

*INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF
LANGUAGE AND TRANSLATION
STUDIES*

e-ISBN: 2791-7290

*Cilt / Volume 4
Sayı / Issue 1
(Haziran / June 2024)*



SELÇUK
ÜNİVERSİTESİ
YAYINLARI

**INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE AND TRANSLATION
STUDIES**

ULUSLARARASI DİL VE ÇEVİRİ ÇALIŞMALARI DERGİSİ

ISSN: 2791 -7290

**CİLT/VOLUME: 4, SAYI/ISSUE: 1
HAZİRAN/JUNE, 2024**



**SELÇUK
ÜNİVERSİTESİ**
YAYINLARI

CİLT/VOLUME: 4
SAYI/ISSUE: 1
HAZİRAN/JUNE, 2024
ISSN: 2791-7290

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CİLT/VOLUME: 4
SAYI /ISSUE 1
HAZİRAN/JUNE, 2024
ISSN: 2791-7290

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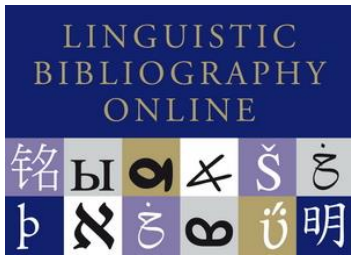
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Bu sayımızda; *The Effectiveness of the Flipped Method in Teaching English Grammar to Low Pre-Intermediate Students at the University of Kazakhstan*, *Batı Temsillerinde Harem Kavramı: Fatma Mernissi'nin Edebiyatında Kültürel Bir Okuma*, *"Da gab es irgendwo in Jugoslawien ein großes Dorf..." – Barbara Sparings Übersetzung von Mato Lovraks Vlak u snijegu (1933) in der DDR der 1950er Jahre* ve *Language, Culture, and Mentality: The Three-Dimensional Axis of Language Studies and Effective Communication* başlıklı dört araştırma makalesi; *The Evolution of Machine Translation based on Ethical Issues* başlıklı bir derleme; *Ümmügülsüm Dohman: Rus Sözlükbilimi ve Çin Tarihi* başlıklı iki kitap incelemesi bulunmaktadır.

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Haziran 2024

CİLT/VOLUME: 4
SAYI/ISSUE: 1
HAZİRAN/JUNE, 2024
ISSN: 2791-7290

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A2 Seviye Öğrencilere İngiliz Dilbilgisini Öğretmede Tersine Eğitim Yönteminin Etkinliği (IITU, Kazakistan) *

Aigerim KEREİBAYEVA ¹
Nazım BAİSBAY ²

Geliş Tarihi: 20.11.2023
Kabul Tarihi: 18.04.2024
Yayın Tarihi: 27.06.2024
Değerlendirme: İki Dış Hakem /
Çift Taraflı Körleme
Makale Türü: Araştırma Makalesi

Atf Bilgisi:

Kereibayeva, Aigerim; Baisbay, Nazım (2024). A2 Seviye Öğrencilere İngiliz Dilbilgisini Öğretmede Tersine Eğitim Yönteminin Etkinliği (IITU, Kazakistan). *International Journal of Language and Translation Studies*, 4/1, 1-18.

Benzerlik Taraması: Yapıldı –
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Etik Bildirim:
lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Çıkar Çatışması: Çıkar çatışması beyan edilmemiştir.

Finansman: Bu araştırmayı desteklemek için dış fon kullanılmamıştır.

Telif Hakkı & Lisans Yazarlar: Dergide yayımlanan çalışmaların telif hakkına sahiptirler ve çalışmaları CC BY-NC 4.0 lisansı altında yayımlanmaktadır.

Öz

Bu çalışma, Kazakistan Uluslararası Bilgi Teknolojileri Üniversitesi'nde A2 seviyesindeki öğrencilerin dilbilgisi eğitimini artırmak amacıyla tersinmeli öğrenme yaklaşımının uygulanmasını inceleyen bir araştırmayı sunmaktadır. Araştırmada, Dil Bölümü'nden iki öğretmen ve 28 öğrenci yer almıştır. Öğrencilerin 15'i deney grubunda, 13'ü kontrol grubundadır. Çalışmanın temel amaçları, tersinmeli sınıf stratejisinin öğrencilerin performansı, algıları ve İngilizce dilbilgisi tutumları üzerindeki etkisini araştırmaktır. Bu amaçla, sınıf içi oturumlar öncesinde öğrencilere beş İngilizce dilbilgisi odaklı video hazırlanmış ve paylaşılmıştır. Sınıf içi etkinlikler sırasında aktif bir dil öğretimi yaklaşımı kullanılmıştır. Çalışma, veri toplamak ve tersinmeli öğrenme yaklaşımının sonuçlarını değerlendirmek için ön testler, son testler ve yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelerden yararlanmıştır. Çalışmanın bulguları, tersinmeli sınıfın İngilizce dilbilgisi anlama ve uygulama becerileri üzerinde olumlu bir etkisi olduğunu göstermiştir. Ayrıca, öğrenciler tersinmeli yaklaşıma olumlu bir şekilde bakmışlardır. Çalışma, tersinmeli sınıfın uygulanmasına ilişkin pedagojik içgörüler sunmakta ve bu alanda gelecekteki araştırmalar için önerilerde bulunmaktadır. Sonuçlar, tersinmeli öğrenme yaklaşımının dilbilgisi eğitimini geliştirmede, öğrencilerin etkileşimini ve dil öğrenme bağlamlarındaki anlayışını iyileştirme potansiyel faydalarını vurgulamaktadır. Bu bulgular, gelecekteki dil eğitimi uygulamaları için değerli sonuçlar sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: teknoloji, tersinmeli öğrenme, dil eğitimi, pedagojik yaklaşımlar, dil bilgisi öğretimi.

* Etik Beyan: * Bu makale, 3. Uluslararası Dil ve Çeviribilim Kongresi'nde sözlü olarak sunulan ancak tam metni yayımlanmayan "A2 Seviye Öğrencilere İngiliz Dilbilgisini Öğretmede Tersine Eğitim Yönteminin Etkinliği (IITU, Kazakistan)" adlı tebliğin içeriği geliştirilerek ve kısmen değiştirilerek üretilmiş hâlidir. Bu çalışmanın hazırlanma sürecinde bilimsel ve etik ilkelere uyulduğu ve yararlanılan tüm çalışmaların kaynakçada belirtildiği beyan olunur.

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Effectiveness of the Flipped Method in Teaching English Grammar to A2 Level Students at IITU, Kazakhstan *

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Nazym BAISBAY ⁴

Date of Submission: 20.11.2023

Date of Acceptance: 18.04.2024

Date of Publication: 27.06.2024

Review: Double-blind peer review

Article Type: Research Article

Citation:

Kereibayeva, Aigerim; Baisbay, Nazym (2024), Effectiveness of the Flipped Method in Teaching English Grammar to A2 Level Students at IITU, Kazakhstan. *International Journal of Language and Translation Studies*, 4/1, 1-18.

Plagiarism Check: Yes - iThenticate

Complaints: lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Conflict of Interest: The author(s) has no conflict of interest to declare.

Grant Support: The author(s) acknowledges that they received no external funding to support this research.

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Abstract

This article presents a study that examines the implementation of the flipped learning approach in enhancing grammar instruction for low pre-intermediate level students studying at the International Informational Technology University of Kazakhstan. The research involved 28 students, with 15 students in the experimental group and 13 in the control group, along with two teachers from the Department of Languages. The primary objective of the study was to investigate the impact of the flipped classroom strategy on students' performance, perceptions, and attitudes towards independently learning English grammar. To achieve this, five videos focusing on English grammar were created and shared with the students prior to the in-class sessions. During the in-class activities, an active learning approach to language teaching was employed. The study utilized pre-tests, post-tests, and semi-structured interviews to gather data and evaluate the outcomes of the flipped learning approach. The findings of the study revealed that the flipped classroom had a positive influence on students' comprehension and application of English grammar. Additionally, the students expressed favorable perceptions towards the flipped approach. The study contributes pedagogical insights into the implementation of the flipped classroom and offers recommendations for further research in this area. The results highlight the potential benefits of the flipped learning approach in enhancing grammar instruction and improving students' engagement and understanding in language learning contexts. These findings provide valuable implications for future language education practices.

Keywords: technology, flipped learning, language education, pedagogical approaches, grammar instruction

Ethical Statement: * T This article is the revised and developed version of the unpublished conference presentation entitled "The Effectiveness of the Flipped Method in Teaching English Grammar to A2 level Students at IITU, Kazakhstan", orally delivered at the 3rd International Congress of Language and Translation Studies.

It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

In Kazakhstan, a country striving to become a hub of technological innovation and progress, English language proficiency is not only a means of communication but also a gateway to accessing cutting-edge knowledge in various fields. In this context, IITU (International Information Technology University), as one of the top technical universities in Kazakhstan, plays a pivotal role in preparing the next generation of ICT professionals with a comprehensive grasp of both technical expertise and English language proficiency.

Teaching English grammar as a separate subject to low pre-intermediate level students presents a range of challenges. These include a lack of student interest and motivation, difficulties in grasping abstract concepts, limited practical application, an overemphasis on memorization, and low student motivation (Sarah S. Al-Harbi1 & Yousif A. Alshumaimeri, 2016). In the field of foreign language education, grammar structures and writing skills are predominantly taught through lectures, which often fail to effectively address students' difficulties in grasping abstract grammar concepts and their practical application in everyday life (Abdulmajeed & Hameed, 2017). According to Larsen-Freeman (2003), grammar poses greater challenges compared to semantic, linguistic and pragmatic aspects of language learning. Moreover, teaching grammar to students with low motivation is a formidable task (Graus & Coppen, 2015). The traditional methods typically used in grammar instruction, such as rule-based explanations and grammar exercises, have proven inadequate in generating the necessary levels of student interest and motivation (Bormann, 2014). Consequently, it is imperative to adopt an appropriate instructional method that caters to students' specific needs. Scholars have thus endeavored to develop an instructional model that fosters a more engaging and motivating language learning environment (Cheh Hsieh et al., 2017).

Recognizing the need for transformation and leveraging technology, MUIT educators are adopting the FL approach to improve English grammar instruction. This learner-centered approach minimizes teacher talk time and extends learning beyond traditional classrooms. Students access pre-recorded video lessons outside of class, allowing in-person time for practice, clarification, and collaboration. Technology facilitates interactive exercises, personalized learning, and immediate feedback. Through the flipped method, educators aim to enhance students' understanding and application of English grammar in real-life communication, preparing them for success in a technology-driven world.

This study aims to achieve several goals and objectives in relation to the challenges faced in teaching English grammar and the implementation of the flipped method at MUIT. The main objectives of this study are:

1. To assess the effectiveness of the FL approach in improving English grammar proficiency among beginner-level students.
2. To examine students' attitudes towards the FL approach and its impact on their motivation and engagement.
3. To explore the development of independent language learning skills through the implementation of the FL approach.

By pursuing these objectives, the study aims to address the challenges encountered in teaching English grammar while utilizing the learner-centered and practice-based approach of the FL approach. The ultimate goal is to provide a more engaging and effective learning experience for low pre-intermediate level students at MUIT and enhance their English grammar proficiency.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 Overview of The Flipped Learning Approach

The flipped learning approach has changed the structure of in-class and out-of-class learning, placing greater emphasis on motivating students to independently study the language.

In the FL approach, the usual tasks completed in class and as homework are switched around. This approach, as explained by Herreid & Schiller (2013), involves shifting the traditional classroom activities to take place outside of class, while the activities that typically happen outside of class now occur during class time. By doing so, students can have a more meaningful and interactive learning experience within the classroom (King, 1993). Students are responsible for independently acquiring knowledge and understanding the learning materials before attending class. This allows instructors to focus on organizing interactive activities during class time, which serve to reinforce concepts and address any misunderstandings. Examples of these activities include collaborative learning, role-playing simulations, problem-solving workshops. According to Ahmad. S. (2016), when students are able to apply what they have learned to real tasks, the learning experience becomes more engaging and active. Active learning stresses the importance of students taking an active role in the process of internalizing knowledge, connecting new information to their prior understanding, rather than passively receiving information through lectures and note-taking (Mehring, 2016). The flipped classroom approach

fosters active learning by encouraging students to actively engage with the materials they learn outside of the class, typically through videos, and then apply that knowledge during in-class activities (Zhonggen & Wang, 2016).

2.2 Effectiveness of Flipped Learning Approach

While the FL approach has gained popularity worldwide, McNally et al. (2017) pointed out that there is a limited amount of research available regarding its effectiveness in the field of teaching English as foreign language. Researchers such as Al-Harbi & Alshumaimeri (2016), Thaichay & Sitthitikul (2016), and Webb & Doman (2016) have investigated the effectiveness of flipped English grammar courses. Their findings collectively suggest that flipped learning significantly improves students' grammar performance, instilling a sense of ease and confidence when using English grammar. Likewise, studies conducted by Valizadeh & Soltanpour (2020) and Gasmı & Thomas (2017) have indicated that the implementation of the flipped learning model has a significant and beneficial impact on the writing skills of EFL students. To illustrate, Qader and Arslan (2019) conducted a research study with 66 university students, examining the influence of flipped learning on their writing abilities. Utilizing a mixed-method approach, the findings revealed that students in the flipped classroom achieved higher writing scores in comparison to those in the non-flipped classroom. In relation to the development of speaking abilities, multiple studies (Cassandra Santhanasamy & Melor Md Yunus, 2021; Eunmi Yu, 2022) have demonstrated that FL enhances the speaking performance of EFL students. For instance, Eunmi Yu (2022) conducted a study analyzing the impact of flipped learning on 29 college students majoring in Korean language and literature in their second year. The results of the study revealed a gradual improvement in students' speaking abilities, along with enhanced learning motivation, engagement, and communicative competence. While the research on the effectiveness of flipped learning (FL) in teaching English as a foreign language may be limited, evidence from various studies suggests its positive impact on different language skills. These findings support the notion that FL enhances students' confidence, engagement, and overall language proficiency.

2.3 Students' Perceptions of Flipped Learning Approach

The results of early studies (Smith, 2013; Grandgenett & Swift, 2014; Pence, 2016; Lee, J., Lim, C., & Kim, H. , 2016; Zou, 2020) have shown that students and teachers generally viewed flipped learning as a motivating and engaging approach that effectively enhanced learning outcomes while saving time. Zakaria and Yunus (2020) in their study investigated the perceptions of primary ESL students in a rural school in Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia, regarding

tenses learning through the implementation of the FL approach. The findings indicated that the majority of students displayed a positive attitude towards learning grammar via the FL approach, as opposed to traditional approaches. Even those initially skeptical of this approach later acknowledged its potential for improving their understanding of the subject matter. Sun (2017) conducted a study investigating the perceptions of undergraduate foreign language students regarding the flipped classroom approach. The findings of the study revealed that students held a favorable view towards learning in the flipped classroom, as they observed positive effects on their language development. A survey by Driscoll (2012) conducted at Columbia University found that 80% of students reported experiencing more positive collaboration with their peers and teachers during instructional time in a FL setting. Basal (2015) conducted a study on prospective English language teachers' perceptions of the flipped classroom approach at a university in Turkey. The findings indicated that the pre-service teachers had positive attitudes towards using the flipped classroom as part of face-to-face courses. The study identified four main benefits of the flipped classroom: personalized learning pace, enhanced student preparation, optimized use of class time, and increased classroom participation. The collection of studies presents compelling evidence of the students' and teachers' highly favorable perceptions towards the flipped classroom approach.

2.4 Student Attitudes Towards the Flipped Learning Approach in Education in Kazakhstan

The flipped classroom method is considered an innovative approach in education, yet there is limited research specifically focused on its application in English language teaching in Kazakhstan. Several studies demonstrate positive outcomes and student perceptions of the flipped learning method. Rakhimzhanova (2016) conducted research on a course in animal physiology and found higher academic performance among students taught using the flipped method compared to traditional methods. Similarly, Abylkasova and Tazbulatova (2019) and Taubay (2022) reported that students perceived flipped classroom lessons as more productive, engaging, and interesting. The flipped method provided students with the flexibility to study at their own pace, which particularly benefited shy or struggling students. Nurtaza's (2022) research revealed that teachers often faced challenges in preparing materials for flipped classroom sessions. However, despite these challenges, students demonstrated positive attitudes towards the flipped method. They appreciated the active and interactive learning environment it fostered, as well as the opportunity to engage in collaborative activities with their peers.

Although the majority of flipped learning studies demonstrate positive attitudes among students, research has identified a subgroup of students who express less satisfaction with the flipped classroom method compared to the traditional lecture approach. Rubinsky and Skotla (2016) conducted experiments at Narxoz University and discovered that instructors' technical unpreparedness and vague understanding of the flipped method resulted in negative attitudes among students and lower academic performance. Tileuov and Zhumbayev (2018) examined the practical experiences of teachers and identified drawbacks such as the dependence on internet access for learning materials, which was not available to all students. Insufficiently positive results were also observed in the rapid acquisition of new topics.

The results of studies on student attitudes towards the flipped learning method in Kazakhstan indicate that the majority of students have positive perceptions of the approach. They appreciate the productive, engaging, and self-paced nature of flipped classroom lessons. However, it is important to acknowledge that challenges and drawbacks exist. Instructors' technical preparedness, accessibility of learning materials, and readiness for independent learning are crucial factors to consider.

3. Research Methodology and Procedure

In this study, a mixed-method research design was utilized to investigate the impacts of a flipped classroom approach. The aim was to gather comprehensive insights into the topic. The qualitative component involved conducting semi-structured interviews, allowing for in-depth exploration of participants' experiences and perspectives. On the other hand, quantitative data was collected through pre- and post-tests, where both an experimental group and a control group were assessed. This quasi-experimental design helped measure the effects of the flipped classroom. Additionally, a questionnaire was used to gauge learners' attitudes towards flipped grammar instruction. By combining these different methods, a thorough understanding of the effects of the flipped classroom on learners could be obtained.

3.1 Participants

An 8-week study was conducted at International Information Technology University in Almaty during the 2022 academic year. The study focused on first-year students with low pre-intermediate level, with one experimental group (15 students) and one control group (13 students), all aged 17-18. The curriculum included grammar topics such as pronouns, verb tenses, articles, and nouns. The course lasted for 8 weeks, with a total of 75 hours of instruction, including self-study and practical sessions. It's worth noting that this research was conducted by two teachers, who were responsible for the experimental and control groups respectively.

These teachers facilitated the intervention, implemented the curriculum, and collected data to evaluate the effectiveness of the program on the language proficiency of the participating students

3.2 Procedure

At the start of the experiment, both the experimental and control groups took a placement test created by Macmillan publishers. This test was conducted to see if there were any notable disparities between the two groups in terms of their proficiency levels in second language (L2) grammar. Throughout the research process, both the experimental and control groups learned about the same five grammatical topics: Articles & Countable/Uncountable Nouns, Present Simple, Present Continuous, Present Perfect, and Past Simple (Regular/Irregular Verbs). Weekly grammar exercises were assigned to both groups, derived from the textbook *Basic Grammar in Use* by Murphy R., Smalzer W. (2011). In the experimental group, additional resources were provided to enhance learning. Specifically, videos related to the grammar topics and suitable for the students' proficiency level were created by the teacher and uploaded to Platonus. After watching the videos, the students in the experimental group were required to complete tests on Live Worksheets, enabling them to receive immediate feedback and perform self-assessment. During the classroom sessions, the teacher in the experimental group employed a variety of activities to enhance comprehension and communication skills. These activities included group, pair, and individual tasks, such as games, discussions, role plays, and problem-solving exercises. Additionally, dedicated time was allocated to reading, listening, and writing practice. In contrast, the control group received traditional grammar instruction during the classroom sessions. The teacher allocated approximately 20 to 30 minutes for explaining each grammar topic, followed by exercises from the *Basic Grammar in Use* textbook to assess comprehension. The remaining class time was devoted to activities involving reading, listening, and speaking practice. The research study lasted for a total of 8 weeks, with a cumulative instructional time of 75 hours. Both groups were engaged in self-study, guided self-study, and practical sessions throughout the duration of the study. The research design and implementation aimed to evaluate and compare the effectiveness of the flipped classroom approach against traditional grammar instruction.

3.3 Instruments

Tests

Pre-test

The pre-test included 20 multiple-choice items developed by Macmillan publishers to assess the initial proficiency levels of the experimental and control groups in grammar. It served as a baseline measurement before implementing the flipped classroom strategy. By administering the pre-test, the study ensured that the two groups had similar language proficiency levels at the beginning of the experiment.

