the dative-marked BENEFACTIVES' personal spheres, and are mentally expanded by achieving useful advice or by receiving great or even invaluable help.

Taking linguistic means into account, constructions with the dative-marked BENEFACTIVE are also used with many adjectives and nouns that are either derived from the verbs used with BENEFACTIVES or semantically very close. This group includes adjectives and nouns like: *pelnimas* (remunerative, profitable): *pelnas* (profit, benefit) – *pelyti* (earn, profit); *pasiduodantis* (surrendering): *pasidavimas* (surrender, submission) – *pasiduoti* (surrender); *nuolaidus* (compliant): *nuolaidumas* (compliance) – *nusileisti* (submit, comply); *pataikaujantis* (indulgent): *pataikavimas* (indulgence) – *pataikauti*, *nuolaidžiauti* (indulge); *paklusnus* (obedient): *paklusnumas* (obedience) – *paklusti* (obey); *dékingas* (grateful): *padéka*, *dékingumas* (thanks, gratitude) – *(pa)dékoti* (thank); etc.

Some nouns with BENEFACTIVES have only verbal equivalents, for instance: *patarimas* (advice) – *patarti* (advise); *pagalba* (help) – *padéti*, *pagelbèti* (help);

⁷The degree of animacy and empathy seems to be a rather crucial factor in the choice of grammatical constructions, including dative constructions as well. According to typologists, there is a strong connection between the animacy hierarchy and empathy. If an affected object is at the top of the animacy hierarchy, speakers will be more likely to assume the “inner” perspective of the affected target and thereby share empathy with it. On the contrary, if the affected object is at the bottom of the hierarchy, speakers will be more likely to retain the “outside” perspective, i.e., the more objective viewpoint of an observer of a situation. A simplified version of the animacy hierarchy may be represented as follows: **Pronouns** (1st person > 2nd > 3rd) > **proper names** > **kinship terms** > **other humans** > **other animals** > **physical objects** > **abstract entities**. On the basis of the animacy hierarchy, the empathy hierarchy can also be applied: **Body parts** > **kinship terms** > **other relations between humans** > **clothes** > **other objects an individual is interested in**, etc. (cf. Šarič 2002: 13).

linkėjimas (wish, respects) – *linkēti* (wish); *paskola* (credit) – *skolinti* (lend); *auka* (donation) – *aukoti* (donate); etc. However, some words are derived from other equivalents: *ištikimybė* (faithfulness) – *ištikimas* (faithful); *nauda* (use) – *naudingas* (useful); *atverti* (open) – *atviras* (open) – *atvrauti* (say openly); etc. This is illustrated below with the adjective *atviras* (open) and the verb *atvrauti* (say openly):

(8) **Keleiviuui** buvo atviros mano durys (Job 31:32).

“I opened my door to wayfarers.”

(9) Taip savo **biciuliams** atvrauja, o gal guodžiasi Vilija.

“Vilija unburdens her heart to her old friends, or perhaps she finds comfort thus.”

(<http://www.vilija.interdomino.lt/index.php?sxMaintenance=true>)

Finally, idiomatic expressions with the dative-marked BENEFACTIVE are common in Lithuanian as well:

(10) Jis ištiesė pagalbos ranką savo **tarnui** (Lk 1:55).

“He has helped his servant.”

(11) Komunistai žadėjo **žmogui** rojų žemėje.

Communists promised a man to create the paradise on the earth.

(http://xxiamzius.lt/numeriai/2005/10/26/krsiand_01.html)

Linguistic data suggests that the prototypical use of dative-marked BENEFACTIVES is restricted to animate referents. In general, it is true to say that the dative case is used to mark the noun which indicates animate referents and its semantic import is to express the indirect experiencer of benefit of the coded event. The noun must normally refer to an animate participant, since the dative-marked BENEFACTIVE is typically affected in some way by an event. In this way, the use of inanimate BENEFACTIVES can be attributed either to metonymy (a class can subsume a group of people) or to their metaphorical patterns. Moreover, as inanimate objects cannot be affected personally in the way animate beings can, the inanimate BENEFACTIVE is conceived of more as an affected object that undergoes a change of status. Sentences (12) and (13) show inanimate recipients acting like PATIENTS, with the verbs *paskirti* (set) and *nutiesti kelią* (pave the way):

(12) Jis paskyrė **jūrai** ribas (Pat 8:29).

“He set limits on the sea.”

(13) Su hitu Gekreuzigt jis nutiesė kelią ir **naujam albumui**.

“With his hit, ‘Gekreuzigt,’ he also paved the way for his new album.”

(<http://lt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oomph!>)

In these examples the speakers presumably choose dative noun phrases to denote their empathetic views about the particular “inanimate affected targets” towards which the actions are directed and within which certain changes have been caused.

And finally, in some cases, pragmatic factors related to the particular situation and the speaker's intention may determine the choice of semantic roles. For instance, the fact that the roles of the recipient and the BENEFACTIVE are separate instantiations of the target person—with slightly different semantics—may be illustrated by sentence (14):

- (14) *Dèdè pardavè man namq.*
Uncle.NOM.SG sell.PAST.3 I.DAT.SG house.MASC.ACC.SG
“My uncle sold me a house.”

Sentence (14) may have two implications: either the uncle “sold a house to me,” or he “sold a house for me or instead of me.” The first interpretation supposes the role of the recipient as the denotatum, which benefits from the reception and (subsequent) possession of the new house; while the second interpretation presupposes the role of the BENEFACTIVE alone, which denotes a participant for whose benefit the action of selling is performed.

The Dative Benefactive in English

The Modern English (ME) dative referent may represent a certain type of participant, or so-called recipient⁸, in both positional and prepositional double-object constructions, where not only the event of transfer and possession but also the addressee's benefit is involved. Regarding syntactic structures, the ME role of BENEFACTIVE can be expressed either by the double-object positional construction, where the BENEFACTIVE precedes the direct object, or by the prepositional construction with its prototypical preposition *for*. Some examples illustrate the role:

- (15) a. *John baked a cake for his daughter.*
b. *John baked his daughter a cake* (Kroeger 2004: 74).
- (16) a. *He'll cook a lovely dinner for his wife on their anniversary.*
b. *He'll cook his wife a lovely dinner on their anniversary.*
(http://carbon.cudenver.edu/~tphilip/grammar/bene_info_sheet.pdf)

The above sentences imply situations in which the dative-coded referent acquires the object (as a THEME); still, the acquisition of the object mostly depends on some other act, as of creation, purchase, borrowing, reserving, ordering, hiring, etc. As in the Lithuanian constructions, semantic and pragmatic factors play a crucial role in the process of coding the BENEFACTIVE role in English.

First, English verbs which promote the coding of the BENEFACTIVE role mainly include the doing process, e.g.: *make, build, bake, cook, prepare, buy, sell, lend, order, book, rent, sing, paint*, etc. Indeed, they not only describe the above-mentioned acts but also refer to the intention to transfer either literal or implied possession of an object (as *the cake* in (15) and *dinner* in (16)), which becomes available for use by the BENEFACTIVE (*his daughter* and *his wife*). On the other hand, the dative-marked

⁸Generally, the *recipient* may be defined as an entity like a person, a group of people, a company, an organization, etc., that receives something; consequently, constructions with a dative recipient comprise the transitive verb *duoti* (give) with its various synonyms.

nominal is clearly construed as bearing the beneficial effect of the given action, and can be conceived as the certain dative variant of the recipient who experiences the advantageous effect.

Most verbs of this kind also allow constructions with one object (*John baked a cake* or *He'll cook a lovely dinner*); consequently, the dative-marked nominal is facultative, or “free”. Here the dative referent is to construe the situation of the advantageous conveyance in a figurative sense, where a “transferred” object can directly affect the dative-marked participant’s personal sphere by entering and so expanding it on behalf of the affectee. In other words, a speaker uses free dative purposely, to point to the role of BENEFACTIVE. Therefore, unlike the subject and the direct object in constructions of this kind, the dative-marked indirect object, while being a facultative argument, does not encode the central participant of the event and, therefore, cannot occur in the subject position of the passive sentence. Compare:

(17) a. *I only buy and sell weapons for al-Qaeda.*

b. **Al-Qaeda is only bought and sold weapons.*

(<http://news.netscape.com/story/2006/11/06/i-only-buy-and-sell-weapons-for-al-qaeda/>)

In view of the facts noted above, the construed situation with the English BENEFACTIVE is equivalent to the situations with the Lithuanian BENEFACTIVE.

Regarding syntactic ways of coding the English BENEFACTIVE alternation, some significant remarks on dative alternative constructions should be made. With reference to grammar books, the dative role of BENEFACTIVE in English can be equally expressed either by the possible linear double-object construction seen in (15b) and (16b), or by the prepositional construction with *for* seen in (15a) and (16a)—without any considerable difference in meaning (cf. Quirk et al. 1972: 322; Leech et al. 1999: 200); however, a cognitive study of English examples conveys a discrepant view, suggesting that these variant constructions encode two different construals of the same situation. Consider these examples:

(18) a. *My great-grandmother who stays up all night is sewing a dress for her little girl.*

(<http://www.sonaweb.net/sarahrosenthal.htm>)

b. *My great-grandmother who stays up all night is sewing her little girl a dress. (My paraphrase)*

(19) a. *We played the flute for you, but you did not dance (Luke 7:32).*

b. ?*We played you the flute, but you did not dance.*

⁹In the present sentences, the status of dative within the double-object prepositional constructions is cognitively specific, as it may correspond to the secondary landmark of the relational profile involving two objects. Here the subject of the verb can be identified with the trajector of the designated process. The direct object (*the cake* or *dinner*) can be characterized as the landmark. In such double-object constructions with dative as are found in (15) and (16), the direct object corresponds to the primary landmark whilst the dative-like marked indirect object can be assigned to the secondary landmark (cf. Taylor 2002: 215).

- (20) a. *And she was sore grieved for her lover, and sang a funeral wail for him....*
 b. *'She sang him a funeral wail.*
 (<http://www.libraryireland.com/AncientLegendsSuperstitions/Brides-Death-Song.php>)

Since the preposition *for* itself denotes the meaning “*on behalf of or to the benefit to*” (Soanes et al. 2001: 495), the prepositional construction encodes the “true” BENEFACTIVE role and construes a situation where an AGENT performs something with the object on behalf of the dative-marked nominal and presupposes a so-called “*on-behalf-of* reading” (Kroeger 2004: 75). However, when the dative nominal is used with verbs of creation in positional constructions, the dative role is mainly associated with the role of the potential recipient that receives or acquires possession of the transferred object. Under such circumstances, the situations in (18a) and (18b) are quite different. Sentence (18b) implies that the little girl will become the owner of the dress sewed by her great-grandmother, whereas by sentence (18a) the speaker presumably denotes the fact that the great-grandmother made every effort to help her little girl by sewing a dress for her (instead of her) so that, for instance, her granddaughter would get a good mark at school (i.e., presupposing that the dress was the girl’s homework assignment). Thus, the prepositional construction implies a BENEFACTIVE event that can be compared with the profile of “*to do something in place of someone*.” In the same vein, sentence (19b) is unacceptable because the dative-denoted participant does not possess *the flute*; he simply listens to a flute melody being performed for his special benefit. Similarly, *the dead lover* in (20b) cannot perceive the song, and it is thus performed for his benefit metaphorically and, consequently, the prepositional BENEFACTIVE construction was chosen over juxtaposition. Valeika (2006: 44) also faced this problem of ambiguity and argues that the benefactive in English includes two separate readings:

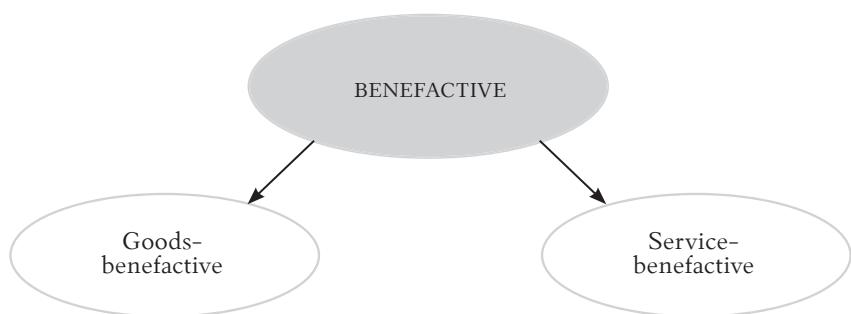


Figure 1. Alternative readings of the BENEFACTIVE.
 Source: Valeika 2006: 44.

According to Valeika (2006), the goods-BENEFACTIVE typically occurs with material processes of creating and obtaining, while the service-BENEFACTIVE expresses a material process where a service is emphasized.

Thus, it seems that the particular alternative constructions of the ME BENEFACTIVE can be assigned to different semantic links within a schematic network. For instance, the (b) versions (in 18–20) disclose a single instantiation of the recipient role, whereas the (a) versions establish the BENEFACTIVE role—which is, to the same extent, the recipient. The schematic networks of both versions may be graphically represented as follows:

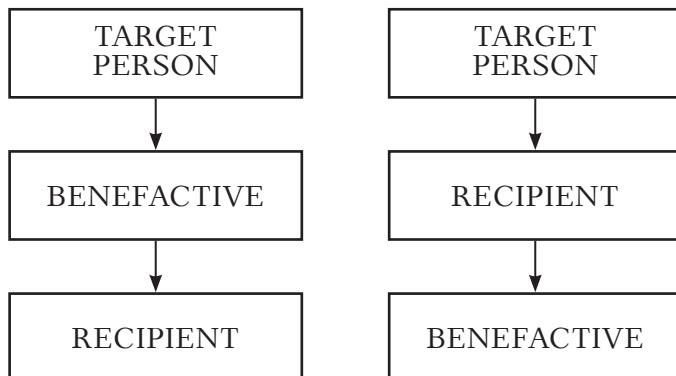


Figure 2. Schematic networks of alternative ME constructions with the dative-marked BENEFACTIVE role. Source: Created by the author.

Here, in version (a), the dative-marked nominal clearly designates the semantic role of BENEFACTIVE, which by semantic extension may be perceived as a particular recipient. In version (b), the dative encodes the salient role of the recipient, which may be further elaborated as a particular BENEFACTIVE.

What is more, in BENEFACTIVE prepositional constructions, only the role of BENEFACTIVE is profiled and, therefore, it does not matter whether the dative-coded participant is dead or alive—whilst in the double-object positional constructions, the role of recipient is profiled and the aspect of animacy is substantial.

As in Lithuanian, the usage of inanimate BENEFACTIVE-like constructions is mainly assigned either to cases of metonymy (22) or to metaphorical expressions (21):

(21) *God made the Idiot for practice, and then He made the School Board.*

(M.Twain)

(<http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/m/marktwain125617.html>)

(22) *I wrote a message for the Sunday Times this weekend.*

(http://digitalagency.typepad.com/digitalagency/2007/01/i_wrote_for_the.html)

(23) *They have decided to save money for a brand new car.*
[\(http://its.unc.edu/hub/2007/06/05/ipod_itrc/\)](http://its.unc.edu/hub/2007/06/05/ipod_itrc/)

(24) *Are you learning English for pleasure or for your work?*

The ME BENEFACTIVE role implies animate referents that may benefit from the action in some way and can consciously evaluate the effect on their personal sphere; contrarily, inanimate referents such as those found in sentences (23–24) are neither personally affected, nor can they be attributed to the participants who benefit from the action. Regarding these examples, it is evident that here the nominal with the preposition *for* denotes not a benefit as such, but rather the purpose or aim to have or use the transferred THEME, seeing that the preposition *for* itself can bear the meaning of purpose and intent (see Soanes et al. 2001: 495). Thus, the present *for* constructions with inanimate indirect objects have much in common with adverbials and, consequently, cannot be considered equivalent syntactic structures to the dative-coded BENEFACTIVE participants.

Concluding remarks

Lithuanian and Modern English are different languages; however, the same semantic aspects are recognized in each language. In this paper, the BENEFACTIVE role has been elaborated taking into account semantic and pragmatic aspects manifested by particular grammatical means, including morphosyntactic relations in Lithuanian and syntactic patterns in English. In Lithuanian, the BENEFACTIVE meaning is encoded in grammatical constructions where the dative-marked participant can appear with transitive, intransitive and copular verbs of transfer and creation, adjectives and nouns derived from verbs, and used with BENEFACTIVES. Some idiomatic expressions may be included as well. On the other hand, English lacks morphological marking on nouns; consequently, the dative BENEFACTIVE may be recognized as a certain type of recipient encoded in both positional and prepositional double-object constructions, where the dative shift alternation is preferred. Taking semantic aspects into account, the dative BENEFACTIVE in both languages prototypically is closely associated with the degree of the dative-marked participant's animacy and speaker's empathy. Inanimate cases are either attributed to metaphorical and/or metonymic extensions of the BENEFACTIVE, or may be assigned to the adverbial usage of the dative constructions denoting a purpose or intent. However, English dative BENEFACTIVE constructions exclusively refer to animate beings. In addition to this, the dative BENEFACTIVE may include different inferences of the expressions. In Lithuanian, the use of the dative and genitive cases arbitrarily reveals the speaker's attitude and relation to the dative-marked object; while in the English positional constructions, the basic meaning is associated with the BENEFACTIVE as recipient role, to emphasize the possession of the transferred object, while the true BENEFACTIVE is encoded in the prepositional constructions. In many cases, either one of these structures may fit the particular semantic requirement of a given verb; in others, one structure will be strongly preferred, consequently, the pragmatic factors are significant.

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NAUDININKO LINKSNIU REIŠKIAMAS BENEFAKTYVAS LIETUVIŲ IR ANGLŲ KALBOSE

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Santrauka

Kalbose gramatiniai santykiai yra susiję su jais reiškiamais semantiniai aspektais, kurie atspindi kalbančiojo mintis, požiūrį į apibūdinamą situaciją ar objektą. Tipologiškai gramatiniai santykiai kalbose gali būti reiškiami trejopai: morfologiniu vardažodžiu žymėjimu, tam tikru veiksmažodiniu žymėjimu ir / arba tam tikra žodžių tvarka. Tradiciškai semantiniai aspektai yra siejami su gramatinė charakteristika, o ne kognityviaisiais aspektais. Šiame straipsnyje, vadovaujantis kognityvinės gramatikos teorinėmis prielaidomis, tyrimo metodologija, *simbolinės tezės*, *tikslinio asmens* ir *asmeninės erdvės* konceptais, yra analizuojamas benefaktyvo semantinis vaidmuo anglų ir lietuvių kalbose, kuriose atskleidžia skirtinges žymėjimo gra-

matinės priemonės. Lietuvių kalboje benefaktyvo reikšmė susijusi su veiksmažodžio semantika ir tiesioginio arba netiesioginio objekto morfologiniu žymėjimu (t. y. naudininko linksnii). Anglų kalboje panašius benefaktyvo reikšminius aspektus padeda realizuoti tam tikros alternatyvios sintaksinės struktūros (vadinamoji *dative shift* konstrukcija), kur naudininko reikšmė koduojama dvigubo objekto konstrukcijomis arba prielinksnine *for* konstrukcija. Išanalizavus pavyzdžius, pastebėta, kad ir lietuvių, ir anglų kalbose naudininku realizuojamos benefaktyvo reikšmės yra susijusios su tam tikrais semantiniai ir pragmatiniai veiksnių. Pirmiausia, protipiškai šis semantinis vaidmuo abiejose kalbose yra susijęs su naudininku reiškiamo objekto gyvumu, nes būtent benefaktyvu žymimas adresatas sąmoningai įvertina gautos naudos reikšmę, todėl negyvi objektai įgyja prieveiksminges reikšmes. Lietuvių kalboje akivaizdi naudininko ir kilminko linksniių dichotomija, susijusi su objekto gyvumu ir kalbančiojo empatija. Anglų kalboje išsiskiria dvi galimos benefaktyvinių konstrukcijų interpretacijos: pozicinės konstrukcijos žymi benefaktyvo, kaip recipiente ar galutinio gaunamo objekto, posesorius vaidmenį, o prielinksninė *for* konstrukcija atspindi tikrojo benefaktyvo, t. y. adresato gaunamas naudos, reikšminius aspektus. Visgi abiejose kalbose naudininku koduojamo benefaktyvo vaidmens raišką dažnai lemia įvairūs pragmatiniai veiksnių: kalbančiojo požiūris, aprašoma situacija ir pats diskursas.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: datyvas, gramatiniai santykiai, semantinis vaidmuo, benefaktyvas, gyvumas.

СОЦИОКУЛЬТУРНАЯ ПАРАДИГМА РКИ И ЛИТОВСКОГО ЯЗЫКА: НА ПРИМЕРЕ ПОСЛОВИЦ И ПОГОВОРОК

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Абстракт: Становление личности студента средствами РКИ, воспитание у него речевой культуры, формирование навыков межкультурной коммуникации и социокультурных навыков становится актуальным при использовании коммуникативно-ориентированного метода, в основе которого лежит широкое применение типичных коммуникативных ситуаций речевого общения. Материалом для обучения базовым видам речевой деятельности должны служить тексты лингвострановедческой тематики, насыщенные интеркультурным компонентом, а сам процесс обучения должен ставить перед собою цель – познание и приобщение к культуре изучаемого иностранного языка (РКИ). Обучать РКИ в вузе следует в тесной связи с лингвоэтнокультурой народа и на базе этой культуры, причем факты и сведения самого языка должны рассматриваться как часть всеобщей мировой культуры в преломлении лингвоментальности народа-носителя языка. В различных культурах есть общее из того, что создано в каждую историческую эпоху человеческим обществом в науке и искусстве, общественной жизни и нравах, обычаях и традициях, но есть и специфическое, своеобразное. В семантике каждого естественного языка, в его системной организации и речевых реализациях воплощены духовные богатства мира, и язык народа отражает мир через призму человеческих поступков, отношений, мотивов и интересов.

Ключевые слова: социокультурный фон, лингвоэтнокультурная информация, пословица, межкультурная коммуникация, языковая картина мира.

Цель статьи – осветить проблему литовскоязычного социокультурного фона, влияющего на развитие коммуникативной компетенции при изучении русского языка как иностранного на примере литовских пословиц. Надо отметить, что многие ученые лингвисты сходятся во мнении, что социокультурный компонент является основополагающим фактором в овладении иноязычной речью. Когда обучающиеся достигают порогового уровня в лексико-грамматической компетенции, на первый план выступает проблема взаимодействия двух языковых картин мира – родного и изучаемого иностранного языка. Изучая иностранный язык, пытаясь освоить нормы и правила культурной и языковой сущности, мы все равно проявляем свое национальное, культурно-специфическое свойство. Национальный акцент в иноязычной речи может не только восприниматься физическим слухом, но проявляться как внутренняя, почти бессознательная составляющая личности. Следует заметить, что кодирование лингвоэтнокультурной информации может происходить не только с помощью лексических единиц языка – все лингвистические средства, а также многие экстралингвистические средства (жесты, мимика, выражение глаз, поза при коммуницировании и др.) участвуют в «оформлении» мысли коммуниканта и придают особую модальность высказыванию. Осознание своих социокультурных ошибок в изучении иностранного языка помогает лучше понять себя как носителя родной культуры и в то же время открывает на этом стыке культуру изучаемого языка.

В условиях постоянно меняющейся геоэкономический и геокультурной ситуации человек должен уметь строить взаимовыгодный диалог со всеми субъектами общего жизненного пространства, уметь наводить гуманитарные межкультурные мости между представителями различных культур и стран.

Важную роль в этом играет язык, выступающий единственным возможным инструментом, с помощью которого становится возможным взаимопонимание между представителями различных лингвокультурных сообществ. Отсюда совершенство очевидна переориентация лингводидактических и методических исследований на проблемы межкультурной коммуникации, а, точнее, на проблемы формирования у студентов способности эффективно участвовать в ней.

Как справедливо отмечает С. Г. Тер-Минасова «новое время, новые условия потребовали немедленного и коренного пересмотра как общей методологии, так и конкретных методов и приемов преподавания иностранных языков и РКИ. Эти новые условия – «открытие» России, опровержение стереотипов, ее стремительное вхождение в мировое сообщество, безумные скачки в политике, экономики, культуры, идеологии, смещение и перемещение народов и языков, изменение отношения между русскими и иностранцами, абсолютно новые цели общения – все это не может не ставить новых проблем в теории и практике преподавания иностранных языков и РКИ» (Тер-Минасова 2000: 25).

Становление личности студента средствами РКИ, воспитание у него речевой культуры становится актуальным при использовании коммуникативно-ориентированного метода, в основе которого лежит широкое применение типичных коммуникативных ситуаций речевого общения, а материалом для обучения базовым видам речевой деятельности служат тексты лингвостранноведческой тематики. Использование дополнительных к текстам учебника иноязычных текстов, богатых социо-, этно-, лингво-культурными сведениями, с одной стороны, создает ту внутреннюю наглядность, которая повышает мотивацию обучения, а с другой стороны – оптимизирует формирование языковой и коммуникативной компетенции.

Язык и человек неразделимы. Язык не существует вне человека, и человек не существует вне языка. Поэтому человека нельзя изучать вне языка, и язык изучать вне человека. Язык отражает окружающий мир и культуру, созданную человеком. Язык – это орудие культуры: он формирует человека, определяет его поведение, образ жизни, мировоззрение, менталитет, национальный характер. Через язык человек получает представление о мире и обществе, членом которого он стал, о его культуре, о системе ценностей, морали, поведении и т.д. Язык отражает мир и культуру и формирует личность носителя языка. Как утверждает В. Гумбольдт, язык стоит между человеком и миром: «Это мир, лежащий между миром внешних явления и внутренним миром человека» (Гумбольдт 2000: 304). Сегодня уже очевидной кажется связь между культурой и языком, историей и языком, человеком и языком. Большинство исследователей сходятся во мнении, что нельзя изучать язык как нечто отвлеченное, самостоятельное, как некую закрытую систему, нельзя изучать его отдельно от человека. Лингвокультурный метод объединяет языковые структуры (грамматику, лексику и т.д.) с внеязыковыми факторами. Тогда на стыке мировоззрения в национальном масштабе и языка, т.е. своего рода способа мышления (не будем забывать о том, что человек принадлежит к той стране, на языке которой он думает), рождается тот богатый мир языка, о котором писал В. Гумбольдт, подчеркивая, что через многообразие языка для нас открывается богатство мира и многообразие того, что мы познаем в нем.

Отражая в процессе деятельности объективный мир, человек фиксирует в слове результаты познания. Совокупность этих знаний, запечатленных в языковой форме, представляет собой то, что в различных концепциях называется то, как языковой промежуточный мир, то как языковая презентация мира, то как языковая модель мира, то как языковая картина мира. Последний термин имеет наибольшую распространенность. Если же говорить о национальной языковой картине мира, то специалисты, занимающиеся данной проблематикой, отмечают неизбежную фрагментарность проводимых исследований, связанную с огромным объемом материала. Тем не менее, весьма тонкий анализ существующих в национальных языках явлений позволяет делать определенные выводы. Национальную картину мира, наряду с другими компонентами, такими, как традиции, бытовая культура, повседневное поведение, художественная культура, профессор С.Г. Тер-Минасова относит к компонентам культуры, которые несут национально-специфическую окраску (Тер-Минасова 2000: 28–29).

Главный ответ на вопрос о решении актуальной задачи обучения иностранным языкам, в том числе и русского языка как иностранного, как средству коммуникации между представителями разных народов и культур заключается в том, что языки должны изучаться в неразрывном единстве с миром и культурой народов, говорящих на этих языках.

Одна из важных проблем культуроедческой методики обучения иностранному (русскому) языку в диалоге культур, в контексте культуры и т.п. заставляет ответить на вопрос, что первично и что вторично в диаде язык и культура, т.е. методически раскрыть и обосновать формулу «язык – цель, культура – средство» или «культура – цель, язык – средство». Среди методистов и преподавателей-практиков есть сторонники как одной, так и другой точки зрения на это «распределение» сопряженных феноменов. Так одни ученые считают, что цель иноязычного образования – культура, а язык – средство. Другие ученые полагают, что в процессе овладения иностранным (русским языком) существует триада «язык – культура – речевое сообщение (текст, дискурс)». Как утверждает О.Д. Митрофанова, содержательный потенциал, вовлекаемой в практическое преподавание русского языка как иностранного, русской культуры, чрезвычайно велик, что обнажает значимость ряда лингводидактических принципов, положений, в частности, следующий тезис: знать всю культуру общества человек не может, слишком она велика. Отдельный человек опирается лишь на знания основ этой культуры, какой-то его части, что обостряет проблему отбора фактов и явлений культуры в целях преподавания и заставляет следовать в методике принципу частичности знаний культуры каждым отдельным человеком. Дидактически не менее важен тезис о специализированности знаний культуры в зависимости от конкретных интересов учащихся их коммуникативной цели, уровня требуемой для их достижения социокультурной компетенций, ибо социокультурная компетенция формируется с учетом фактов и сведений общечеловеческого национального, регионального и местного значений (Митрофанова 2004: 26–27).

В качестве отрасли науки о языке, непосредственно связанной с изучением культуры, в последнее время все большее распространение получает лин-

гвокультурология (Маслова 2001: 7). По словам профессора В.В. Воробьева, «сегодня уже можно утверждать, что лингвокультурология – это новая филологическая дисциплина, которая изучает определенным образом отобранную и организованную совокупность культурных ценностей, исследует живые коммуникативные процессы порождения и восприятия речи, опыт языковой личности и национальный менталитет, дает системное описание языковой «картины мира» и обеспечивает выполнение образовательных, воспитательных и интеллектуальных задач обучения» (Воробьев 1999:125). Определение сторонников лингвосоциокультурного метода не преувеличивает силы и значения языка в современном мире. По их мнению, язык – это мощное общественное орудие, формирующее людской поток в этнос, образующее нацию через хранение и передачу культуры, традиций, общественного самосознания данного речевого комплекса. При этом подходе к языку межкультурная коммуникация – это, прежде всего, адекватное взаимопонимание двух собеседников или людей, обменивающихся информацией, принадлежащих к разным национальным культурам. Тогда их язык становится знаком принадлежности его носителей к определенному социуму.

Тесная связь и взаимосвязь преподавателя иностранных языков и межкультурной коммуникации очевидны. Каждый урок иностранного языка, в том числе и РКИ – это практика межкультурной коммуникации, потому что в каждом иностранном слове отражается иностранный мир и иностранная культура: за каждым иностранным словом стоит обусловленное национальным сознанием представление о мире (Будагов 1995:7). Преодоление языкового барьера недостаточно для обеспечения эффективности общения между представителями разных культур. Для этого нужно преодолеть барьер культурный. Специфическими особенностями обладает и сам носитель национального языка и культуры. В межкультурном общении необходимо учить особенности национального характера коммуникантов, специфику их эмоционального склада, национально-специфические особенности мышления (Антипов 1989: 8). Лингвосоциокультурная методика базируется на аксиоме о том, что в основе языковых структур лежат структуры социокультурные. Мы познаем мир посредством мышления в определенном культурном поле и пользуемся языком для выражения своих впечатлений, мнений, эмоций, восприятий. Поэтому каждый студент, избравший такой органический и целостный подход, должен относится к языку, как к зеркалу, в котором отражаются география, климат, история народа, условия его жизни, традиции, быт, поседневное поведение, творчество.

Изучение мира носителя языка направлено на то, чтобы помочь понять особенности речеупотребления, дополнительные смысловые нагрузки, политические, культурные, исторические коннотации единиц языка и речи. Таким образом, сейчас следует говорить о необходимости более глубокого и тщательного изучения мира (не языка, а мира) носителей языка, их культуры в широком этнографическом смысле слова, их образа жизни, национального характера, менталитета и т.п., потому что реальное употребление слов и речи, реальное речевоспроизведение в значительной степени определяется значением социальной и культурной жизни говорящего на данном языке речевого

коллектива. Знать значения слов и правила грамматики явно недостаточно для того, чтобы активно пользоваться языком как средством общения. Необходимо знать как можно глубже мир изучаемого языка. Иными словами, помимо значений слов и правил грамматики нужно знать: 1) когда сказать, как, кому, при ком, где; 2) как данное значение/понятие, данный предмет мысли живет в реальности мира изучаемого языка (Тер–Минасова 2000: 27).

Картина мира, окружающего носителей языка, не просто отражается в языке, она формирует язык и его носителя, и определяет особенности речеупотребления. Без знания мира изучаемого языка невозможно изучать язык как средство общения. В языковых явлениях отражаются факты общественной жизни определенного говорящего коллектива. Задачи обучения иностранному языку как средству общения должны быть неразрывно связаны с задачами изучения общественной и культурной жизни страны и народов, говорящих на этом языке.

В лингводидактике язык как средство общения и язык как средство коммуникации рассматриваются как равнозначные понятия: обучение языку как средству общения означает обучение языка как средству коммуникации. В работах С.Г. Тер–Минасовой понятия общение и коммуникация тождественны. Исследователь определяет межкультурную коммуникацию как межкультурное общение: «МКК – это общение людей, представляющих разные культуры» (Тер–Минасова 2000: 14). Но ученый Н.Л. Ушакова, рассмотрев, что понимается под данными терминами в философии, психологии, методике, лингвистике и психолингвистике дает следующее определение вышеназванным понятиям. Итак, под межкультурным общением понимается такое взаимодействие принадлежащих к разным культурам групп и отдельных личностей, при котором происходит обмен ценностями, чувствами и мыслями. Межкультурная коммуникация же – это передача и восприятие информации в обществе на межкультурном уровне (Ушакова 2006: 92).

Как уже говорилось выше, материалом для обучения базовым видам речевой деятельности должны служить тексты лингвострановедческой тематики, насыщенные интеркультурным компонентом, а сам процесс обучения должен ставить перед собою цель – развитие навыков межкультурного общения, познание и приобщение к культуре изучаемого иностранного языка (РКИ). Обучать РКИ в вузе следует в тесной связи с лингвокультурой русского и литовского народа (или любого другого народа, для которого русский язык является иностранным языком).

Ученый Н.Л. Ушакова, давая определение понятию – межкультурное общение отмечает, один из аспектов данного понятия – обмен ценностями, мыслями и чувствами разных культурных групп и отдельных личностей, т.е. в этом определении можно усмотреть аспект межличностного отношения представителей двух культурных групп.

Проблема межличностного восприятия волнует представителей разных наук: будучи существом социальным, человек формируется как личность и проявляет себя в общении с другими, в различных видах совместной деятельности. В лингвистике проблема межличностных отношений изучается недавно (Мельникова 2003, Колтунова 2004, Болдырев, Лукьянов 2005 и др.).

Исследование речемыслительной деятельности помогает полнее опознать и понять человека, ибо в каждом своем высказывании индивид определенным образом обобщает, концептуализирует и оценивает окружающий его мир, включая и других индивидов. Проблема межличностных отношений имеет большое практическое значение. В частности, исследования по проблемам межличностного восприятия важны для целей адекватного становления совокупной региональной языковой личности (Гертнер, Нифанова 2006: 173–174).

Анализ публикаций, проведенный И.В. Гертнером и Т.С. Нифановой показал, что проблема межличностного восприятия изучалась, как правило, на материале словесных единиц, хотя по утверждению Н.Н. Амосовой, фразеология любого языка – это ценнейшее лингвистическое наследие, которое отражает, прежде всего, отношения между людьми. Примером такого лингвистического наследия могут служить пословицы и поговорки разных народов разных языковых групп, а их анализ и смысловое восприятие на родном языке и на РКИ является ярким примером одного из аспектов межкультурного общения.

Сопоставительный анализ английских и русских пословиц и поговорок с общим значением «Межличностное восприятие» провела А.Р. Залялеева. Языковым материалом для данного исследования послужили 95 английских пословиц и поговорок, отображающих ситуации восприятия человека человеком, которые закреплены во фразеологическом значении или/и внутренней форме паремий. Автор А.Р. Залялеева выделяет 14 основных тематических групп, в которые можно объединить английские пословицы и поговорки с общим значением «Межличностное восприятие». Наибольшее количество пословиц и поговорок английского и русского языка входят в тематическую группу «о человеке судят по делам и поступкам». Далее следуют следующие тематические группы: «о человеке судят по стилю поведения в обществе», «о человеке судят по его речи», «нельзя судить человека по его внешности», «о человеке судят по его родственникам», «о человеке судят по его друзьям», «по стилю выполнения работ», необходимо время, чтобы узнать человека», «нельзя судить о человеке по первому впечатлению», «проверять личностные качества человека деньгами или золотом», «встречают по одежке, провожают по уму», «узнать человека можно по его манерам и привычкам», «человек проявляет себя в экстремальных ситуациях». Основное внимание при сопоставительном анализе уделялось значению английских пословиц. Автор А.Р. Залялеева отмечает, что для носителей английского языка межличностное восприятие определяется делами и поступками людей, их речью, стилем поведения в обществе, привычками. Люди оценивают окружающих по таким критериям, как их друзья и родственники. Свойства людей наиболее ярко проявляются в чрезвычайных ситуациях. Внешняя привлекательность не играет первостепенной роли для англичан (Залялеева 2002: 155). Ознакомившись с одним из аспектов межличностного восприятия носителей английского языка, представители других языковых групп овладевают определенными навыками межкультурного общения с представителями данной языковой группы.

Целью статьи было осветить проблему литовскоязычного социокультурного фона, влияющего на развитие коммуникативной компетенции при изучении русского языка как иностранного на примере литовских посло-

виц и поговорок. Вышеприведенный сопоставительный анализ английских и русских пословиц и поговорок показал возможность развития навыков межкультурного общения и межкультурной коммуникации на примере познания межличностного восприятия носителей определенных языковых групп. Межличностные восприятия людей определенных наций формируют определенные нормы морали, этики, культуры общения тем самым, создавая социокультурный фон своей нации. Сопоставительный анализ русских и литовских пословиц и поговорок может служить материалом лингвокультурного метода обучения РКИ, а также служить методом развития навыком межкультурного общения и межкультурной коммуникации.

Анализируя некоторые литовские пословицы и сопоставляя их тематическое значение с приведенным выше анализом английских и русских пословиц, можно утверждать, что и литовские пословицы несут тот же смысловой характер межличностных отношений, что и в англоязычных и русскоязычных пословицах. Не смотря на то, что эти три языка принадлежат разным языковым группам, а носители этих языков разным религиозным конфессиям, разным культурам, разному уровню экономического и социального развития, с точки зрения исторических эпох, есть та общая точка соприкосновения межличностных отношений, которую можно узреть, анализируя пословицы и поговорки. Для литовскоязычных студентов, изучающих русский язык как иностранный, анализ этого материала может служить одним из дидактических методов обучения иностранному языку, через познание и анализ межличностных отношений родной культуры и культуры изучаемого языка. Когда студент, изучающий РКИ, соприкасается с материалом, в котором опознает ему знакомые явления, такой материал служит эффективным методом приобщения к культуре изучаемого языка и к самому изучаемому иностранному языку. Сравнивая русские и литовские пословицы и поговорки можно отметить такое языковое явление, как полное совпадение грамматических и лексических форм, а также совпадение назидательного и поучительного смыслового значения.

Как в английских и русских поговорках и пословицах, так и в литовских поговорках и пословицах при распределении их по тематическому значению в группы, предложенные А.Р. Залялеевой, наиболее обширная по численности совпадений грамматических и лексических форм оказалась группа «о человеке судят по делам и поступкам». Например: *Viščiukus rudenj skaičiuo / Цыплят по осени считают; Ylos maiše nepaslėpsi / Шила в мешке не утаишь; Ant vagies ir kepurė dega/ На воре и шапка горит; Pagal Joną ir kepurę/ По Сеньке и шапка; Septynis kartus atmatuok, o aštuntą rjausk / Семь раз отмерь, один раз отрежь; Ką pasësi, tą ir pjausi / Что посеешь, то и пожнешь; Nekask duobės kitam, patys gali įkliūti / Не копай яму другому, сам в нее попадешь; Darbas – ne vilkas, jį mišką nerabèogs / Работа не волк – в лес не убежит; и т.д.* К тематической группе с полным совпадением лексических и грамматических форм можно отнести пословицы – «о человеке судят по стилю поведения в обществе» – *Varna varnai akies nekerta / Ворон ворону в глаз не выклюет; Šaukštasis deguto ir statinę medaus sugadins / Ложка дегтя и бочку меда испортит.* К тематической группе «о человеке судят по его родственникам» можно отнести пословицу – *Obuolys niuo obels netoli nurieda / Яблоко от яблони недалеко падает* и т.д. К тематической

группе «о человеке судят по его друзьям» можно отнести пословицу – *Su kuo sutapsi, tuo ir pats tapsi / С кем поведешься, от того и наберешься* и т.д. Целью сопоставительного анализа литовских пословиц и поговорок с русскими пословицами и поговорками, в данной статье, является не количественное совпадение, а смысловое совпадение, в котором можно усмотреть общий аспект межличностных отношений двух языковых групп и культур.

Обобщив вышесказанное можно сделать следующий вывод:

1. В ходе сравнения и сопоставления родной и иноязычной культуры, как и отдельных фактов языка, студенты не только получают лингвистические знания, но и овладевают приемами межкультурной коммуникации. В семантике каждого естественного языка, в его системной организации и речевой реализации воплощены духовные богатства мира, и язык народа отражает мир через призму человеческих поступков, отношения, мотивов и интересов. В различных культурах есть общее из того, что создано в каждую историческую эпоху человеческим обществом в науке и искусстве, общественной жизни и нравах, обычаях и традициях, но есть и специфическое, своеобразное. Обучать РКИ в вузе следует в тесной связи с лингвоэтнокультурой народа и на базе этой культуры, причем факты и сведения самого языка должны рассматриваться как часть всеобщей мировой культуры в преломлении лингвоментальности народа – носителя языка.
2. Включение литовских пословиц и поговорок в лингвистический материал преподавания русского языка как иностранного в литовской аудитории может служить дидактическим методом для развития у студентов навыков межкультурного общения и межкультурной коммуникации, через познание межличностных восприятий, существующих в родной и иноязычной культуре.

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SOCIO-CULTURAL PARADIGM OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE AND LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE: ON THE BASIS OF PROVERBS AND ADAGES

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Summary

A person who lives in a constantly changing geo-economic and geo-cultural context should be able to engage in a mutually rewarding dialogue with all the subjects involved in the context. He/she should manage to build up humanistic and inter-cultural bridges between countries and cultures. Language plays an important role in this process, and sometimes it becomes the only tool for mutual understanding between different lingua-ethnic communities. Man and language are inseparable: man cannot exist without language, and language remains alive if only it is used by man. Language reflects the world people have created, and also a country's history and culture. This factor serves as an argument for the claim that foreign language (including Russian as a second language) should be taught in close relation to the culture, history, customs and traditions of the country where it is employed. It is evident that lingua-didactic and methodological research should be re-orientated in the direction of inter-cultural communication. Therefore recently the discussions about the new discipline that appeared in the field of philology, i.e., language-related cultural studies, became more intensive. This discipline focuses on the communication processes determining the emergence and development of a particular language, providing its systematic picture, and on the educational and intellectual functions of language.

While studying a foreign language, it is insufficient to learn new words or specific grammar rules. It is of utmost importance to know: 1) the type of addressee; under which circumstances, the message could be said; 2) the fact that any concept, phrase, or meaning exist in the reality of the studied language. While studying Russian as a second language, it is urgent to relate it to the lingua-ethnic culture of Russia. However, all the facts and data should be treated as an integral part of the world's lingua-mental culture that is perceived through the intersection of a particular nation as the carrier of the studied language.

Key words: socio-cultural background, lingua-ethno-cultural information, proverb, inter-cultural communication, linguistic view of the world.

ŽEMAITIJOS BAJORŲ ĮVARDIJIMAS

1528 M. DOKUMENTE

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Anotacija: Straipsnyje tiriamas 1528 m. LDK kariuomenės dokumentuose užrašytų Žemaitijos bajorų – vyrių ir moterų – vardynas. Pirmiausia pateikiami populiausi vardai, po to aprašomi įvardijimo tipai, įvardijimo struktūra, patroniminė įvardijimo sistema, nurodoma galima pavardė, palyginamas vyru ir moterų vardynas.

Kalbant apie vyru vardyną, straipsnyje vartojamas potencialiosios pavardės terminas. Tuo metu tikrų pavardžių dar turbūt nebuvę arba jų buvo labai mažai. Vyru potencialija pavarde laikomas asmenvardis antroje arba trečioje įvardijimo pozicijoje, kuris atitejyti galėjo virsti pavarde. Kalbant apie moterų vardyną, vartojamas šeimos asmenvardžio terminas. Moterų šeimos asmenvardžiais vadintami iš šeimos narių asmenvardžių sudaryti antroponimai.

Moterų ir vyrių įvardijimus sudaro asmenvardžiai ir prievardžiai. Prievardžiai skirstomi į keturius leksines–semantines grupes: luomo, pareigybės, tautybės, šeimyninės padėties ir giminystės prievardžius.

Pagal asmenvardžių skaičių įvardijimai skirstomi į veinanarius, dvinarius, trinarius.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Žemaitija, asmenvardis, įvardijimas, prievardis.

Žemaitijos antroponimija pradėta tirti nuo XVI a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kariuomenės dokumentuose užrašytų asmenų, kurių dauguma buvo bajorai, vardyno (Čirūnaitė 2002). Yra rašyta ir apie XVI a. Žemaitijos miestelėnų įvardijimą (Čirūnaitė 2005, 2010).

Šiame straipsnyje tiriamas 1528 m. istorinės Žemaitijos 1686 bajorų – vyrių ir moterų – vardynas. Išrašyti Vilkijos, Veliuonas, Ariogalos, Raseinių, Viduklės, Karšuvos, Pajūrio, Šeduvos, Rietavo, Gandingos, Viešvėnų, Telšių, Biržanėnų, Dirvėnų, Medingėnų, Žarėnų, Patumšių, Karklėnų, Užvenčio, Beržėnų, Kražių, Kelmės, Tendžiogalos, Josvainių bajorai. Vietovėje vidutiniškai užrašyta po 70,3 asmenis, tiekiančius žirgus kariuomenei.

Visi įvardijimai metrikuoti: skliaustuose po įvardijimo nurodomas šaltinio puslapis.

VYRŲ VARDAI

Šiame skyriuje pateikiami 1528 m. dokumento bajorų luomo Žemaitijos vyru vardai. Su vardais užrašyti 1564 vyrai (99,7%).

Populiariausiai vyru vardai

1. Jonas – 10,8 proc. (169); 2. Stanislovas – 9 proc. (140); 3. Petras – 7,5 proc. (117); 4. Jurgis – 5,5 proc. (86); 5. Motiejus – 4,9 proc. (76); 6. Mikalojus – 4,5 proc. (70); 7. Jokūbas – 3,8 proc. (60); 8–9. Baltramiejus, Martynas – po 3,5 proc. (55); 10. Andriejus – 3,1 proc. (49); 11. Grigalius – 2,6 proc. (41); 12. Vaitiekus – 2,2 proc. (34); 13. Povilas (Paulius) – 2,1 proc. (33); 14–15. Laurynas, Simeonas/Simonas – po 2,1 proc. (32); 16. Vaclovas – 1,9 proc. (29); 17. Bogdanas – 1,6 proc. (25); 18. Demetrijus – 1,7 proc. (26); 19–20. Ipatijus, Steponas – po 1,5 proc. (24); 21–22. Juozapas, Mykolas – po 1,3 proc. (20); 23–24. Tomas, Rimka – po 1 proc. (16); 25. Aleksandras – 0,96 proc. (15); 26. Kristijonas – 0,8 proc. (12); 27.

Justinas – 0,7 proc. (11); 28–30. Adomas, Lukas, Narka (Narkus) – po 0,6 proc. (9); 31–32. Gabrielius, Romanas – po 0,5 proc. (8); 33–35. Eufemijus, Vladimiras, Butka (Butkus) – po 0,45 proc. (7); 36. Bernardas – 0,4 proc. (6); 37. Gailius – 0,3 proc. (5); 38–45. Dobeslovas, Liudvikas, Pranciškus, Valentinas, Daugėla, Gedminas, Kantrimas, Budrus – po 0,26 proc. (4); 46–55. Boguslovas, Emanuelis, Kasparas, Silvestras, Jogminas, Mankus, Mažeika, Rupeika, Sutka (Sutkus), Tautka (Tautkus) – po 0,2 proc. (3); 56–79. Aleksiejus (Aleksas), Ambraziejas, Anupras, Augustinas, Bazilius, Emiliojus, Joakimas, Morkus, Serafinas, Urbonas, Vitas, Butrimas, Daujotas, Galminas, Gedvilas, Narvaišas, Stegvilas, Bocus, Daugis, Dargis, Daukšas, Kančius, Lelkas, Nacas – po 0,1 proc. (2).