Post test

The post-test, consisting of 20 items, was created by the researcher to evaluate the impact of the flipped classroom approach on students' grammar performance. The test was administered to both the experimental and control groups at the conclusion of the 8-week-long study. The purpose of the post-test was to measure the changes in participants' grammar performance resulting from their exposure to the flipped classroom approach. The test reliability was Kuder-Richardson 20 (KR20) value of 0.76. The difficulty index of the test items fell within an acceptable range (p value 30-70%), while 12 items (60%) exhibited excellent discrimination ($D > 0.4$) and 8 items (40%) showed good discrimination ($D > 0.3-0.39$).

Questionnaire

Written Questionnaires

To assess students' opinions on the flipped classroom method, the researcher developed quantitative questionnaires using Google Forms at the conclusion of the experiment. The questionnaires consisted of 10 closed-ended questions, where students used a 5-point Likert scale (strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree). Similar questionnaires have been used by Johnson and Renner in their research on the impact of the flipped classroom method on student achievement, providing an assessment of students' positions regarding the implementation of the flipped method. The primary aim of the questionnaires was to evaluate the accessibility and effectiveness of video materials and to gauge students' attitudes towards this method of learning grammar.

4. Results

4.1 Data Analysis

In this study, both descriptive and inferential statistics were utilized to analyze the quantitative data collected. The analysis of the data was conducted using SPSS version 25, a statistical software. To compare the results of the pre-test and post-test between the two groups, an

independent sample t-test was employed. Table 1 displays the descriptive statistics for the pre-test and post-test scores of both groups.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

	Group	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error
pre_test	Experimental	15	50,2000	14,04686	3,62688
post_test	Experimental	15	74,0667	8,47236	2,18755
pre_test	Control	13	53,2308	12,92384	3,58443
post_test	Control	13	61,4615	4,55733	1,26398

The mean pre-test score for the experimental group was 50.20, with a standard deviation of 14.05 and a standard error of 3.63. The mean pre-test score for the control group was 53.23, with a standard deviation of 12.92 and a standard error of 3.58.

After the experiment, the mean post-test score for the experimental group increased to 74.07, with a standard deviation of 8.47 and a standard error of 2.19. The mean post-test score for the control group increased to 61.46, with a standard deviation of 4.56 and a standard error of 1.26.

Based on the results, it can be concluded that the flipped learning approach had a significant impact on improving the grammar skills of the experimental group compared to the control group using traditional teaching methods. In the pre-test, both groups had similar mean scores, indicating that there was no initial difference in grammar skills between the two groups. However, the control group had a slightly higher standard deviation, suggesting more variability in the scores. After the intervention, the experimental group showed a substantial increase in their mean post-test score, indicating that the flipped learning approach effectively improved their grammar skills. On the other hand, the control group also saw an increase in their mean post-test score, but it was not as significant as that of the experimental group. The lower standard deviation and standard error in the post-test scores of the experimental group suggest that the flipped learning approach led to more consistent and reliable improvements in grammar skills compared to the control group using traditional teaching methods. Overall, these results suggest that the flipped learning approach is more effective in enhancing grammar skills compared to the traditional teaching methods employed in the control group. The experimental

group experienced a significant improvement in their grammar skills, while the control group showed a comparatively smaller improvement.

4.2 Students' Attitudes towards Flipped learning approach

After the completion of the eight-week experimental period, a questionnaire on students' attitudes towards the flipped model in grammar classes was utilized for the purpose of gaining a comprehensive understanding of their perspectives. The results demonstrated in Table 2 revealed that the students express positive attitudes towards the flipped learning approach, appreciating its benefits in creating a less frustrating environment, promoting independent learning, and improving academic performance. However, considerations should be given to optimizing video lesson length and further enhancing in-class practice efficiency. The positive recommendation rate indicates high satisfaction with the flipped learning approach.

Table 2: the results of the student survey on their attitude towards the flipped learning

Question	Mean (M)	Standard Deviation (SD)	Percentage
I can study in a less frustrating environment	4.32	0.68	79%
I can easily access grammar instructions at any time	4.12	0.76	67.4%
FL helped me to develop independent learning skills	4.15	0.81	67.7%
FL encouraged my interest to learning English.	3.94	0.88	62%
Due to the length of the video lessons, I lost interest in watching and studying the material.	3.78	0.96	56%
I spend more and efficient time in class for practicing	3.22	1.16	34.4%
I integrated the knowledge received before the class with the tasks given during the class hours.	4.42	0.58	88.4%
I had an improvement in academic performance	4.05	0.82	65%
Effective tool to study for exams	4.1	0.5	82%
I would recommend the FL to my friends	4.59	0.37	91.3%

4.3 Students' Perceptions about the Flipped Classroom

To gain insight into how the videos were perceived by the students, individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with experimental group using MC Teams. Each interview consisted of a set of 5 questions.

- 1) Do you prefer traditional grammar instruction from the teacher during class or through video lessons outside of class time?

Most of the students agreed that using video lessons for learning grammar is extremely advantageous. Compared to the traditional method, where the teacher explains grammar in class, students often have a limited comprehension of the new material. However, due to their inherent shyness, they hesitate to ask the teacher for clarification. Moreover, they highlighted the benefits of video lessons for students who were absent from class. By utilizing video lessons, they were able to autonomously study grammar and stay on par with their peers.

- 2) What are your thoughts on how the flipped method has affected your ability to study the language independently?

When asked about the influence of the flipped method on self-study, a number of students recognized its significant effect on their learning approach. Initially some students said they were reluctant towards the idea of self-learning through video lessons outside of class. They found it challenging to learn without the direct guidance of the teacher. However, as they continued with the flipped learning approach, they gradually became more comfortable studying on their own. They adapted to the process and acknowledged the benefits of independent learning, such as the ability to review the material at their own pace.

- 3) Do you consider video lessons to be helpful for you?

During the interviews, the students firmly believed that the flipped method was beneficial for language learning. They cited the ability to review the videos multiple times and make notes as advantages. Additionally, they expressed that the flipped method helped them become better prepared for lessons and more confident in their knowledge. This enabled students to confidently express their thoughts and actively participate in various activities, such as small group discussions, where they asked questions, provided answers, and explained their ideas.

- 4) What can you say about the drawbacks of the flipped method?

- a) Insufficient understanding due to language comprehension

The majority of students noted that they were given a choice between videos in English and Russian languages. However, they found it difficult to comprehend the videos in English, even with the presence of subtitles. They preferred watching the second video provided in Russian, as it was easier for them to grasp and learn the material. Moreover, a few students mentioned that due to their limited understanding of both English and Russian, they had to search for videos in the Kazakh language.

b) Use of the Liveworksheets platform

Students had different opinions on using the Liveworksheets platform. Some students considered completing tests on Live worksheets to be ineffective and preferred doing written exercises from a grammar book, as they felt it helped them understand and memorize the material better. On the other hand, others believed that Liveworksheets was a valuable platform as it allowed them to quickly assess their understanding of the material independently.

c) Limited Internet Access

Some students residing in rural areas reported challenges related to limited internet access at home. They experienced difficulties in accessing a reliable and stable internet connection, which impacted their ability to engage with the video lessons. They often had to rely on mobile data and incur additional expenses to access and stream the required content.

d) Task Overload

Students voiced concerns about feeling overwhelmed with a heavy workload. Aside from their responsibilities in other subjects, they also had to manage online lessons, complete additional tasks related to the flipped learning approach, and allocate sufficient time for self-study. These competing demands led to time constraints, making it challenging for students to effectively manage and complete all their tasks.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The current study aimed to explore the impact of flipped learning on learners' grammar competency by transforming the instructional design for both in-class and out-of-class activities. This research was conducted in response to the increasing recognition that flipping grammar instruction can enhance foreign language learning. The findings of this study provide strong evidence supporting the effectiveness of the flipped learning approach in teaching English grammar. Moreover, these findings are consistent with prior empirical research conducted in parallel contexts. The studies by Bell, Matthew R., (2015), Kang (2015) and Han (2015), Gilboy & Heinerichs (2015), Zainuddin & Attaran (2016), Hsieh, Wu, and Marek (2017), and Amiryousefi (2017) have likewise reported favorable outcomes and advantages of implementing the flipped learning approach in language education.

Based on the data presented in Table 1, it is evident that students in the experimental group performed better than those in the non-flipped approach. This superiority can be attributed to the additional effort exerted by students outside the classroom in comparison to the control

group. According to Cheh Hsieh et al. (2017), the efficacy of flipped learning relies on whether students genuinely study before attending their classes. When students fail to do so, it becomes challenging for them to keep pace with the lesson during classroom sessions (DİNÇER N., POLAT M.,2022). This highlights the significance of students' personal commitment and dedication throughout the learning process, which is crucial for achieving success in language acquisition. In this research, to encourage students' active self-learning and participation in the flipped approach, teachers evaluated all assignments completed by students during video lessons and their performance during in-class activities. The assessments and corresponding grades were recorded in a dedicated file shared on the MC Teams platform. This system not only made students aware of their academic progress being closely monitored by teachers but also facilitated timely intervention and support for those who encountered challenges or failed to submit their assignments. Another contributing factor to the success of the flipped learning approach is the incorporation of student-centered activities during class time. As noted by Gilboy, Heinerichs, and Pazzaglia (2015), flipping the classroom encourages student-centered learning, leading to increased interaction within the classroom. By implementing student-centered activities like discussions, brainstorming sessions, and role plays, class time is utilized more effectively (Bergmann & Sams, 2012). This finding is in line with the study conducted by Lee and Wallace (2018), they also found that the participants in their study engaged more actively in class activities as a result of their preparation and independent learning of the content outside of class.

The feedback from the semi-structured interviews revealed the transformative impact of the flipped learning approach on students' language learning experience. Students felt a sense of empowerment and independence as they took control of their own learning outside of the classroom. The flexibility of video lessons allowed them to review and reinforce grammar concepts at their own pace, resulting in increased confidence and active participation. Notably, students highlighted the practical application of grammar knowledge acquired through the flipped learning approach. They expressed improved proficiency in applying grammar rules during real-life speaking and writing activities in class. This bridging of the gap between learning and application effectively addressed a common challenge observed in previous studies regarding the difficulty of applying grammar in English practice (Al-Hamlan & Baniabdelrahman, 2015). This further emphasizes the effectiveness of the flipped learning approach in promoting language proficiency.

The findings of this study consistently showed a strong preference for flipped learning compared to non-flipped learning, as supported by the interview data. Participants expressed that video lessons offered distinct advantages, including the ability to learn independently and the opportunity to review and take notes. During the experimental period some students were hesitant about self-learning without the direct guidance of the teacher. However, as they continued with the flipped approach, they became more comfortable studying on their own and recognized the benefits of independent learning. However, several drawbacks were identified. Some students found it difficult to comprehend English-language videos, even with subtitles, indicating a need for videos in their native language or with better language support. This preference for native language videos could be influenced by students' previous language learning experience and reliance on using their first language to learn grammar, as noted by Sali (2014). Second, opinions were divided on the use of the Liveworksheets platform. Some students found it ineffective for testing their understanding, preferring written exercises from a grammar book. Others found it valuable for quick self-assessment. This indicates the need for a variety of learning resources to cater to different preferences. Additionally, students residing in rural areas faced challenges related to limited internet access. This hindered their ability to engage with video lessons and required them to rely on expensive mobile data. In future implementations, alternative solutions should be considered to ensure equal access for all students. Lastly, some students felt overwhelmed by the workload associated with the flipped method. This indicates a need for careful planning and consideration of the students' workload to avoid excessive stress and burnout.

In summary, this study found that the flipped learning approach, specifically applied to grammar teaching, had a positive impact on learners. It motivated students to study grammar structures, resulting in improved grammar competency. The flipped model also encouraged collaborative activities during class time, allowing for more in-depth engagement. These findings contribute to the existing literature by expanding the application of the flipped learning model to the specific context of grammar teaching.

Recommendations:

Based on the result of the present study, the researcher recommends:

- 1) Provide clear guidelines and instructions for students on how to access and navigate the online course material. This will help them effectively utilize the flipped learning resources.

- 2) Encourage students to actively engage with the pre-recorded lectures or instructional videos before coming to the classroom. This could involve assigning them pre-class activities or quizzes related to the content.
- 3) Incorporate interactive elements into the online course materials, such as quizzes, discussion forums, or collaborative assignments. This will promote student engagement and active learning outside the classroom.
- 4) Encourage students to take responsibility for their own learning by setting goals, monitoring their progress, and reflecting on their learning experiences. This can be supported through regular self-assessment activities and opportunities for self-reflection.
- 5) Provide regular opportunities for students to collaborate and engage in group discussions during in-class activities. This fosters peer interaction and allows students to learn from their classmates' perspectives.

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Batı Temsillerinde Harem Kavramı: Fatma Mernissi'nin Edebiyatında Kültürel Bir Okuma*

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Geliş Tarihi: 03.01.2024
Kabul Tarihi: 03.06.2024
Yayın Tarihi: 27.06.2024
Değerlendirme: İki Dış Hakem /
Çift Taraflı Körleme
Makale Türü: Araştırma Makalesi

Atıf Bilgisi:

En-Nabi, Mamdouh Farrag (2024). Batı Temsillerinde Harem Kavramı: Fatma Mernissi'nin Edebiyatında Kültürel Bir Okuma. *International Journal of Language and Translation Studies*, 4/1, 19-41.

Benzerlik Taraması: Yapıldı –
iThenticate

Etik Bildirim:

lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Çıkar Çatışması: Çıkar çatışması beyan edilmemiştir.

Finansman: Bu araştırmayı desteklemek için dış fon kullanılmamıştır.

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Öz

Faslı sosyolog Dr. Fatıma Mernissi (1940-2015), Batı'nın kendisi hakkındaki iddialarına karşı Doğulu kadınların haklarını savunan öncülerden biri olarak kabul edilir. Genelde Doğulu kadın imajını, özellikle Oryantalizm yazılarında birçok yanlış çarpıtma ve karalama kampanyaları takip etmiştir. Bu nedenle doğrudan bir yanıt olarak Fatıma Mernissi, yazılarının çoğunu kadınları ve İslamdaki konumlarını övmeye adanmıştır. Böylece Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki harem sistemi ve hamamların yanı sıra cariyelere ve cariye haberlerine özel ilgi göstermiştir. Bu zihinsel imajdaki ısrar ve ona bağlılık nedeniyle, yazılarının çoğuna Doğulu kadınları savunmakla beraber kadınların baskın imaj kalıplarını düzeltmeye çabaladı. Güçlü Doğulu kadını bir hakime, yargıç, bakan ve sahip olduğu ve üstesinden geldiği tüm pozisyonları en iyi haliyle sundu. Bu amaçla anlatım külliyatının yanı sıra tarih külliyatının da gezindiği birçok çalışmaya imza attı. Tüm yazıları, bu önemli tarihsel dönemlerin kültürel okumalarına benziyor ve bu dönemlerden kadınların yazılarında Batılı temsillerinin aksine kadınların statüsünü vurgulayan, kadınların oynadıkları gerçek rolleri araştırıyor. Bu çalışmamızda Dr. Fatıma Mernissi'nin yazılarındaki harem kavramının ve onun Batılı temsillerindeki izini sürerek Mernissi'nin çabalarını araştıracağız.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kültürel Eleştiri, Egemen Sistemler, Fatma Mernissi

* Etik Beyan: * Bu çalışmanın hazırlanma sürecinde bilimsel ve etik ilkelere uyulduğu ve yararlanılan tüm çalışmaların kaynakçada belirtildiği beyan olunur.

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مفهوم الحريم في تمثيلات الغرب قراءة ثقافية في كتابه فاطمة المرنيسي*

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المخلص

Date of Submission: 03.01.2024

Date of Acceptance: 03.06.2024

Date of Publication: 27.06.2024

Review: Double-blind peer review

Article Type: Research Article

Citation:

En-Nabi, Mamdouh Farrag (2024). مفهوم الحريم في تمثيلات الغرب قراءة ثقافية في كتابه فاطمة المرنيسي. *International Journal of Language and Translation Studies*, 4/1, 19-41.

Plagiarism Check: Yes - iThenticate

Complaints: lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Conflict of Interest: The author(s) has no conflict of interest to declare.

Grant Support: The author(s) acknowledges that they received no external funding to support this research.

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تعد الدكتورة فاطمة المرنيسي (1940-2015) عالمة الاجتماع المغربية واحدة من الرائدات المناهجات عن حقوق المرأة الشرقية ضد ادعاءات الغرب؛ لذا كرست جل كتاباتها للإشادة بالمرأة ومكانتها في الإسلام، كرد فعل مباشر لما لحق صورة المرأة الشرقية بصفة عامة، من حملات التضييل والتشويه، خاصة في كتابات الاستشراق التي اهتمت بصفة خاصة بالأخبار الخاصة بالمحظيات والجواري، وكذلك اهتمت بنظام الحريم، والحمائم في الدولة العثمانية. وبسبب الاضطراب في هذه الصورة الذهنية، والتكريس لها. فتوقفت في كثير من كتاباتها أمام صورة المرأة المشرقية، وقدمتها في أبهى صورها كحاكمة وقاضية، ووزيرة وكافة الوظائف التي شغلتها واجادت فيها، في محاولة لاستعادة صورة المرأة المشرقية القوية، وسعت (أيضاً) إلى تصحيح الأنساق المهيمنة عن صورتها، وفي سبيل هذا أنجزت العديد من الأعمال التي أبحرت فيها عبر المدونة التاريخية والمدونة السردية. وتأتي كتاباتها جميعاً أشبه بالقراءة الثقافية لهذه الحقبة التاريخية المهمة، ومنها تستجلي الأدوار الحقيقية التي لعبتها المرأة، والتي تؤكد على مكانتها بعكس تمثيلات الغرب لها في كتاباتهم. في هذه الدراسة أوقف عند جهود المرنيسي، عبر تتبع مفهوم الحريم في كتابات المرنيسي وتمثيلات الغرب له.

كلمات مفتاحية: النقد الثقافي، نظام الحريم، فاطمة المرنيسي.

* Ethical Statement: * It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited.

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لا يخفى على الباحث المهتم بدراسات الاستشراق والنقد الثقافي التصورات التي كرّسها الخطاب الغربي / الاستشراقي للشرق، عبر تمثيلات منقوصة ومشوّهة أبرزت المرأة في صورة مزريّة بعيدة عن صورتها الحقيقيّة التي اشتهرت بها، وسجلتها كتب التاريخ، وهو ما دفع المهتمين بخطاب الاستشراق إلى تفكيك الخطابات المضادة، وتصحيح النظرة الدونيّة (المضمرة والظاهرة) التي كرستها هذه الخطابات لصورة الشرق، ومن هؤلاء الذين أولوا اهتمامًا كبيرًا بتنفيذ هذه الخطابات والرد عليها حجاجيًا، عالمة الاجتماع الدكتورة فاطمة المرنيسي³ (1940 - 2015)، التي تعدّ على رأس المنافحين و المنافحات عن حقوق المرأة، وكذلك تعدّ من الرائدات النسويات اللواتي تركن أثرًا جليًا في الفكر العربي، كما كان لها إسهاماتها المهمّة في التأكيد على مكانة المرأة المسلمة؛ لذا لم تتوان عن رقص التاريخ، وتفكيك المدونة التاريخية لاستجلاء النماذج الإيجابية التي قدمت أروع الأمثلة نصوصًا للمرأة المسلمة وقدرتها على القيادة والحزم، فتعدّدت كتاباتها التي كانت بمثابة إعادة قراءة لتاريخ المرأة المسلمة على كافة مستوياتها؛ المرأة السلطانية والوزيرة، والقاضية، والحكّاءة (كشهرزاد) التي لعبت دورًا مهمًا في إرساء فن القص العربي. الشيء اللافت في كتابات المرنيسي على اختلاف مستوياتها الإبداعية والفكرية، أن مصطلح الحريم يحتل مساحة كبيرة من حيز تفكيرها، ويتردد بأشكال وصور متنوعة⁴: الحريم العائلي، الحريم السياسي، الحريم الأوروبي، الحريم الاجتماعي، الحريم الاقتصادي.