Vyrų kalendoriniai krikštavardžiai

Vyrų vardu pavartoti 69 kalendoriniai krikštavardžiai. Jie užrašyti 1392 kartus. Tai yra 89 proc. visų vardų užrašymo atvejų. Kanoninės kalendorinių krikštavardžių formos, užrašant asmenis, pavartotos dažniau – 58,3 proc. (812) atvejų. Liaudinės formos pavartotos rečiau – 41,7 proc. (580) atvejų.

Vien kanoninėmis formomis užrašyta 17 vardų: *Adomas, Aleksiejus, Ambraziejas, Antanas, Blažiejas, Bogdanas, Florijonas, Gabrielius, Jeronimas, Kasparas, Leonas, Martynas, Morkus, Sebastijonas, Serafnas, Urbonas, Vladislovas*. Vien liaudinėmis formomis užrašyti 27 vardai: *Anupras, Bernardas, Dasijus, Demetrijus, Dobeslovas, Dominykas, Emanuelis, Emiliojus, Eufemijus, Fabijus, Hiacintas, Ipatijus, Joakimas, Juozapas, Justinas, Kosma, Kristijonas, Krizostomas, Liudvikas, Mardonijus, Merkeliis, Mykolas, Pilypas, Tichonas, Vaclovas, Vitas, Vladimiras*. Ir kanoninės, ir liaudinės formos buvo pavartotos, užrašant 25 vardus: *Aleksandras, Andriejas, Augustinas, Baltramiejas, Bazilius, Boguslovas, Grigalius, Jokūbas, Jonas, Jurgis, Larynas, Lukas, Mikalojus, Motiejus, Petras, Povilas (Paulius), Pranciškus, Romanas, Silvestras, Simeonas/Simonas, Stanislovas, Steponas, Tomas, Vaitiekus, Valentinas*.

Nekrikščioniški vardai

Nekrikščioniškų vardų užrašyta 172 (11 proc. visų vardų). Dvikamienių vardų užrašyta 51 (29,7 proc. nekrikščioniškų vardų, 3,3 proc. visų vardų). Kitų nekrikščioniškų vardų užrašyta 121 (70,3 proc. nekrikščioniškų vardų, 7,7 proc. visų vardų).

VYRŲ ĮVARDIJIMO TIPAI

Vyrų įvardijimų yra 1569.

Įvardijimas be potencialiuju pavardžiu

Be potencialiuju pavardžiu, vien vardu užrašyta 70 vyrų. Tai 4,5 proc. visų įvardijimų, 98,6 proc. vienanarių įvardijimų, 100 proc. įvardijimų be potencialiuju pavardžiu. 57 įvardijimai užrašyti be prievardžiu, pvz., *Богданъ* (206); *Шимонъ* (230). 13 įvardijimų turi prievardžius. 4 asmenys užrašyti, nurodant tautybę arba

kilimo vietą: *Войтко Чехъ* (216) „Vaitkus čekas“; *Малхъ Литвинъ* (222) „Malchas lietuvis“; *Войтко Ляхъ* (222) „Vaitkus lenkas“; *Щолго Москвитинъ* (203) „Ščolgas maskvietis“. Du asmenys užrašyti su kilmės prievardžiais: *князь Балтромей* (230) „kunigaikštis Baltramiejus“; *Венцлавъ бояринъ* (230) „Venclovas bojarinas“. 5 asmenys turi pareigybės prievardžius: *Янь подскарбий* (229) „Jonas iždininkas“; *Станиславъ маршалокъ* (213) „Stanislovas maršalas“; *Матей хоружий* (231) „Motiejus vėliavininkas“; *Дъякъ Кривыи* (201) „dijokas Krivas (Krivis?)“; *Юръи, дъякъ* (210) „Jurgis dijokas“. Vienas asmuo dviejuose valsčiuose įrašytas su dvimi prievardžiais – kilmės ir pareigybės, pvz., *Панъ Станиславъ кухмистровичъ* (232) „ponas Stanislovas, virtuvininko sūnus“.

Įvardijimas vien potencialiosiomis pavardėmis

Vien potencialiosiomis pavardėmis, be vardo, užrašyti 5 asmenys. Tai 0,3 proc. visų įvardijimų.

1. Patronimas. Vienas užrašymas. Tai 0,1 proc. visų įvardijimų, 1,4 proc. vienanarių įvardijimų, 20 proc. įvardijimų vien potencialiosiomis pavardėmis. Asmuo užrašytas be prievardžių: *Якубайтисъ* (223) „Jokūbo sūnus“.

2. Du patronimai. 3 užrašymai. Tai 0,2 proc. visų įvardijimų, 0,2 proc. dvinarių įvardijimų, 60 proc. įvardijimų vien potencialiosiomis pavardėmis. Visi įvardijimai be prievardžių: *Питкенъ Якубовицъ* (216) „Pitko, Jokūbo sūnaus, sūnus“; *Можейкойтисъ Войтковичъ* (221) „Mažeikos, Vaitkaus sūnaus, sūnus“; *Нарбо[у]тъ Кцирвотайтисъ* (230) „Narvo, Girvoto sūnaus, sūnus“.

3. -sk- tipo antroponimas + patronimas. Vienas užrašymas. Tai 0,1 proc. visų įvardijimų, dvinarių įvardijimų, 20 proc. įvardijimų vien potencialiosiomis pavardėmis. Asmuo užrašytas be prievardžių: *Вайновъскій Яновичъ* (200) „Vainovskis, Jono sūnus“.

Mišrusis įvardijimas

Mišriuoju įvardijimu užrašyti 1494 asmenys. Tai 95,2 proc. visų įvardijimų.

1. Vardas + patronimas. 1455 užrašymai. Tai 92,7 proc. visų įvardijimų, 97,2 proc. dvinarių įvardijimų, 97,4 proc. mišriųjų įvardijimų. Be prievardžių užrašyti 1439 asmenys, pvz., *Юръи Яновичъ* (225) „Jurgis, Jono sūnus“; *Юхно Богдано[у]йтисъ* (224) „Juchnas, Bagdono sūnus“; *Янушъ Наркунъ* (229) „Jonušas, Narkaus sūnus“. Su prievardžiais užrašyta 17 asmenų. 7 asmenys turi luomo prievardį *панъ* (ponas), pvz., *Панъ Мартинъ Лавриновичъ* (224); *Панъ Станиславъ Сологубовицъ* (207). Vienas asmuo yra kunigaikštis: *Князь Богданъ Мартишевичъ* (226). 9 asmenys užrašyti su pareigybės prievardžiais. Yra 3 vėliavininkai, pvz., *Матей Бутковицъ хоружий* (229). Du kartus užrašytas kazokas, pvz., *Станиславъ Володкевичъ козакъ* (208). Du kartus užrašytas vaitas, pvz., *Воитъ Юръи Енъдриковичи* (205). Yra vienas tijūnas: *Юръи Володкевичъ тиуунъ* (208). Vienas asmuo yra dijokas: *Дъякъ Юръи Яновичъ* (205).

2. Vardas + priesagos -овъ/-евъ vedinys. 6 užrašymai. Tai 0,4 proc. visų įvardijimų, 0,4 proc. dvinarių įvardijimų, 0,4 proc. mišriųjų įvardijimų. Du asmenys užrašyti be prievardžių, pvz., *Богданъ Плисковъ* (230) „Bogdanas, Pliusko sūnus“.

Yra trys žentai, pvz., *Сташъко Семашковъ зять* (230) „Staška, Semaškos žentas“. Vienas asmuo yra posūnis: *Андрейко пасынокъ Тишковъ* (212) „Andreika, Tiškos posūnis“.

3. Vardas + *-sk-* tipo antroponomas. 5 užrašymai. Tai 0,3 proc. visų įvardijimų, 0,3 proc. dvinarių įvardijimų, 0,3 proc. mišriųjų įvardijimų. Be prievardžių užrašyti 4 asmenys, pvz., *Сенъко Вербовъский* (200) „Simukas Verbovskis“. Vienas asmuo yra kunigaikštis: *князъ Семенъ Глинский* (211).

4. Vardas + asmenvardis, kuris nėra patroniminės arba *-sk-* tipo priesagos vedinys. 27 užrašymai. Tai 1,7 proc. visų įvardijimų, 1,8 proc. dvinarių įvardijimų, 1,8 proc. mišriųjų įvardijimų. Visi užrašymai be prievardžių, pvz., *Войчус Собкоговдисъ* (225); *Жбирблисъ Мейжактисъ* (223).

5. Vardas + du patronimai. Vienas užrašymas. Tai 0,1 proc. visų įvardijimų, 100 proc. trinarių įvardijimų, 0,1 proc. mišriųjų įvardijimų. Asmuo užrašytas su kilmės prievardžiu: *Панъ Юръи Миколаевичъ Сологубовичъ* (207) „ponas Jurgis, Mikalojaus, Sologubo sūnaus, sūnus“.

VYRŲ ĮVARDIJIMO STRUKTŪRA

Vyrų įvardijimų yra 1569. Pirmąjį patronimą (tėvavardį) turi 1463 įvardijimai (93,2 proc.), antrąjį patronimą (tėvo tėvavardį) turi 4 įvardijimai (0,3 proc.). Asmenvardį, kuris nėra patroniminės arba *-sk-* tipo priesagos vedinys (jo funkcijos įvardijime nežinomas), turi 27 įvardijimai (1,7 proc.), *-sk-* tipo antroponimą turi 6 įvardijimai (0,4 proc.). Asmenvardį, sudarytą iš tolimesnio giminaičio (patėvio arba uošvio antroponimo), turi 4 įvardijimai (0,3 proc.).

Be asmenvardžių, i įvardijimus įeina ir asmenvardžius paaškinančių bendrinių žodžių (prievardžių). Su prievardžiais užrašyti 36 įvardijimai (2,3 proc.). 34 įvardijimai turi po vieną prievardį, du įvardijimai – po du prievardžius.

Daugiausia yra pareigybės prievardžių – 16 (42,1 proc.). Užrašyti 4 vėliavinkai (*хоружий*), 3 dijokai (*ծայկъ*), po 2 kazokus (*козакъ*), vaitus (*войтъ*), virtuvininkų sūnus (*кухмистровичъ*), po vieną maršalą (*маршалокъ*), iždininką (*подскарбий*), tijūną (*тибуңъ*).

Nemažai užrašyta ir luomo prievardžių – 14 (36,8 proc.). Dažniausias luomo prievardis – *панъ* (ponas). Jis nurodomas 10 kartų. Yra 3 kunigaikščiai (*князъ*) ir vienas bojarinas (*бояринъ*).

Tautybės prievardžiai yra 4 (10,5 proc.). Po vieną kartą užrašytas lenkas (*ляхъ*), lietuvis (*литвинъ*), čekas (*чехъ*) ir maskvietis (*москвитинъ*).

Šeimyninės padėties ir giminystės prievardžiai taip pat yra 4 (10,5 proc.). Minimi 3 žentai (*зять*) ir vienės posūnis (*пасынокъ*).

Pareigybės prievardžiai tris kartus dažniau užrašomi postpoziciskai (12 atvejų) nei prepoziciskai (4 atvejai). Luomo prievardžiai 13 kartų užrašyti prepoziciskai ir tik vieną kartą postpoziciskai. Tautybė visada nurodoma postpoziciskai, o giminystė – du kartus postpoziciskai ir du – interpoziciskai.

Įvardijimo ilgis – 1–3 asmenvardžiai. Vyrauja dvinariai įvardijimai (1497; 95,4 proc.). Gerokai mažiau yra vienanarių (71; 4,5 proc.). Trinaris įvardijimas yra tik vienės (0,1 proc.). Vidutinis įvardijimo ilgis – 1,96 asmenvardžio.

Su potencialiosiomis pavardėmis užrašyti 1499 įvardijimai (95,5 proc.). Su viena potencialiajā pavarde užrašyta dauguma įvardijimų (1494; 99,7 proc.), su dvieju

potencialiosiomis pavardėmis – 5 įvardijimai (0,3 proc.). Daugiausia yra patronimių potencialiųjų pavardžių – 1467 (97,5 proc.). Potencialiųjų pavardžių, sudarytų iš asmenvardžio, kuris néra patroniminės arba -sk- tipo priesagos vedinys, yra 27 (1,8 proc.), -sk- tipo potencialiųjų pavardžių yra 6 (0,4 proc.). Potencialiųjų pavardžių, kurios su priesaga -oεв/-eεв sudarytos iš tolimesnių giminaičių antroponomių, yra 4 (0,3 proc.).

Su vardu užrašyti beveik visi vyrai (1564; 99,7 proc.). Be vardo – 0,3 proc. (5).

MOTERŲ VARDAI

Su vardais užrašytos 36 moterys (29,5 proc.). Įvardijime būna po vieną vardą. Visi vardai – kalendoriniai krikštavardžiai.

Populiariausi vardai

1. Barbora – 16,7 proc. (6); 2. Dorotėja – 13,9 proc. (5); 3–4. Kotryna, Marina – po 11,1 proc. (4); 5–8. Jadvyga, Magdalena, Margarita, Svetlana – po 5,6 proc. (2).

Moterų vardai dažniausiai (23; 63,9 proc.) užrašyti kanoninėmis formomis. Liaudinių formų pasitaiko rečiau (13; 36,1 proc.). Vien kanoninėmis formomis užrašyta 10 vardų: *Barbora, Beata, Elžbieta, Jadvyga, Liudmila, Margarita, Marina, Ona, Zofja, Zuzana*. Vien liaudinėmis formomis užrašyti 6 vardai: *Demetrijja, Doretėja, Liucija, Magdalena, Mikolė, Svetlana*. Vardas *Kotryna* užrašytas ir kanoninėmis (*Катерина*), ir liaudinėmis (*Кахна*) formomis.

MOTERŲ ĮVARDIJIMO TIPAI

Moterų įvardijimų yra 122. Be jų, viena moteris užrašyta be asmenvardžių: *Вдова* (228).

Įvardijimas be šeimos asmenvardžių

Be šeimos asmenvardžių, vien vardu, užrašytos 5 moterys. Tai 4,1 proc. visų įvardijimų, 6,6 proc. vienanarių įvardijimų, 100 proc. įvardijimų be šeimos asmenvardžių. Vienas įvardijimas prievardžių neturi: *Малкярема* (203). Trys įvardijimai užrašyti su našlystės prievardžiu. Dviejose įvardijimuose jis užrašytas prepoziciškai: *Вдова Македана* (215); *Вдова Миколеда* (216). Viename įvardijime jis pavartotas postpoziciškai: *Дорота вдова* (215). Viename įvardijime yra du prepoziciškai užrašyti prievardžiai – našlystės ir pareigybės: *Вдова Дъяковая Дорота* (210) „di-joko našlé Dorota“.

Įvardijimas vien šeimos asmenvardžiais

Vien šeimos asmenvardžiais užrašytos 86 moterys. Tai 70,5 proc. visų įvardijimų.

1. Priesagos *-овая/-евая* vedinys. 71 užrašymas. Tai 58,2 proc. visų įvardijimų, 93,4 proc. vienanarių įvardijimų, 82,6 proc. įvardijimų vien šeimos asmenvardžiais. Be prievardžių užrašytos 5 moterys, pvz., *Пацковая* (212) „Paškaus žmona“. Viena moteris užrašyta su kilmės prievardžiu: *Пани Янушовская* (227) „ponia Jonušo žmona“. 65 moterys užrašytos su našlystės prievardžiu. Dažnesnė yra prievardžio prepozicija. Ji pasitaiko 45 kartus, pvz., *Вдова Якиминовая* (214); *Вдова Доркгева* (215). Prievardžio postpozicija būdinga 20 įvardijimų, pvz., *Кгедвойновая вдова* (225); *Семеновская вдова* (213).

2. Priesagos *-овая/-евая* vedinys + vyriškojo patronimo genityvas. 13 užrašymų. Tai 10,7 proc. visų įvardijimų, 28,8 proc. dvinarių įvardijimų, 85,1 proc. įvardijimų vien šeimos asmenvardžiais. Be prievardžių užrašytos 8 moterys, pvz., *Якубова Нарвийшовича* (208) „Jokūbo, Narvaišo sūnaus, žmona“. Viena moteris užrašyta su kilmės prievardžiu: *Пани Венулавовская Бартошевича* (214) „Ponia Venclovo, Bartošo sūnaus, žmona“: 4 moterys užrašytos su našlystės prievardžiu. Dviem įvardijimams būdinga prievardžio prepozicija, pvz., *Вдова Петровая Войдиловича* (217), o kitiams dviem – prievardžio postpozicija, pvz., *Миколаевая Айрымовича вдова* (212).

3. Priesagos *-овая/-евая* vedinys + vyriškojo patronimo nominatyvas. 2 užrašymai. Tai 1,6 proc. visų įvardijimų, 4,4 proc. dvinarių įvardijimų, 2,3 proc. įvardijimų vien šeimos asmenvardžiais. Viena moteris užrašyta be prievardžių: *Мартиньевская Петрашевичъ* (227) „Martinkaus, Petrašo sūnaus, žmona“. Kitas užrašymas turi našlystės nuorodą: *Вдова Юрьевая Нарковичъ* (231).

Mišrusis įvardijimas

Mišriuoju įvardijimu užrašyta 31 moteris. Tai 25,4 proc. visų įvardijimų.

1. Vardas + priesagos *-овна/-евна* vedinys. Vienas užrašymas. Tai 0,8 proc. visų įvardijimų, 2,2 proc. dvinarių įvardijimų, 3,1 proc. mišriųjų įvardijimų. Moteris užrašyta be prievardžių: *Барбара Волчкова* (200) „Barbora, Valčkaus duktė“.

2. Vardas + priesagos *-овая/-евая* vedinys. 29 užrašymai. Tai 23,8 proc. visų įvardijimų, 64,4 proc. dvinarių įvardijimų, 93,8 proc. mišriųjų įvardijimų. Vardo prepozicija būdinga 7 įvardijimams, pvz., *Бията Мамеевая* (207) „Beata, Motiejaus žmona“. Vardo postpozicija daug dažnesnė – ji užrašyta 23 kartus, pvz., *Петрова Катерина* (221) „Petro žmona Kotryna“. Be prievardžių užrašytos 4 moterys, pvz., *Михайловая Дорота* (212). 25 moterys užrašytos su našlystės prievardžiu. Visais atvejais prievardžiui būdinga prepozicija, pvz., *Вдова Александровая Людмила* (211) „Aleksandro našlė Liudmila“; *Вдова Алжьбета Миколаевая* (209) „Elžbieta, Mikalojaus našlė“. Viena moteris užrašyta su prievardžiu *братанна*; jos asmenvardis sudarytas iš dieverio vardo: *Ганьна братанна Семашкова* (211) „Ona, Semaškos brolienė“.

3. Vardas + priesagos *-овая/-евая* vedinys + vyriškojo patronimo genityvas. Vienas užrašymas. Tai 0,8 proc. visų įvardijimų, 100 proc. trinarių įvardijimų, 3,1 proc. mišriųjų įvardijimų. Moteris užrašyta su našlystės nuoroda: *Вдова Марина Мауковая Станевича* (228) „Marina, Mackaus, Stanio sūnaus, našlė“.

MOTERŲ ĮVARDIJIMO STRUKTŪRA

Moterų įvardijimų yra 122. Moteriškajį patronimą – tėvavardį (priesagos -*овна/-евна* vedinį) turi 1 įvardijimas (0,8 proc.). Vyriškojo patronimo genityvą (satuoktinio tėvavardį) turi 14 įvardijimų (11,5 proc.). Vyriškojo patronimo nominatyvą (satuoktinio tėvavardį) turi 2 įvardijimai (1,6 proc.). Andronimą (asmenvardį, sudarytą iš satuoktinio vardo) turi 115 įvardijimų (94,3 proc.). Visi andronimai yra slaviškos priesagos -*овая/-ева* vediniai. Asmenvardį, sudarytą iš dieverio vardo (priesagos -*ова/-ева* vedinį), turi vienas įvardijimas (0,8 proc.).

Be asmenvardžių, iš įvardijimus jeina ir asmenvardžius paaiškinančių bendrių žodžių (prievardžių). Su 103 prievardžiais užrašyti 102 įvardijimai (83,6 proc.). Įvardijime dažniausiai būna po vieną prievardį. Tik viename įvardijime yra 2 prievardžiai.

Daugumą prievardžių (100) sudaro šeimyninės padėties ir giminystės prievardžiai (97,1 proc.). Iš jų beveik visi (99; 99 proc.) yra našlystės prievardžiai (*вдова, удова*), o vienas prievardis (1 proc.) yra *братанна* (brolienė).

Du kartus (1,9 proc.) užrašytas luomo prievardis *пани* (ponia).

Pareigybės prievardis yra vienas (0,97 proc.) – *Дьяковая* (dijoko žmona).

Tautybės prievardžių neužfiksuota.

Našlystės prievardžiams būdingesnė prepozicija (76; 76,8 proc.) nei postpozicija (23; 23,2 proc.). Prievardis *братанна* užrašytas interpoziciškai. Luomo prievardžiai *пани* užrašyti prepoziciškai. Pareigybės prievardis *Дьяковая* užrašytas prepoziciškai.

Įvardijimo ilgis – 1–3 asmenvardžiai. Vyrauja vienanariai įvardijimai (76; 62,3 proc.). Nemažai yra ir dvinarių įvardijimų (45; 36,9 proc.). Trinaris įvardijimas yra tik vienas (0,8 proc.). Vidutinis įvardijimo ilgis – 1,385 asmenvardžio.

Su vardu užrašytos 36 moterys (29,5 proc.). Be vardo – 86 moterys (70,5 proc.).

Su šeimos asmenvardžiais užrašyta 117 moterų (95,9 proc.). Tik viename įvardijime asmenvardis sudarytas iš tévo antroponimo (0,9 proc.). Viename įvardijime asmenvardis sudarytas iš dieverio antroponimo (0,9 proc.). 115 įvardijimų asmenvardžiai sudaryti iš satuoktinio antroponimų (98,3 proc.).

ASMENVARDŽIAI IŠ GIMINAIČIŲ ANTROPONIMU

Vieno asmens antroponimas yra sudarytas iš jo patėvio vardo: *Андрейко пасынокъ Тишкиовъ* (212) „Andreika, Tiškos posūnis“. Trijų asmenų antroponimai yra sudaryti iš jų uošvių asmenvardžių: *Сташъко Семашковъ зять* (230) „Staška, Semaškos žentas“; *Пашко Федковъ зять* (201); *Петровъ зять Юркегелисъ* (202).

Vienos moters asmenvardis sudarytas iš jos dieverio antroponimo: *Ганъна братанна Семашкова* (211) „Ona, Semaškos brolienė“.

Asmenvardžiai iš giminaičių antroponimų įvardijimuose pasitaikydavo labai retai.

PATRONIMINĖ SISTEMA

Vyriški patronimai (tėvavardžiai ir tévo tėvavardžiai) dažniausiai buvo sudaromi su slaviškomis patroniminėmis priesagomis (1268; 86,4 proc.). Buvo vartojamos ir lietviškos patroniminės priesagos, bet jų buvo daug mažiau (200; 13,6 proc.).

Beveik visos slaviškos patroniminės priesagos buvo *-овицъ/-евицъ* (1266; 99,8 proc.), pvz., *Сологубовичъ, Юрьевичъ*. Tik du kartus užrašyta priesaga *-овъ/-евъ* (0,2 proc.), pvz., *Косовъ*.

Iš lietviškų priesagų dažniausiai pasitaiko priesaga *-aitis* (196; 98 proc.), pvz., *Якубайтисъ*. Vos du kartus pavartota priesaga *-unas* (1 proc.), pvz., *Стовкунъ*. Priesaga *-énas* taip pat užrašyta du kartus (1 proc.): vieną kartą patronime *Питкенъ*, antrą – patronime *Кипровеновичъ*, kuris turi dvi patronimines priesagas *-énas* ir *-овицъ*.

PAVARDŽIŲ PROBLEMA

XVI a. pradžioje smulkieji Žemaitijos bajorai pavardžių dar neturėjo. Galėjo būti tik atskiri pavardžių formavimosi atvejai. Vieną neabejotiną pavardęs užuomazgą *Глинский* randame Raseiniuose užrašytame įvardijime *Князь Семенъ Глинский* (211). Kad tai pavardęs užuomazga galima spręsti iš to, kad ir 1567 m. Žemaitijos surašyme ponų tijūnų sąraše yra asmuo su tokiu pačiu antruoju asmenvardžiu: gen. sg. *князя Михаила Глинского* (1258). 1567 m. dokumente tai jau abejonių nekeilianti pavardė, nes asmenvardis pasikartoja antroje kartoje.

VYRŲ IR MOTERŲ VARDYNO PALYGINIMAS

Vardas glaudžiai susijęs su vyru vardynu: su vardais užrašyti beveik visi vyrai (1564; 99,7 proc.). O moterų su vardais užrašyta apie trečdalį (36; 29,5 proc.).

Kalendoriniai krikštavardžiai jau buvo įsigalėję moterų vardyne – su jais užrašyti visi moterų įvardijimai. Vyru vardyne krikštavardžiai vyravo (1392; 89 proc.). Dažniausiai būdavo užrašomos kanoninės krikštavardžių formos (812; 58,3 proc.). Iš nekrikščioniškų vyru vardų apie trečdalį buvo dvikamieniai asmenvardžiai (51; 29,7 proc.).

Asmenų, kurie buvo užrašyti vien vardu, buvo panašiai ir tarp vyru (70; 4,5 proc.), ir tarp moterų (4; 3,3 proc.) – tokie įvardijimai buvo reti. Tėvavardis buvo labai svarbus vyriško įvardijimo narys. Jį turėjo beveik visi vyru įvardijimai (1463; 93,2 proc.). O moterims tėvavardis beveik nebūdingas – su juo užrašytas tik vienas įvardijimas (0,8 proc.). Svarbiausias moterų asmenvardis – andronimas. Jį turėjo beveik visi įvardijimai (95,1 proc., 116). Antrajį patronimą (tévo tėvavardį) turėjo tik 4 vyru įvardijimai (0,3 proc.). Moterų vardyne tévo tėvavardis neužrašytas nė karto. Sešdadlio moterų įvardijime (16; 13,1 proc.) yra asmenvardis iš sutuoktinio tėvavardžio. Jis beveik visais atvejais (14) užrašytas genetyvu ir tik 2 kartus nominatyvu. Kai kurių vyru įvardijime buvo asmenvardžių, kurie nėra priesagų vediniai (27; 1,7 proc.), -sk- tipo antroponomų (6; 0,4 proc.), taip pat asmenvardžių, kurie sudaryti iš patėvio arba uošvio antroponomų (4; 0,3 proc.). Viena moteris turėjo asmenvardį, sudarytą iš dieverio vardo (0,8 proc.).

Vien potencialiosiomis pavardėmis teužrašyta tik 0,3 proc. (5) vyrų įvardijimų. O moterų vardyne įvardijimas vien šeimos asmenvardžiais vyravo – šiuo įvardijimo tipu užrašyta 70,5 proc. (86) moterų. Vyrai dažniausiai buvo užrašomi mišriuoju įvardijimu (1494; 95,2 proc.), o moterų vardyne tokie įvardijimai buvo palyginti reti (32; 26,2 proc.). Panašus kiekis buvo įvardijimų vien vardu: taip buvo užrašyta 3,3 proc. moterų ir 4,5 proc. vyrų. Potencialią pavardę turėjo labai panažus kiekis vyrų įvardijimų (1499; 95,5 proc.), o šeimos asmenvardį (arba keletą asmenvardžių) – moterų įvardijimų (118; 96,7 proc.).

Prievardžiai buvo būdinga moteriško įvardijimo dalis: su jais užrašyta net 83,6 proc. (102) moterų įvardijimų. Vyrų įvardijimų su prievardžiais tėra tik 2,3 proc. (36). Moterų įvardijime būdavo po vieną prievardį, o vyrų įvardijime du kartus buvo po du prievardžius, kitais atvejais – po vieną. Beveik visi (100; 98 proc.) moterų prievardžiai buvo susiję su šeimynine padėtimi ir giminyste. Vyrų vardyne šios leksinės-semantinės grupės prievardžiai sudarė dešimtadalį visų prievardžių (4; 10,5 proc.). Moterų vardyne dar buvo keletas luomo prievardžių (2; 2 proc.) Vyrų vardyne luomo prievardžiai sudarė per trečdalį visų prievardžių (14; 36,8 proc.). Vyrų vardyne vyravo pareigybės prievardžiai (16; 42,1 proc.), buvo šiek tiek tautybės prievardžių (4; 10,5 proc.). Moterų vardyne nei pareigybės, nei tautybės prievardžių neužfiksuota.

Vidutinis įvardijimo ilgis didesnis vyrų (1,96) negu moterų (1,39). Ir vyrų, ir moterų įvardijimai buvo vienanariai, dvinariai ir trinariai. Dažniausiai buvo užrašomi dvinariai vyrų (1497; 95,4 proc.) ir vienanariai moterų (75; 61,5 proc.) įvardijimai. Daug retesni buvo vyrų vienanariai (71; 4,5 proc.) ir moterų dvinariai įvardijimai (46; 37,7 proc.). Trinarių vyrų įvardijimų (0,1 proc.) ir moterų įvardijimų (0,8 proc.) tebuvo po vieną.

Vyrų įvardijimo standartai daugeliu atžvilgiu labai skyrėsi nuo moterų įvardijimo standartų.

IŠVADOS

1. Su vardu užrašyta dauguma (99,7 proc.) vyrų įvardijimų.
2. Populiariausi vyrų vardai – Jonas, Stanislovas, Petras, Jurgis, Motiejus, Mikalojus, Jokūbas.
3. Krikštavardžiai užrašyta 89 proc. vyrų.
4. Kanoninės krikštavardžių formos vartotos dažniau negu liaudinės: jos sudarė 58,3 proc. krikštavardžių pavartojo atvejų.
5. Iš vyrų įvardijimo tipų populiariausias buvo mišrusis (95,2 proc.). Vien vardu užrašyta 4,5 proc. įvardijimų. Vien potencialiosiomis pavardėmis užrašyta 0,3 proc. įvardijimų.
6. Patronimą (tėvavardį) turėjo dauguma vyrų įvardijimų (93,2 proc.). Antrajį patronimą (tėvo tėvavardį) turėjo 0,3 proc. įvardijimų. Asmenvardį, kuris nėra patroniminės arba *-sk-* tipo priesagos vedinys, turėjo 1,7 proc., *-sk-* tipo antroponimą – 0,3 proc. įvardijimų.
7. Vyrų įvardijimo ilgis buvo 1–3 asmenvardžiai. Vyravo dvinariai įvardijimai (95,4 proc.). Mažiau buvo vienanarių įvardijimų (4,5 proc.) ir visai nedaug trinarių įvardijimų (0,1 proc.). Vidutinis įvardijimo ilgis buvo 1,96 asmenvar-

džio.

8. Prievardžių turėjo nedaug vyru įvardijimų (2,3 proc.). Įvardijime dažniausiai buvo po vieną prievardį, kartais – po du prievardžius.
9. Vyru įvardijimuose vyravo pareigybės prievardžiai (42,1 proc.). Vienodai buvo šeimyninės padėties ir giminystės bei tautybės prievardžiai (po 10,5 proc.). Per trečdalį visų prievardžių (36,8 proc.) sudarė luomo prievardžiai.
10. Patronimai dažniausiai buvo sudaromi su slaviškomis patroniminėmis priesagomis (86,4 proc.). Iš lietuviškų patroniminių priesagų dažniausia buvo -aitis (98,5 proc.). Kitos priesagos pasitaikė tik epizodiškai: -ūnas (1 proc.), -ėnas (0,5 proc.).
11. Su vardu užrašyta apie trečdalį moterų (29,5 proc.).
12. Populiariausi moterų vardai – Barbora, Dorotėja, Kotryna, Marina.
13. Visi moterų vardai buvo kalendoriniai krikštavardžiai. Jie dažniausiai (63,9 proc.) buvo užrašomi kanoninėmis formomis.
14. Iš moterų įvardijimo tipų populiariausias buvo įvardijimas vien šeimos asmenvardžiais (70,5 proc.). Mišriuoju įvardijimu buvo užrašyta ketvirtadalis (26,2 proc.), be šeimos asmenvardžių – 3,3 proc. moterų.
15. Andronimų turėjo dauguma moterų įvardijimų (95,1 proc.). Visi andronimai – slaviškos priesagos –o娃/-e娃 vediniai. Moteriškajį patronimą turėjo tik 0,8 proc. įvardijimų, asmenvardį iš sutuoktinio tėvavardžio – 13,1 proc. įvardijimų.
16. Su prievardžiais buvo užrašyta dauguma moterų įvardijimų (83,6 proc.). Įvardijime būdavo po vieną prievardį.
17. Vyravo šeimyninės padėties ir giminystės moterų prievardžiai (98 proc.). Luomo prievardžiai sudarė 2 proc. prievardžių pavartojimo atvejų. Pareigybės ir tautybės prievardžių nepasitaikė.
18. Moterų įvardijimo ilgis buvo 1–3 asmenvardžiai. Vyravo vienanariai įvardijimai (61,5 proc.), buvo per trečdalį dvinarių (37,7 proc.) ir tik 0,8 proc. trinarių įvardijimų. Vidutinis įvardijimo ilgis buvo 1,39 asmenvardžio.
19. Su šeimos asmenvardžiais užrašyti beveik visi moterų įvardijimai (96,7 proc.). Dažniausiai jie buvo sudaryti iš sutuoktinio antroponimų (98,3 proc.), retai – iš tėvo ir dieverio antroponimų (po 0,8 proc.).
20. Vyru ir moterų įvardijimo standartai labai skyrėsi.

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NAMING OF THE SAMOGITIAN NOBLEMEN AND NOBLEWOMEN AS REFLECTED IN THE 1528 YEAR DOCUMENTS

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Summary

The paper analyses the 1528 year documents recorded by the military officers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in which the male and female names of aristocrats were registered. The major part of men's naming (99.7%) includes proper (personal) names. The most popular names were *John, Stanislaw, Peter, George, Matthew*. Canonical Christian name forms were more frequent than folk (i.e., national) ones. They comprise about 58.3%.

The mixed type was the most popular among the types of men's naming (95.2%); 4.5 % included only personal names, and 0.5% include only potential surnames. The majority of male namings were recorded with a single patronymic (93.2%). Two were found only in 0.3% of the namings. Personal names which are not suffix derivatives were recorded in 1.7% of the namings. The -sk- type anthroponyms were recorded with 0.9% of male namings.

The length of men's namings made from 1 to 3 anthroponyms, the majority of them being two-member (95.4%). One-member namings comprised 4.5%, and three-member cases made only 0.1%. Average length was 1.96 of anthroponym.

Only a small number of men's namings (2.3%) had prenames, most often one, and only sometimes – two. Actually, the post–prenames prevail (42.1%). The namings including the family status and relationship made 10.5% as well as nationality related prenames (10.5%)^d. The namings with class prenames comprise about 36.8%.

Patronymics were most often formed with the help of Slavonic patronymic suffixes (86.4%). The recorded Lithuanian patronymic suffixes are: -aitis (98.5%), -ūnas (1%), -énas (0.5%).

About one third of female namings were recorded with proper (i.e., personal) names (29.5%). The most popular female names were *Barbara, Dorothy, Catherine, Marion*. All the women's names were calendar Christian names. The majority of them were recorded in canonical forms.

The most frequent were the namings including solely family anthroponyms (70.5%). Mixed naming was found in 26.2%; and the ones without family anthroponyms comprise 3.3% of female namings. The majority of female namings included andronyms (95.1%). All of them are the derivatives of the Slavonic suffixes -ovaja/-jevaja. Female patronymics were found only in 0.8% of the namings. The anthroponym from the name of the spouse's father were recorded in 13.1% of the namings.

Prenames (i. e., common words explaining proper names) were found in the majority of cases (83.6%). As a rule, a single prename was used. The prenames explaining the family status and relationship prevailed (98%). Class-related prenames comprise about 2% of the female namings. Nationality and post prenames are absent.

The length of female namings is from 1 to 3 anthroponym. The majority of female namings are one-member (61.5%). About one third of them were two-member (37.7%), and only very few are three-member (0.8%). The average length of the naming makes 1.39 of the anthroponym.

The majority of female namings were recorded with the family anthroponyms (96.7%). Most often they consist of the spouse's anthroponyms (98.3%) and rather seldom of the father-in-law (0.8%) or brother-in-law anthroponyms (0.8%).

The diversity in the standards of the noblemen' and noblewomen' naming in the discussed period is rather distinct.

Key words: The Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Samogitian, names, naming, prename, anthroponym, andronym, patronym.

STRATEGIC USES OF IMPRECISION: A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF *MORE OR LESS*

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Abstract: The present paper is a corpus-based analysis of the vagueness marker *more or less* in different registers in British English. The study is based on the British National Corpus, which provides data on six registers: spoken interaction, fiction, magazines, newspapers, academic, and non-academic texts. The British English results are compared to American English, the data for which are obtained from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). Changes in the use of *more or less* over time are studied on the basis of the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA). The data clearly demonstrate that the frequency of *more or less* is predetermined by context, and varies considerably across registers. The analysis of the communicative functions of this vagueness marker shows that it is primarily used for mitigation, face-saving, and for avoiding conflict. Since *more or less* is used as a special communicative strategy that achieves multiple purposes, it is pragmatically important.

Key words: *more or less, vagueness, context, register, variation, corpus.*

Introduction

The main aim of the present paper is to carry out a contextual analysis of the vagueness marker *more or less* in British English, taking into account several types of contextual information: textual and situational context (type of register), cultural context (variety of English, i.e., British vs. American English), historical context (different periods of the last two centuries), and immediate linguistic context (collocations). To achieve these aims, the paper discusses the frequency of *more or less* in different registers in British English (BE). It also compares its distribution across registers in BE to that in American English (AE). To see whether the use of *more or less* has been changing over time, the present study also takes into account its historical development in AE (unfortunately, this is not possible in BE due to the lack of suitable databases). Furthermore, the paper provides the most typical collocational patterns of *more or less* in BE, and finally presents and discusses the main discourse functions of the vagueness marker *more or less*.

It is hypothesized that (1) the use of *more or less* is significantly influenced by all the types of context under the present investigation, and (2) *more or less* can perform a variety of communicative functions in written and spoken interaction, which are predetermined by its pragmatic importance. These hypotheses are tested on the basis of substantial corpus data.

Imprecision as a communicative strategy

Imprecision, commonly referred to as vagueness, was perhaps first observed as an important communicative strategy in everyday communication by Channell (1985, 1994) and Powell (1985). Vagueness, referred to as fuzziness, was discussed even earlier by Lakoff (1972), who analysed fuzzy expressions as hedges. As an important feature of conversational English, it has been analysed by Jucker, Smith and Lüdge (2003).

Since vague language is highly context-dependent, most of the studies so far have taken into account different contextual criteria. Though the scope has been limited, vague language has been studied in a variety of linguistic and

cultural contexts, the majority of such studies being corpus-based. First of all, vague language has been analysed in several discourses. For example, it has been investigated in academic texts (Dubois 1987, Channell 1990, Myers 1996, Hyland 1998a, 1998b, 2000, 2004, Ruzaitė 2004, 2007), political texts (Gruber 1993), and court interactions (Janney 2002). It has also been investigated across cultures by taking into consideration how it is employed in the intercultural communication of native and non-native speakers of English (for example, Drave 2002, Cheng and Warren 2001, and Metsä-Ketelä 2006). Despite clearly emphasising the role of context in the use of vague language, most of the studies so far have accounted for its use with regard to one single criterion, either one discourse type or two cultures (mainly focusing on the differences between native and non-native speakers of English). Vague language has not been investigated from a historical perspective, perhaps due to limited access to databases that might be suitable for such an analysis.

By the term “vague language,” linguists usually refer to several linguistic categories distinguished by Crystal and Davy (1979): (1) placeholders (e.g., *thingummy*, *thingummajig*), (2) summarizing lexical items (*and everything*, *and that*), (3) vague generic terms and collective nouns (*heaps*, *stacks*), (4) approximate quantities (*around twenty*), and (5) words with the suffix *-ish* (*boyish*, *fortyish*). These categories are sometimes referred to by some linguists by other alternative terms, but in general these are the most central categories of vague language. The vague language marker *more or less*, which is under investigation in the present paper, belongs to the category of approximators, which are often employed to approximate quantities.

Approximators have been analysed from different theoretical and methodological perspectives (Lakoff 1972, Wachtel 1980, Wierzbicka 1986, Dubois 1987, Channell 1985, 1990, 1994, Pocheptsov 1992, Cheng and Warren 2001, Drave 2002, Jucker, Smith and Lüdge 2003), but perhaps most commonly they are treated as hedges. For instance, Stenström (1994) analyses approximators as hedges in spoken interaction; approximators as a category of hedges are discussed in relation to various politeness strategies by Brown and Levinson (1994). Itani (1996) studies approximators as a type of hedge in English and Japanese, but—importantly—argues that they do not always function as hedges; this view will also be supported in the present study, which demonstrates that *more or less* can be used for a whole range of different functions.

Data

The present study is based on three corpora designed or adopted for use by Mark Davies. The corpus used to collect British data is the British National Corpus (BYU-BNC; available at Brigham Young University, <http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/>). The corpus consists of 100 million words. The data for American English was obtained from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA; <http://www.americancorpus.org/>), which consists of more than 400 million words. Finally, information about the historical development of the use of *more or less* was obtained from the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA; <http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/>). This corpus consists of 406 million words, and covers the historical period from 1810 to 2010. Though the sizes of the BNC and COCA are

different, this does not pose any problems in the present study; these differences will be resolved by comparing relative frequencies.

The two corpora that were used to analyse the register variation of *more or less*, the BNC and COCA, cover largely the same registers. The discourse types represented in the corpora are as follows:

1. BNC: spoken, fiction, magazines, newspapers, academic texts, non-academic texts, miscellaneous texts.
2. COCA: spoken, fiction, magazines, newspapers, academic texts.

The COHA historical corpus represents similar texts: spoken texts, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and non-fiction books. Thus the corpora are also comparable in terms of discourse types that they represent; the discourse types that are not represented in the COCA, but are represented in the BNC, will not be taken into account when the two varieties are compared.

To refer to the registers under investigation, the following abbreviations will be used in this paper:

- SPOK: spoken interaction
- FICT: fiction
- MAGAZ: magazines
- NEWS: newspapers
- ACAD: academic texts
- NON-ACAD: non-academic texts
- MISC: miscellaneous texts

Results

The investigation has revealed several important tendencies in the use of *more or less* in different contexts. The corpus data clearly demonstrate that:

- (1) the frequency of *more or less* is predetermined by context, and varies considerably across registers;
- (2) cross-varietal differences can clearly be observed with regard to several criteria;
- (3) interesting tendencies in its historical development are suggested by the historical corpus;
- (4) *more or less* is primarily (but not only) used as a hedging device, as a face-saving strategy, and for avoiding conflict; it modifies the content of an utterance, but first and foremost it is pragmatically important.

These observations will be discussed in greater detail in the present section.

Distribution of *more or less* across varieties and registers

One of the most noteworthy results that have been observed in the present investigation is that *more or less* varies greatly across the two varieties of English, being considerably more prevalent in BE than AE—184.62 and 68.48 occurrences per million (opm) respectively. This difference is clearly evident in Table 1.

Table 1. Frequency of *more or less* across registers in BE and AE

	SPOK	FICT	MAGAZ	NEWS	ACAD	NON-ACAD	MISC	TOTAL
BE								
Freq.	458	356	143	75	609	469	443	2553
Per mil	45.97	22.38	19.69	7.17	39.72	28.43	21.26	184.62
AE								
Freq.	1124	1247	1134	569	1695	–	–	5769
Per mil	12.90	15.26	13.01	6.81	20.44	–	–	68.42

As Table 1 shows, not only is the total frequency of *more or less* higher in BE, but it is also higher in all the registers represented in the corpus.

The data from the BNC have revealed that the frequency of the vagueness marker *more or less* varies greatly across different registers represented in the corpus. Table 1 demonstrates that it is mainly a feature of spoken interaction (emphasized in Table 1). In spoken discourse its relative frequency is almost 46 occurrences, which is close only to academic texts, where it is used almost 40 times. As Table 1 shows, in the BNC *more or less* is least frequently used in newspapers (7.17 occurrences). In other registers (fiction, magazines, and non-academic texts), its distribution is rather similar, i.e., around 20 occurrences.

Though the data clearly demonstrate that *more or less* is most typical of spoken English, its distribution across spoken texts is not unvarying. The quantitative information in Table 2 shows that its frequency varies from almost 250 occurrences in interviews to 26 occurrences in everyday conversation.

Table 2. Distribution of *more or less* across spoken texts
(ranked by relative frequency; BNC)

Subsection	Raw	Relative
interviews	153	248.64
lecture_arts	6	120.58
lecture_soc	13	84.02
consult	8	60.90
class	25	60.62
speech (unscripted)	26	57.93
tutor	8	57.60
debate	13	46.69
meetings	48	35.97
broadcast_disc	25	33.96
misc	13	31.96
conv	106	26.42

The high frequency of *more or less* in interviews suggests that the degree of interactivity may have a strong impact on its frequency: the higher the interactivity of the spoken interaction, the higher the frequency of *more or less*. Similarly, its frequency is exceptionally high in lectures on the arts and social sciences (121 and 84 occurrences respectively).

The frequency of *more or less* in some spoken texts is exceptionally low; it is lower than 5 occurrences in the whole corpus. Table 3 presents those spoken texts where *more or less* is either not used at all or its raw frequency is extremely low; therefore, its more detailed analysis in these types of texts is not possible.

Table 3. Distribution of *more or less* across spoken texts in BE: freq. <5 opm (BNC)

Subsection	Raw	Relative
lecture_law	4	80.36
broadcast_news	3	11.79
court	2	15.94
speech (scripted)	2	10.17
dmnstr	1	32.79
lecture_natural_sci	1	45.11
sermon	1	12.48
broadcast_doc	0	0.00
lecture_com	0	0.00
parliament	0	0.00
sports	0	0.00

As has already been mentioned, the frequency of *more or less* in academic texts is almost as high as in spoken interaction. However, the distribution of this vagueness marker across smaller sections of academic texts varies to a great extent. Table 4 provides its frequency in different academic texts on different disciplines and compares it to non-academic texts on the same disciplines.

Table 4. Distribution of *more or less* across academic and non-academic texts (BNC)

	engineering	law	medicine	natSci	socSci	humanities	arts
ACAD							
Raw	6	125	9	54	267	148	–
Relative	8.84	27.08	6.37	48.89	63.20	44.90	–
NON-ACAD							
Raw	21	70	5	125	107	–	141
Relative	17.70	15.73	10.09	50.18	25.79	–	37.88

As Table 4 shows, the use of *more or less* varies depending on whether the text is academic or non-academic; in addition, its frequency varies across different disciplines. The data suggest that it is most predominantly used in written texts on nature and the social sciences. In engineering, law and medicine, which are presumably highly precision-oriented disciplines, *more or less* is of considerably lower frequency.

Another interesting finding that the corpus data have revealed is that in fiction, *more or less* also varies across different types of discourse. It clearly dominates in drama, as Table 5 shows.

Table 5. Frequency of *more or less* in fiction (BNC)

Subsection	Raw	Relative
drama	3	66.70
poetry	5	22.79
prose	348	22.24

The high frequency of *more or less* in drama supports the tendency, discussed above, that its use is predetermined by the degree of interactivity of communication. Since drama imitates daily spoken communication and is highly interactive, the high relative frequency of *more or less* in this type of fiction is not unexpected.

Thus, the data of the present investigation have revealed that *more or less* is highly sensitive to the context in which it is used. The highly varied use of this vagueness marker across different discourses strongly implies that its use is primarily predetermined by pragmatic factors. It has also emerged in the present study that *more or less* is a feature of a highly interactive and emotional style of communication. However, it is not limited only to informal spoken communication, but is almost just as frequently used in written academic discourse of those disciplines that presumably tend to focus less on the precision of quantities and measures (e.g., the social sciences, in contrast to engineering, law, or medicine).