شغل موضوع الحريم المرنيسي فلم تأت معالجة في كتاب واحد، بل تعددت صور استحضاره في كثير من إنتاجها الفكري والأدبي؛ فهو في الأصل كان بمثابة الفكرة التي بنت عليها سيرتها الذاتية، ونشأتها في الحريم، ومقاومة النساء التي ارتبطت بهن لهذا المفهوم، كالجدة الياسمين والأم والعمّة شامة وحبيبة ثم تتوسّع في هذا الكتاب لتدخل نساء الشرق المقاومات للحريم كاسمهان وعائشة التيمورية وزينب فواز، وهدى شعراوي. ثم تتطور الفكرة في كتابها "شهرزاد ترحل إلى الغرب"، فتقدّم مفهوم الحريم لدى شهرزاد وكيف أنها قاومتها هي ونساء الليالي مثل الجارية فضل وتودد وأيضا المرأة ذات الكسوة الريش وغيرهن، وأثناء هذه العرض تبدأ في مقاومة النظرة الغربية لمفهوم الحريم، منذ استقبال الغرب لترجمة ألف ليلة وليلة، وتأثير الحكاية وشخصية شهرزاد عليهم، وصولاً إلى الرسومات الغربية لنساء الشرق بدءاً من أنجر وبيكاسو وماتيس وكيف أن الجميع لم يتخلّ عن الطابع الاستعماري الذي يُحقّر الشرق وهو ينظر إلى نسائه، وهذه النظرة المُسبّقة انعكست على كافة رسوماتهم كما عبّرت لوحة «المحظية الكبرى» لأنجر عام 1814، ثم اللوحة الصادمة «الحمام التركي» (التي بدأ في رسمها عام 1859، وانتهى عام 1863)، وصولاً إلى لوحة «نساء الجزائر» التي صورها ماتيس خاصة صورة «المحظية ذات السروال الأحمر» عام 1928.

ومن ثمّ تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى قراءة المنتج الثقافي لفاطمة المرنيسي، عبر نموذج "شهرزاد ترحل إلى الغرب" مع الانتناس بكتاباتها الأخرى التي عكست وعياً مهمًا ومقاومًا لفكرة الحريم. فستتوقف الدراسة عند مفهوم الحريم في تصوّر المرنيسي مقابل تصوّر الغرب له، وكيف سعى الغرب إلى استغلال المفهوم لإبراز صورة مضادة للشرق عبر حريمه، وهو ما دفع

³ فاطمة المرنيسي: من مواليد 1940، مدينة فاس المغربية، كاتبة وعالمة اجتماع وكاتبة نسوية مغربية لها كتب تُرجمت إلى العديد من اللغات العالمية، تلقت علومها الأولى في المغرب ثم بعد ذلك استكملت دراستها في فرنسا وأمريكا، اهتمت في كتاباتها بقضايا المرأة، حتى صارت واحدة من المناصرات للمرأة، اختارتها جريدة الغارديان اللندنية عام 2011، ضمن أبرز مئة شخصية تأثيراً في العالم. سجلت سيرتها الذاتية في كتاب «نساء على أجنحة الحلم»، من مؤلفاتها الشهيرة: «الحريم السياسي، وهل أنتم محصنون ضد الحريم؟ والسلطانات المنسيات» وغيرها، توفيت في 30 نوفمبر 2015.

⁴ رحاب منى شاكر، "الحريم في كتابات فاطمة المرنيسي"، الجمهورية، (2021).

المرنيسي للتنديد به، ومقاومته لا بالحكاية كما فعلت جدتها، وإنما بالخطاب الحجاجي، وبما قدمته من الأنساق البديلة، التي هي مفارقة للأنساق (الأعراف) السائدة في تمثيلات الغرب.

وقد جاءت الدراسة في مقدمة وخمسة مباحث وخاتمة، وهي كالتالي:

- مقدمة: اعتنت ببيان أسباب الاهتمام بدراسة فاطمة المرنيسي، وجهودها في الدفاع عن صورة المرأة الشرقية، ضدّ تحيزات الغرب.
- المبحث الأول: بعنوان ضدّ الحريم، وناقش موضوع الحريم عند فاطمة المرنيسي، ونقيضه في التصوّرات الغربيّة، وموقف المرنيسي من تلك النظرة المتحيزة، وأهم كتبها التي أوقفها للدفاع عن صورة المرأة.
- المبحث الثاني: قضايا المرأة في نتاجات المرنيسي، وما هي الاشتغالات التي اشتغلت عليها في دراستها.
- المبحث الثالث: فقد اعتنى بحدود النوع، حيث رأى الباحث أن كتابات المرنيسي وفق المادة عينة الدراسة، تندرج تحت الكتابة البيئيّة، ومن ثمّ رأى فحص المادة عينة البحث في ضوء الدراسات البيئية، في محاولة لإخضاع هذه النتاجات تحت إهاب نوعي أدبي بعينه.
- المبحث الرابع: أوقفته لدراسة رحلة شهرزاد إلى الغرب، وتأثير هذه الرحلة الإيجابي، إذ أظهرت تحيزات الغرب ضدّ كل ما هو شرقي، على نحو ما ستُظهر الدراسة.
- المبحث الخامس: جاء تحت عنوان "اغتيال شهرزاد" مظهرًا كيف أساءت الترجمة إلى شخصية المرأة، وصورة المرأة، وانعكاس هذه الصورة المستحصلة من سفر *ألف ليلة وليلة* على المدونات الغربية، بتقديم صورة مشوهة ليس فقط عن شهرزاد، وإنما عن المرأة الشرقية.
- خاتمة: أوجزت فيها النتائج التي توصلت إليها، كما توصي الدراسة بإعادة قراءة نتاجات عالمة الاجتماع فاطمة المرنيسي من منظور النقد الثقافي الذي اتخذته الدراسة منهجًا لها، لما يوليه المنهج من أهمية في البحث عن الأنساق والتمثيلات، وتفكيك النصوص، وإعادة تركيبها، خاصة وأن نتاجات المرنيسي تُولي اهتمامًا كبيرًا للمرأة ومكانتها في الشرق، وتبرز دورها الإيجابي الذي يفوق قريناتها في الغرب في زمانها.

1. ضدّ الحريم

حظيت عالمة الاجتماع الدكتورة فاطمة المرنيسي التي رحلت مع نهاية شهر نوفمبر من عام (2015)، بمكانة مرموقة في الأوساط الثقافية والعلمية، وهو ما جعلها ضيفة على كثير من الحوارات الصحافية والتلفزيونية، وفي (تاريخ 9 مايو 2005) تمّ استضافتها في مقابلة بقناة الجزيرة القطرية، وقد أجرى المقابلة معها المحاور الدكتور خالد الحروب،⁵ وكان موضوع المقابلة هو عن شهرزاد الشرقية في المخيال الغربي، وبعد مُقدّمة أثنى فيها على ضيفته رابطًا بينها وبين شخصيتها الأثيرة شهرزاد، قدّمها لجمهور المشاهدين بما يليق بتاريخها وإنجازها العلمي ودورها في الدفاع عن القضايا النسوية قائلاً: «شهرزادنا الشرقية تروح غربًا لماذا تروح غربًا؟»، كان سؤال الحروب منتزَعًا من عنوان أحد كتبها وتحديداً كتاب «العابرة

5 . خالد محمد الحروب: كاتب وأكاديمي فلسطيني يُقيم في بريطانيا، ومحاضرٌ في كلية الفنون الحرب بشأن سياسات الشرق الأوسط المعاصر والدراسات الإعلامية العربية في جامعة نورث وسترن في قطر، وكان محاضرًا في جامعة كامبريدج سابقًا، كان يعمل مذيعًا في قناة الجزيرة في برنامج «خير جليس في الزمان كتاب» في الأعوام (2000-2007) وله عدة مؤلفات منها، هشاشة الأيديولوجيا وقوة السياسة، ووشم المدن، وديوان ساحرة الشعر، باللغة العربية.

المكسورة الجناح: شهرزاد ترحل إلى الغرب»⁶، وإن كان خضع لتحريف المحاور قليلاً، جاءت إجابة الكاتبة باستفاضة عن رحلة شهرزاد إلى الغرب والتمثيلات التي قدّمها فنانون الغرب لنساء الشرق عموماً.

اختيار الكتاب له أكثر من دلالة، فالصورة التي قدّمها الكتاب تعكس حالة من الغبن والتحقير التصقت بصورة المرأة الشرقية بصفة عامة لدى مخيلة الفنانين الغرب، وأيضاً لدى الكُتّاب الذين استلهموا شخصية شهرزاد في كتاباتهم وأعمالهم الفنيّة على اختلافها وتعدّها⁷ هذا من جانب، ومن جانب ثانٍ يفكّك الصّورة الذهنيّة التي شاعت وتكرست للمرأة الشرقية عبر سفيرتها (شهرزاد) في الغرب، فجاء جواب المرنيسي كاشفاً لتحيزات الغرب ضد الشرق، فوفقاً لحديثها أن الغرب لديه أفكار مسبقة ضد الشرق، ومن ثمّ أحكامه خاضعة لمثل هذه الآراء المُسبقة، والتي في الغالب تكون سلبية.⁸

الجدير بالذكر أن الفلسفة التفكيكية قامت على تفكيك ما يسميه دريدا "ميثافزيقيا الحضور الغربية" التي تتمحور حول ثنائيات تراتبية، Binary Opposition ودائمًا تشير إلى حضور ثابت، مثل: الخير والشر، الله والإنسان، الواقع والخيال، الكلام والكتابة، الروح والجسد، العقل والعاطفة، والذكر والأنثى⁹، وقد اعتبر دريدا هذه الفروقات المشكّلة لهذه التراتبية مصطنعة¹⁰؛ حيث عملت الثقافة الغربية على إعلاء قيمة طرف على حساب الآخر، وقد لعب المركز الذي لم يكن له محل طبيعي، لعب فيه "عدد لا محدود من استبدالات العلامة"¹¹ ومن ثمّ كانت نظرة الغربيين للمرأة الشرقية، نظرة إلى الجانب الحسي أو الجسدي، وهذه النظرة هي نتاج طبيعي للفكر الغربي الذي كان يفصل الأجساد عن العقول، فالعقل ميدان الرجال المخلوقات العاقلة، في حين أن الأجساد أقل شأنًا وهي مرتبطة بالنساء، ومن ثمّ سعت المرنيسي إلى تفكيك هذه النظرة بأن جعلت ثنائية: الذكاء أم الجمال إشكالية كاشفة لمضمون الصراع الفكري بين الشرق والغرب في تصورهم لنساء الشرق التي في نظرهم هامش، وهو الصراع الذي حسمه الغرب لصالح تغليب الجمال على الذكاء؛ فالذكاء الذي اتسمت به المرأة الشرقية الممتلئة في صورة شهرزاد، كان نقمة عليها، حيث قابله إهمال وغمط لها، مقابل التركيز على الجمال الحسي، ومن ثمّ حاولت المرنيسي عبر كتاباتها التي جاءت دفاعًا عن المرأة بصفة خاصة، وما أحدثته المخيلة الغربية من تنميط لها ولصورة الشرق بصفة عامة؛ الكشف عن اشتغالاتها الدوئية بتفكيك الأوهام التي صاغتها المخيلة الغربيّة عبر تمثيلاتهن عن الشرق، فكان دورها من الأهمية بمكان في رفض هذه الادعاءات أولاً، وتفنيداً ثانياً عبر آليات وأدوات تقترن بطرائق الججاج ومواجهات الأيديولوجية الغربية، والتصحيح المستند إلى الواقع والتاريخ، علاوة على ذلك أنّها اتكأت في دفاعها على تشريح الحكاية وفق سياقاتها الثقافية والتاريخية، وليس وفقاً للتحليلات التي أضفتها الأوهام الغربية على الحكاية لتتناسب مع أيديولوجيتهم والتي كان مصدرها "عقدة النقص" كما عند ألفرد أدلر.¹² بمعنى آخر إن قراءتها لهذه التمثيلات جاءت مندرجة تحت ما

⁶ فاطمة المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة الجناح، شهرزاد ترحل إلى الغرب، ترجمة فاطمة الزهراء أزرويل (الدار البيضاء- المغرب: المركز الثقافي العربي، نشر الفلك، 2005).

⁷ قام الناقد صالح الصحن بحصر كافة الأعمال التي استلهمت شخصية شهرزاد، وتأثيراتها الكبيرة التي خلّفتها على مجمل الفنون القولية وغير القولية في الغرب الأوروبي على وجه التحديد؛ انظر: صالح الصحن، ألف ليلة وليلة في السينما والتلفزيون عند الغرب (الشارقة - الإمارات: دار ضفاف للنشر والطباعة، 2011).

⁸ برنامج الكتاب خير جليس، والحوار منشور على موقع الجزيرة نت. <https://www.aljazeera.net/programs/a-book-is-the-best-companion/2005/5/9> شهرزاد-ترحل-إلى-الغرب.

⁹ ملاك حسن محمد عبد القادر، تفكيك ثنائية الذكورة والأنوثة: دراسة في رواية السيرة الذاتية "مذكرات طيبية"، RumeliDE Journal of Kırklareli Üniversitesi, Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi, Türk Dili ve (Language and Literature Studies 2020.19 (June 2020), ص: 760.

¹⁰ ينظر جاك دريدا، البنية، العلامة، اللعب في خطاب العلوم الإنسانية، مجلة فصول، ع 4، أكتوبر 1992، ص 234، المقالة في منشورة بمجلة فصول بدون اسم المترجم، ولكن منشورة ضمن كتاب، جابر عصفور، تيارات نقدية محدثة (القاهرة، المركز القومي للثقافة، المشروع القومي للترجمة، ع 900، ط 2، 2009)، ص 269.

¹¹ دريدا، البنية، العلامة، ترجمة: جابر عصفور، ص 269.

¹² ألفرد أدلر، معنى الحياة، ترجمة عادل نجيب بشري (القاهرة: المجلس الأعلى للثقافة، 2005)، 48 (ألفرد أدلر) (7 فبراير 1870 - 28 مايو 1937) هو طبيب عقلي نمساوي، واضع أسس علم النفس الفردي من أكثر علماء النفس الذين درسوا عقدة النقص وإيجاد بدائل عنها في التفوق

عُرف باسم النقد الثقافي وبآلياته التي تتجاوز تحليل بنيات النص والكشف عن خطوطه الجمالية، وتستعيز بتحليل الخطاب وأنساقه ومساءلة دلالاته الثقافية وتحيزاته الثقافية والأيدولوجية، والكشف عن علاقته الجدلية بسياقه التاريخي والثقافي واستجلاء دوره في تشكيل هوية المجتمع الثقافية على حدّ تعبير نادر كاظم¹³ في سياق آخر.

بصفة عامة اكتسبت كتابات المرنيسي أهميتها من كونها خطابات مضادة لتلك الخطابات المؤدلجة التي سعت إلى تشويه صورة الشرق، فعمدت إلى فضح / أو تعرية الخطاب الغربي في تمثيله للآخر الشرقي، وأنساقها المخاتلة وما انطوى عليه هذا الخطاب العدائي من تحيزات ثقافية وفكرية مسبقة ومُضمرة، فالمستشرق وفق إدوارد سعيد مع أنه صادق العطاء لموضوعه إلا أنه «مُنحاز مرتين، مرّة عندما زعم لنفسه التفوق على العربي الذي اعتبره موضوعاً لدراسته، ومرّة لأنّه خَدَم بوعي منه أو غير وعي، مشروع الغلبة الحضارية لقوم على قوم»،¹⁴ وهذا التحيزات تكشف عن خطاب استعلائي ونظرة دونية لتراث الشرق برُمته، فالتشويه العمدي الذي اصطحب مفهوم الحريم في كتابات وتصورات الغرب في مقابل المفهوم الحقيقي له كما سعت المرنيسي إلى صياغته عبر كتاباتها، وما أفرزته دلالات استخدام الحريم لدى الغربيين، وبالمثل سوء الفهم في ترجمة شهرزاد، كان غرضه تأكيد الانطباع السلبي الذي ساد عن ثقافة الشرق وحصرها في إطار الشهواني واستعباد الجسد.

2. حريم الغرب أم حريم الشرق

لا يخفى على المتابع لما طرحته المفكرة المرنيسي في مجمل أعمالها، مدى انشغالها بقضية محورية، تعدّ هي عصب دراساتها الفكرية، ألا وهي وضع المرأة ومكانتها عبر التاريخ، وهذا الانحياز لقضايا المرأة، لا يأتي كانحياز جندي أو حتى من باب مناصرة المرأة التي تنتمي إلى خندقها، بقدر ما هو نتيجة لإيمانها بأن قضية المرأة في المجتمع العربي «من أبرز المسائل المعروضة على ساحة الفكر في هذا المجتمع ... وأنّ في علاجها من مختلف الزوايا مفتاح الحل لكثير من العُقد الأخرى»،¹⁵ ومع هذا الإيمان نبُهل قضية المرأة، إلا أنها في الوقت ذاته تدين نظرة الامتهان للمرأة والتي هي نتاج «مفاهيم وأحكام فسّر لها الفقهاء في القرون الوسطى، لكن المثير أنّها ما زالت سارية وسائدة كأنّها حقائق أزليّة، والأعجب أن كثيراً من الآراء التي تؤدّي إلى تكريس دونية المرأة في المجتمع الإسلامي لا تَمّت لحقيقة الإسلام». ¹⁶ ويرى مترجم كتابها "الحريم السياسي" أن المرنيسي في أطروحاتها تميل إلى «أن كثيراً من الأفكار والمفاهيم السائدة في ذهنية الرجل عن المرأة، عبارة عن تراكمات وترسبات تاريخية طويلة تمتد من العصور الأخيرة للجاهلية وما قبلها في بعض الأحيان وحتى الوقت الحاضر، مروراً بما مرّ به المجتمع الإسلامي من أحداث وفوضى ونزاعات دامية وتخلف وافتقار إلى الأمن والحرية» هكذا حسب مترجم الحريم السياسي.¹⁷

واستخدام آلية الدفاع اللاشعوري التعويض وقد اختلف مع فرويد وكارل يونغ بالتأكيد على أن القوة الدافعة في حياة الإنسان هي الشعور بالنقص والتي تبدأ حالما يبدأ الطفل بفهم وجود الناس الآخرين والذين عندهم قدرة أحسن منه للعناية بأنفسهم والتكيف مع بيئتهم. راجع أ. أدلر، معنى الحياة. مترجم: عادل نجيب بشري، (القاهرة: المجلس الأعلى للثقافة، ط1، 2005)، 84. وكذلك ملخص للنظرية على هذه المدونة-http://t-al.ali.blogspot.com.tr/2012/02/blog-post_9543.html.

¹³ نادر كاظم، تمثيلات الآخر صورة السود في المتخيل العربي الوسيط (بيروت: المؤسسة العربية للدراسات والنشر، 2014)، 20.

¹⁴ إدوارد سعيد، الاستشراق المفاهيم الغربية للشرق، ترجمة محمد عناني (القاهرة: دار رؤية للنشر والتوزيع، 2006)، 209.

¹⁵ فاطمة المرنيسي، الحريم السياسي، ترجمة عبد الهادي عباس (دمشق - سوريا: دار الحصار للنشر والتوزيع، 1992)، 9.

¹⁶ المرنيسي، الحريم السياسي، 6.

¹⁷ المرنيسي، الحريم السياسي، 6.

1.2 قضايا المرأة

اهتمام المرنيسي بقضية المرأة، جعلها تلجأ إلى التاريخ، لا لتشييد بنماذجها فقط، بل لتسترد لها هويتها وذاتها، والأهم أن تُحرّرَها من سُلطة الأبوية التي عمدت إلى زحزحتها من مكانتها إلى الهامش، وحصرها في موضع واحد؛ موضع الفتنة أو الإثارة واللذة والمتعة للرجل فقط. وهذا الاختزال لصورة المرأة جعل المرنيسي لا تقف عند إدانتها للمجتمع الشرقي الذي اختزل المرأة بكل قيمها الفكرية والجمالية في بؤرة اللذة، وإنما تدين وتنتقد المجتمع الغربي أيضاً. فالنقد واللوم طال العالمين العربي والغربي بلا استثناء. اللافت في اتكاء المرنيسي على التاريخ، أنه لم يكن ترفاً بقدر ما كان ضرورة، فالنخبة المتقفة كان لازماً عليها مسائلة التاريخ، وكذلك نتيجة ضرورية ومُلحّة أزمته إرهابات حركات التنوير والحداثة وما نتج عنه من مشروع نهضوي تحديتي، انبثق عن الاختلاط بالغرب، إثر حركة البعثات المتوالية إلى الغرب التي نشطت في هذه الفترة، وما أعقبها من حركات التحرّر من الاستعمار،¹⁸ والتي أعقبها حركات التحرّر النسوي في المجتمعات العربية.

فكلّ ما طرح من أسئلة النهضة والتحديث وأسباب تأخر ثمار هذه النهضة، كان مرجعه الأساسي الإهمال الجسيم لقضايا المرأة والدفع به ضمن أولويات المجتمعات، وآراء النخبة، لكن المفارقة المدهشة، هي التباين في حصول المرأة على كثير من حقوقها من وصاية الرّجل عليها جاءت متأخرة جداً في مقابل دعوات المطالبة بإعطاء المرأة حقوقها، والتي جاءت من الرجل نفسه والتي بدأت جذورها تظهر فيما طرحه أحمد فارس الشدياق في كتابه «السّاق على السّاق»، في دلالة فارقة تظهر في عنوانه توضّح عمليّة الصّراع بين الذات التقليديّة الجمعيّة والذات الباحثة عن فرديتها، في ظلّ عمليات التحديث التي بدأ مشروعها في التحليق في عالمنا العربي، في ظل مشروع الوالي مُحمّد علي لبناء مصر الحديثة، هذا الصراع بين الذاتين (الجمعيّة والفرديّة) التي تبحث عن فرديتها حتى ولو كان في ذلك خرقاً للأعراف والتقاليد الموروثة، والتي تمثّل تابو يصعب اختراقه، يُعلن هو في ظلّ سعيه المحموم لإثبات فرديته بتمرده على الموروث الذي يعتبر وضع "السّاق على السّاق" نوعاً من العيب أو قلة الأدب كما يقول الدكتور صبري حافظ، ويجعل عنوان القصّة هكذا "السّاق على السّاق" في إشارة لتمرّد ذاته على هذه المواصفات من أجل فرديتها، أو إثباتها، وقد زاد على ذلك باختبار عنوان فرعي «أيام وشهور وأعوام في عجم العرب والاعجام» ليوضح تعقّد الصراع وحدته.¹⁹

وما تلى هذه الدعوات من نصوص النخبة في هذه الفترة "رفاعة الطهطاوي 1801-1873، وقاسم أمين 1865-1908"، ما يؤكّد إدراكهم الجلي للتحوّل في النظرة لطبيعة الوضع النسائي في المجتمع العربي، وإدراك هذه النخبة للبون الشاسع بين طبيعة المرأة في مجتمعنا وفي المجتمعات الغربية، وما أتبعه من انتقادات حادّة لهذه الوضعيّة كما مثّلتها مقارنات الطهطاوي في «تخليص الإبريز في تلخيص باريز» 1834، وتصويره لما تتمتع به المرأة في فرنسا من حقوق وحرّيات مقارنة بمثيلتها في الشرق، العجيب وهو الاحتراز الذي نسجله هنا أن الطهطاوي وإن كان من أوائل الداعين للحداثة والأخذ بمشروع النهضة والتحديث للمجتمع، إلا أن ما استلقت انتباهه هو نموذج المرأة الغربيّة، وعلى الأخصّ الفرنسيّة التي درّسَ بها خمس سنوات (1826 - 1831) وغاب عنه ما نالته المرأة في ظل الإسلام رغم الفارق بين ظهور الإسلام وانبعث الثورة الفرنسيّة 1798،

¹⁸ راجع حركات البعثات إلى أوروبا وما أعقبها من مناداة صريحة بالالتفات إلى الجزء الناقص من المجتمع / المرأة، وكيف صار النهوض بالمرأة ضرورة من ضرورات استكمال المشروع النهضوي الذي جاءوا به من الغرب، راجع دعوة رفاعة الطهطاوي بتعليم المرأة بعد عودته مباشرة من البعثة في عام 1826، ثم تأليف كتابه القيم «المرشد الأمين في تعليم البنين والبنات» 1870م، ودعوته للمساواة بين الرجل والمرأة، حتى أن دعوته التنويرية في وقتها باختلاط الرجل والمرأة ليس مدعاة للفساد، نالت من الهجوم وإصااق التهم المزرية به. وما تلاه من دعوات قاسم أمين وغيره ممن درسوا في الخارج.

¹⁹ صبري حافظ، إصدارات الجامعة الأمريكية، "رقش الذات لا كتابتها: تحولات الاستراتيجيات الفنية في السيرة الذاتية"، مجلة ألف 22 (2002)، 45.

التي جاءت هذه الحقوق تالية لقيامها، وهو ما استرعى انتباه المرينسي التي جاءت كتاباتها لمناقشة وضعية المرأة في ظلّ الإسلام كما تجلّى واضحاً في كتابها "السلطانات منسيات"، والذي رصدت من خلاله تجارب نسائية استلهمت من التاريخ الإسلامي؛ لنساء مارسن السياسة والخلافة، في مفارقة مذهبة لسياقين تاريخيين أحدهما عاشت فيه هذه السلطانات وتمتعت بهذا الحق، وسياق آخر تاريخي حديث يرفض ما حصلت عليه المرأة منذ قرون، بل ويُحرّم عليها الاشتغال بأعمال يجعلها حكرًا على الرجل²⁰. أو في كتاب «الحريم السياسي»²¹ الذي نظرت فيه للتجارب الفكرية والسياسية التي تحدثت عن المرأة، وكيف أنّها استطاعت أن تُقرأ الواقع عبر السياقين التاريخي والراهن، مزحزحة كل الأفكار الراديكالية التي أدانت الفترات التاريخية وجعلت منها مقبرة للمرأة.

2.2 في تصوري أن المرينسي استطاعت عبر خطابها التنويري الذي عبّرت عنه بكتابتها حول المرأة وما ارتبط بها من إشكاليات وقضايا، أن تلعب دورًا مهمًا لم يتوقف عند كتاب بعينه، أو تبني صورة بعينها، بل صار هاجسًا لديها مرّته في جميع كتاباتها، حتى غدا أشبه بقاسم مُشترك في جميع كتبها التي ألّفتها، فركّزت بشكل خاص على الحركات التنويرية التي كانت من تأثير البعثات العلمية وما أعقبها من عودة مباشرة إلى الالتفات إلى النصف الثاني من المجتمع / المرأة، وهو ما يمكن التماسه في دعوات التنويريين إلى النهوض بالمرأة، وقد أضحت هذه الدعوات ضرورة من ضرورات استكمال المشروع النهضوي الذي جاء به التنويريون وحاملو مشاعل النهضة من الغرب، على نحو ما تبنت دعوة رافعة الطهطاوي تعليم المرأة بعد عودته مباشرة من البعثة في عام 1826، ثم تأليف كتابه القيم "المرشد الأمين في تعليم البنين والبنات" (1870م)، ودعوته للمساواة بين الرجل والمرأة، حتى إن دعوته التنويرية في وقتها باختلاط الرجل والمرأة لم تكن مدعاة للفساد، ومع هذا نالت من الهجوم والإصاق التهم المزرية به. وما تلاه من دعوات قاسم أمين وغيره ممن درسوا في الخارج. وهو ما تمثّل في الردّ على إهانات الغرب لنظام الحريم الشرقي، والدفاع عن المنجز الحقيقي للمرأة الشرقية التي كانت ترفل فيه في عزّ السلاطين المسلمين واحتلالها لمكانة لديهم.

فالجدير بالذكر أن ما حظيت به المرأة العربية (أو الشرقية) من مكانة كان بمثابة الإنجاز الكبير يُحسب أول ما يُحسب للثقافة العربية الإسلامية التي لم تمتن (عبر تاريخها الطويل) المرأة بل كرّمتها، وقدّرت عقلها، بعكس ما نالته المرأة الغربية قديمًا²² وأيضًا في ظلّ عصور الحداثة وما بعد الحداثة وما بعد الكولونيالية، فانتهى بها الحال لأن تكون مجرد سلعة تؤكّد على حقّ الرّجل في «استعباد الجسد» بمفهوم بيير بورديو²³ وناعومي وولف تحت مفاهيم جديدة مثل خيوط الموضة والرجيم والمحافظة على النحافة وأدوات المكياج، ومن هذا ما رصدته المرينسي في كتاب "السلطانات المنسيات"²⁴ عن تجارب نسائية (وإن كانت استثنائية على مدار التاريخ) استلهمت من التاريخ الإسلامي؛ لنساء مارسن السياسة والخلافة، في مفارقة مذهبة لسياقين تاريخيين إحداهما عاشت فيه هذه السلطانات، وتمتعت بهذا الحقّ، وسياق تاريخي حديث (كانت تعيشه

²⁰ في عام 2010 اشتعلت في مصر واحدة من أبرز القضايا الخلافية بين الرجال متمثلة في أحقية المرأة في تولّي القضاء، بعد أن أفتى مجلس الدولة بعدم أحقية المرأة للقيام بمثل هذا العمل، فقام رئيس وزراء مصر بإرسال الحكم إلى المحكمة الدستورية العليا لتقول كلمتها، فأعاد حكم المحكمة الأمور لما كانت عليه من نقطة الصفر، حيث أفتى بأن الجمعية العمومية ليست جهة الاختصاص، والعودة بمثل هذه الخلافات يعود بمشروع التحديث الذي بدأت بداياته في أوائل القرن التاسع عشر إلى قبل ذلك بعقود، رغم أن السنهوري باشا استجاب عندما كان على رأس مجلس الدولة بين عامي 1951-1953، وأصدر حكيمين شهيرين في القضية التي رفعتها عائشة راتب، بجواز تعيين المرأة قاضية، وقال ما نصه "لا يوجد مانع شرعي أو قانوني من تولي المرأة القضاء".

²¹ المرينسي، الحريم السياسي، راجع المقدمة وما بعدها، وسيأتي استشهادات متعددة لاحقة في المتن.
²² كان لفلاسفة اليونان (سقراط وأفلاطون) رأي سلبي في المرأة، فجميعهم أشاروا إلى دونية منزلة المرأة، للمزيد راجع، إمام عبد الفتاح إمام، أفلاطون والمرأة (القاهرة: مكتبة مدبولي، ط 2، 1996)، ص 17 وما بعدها.

²³ بيير بورديو، العنف الرمزي بحث في أصول علم الاجتماع التربوي، ترجمة نظير جاهل (بيروت: المركز الثقافي العربي، 1994)، 120.

²⁴ فاطمة المرينسي، السلطانات المنسيات: نساء رئيسات دولة الإسلام (المغرب: دار الحضارة للنشر والتوزيع، 1990)، 10.

المرنيسي بنفسها أو ما حكته جداتها لها خاصة الياسمين) يرفض ما حصلت عليه المرأة منذ قرون، بل ويُحرّم عليها الاشتغال بأعمال معينة ويجعلها حكرًا على الرجل.

3. حدود النوع ... حدود الحريم

تتسم كتابات المرنيسي في مجملها بالطابع الإشكالي؛ إذ إنها (في أصلها) كتابات خارقة للأنواع، ويمكن وصفها بأنها كتابات غير صافية، فلا هي فكرية خالصة، ولا إبداعية خالصة، بل هي مزيج من الاثنين معًا؛ ففيها يختلط الذاتي بالفكري، فتعكس من ذاتها وتكونها على الموضوعات التي تُناقشها، وفي إطار الدراسات الثقافية، فهي كتابات تتمحي فيها الحدود الفاصلة بين الأدبي والثقافي؛ فالأدبي هو ثقافي بالضرورة²⁵؛ فكثيرًا ما تخلط الخاص بالعام، التاريخي مع الأدبي، من أجل هدف واحد هو الانتصار للمرأة، ذلك الكائن الذي تنتمي إليه أولاً، وثانيًا لتضع مفارقة دالة ذات مغزى عميق، تتصل بما كانت عليه المرأة سابقًا، ثم ما طرأ على حياتها من تهميش في العصور الحديثة، حتى أضحي مصطلح الحريم أدق وصفٍ للتعبير عن تقييد المرأة، ومحاولة قمعها، وحصارها في أخبية لا تبدأ بخباء الحجاب، أو حتى تنتهي بخباء البيت أو الحرمك، وصراعية المرأة بالتمرد على هذه الوضعية، مقارنة بالمرأة في العصور السابقة للإسلام وكيف صار للمرأة بالإسلام وضعية ذات مكانة لم تحظَ بها مطلقًا؛ فصار النسب إلى الأم مفخرة للرجل بعد أن كان سبة²⁶، فحرّر الإسلام المرأة من تلك الأخبية، وأعطى لها حقوقها، كما حظيت بمكانة كبيرة.

1.3 الكتابة البيئية

والدليل الواضح على هذه الرؤى والأفكار، ما تجسّد في كتاب «العابرة المكسورة الجناح: شهرزاد ترحل الى الغرب» فالكتاب يبدو في صورته النهائية أشبه بموتيف يمزج بين عدة أشكال معًا، وكأننا إزاء كتابة بيئية، تخترق الأنواع والأشكال السائدة، فهو في أحد جوانبه تقترب حدوده من نصوص أدب الرحلة²⁷، وذلك لما تضمنه من رحلة حقيقية وليست متخيّلة، قامت بها المؤلفة إلى بلاد الغرب، بناءً على طلب من ناشرها كندشين وترويج لكتابها «نساء على أجنحة الحلم»، أو ما يعرف الآن بحفلات التوقيع بعد ترجمته إلى ثمانٍ وعشرين لغةً، فزارت أماكن مختلفة كباريس وألمانيا وغيرها. وفي هذه الرحلة نراها أشبه برحلة ترصد كل شيء؛ فتصف مشاهداتها في المكتبات، ولقائها مع الناشرين خاصة ناشرتها الفرنسية كريستينا وتسجل حواراتها²⁸ مع صديقها الصحفيين «جاك دبون» من فرنسا، و«هانس د» من برلين. وإلى جانب هيمنة النص الرحلي على الكتاب، فثمة جانب سيرى يهيمن على أجزاء منه، فيتضمن الكتاب في أجزاء متفرقة من فصوله على سير ذاتية لشخصيات لها علاقة بالحريم سواء في الشرق أو في الغرب. فتقاطع سيرة جدتها الياسمين مع أحداث الكتاب، وبالمثل أحداث من مرحلتها الجامعية، كما نرى اقتطاعات لأجزاء من سيرة الخليفة هارون الرشيد. وورود السيرة هنا، ليس لمجرد استعادة حكايات عن الخليفة، بقدر ما هي ضرب من الحجاج لدحض حجج الغرب وادعاءاتهم بشغف الولاة والسلاطين بالجواري من

²⁵ سايمون ديورنغ، *الدراسات الثقافية مقدمة نقدية*، ترجمة ممدوح يوسف عمران (الكويت: المجلس الوطني للثقافة والفنون والآداب، 2015) ص 21.

²⁶ نسبت بعض القبائل إلى أمهاتهم في الجاهلية على نحو قبيلة بنو خندف، وبنو ظاعنة، وكلاهما اسم امرأة، ولكن هذا قليل، لم يكن شائعًا، راجع جرجي زيدان: *أنساب العرب القدماء* (القاهرة: مؤسسة هنداوي، ط 1، 2017) ص 29، ويمكن الرجوع كذلك إلى، عبد الله عفيفي: *المرأة العربية في جاهليتها وإسلامها* (القاهرة: مطبعة المعارف، ط 2، 1932) ص 76، 77.

²⁷ يتحقق الهدف من الرحلة في بداية الكتاب حيث تُسجل الكاتبة نصيحة جدتها الياسمين لها للاستفادة من الرحلة هكذا: "إن السفر فرصة رائعة لترويض النفس، واكتساب حكمة فريدة من نوعها، يكفي أن تركزى انتباهك على ما يقوله الأجنبي وكلما فعلت ذلك تقوي نفوذك، فأحسن وسيلة تمنحك هذا النفوذ على أولئك الجانب وغيرهم هي قدرتك على فهمهم، المرنيسي، *العابرة المكسورة*، 5.

²⁸ تعترف المرنيسي بدور هذين الصحفيين على مستوى الكتب التي قدماها لها والأعمال الأدبية التي يجب أن تعود إليها، أو تصوراتهما حول الموضوع، والأهم هو مساعدتها على فهم تصوّر السلطة النسوية بشكلًا خلافًا أساسيًا بين الشرق والغرب، المرنيسي، *العابرة المكسورة*، 42.

أجل المتعة والجسد، وهو ما جعلها تعود إلى بطون الكتب التراثية على تنوعها، كـ «مروج الذهب» للمسعودي و«تاريخ الرسل والملوك» للطبري، إضافة إلى ما كتبه عنه صاحب الأغاني أبو الفرج الأصفهاني، وابن عبد ربه وأيضًا رحلات ابن بطوطة، علاوة على ما ذكره محمد عابد الجابري عن عقلية في كتابه «العقل الأخلاقي العربي»²⁹.

وبناء على هذا جاءت صورة الخليفة هارون الرشيد بصورة مغايرة عن تلك التي كرسها الغرب له، فجاءت عبر تنويعات متعدّدة تكشف ثراء شخصيته، التي تجمع بين الشخصية الحربية والدينية والسياسية، وكذلك الإنسانية في كافة تجلياته الغضب والفرح، الجدّ والهزل، والصفاء والكدر، دون أن تنسى تفاصيل قصة حبّه لزبيدة ابنة عمه، وغرامه بها والبذخ الذي أحاطه بها، ودورها في الاهتمام بقضايا البيئة والعمران. وقد كانت سيرة هارون الرشيد مفتاحًا للولوج إلى عصره والانفتاح الذي شهده عصره في كافة مناحي الحياة، وتحديدًا المناحي الثقافية، فتسرد عن مجالسه العلمية التي كانت أشبه بمحاورات ثقافية لما تشهده من حوارات ومناقشات في مسائل شتى علمية ودينية وأدبية، وبصورة أوضح كانت هذه المجالس فرصة للمتعة العقلية كما أنّها تعكس المكانة التي احتلها (العقل) في الثقافة العربية الإسلامية، وهو ما انعكس على الجوّاري اللاتي قدّمن من بفاع أجنبية مختلفة، وما خضعن له من تكوين ثقافي وتعليمي³⁰ لتصل إلى هذه المراحل التي جعلها محظية للسلطين والأمراء، وعن عادات الملوك والأمراء مع الجوّاري، وتستنشهد من سير الخلفاء ما يُعصّد وجهة نظرها، فتذهب إلى أنّ الخليفة المأمون كان يُفضّل لعب الشطرنج مع امرأة. فانسلخت في الجوّاري من دور المحظية والمسلية إلى دور علمي ناطحت أو نافست فيه كبار الشعراء والموسيقيين وكان لجمالها ومواهبها ما يجعلها سيدة اللعبة.

لا يغيب عن الكتاب سير الشخصيات التي كانت لها علاقة بالحریم سواء باختراقه أو التمرد عليه، كما تجلت في سيرتي الأميرة الأرمنية شيرين والملكة نورجهان، وفي المقابل تحضر سير تلك الشخصيات التي تنكرت لنظام الحریم وسعت إلى تشويبه، كما في سيرة الفنان الفرنسي جان دومينيك أنجر، والتي كانت مشغولة أثناء كتابة سيرته بالبحث عن جواب لماذا اشتغل بالجسد والعري لهذه الدرجة رغم أنه نشأ في أسرة محافظة دينيًا؟!، وهو الفنان صاحب أشهر لوحات عن الحریم (لوحتي الحمام التركي والوصيفة الكبرى، المولود في عام 1780م بباريس). كما يمكن قراءة الكتاب من زاوية أخرى على أنّه جزء من سيرة الكاتبة الثقافية أو استكمالاً لسيرة «نساء على أجنحة الطم»، حيث لا تورد هذه المرة طفولتها في فاس، وإنما تتحدث عن مرحلة الجامعة، وعلاقتها بكمال صديقها ابن بلدتها، الذي كان يدرس معها في نفس الكلية بجامعة محمد الخامس، ثم عملاً معاً فيها أيضاً، وإن افترقا في التخصص، كما تعود إلى جدتها الياسمين مرة ثانية، وحكاياتها عن المرأة ذات الكسوة الريش، وهو ما كان تمهيداً لجوهر الموضوع الأصلي عن لماذا ترحل النساء إلى الغرب؟

4. رحلة التنوير وفضح الاستعلاء

اتخذت المرینیسی من رحلة شهرزاد إلى الغرب، آلية أو وسيلة لاستكشاف نظرة الغرب أو تمثيلات الشرق في مخيلة الغرب، وفي المقابل اعتبرتها آلية مقاومة لنظرة الآخر لنا، ومن ثمّ تبدو بما إنها قراءة ثقافية لهذا الواقع وتمثلاته، فإنها في الوقت ذاته أشبه برحلة تنوير وتصحيح لسوء الفهم الذي لازم شهرزاد منذ ترجمتها الأولى، فيخيّل لي الكتاب في تعدّد أشكاله، وتحديد

²⁹ محمد عابد الجابري، العقل الأخلاقي العربي دراسة تحليلية نقدية لنظام القيم في الثقافة العربية (بيروت: مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية، 2001)،

20.

³⁰ ذكر المؤرخون أن الخليفة هارون الرشيد اقتنى أكثر من ألفي جارية من بلاد غريبة - تعرضت للغزو - بعضهم يجيدون الغناء، ولكي تجيد الغناء كانت يتحتم عليها الخضوع لتكوين صعب "إلى جانب التقنيات الصوتية والآلية، يجدر بهن اتقان اللغة العربية وبنائها النحوي المعقد". وكانت الجارية "فضل" المحلية الأكثر حظاً منهن، لما تتمتع به من ثقافة ومعرفة، وكان يجب على هؤلاء الجوّاري الغربيات أن تنافسن فضل المحلية ذات المكانة العالية عند الرشيد فاطمة المرینیسی، "عصر ذهبي هارون الرشيد الخليفة الفاتن"، ترجمة سعيد بو خليب، العرب الأسبوعي (31 أكتوبر، 2009).