(2) Historical development of *more or less*

The present analysis of the development of *more or less* over time is based on the historical corpus COHA, which presents different written texts in American English from the last two centuries. The texts in the COHA include fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and non-fiction books. The frequency of *more or less* in these texts in different decades can be seen in Table 6, where its peak usages are highlighted in bold.

Table 6. Frequency of *more or less* in different historical periods

1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
20	152	403	517	575	559	803	861	966	1099	1160	1021	725	623	671	646	605	471	528	383

As Table 6 demonstrates, *more or less* was most frequently used from 1900–1930 (over 1,000 occurrences per decade), and its usage has been sharply decreasing since 1930. Its frequency is lowest at the very beginning of the 19th century (only 20 occurrences). This sharp increase of *more or less* after 1820 and its decrease around 1910 is an unexpected result, the explanation of which requires further investigation. What is important for the present study is that the obtained data support the initial hypothesis that the use of *more or less* is predetermined not only by discourse, but also by historical context.

(3) Collocates of *more or less*

The corpus data have revealed that the collocates of *more or less* can be classified into three large sets: (1) collocates expressing sameness, the notion of being identical, or comparison, (2) collocates expressing permanency or stability, and (3) miscellaneous collocates that cannot be ascribed to any coherent semantic set. Some of these collocates can be directly related to the discourse functions of *more or less*, which will be discussed separately below. The discussion of collocates is based on their frequencies, as well as the Mutual Information (MI) score of each collocate. The MI score is a useful measure, as it allows to relate one word to another (i.e., a node to its collocate). If a collocate is often found with the node, they may have a high MI score. Typically, scores of about 3.0 or above show a "semantic bonding" between the two words.

Collocates expressing sameness, the notion of being identical, or comparison form the largest set of collocates, the total frequency of which is 170 occurrences, as Table 7 demonstrates. These collocates are either adjectives, adverbs or other expressions that are mainly used to make comparisons or to express correspondence between some objects, notions or phenomena.

Table 7. Collocates expressing sameness, the notion of being identical, or comparison

Collocate	Total frequency	MI score
SAME	108	3.08
EQUAL	25	4.23
EVENLY	7	5.54
UNIFORM	7	3.74
IN LINE WITH	6	4.52
SIMULTANEOUSLY	6	4.03
IDENTICAL	6	3.72
ALIKE	5	4.05
Total:	170	—

As Table 7 shows, the collocate *same* is the most frequent in this category, as well as in other categories (see Tables 8 and 9). Its frequency considerably outscores that of the other collocates (108 occurrences, as opposed to 25 occurrences of the next most frequent collocate *equal*). It is also important to note that its MI score is above 3, which suggests that the collocation *more or less the same* is strong.

Another important set of collocates of the node *more or less* is the set of words referring to permanency and stability. These collocates are almost as numerous as the ones expressing sameness or comparison (in total they make up 166 occurrences).

Table 8. Collocates expressing permanency or stability

Collocate	Total frequency	MI score
REMAINED	22	3.55
PERMANENT	20	4.39
CONSTANT	20	4.22
CONTINUOUS	18	5.01
CONTINUOUSLY	17	6.51
STABLE	17	4.56
INTACT	16	5.96
PERMANENTLY	11	5.42
STATIC	8	4.98
CONSTANTLY	6	3.24
Total:	166	—

As Table 8 demonstrates, the most frequent collocates in this category are *remained* (22 occurrences), *permanent* (20 occurrences), and *constant* (20 occurrences). Their MI scores are also higher than 3.0, which suggests that the semantic bonding of these collocations is strong. The strongest semantic bonding is between *more or less* and the adverb *continuously*; the MI score in this case is 6.51.

Some of the collocates of *more or less* are difficult to categorize into any homogenous sets, but their frequency is higher than 5 and the MI score is higher than 3.0, which shows that they are important collocates of *more or less*. These collocates are presented in Table 9.

Table 9. Other collocates of *more or less*

Collocate	Total frequency	MI score
STRAIGHT	16	3.11
UNIVERSAL	9	4.04
DISTANT	7	3.57
AUTONOMOUS	6	4.68
CONFINED	6	3.57
IGNORED	6	3.18
AT RANDOM	5	5.79
REALITIES	5	4.86
COHERENT	5	4.45
ACCURATELY	5	4.07
NEUTRAL	5	3.91
GUARANTEED	5	3.66
RATIONAL	5	3.36
AUTOMATIC	5	3.35
DEPENDING ON	7	3.87
Total:	97	—

As can be seen in Table 9, in the set of miscellaneous collocates of *more or less*, the most frequent is *straight*, which occurs with the node in 16 instances. All the other collocates are half or almost half as frequent.

(4) Functions of *more or less*

The discussion of the functions of *more or less* is especially important, since this vagueness marker (just as vague language in general) is primarily pragmatically important. As the present investigation has revealed, the main functions that it helps to achieve are the following:

- Hedging, which occurs in:
- Hedged/shielded generalizations: to reduce categoricity (especially in academic discourse)
- Hedged reported speech
- Approximated numbers
- Politeness and face-saving
- Making comparisons (collocates referring to “sameness, the notion of being identical”): to reduce the speaker’s commitment
- Structuring discourse

Each of these functions will be briefly discussed and illustrated with corpus examples below.

(a) Hedging

More or less is frequently employed in hedged generalizations; in such cases it restricts the universality of the claim and allows for the possibility of variation, as can be seen in examples (1) and (2):

...in the actual throes, er I was I’ve always been **more or less** a loner. Er I was in the credit and I was with a large... [S_interview_oral_history]

...still reigns supreme. And gentility is a belief that life is always **more or less** orderly, people always **more or less** polite, their emotions and habits **more or less** decent and **more or less** controllable... [W_ac_humanities_arts]

Examples (1) and (2) also suggest that such hedged statements especially frequently refer to something in the past and are general claims about large groups of people (example 2) or long time periods (example 1).

Hedging with *more or less* also appears in academic contexts when generalizations are made. As has been mentioned already in relation to the register distribution of *more or less*, this vagueness marker is highly frequent in academic texts. The analysis of its functions strongly suggests that it used primarily as a hedge in academic contexts, as examples (3) and (4) show.

But you see er Mm don’t think that’s a new idea, I think we were all brought up on that idea. And sure I, I’m sure that the, the I mean the the sentiment is **more or less** universal, I mean virtually everybody is opposed to war and yet again and again and again the leaders, who pay lip service to these ideas, launch another war but it’s always a just war, this time it’s always justified... [Lecture (Edu/inf)]

There is no way that you can explain sex ratios on a group selection basis. Take the sea lions. In sea lions only one in ten, sometimes one in twenty,

males mate. That means that nine out of ten never mate. Why are they producing males and females in **more or less** equal numbers, which they are? Surely the benefit of the species would be served by prod producing ten females for every, every male. There should be a ten to one sex ratio. There shouldn't be a one to one sex ratio. But there is a one to one sex ratio. Why is that?... [lecture on the psychoanalytical study of society (Edu/inf)]

Examples (3) and (4) are excerpts from lectures, which are categorized in the BNC as educational/ informative texts. Both of them are very general claims about the object of the discussion, and their applicability is restricted by *more or less*, which suggests the presence of exceptional cases.

More or less, as a hedge, is often used in reported speech; in such cases it reduces the speaker's commitment to the truth. Reported speech is never as precise as the direct words of the speaker being reported; therefore, hedging is often used to indicate that the precision of the reported claim is reduced, as examples (5) and (6) demonstrate:

...say like, I've spoke to Brian Horton on Sunday and he **more or less** said that it's er Oxford United in fourth position in the league, and... [SPOK, broadcast_news]

...And I think in terms of justifying that, if we had that you know, if you're saying people have to justify why they're going, I think they'd all **more or less** say the same. You know, that often sort of getting some first hand information is the Mm. best thing to you know... [Careers meeting (Busn)]

Example (5) reports the actual words of another person; the vagueness marker *more or less* appears immediately before the reported words of this person as a kind of disclaimer. In example (6), it is even more important for the speaker to hedge the claim as the utterance reports the hypothetical answer of a large group of people.

More or less is also used when hedging an agreement (example 7) and making a shielded guess (examples 7 and 8):

...And er as I say, at the moment Well when you when you say it's in mothballs, erm how seriously in mothballs? I mean if could you take the mothballs off and dust it off and it would work? Plug it in and it would work? **More or less** yes, just a few adjustments and it could be up and running I would think. Maybe maybe a couple of hours work on it to put it back together. Cos I mean, that again is something that that one might put into the into the tent or something... [Meeting (Busn)]

...And I think in terms of justifying that, if we had that you know, if you're saying people have to justify why they're going, I think they'd all **more or less** say the same. You know, that often sort of getting some first hand information is the Mm. best thing to you know, boost your You know how then how do you decide that... [Careers meeting (Busn).]

In these instances, *more or less* reduces the speakers' commitment to the agreements or guesses that they make, and adds to the tentativeness of the claims. The claims in examples (7) and (8) are additionally hedged with other hedges, such as *I think* and *I would think*.

As has already been mentioned, *more or less* can be used as an approximator

when it precedes a number. This usage has also been identified in the data of the present study. Some examples of this use of *more or less* can be observed in examples (9) and (10).

...they wanted another deck hand, so of course I went on there on four pound a week and then I was well off. That was, that was what the crew were getting four pound a week and course my father that time he done away with a cabin boy so I had to do **more or less** two jobs, see if I weren't working on deck I'd go down and clean the cabins and that's how, that's how we kept the money going... [interview (Leisure)]

...For most people nowadays, any mention of computers conjours up vague images of **more or less** two things: either Sonic the Hedgehog, or a shapeless, grey, John-Majorish boredom... [Leeds United e-mail list].

The number that is approximated in examples (9) and (10) is very small, but since these are very general claims, the hedge is necessary before the number to make it less assertive.

(b) Face-saving (self-defence and other-defence)

The corpus data have revealed that *more or less* as a hedging device is often also used as a face-saving strategy in several communicative situations: for self-defence (example 11), in cases of disagreement (example 12), and when reducing criticism (of people or phenomena; example 13).

...I mean are you Yes yes can you do all that? I mean that's that's one of the things I want ed to talk about was the relevance of archaeology to that sort of work I mean certainly I've done surveying you know Right fairly elementary surveying but **more or less** I know how to use Well a level and er Yeah. a theodolite and that sort Right yeah. of thing so I would have thought that it's the sort they're looking for. Yes well I'm sure there are that you know there there might be some scope for doing that Yeah... [careers interview (Edu/inf)]

I'm not, I'm not doing that, what I'm challenging is the consortiums decision to award the contract to a company who had not been involved in that particular area as opposed to a company that had. Was this purely er the result of trying to keep the percentage share? Erm, yes that is **more or less** the case. So beca so because we keeping the percentage share, trying to keep the percentage share down, the aircraft is two years late and two hundred million pounds more expensive. No no let me please finish my original statement. [House of Commons Select Committee for Defence: meeting (Pub/instit)]

...Wishful thinking made political partisans more optimistic about their own party's prospects and more inclined to forecast their opponents' defeat. It made government supporters more optimistic about the economy and opposition supporters more pessimistic. Opinion polls are **more or less** inaccurate measures of voting intentions. A succession of published polls typically produces a stream of **more or less** contradictory results. In part that may reflect real changes in public opinion but to a large extent it merely reflects sampling and other administrative errors... [Media and voters.]

When *more or less* is used to reduce criticism, it usually appears before negatively loaded adjectives; in example (13), these are *inaccurate* and *contradictory*.

(c) Making a comparison

The discussion of the collocates of *more or less* has shown that it is most commonly employed with words expressing an analogy or comparison. These collocates show that *more or less* is often used to make comparisons, as in example (14):

... But there was still you know a substantial It was **more or less** the same case as we had before in terms of the traffic relief that each afforded and...
[S_pub_debate]

The collocate that expresses comparison (*the same*) is underlined in example (14). This function overlaps with the hedging function of *more or less*, as in such instances it reduces the degree of similarity between two objects and thus reduces the speaker's commitment to the claim.

(d) Polite request/suggestion

The corpus data show that *more or less* is used to make a request or suggestion more polite, which overlaps to some extent with its other function, namely, face-saving. Example (15) illustrates how *more or less* is used to introduce a request, and in example (16) it makes a suggestion more tentative.

...Belinda if we can start with you **more or less** erm I heard the other day that you're half thinking that you might like to be a nurse? Yeah, that's it. That's right. Mhm. Can you speak up a bit. Speak up a bit Belinda! What erm what sort of nurse are you thinking about? Nursery nurse, looking after young children in nurseries and stuff like that. [conv.]

...than Er er, er what we're, what Maximizing what we've got, what we are about, or what every sales company should be about is making money. Yeah. And, er er and just increasing sales volume, or maximizing sales volume ain't gon na do it. Ah we ought to **more or less** max, maximize the Yeah. sales figures Right. It's, it's maximizing the sale of the revenue and, and rising the revenue is what we talked about. Oh yes, that one...
[Busn.]

The main impact of *more or less* in examples (15) and (16) is that it makes the claims less assertive and less straightforward.

(e) Negotiating with the interlocutor about the truth of a claim

Since *more or less* is important as a hedge and a politeness marker, it is not unexpected that it is used when the speaker negotiates with the interlocutor about the truth of a claim, as in examples (17) and (18).

...And that's all these are in Tony's hou I'm just trying to show them Tony's house first you see cos it's it's all these tiles that fascinate me. Some of these look **more or less** the same don't they? Yeah they are. We took them look at the Yeah we used seven films. What's that, chickens or ducks? Du n no. They keep everything round there. You look out one window you see a chicken, look out another window you see pigs. Another way you see

goats. Yeah. They come round in the morning Marjie ain't had a goat yet. No. You, you'd love it. You'd be in your element... [conv.] So could you do an approximation, a ver just a very rough guess. I mean does it, does it lie over that way or has it sort of gone back on itself? Lies over that way? Yeah. Is it **more or less** straight up? **More or less** horizontal? About forty five or? It's probably about seventy. Right. Maybe seventy, maybe eighty. So you could draw a rough sketch like that, Mm. just measure it with a protractor, or measure along here. That would be if we drew wh wh how do we find the gradient really? We draw a little triangle, don't we? Yeah. So at point one, it's nought. What would, what would that be... [Maths tutorial (Edu/inf)]

The use of *more or less* reduces the degree of certainty and categoricity in examples (17) and (18), and thus implies that the truth of their claims is still being negotiated.

(f) Signalling the end of a conversation

Finally, *more or less* can be used in structuring a conversation; in such cases it can signal the end of a conversation, as in example (19):

And the doc new documentation just wasn't quite available for me to bring with me. That's three that's da de da de da okay on the follow oh dear or dear me get writer's cramp at this rate. Thursday Friday Now just check put the new piece of paper yes Publications Okay I'm just er bringing this up to date so Monday Tuesday Wednesday evenings in fact you need er sorry Sunday Monday and Tuesday okay. I think that's **more or less** it. Sorry I've had to juggle that we've got some new documentation just being prepared for that but that's being er... [Interview (Busn)]

The business interview in example (19) contains the phrase *that's more or less it*, which is a formulaic expression that usually signals the end of a speaker's turn.

Conclusions

The above corpus-based investigation has revealed some important tendencies of how *more or less* is used with regard to two central aspects, i.e., its frequency in relation to context, and its functions in different types of discourse. Concerning the frequency of *more or less*, the data demonstrate that it is clearly predetermined by context. The present study has taken into account several types of context, including register, historical context, and variety of English.

The results demonstrate that the frequency of *more or less* depends on the following factors:

- the degree of interactivity (especially in spoken discourse);
- discipline and subject (especially in academic discourse, but also in spoken interaction);
- variety of English;
- historical period.

The analysis strongly suggests that *more or less* is mainly a feature of spoken interaction and academic discourse. On the basis of the data, it can be further assumed that the higher the degree of interactivity of spoken discourse, the higher

the frequency of *more or less*. The data also support the general assumption that British speakers tend to be more indirect than Americans; in the present study, *more or less* is even three times as frequent in BE as in AE. Its historical development suggests that its usage is decreasing, at least in AE, where its usage peaked around 1910. Thus, the hypothesis about the context-dependence of *more or less* has been fully confirmed.

As far as its communicative functions are concerned, *more or less* is undoubtedly a pragmatically important category. In communication, it is mainly used for:

1. hedging;
2. making comparisons;
3. politeness and face-saving;
4. structuring discourse.

The results clearly show that speakers of English use it for multiple purposes, most of which are related at least to some extent to the mitigating nature of *more or less*. Thus, the second hypothesis concerning the discourse functions of *more or less* has also been supported by the corpus data under investigation.

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NETIKSLI KALBA KAIP KOMUNIKACINĖ STRATEGIJA: MORE OR LESS VARTOSENOS ĮVAIROVĖ

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Santrauka

Straipsnio tikslas yra ištirti netikslumą žyminčią frazę *more or less* (liet. *dau-gmaž*) remiantis tekstyñ duomenimis. Šiame tyrime svarbu išanalizuoti ir aprašyti, kaip kontekstas lemia šios frazės vartoseną, nes *more or less* (kaip ir visa netiksli kalba) ypač priklauso nuo konteksto. Tyrime aprašoma *more or less* vartosena britų anglų kalboje, bet neapsiribojama vien tik šia anglų kalbos atmaina — britų anglų kalbos rezultatai lyginami su amerikiečių anglų kalba. Be to, straipsnyje aptariama, kaip *more or less* vartosena pakito per pastaruosius du šimtmečius. Tyrimas paremtas trijų tekstyñ duomenimis: *Britų nacionaliniu tekstynu* (*British National Corpus*), *Šiuolaikinės amerikiečių anglų kalbos tekstynu* (*Corpus of Contemporary American English*) ir *Istoriniu amerikiečių anglų kalbos tekstynu* (*Corpus of Historical American English*). Tekstyñ sandara leidžia atlikti išsamią kontekstinę *more or less* analizę; juos sudaro sakytinės kalbos tekstai, akademiniai ir neakademiniai rašytiniai tekstai, grožinė literatūra, laikraščiai ir žurnalai. Tekstyñ duomenų analizė rodo, jog *more or less*, kurio dažnumas smarkiai skiriasi skirtinguose žanruose, vartoseną neabejotinai lemia kontekstas. *More or less* funkcijos tekste rodo, jog ši frazė dažniausiai vartojama kalbėtojo teiginiams sušvelminti, kalbėtojo „veidui“ išsaugoti, lyginant skirtingus objektus ar reiškinius, pateikiant netikslius skaičius ir konstruojant pokalbių (pavyzdžiui, nurodant jo pabaigą).

Reikšminiai žodžiai: neaiškumas, kontekstas, registras, variacija, tekstynas.

IRONY AND CONVENTIONALIZATION

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Abstract: This article analyses commonly detectable patterns of irony in Lithuanian and American mass media, patterns that are either undergoing or have already undergone some conventionalization. Irony in news headlines is argued to fall into separate groups according to the input spaces that provide a clash of meanings. The most typical patterns are observed and discussed on the basis of theories of blending, salience, and pretence. The role of contextual information is analyzed, and the conclusion is drawn that some ironies (those which lack an overt clash of input spaces) are more dependent on context for their interpretation than others (which have a clear clash). The analysis is supported by the findings of a pilot examination carried out at VUKHF.

Key words: irony recognition, context, conventionalized input spaces, evaluative attitude.

Scholars generally associate the mode of irony with the epoch of postmodernism¹⁰, arguing that it expresses diversity, contingency, and playfulness. Irony as a phenomenon that plays an important role in the postmodern mass media was addressed in the works of Hutzcheon (2000) and Lassan (1995). Similarly, Lutzker (1999) relates irony in the mass media to postmodernism, and proposes the idea of violence in the mass media. The American theorist Jameson (1996) focuses on the specific irony and intertextuality of this epoch, and characterizes postmodernism by applying to it the concept of pastiche¹¹.

Other scholars have referred to “the tiredness of postmodernism” (e.g., Iljin). However, even if postmodernism is getting exhausted, in the current epoch ironic headlines still comprise a significant part of headlines found on the Internet, and present an effort-worthy object of scientific analysis. The ubiquitous interest in irony may be illustrated by the fact that certain websites focus on filing ironic mass media headlines, e.g., <http://www.allvoices.com/contributed-news/1455724-ironic-times>, or <http://englishfailblog.com/2008/10/02/ironic-fail>¹².

In the mass media, ironic headlines are often aimed at political leaders, professional politicians, or elected representatives, as well as political institutions, groups, and parties, or even political ideas and the lives of entire societies under a political regime. The typical message of such political irony is that a certain leader, political figure, political group or its ideas, or even an entire way of life are not what they are supposed to be. The script for what they actually are is the opposition which forms the irony. In irony, the former script usually presents the target as “good” and the latter script sees it as “bad,” or improper in a certain way. The result of this clash is irony.

¹⁰The period and the concept of “postmodernism” have caused debate among scholars. A number of scientists believe that the epoch of postmodernism has already expired; however, the majority of sources define postmodernism as a period that started in the 20th century (World War I) and has lasted up to the present day. A detailed study on postmodernism is provided by Malp (2005).

¹¹Pastiche takes stylistic means and ideas from other works, but does not parody them. Relying on Jameson, pastiche is a vital aspect of postmodernism; he defines it as “a neutral practice of mimicry, without parody’s ulterior motive, without the satirical impulse, without laughter, without that still latent feeling that there exists something normal compared with which what is being imitated is rather comic” (1983: 5).

¹²Here the ironicality of the listed headlines is often arguable, as the headlines contain spelling mistakes (which are more likely to be a case of situational, not verbal, irony), e.g.: *Mississippi's literacy program shows improvement* (although the headline claims that the literacy program has been useful, the name of the state is misspelled).

Some of the ironies that are successful tend to be conventionalized. Conventionalization, as Hoefler puts it, is “the process by means of which the meaning constructed in a specific context on the basis of a signal’s pragmatic plasticity becomes enshrined as a new linguistic convention” (2009). In other words, some ironies (or slightly different versions of the same ironies) tend to be used regularly in news headlines, eventually becoming established as instantly recognizable ironic entities.

The aim of the current analysis is to examine the conventionalization of ironies in Lithuanian and American news headlines on the news websites Delfi.lt and Alternet.org during the period of 2005–2010. For the analysis, the theory of conceptual blending (Turner & Fauconnier 2002) and the graded salience hypothesis (Giora 1998, 1999) were applied to test the hypotheses of the research, which were as follows:

Some political ironies undergo conventionalization and their ironic meaning becomes the most salient meaning.

Political ironies that are conventionalized are easily understood as ironic even without any context.

Conventionalized ironies communicate an immediate negative evaluative attitude.

To test the hypotheses, a special three-part questionnaire containing 52 headlines (13 ironic and 13 non-ironic Lithuanian headlines, and 13 ironic and 13 non-ironic American headlines) was designed. The validity of the collected material (ironic headlines) as ironic was tested by a pilot research project carried out at Vilnius University Kaunas Faculty of Humanities. The pilot survey asked the respondents (10 students and 10 lecturers at VUKHF) to identify the ironic headlines, to give reasons for their decisions, and to identify the referents of some ironies.

The findings largely correlated with the concept of salience. According to Giora (1998), irony processing is based on the salience of meaning. Following the graded salience hypothesis (Giora 1998: 7), “salient meanings should always be accessed and always first, regardless of contextual information.” The graded salience hypothesis, thus, predicts that less salient ironies (which depend on the context for their interpretation) would initially be processed literally. According to this theory, salient ironies based on such concepts as the American Dream or Mary’s Land/*Marijos Žemė*, whose ironic meanings are coded, should be accessed directly. In other words, if the ironies are conventionalized to the extent that their ironic meaning is the most salient meaning, they should be processed as ironic without any context provided. To determine the influence of context, the respondents of the experiment were initially given only ironic phrases referring to an object of irony without any contextual information. In the second part of the experiment, the respondents were asked to assess the same ironies within their immediate context—that is, in the headlines. The patterns of irony recognition fell into three subgroups:

1. The two ironic phrases—Mary’s Land and the American Dream(land)—that are conventionalized to the greatest extent (most frequently mentioned in headlines, articles, and article comments to communicate an ironic evaluative attitude) were

expected to be marked as ironic by the greatest number of respondents. However, without any immediate context, the respondents found the phrases ambiguous. As a result, only 25% of the respondents marked Mary's Land as ironic; 60% marked it as difficult to decide, and 15% as non-ironic. When the same phrase was provided in its contextual headlines (*Sodom and Gomorrah in Mary's Land*, *Capitalism in Mary's Land*, and *Public Relations in "Mary's Land"*) the rate of irony recognition increased to nearly 100%.