أغراضه، بمثابة وثيقة دفاع ليس عن المرأة، ومحاولة تصحيح لصورتها المغلوطة المطردة من قديم الزمن في الصورة الذهنية للغربيين، وهي التي انعكست بصورة آلية في الابتسامة الماكرة من الصحفيين لها عند استقبال المرنيسي في أوروبا، فكانت الابتسامة الماكرة والخبيثة دليلاً على سوء النية والتصوّر المضمّر، ومن جانب المرنيسي كانت بمثابة إشارة البدء للولوج إلى داخل العقليّة الغربية فحسب، وإنما وثيقة دفاع لكل ما يخصّ الشرق ضدّ تحيزات الغرب.

تكتشف المرنيسي بعد تكرار لعبة السؤال، أن لرجال الغرب حريمهم أيضاً، لكن الفارق أن النساء في حريم الغرب لا يحاولن الانتقام بفعل الاعتداء عليهن بعكس حريم الشرق سواء المتخيّل أو الواقعي فإن الرجال يتوقعون مقاومة شرسة من النساء اللاتي تمّ استبعادهن، ومع هذا إلا أنّ ثمة فارقاً آخر يكمن في أن الغربيين استمدوا تمثيلاتهم للحريم من خلال الرسامين وشرائط الأفلام، أما هي فتحتزن صوراً واقعية ذات أسوار شاهقة مُشيّدة بأحجارٍ صُلبة حقيقية من طرف رجال أقوياء جداً كالخلفاء والسلاطين والتجار. النتيجة التي تخلص إليها المرنيسي - وإن كانت تبدي أسفاً شديداً - مفادها أن هؤلاء الرسامين نسجوا بهذه التمثيلات السّجّينات رباطاً لا مرئياً بين المُتعة والاستعباد، بين الجسد واللذة؛ الشبق والاشتهاء؛ فجميع التصورات أو التمثيلات التي برزت في إبداعاتهم على تنوّعها؛ لوحات، أو صور في أفلام أو قصص موسيقية كعائدة لفيرلي أو شهرزاد، لم تكن تمثّل الحقيقة في شيء، بل هي مجرد تخيّلات، وأوهام. أما عن النقطة المشتركة في هذه التمثيلات المتعدّدة، تكمن في أن الحريم الموصوف فيها «جنة لممارسة اللهو، حريم تعجّ بمخلوقات عارية ولاهية وسعيدة بأسرها سعادة كاملة على عكس الفنانين المسلمين الذين يتسمون بواقعية أكثر إذ إنهم يُصوِّرون واقع رفض النساء الواعيات باضطهادهن، وذلك في أشكال شتى من الإبداع كالممنمات والخرافات والكتب.³¹

لا تكتفي المرنيسي بأن تعيد التصوّرات الحقيقية للمرأة، بل تضع نفسها في موضع المُناقِحة للمرأة الشرقيّة بصفة عامة عبر صورة شهرزاد وما تعرضت له من جور جراء نظرة الاستعلاء والتحقير لها من قبل نظرة المستشرقين، ومن ثم لا تألو جهداً في الرغبة للانتصار لبني جلدتها وبالأحرى للحريم كمفهوم (سلبى) استغله الغرب، بل سعى من خلاله لاستلاب حقوق المرأة وكذلك حريتها، فترى أن الصّورة التي نُقلت إلى الغرب صورة مناقضة «فنساء الحريم بعيداً عن الشهوانية والفراغ والعري كما تصوّرهن ماتيس وأنجر وبيكاسو، إنهن على العكس بالغات النشاط ومرتديات ثيابهن لكي لا نقول إنهن مغلفات بها، يرتدين قمصاناً ثقيلة، ويمتطين خيولاً سريعة ويتسلحن بأقواس وسهام» ثم تستمر في دفاعها «لقد ربط الفرنسيون الحريم بدور المُتعة التي رسمها الفنانون. الكبار في القرن التاسع عشر كلوحة صالون زنفة لي مولان، لتولوز لوتريك 1894، أو لوحة الزبون لإدكار دكاس 1879».³²

1.4 صورة الآخر (الشرق) في مرآة الغرب

تنوّع المرنيسي في المقارنة بين نظرة الغرب للشرق سواء في تمثيلاتهم الخياليّة (الوهميّة) للحريم التي تأتي نقيضاً لصورتها في الواقع أو حتى تمثيلاتهم للرجل في الغرب عبر الأفلام التي صنعوها للرجل الشرقي مثل أفلام «لص بغداد» أو حتى «علاء الدين والمصباح السحري» وتنتهي إلى أن جميع تصوراتهم تأتي مُفتقّدة للصدّق والتّطابق مع الواقع، فلم تأت صورة الحريم وهن يقدن الخيول، أو حتى تلك الحروب الجنسية الشرسة الحاضرة في الوثائق الشرقية التي تتفنن فيها النساء في مقاومة

³¹ المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة، 27.

³² المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة، 31.

الرجال وإجهاض المشاريع الذكورية، فقد كن أحياناً يتحولن إلى متحكّمات في أسيادهن حتى لو كانوا خلفاء، إلى حدّ أنّ هارون الرشيد وهو الخليفة الشهير يستغرب لعدم انقياد النساء له فيتساءل «مالي تطاو عني البرية كلها، وأطيعهن وهن في عصياني».³³

دفاع المرنيسي في أصله هو دفاع عن صورة المرأة الحقيقيّة لا عن تلك التي خلقتها تصورات الغربيين، وإن كانت مع الأسف ترسخت وصارت وكأنها الأصل؛ لذا نراها تذهب إلى مدينة الرسول - صلى الله عليه وسلم - حيث كان الحقّ في التعدّد والاختلاف بمثابة قاعدة أساسية ومُتعارف عليها بين الجميع، وتضرب المثل بالسيدة سكيّنة بنت الحسين حفيده الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم، التي كانت عضوة في مجلس قريش الذي يوزاي البرلمان الحديث، وكان مشهور عنها أنّها «برزة» أي أنها كانت ترفض وضع الحجاب.³⁴ فيصفها صاحب الأغاني «كانت سكيّنة عفيفة سلمة برزة من النساء تجالس الأجلة من قريش ويجتمع إليها الشعراء، وكانت ظريفة مزاحة»³⁵ وعند مقتل أبيها تحولت إلى معارضة وكانت تنتقدهم وتتهمهم في مسجد المدينة بأنهم قتلوا أبيها، ومع هذا لم يُعارض أحد رأيها وهو ما يعكس أن ثمة حرّية في الرأي حيث أن أحدًا من المؤرخين لم يذكر أنّه مُورس ضدّها، لكن المنع سيحل فيما بعد. فتستنتج المرنيسي إلى أن الحريم في مفهوم الغرب³⁶ خالٍ من استحضار قوة النساء في الشرق، حيث نسبة الطالبات المُسجّلات في مدارس المهندسين في سوريا وتركيا تُعادل ضعف نسبتهن في بريطانيا والأراضي المنخفضة. كما أن نفس النسبة كانت في الجزائر ومصر أهم من كندا وإسبانيا.³⁷

2.4 معركة شهرزاد

محاولات الغرب لسلب المرأة الشرقية أهم سلاح لها والأقوى، وهو المتمثّل في ذكائها، والذي كان سلاحها في الانتصار في معركتها مع شهريار؛ متعددة ومع الأسف نمطيّة، فنُجّنت في نموذج للزينة والحلي، وهو الأمر الذي كانت ترفضه جدتها اليااسمين، حيث تشير إلى أن جمال المرأة يكمن في عقلها، وأيضًا قديمة حيث تعود إلى بداية ترجمة أنطوان غالان، لكنها أخذت أبعادًا وصيغًا أخرى في العصور الحديثة، فأثناء عرض بالية مُستوحى من شخصية شهرزاد في برلين بألمانيا، أكثر ما لفت انتباه المرنيسي وأثارها أن طُوال العرض كانت شهرزاد ترقص حتى إنها كادت تتمنى في ذاتها أن توقف رقصتها لتتحدّث عن حكايتها، فالصورة التي اختزلها الغرب لشهرزاد كانت الجسد وليس العقل، في حين أن أقوى سلاح قاومت به شهرزاد سُلطة وذكورية الرُجل كان عقلها ولسانها. فيخيّل لها من المشهد كأنّها ترى شهرزاد أخرى غير الشرقية التي كانت لا ترقص ولكن تُفكّر وتتحدّث «إنها تنسج حكايات بالغة الجمال بواسطة الكلمات إلى حدّ أن زوجها يفقد الرغبة في قتلها».³⁸ الشيء الآخر المثير بالنسبة لها أنها عندما كانت تتأمّل مدلول الرغبة الجنسيّة أو النشوة، وصلت إلى قناعة تهدم فكرة التصرّو الخاطئ لهؤلاء الغرب للمرأة الشرقية فتتساءل: كيف تكون النشوة مُتبادلة في ثقافة حيث سُلطة الإغراء لدى المرأة تستثني إغراء العقل؟ فالعلاقة الجنسيّة السعيدة تفرضُ تواصلًا بين إنسانين على حدّ قولها.

³³ المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة، 34. نقلًا عن الأصفهاني في الأغاني، الجزء 16 الأبيات عن جارية اسمها ذات الخال كان هارون الرشيد مفتونًا بها، وقال فيها هذين البيتين كما أورد الأصفهاني في سيرتها في كتابه الأغاني، ص 345:

ما لي تطاو عني البرية كلها وأطيعهن وهنّ في عصياني
ما ذلك إلا أنّ سلطان الهوى وبه عززن أعزّ من سلطاني

³⁴ ديورنغ، الدراسات الثقافية، ترجمة ممدوح يوسف عمران، ص 21.

³⁵ يعرف الحجاب لغة بالستر، أما اصطلاحًا فهو كل ما احتجب به، والحجاب كل ما يستر به، ويمنع من الوصول نحو المرغوب، وفي الإسلام المقصود به هو كل ما يستر جسد المرأة بالكامل بما في ذلك الوجه والكفين، والمقصود في العبارة ليس هذا، وإنما أنها كانت لا تحتجب عن الرجال، أي تجالس الناس وتحدّثهم مباشرة دون ساتر أو مانع يفصلها عن تحدّثه.

³⁶ المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة، 110.

³⁷ المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة، 40.

³⁸ المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة، 58.

في قراءتها لحكاية ألف ليلة وليلة، ومضامينها المتعددة تهتدي إلى «أن الترابية والحوار التي يضعها الرجل للتحكم في النساء هي التي تؤدي إلى التمرد وتلمي قوانينه»،³⁹ الأدهى أن الحوار الموضوع حول النساء تراها هشة ويمكن اختراقها، وهو ما لاحظته شاه زمان أخو شهريار، عندما تنكر الرجال في زي النساء لكي يمروا عبرها آمنين⁴⁰ كما أن رغبة شهريار في الانتقام لا تقف عند معاينة المجرمين وحدهم، بل تتعداها إلى رغبة متواصلة في القتل، وبهذا يتصل العنف الجنسي بالعنف السياسي، كما أن الحرب التي كانت في البداية بين الجنسين تحولت إلى تمرد سياسي من طرف الآباء المنكوبين ضد ملكهم. وعندما قبلت شهرزاد الزواج بالملك، لم تقبل إلا لغرض سياسي ومكر ودهاء حيث طلبت من والدها «أشتهي منك أن تزوجني إلى الملك شهريار، إما أنني أتسبب في خلاص الخلق، وإما أنني أموت وأهلك».⁴¹ وبهذه التضحية صارت شهرزاد في خيال الفنانين والمفكرين الشرقيين، صورة للمقاومة والبطولة السياسية، فهابها إلى الموت لم يكن بساذجة بل بخطة محكمة نفذتها هي وأختها، انتهت إلى انتصار رائع بعدما حوّلت غرائز مجرم يستعد لقتلها إلى مستألب بالحكاية. الجدير بالذكر أن قوة شهرزاد هذه لم تأت من فراغ، فهي لم تروض الملك فقط بجمالها، وإنما كانت متسلحة بأدوات آلت لهذه النهاية السعيدة، تمثلت في معرفتها الواسعة،⁴² وقدرتها على الإثارة بالتشويق، ثم بدهونها وقدرتها على التحكم في الموقف رغم ما يحيط به من خوف⁴³ فقد جمعت شهرزاد بين المكونات الثقافية بالمعرفة الواسعة والإطلاع الكبير والمكونات النفسية حيث قدرتها على اختيار الوقت المهم لتوصيل رسالتها ووقف حكايتها أما المكون الثالث فتمثل في شجاعتها وقدرتها على التحكم في خوفها إلى الحد الذي تحتفظ فيه بوضوح أفكارها وتسلسلها.

موقف الذكورية العربي السلبي الذي يهّم شهرزاد إلى صورة مختزلة، لا يختلف كثيرًا - مع الأسف - عن موقف العقلية الغربية، وهو ما كشف عنه جمال الدين بن الشيخ، وهو ما جعلهم لا يكتبونها واكتفوا بها شفاهياً، في إشارة دالة على المحذور في متنها، وإن كان يرى ابن الشيخ دافعاً آخر أسهم في تمسك النخبة المثقفة بموقفها من عدم كتابة الحكايات، فالحكايات عبر قصصها وحكاياتها، أظهرت تفوق المرأة عقلياً وفكرياً. فمنطق الحكاية يجعل القاضي (شهريار) مُحطّناً، والمتهمة (شهرزاد) على صواب. كما شهرزاد تُلزم شهريار بقوانينها، فيغيّر طريقته في الحياة حسب رغباتها، وهو ما تجلّى في خضوع الملك كلبية لحكايات شهرزاد وتحلّى عن مشروعه القمعي في قتل جنس المرأة عقاباً على خيانة زوجته، بل الأجل أن الرجل وهو يمتثل لقوة السلطنة (الملك) يعترف بالخطأ ويؤدي الندم، وعلى ما أظن أنها الحالة الفريدة التي يخضع فيها الرجل (وهو يمتلك مثل هذه السلطنة بنفوذها) لقوة المرأة الناعمة المائلة في حكاياتها ويظهر ندمه على نحو ما أبدى السلطان شهريار «لقد زهدتني يا شهرزاد في ملكي وندمتني على ما فرط مني في قتل النساء والبنات، فهل عندك شيء عن حديث الطيور»⁴⁴

الجانب الحضاري الذي كرسه شهرزاد بحكاياتها، التقفه طه حسين في كتابه أحلام شهرزاد⁴⁵ (1943) وجعل من صوتها (لاحظ تأثير فعل الكلام كسلطة تواجه سلطات أقوى منه وهذا دليل على تأثير الكلمة) ناطقاً باسم الأبرياء الذين ذهبوا ضحية الحرب العالمية، فشهرزاد تجسّد في نظر طه حسين غريزة الموت الغامضة والمأسوية لدى الرجل، كما أن الخلاص حسب طه حسين يبدأ حين يتم الحوار بين المضطهد (بكسر الهاء) والمضطهد (بفتح) بين القوي والضعيف وبل ويذهب إلى

39 المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة، 63.

40 المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة، 64.

41 المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة، 65.

42 عبد الفتاح كيليطو، العين والإبرة دراسة في ألف ليلة وليلة، ترجمة مصطفى النحال (الدار البيضاء: دار الفنك للترجمة العربية، 1996)، 25.

43 المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة، 65.

44 مجهول، ألف ليلة وليلة (القاهرة: الدار المصرية اللبنانية، 2020)، 171/4.

45 طه حسين، أحلام شهرزاد (القاهرة: دار المعارف بمصر، 1943). وكانت السلسلة افتتحت بكتاب طه حسين، أعمالها التي ما زالت حتى الآن. ثم أعيد طباعتها كثيراً، آخر طبعة لها صدرت عام 2014 عن مؤسسة هنداوي بالقاهرة.

مدى أبعد حينما يرى أنه لا يمكن للحضارة أن تزدهر حقاً إلا إذا تعلّم الرجال نسج علاقة مع الكائنات الأقرب إليهم، أي النساء اللاتي يقاسمنهم الفراش.⁴⁶

سُلْطَةُ النِّسَاء التي فطنت إليها شهرزاد، وأكّد عليها طه حسين، كانت عاملاً مهماً في وصول الرئيس الإصلاحى محمد خاتمي إلى الرئاسة الإيرانية عام 1997 بنسبة 70% من الأصوات بفضل مؤازرة النِّسَاء له في التصويت، فقد أدرك مُبَكِّراً أنّ الصِّراع ضدّ المحافظين يقتضى بالدفع بالنساء إلى مناصب السُّلْطَة، وفي الانتخابات التالية عام 2001 حصل على نسبة 77%. فسّرت المرینسی هذه الطفرة في النتائج بين الجولة الأولى والجولة الثانية بقراءته الواعية للواقع بتمكين المرأة في المجتمع الإيراني الذي استطاع نظام الملالي فيه حجب صوت المرأة قبل حجب رأسها منذ وصوله إلى السُّلْطَة بعد الثورة الإيرانية. من ثمار التجربة الإيرانية أنها أوضحت الترابط الوثيق بين الديمقراطية وتأييد السُّلْطَة في كلّ أنحاء الشرق، وهو ما قرأته عبر صعود الحركات النسائية في الجزائر وتركيا وأفغانستان وأندونيسيا، وفي ذات الوقت أضحى أي نقاش حول الديمقراطية يستدعي بالضرورة النقاش حول حقوق النساء والعكس صحيح.

3.4 شهرزاد والغرب رحلة الامتحان والفهم الخاطئ

تخلّص المرینسی إلى نتيجة مهمة وهي تقارن بين دروس شهرزاد التي تلقفتها المجتمعات الشرقية وما أحدثته من خراك، وهي أن حكايات «ألف ليلة وليلة» تتغنى بانتصار العقل على الغنّف، فدرّس شهرزاد المهم يُعلِّمنا أنّ المرأة من الممكن أن تثور بفاعلية شرط أن تفكّر.⁴⁷ هذه هي شهرزاد الشرقية كما رأتها المرینسی وكذلك جمال الدين بن الشيخ، وطه حسين، وها هو مفاد رسائلها التي استخلصوها، يكمن في أنّ احترام الذات هو سرّ النّجاح، وعقلنا سلاح لا يُفْهَرُ، لكن كيف انتقلت شهرزاد إلى الغرب، وما هي الرسائل التي تلقوها منها؟

في بعض المقاربات توازي المرینسی بين العقلية العربية والغربية وتضعهما في أتون واحد، على الرغم من تباين التكوين الثقافي والفكري بينهما، فالاثنتان يتساويان في نظرتهما (السلبية) للمرأة، رغم أن العقلية الغربية، هي التي نادى بحقوق المرأة كالحرية والمساواة، على نحو ما ظاهر وجلي في الوثيقة الفرنسية التي أعقبت الثورة الفرنسية (بدأت 1789، وانتهت 1799) التي أعلنت مبادئها «الإخاء، المساواة، الحرية»، ومع هذه المطالبات إلا أنه حصر المرأة في موضع واحد، لا يخرج عن نطاق جسدها، وهذه النظرة انعكست على قراء الليالي، فمنذ بدأ الغرب يتعرف عليها مع الفرنسي أنطوان غالان عام 1704، وبدأت رحلة الامتحان، الفهم الخاطئ لرسائلها السياسية التي هي هدف الحكاية الأساسي. الغريب أن ترجمته صادفت نجاحاً كبيراً، وبالمثل نجحت شهرزاد خلال فترة وجيزة في تحقيق ما فشلت فيه الجيوش خلال الحروب الصليبية. فقد غزت العالم المسيحي معتمدة على قوة الكلمة، وقد ظهر هذا التأثير في ظهور ترجمات كثيرة ومتلاحقة وأيضاً بأسماء مُستعارة. لكن واكب هذه الرحلة أسوأ شيء حدث لها، حيث جُردت مما يشكّل هويتها، أي جُردت من ذكاتها، فالغربيون لم يأبهوا إلا بمشاهد المغامرة والغرام في ألف ليلة وليلة، أما الاعتراف لها بالذكاء فقد تأخّر نسبياً وبالتحديد بعد قرن ونصف من عبورها إلى أن يصفها «إدجار ألان بو» بـ «سيدة العجائب»⁴⁸ في قصته «الألف ليلة وليلتين لشهرزاد» عام 1845 فيعترف لها بالذكاء ويصفها تارة أخرى بـ «الأميرة السياسية».