Similarly, Dreamland and the American Dream were processed non-ironically by the majority of respondents (70% and 80%), but when presented within their headlines (e.g., *It's Called the American Dream Because You Have To Be Asleep to Believe It*, *Living the American Dream... in a One-Bedroom Apartment*, or *Debt is the New American Dream*) they were regarded as ironic by the majority of the participants.

2. The second group comprises such phrases as: The Land of Kebabs, The Land of Chebureks, The Banana Republic, The Land of Miracles¹³, The Leader of Indifference, The Vice-Champion of Drinking, Country Number 1, A Proud Nation of Firsts, The Dealer Nation, The World's Sole Superpower, Fast Food Nation, Debtor Nation. These references were marked as ironic by the majority of respondents (75–100%), though the phrases (except for Banana Republic) are not frequent in news headlines and many were used only once. When asked, the respondents enumerated the reasons that facilitated the detection of these ironies. The most common reasons appeared to be a clash between the positive and negative aspects of meaning, or the incongruity between the positive evaluation and the negative reality.

3. The third group of ironies includes two Lithuanian headlines that were identified as ironic by only 10% of the respondents—*Šaukštasis deguto kubilq medaus pagadina*¹⁴ (“A spoon of pitch spoils a tub of honey”) and *Metai Pasmerktųjų Namuose* (“A year in the house of the damned”)—and the American headline *Bitter Orange*. Though they all knew the surnames of the Lithuanian Prime Minister (Kubilius) and the Chair of the Seimas (Degutienė), the majority of respondents failed to detect the link and marked the first headline as literal. Similarly, though everyone must have heard about the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, very few related the headline to this event without having access to the article itself.

The results lead to some speculations regarding the conventionalization of irony and the importance of the immediate context for irony recognition.

First, it could be argued that though salience might play a very important role, the immediate context can be crucial for irony recognition, as even the most conventionalized irony has a literal meaning competing for processing. On the other hand, if an ironic blend is not conventionalized, the immediate context may not be helpful in detecting the irony. Thus there is a mutual interdependence between the conventionalization and the immediate context. If irony is conventionalized, it is easily understood in the immediate context. If irony is not conventionalized, the immediate context might not be of any help for irony detection. However,

¹³Though the reference is rare in headlines, it proved to be common in article comments.

¹⁴The irony here is based on the phonological resemblance between Kubilius and *kubilas* (a tub), and between Degutienė and *degutas* (pitch), drawing a parallel with the Lithuanian proverb *A spoon of pitch spoils a tub of honey*.

the importance of salience should not be diminished. It is interesting to note that an ironic shade of meaning can become to some extent salient in some names of politicians: non-ironic headlines that contained the names of Bush, Paksas, and Uspaskich¹⁵ were marked as ironic by 45% of the respondents. This shows that an ironic attitude towards certain politicians had reached a certain level of conventionalization.

Second, ironies that have a clear clash within their structure are recognized more easily, both within the immediate context and without it. This idea is supported by the fact that less conventionalized ironies which contained an overt clash in meaning were processed more frequently than more conventionalized ironies which contained a covert clash in their meaning. E.g., the concept of The Leader of Indifference facilitated an ironic interpretation without any context, while the reference to Mary's Land proved to be ambiguous and required at least the immediate context to reveal the ironic clash.

Third, the failure to detect irony in some ironic headlines that contained a clash leads to the speculation, that whole input spaces of ironies might be conventionalized to different degrees. If the input space has not been conventionalized to the slightest degree, the irony faces the threat of not being processed. The input spaces that might be considered conventionalized (relying on their frequency and the rate of irony recognition) in ironic headlines fall into several groups:

a. Forgetfulness or Ignorance might be regarded as a conventionalized input space for ironic headlines. Such headlines have a predominant implication of pretense, which is considered one of the main features, or "notorious characteristics" (Giora 2001: 165) of irony by a number of ironologists. In the framework of pretense, Grice (1989) relates irony to the flouting of the Maxim of Quality (which demands, "speak the truth")¹⁶, while Sperber and Wilson (1981) analyze irony as the recognition of pretense. An ironist assumes the identity of another speaker who is talking to an uninitiated audience, while the actual audience is expected to feel great satisfaction in recognizing both the element of pretense and the ironic attitude of the speaker.

The author's pretended belief in the message of the headline (at the dictum level) is an indispensable constituent part of the process. The headlines below illustrate the element of pretense on two levels—not only the standpoint of the ironist, but also the characteristics of the victim of irony:

From Delfi.lt: Paksas nežino kur dingo jo patarėjai ("Paksas doesn't know where his advisers have gone"); Prezidentas prašo aiškintis dėl pokalbių, kurių neprisimena ("The president asks for explanations about conversations he does not remember"); Paksui pradeda trikti atmintis ("Paksas has memory loss"); R.Paksas pamiršo ne tik

¹⁵The politicians who were most frequently ridiculed in the first decade of the 21st century.

¹⁶The Gricean approach to irony was adopted by Clark and Gerrig (1984). In 1985 they presented the pretense theory of irony, which analyzed irony as the recognition of pretense, claiming that it was superior to Sperber and Wilson's mention theory (1981). In the model of irony presented by Clark and Gerrig, it is assumed that the speaker "pretends" to be a naive and injudicious person who is talking to an uninitiated audience; at the same time, "the speaker intends the addressees of the irony to discover the pretense and thereby see his or her attitude toward the speaker, the audience, and the utterance" (Clark & Gerrig 1984: 121).

sąžinę, bet ir aritmetiką (“R.Paksas forgets not only his conscience, but arithmetic too”); R.Pakso partija neatsimena renginio Kauno Sporto halėje (“Paksas’s party does not remember the event in Kaunas Sports Hall”); Kryžminė apklausa nepraskaidrino Pakso atminties (“Cross-examination did not help Paksas’s memory”).

From [Alternet.org](#): Bush Forgets His Grandpa Profited from Nazi Slave Labor; Bush: “I Don’t Remember What I Was Doing In 1981”; Bush Conveniently Forgets His Own Role in the Baseball “Steroids Era”; Bush “Can’t Remember” Disbanding of Iraqi Army and Other Revelations.

The recognition of irony here is undoubtedly linked to the recognition of the element of pretense. The reader is expected to recognize the presidents’ pretended forgetfulness/ignorance and to activate the implied criticism. This is, first of all, related to the aggregative (community building) function of irony: irony is directed at and understood by readers who share the same beliefs/point of view as the author. Booth (1974) describes this function as enabling the author and his audience to acquire a higher status and to look down on others. Attardo refers to this function as the “inclusive” and “exclusive” aspects of “group affiliation” (2001: 120)¹⁷.

b. Popular Modern Realia: Teflon. The use of generic nouns in reference to politicians might sound fantastic if taken literally, but in context it is not unusual. On the contrary, the reader achieves the benefit of deeper insight, due to the compressions enabled in irony by the blending mechanism. The case is well supported by the use of “Teflon” to refer to political leaders. Teflon is a conventionalized ironic nickname usually given to politicians who seem to be immune to criticism. The term was first applied to the American president Ronald Reagan. In news headlines of the present day, it has been used to refer to Lithuanian ministers, American politicians, and many political figures in Europe, as these examples from Delfi.lt demonstrate: *Ar prisivils Tefbninis ministras?* (“Will the Teflon minister burn?”), or *“Ketvirtoji valdžia” – ar prisivils “tefbninis ministras”?* (“The fourth reign”—will the ‘Teflon minister’ burn?”). The implication of the ironic meaning is evoked by the incongruity between “Teflon” and “minister”: *Tefbn*, a “non-stick” chemical material used on cookware, comes from the lexical field of domestic appliances, while *minister* belongs to the field of politics and country governance. The juxtaposition of these incongruous fields on the basis of shared characteristics (cookware tends to burn, but Teflon protects its surface; similarly, the minister who, despite negative allegations, manages to keep high ratings—i.e., does not get burnt—must also have a “protective coating”) signals the author’s irony. It is interesting to note that successful irony has the potential to become established and further used: in headlines, the qualities of Teflon have been attributed to Putin (Teflon candidate, Teflon president; „Коммерсантъ” (Москва), 07.07.2000), Uspaskich (Teflon minister; Delfi.lt), Medvedev (Teflon politician), Brazauskas, Paulauskas, and Zuokas (Teflon politicians; Delfi.lt, Alfa.lt), Berlusconi (Teflon Silvio), Obama (Teflon), Bush, Clinton, and Huckabee (Teflon politicians; [Nytimes.com](#), [Guardian.uk](#), [Alternet.org](#)).

¹⁷Referring to the opposing effects of the group affiliation function, Attardo (2001) sees irony as reinforcing the “in-group” solidarity through shared play; at the same time, however, he notices that irony is a means to criticise someone and to isolate him from the group.

c. Sports. Some ironists employ the mental models of conceptual metaphors to communicate their ironic messages. One of the most conventional conceptual metaphors of political discourse, according to Cibulskienė (2006), is POLITICS IS SPORT. Lithuanian and American ironic headlines exploit this mental model when focusing on their country's negative realia, depicting it as participating in a sports competition for questionable goals. Here the conventionality of the irony is linked not to a specific reference, but to the model of the metaphor POLITICS IS SPORT in general. The case could be illustrated with such headlines as:

From Delfi.lt: *Lietuva – Europos girtavimo vice čempionė* (“Lithuania is Europe's vice-champion of drinking”)—in this case, drinking is elevated to the status of a representative feature of the country, which triggers an ironic interpretation; *Lietuva – paralelių pasaulių lyderė* (“Lithuania is the leader of parallel worlds”)—in which the writer assumes the position of an ironist who sees the rich and prosperous Lithuania promised by politicians as a parallel world to the real Lithuania we live in; *Lietuviai – tarp kyšininkavimo lyderių* (“Lithuanians among the leaders in bribery”); „*Mirtingumo atlasas*“: *Lietuva – vėl tarp Europos „lyderių“* (“**Death Atlas:** Lithuania is among Europe's “leaders” once again”).

From Alternet.org: *America Is Country Number 1; U.S. Takes Gold in Arms Olympics*.

From other internet sites: *Alkoholio suvartojimo rungtynėse Lietuva – aštuntoje vietoje* (“In the championship of alcohol consumption Lithuania takes 8th place”; Zebra.lt); *Neteisingų mokesčių lyderė* (“The leader of unjust taxes”; Zebra.lt); *Lietuviai – savigydos čempionai* (“Lithuanians are champions of self-treatment”; Veidas.lt); *U.S. Takes Gold In Couch Potato Olympics* (Mlive.com); *US Takes Gold at Computer-gaming “Olympics”* (Newscientist.com); *USA Takes the Gold... In Whining* (Blogcritics.org).

In nearly every one of these cases, the irony results from the clash of a positive sports frame and the negative frame of some social problem. It should be mentioned that the use of such ironies is not limited to references to American or Lithuanian realia. In headlines, the slot of America/Lithuania can also be filled by the name of any other country without losing any ironic implications.

d. Other Nationalities/Countries. Input spaces with racial reference are especially common in Lithuanian web headlines. Lithuanian headlines present an interesting case of input spaces based on metonymic representation, the most frequent of which is the universal “banana republic” reference. On Delfi.lt, the phrase “banana republic” has been used to refer not only to Lithuania, but to the USA as well. The USA as a banana republic is referred to in the American media as well—e.g., *Banana Republic, USA* (Firstprinciplesjournal.com), or *America the Banana Republic* (Vanityfair.com)—yet these are exceptionally rare references. In contrast, Lithuania is extensively referred to as a banana republic:

Baltijos širdis ar Bananų respublika? (“The heart of the Baltics or a banana republic?”; *Vakarų Žinios*); *Elektros energija bananų šalyje* (“Electricity in a banana country”; *Novum.lt*); *Nemuno šalis – Demokratinė Bananų Respublika* (“The land of the Nemunas—the Democratic Republic of Bananas”; *Respublika*); *Kas mes – bananų respublika?* (“Who are we—a banana republic?”; *Diena.lt*); *Lietuva – bananų*

respublika (baltoji Afrika) (“Lithuania is a banana republic (white Africa)”; Kantas.net).

The “banana republic” reference, which has been conventionalized in the mass media globally, provides a template for similar ironic references to Lithuania: *Čeburekų Šalies perspektyvos* (“The perspectives of cheburek land”; Delfi.lt), *Kebabų Šalis* (“The land of kebabs”; Delfi.lt), etc. Here Lithuania is assessed hierarchically, according to a hierarchy created for the purpose. When, for the purpose of criticism, Lithuania is implicitly compared to a metonymical representation of Asia, the Balkan countries, the Crimea, Latin American or African countries, etc., it is taken for granted that the reader is able to locate Lithuania on this line of hierarchy; the implication is that all the above mentioned countries are of a “lower status,” and that comparing Lithuania to them equates to an ironic critical evaluation of Lithuania.

e. Fiction. According to Juan Li (2009), discourse is in constant interaction with other discourses. Texts are full of parts taken from other texts and either marked explicitly or implied; the text might assimilate them, or texts might contradict them or be ironical about them (Fairclough 1992). Ironic newspaper headlines make extensive use of intertextual references. *How Bush Stole the Elections* (Alternet.org) uses a well-known title with the substitution of its agents by other well-known names and events: the headline at once rings a bell, as one of the most popular American children’s books is Dr. Seuss’s *How the Grinch Stole Christmas*. Here the substitution serves to transfer the characteristic features of the “original” subjects to the person and the event of real life. Therefore Bush comes to represent a cheating, hideous Grinch, while the elections might be understood as a festival, a happy day that was stolen from all the people. In *Forrest Gump’s Evil Twin*, the headline is based on a reference to the Zemeckis film *Forrest Gump* (1994) and its main character, Forrest Gump, a good-hearted person of below-average intellect. In the film, Gump does not have any siblings, therefore the twin mentioned in the headline is a fiction based on the features of the character: Gump’s good nature and mental retardation imply that the “evil twin” is also mentally retarded—but evil. The reference to the “evil twin” is employed to communicate a negative ironic attitude to President Bush, who is often accused of irrational decisions and inappropriate statements by the mass media.

The tendency to assess politics ironically via input spaces related to fiction can also be traced in such headlines as these, taken from Delfi.lt: *Vokų menas ir jo interpretacija kreivų veidrodžių krašte* (“The art of envelopes and its interpretation in the land of the funhouse mirrors”); *Trijų partijų sutartis, arba Gulbė, lydeka ir vėžys* (“The agreement of three parties, or the swan, the pike, and the crayfish”); *Socialdemokratinė žiogų pasaka apie pasiruošimą žiemai* (“The social-democratic grasshoppers’ tale about winter preparations”); *Pasaka apie Slibinq Zuokulą ir Mergelę* (“The tale of the dragon Zuocula and the Maiden”).

The exploitation of the input spaces related to fiction in all the ironic headlines above serves to downgrade the status of the referent and reveal the negative ironic attitude of the speaker.

Ironies that are based on certain input spaces (a conventionalized ironic reference to modern realia, negative features like pretended forgetfulness and

ignorance, sports and competition, or references to well-known fictitious characters) can be processed even without relying on the broader context. Here the clash of two meanings provided by the input spaces plays a significant role. Ironies that have a clear clash within their structure are recognized more easily, both within and without the immediate context, and, if successful, tend to be conventionalized. Conventionalized ironies prove to be a straightforward way to communicate an immediate negative evaluative attitude. All the headlines that were included in the experiment were marked as communicating criticism and a negative evaluative attitude. These findings support the ideas of Sperber and Wilson (1986), who claim that irony is directly related to negative assessment.

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IRONIJA IR JOS KONVENTIONALIZACIJA

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Santrauka

Straipsnyje siekiama aptarti dažniausiai pasitaikančias visiškai ar iš dalies konvencionalizuotų ironiškų posakių struktūras. Ironiškos politinių naujienų antraštės klasifikuojamos pagal ironijos atpažinimo mechanizmus. Pastebima, kad antraštėse dominuoja tam tikros konvencionalizuotos įvesties erdvės, kurios palengvina ironiškos intencijos atpažinimą. Straipsnyje išskiriamos apsimestinio užmaršumo, teflono, sporto ir kt. įvesties erdvės, kurios lemia prasmę nesuderinamumą bei provokuoja ironiškos prasmės dekodavimą antraštėse. Analizuojama kontekstinės informacijos svarba bei daroma išvada, kad dėl įvesties erdvės ironijos suvokimas gali būti daugiau ar mažiau priklausomas nuo konteksto. Straipsnio ižvalgų pagrindas — *blendingo*, leksinio prasmės iškilumo, tikslinio apsimetimo teorijos bei žvalgomomojo tyrimo, atlikto Vilniaus universitete Kauno humanitariniame fakultete, rezultatai.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: ironijos atpažinimas, kontekstas, konvencionalizuotos įvestinės erdvės, vertinimo nuostata.

SPECIALYBĖS KALBA: STUDENTŲ POŽIŪRIS

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Anotacija: Straipsnyje analizuojami Lietuvos sveikatos mokslų universiteto (LSMU) studentų požiūrio į specialybės kalbą kai kurie aspektai. Specialybės kalba yra LSMU dėstomos Profesinės kalbos modulio sudedamoji dalis, orientuota į profesinę terminiją. Profesinės kalbos modulio tikslai atitinka visus šiuolaikinio mokymosi parametrus: suprasti profesinę terminiją, kvalifikuoti komunikuoti su tos pačios profesijos atstovais, ugdyti visuminę sveikatos mokslų specialisto kompetenciją. Kaip šiuos tikslus supranta studentai? Ar tikslų supratimas lemia ir tam tikrą požiūrį į modulio studijas? Straipsnio tikslas – patyrinėti, kaip studentai vertina savo ir jems dėstytojų kalbą; sužinoti, ko studentai tikisi išmokti studijuodamini specialybės kalbą ir nustatyti, ar pakito studentų kalba po specialybės kalbos studijų. Straipsnyje keliama hipotezė, jog po specialybės kalbos studijų padidės studentų kalbinė kompetencija.

Tikslui pasiekti buvo taikytas deskriptyvinis metodas, literatūros šaltinių analizė, anketinė apklausa, duomenų kiekybinių ir kokybiinių analizė. Statistinė duomenų analizė buvo atlikta taikant SPSS 16 programą. Tikrinant statistinės hipotezės, reikšmingumo lygmenių pasirinktas $p = 0,05$. Hipotezių apie požyminių tarpusavio priklausomybę tikrinimu taikyti tikslūs χ^2 (chi kvadrato) ir marginalinio homogeniškumo testai. Tyrimo respondentai buvo Kauno medicinos akademijos trijų fakultetų – Farmacijos, Visuomenės sveikatos ir Medicinos – studentai. Iš kiekvieno fakulteto buvo apklausta po 30 studentų. Iš viso tyriime dalyvavo 90 studentų. Tyrimo metu buvo atliekama studentų apklausa pateikiant specialiai šiam tyrimui sudarytus 2 anketas. Viena anketa buvo pateikta specialybės kalbos studijų pradžioje, o kita – jų pabaigoje. Iš anketų klausimus studentai atsakinėjo rāštiniuose. Apklausa buvo atlikta prieš specialybės kalbos pratybas, todėl atsakymų grįžtamumas buvo šimtaprocentinis. Iš abi anketas atsakinėjo tie patys studentai.

Apie studentų požiūrių į specialybės kalbą išsamių tyrimų iki šiol nėra. Šis straipsnis – mėginimas vertinti kuriuos studentų požiūrių į specialybės kalbą aspektus. Straipsnio išvados gali būti naudingos tariant panaušius tyrimus.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: lingvistika, specialybės kalba, studentų požiūris, anketinė apklausa, kalbinė kompetencija.

Įvadinės pastabos

Visuomeniniai, kultūriniai ir socialiniai pokyčiai Europoje ir pasaulyje turi įtakos ir Lietuvos kalbų politikai – šiandien aktualus kalbų mokymas ir didėjanti kalbų mokėjimo svarba.

Lietuvoje įvairiai lygmenimis diskutuojama apie lietuvių (gimtosios) kalbos vartojimo krizę (80 proc. informacijos visose pasaulinėse elektroninės paieškos sistemose sukaupta angliskai) ir įrodinėjančią, jog kitas kalbas, ypač tautinių mažumų, būtina apsaugoti nuo grėsmės būti išstumtoms į privačią vartojimo erdvę. Visuomenė sunerimusi ir dėl globalizacijos kultūros srityje. Viena vertus, taip prasiplečia pasaulio horizontai, praturtėja kultūrinė patirtis, o kita vertus, kyla klausimų: ką reiškia išsiugdyti globalinį tapatumą, kaip suprasti tautinį identitetą, kokį dėmesį skirti lietuvių kalbos kaip gimtosios ugdymui (Kardelienė, Kardelis 2006, p. 67).

Kalbos vidinės struktūros ir pirminės pasaulio artikuliacijos santykį pirmasis pastebėjo Vilhelmas fon Humboltas dar 18 amžiuje. Jo bendraamžis Johanas Gotfridas Herderis teigė, jog žmogus turi kalbą, kuri yra jo sąmonės formavimo terpė. Gerokai vėliau 20 amžiaus amerikiečių etnolingvistų F. Boaso, E. Sapiro, B. Li Whorfo ir kitų darbai parodė, kad kalba, kuria mes bendraujame, lemia ne tik mūsų pasaulio supratimą, bet ir mūsų poelgius bei veiksmus. E. Sapiros teigė, kad klaidinga būtų manyti, jog mes galime įsisąmoninti, priimti realybę be kalbos. Lin-gvokultūriniaiame diskurse įprasta sakyti, kad kalba – kultūros sąlyga, per ją perima-ma kultūra. Kiekviena kalba sukuria unikalų savo modelį, išreiškia savo logiką. Šie

skirtumai riboja kultūras ir pasaulius (Aliūkaitė ir kt. 2003, p. 3-4). Tokie ir panašūs teiginiai įpareigoja kiekvieną kalbantį jausti atsakomybę už savo kalbą, kalbėjimo grynumą; paisydamas jų, kiekvienas kalbos vartotojas turi stengtis, kad jo kalba būtų švari, taisyklinga, savita, kad ji kurtų ypatingą „buveinę“, į kurią „užsukęs“ kitos kalbos vartotojas išgytų naujos patirties.

Europos komisija pažymėjo, kad anglų kalbos jau nebepakanka. Komisijos ilgalaikis tikslas – didinti individualią daugiakalbystę tol, kol kiekvienas pilietis be gimtosios kalbos, mokės dar bent dvi kalbas. Šiandien džiugu, kad lietuvių kalbos taip pat mokomasi Europoje. Juk mums duotas pasaulis – pirmiausia yra kalbinis pasaulis. Visa tai formuoja tam tikrą požiūrį į gimtąją kalbą. Kaip ir kitose gyvenimo srityse, taip ir čia labai reikšmingos yra pastangos siekti kalbos grynumo ir taisyklingumo, nes taip suvokiamą kalba nėra tik komunikacijos priemonė. Kalba tampa svarbia mūsų tapatybės dalimi.

Tyrimo tikslas – studentų požiūrio į specialybės kalbą kai kurių aspektų analizė.

Uždaviniai:

1. Patyrinėti, kaip studentai vertina savo ir jiems déstančių déstytojų kalbą.
2. Sužinoti, ko studentai tikisi išmokti studijuodami specialybės kalbą.
3. Nustatyti, ar pakito studentų kalba po specialybės kalbos studijų.

Hipotezė – po specialybės kalbos studijų padidės studentų kalbinė kompetencija.

Tyrimo objektas – Lietuvos sveikatos mokslų universiteto studentų požiūris į savo kalbinę kompetenciją ir jos tobulinimą bei į déstytojų kalbą.

Apie studentų požiūrį į specialybės kalbą išsamiai tyrimų iki šiol nėra. Šis straipsnis – mėginimas vertinti kai kuriuos studentų požiūrio į specialybės kalbą aspektus. Straipsnio išvados gali būti naudingos tēsiant panašius tyrimus.

Tyrimo organizavimas ir literatūros apžvalga

Darbe buvo taikytas deskriptyvinis metodas, literatūros šaltinių analizė, anketinė apklausa, duomenų kiekybinė ir kokybinė analizė. Statistikinė duomenų analizė buvo atlikta taikant SPSS 16 programą. Tikrinant statistines hipotezes, reikšmingumo lygmeniu pasirinktas $p = 0,05$. Hipotezių apie požymių tarpusavio priklausomybę tikrinimui taikiyi tikslus χ^2 (chi kvadrato) ir marginalinio homogeniškumo testai.

Atliekamo tyrimo respondentai buvo LSMU triju fakultetų – Farmacijos, Vi-suomenės sveikatos ir Medicinos – studentai. Iš kiekvieno fakulteto buvo apklausta po 30 studentų. Iš viso tyime dalyvavo 90 studentų. Tyrimo metu buvo atliekama studentų apklausa pateikiant specialiai šiam tyrimui sudarytas 2 anketas. Anketas sudarė pusiau atviro ir atviro tipo klausimai, kuriais mėginta nustatyti, kaip studentai vertina savo ir jiems déstančių déstytojų kalbą, ko jie tikisi išmokti studijuodami specialybės kalbą ir išsiaiškinti, ar pakito studentų kalba po specialybės kalbos studijų. Viena anketa buvo pateikta specialybės kalbos studijų pradžioje, o kita – jų pabaigoje. I anketų klausimus studentai atsakinėjo raštu. Apklausa buvo atlikta prieš specialybės kalbos pratybas, todėl atsakymų grįztamumas buvo šimta-procentinis. I abi anketas atsakinėjo tie patys studentai. Tyrimas atliktas remiantis studentų vertinimu.

Specialybės kalbos studijų pradžioje studentams buvo pateikti šie klausimai:

1. Kaip vertinate savo kalbą?
2. Kaip vertinate Jums dėstančių dėstytojų kalbą?
3. Ko norėtumėte išmokti studijuodami specialybės kalbą?

Studijų pabaigoje studentams buvo pateikti šie klausimai:

1. Kaip vertinate savo kalbą?
2. Kaip vertinate Jums dėstančių dėstytojų kalbą?
3. Ar pakito Jūsų kalba po specialybės kalbos studijų?

Atsakant į antros anketos trečiąjį klausimą, buvo pasiūlyti 3 variantai: pagerėjo, nepakito, pablogėjo. Kitų klausimų atsakymai buvo vertinami 1 – 5 balų sistema: 1 – labai blogai, 2 – blogai, 3 – patenkinamai, 4 – gerai, 5 – labai gerai.

LSMU dėstomas Profesinės kalbos modulis yra orientuotas į profesinę terminiją. Jি sudaro specialybės kalba, lotynų kalba ir užsienio kalba. Profesinės kalbos modulio tikslai atitinka visus šiuolaikinio mokymosi parametrus: suprasti profesinę terminiją, kvalifikuotai komunikuoti su tos pačios profesijos atstovais, ugdyti visuminę sveikatos specialisto kompetenciją. Kaip šiuos tikslus supranta studenai? Tikslų supratimas lemia ir tam tikrą požiūrį į modulio studijas. Be to, jis yra tiesiogiai susijęs su tikslų paaškinimu modulio studijų pradžioje, kai dėstytojas pristato modulio studijas ir aiškina modulio mokymosi tikslus. Nuo tikslų supratimo priklauso mokymosi prasmė ir su juo atsirandanti motyvacija. Motyvacija – tai psichofiziologinis procesas, reguliuojantis asmenybės veiklą ir santykius su aplinka motyvų kaitos pagrindu. Motyvacijos sąvoka padeda suprasti elgesio, mokymosi ir išmokimo faktus. Ji paaškina, kas elgesį gali pastiprinti, orientuoti į tikslą. Motyvacija priežastiniai rysiai susieta su mokymosi rezultatais. Vidinė motyvacija yra žmogaus tobulėjimo šaltinis ir priemonė siekti mokslo pažangumo bei galutinio mokymosi rezultato (Gage, Berlines 1994, p. 147). Motyvacija turtina asmenybę, skatina profesinį tobulėjimą, plečia gebėjimus, t. y. formuoja tokią asmenybę, kuri siekia išreikšti save visose gyvenimo sferose. Tai, kaip studentas supranta mokymosi tikslus, dėstytojui gali būti „kelrodė žvaigždė“ formuojant motyvacinę mokymosi sistemą. Vadinas, dėstytojas savo aiškinimu gali tikslingai formuoti studento supratimą, o ne aiškinti taip, kaip turėtų būti jo manymu. Atsižvelgiant į studentų poreikius, interesus, gebėjimus, svarbu ugdyti nuolatinio kalbų mokymosi poreikių ir siekti, kad vidiniai, išoriniai ir asmeninių jų elgesio stimulai sietuši su mokymosi tikslu, procesu, rezultatu ir taptų motyvais, skatinančiais atitinkamai veiklai (Gudaitytė 2007, p. 21-22). Tikslas edukacinėje literatūroje traktuojamas kaip numatomas ir siekiamas žmogaus veiklos ar elgesio veiksmų rezultatas. Jis yra veiklos motyvas, lemiantis jos būdą ir priemones. Tikslas priklauso nuo objektyvios tikrovės, pedagoginių ar asmeninių poreikių. Jis jungia įvairius motyvus, kryptingus, nuosekliaus žmogaus veiksmus į tam tikrą sistemą, kurios veikimas artina prie numatyto rezultato. Priartėjimo prie tikslų laipsnis leidžia spręsti apie veiklos reikšmingumą (Jovaiša 2007, p. 304). Dėstytojas turi padėti studentams formuluoti bendrus mokymosi tikslus, kad jie atitiktų jų vertėbes, kultūrinius interesus, mokymosi motyvaciją ir skatinų pasitikėjimą savimi bei kitais. Pedagogas turi pasitikėti studentų siekiimu pasirinkti tuos tikslus, kurie turi prasmę. Tada tikslas taps prasminga

mokymąsi motyvuojančia jėga. Skatinant studento norą mokytis, dėstytojui labai svarbu turėti teigiamą įvaizdį ir pačiam nuolat tobulėti. Remiantis tokiu supratimu ir buvo atliekamas šis tyrimas.

Požiūris – tai asmenybės ir įvairių objektų santykis, t. y. sąlygiškai nusistovėjusi nuostata dėl tų santykijų. Požiūris yra labai susijęs su asmenybės interesais, individualiai patirtimi ir priklauso nuo visuomenės gyvenimo sąlygų bei pačios asmenybės. D. Aliukaitė, I. Sideravičiūtė-Mickienė ir G. Irtmonienė analizavo vyresniųjų moksleivių ir studentų požiūrį į informatikos terminų vartoseną. Atlikus apklausą, buvo nustatyta, jog eiliniai kalbos vartotojai kalbiškai nėra labai sąmoningi, nekreipia pakankamai dėmesio į savo kalbos kultūrą. Beveik pusė respondentų nurodė, jog nori, kad pedagogų kalba būtų taisyklinga (Aliukaitė *ir kt.* 2003, p. 9). LKKA studentų požiūrių į užsienio kalbos studijas tyré J. Balžakienė, B. Girdauskienė, R. Martusevičienė. Apklausus 90 studentų, buvo nustatyta, jog daugumos studentų požiūris į užsienio kalbų studijas yra teigiamas, o jি lémė studentų savarankiškumas ir užsienio kalbos reikšmės supratimas (Balžakienė *ir kt.* 2007, p. 7). D. Starkutės tyime buvo siekta įvertinti Kauno medicinos universiteto studentų požiūrį į medicininės terminijos (lotynų kalba) pagrindų studijas; buvo apklausti 57 Medicinos fakulteto studentai (Starkutė 2003, p. 115-118). D. Gudaitytė tyré vyraujančią KMU studentų požiūrį į lotynų kalbos mokymąsi naudojant parengtas priemones. Tyime dalyvavo 150 pirmo kurso studentų. Buvo nustatyta, jog studentų požiūriai į mokymąsi yra du: giluminis ir paviršutiniškas. Giluminis požiūris į lotynų kalbos mokymąsi nežymiai vyrauja (Gudaitytė 2003, p. 104-108). Kauno medicinos universiteto studentų požiūrių į lotynų kalbos dėstymo/mokymo/si reikšmę asmenybės ir profesionalo ugdymui analizavo R. Brunevičiūtė. Tyime dalyvavo 273 studentai. Nustatyta, jog studentai teigiamai vertina lotynų kalbos reikšmę asmenybės ugdymui ir tolesniams profesiniam rengimui įgyjant šiuolaikinę kompetenciją (Brunevičiūtė 2005, p. 14-19). Profesinės kalbos dėstymo metodus remiantis Vakarų Europos šalių patirtimi aptarė E. Movšovičienė ir E. Kriauzaitė (2005, p. 88-91). Lituanistinių disciplinių dėstymo problemas aukštojoje neuniversitetinėje mokykloje nagrinėjo R. Truncienė (2003, p. 129-132). Lietuvių kalbos pokyčius ir kalbų dėstymą yra apžvelgusi J. Girčienė (2005, p. 33-38).

Tyrimo aptarimas ir rezultatai

Diskurso bendruomenę sudaro tarpusavio priklausomybe susieti asmenys, kuriems būdingi bendri kalbos vartojimo tikslai, keitimosi informacija metodai ir narystė tam tikroje grupėje. Bendruomenės samprata grindžiama diskursu, t. y. kalbos organizacija metasintaksiniame lygmenyje ir individualiai kalbėsenos pokyčiais, kuriuos lemia bendros reikšmės paieška sąveikos vyksme. Taigi ir profesinė bendruomenė yra diskurso bendruomenė, kurią atpažįstame iš tos srities specialistams būdingų kalbos elementų. Kitaip tariant, bendravimo, o ypač kalbos raiškos priemonių, ypatumai rodo ir profesinę kompetenciją, ir priklausomybę tam tikrai socialinei grupei. Pagal kalbinės tapatybės koncepciją asmenys, siekdami priklausyti tam tikrai profesinei grupei, sąmoningai ir nesąmoningai stengiasi vartoti tos grupės kalbą ir jai būdingus kalbos stilius, todėl apie žmonių komunikacijos kompetenciją gimtąja kalba galima spręsti iš to, kaip jie vertina vienaip ar kitaip kalbančius, kokias pateikia ekstralengvistines konkretaus kalbos varianto (kaip fak-

to) pasirinkimo motyvacijas (Kardelienė, Kardelis 2006, p. 285). Kalbos struktūra yra gana stabili, tačiau vartosena kinta greičiau. Kalbos normintojai pripažsta, jog kalba nuolat kinta ir atsinaujina, todėl natūralu, kad ne visos jos normos sutampa su vartosena. Kalbinė bendruomenė ne tik pastebi staigius bendrinės lietuvių kalbos pokyčius – ji priversta spręsti praktinius naujų kalbos reiškinį vartojimo klausimus. Su šia problema dažniau ir skausmingiau susiduria aukštųjų mokyklų specialybės kalbos dėstytojai, turintys su kalbos naujovėmis supažindinti studentus. Dėstytojas – tarpininkas tarp tam tikrų visuomenės sukauptų žinių ir studento. Kiekvienas dėstytojas, tobulindamas mokymą, didindamas jo ugdomąją galią, norėdamas, kad studentai domėtusi jo dėstomu dalyku, privalo labai gerai išmanyti atitinkamą mokslo šaką, jos tyrimo metodus, laimėjimus, pokyčius ir tai perteikti studentams per paskaitas. Žinios, akiratis, mėgiamas dalykas ne tik teikia pasitenkinimo pačiam dėstytojui, lengvina jo darbą, bet ir padeda jam igyti autoritetą tarp studentų. Visa tai svarbu siekiant, kad studentai gautų dėstomo dalyko žinių ir kad jų požiūris į mokymąsi būtų teigiamas. Dėstytojo asmenybė taip pat yra labai svarbus pedagogikos veiksny. Igyti autoritetą dėstytojui padeda ir kalba, kuria jo dalykas perteikiamas auditorijai. Sociolinguistai akcentuoja verbalinės ir neverbalinės komunikacijos konteksto sklandumą, kurio svarba eitų po asmens lingvistinės kompetencijos. T. y. kalbos mokėjimas – gera pradmė norint bendrauti. Mokymasis ir mokėjimas suprasti bei įvertinti kalbėjimo akto socialinį kultūrinį kontekstą ir tam tikros kalbos bendruomenės požymius yra pridėtinė kalbėjimo vertė (Kardelienė, Kardelis 2006, p. 259).

Specialybės kalbos dėstytojas, norėdamas supažindinti studentus su lietuvių kalbos pokyčiais, turi pastebėti naujus kalbos reiškinius ir kalbos normintojų rekomendacijas dėl jų, tirti kalbos vartotojų, taip pat ir studentų, nuostatas vienos ar kitos naujovės atžvilgiu, mokyti studentus jas vertinti ir taip formuoti studentų požiūrį į kalbą. Jis turi supažindinti studentus su kalbos kitimo dėsniais, objektyvių priežasčių nulemtais dabartinės lietuvių kalbos pokyčiais, įvairių kalbos lygmenų variantiškumu ir dėl to kylančiomis kalbos vartojimo ir norminimo problemomis, natūralia žmonių reakcija į pokyčius bei patarti, kur ir kaip jiems patiemis ieškoti informacijos. Be to, būtina ugdyti studentų nuostatą, jog kiekvienas esame ne tik kalbos vartotojas, bet ir jos kūrėjas, turintis teisę ir galimybę reikšti nuomonę įvairiaisiais kalbos vartojimo klausimais (Girčienė 2005, p. 36–37). Per specialybės kalbos studijas išryškėja gimtosios kalbos savitumas, tobulėja bendroji studentų kalbinė kompetencija. Specialybės kalbos dėstytojams reikia siekti, kad taisyklingi įvairių sričių terminai, siūlymai bei taisymai pasiektų auditoriją tinkamu laiku, o ne tada, kai ji jau bus ipratusi vartoti netaisyklingus terminus. Vadinas, su kiekviena naujove turi spėti ir kalba. Mūsų dienomis, kai kiekvienas išradimas ir civilizacijos laimėjimas neturi aiškių plitimo ribų, o technologijos pažanga pasiekė apogéjų – kalba negali likti nepakitusi. Ar taip yra? Norint tai išsiaiškinti, studentai buvo paprašyti įvertinti savo ir jiems dėstančių dėstytojų kalbą.

Studentų apklausos duomenys rodo, jog savo kalbą Visuomenės sveikatos fakulteto pirmakursiai ir Medicinos fakulteto antrakursiai buvo linkę vertinti beveik vienodai ir specialybės kalbos studijų pradžioje, ir pabaigoje – daugiausia 3 ir 4 balais. Tik Farmacijos fakulteto pirmo kurso studentų vertinimas lyginant prieš ir po specialybės kalbos studijų reikšmingai skyrėsi ($p < 0,01$). Jie savo kalbą daug

geriau vertino specialybės kalbos studijų pabaigoje. Vadinasi, ryškėja tendencija, jog po pusmečio specialybės kalbos studijų įgiję daugiau kalbinės kompetencijos Farmacijos fakulteto pirmakursiai kelia didesnius reikalavimus savo kalbai.

Dėstytojų kalbą visų trijų fakultetų studentai buvo linkę blogiau vertinti specialybės kalbos studijų pabaigoje nei pradžioje, tačiau statistiškai reikšmingų skirtumų čia nenustatyta.

Prieš specialybės kalbos studijas buvo mėginama išsiaiškinti, ko respondentai siekia išmokti studijuodami specialybės kalbą. Paaškėjo, jog beveik visi studentai norėjo išmokti *taisyklings specialybės kalbos*. Dar jie tikėjosi išmokti: *taisyklings kalbėti, taisyklings kirčiuoti, pagilinti kalbos kultūros žinias, sklandžiai reikšti mintis*. Kai kurie studentai pageidavo *taip išmokti specialybės kalbą, kad nedarytų klaidų*. Be to, Medicinos fakulteto antrakursiai siekė išmokti *taisyklings medicinos terminų tarimo, jų kirčiavimo ir vartojimo, taisyklings mokslo kalbos, kuri bus reikalinga rasant mokslinius darbus*. Tokie atsakymai rodo antro kurso studentų didesnę profesinę kompetenciją ir motyvaciją studijuoti specialybės kalbą siekiant kvalifikuotai komunikuoti. Mokymosi motyvai susiję su dvasinio augimo poreikių tenkinimu. Studentų mokymosi motyvacija kyla dvasinėje, socialinėje ir kultūrinėje aplinkoje, kai įsisąmoninamas asmeniškas patyrimas, atsiranda galimybė savarankiškai spręsti, numatyti tikslus ir jų įgyvendinimo būdus. Studentai, turintys tikslą įgyti žinių, mokėjimų bei įgūdžių būsimam darbui, stengiasi pasiekti tikslą, kontroliuoja veiksmus ir rezultatus jo siekdami.

Antros anketos trečiuoju klausimu studentai buvo paprašyti nurodyti, ar pakito jų kalba specialybės kalbos studijų pabaigoje. Atsakymui buvo pasiūlyti 3 variantai: pagerėjo, nepakito, pablogėjo. Gauti rezultatai leidžia teigti, jog visų trijų fakultetų studentų kalba po specialybės kalbos studijų pagerėjo. Šis pagerėjimas statistiškai reikšmingai nesiskyrė ($p>0,05$), nors Farmacijos fakulteto visi respondentai teigė, jog jų kalba po specialybės kalbos studijų pagerėjo. Tam galėjo turėti įtakos tai, kad šio fakulteto studentai specialybės kalbą studijuoja pirmame semestre.

Baigiamosios išvados

Rengiant būsimus sveikatos mokslo specialistus, būtina derinti inovatyvius studijų metodus ir ilgaamžes dėstymo tradicijas, siekti, kad mokymo ir mokymosi turinys atitiktų dabartį. Šiuolaikinės kompiuterizuotos informacinės technologijos kol kas negali pakeisti pedagogo – kompetentingos ir kūrybingos asmenybės. Komunikavimas išlieka svarbiausias dėstytojo uždavinys.

Studentams šiandien būtina suteikti galimybę mokyti taisyklings kalbos iš visų dalykų dėstytojų, o dėstytojus būtina skatinti tobulinti kalbinę kompetenciją. Universitetinis išsilavinimas turi liudyti ne tik pasirengimą atligli sudėtingiausius dalykus, bet ir mąstymo kaitą, kuri ateina per solidų kalbos mokėjimą, žodyno turtėjimą ir tinkamą mokslo kalbos vartojimą. Europa yra ir bus daugiakalbė, todėl svarbu prisidėti prie Europos kalbų išsaugojimo ir plėtotės.

Atlikus tyrimą nustatyta, jog Visuomenės sveikatos fakulteto ir Medicinos fakulteto studentų požiūris į savo kalbą specialybės kalbos studijų pradžioje ir pabaigoje statistiškai reikšmingai nesiskyrė. Šio klausimo pasikeitimų aspektas buvo nustatytas tik Farmacijos fakultete – po specialybės kalbos studijų visi šio fakulteto studentai savo kalbą vertino geriau. Dėstytojų kalbą visų trijų fakultetų studentai

buvo linkę blogiau vertinti specialybės kalbos studijų pabaigoje nei pradžioje, tačiau statistiškai reikšmingų skirtumų čia nenustatyta. Po specialybės kalbos studijų visų trijų fakultetų studentų kalba pagerėjo. Be to, pasvirtino hipotezė – po specialybės kalbos studijų padidėjo studentų kalbinė kompetencija.

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PROFESSIONAL LANGUAGE: STUDENTS' ATTITUDE

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Summary

The paper aims at the analysis of Lithuanian University of Health Science (LUHS) students' attitudes toward professional language. *Professional Language*, as a structural part of the *Module of Medical Professional Language* taught at Lithuanian University of Health Science, is oriented to professional terminology. The objectives of the module fulfill the contemporary language learning parameters: understanding professional terms, qualified communication with the medical colleagues, development of a wholesome competence of the representative of the medical professions.

How are these objectives understood by the students? Does such understanding encourage their interest in studying the module?

The paper focuses on the analysis of the students' views toward their own language; the students' assessment of the language of their lecturers and their expectations while studying their professional language. One of the aims was to determine whether the students' professional language changed after having studied the module. The author of the paper rises the assumption that after the course in Professional Language the students' language competence will grow.

The following methods have been employed: the analysis of the theoretical literature, the questionnaires and the statistical data analysis.

The respondents were the students of the three faculties of LUHS – Medical Faculty, Pharmacy Faculty and Social Health Faculty. 30 students were examined in each faculty. The total number of the students participating in the research was 90; all of them were taught by the author of the paper.

The students had to fill in the two questionnaires worked out for the reaearch. The first questionnaire was handed in to the students at the beginning of the course, and the second one – at the end. The students filled in the questionnaires in a written form. The questionnaires were handed in to the students before the practical lessons in Professional Language, so all the respondents (100 per cent) handed the filled questionnaires back. Both questionnaires were filled in by the same students.

BEGRÜNDUNG DER NOTWENDIGKEIT UND DISKUSSION DER KONSEQUENZEN EINES ,MEDIENADÄQUATEN PUBLIZIERENS'

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Zusammenfassung: Es ist heutzutage dank der Mikroelektronik Jedem möglich, auf alle Arten (vom gesprochenen über das geschriebene Wort, vom Bild und der Grafik bis zum Film und schließlich multimedial) zu publizieren. Die Möglichkeit allein bedeutet aber nicht, dass alle Arten immer sinnvoll sind. Die Frage, welche Inhalte sich für welches Medium eignen, hat heute eine zumindest quantitativ neue Bedeutung. Im Beitrag geht es darum, die Variable des Inhalts mit den Variablen ‚Medium‘ und ‚Genre‘ in Bezug zu setzen.

Schlüsselwörter: Medium, Inhalt, Genre, medienadäquates Publizieren.

Einleitung

Es ist heutzutage dank der Mikroelektronik jedermann möglich, auf alle Arten (vom gesprochenen über das geschriebene Wort, vom Bild und der Grafik bis zum Film und schließlich multimedial) zu publizieren. Die Möglichkeit allein bedeutet aber nicht, dass alle Arten immer sinnvoll sind. Die Frage, welche Inhalte sich für welches Medium eignen, hat immer wieder Autoren und Philosophen beschäftigt; heute hat sie eine zumindest quantitativ neue Bedeutung.

Was ist damit gemeint, dass nicht alle Inhalte mit jedem Medium gleich gut dargestellt werden können? Ein Beispiel soll dies verdeutlichen. Warum sind es zumeist Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, die investigativ berichten und gar Krisen des politischen Systems auslösen, wie die *Washington Post* in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika die *Watergate Affaire*? Warum gelingt dies einer Tageszeitung, die von relativ wenigen (wenngleich sicherlich einflussreichen und meinungsbildenden) Menschen gelesen, nicht aber dem Fernsehen, das von viel mehr Zuschauern gesehen wird? Ein Blick auf die Fernsehberichte jener Zeit verdeutlicht schnell, warum dies so ist. Die Fernsehreporter filmten nämlich die *Washington Post* ab, dazu noch das *Watergate* Gebäude von außen und selbstverständlich auch das Weiße Haus. Aber sie haben natürlich keine Bilder dessen, was im Rahmen der *Watergate Affaire* geschehen ist. Investigativer Journalismus in Bezug auf personenbezogene Skandale ist demnach mit dem Fernsehen kaum machbar, weil dort eben alles bebildert werden muss. Dies ist natürlich anders bei investigativem Journalismus, der vom Bild lebt. Wenn ein Kamerateam in einem Supermarkt verschimmelte Lebensmittel aufspürt, ergibt das eindrucksvolle Bilder und hat eine starke Wirkung in der Öffentlichkeit. Aber da, wo es um nicht mehr beobachtbare, weil in der Vergangenheit durchgeführte Taten von Personen und um ihr oft heimliches Verhalten geht, gibt es natürlich keine entsprechenden Bilder. Mühsame Telefonate, während der schließlich einzelnen Akteuren die Aussagen wurmgleich aus der Nase gezogen werden müssen, lassen sich schlecht bildhaft darstellen.