46 المرینسی، العابرة المكسورة، 75.

47 المرینسی، العابرة المكسورة، 73.

48 المرینسی، العابرة المكسورة، 74. في حوار لاحق يتغير هذا الإعجاب لإدجار ألن بو بعدما تكشفت من خلال حوار لها مع صديقها كمال الأستاذ في الجامعة المغربية، أن ألن بو اعتال هو أيضاً شهرزاد حيث، جعلها شهریار يقتلها، وأيضاً بهزيمتها أمام الرجل على عكس ما كانت شخصية شهرزاد في الحكاية الأصلية

4.4 شهرزاد الجسد المُشْتَهَى

صور الامتهان لفكر ألف ليلة وليلة كما جاءت في الحكايات، تعدت الرسومات أو الزينة في قصور فرساي إلى الشهوة الحسية، ففي الوقت الذي كان الغرب فيه مهووساً بالحرية ومضطرباً بفعل النضال من أجل حقوق الإنسان، كانت نظرتة لشهرزاد نظرة أخرى تمثلت في الاحتفاء بالجسد كمصدر للذة الجنسية، فقد كرر الأخطاء نفسها الروسيان «دياخليف» و«جنسكي» في عرضهما للبالية المسرحي المستوحى من شخصية شهرزاد، فقد أثارت شخصية شهرزاد التي قدمها وهي ترتدي أزياء من تصميم (ليون باكست) شغفاً متجدداً عبر القارة الأوروبية بموضة يفترض بأنها تسنلهم أزياء الحريم، لم ينشغل جنسكي بشهرزاد في عرضه بل جعل الأسير الذهبي نموذجاً باذخاً للذة، فأحلّ عليه كل أشكال الانحراف التي يتخيلها عقل نهاية القرن من غرائبية وعبودية وتخنت و غُنف، لم يكن موضوعاً جنسياً بجسده الأسمر المرصع بالجواهر بقدر ما كان يجسد الجنس في حد ذاته، بتعبير المرنيسي نفسها. كما إن الجمال النسوي كما جاء في عرضه هو "جمال مصاصة دماء ذات طابع شرقي"،⁴⁹ هذا الاستثمار لصورة المرأة كما تم تخيلها عبر أدوات الإنتاج برز بصورة بشعة في إستوديوهات هوليوود، التي أبرزت جسد المرأة عارياً، مفتقدة لدورها كامرأة ذكية وشاعرة وفنانة، بل وصاحبة موهبة في التحايل، وقصرت الصورة على الرقص، والتزيين، وقد استغل الأخير أسوأ استغلال، فالليالي أظهرت المرأة الشرقية مهتمة بالجمال، حيث تقضي النساء وقتاً طويلاً في الاغتسال والتعطر والاعتناء بذاتهم، فكما تقول المرنيسي "قد حقق هذا نجاحاً أكثر من التخريب السياسي، هكذا دخل الكحل والحناء إلى مستودع مواد التجميل في البلاد الغنية كمثل على الاستعمار المعكوس".⁵⁰

5. اغتيال شهرزاد

تعمد الغرب تشويه صورة المرأة الشرقية، فمنذ اهتمام المستشرقين بالخيال الشرقي، انصرفوا عن الشخصيات الذكورية، فلا توجد كتابات اهتمت قديماً بالسندباد وعلاء الدين وعلي بابا، وانحصر اهتمامهم بالمرأة وما يتصل بها من فتون كالرقص والرسم والغناء، وعندما جاء اهتمامهم مؤخراً عبر شاشات السينما بالشخصيات الذكورية، لم تسلم هي الأخرى من التحريف والتشويه، ومحاولة فرض أيديولوجيا بعينها على تصرفاتها، ومن ثم فكأن ثمة تعمداً قديماً لاغتيال شهرزاد وبذات اللسان الذي تغلبت فيه على الرجل، أي بالحكي، فتعدد الصور التي تم اغتيال بها شهرزاد في الغرب، وعبر تصورات الغربيين، فالمرنيسي في أحد حواراتها (مكالمة هاتفية) مع صديقها كمال في الجامعة وهي في مطار برلين أثناء انتظارها رحلة العودة إلى المغرب بعد جولة لعرض كتبها في الغرب، تقول إن إدمان ألن بو، الذي اعتدت به من قبل، لأنه أعاد الاعتبار لشهرزاد من خلال قصته التي كتبها بعنوان «ألف ليلة وليلتين» ووصفها قبلها بأنها سيدة العجائب مرة، وبالأميرة السياسية مرة ثانية، ومع هذا إلا أنه قد اغتالها بالمعنى المجازي للكلمة.

موقف شهرزاد من زوجها في تصور إدمان ألن بو حولها إلى امرأة مهزومة، منطاعة (أو منقادة)، تستسلم لمصيرها دون محاولة للهروب (ولو بالحيلة كما فعلت في الحكاية الأصلية) أو تغيير الحكم الذي أصدره زوجها، بصورة مناقضة لصورتها التي راجت العالم أجمع بوصفها المرأة، التي حمت نفسها وبنات جلدتها من المصير البائس، الذي كان ينتظرهن كل ليلة،

⁴⁹ المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة، 90.

⁵⁰ المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة، 91.

فعدت بفعلها المرأة المُقاومة للغف الراضة للاستبداد، وتقاومه بالمواجهة، دون خوف من بطش الرجل / شهريار، بل هي تمردت على نصيحة أبيها منذ الحكاية الإطار، وأصررت على المقاومة لا للموت ولكن للتغيير، ومن ثم اجتهدت لترويضه بالحيلة تارة وبالحكاية تارة ثانية، وهو ما يجعل من شهرزاد نموذجًا للمرأة الشرقية، التي هي في نظر المرنيسي امرأة عنيدة قوية لا تستسلم للقدّر عكس الرجل، فهي عليها أن تُقاتل أولاً قبل الاستسلام، وفي محاولة لإثبات ما دللت عليه، تذهب إلى المدونة التاريخية الحافلة بنماذج مُشرّفة للمرأة التي احتلت مكانة عالية، وتقلدت أدوارًا مهمة، والأهم قوتها في مجابهة القدر، وتغيير المصائر المفروضة عليها، فتبدأ بحكايات الجدة الياسمين ومقامتها للأحاريم، وصولاً إلى حكايات مماثلة لنساء معاصرات، كما حدث في إيران فبعد سيطرة الحكومة الإسلامية⁵¹ على الحكم وإقامتهم لشرطة تُطارِد النساء في الشوارع، صارت النساء مُقاتلات شرسات وهو ما لاحظته الجامعة الإيرانية «هالة إسفندياري» بقولها إن «النساء اكتسبن وعيًا جديدًا بدورهن بفعل قوة رفضهن للخوف أو الخضوع لتهديدات الشرطة، وقوة صراعهن يوماً بعد آخر للحصول على الحق في العمل، وبحثهن عن وسيلة لتغيير الشكل المفروض في اللباس، ودفاعهن عن حقهن في الطلاق أمام المحاكم».⁵²

لكن الحقيقة أن الكاتب «تيوفيل غوتيه»⁵³ سبق إدجار ألن بو بثلاث سنوات⁵⁴ في جريمة اغتيال شهرزاد عندما نشر قصته المستوحاة من الحكاية بعنوان «الألف ليلة وليلتين»، وإن كان هنا سبب القتل أكثر إهانة من لاقه، حيث جعل معين الإبداع عند شهرزاد ينضب، الفارق أن ألن بو قتلها لأنها كانت تعرف أكثر من اللازم، أما غوتيه فقتلها لأنها لم تكن تعرف ما يكفي. عندما أحال الصحفي الفرنسي جاك صديقه المرنيسي إلى قراءة إيمانويل كانط، لتعثر على جواب لماذا اغتال إدجار ألن بو شهرزاد؟ وصلت إلى السبب الصدمة، فقد كشف فكر الفيلسوف إيمانويل كانط⁵⁵ عن عنصرية تجاه المرأة، بل أشار إلى أن الثقافة الغربية لا تعترف بذكاء المرأة، فالذكاء مقصور على الرجال فقط، أما في الثقافة العربية فهو مقسوم على الاثنين⁵⁶. هنا أدركت المرنيسي سرّ اغتيال ألن بو لشهرزاد، فهو لا يريد أن يعترف لها بالتفوق في صفة هي جكرّ على الرجال عند الغرب⁵⁷. النقطة التي نخرج منها إلى جانب ما خرجت به المرنيسي من موقف "ألن بو" من شهرزاد، هو أن ثمة مشتركا بين الثقافات على اختلافها في نسج استعاراتها الخاصّة أو أنساقها المهيمنة، فإذا كانت الثقافة الغربية تضع الجمال مقابلاً

51 تصفها المرنيسي بالمترفين هكذا، وهذا الحكم نابع من موقف أيديولوجي خاص بالمرنيسي.

52 المرنيسي، العبرة المكسورة، 100.

53 «تيوفيل غوتيه» (1811-1872) شاعر وناقد وفنان تشكيلي فرنسي. صديق الشاعرين "نيرفال" و"بودلير" وهو من أنصار المذهب البرناسي وهو صاحب مقولة: «على الشاعر أن يرى الأشياء الإنسانية، وأن يفكر فيها من خلال نظراته الخاصة دون أية مصلحة اجتماعية أو مذهبية» من أعماله: «الآنسة دومبان» و«رحلة إلى روسيا». وهو واحد من الأدباء الذين حاولوا كتابة الليلة الثانية بعد الألف سنة 1842 مثله مثل إدجار ألن بو 1850، وجوزيف روث 1939.

54 ذكرت المرنيسي أن المدة الفاصلة بين ما كتبه إدجار ألن بو عن قصة الكاتب الفرنسي «تيوفيل غوتيه» هي ثلاث سنوات، لكن عند المراجعة وجدنا

أن «تيوفيل غوتيه» كتب قصته عام 1842، في حين أن إدجار ألن بو كتبها عام 1850 - وهو ما يعني بعد ثماني سنوات وليس ثلاث.

55 وقد سبقه في هذا فلاسفة اليونان سقراط وأفلاطون، فجميعهم أشاروا إلى دونية منزلة المرأة، وأرجعوا سبب هذه النظرة إلى القوانين والأنظمة الطبيعية. فمن الفلاسفة من يعتقد أن المرأة رمزٌ للحس والجسد، وأنها تشد إلى الأرض مكملة المذات والشهوات، وبصفه عامّة كانت المرأة في المجتمع اليوناني تابعة للرجل، وبالأحرى تعيش حالة استعباد، وقد نظر إليها الفلاسفة نظرة دونية فقد حاربها ديموقريطس واعتبرها "معطلة للفلسفة والتفلسف"؛ لذلك لم يتزوج أبداً اعتقاداً منه أن الشهوة تغيب العقل، وإذا غاب العقل غاب التفلسف" للمزيد راجع، إمام عبد الفتاح إمام، أفلاطون والمرأة (القاهرة: مكتبة مدبولي، ط 2، 1996)، ص 17 وما بعدها.

56 قدمت حكايات ألف ليلة وليلة نماذج لنساء من مختلف الطبقات، كُشِف عن ذكاء خارق لا يقل عن ذكاء الرجل، بدءاً من شهرزاد نفسها التي استخدمت الحيلة في ترويض الملك، وتخليص بنات جلدتها من مصير السابقات بالقتل. وفي كتاب المرنيسي فصل عن ذكاء المرأة العربية، وأنها لا تقل عن الرجل في الذكاء، وقد أشار الدكتور عبد الواحد وافي في كتابه «المرأة في الإسلام»، إلى أن الإسلام ساوى بين الرجل والمرأة في الشؤون المدنية، وهذه الإشارة تشير إلى تساوي العقل بينهما، وهو ما جعله يقر بتساوي الرجل والمرأة في حق التعليم والثقافة، وحق العمل، والقيم الإنسانية المشتركة، راجع، علي عبد الواحد وافي، المرأة في الإسلام (القاهرة: دار نهضة مصر للطباعة والنشر، ط 2، 1979) ص 23، ومواضع متفرقة من الكتاب، كما أن الثقافة الغربية في بعضها اختزلت المرأة لا في عقلها وفكرها، وإنما في جسدها، وهو ما تردد لدى فلاسفة اليونان حيث جعلوا المرأة رديفاً للجسد نقيضاً للعقل، وهو ما تبدي في المنحوتات، حتى إن إحدى الكاتبات الغربيات شعرت بالإهانة حينما زارت متحف جورج بومبيو في باريس، وصدمة منظر المنحوتات حيث بالغ الفنانون الرجال في إظهار الأجزاء الجنسية في الجسد المؤنث، ويظهرون المرأة في النحت بوصفها جسداً يحمل رأساً فارغاً، نقلاً عن عبد الله الغدّامي، لمرأة واللغة (الدار البيضاء: المركز الثقافي العربي، ط 3، 2006)، ص 31.

57 المرنيسي، العبرة المكسورة، 100.

للذكاء، فالثقافة العربية تضع المال مقابلاً للحياة، أما الثقافة الإيرانية في عصر الخميني فإنها تضع محبة لا يطلها الخطر، مقابل غير مُحجبة تتعرض للعنف. كما يمكن أن نضع كانط الذي يرى أن المرأة تفقد جاذبيتها أو أنوثتها إذا ما اكتسبت المعرفة في مقابل هارون الرشيد الذي كان يُعجَبُ بالنساء اللواتي يوازي جمالهن ذكاءهن وكان يدفع مقادير مالتية خيالية لكي يضمّ إلى حريمه ألمع الجواري.⁵⁸

من المؤسف حقاً أن حفيدات شهرزاد (في العصر الحديث) لم يسرن على ذات الدرب الذي رسمته جدتهن في المقاومة والمحايلة وعدم الاستسلام، واتخاذ العقل دليلهن لقيادة الرجال، ومراو غتهن، بل انقدن إلى استبدادية الرجل، وخضعن للعنف، سواء العنف المادي أو المعنوي، وكأن سلاح الكلمات الذي استخدمته جدتهن بطل، ولم تعد له القوة ولا الصلاحية التي كانت عليها جدتهن، وهو ما يعكس نبوءة إدجار أَلن بو، بأن جعل مصير شهرزاد الاستسلام.

خاتمة

إذا كانت شهرزاد خاضت صراعاً مريزاً مع الرجل، لا شيء إلا لإثبات حقها في الحياة، وأن يكون لها صوت، إلا أنها عادت من معركتها منتصرة، فإن المرنيسي هي الأخرى خاضت معركة غير مباشرة مع الرجل، وهي الأخرى عادت من رحلتها لا أقول منتصرة تماماً، ولكن على الأقل وضعت العقلية الغربية في سياق تناقضاتها، وأثبتت أنها تدعو لشيء وتؤمن بشيء آخر، واستطاعت عبر مقارنات عقدها بين عقلية الشرق والغرب، أن تنتصر للمرأة الشرقية، فالعقلية الغربية على الرغم من ادعائها الحداثيّة، وإيمانها بقيم التحرّر والمساواة والليبرالية، إلا أنها لم تحرّر إلا جسد المرأة من الملابس فقط، وعلى النقيض تماماً مارست سلطوية وديكتاتورية على الجسد، وأبرز دليل هو صناعة الموضة التي سلعت جسد المرأة، فلئن كانت المرأة في الشرق تتمتع بالحرية في اختيار أزيائها، فعلى العكس تماماً المرأة الغربية، فهي خاضعة لاستبداد الرجل، عبر مفاهيم الموضة ومقاييس الجمال والنحافة.

ومع هذه المقارنة التي أكدت الانحياز للمرأة الشرقية، إلا أن ثمة رسالة أخرى سعت المرنيسي عبر هذا الحجاج ودحض الآراء، والارتداد إلى التاريخ لتوصيلها إلى المتلقي، لا تبعد بأية حال من الأحوال عن الاعتداد بالمرأة الشرقية، فشهرزاد كنموذج إيجابي دال / مؤثر استطاعت عبرت آليات انتكأت فيها على ذكائها قبل جمالها أن تتمرد على الصورة النمطية التي كُرس فيها، كنموذج للحریم الذي دُجنت فيه كحكاءة للملك وسَميرة لمجلسه، بل تعدتها لأن تتجاوز حكاياتها الملك نفسه وغرفة النوم التي تتم في إطارها الحكايات، إلى فضاءٍ عامٍ واسعٍ وشاملٍ يتجاوز حُدود المكان والزمان؛ فضاء يكشف عن مرونة ورحابة الفكر واستيعاب شريكة الرجل، باحترام عقلها وفكرها، وكذلك طموحها، فالمرأة (شهرزاد تحديداً) التي تخطت الأخبية التي حاصرتها (مجلس الملك وعلى سريره) انتقلت وتجاوزت لا بصورتها وعريها كما دأب الفنانون تصويرها به أو تزيين الكتب بها، أو حكاياته الجنسية⁵⁹ (التي حدثت بمنع طبعه في مصر باعتباره أدباً مكشوفاً)،⁶⁰ وإنما بشهوة الكلام كريدف للبلاغة، التي دجنت الملك نفسه بها، وحاصرته وجعلته أسيراً للحكاية، فعبر دال الكلام (وهو سلاحها) تمكنت شهرزاد أن تتحدى سلطة شهريار، وقبلهما الموت والخوف، وضعت ذاتها مقابل خلاص بني جلدتها من النساء ذاتها،

⁵⁸ راجع، بهاء الدين الخطيب، "قصص الجواري في العصر العباسي"، جسر 6 (22 سبتمبر، 2019).

⁵⁹ محمد عبد الرحمن، الاستبداد السلطوي والفساد الجنسي في ألف ليلة وليلة (بيروت: الدار العربية للعلوم، ناشرون، 2001)، 21. وفي الكتاب يتحدث المؤلف عن الوجه الاستبدادي لبعض نساء السلطة في الحكايا.

⁶⁰ لقد تكرر أمر المنع وعلو صيحات الحسبة، عندما نشر الأديب جمال الغيطاني في سلسلة الذخائر التي تصدرها الهيئة العامة لقصور الثقافة، بعد توليه رئاسته كتاب «ألف ليلة وليلة» مرة ثانية عن طبعة «الهند» وهي نفس الدعوى التي رفعت من قبل عند نشر العمل أول مرة، والغريب بنفس الحجج الواهية من قبيل؛ إفساد الذوق العام ونشر والحض على الرذيلة، وهي مفارقة عجيبة وغريبة في أن واحد، فعلى الرغم من تغير السياقات التاريخية والثقافية والتحرر من إرث الذهنية الدينية إلا أن النتيجة مازالت واحدة، ومتمثلة في القمع.

فالأنثى اندمجت في النحن، وهذا ما لم تفتن إليه المرأة في العصور الحديثة، إذ أعارت صوتها للرجل ليدافع عن مطالبها.⁶¹ إذن المرأة (قديمًا) في رأي المرنيسي تمتلك من المقومات التي تُسَوِّق لها أفضل من جسدها ومتعه، وهو نفسه ما اعترضت عليه المرنيسي عند اختزال الصحفيين لها في صورة واحدة، هي «الحريم»، وهو ما دفعها لأن تبدأ سيرتها الذاتية بجملة مضادة، هكذا «ولدت 1941 في أحد أحاريم مدينة فاس المدينة المغربية التي يعود تاريخ إنشائها إلى القرن التاسع الميلادي»⁶². ومن ثم فهي تأتي متناقضة لفكر الغرب التي تقترن عندهم بالإغواء والمتعة.

خلقت المرنيسي من حكايات الليالي التي كانت تحكيها لها جدتها الياسمين في طفولتها، وتلك التي قرأتها، باعًا جديدًا لاكتشاف قوى المرأة الكامنة الحقيقية والتي أغلفها الرجل بدءًا من شهر يار ذاته؛ فالرجل لا يرى فيها سوى كائن ضعيف، يقتصر حضورها على امتاعه بكافة الأشكال، ومن ثم صاغت الحكاية للمرأة مفهومًا جديدًا، فعدت بمثابة المرأة الجديدة التي نظرت فيها المرأة، فاكتشفت مواطن الجمال والقوى معًا، اكتشفت المرأة الأخرى الكامنة في داخلها، وتحتاج إلى الوسيلة لتخرج وتعبّر عن ذاتها، امرأة غير تلك التي يريدها الرجل مهمشة ومقصية، بل قوية ومسيطرة، تتحدى سلطة السيف بشهوة الكلام، وشهوة القتل بالانصياع للحكاية، ولذا ترى المرنيسي أن تحويل غرائز مجرم يستعد للقتل عن طريق الحكايات، انتصار رائع للمرأة وليس لشهرزاد فقط، ومن ثم ترى فإذا كانت شهرزاد الحكاءة تتمتع بهذا الذكاء، فكذلك نساء الليالي ليس كلهن جوارى يرتمين في أحضان من يدفع ثمنها للتاجر، وإنما كانت هناك النساء ذات الجال الراجحة، والحافظة للقرآن وللشعر والعازفة للعود والملمة بضروب الغناء ومقاماته، فجعلت من الرجال المتهافتين على جسدها ومصدر فتنتها، يهيمنون حُبًا في عقلها ويقتتلون لأجل الفوز به.⁶³

المعني المغاير الذي استلهمته المرنيسي لشخصية شهرزاد وحكاياتها التي استمرت أكثر من ألف ليلة وليلة ولم تنته بمقتل شهرزاد الزاوية بل إنجابها ابنًا من ملك الفرس (الإنجاب في حد ذاته خلق وحياء جديدة)؛ معنى يجعل من المرأة مُنْتَصِرَةً على الرجل في حلبة الصراع التي يتصارع فيها الطرفان، ودومًا تكون المرأة هي الخاسر والمجروح، لكن هنا في الليالي تقول المرنيسي إن شهرزاد انتصرت ليس فقط لهؤلاء النسوة اللاتي قتلهن الملك في نظير انتقامه من فعل الخيانة الذي مارسه زوجته مع عبده مسعود فقط، بل انتصرت على رجال اليوم⁶⁴ الذين يحضرون المرأة في جسدها، وكيف قهرت الملك واستلبت عقله، وجعلت نفسها الوصيّة على عقله، بل صار أسيرًا لحكاياتها، ومن شدة إعجابه وولعه بهذه الحكايات، كان يُرْجَى قتلها حتى تنتهي حكاياتها، لكنها استعملت عقلها فأطالت الحكايات وتعمدت الحكي ذا التأثير الذي يجعل الملك يشغف بسماع بقية الحكاية التي توقفت بسبب إدراك شهرزاد الصباح، وما نتج عنه - بعد ذلك - من عفو عنها، وعفو عن جميع نساء جلدتها. وهي الرسالة التي فشلت حفيدات شهرزاد في التقاط مغزاها وفك شيفراتها، وبالمثل أحفاد شهرزاد في عدم استيعاب تأثير الكلمة، التي استطاعت أن تغزو العالم المسيحي عبر ترجماتها المتعددة، كتأكيد على قوة وسطوة الكلمة.

⁶¹ لاحظ ما فعله قاسم أمين "1863-1908م" في كتابيه (تحرير المرأة 1899، والمرأة الجديدة 1901)، وإن كان سبقه في هذه الدعوة رفاة الطباطبائي "1801-1873" بعد عودته من باريس، ففي سفره العظيم «تخليص الإبريز في تلخيص باريز» 1834م. يمكن استثناء هدى شعراوي "1893-1948"، الرائدة النسائية فهي المرأة الوحيدة التي يمكن القول إنها تمرت على أخبية الرجل فخرجت في مظاهرات في عام 1919، ونادت بحق المرأة في الانتخاب مثلها مثل الرجل يوم صدور حق التصويت في الانتخابات، وأيضًا طالبت النساء بخلع حجابهن في خطوة سابقة لتحرر المرأة، حتى من خباء الحجاب الذي صار بالنسبة لهن بمثابة القيد الذي يعيق.

⁶² المرنيسي، أحلام النساء الحريم حكايات الطفولة في الحريم، 10/1. الجدير بالذكر أن هذا الكتاب ترجم مرتين بعنوانين مختلفين، حيث جاءت ترجمة الثانية بعنوان: نساء على أجنحة الحلم، ترجمة: فاطمة الزهراء أزرويل، بيروت المركز الثقافي العربي، 1998. وإن كانت الترجمة في النسخة الثانية هكذا: «ولدت في الأحاريم بفاس، المدينة المغربية التي تعود إلى القرن التاسع...» ص 9.

⁶³ المرنيسي، العابرة المكسورة، 142 وبعدها في مواضع متفرقة.

⁶⁴ تحديدًا الجماعات السلفية التي تسعى إلى فرض زي معين على المرأة على نحو طالبان في أفغانستان، وداعش ومطالبتها النساء بالانترام بالزي الإسلامي في المناطق الواقعة تحت سيطرتها.

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Structured Abstract

Moroccan writer fatma AL_ Marnesi (1940 - 2015) is classified as one of the Arab feminist mothers, she can even be placed in a distinguished rank among "Islamic feminists" if this is permissible, the term as defined by Ghalia Jallou; where feminists can develop an ethical reading of the two pillars of Islam; the Quran and sunnah in order to find a religious interpretation that supports their feminist point of view. It becomes legitimate to talk about the production of a new Islamic discourse, and about what is religious, in a general sense. This is a liberal discourse that opposes discourses that obstruct the concepts of interpretations and re-reading History from a modern perspective by critically reviewing classical interpretation of Islamic sources, and offer new interpretations of the latter aimed at achieving political, social and economic equality between men and women.

Al- Marnesi's efforts in her intellectual and personal women's issues dedicated all to defend women's issues that Western writings sought to address exploiting it to present a false (and distorted) narrative about Islam in particular about the women of the East, and Muslim woman in particular. Al- Marnesi, the sociologist, deconstructed many Western narratives, which is the product of an arrogant view of the East and rejection of its civilization in an attempt to claim the primacy of the West, and that the East, West was seeking the bliss of civilization the East was immersed in ignorance and tyrannical and the harem system.

The state of alienation or humiliation in which the West placed the women of the East in their writings as well as in their artistic works; it is the product of the Orientalism sought by the American - Palestinian critic Edward Said in his landmark book "Orientalism: Western concepts of the East" (1978) to refuse them, and confirms the non-existence of the centrality of most writings that dealt with the East. And then Al Marnesi wrote in their writings to argue against such a superior view rather, the inferiority of Eastern woman is the greatest evidence of its importance the project that El Marnis adopted throughout her life.

Although Edward said researched the archives, letters, and what the Orientalists wrote, whether they were army leaders, writers, travellers and others from those who worked in the East,

Al- Marnesi resorted to the writings of the West especially those who followed Shehrazad's journey in the West, on one hand. On the other hand, she paid great attention to the orientalist view that the artists in their drawings of Eastern woman came through fantasy untrue to Engels and Matthis. Al-Marnesi, acknowledges that the Western masculine mentality has paid interest in women at the expense of men, and this is international distortion.

According to her, we do not find any interest in men in their writings. And when they paid attention to male characters, which happened recently through cinema screens, they distorted the characters, trying to impose a specific ideology on their actions.

Al- Marnesi's various writings, ranging from literary to intellectual, have been made from the Western view of the East, the main axis of it, and was its refuge in the petition in defense of women is history, so she extracted evidence from the texts of her history confirms the power of women and their place in East. Women in the tales of 'Oriental Nights' are beautiful and intelligent and strong. Arab women were not concubines or slaves, but rather they held leadership positions from the judiciary to the government, and in these positions they

demonstrated their superiority and ability to manage the joints of the state, directing the armies to battles, and returning with victory and the spoils.

The issues discussed by Al-Marnisi in her writings are in the basis gender issues par excellence, but they did not appear in their treatment, rather bias towards Eastern or Muslim Women at the expense of Western Women at the expense of Western women.. On the contrary her bias was to defend and correct the image that placed women as subordinate to men, and more precisely, liberation women from the male gaze. Strangely enough, Al- Marnisi's condemnation is not limited on the Western view, but also condemns the intellectuals of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment movement because of their gross neglect of women's issues, which is what means the separation of the liberation and modernization movement from these issues were not among the priorities of society and the opinions of the elite on that time.

Those who follow Al- Marnisi's writings in general will suggest that they are writings that break the concept of the literary genre, and always violates the originality of the genre, Hence, it not characterized by overlap and identification with different and perhaps contradictory types, , such as the thought and writings of the self, where in her works she mixes the self and objectives, and in dealing with her autobiography, she does not separate her self from Arab and Eastern women can fall under what is called writing structure

According to Al-Marnisi the intersection of types is due to the fact that they do not separate themselves from others, the resistance of the women of 'Arabian knights' to the Ahram , is no less the resistance of the women of her household and her relatives to the mahram system that was imposed on them by masculinity, The real endeavor is to show ways of resistance, and how women are in different eras, contrary to what the Western narrative portrayed, were female resistance fighters, rebels, and more often than not, submissive leaders masculinity for their decisions.

"Da gab es irgendwo in Jugoslawien ein großes Dorf..." – Barbara Sparing's Translation of Mato Lovrak's *Vlak u snijegu* (1933) as *Der Zug im Schnee**

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Geliş Tarihi: 14.02.2024
Kabul Tarihi: 05.05.2024
Yayın Tarihi: 27.06.2024
Değerlendirme: İki Dış Hakem /
Çift Taraflı Körleme
Makale Türü: Araştırma Makalesi

Atıf Bilgisi:

Cimer Karaica, Sanja; Novak, Sonja (2024). "Da gab es irgendwo in Jugoslawien ein großes Dorf..." – Barbara Sparing's Translation of Mato Lovrak's *Vlak u snijegu* (1933) as *Der Zug im Schnee*. *International Journal of Language and Translation Studies*, 4/1, 42-75.

Benzerlik Taraması: Yapıldı –
iThenticate

Etik Bildirim:
lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Çıkar Çatışması: Çıkar çatışması beyan edilmemiştir.

Finansman: Bu araştırmayı desteklemek için dış fon kullanılmamıştır.

Telif Hakkı & Lisans Yazarlar: Dergide yayımlanan çalışmalarının telif hakkına sahiptirler ve çalışmaları CC BY-NC 4.0 lisansı altında yayımlanmaktadır.

Abstract

The following paper presents a study of Barbara Sparing's German translation of the Yugoslavian children's book *Vlak u snijegu* (1933) by Mato Lovrak. Sparing's translation was published 1959 in the GDR under the title *Der Zug im Schnee*. The study focuses on a corpus of modified and omitted parts of the source and target text and on the possible interpretation and explanation of causes for these alterations. The analysis closely relies on the guidelines of Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2009) as well as the two assessments – by Ruth Krenn and Gerhard Holtz-Baumert – that were submitted to the publisher with the translation. The results show that most of them can be traced back either to the guidelines of the socialist realism, an acceptable literary paradigm in the GDR until the early 1970s, or to the two assessments, which criticized certain aspects of the original text. Alterations which could not be traced back to the aforementioned two sources were subsequently connected to different aspects of everyday (children's) life in the German Democratic Republic (GDR).

Anahtar Kelimeler: translation, GDR, (children's) literature, assessment [Gutachten], modifications, omissions

* Etik Beyan: * Bu çalışmanın hazırlanma sürecinde bilimsel ve etik ilkelere uyulduğu ve yararlanılan tüm çalışmaların kaynakçada belirtildiği beyan olunur.

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**"Da gab es irgendwo in Jugoslawien ein großes Dorf..." – Barbara Sparings
Übersetzung Der Zug im Schnee von Mato Lovraks Vlak u snijegu (1933) ***

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Date of Submission: 14.02.2024
Date of Acceptance: 05.05.2024
Date of Publication: 27.06.2024
Review: Double-blind peer review
Article Type: Research Article

Citation:

Cimer Karaica, Sanja; Novak, Sonja (2024). "Da gab es irgendwo in Jugoslawien ein großes Dorf..." – Barbara Sparings's Translation of Mato Lovrak's Vlak u snijegu (1933) as Der Zug im Schnee. *International Journal of Language and Translation Studies*, 4/1, 42-75.

Plagiarism Check: Yes - iThenticate

Complaints: lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Conflict of Interest: The author(s) has no conflict of interest to declare.

Grant Support: The author(s) acknowledges that they received no external funding to support this research.

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Zusammenfassung

Der Beitrag befasst sich mit Barbara Sparings deutscher Übersetzung des jugoslawischen Kinderbuchs *Vlak u snijegu* (1933) von Mato Lovrak, die 1959 in der DDR beim Berliner Kinderbuchverlag unter dem Titel *Der Zug im Schnee* veröffentlicht wurde. Die Analyse untersucht die Modifizierungen im Zieltext im Bezug auf den Ausgangstext, bzw. analysiert die Abweichungen von und Auslassungen aus dem Ausgangstext. Gemäß den Ergebnissen dieser Analyse werden im Beitrag potentiell die Gründe für solche Vorgehensweise erklärt. Es wird dabei von der Hypothese ausgegangen, dass diese im Zieltext vorgenommenen Modifizierungen einerseits dem sozialistischen Realismus entsprechen, der als die dominante literarische Erscheinung im Kontext der 1950er Jahre in der DDR präsent war. Andererseits können die Gründe für die in der Übersetzung vorgenommenen Modifizierungen in den Verlags- und dem Außengutachten der Übersetzung gesucht werden, in denen sich die Gutachter gegenüber bestimmten Aspekten des Originaltexts kritisch äußerten. Zuletzt, die Modifizierungen, die bei der Analyse anhand dieser zwei Quellen nicht erklärt werden konnten, werden in Verbindung mit dem soziokulturellen Kontext in der DDR gebracht, der sich sowohl auf das alltägliche Leben als auch auf die Prozesse des Gutachtens bzw. Zensur in der Verlagsindustrie bezieht. Methodologisch stützt sich der Beitrag einerseits auf die Richtlinien von Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2009), die er bei der Analyse von Übersetzungen von englischsprachigen Texten identifiziert, die die Herausgeber in Gutachten eingesetzt haben, um Werke als übersetzungswürdig und wertvoll darzustellen. Andererseits werden auch die zwei der Übersetzung hinzugefügten Gutachten analysiert.

Keywords: Übersetzung, DDR, Kinderliteratur, Gutachten, Modifizierung, Auslassung

* Ethical Statement: * It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited.

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1. Einführung

Walter Benjamin erklärt, die Aufgabe des Übersetzers bestehe darin, "diejenige Intention auf die Sprache, in die übersetzt wird, zu finden, von der aus in ihr das Echo des Originals erweckt wird. [...] [D]ie des Dichters ist naive, erste, anschauliche, die des Übersetzers abgeleitete, letzte, ideenhafte Intention." (2022, S. 17) In seinem Vorwort zur eigenen Übersetzung von Baudelaires *Tableaux Parisiens* (1923) definiert er die Aufgabe des Übersetzers als den Versuch "[j]ene reine Sprache, die in fremde gebannt ist, in der eigenen zu erlösen, die im Werk gefangene in der Umdichtung zu befreien" (Benjamin, 2022, S. 24). Was passiert aber wenn die Übersetzer*innen auf Einschränkungen stoßen und der eigenen Sprache nicht freien Lauf lassen dürf(t)en, d. h. sich außersprachlichen Faktoren wie Politik anpassen müss(t)en? Der vorliegende Beitrag untersucht Barbara Sparings Übersetzung von Mato Lovraks Kinderbuch *Vlak u snijegu* (1933), die 1959 in der DDR beim Berliner Kinderbuchverlag unter dem Titel *Der Zug im Schnee* erschienen ist. Die Analyse basiert auf den Modifizierungen bzw. Abweichungen von und Auslassungen aus dem Ausgangstext und bietet mögliche Gründe für solche Vorgehensweise an. Es wird dabei von der Hypothese ausgegangen, dass einige Modifizierungen, die im Zieltext vorgenommen wurden, einerseits auf den Prinzipien des sozialistischen Realismus beruhen, der als die dominante und akzeptierte literarische Erscheinung im Kontext der 1950er Jahre in der DDR präsent war.⁵ Andererseits scheint es sinnvoll, Gründe für die in der Übersetzung vorgenommenen Modifizierungen sowohl in den Verlags- und dem Außengutachten der Übersetzung zu suchen, die sich gegenüber bestimmten Aspekten des Originaltexts kritisch äußerten. Die Modifizierungen, die bei der Analyse anhand dieser zwei Quellen nicht erklärt werden konnten, werden in Verbindung mit dem soziokulturellen Kontext in der DDR gebracht, der sich sowohl auf das alltägliche Leben als auch auf die Prozesse des Gutachtens bzw. Zensur in der Verlagsindustrie bezieht. Methodologisch stützt sich der Beitrag einerseits auf eine Analyse des außerliterarischen bzw. soziopolitischen Kontexts sowohl des Zieltexts und andererseits auf den detaillierten Vergleich ihrer Textebenen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Richtlinien von Gaby Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2009), die sie bei der Analyse von Übersetzungen von englischsprachigen Texten identifiziert, die die Herausgeber in Gutachten eingesetzt haben, um Werke als übersetzungswürdig und wertvoll darzustellen. Nach den Richtlinien ist zu schlussfolgern, dass die zur Übersetzung bestimmten Texte Elemente enthalten mussten, die dem sozialistischen

⁵ Die mikrostrukturellen Elemente im Übersetzungsprozess (Modifikationen unterhalb der Satzebene wie z.B. die Übersetzung des kroatischen Ausdrucks *zadruga* mit *Gemeinschaft*) wurden bereits in einem anderen Beitrag behandelt (vgl. Engler und Cimer 2017). Der folgende Betrag konzentriert sich auf diejenigen Änderungen, die mit der Kritik der Gutachten in Beziehung gebracht werden können und den ganzen Zieltext beeinflussen.

Realismus entsprachen, wobei auch Elemente betont werden mussten, die den nicht-sozialistischen Raum im negativen Licht darstellten (vgl. 2009, S. 125).

Barbara Antkowiak, geb. Sparing, arbeitete von 1956 bis 1990 als Lektorin und Übersetzerin beim DDR-Verlag Volk & Welt. *Vlak u snijegu* gehört zu ihren früheren Übersetzungen ins Deutsche. Sie beschrieb in einem Interview die Situation in ihrem Verlag, der nicht zuletzt, weil er als einziger in der DDR für Literatur aus allen Ländern zuständig war, hohes Ansehen genoss (Lokatis, 2005, S. 16). Sie war im Lektorat mit dem Titel „Volksdemokratien“ für Literatur aus Jugoslawien und Bulgarien verantwortlich und meinte, dass jugoslawische Literatur in der Hierarchie der Übersetzungen am wenigsten interessant war: „Die Hierarchie bei uns war Polen – ČSSR – Ungarn – Rumänien – Bulgarien – Jugoslawien und dann erst die Asiaten. [...] Wenn es in Jugoslawien bessere Bücher gab, spielte das keine Rolle. Eigentlich bildete ich mit meinen Jugoslawen das Schlußlicht, dann kamen nur noch die Mongolen.“ (Antkowiak, 2005, S. 92). Wenn ein jugoslawisches Buch bereits im Westen veröffentlicht worden war, so Antkowiak (2005, S. 93), war es für ihren Verlag nicht mehr interessant. Es bestanden keine Kontakte der ostdeutschen zu den westdeutschen Übersetzern (ebd.), mit denen man eventuelle Übersetzungsprobleme hätte besprechen können und es gab wenige Jugoslawisch-Übersetzer (einige „jüngere“ lernten ihr Handwerk bei Antkowiak).

Während ihrer Karriere pflegte Antkowiak Kontakte zu Autor*innen wie Miroslav Krleža (sie übersetzte sein Bühnenstück „Glembajevi“), sie engagierte sich für junge zeitgenössischen Autor*innen und warb für südslawische Literaturen durch die Veröffentlichung von wichtigen Werken und thematischen Anthologien. Dazu zählten das Band „Moderne jugoslawische Prosa“ (1969) sowie „Erkundungen. 28 jugoslawische Erzähler“ (1979), für die sie auch das Nachwort schrieb. Auch nach der Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands und dem Verkauf des Verlages Volk & Welt hörte Antkowiak mit der Übersetzungstätigkeit nicht auf, sondern nahm an verschiedenen übersetzerischen Projekten teil, die sich besonders auf Werke aus dem ex-jugoslawischen Raum konzentrierten. 2003 wurde ihr der Leipziger Buchpreis für europäische Verständigung vergeben. Der Umstand, dass sie mehrfach Herausgeberschaft und Übersetzung von jugoslawischen Texten in Personalunion vereinte, lässt Antkowiak als relevant beim Herausgeben fremdsprachiger Übersetzungsliteratur in der DDR erscheinen. Da eine genauere Analyse dieser Umstände den Rahmen dieses Beitrags sprengen würde, analysiert der vorliegende Beitrag nicht das exemplarische Handeln von Barbara Sparing/Antkowiak als Übersetzerin und Herausgeberin in der DDR im Allgemeinen, sondern Sparings

Vorgehensweise bei der Übersetzung des slawischen Kinderbuchs *Vlak u snijegu* von Mato Lovrak in der DDR und die möglichen Gründe dabei.