Da es fast unmöglich ist, ohne authentisches Bildmaterial der handelnden Personen – und ohne die Chance, es zu drehen – aufklärende Reportagen über deren Verhalten zu erstellen, wird es in Fernsehsendungen in der Regel auch gar nicht versucht. Dieser Verzicht auf entsprechende Themen ist Folge der Einsicht in die Notwendigkeiten des Mediums. Dagegen lassen sich solche Reportagen

sehr wohl für eine Zeitung erstellen. Hier kann beschrieben werden, wie die Informationen recherchiert worden sind. Wenn deshalb solche Skandale durch Presseberichte öffentlich werden, dann fast immer durch Printmedien.

Es gibt natürlich durchaus Möglichkeiten, dieses immanente Manko des Mediums Fernsehen auszugleichen. Eine dieser Möglichkeiten ist das bohrende Gespräch in einem Interview, gegebenenfalls im Rahmen einer Pressekonferenz oder in einer *Talk-Show*. Gespräche sind grundsätzlich medienadäquate Alternativen für das Fernsehen – es ist für die Rezipienten angenehmer, Gespräche und Diskussionen im audiovisuellen Medium nachzuvollziehen, als lesend. Allerdings sind hier der Aufklärung Grenzen gesetzt. Die erste Grenze ist die, dass die Interviewpartner überhaupt erst bereit sein müssen, in die Sendung zu kommen; die zweite Grenze besteht darin, dass sie sich ja vermutlich dessen bewusst sind, von vielen Zuschauern beobachtet zu werden, und deshalb ihre Worte besonders sorgsam wählen – vermutlich noch sorgsamer als in den Telefonaten mit den Zeitungsreportern, die sie aus der vermeintlich geschützten Sphäre des Büros mit jeweils nur einer einzigen Person führen. Immerhin ist es über den Umweg des Gesprächs vor der Kamera möglich, auch *via* Fernsehen Informationen über einen personenbezogenen Skandal zu vermitteln. Allerdings: Tatsächlich handelt es sich bei diesem ‚Umweg‘ um einen Genre-Wechsel. Medienadäquat ist also nicht die Aufdeckung eines Fehlverhaltens in einem sorgsam recherchierten Bericht – hier sind, wie gesagt, nur Notlösungen machbar bis hin zum langweiligen Bild des Reporters, der vor einem Gebäude steht und erzählt, was darin passiert sein soll. Medienadäquat ist dagegen das Gespräch *über* den in seinen Grundzügen aus anderen Medien schon bekannten Skandal. Die Rezipienten erfahren nicht allzu viel Neues über den Sachverhalt, viel dagegen über die Person und seine Reaktionen.

Auch die zweite Möglichkeit, der medienimmanenteren Notwendigkeit zu Bebilderung gerecht zu werden, liegt in einem Genrewchsel: Die Bilder werden inszeniert, aus der Realität wird (unterschiedlich eng an sie angelehnte) Fiktion. Um bei der *Watergate Affaire* zu bleiben: Das, was bildhaft in Erinnerung bleibt, sind die Eindrücke eines sich angestrengt rechtfertigenden Präsidenten in diversen Pressekonferenzen – und vor allem der Spielfilm *All the President's Men* von Alan J. Pakula mit Robert Redford und Dustin Hoffman.

Die politische Wirkung der Medienberichterstattung – der Rücktritt Präsident Nixons – ist freilich beiden Medien zuzuschreiben: Die Recherche- und Aufklärungsarbeit haben die beiden Print-Journalisten geleistet. Das Fernsehen zeigte aber immer neue Bilder eines sich in Widersprüchen verfangenden Präsidenten. Die Stärke des Fernsehens ist also nicht unbedingt oder vorrangig die inhaltliche Aufklärung, sondern vielmehr die Tatsache, dass es emotionale Eindrücke über den Skandal vermitteln kann, die der Text alleine nicht hervorzubringen in der Lage ist. Autoren, die in und mit einem Medium arbeiten, müssen daher jeweils medienadäquate Inhalte suchen und mit den ihnen zur Verfügung stehenden medialen Formen und Genres in Einklang bringen.

Historische Entwicklung

Historisch hat sich bei jedem ‚neuen‘ Medium in einem langsamen Erfahrungsprozess herauskristallisiert, was sich dort gut darstellen und ausdrücken

lässt. Im Einzelfall sind die Wirkungsmechanismen recht komplex – eine Beschreibung ist also nicht unproblematisch, weil sie möglicherweise einzelne Aspekte überbewertet, anderes übersieht. Aber natürlich bedeutet dies nicht, dass man es nicht versuchen sollte.

Jahrtausendelang war es den Menschen nicht möglich, überhaupt zu publizieren. Die einzige Ausnahme war der mündliche Vortrag. Die wichtigsten Inhalte waren deshalb Geschichten, Erzählungen oder Lieder. Auch die Form solcher mündlichen Darstellungen war „medienadäquat“ – in der Regel redundant und nicht argumentativ. Das Alte Testament der Bibel ist das klassische Beispiel eines solchen für den mündlichen Vortrag ‚erstellten‘ Textes. Ein großer Einschnitt entwickelte sich in der Folge der Erfindung der Druck-Kunst. Dies führte zunächst aber nur dazu, dass die Inhalte, die in dieser oralen Phase dominant waren – eben die Bibel –, nun nicht mehr nur erzählt und allenfalls von Hand abgeschrieben wurden, sondern gedruckt und auch Laien zur Verfügung gestellt werden konnten. Bald immerhin wurde die neue Technik für spezifisch neu entwickelte Ausdrucksformen genutzt: Flugblätter erregten zunächst rein schon deshalb Aufsehen, weil sie noch immer etwas Besonderes, Ungewöhnliches waren. Erst langsam entwickelte sich das Zeitungswesen, zunächst in den Handelsstädten der Niederlande und Englands, wo man verlässliche, schnelle und präzise Informationsformen als Grundlage von Wirtschaft und zunehmendem Kapitalverkehr benötigte.

Noch länger hat es gedauert, bis die charakteristischen, medienadäquaten Kunstformen entwickelt waren, die zum Medium ‚Buch‘ passen; es hat Jahrhunderte von der Erfindung der Buchdruck-Kunst bis zur ersten Blütezeit des Romans im Barock benötigt. Und ähnlich lange hat es gedauert, bis sich der wissenschaftliche Publikationsstil etwa mit dem Kriterien der Überprüfbarkeit herauskristallisiert hatte und zur gesellschaftlichen Dominanz der Wissenschaften (vor anderen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen, etwa dem Militär) geführt hat. Langsam entwickelte sich auch das Zeitungswesen, zunächst in den Handelsstädten der Niederlande und Englands, wo man verlässliche, schnelle und präzise Informationsformen als Grundlage von Wirtschaft und zunehmendem Kapitalverkehr benötigte. So förderte die Drucktechnik mit den Medien Flugblatt, Zeitung und Buch immer schneller neue Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsformen. Schien die Drucktechnik also zunächst zur Verstärkung der traditionell-religiösen Lebensform beizutragen (weil man ihre Folgen noch nicht erkennen konnte), wissen wir heute, dass die durch sie ermöglichten, damals ‚neuen‘ Medien entscheidend für gesellschaftliche Änderungen waren – sie haben zur Welt geführt, wie sie heute existiert.

Unterschiedliche Medien wirken unterschiedlich

Die selben Inhalte lassen sich vor allem deshalb nicht in jedem Medium gleich gut vermitteln, weil die unterschiedlichen Medien unterschiedliche Sinne unterschiedlich stark ansprechen, weil sie ein jeweils unterschiedliches Rezipienten-Verhalten erzwingen und weil sie unterschiedlich produziert werden müssen). Dies bedeutet natürlich nicht, dass ein Medium ‚besser‘ oder ‚schlechter‘ als ein anderes wäre. Es ist sicher nicht angemessen, die visuellen und emotionalen Informationen, die das Fernsehbild hervorrufen kann, mit den Informationen gleichzusetzen, die über gedruckte Medien vermittelt werden können. Es kommt

also eher darauf an, die Charakteristika der unterschiedlichen Medien zu kennen und zu berücksichtigen. „Medienadäquates Publizieren“ bedeutet also, zu wissen, welche Wechselwirkungen zwischen Inhalt, Form, Medium und Genre gibt – letztlich: für welchen Inhalt welche Form, welches Medium, welches Genre angemessen ist. Zumindest passen manche Inhalte besser in ein spezielles Medium als in ein anderes.

Natürlich ist naheliegend, dass ein Bericht in schriftlicher Form (als Aufsatz oder als Buch) anders gestaltet sein muss als, beispielsweise, eine Veröffentlichung zum selben Thema als Film. Einerseits muss man jeweils sehr unterschiedliche handwerkliche Kenntnisse und Fähigkeiten anwenden (und also zunächst einmal überhaupt anwenden können). Andererseits muss man wissen, wie man den Inhalt mediengerecht aufbereitet. Beim Film muss man eine Aussage im Wortsinn „bebildern“. Dagegen muss in der Schriftform vieles buchstäblich „beschrieben“ werden; und eine Argumentation muss darauf Rücksicht nehmen, dass sie zwangsläufig (nur) kognitiv nachzuvollziehen ist und normalerweise keine Unterstützung durch andere Sinne erfährt. Dafür ist sie aber (im Unterschied zur filmischen Präsentation eines Themas) immer wieder nachlesbar; sie kann und muss daher anderen ästhetischen wie argumentativen Ansprüchen Stand halten.

Die Tatsache, dass nicht nur der Inhalt, sondern auch das Medium eine Veröffentlichung prägt und verändert, hat aber noch weitere Auswirkungen, die, zumindest auf den ersten Blick, weniger selbstverständlich sind. In der Konsequenz bedeutet sie nämlich, dass der Inhalt nicht nur „medienadäquat“ vermittelt und ausgedrückt werden muss, sondern auch umgekehrt, dass unterschiedliche Medien sich ihre Inhalte suchen.

Die Vorstellung, dass unterschiedliche Medien zu unterschiedlichen Inhalten führen, ist zunächst irritierend. Aber in der Tat hat sich schon früh gezeigt, dass die Metapher des „Mediums“ (lateinisch: das *Mittlere*) problematisch sein kann, weil es sich eben nicht nur um eine „Mittelinstanz“ handelt. Ein einfaches Beispiel, das auf Harold A Innis zurückgeht, soll dies verdeutlichen: Wenn der Aufwand, Informationen medial darzustellen, so hoch wie bei steinzeitlichen Höhlenbildern ist, können aktuelle Diskussionen nicht medial geführt werden, denn die entsprechenden Darstellungen benötigten bereits bei der Produktion viel Zeit. Sie lassen sich auch nicht transportieren und sind mithin in ihrer Wirksamkeit auch räumlich beschränkt. Die Inhalte, die zu diesem „Medium“ passen, sind deshalb kultischer Natur; sie sind auf Dauerhaftigkeit und in der Folge vor allem auf Traditionserhalt ausgerichtet. Eine Veränderung (etwa als Folge eines gesellschaftlichen Diskurses) ist ja nur schwer möglich. Kunst und generell Inhalte, die medial vermittelt wurden, waren deshalb seit der Steinzeit hauptsächlich sakral. Im Gegensatz dazu ist insbesondere der Papyrus für Transporte geeigneter, dagegen ist natürlich die Haltbarkeit begrenzter. Innis erklärt daher den Übergang der ägyptischen Zivilisation von einer absoluten Staatsform zu einem demokratischeren Gebilde auch mit der Schwerpunktverlagerung vom Stein als wichtigstem Kommunikationsmedium eben zum Papyrus.

Alle wichtigen, die Gesellschaft dominierenden Medien verändern die Gesellschaft, weil sie jeweils andere Eigenschaften haben. So hat sich auch das Fernsehen zunächst den vorhandenen Kulturäußerungen zugewandt, vor allem

in den Nachrichtensendungen, die sich inhaltlich und formal an den Standards von Zeitungen orientierten, sowie in Literaturverfilmungen – Rückgriffe auf die *davor* dominanten Medien. Erst nach mehreren Jahrzehnten wurde klar, dass etwa die *Talk-Show* eine medientypische Sendeform darstellt: man hört Gespräche besser zu, als dass man sie liest; weil man die Gesprächspartner aber gleichzeitig auch sieht, ist es leichter, den Überblick über Personen und Meinungen zu behalten. Man sieht, wie jemand reagiert; man kann sich überlegen, ob man ihn sympathisch findet; man lacht eher über einen Witz mit, wenn man jemanden lachen *sieht*.

Es ist also einerseits das kognitive Vermögen, mit Medien umzugehen, das den Umgang mit ihnen prägt (also die Kompetenz des Nutzers); andererseits und teilweise in Wechselwirkung damit sind es die Charakteristika der Medien selbst. Beides bestimmt, wozu Medien genutzt werden (können). Beides prägt mithin die inhaltliche Darstellung. Autoren, die bewusst und effizient mit ‚ihrem‘ Medium arbeiten wollen, müssen auf beides Rücksicht nehmen.

Ein Beispiel: Wissenschaftler schreiben Artikel für akademische *journals* und befolgen die Regeln zur Aufbereitung des Inhalts in solchen *journals*. Da diese Regeln festliegen und nicht ‚einfach so‘ in Frage gestellt werden können, muss die Form eines solchen Artikels kaum diskutiert werden. Aller Augenmerk gilt daher dem Inhalt.

Ihnen ist klar, wie Inhalte in ‚ihrem‘ Medium aufbereitet werden müssen. Wer nur *innerhalb eines* Mediums arbeitet, braucht sich über dessen Gesetzmäßigkeiten und deren Unterschiede zu den Gesetzmäßigkeiten anderer Medien natürlich weniger Gedanken zu machen; dies ist weitgehend Alltag, eingespielte Routine. Hier gilt die ganze Konzentration jeweils dem Inhalt der anstehenden Publikation.

Schwieriger wird es, wenn einzelne Autoren für unterschiedliche Medien oder in unterschiedlichen Genres arbeiten oder arbeiten wollen. Sie müssen dann deren jeweiligen Regeln und Gesetze gelten. Allerdings: Solche Autoren waren bis in die achtziger Jahre des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts hinein die Ausnahme, eine verschwindend kleine Minderheit.

Zu den wenigen, die die Grenzen ihres ‚gewöhnlichen‘ Mediums übersprangen, zählten beispielsweise Wissenschaftler, die auch Filme drehten, wie dies etwa dem amerikanischen Astronomen Carl Sagan oder dem deutschen Biokybernetiker Frederic Vester gelang. Weil es so wenige waren, wurde ihre ‚intermediale Übersetzungstätigkeit‘ eben nicht allgemein zur Kenntnis genommen – zumal das Überschreiten von Grenzen nur erfolgreich war, wenn die Veröffentlichung in beiden (beziehungsweise allen) benutzten Medien überzeugend gelang. Dann aber wurden öffentlich die Inhalte diskutiert und nicht die eigentlich gar nicht selbstverständliche Übersetzungs- und Transferleistung von einem Medium ins andere. (Im Gegenteil: Weil unbewusst die Schwierigkeiten eines Medien- oder Genrewechsels wohl doch gespürt wurden, waren beispielsweise Wissenschaftler, die ‚auch‘ Romane schrieben oder journalistisch arbeiteten, oftmals gar verpönt, wie umgekehrt auch Journalisten, die ‚nebenbei‘ an akademischen Veröffentlichungen arbeiteten.)

Dies änderte sich in größerem Umfang erst in den neunziger Jahren, mit dem Siegeszug des Computers. Nun war es nicht nur fast jedem (in den entwickelten Ländern) finanziell möglich, seine Inhalte zu veröffentlichen (das heißt vor allem: ins Web zu stellen), Tagebuchschreibern wie Wissenschaftlern, Amateuren wie

Profis. Zudem bezieht sich diese Möglichkeit auf vielfältige Gestaltungsarten, die vorher jeweils nur eigenen, spezifischen Medien vorbehalten waren. Es können heute in den computergestützten Medien beispielsweise problemlos Bilder integriert werden, es können ganze Filme ins Web gestellt werden, Audiofiles, oder Texte. Weil es so leicht und billig ist, alle möglichen Gestaltungsarten zu integrieren, geschieht dies nun auch häufiger. Und weil dies so häufig geschieht, entsteht oft gar ein gewisser Druck, möglichst multimedial zu arbeiten und den Kollegen nicht nachzustehen. Eine computergestützte Veröffentlichung ohne Graphik oder gar Bewegtbild wird nun häufig gar als ungenügend empfunden. Problematisch ist, dass damit auch Autoren zu solchen Umsetzungen greifen müssen, die bislang ‚nur‘ Kenntnisse in einem Medium, einem Genre, einer Publikationsform hatten. Woher soll der Wissenschaftler, der in seinem Fach durchaus eine Autorität sein kann, wissen, wie eine Bewegtbildsequenz angemessen aufbereitet wird?

Zudem hat sich inzwischen die Erkenntnis durchgesetzt, dass auch der Computer selbst ein eigenständiges Medium ist, nicht bloß die in dieser Dichte und unter diesem Druck zur Multimedialität bislang neue und einmalige Verbindung bereits vorhandener Medien. Das heißt: Es gibt Regeln und Gesetze beispielsweise eben zur Gestaltung von Bewegtbildsequenzen, die man kennen sollte, wenn man Bewegtbilder produzieren will – aber die Aufbereitung für den Computer folgt noch einmal anderen Regeln als für eine Fernsehproduktion (Giessen 1999). Vielleicht kann dieser Unterschied mit folgender Metapher charakterisiert werden: Es gibt eine ‚Sprache‘ oder ‚Grammatik‘ des Films beziehungsweise des Bewegtbilds und zusätzlich unterschiedliche, teilweise extreme ‚Dialekte‘, je nachdem, ob die Produktion auf das Kino, das Fernsehen oder den Computer zielt. Diese Metapher trifft nicht nur auf das Bewegtbild zu, sondern auch, beispielsweise, für Textproduktionen.

Mitunter ermöglichen digitale Medien also eine adäquatere Aufbereitung von Inhalten. Dies wiederum kann zu neuen inhaltlichen Formen und Darstellungsweisen führen. So können Biologen, die an Tierbewegungs- oder auch -verhaltensstudien arbeiten, neue Möglichkeiten der Darstellung und Veröffentlichungen entwickeln, die dann auch möglicherweise zu neuen Einsichten führen als die unimediale traditionelle Form des schriftlichen *journal*-Beitrags. Welche Konsequenzen dies beispielsweise für den Wissenschaftsbetrieb hat, ist noch gar nicht abzuschätzen. Aber es kann durchaus vermutet werden, dass wir mit den neuen Publikationsformen auch neue inhaltliche Schwerpunkte, oder beispielsweise auch neue Organisationsformen entwickeln.

Mit der Aussage, dass sich die unterschiedlichen Medien jeweils ihre Inhalte suchen, ist daher auch gemeint, dass die Autoren, die in und mit einem Medium arbeiten, nach Inhalten suchen und Formen und Genres entwickeln müssen, die sich im jeweiligen Medium gut darstellen und ausdrücken lassen.

Umgekehrt mussten im Übrigen auch Vermutungen darüber revidiert werden, was ‚medienadäquat‘ sei. Beispielsweise wurden in der frühen Phase des Internet Erfahrungen mit dem adäquaten Einsatz von Texten in computergestützten Publikationen gesammelt. Verschiedene Schriftsteller und Künstler versuchten, sich das Neue Medium anzueignen und seine Gesetze auszuloten. Schnell experimentierten sie mit *Hypertext Fiction*, die aus erzählerischen Bausteinen

bestand, die die Nutzer selbst zusammensetzen mussten, je nach Lust und Laune, in der Regel nach dem Zufallsprinzip – indem sie einen Link ignorierten und den gerade aufgerufenen Text weiterlasen, oder indem sie weitersprangen und einen neuen Link nutzten, um in eine neue Textpassage zu wechseln. Geschichten entwickelten sich nun nicht mehr linear entwickeln, sondern setzten sich individuell, bei jedem Leser, wie ein Mosaik neu zusammen. Offensichtlich sind viele Autoren der Überzeugung, dass das Leben selbst so zufällig sei. Das Neue Medium schien nun die Chance zu bieten, dies auch in der Form aufzugreifen und den Lesern diesen mehr oder weniger zufällig erscheinenden Wechsel konkret vor Augen zu führen, indem es nun auch von ihnen abhing (beziehungsweise von ihrem zufälligen Handeln: davon, ob sie einen Link anklickten oder eben nicht), ob etwas Banales auf etwas Alltägliches folgte – oder etwas Erhabenes. Die Auflösung der Linearität erschien als Chance, neue künstlerische Wege zu gehen. Sehr bald zeigte sich aber, dass die Leser den so experimentierenden Autoren nur sehr bedingt folgen wollten. Dies wurde vor allem mit einem Gefühl der Unsicherheit, des Unwohlseins begründet: die Leser hatten offenbar die Furcht, aufgrund des Zufallsprinzips etwas wichtiges zu versäumen, das die Erzählung weiterführt. Für Inhalte, in denen es eine Abfolge gibt (selbst wenn diese mit Zufälligem begründet wird beziehungsweise auf Zufälligkeiten beruht), ist also ein Medium notwendig, das eine gewisse Linearität reflektiert.

Inhalt, Medium, Form, Genre

Das Überraschendste ist vermutlich, dass der Vorrang, den der Inhalt in unserer Vorstellung – zumal in der akademischen Kultur – hat, in diesem Überblick zurücktritt zugunsten einer tendenziellen Gleichwertigkeit der Variablen Inhalt, Medium und Form, zudem noch Genre, die alle bei der Entscheidung über die richtige Publikationsform berücksichtigt werden müssen. Dies mag erstaunen, denn bislang waren solche Überlegungen ja in der Regel nicht notwendig. Der Inhalt dominierte und war im öffentlichen Bewusstsein das entscheidende Moment einer jeden Veröffentlichung. Insbesondere irritiert oftmals, dass andere Variablen (Medium und Genre) ebenso bedeutsam wie der Inhalt sein sollen.

Leider gibt es noch immer nur wenige Untersuchungen und Darstellungen, welche die Variable des Inhalts mit den Variablen ‚Medium‘ und ‚Genre‘ in Bezug setzen. Das Wissen darüber, welche Inhalte in welchem Medium adäquat dargestellt werden können, ist jedoch wichtig, um Enttäuschungen zu vermeiden (etwa: einen guten Text nicht als solchen zu erkennen, sondern nur als schlechte und inadäquate Multimedia-Produktion zu erleben). Es liegt auf der Hand, dass eine solche Reaktion beispielsweise einem Sachtext nicht gerecht würde. Kenntnisse über die unterschiedlichen medienadäquaten Charakteristika helfen also dabei, Missverständnisse zu vermeiden. Sie ermöglichen es, die jeweiligen Inhalte an dem Medium zu messen, für das sie geschaffen wurden – also eine zumindest ansatzweise objektivere Einordnung unterschiedlicher Inhalte in ihrem jeweils spezifischen Umfeld. Mehr noch: die Wahl des falschen Mediums oder Genres kann dazu führen, dass der Inhalt einer Veröffentlichung nicht angemessen oder überhaupt nicht zur Kenntnis genommen wird. Die Existenz solcher Brüche erzwingt die Darstellung medialer Charakteristika, sowie die Untersuchung der Gründe, wann und mit welchem Medium bzw. Genre ein spezifischer Inhalt erfolgreich vermittelt wird.

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„ŽINIASKLAIDAI TINKAMO PUBLIKAVIMO“ ŽANRO PAGRINDIMAS IR DISKUSIJA APIE PASEKMES

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Santrauka

Šiandien kiekvienas žmogus, naudodamas mikroelektronikos priemonėmis, gali skelbtį publikacijas pačiais įvairiausiais būdais (sakyti ir rašyti į žodžiu, vaizdu ir grafika, filmu ir netgi multimedialiai). Tačiau tokį galimybų gausa anaiptol nereiškia, kad minėti būdai visada yra tinkami ir prasmingi. Klausimas, kokia medijų rūšis yra paranki atitinkamam turiniui išreikšti, šiandien įgyja kokybiškai naują prasmę. Straipsnyje siekiama susieti turinio įvairovę su mediumu ir žanro variantiškumu.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: mediumas, turinys, medijų požiūriu adekvatus publikavimas.

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