Der jugoslawische Autor Mato Lovrak bezog den Stoff aus den Erfahrungen, die er als Grundschullehrer in mehreren kleineren kroatischen Orten und in Zagreb gesammelt hat (vgl. Kolar-Dimitrijević, 2012, S. 31-43 nach Engler und Cimer, 2017, S. 100) und hat überwiegend kinder- und jugendliterarische Prosatexte geschrieben. Seine bekanntesten und unter kroatischen Kindern bis heute beliebtesten Werke sind *Der Zug im Schnee* (1933) (vgl. Zima, 2001, S. 256) und *Pero Kvržicas Bande* (1933). Anfang der 1930er Jahre führt Lovrak einen realistischen Erzähldiskurs in die kroatische Kinder- und Jugendliteratur ein, der Ähnlichkeiten zur realistisch-neusachlichen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der Weimarer Republik aufweist⁶. Die Handlung in diesen Werken beruht auf Kinderfiguren, die als Kinder (und nicht mehr aus der Erwachsenenperspektive) charakterisiert werden und relativ selbstständig handeln, die Handlung selbst aber ist stark didaktisch gefärbt (Engler und Cimer, 2017, S. 100).

Der Roman *Der Zug im Schnee* handelt von Kindern eines Dorfes (das Große Dorf genannt), die auf Anregung ihres Lehrers eine Gemeinschaft bilden, ihr Anführer ist der arme aber kluge Ljuban. Bei einem Ausflug in die Stadt wird der Lehrer krank, die Gemeinschaft muss alleine nach Hause, unter Ljubans Anführung. Nach einem Schneesturm bleibt der Zug im Schnee stecken, die Gemeinschaft zerbricht in zwei Gruppen (die 2. Gruppe unter der Anführung vom reichen Pero). Tapfere Kinder helfen, den Zug aus dem Schnee zu befreien, die Gemeinschaft versöhnt sich. Die Relevanz von Lovraks Werk und besonders des Romans *Vlak u snijegu* liegt im Übergang aus der fantastischen in die realistische Kinder- und Jugendliteratur auf dem kroatischsprachigen Gebiet. Dieser Übergang stimmt mit dem Übergang in anderen nationalen Literaturen überein, womit Lovrak zur zentralen Figur der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur seiner Zeit wird (vgl. Zima, 2001, S. 255). Seine Romane sind tief im sozialen Kontext verankert, insbesondere mit der Situation im dörflichen Milieu, das eine tiefe Kluft zwischen gesellschaftlichen Klassen der Armen und Reichen aufzeigt, sowie eine Auseinandersetzung mit der Tradition und den neuen sozialen Momenten, deren Träger eben Dorflehrer sind, wie Lovrak selbst (vgl. Zima, 2001, S. 257). Seine Literatur ist sozial empfindlich und ist in großem Maße eine Reaktion auf die ungünstigen sozialen Umstände, in denen sich seine Charaktere

⁶ Im Beitrag "Dječji roman tridesetih godina: Mato Lovrak i Erich Kästner" [Der Kinderroman der Dreißiger Jahre: Mato Lovrak und Erich Kästner] vergleicht Dubravka Zima die literarische Produktion im Bereich Kinderliteratur der Dreißiger Jahre mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Lovraks und Kästners Werken, wobei sie Ähnlichkeiten und Parallelen in der Entwicklung literaturtheoretischen Veränderungen aufweist. Diese beziehen sich auf die realistische Erzählweise, die Widerspiegelung des sozialen Kontexts und die Verselbstständigung der Kinderfiguren im Werk (vgl. Zima, 2001).

befinden, was auch eine Reflexion seiner Realität ist. Lovraks Roman erschien als Erstausgabe 1933 und wurde danach mehrmals verlegt und in mehrere Sprachen übersetzt. Durch einen Vergleich verschiedener jugoslawischer Romanausgaben von *Vlak u snijegu* ist ein Unterschied zwischen der Erstausgabe des Romans aus dem Jahr 1933 und seinen Nachkriegsausgaben erkennbar: die Erstausgabe enthält nämlich ein einleitendes Kapitel, in dem das sozioökonomische Umfeld der Handlung etwas genauer beschrieben wird. Der Autor stellt darin in einer Breitwinkelperspektive die Hauptstraße dar, die durch das Dorf führt und auf der sowohl reiche als auch arme Dorfbewohner zu treffen sind. Der Fokus der Beschreibung verlegt sich anschließend von dem Dorf und seinem sozialen Aufbau auf die Kinder und die Schule (vgl. Molvarec, 2018, S. 48). Die Ursache für das Auslassen dieses Kapitels in seinen späteren Ausgaben kann in der Zeit der Veröffentlichung liegen. Nämlich, *Vlak u snijegu* wurde ursprünglich im sog. „Ersten Jugoslawien“ bzw. Königreich der Serben, Kroaten und Slowenen (1918-1945) veröffentlicht. Als 1946 die erste Nachkriegsausgabe erscheint, besteht stattdessen das sog. „Zweite Jugoslawien“ – die (Sozialistische) Föderative (Volks-)Republik Jugoslawien (1945-1991) unter der Führung der Kommunistischen Partei Jugoslawiens und später Josip Broz Tito.⁷ Wichtig zu erwähnen ist, dass auch in der hier untersuchten Übersetzung dieses erste, später ausgelassene Kapitel nicht vorhanden ist.

2. Der Analyserahmen: zum Kontext der Entstehungszeit von Sparings Übersetzung

2.1 Zum literaturgeschichtlichen Kontext der 1950er Jahre, inkl. Kinder- und Jugendliteratur in der DDR

Obwohl stellenweise auch Planungsliteratur genannt (vgl. Beutin et al., 2019, S. 516), weist der aktuelle Forschungsstand zur DDR-Literatur auf,⁸ dass es sich um ein hochkomplexes

⁷ Für mehr Details über die einzelnen Ausgaben, vgl. Engler und Cimer (2017).

⁸ Eine ausführlichere Liste von Quellen zur Forschung der KJL in der DDR besteht aus folgenden Einträgen: *Almanach zur Kinderliteratur der DDR. Bücher und Bilder*. Hamburg, 1989; *Beiträge zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Hg. im Auftrag des Kuratoriums sozialistische Kinderliteratur der DDR. Berlin. Jg. 1 (1962)–Jg. 28 (1990), H. 1–94; Bosse, H. (1995) *Ein Regenbogen ist schön. Betrachtungen zu Bilderbuchgeschichten*. Berlin; Bühler, A.-T. (1995) *»Ihm war nicht zu helfen!«*. *Verweigerung bei Jugendlichenfiguren der DDR-Prosa der siebziger Jahre*. Wetzlar; Emmrich, C. (1987): *Literatur und Medienkünste für junge Leute*. Berlin; *Helden nach Plan? Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der DDR zwischen Wagnis und Zensur*. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Rahmen der 19. Oldenburger Kinder- und Jugendbuchmesse. Oldenburg 1993; Gansel, C. (1997) „Kinder und Jugendliteratur in der SBZ/DDR in modernisierungstheoretischer Sicht. Aufriß eines Problemfeldes“ in: R. Wild (Hrsg.). *Gesellschaftliche Modernisierung und Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Röhrig Universitätsverlag; Peltsch, S. (2001). *Wende-Punkte. Zur Situation der Literatur und der Literaten in den neuen Bundesländern*. Weinheim; Richter, K. (1990) *Zeitgenössische Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der DDR aus wirkungsästhetischer Sicht. Analysen und Interpretationen epischer Texte (1970–1985)*. Berlin; Roeder, C. (2006): *Phantastisches im Leseland. Die Entwicklung phantastischer Kinderliteratur der DDR (einschließlich der SBZ). Eine gattungsgeschichtliche Analyse*. Frankfurt a. M.; Vollprecht, S. (1994). *Science-Fiction für Kinder in der DDR*. Stuttgart; Wieckhorst, K. (2000). *Die Darstellung des »antifaschistischen Widerstandes« in der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der SBZ/DDR*. Frankfurt a. M.; Gansel, C. (2009). „Zwischen ‚Tricks der Erinnerung‘ und Klischeebildung? Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erzählen über die DDR in Texten für Kinder und Jugendliche“ in: W. Bergem, R. Wesel (Hg.): *Deutschland fiktiv. Die deutsche Einheit, Teilung und Vereinigung im Spiegel von Literatur und Film*. Münster,

Phänomen handelt: einerseits als „keine ausdifferenzierte gesellschaftliche Wertsphäre von eigener Gesetzlichkeit [...], programmatisch eingebaut in die allgemeine Strategie, sozialistische Verhältnisse durchzusetzen und 'sozialistische Persönlichkeiten' als deren Träger zu erziehen“ (Beutin et al., 2019, S. 515) beschrieben, andererseits aber schon seit den 1950er Jahren, ein zwischen Autoren, Übersetzern, Kulturpolitikern und Verlagen sowie ihren Gutachtern und der gesellschaftlichen Öffentlichkeit ausgehandelter Prozess. Einer der Aspekte, der die Literatur der DDR zur Planungsliteratur machte, war die sozialistische Erziehung der Leser durch die Darstellung von Bildern und Situationen aus verschiedenen Lebensbereichen, wobei diese meistens mit den Wertvorstellungen der DDR einhergehen. Der allgemeine gesellschaftliche Plan war „die Erziehung einer neuen Generation, die selbstständig denken und verantwortungsbewußt handeln lernt, die sich rückhaltlos für den Frieden und den demokratischen Aufbau einsetzt“ (Dietrich, 1983, S. 345).⁹ Schriftsteller und Literaturvermittler erfüllten daher in der DDR eine sozialpädagogische bzw. „sozialaktivistische“ Aufgabe (zit. nach Emmerich, 1994, S. 137) mit dem Ziel einer „Neuerziehung des Menschen“ (Dietrich, 1983, S. 331). Diese Einstellung war von der Gründung der DDR bis in die 1970er Jahre präsent. Die Anfang der 1950er Jahre ausgelöste Auseinandersetzung über den Formalismus resultierte in der Entscheidung, dass „sozialistischer Realismus, Pflege des progressiven kulturellen Erbes der Deutschen und Volksverbundenheit [...] fortan den Regelkanon für Kunst und Kultur in der DDR [bilden würden]“ (Opitz, 2009, S. 95-96). Jedoch unterlagen die Prinzipien dieses sozialistischen Realismus historischen Modifizierungen und individuellen Umsetzungen in Abhängigkeit von einer Vielzahl an Faktoren, zu denen beispielsweise die Gattung des Textes oder bestimmte Motive (gesellschaftliches Eigentum bzw. Volkseigentum) oder Darstellungsweisen (z. B. das dörfliche Milieu) zählten. Erwünscht waren entsprechend Elemente des Antifaschismus, Antiimperialismus bzw. Antikolonialismus sowie die Darstellung der moralischen und materiellen Überlegenheit des sozialistischen Weltsystems über das kapitalistische des westlichen Klassenfeindes (Steinlein et al., 2006, S. 16). Der sozialistische Realismus der fünfziger Jahre ging jedoch schon in den 1960er Jahren in eine Art „ästhetischer Emanzipation“ der DDR-Literatur über (Mittenzwei, 2001), aber die hier analysierte Übersetzung aus 1959 entspricht immer noch den Anforderungen der sog. Aufbau-literatur.

Lit Verlag; Gansel, C. (2000). „Von der Einpassung über den Protest zum Ausbruch - Jugendkonfigurationen in der Literatur in der DDR vor und nach 1968“ in: R. Rosenberg et al. (Hrsg.): *Der Geist der Unruhe. 1968 im Vergleich. Wissenschaft - Literatur - Medien*. Akademie Verlag; Richter, K. (2016) *Die erzählende Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der DDR Band 1. Entwicklungslinien – Themen und Genres – Autorenportraits und Textanalysen*, Schneider Verlag Hohengehren; u. v. m.

⁹ Und diese neue Erziehung „muß schon in der Schule beginnen“ (Dietrich 1983: 345), z. B. durch Lektüre und Kinderbücher.

Obwohl auch die Kinderliteratur, nach Steinlein et al. (vgl. 2006, S. 14), sogar bis in die 1970er Jahre von den ideologischen Vorstellungen der DDR nicht stark abgewichen ist, kann man sagen, dass die KJL der DDR Ende der 1950er Jahre trotz aller Kompromisse und Zugeständnisse durch Vielheit und Einzigartigkeit gekennzeichnet ist. Die Kinderliteratur besaß eine Nischenfunktion, die es aufgrund anderer Zensurprinzipien ermöglichte, Gesellschaftskritik auf indirektem Wege und mit literarischen Mitteln zu üben und die spielerische Funktion von Literatur zu bewahren. Die Entwicklungsanregungen kamen durch Übersetzungen von z. B. sowjetischer KJL oder von Astrid Lindbergs Werken, trotzdem ist sowohl aus dem Verlags- als auch aus dem Außengutachten für Sparings Übersetzung von *Vlak u snijegu* sichtbar, dass Ideologie dabei eine relativ große Rolle spielte. Sogar gesetzlich hat man festgestellt, dass es "eine hohe Pflicht aller Schriftsteller und Dichter [ist], an der Schaffung einer neuen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur mitzuwirken, die die demokratische Erziehung der heranwachsenden Generation fördert."¹⁰ Mit diesem Ziel wurde den jungen Leser*innen in einfachen literarischen Formen im aufklärerischen Ton gezeigt, wie die Welt aussieht und „wo [ihr] Platz und [ihr] Aufgabenfeld innerhalb dieser Ordnung zu finden sind“ (Richter, 2010, S. 26). In diesem Sinne wurden Kinder als Partner der Erwachsenen verstanden, sie waren Verbündete im Klassenkampf und mussten aktiv am Aufbau des Sozialismus teilnehmen (Altner, 1972, S. 8, zit. nach Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2009, S. 3).

Richter (vgl. 1995, S. 292) identifiziert eben zur Zeit der 1950er und 1960er die größten Unterschiede zwischen der KJL in BRD und DDR:

Die Kindfiguren [in der KL der DDR] bewegen ausschließlich Fragen der weiteren Entwicklung, die vornehmlich im Rahmen des Dorfes dargestellt wird. Die Söhne (sie dominieren im Spektrum der Hauptfiguren) vertreten direkt die Ansichten ihrer Väter. Ihr Wirken dient dem Ziel, die Vorstellungen ihrer Väter umzusetzen, die sie selbst verinnerlicht haben. Dieser Mechanismus bezieht sich ausschließlich auf die „positiven Kindfiguren“. (Ebd.)

Da das kindliche Leben in die dominanten Prozesse des gesellschaftlichen Systems eingebunden war, stimmte das Kindheitsbild oft mit dem Leben der Erwachsenen überein. So versuchte man in einigen literarischen Werken für Kinder eine zukünftige glückliche

¹⁰ Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Gesetz über die Teilnahme der Jugend am Aufbau der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik und die Förderung der Jugend in Schule und Beruf, bei Sport und Erholung, vom 8. Februar 1950, Art. 6, Par. 35 (1).

Gesellschaft darzustellen, die automatisch auch zur Realität werden sollte, wenn die kindlichen Leser erwachsen geworden waren. Dargestellt wurden eher positive Helden – Kinder, die tapfer, optimistisch und selbstaufopfernd am Leben der Gemeinschaft teilnehmen. Die Teilnahme am Leben des Kollektivs war von höchster Ordnung, Individualität war (wenigstens in den ersten Jahrzehnten der DDR-Literatur) von sekundärer Bedeutung (Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2003, S. 242). Richter (2010) teilt die Darstellung der Beziehung zwischen der Hauptfigur und dem Kollektiv in zwei Gruppen ein. In der ersten Variante „ist das Kind bereits von den Idealen überzeugt, wirkt im Sinne der Gemeinschaft und ist als Vorbildfigur für den kindlichen Leser angelegt“ (Richter, 2010, S. 26). In der zweiten Variante „befindet sich die kindliche Hauptfigur (noch) in Außenseiterposition und steht den gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen zögernd bis distanziert gegenüber. Doch am Ende finden auch diese Kinderfiguren den Weg zum Kollektiv“ (ebd.). In den für diese Arbeit bedeutenden 1950er Jahren dominierte die Darstellung des sozialen Umfelds (Dorfgemeinschaft, Genossenschaft, Pioniergruppe), wobei das Erwachsenwerden und die Probleme, die damit einhergehen, nicht von den Problemen der Erwachsenen zu trennen sind: „Abenteuer und Spiele der literarischen Kinder sind nahezu ausschließlich mit den dominierenden Lebensfragen der Erwachsenen verbunden (man entdeckt den Dieb, der die Genossenschaft bestiehlt; man stellt nachts den Saboteur der neuen gemeinschaftlichen Arbeit; man entwirft Flugblätter und gestaltet Theaterstücke, um die noch Zögernden für 'das Neue' zu gewinnen).“ (Richter, 2010, S. 28) Unerwünscht und als unrealistisch betrachtet wurden Texte, in denen Kinder in einer idyllischen, geschützten und von den Erwachsenen getrennten Welt leben, denn aus den Texten sollten Kinder lernen, in der realen Welt zu leben (Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2009, S. 4). In diesem Sinne nennt Altner Kinderliteratur auch Gebrauchsliteratur (1988, S. 8 zit. nach Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2009, S. 22).

2.2 Zensur als alltäglicher Begleiter schriftstellerischer und Übersetzungstätigkeit in der DDR

Jeder Text in der DDR wurde vor der Veröffentlichung auf mehreren Ebenen geprüft, einerseits musste er ideologisch in die DDR-Richtlinien und andererseits in den Themenplan der Verlage passen. Im Anschluss an die Zuspitzung der Formalismus-Debatte wurde 1951 das Amt für Literatur und Verlagswesen gegründet.¹¹ Seine Aufgabe war es, Druckgenehmigungsverfahren

¹¹ Später Hauptverwaltung Verlagswesen (1956-1958), dann Abteilung Literatur und Buchwesen (1958-1963) und schließlich Hauptverwaltung Verlage und Buchhandel genannt (1969-1990).

durchzuführen, die Qualität der Literatur zu begutachten und, wenn nötig, einzugreifen.¹² Der Vorgang der Begutachtung war gesetzlich festgelegt und wurde als eine Prüfung der Textqualität sowie der Leitung der Druckerzeugnisse „nach den politischen, wirtschaftlichen und individuellen Bedürfnissen“ (Berger et al., 1978, S. 150 nach Opitz, 2009, S. 82-83) beschrieben. Bei der Beantragung einer Druckgenehmigung mussten zum Text zwei Gutachten eingereicht werden, eines vom Verlagslektorat und eines von einem Außengutachter. Zwischen ihnen sollte allgemeine Übereinstimmung herrschen und der Verlagslektor sollte in seinem Gutachten auf ideologische Probleme eingehen (Opitz, 2009, S. 83). Zensur im Bereich der Kinderliteratur hatte zum Hauptziel, eine klare Ausrichtung der Werke auf die politische und ideologische Erziehung der zukünftigen erwachsenen Bürger, jedoch veränderten sich ihre Kriterien mit der Zeit. Während in den 1950ern vieles gefährlich erschien, wurden in den 1960er auch gesellschaftskritische und innovative Texte erlaubt, d. h. die Zensur erlebte gelegentlich Tauwetter-Phasen (Steinlein et al., 2006, S. 104; Lenschen, 1998, S. 167). Auch Kinderliteratur musste sich an die Standards und Regeln der Gesellschaft halten und wurde zensuriert, anscheinend aber in geringerem Maße (Steinlein et al., 2006, S. 7).¹³

Mehrere Verlage in der DDR ließen von freiberuflichen Übersetzern Werke ins Deutsche übersetzen. Abgedeckt waren sowohl Weltsprachen als auch Minderheitensprachen. In den Verlagen arbeitete eine große Anzahl von Lektoren, Redakteuren und Übersetzern und dadurch war die Qualität der Übersetzungen auf hohem Niveau. Zudem haben die Übersetzer selbst mit großem persönlichem Einsatz gearbeitet, da sie dadurch „in regem und kontinuierlichem geistigen Kontakt mit aller Welt [standen], wie das in der DDR andernorts so selbstverständlich nicht möglich war. Deshalb fehlte jene für die DDR-Gesellschaft bezeichnende Dominanz des Provinziellen, die Orientierung am Mittelmäßigen, Kleinkarierten; es war eine Nische mit Weitblick!“ (Thiele, 1991, S. 261). Die Kehrseite der Übersetzerarbeit war nicht idyllisch: Übersetzer mussten lange und oft vergeblich darauf warten, in die Länder, für deren Sprachen sie sich spezialisiert hatten, zu reisen. Die Texte mussten jahrelang auf den Druck warten, da Papier und Druckkapazität und somit auch Veröffentlichungspläne begrenzt waren. Manchmal wurden Übersetzungen aus kulturpolitischen Gründen überhaupt nicht gedruckt. Wenn man die DDR und die BRD bezüglich der Übersetzungsproduktion miteinander vergleicht, wurde

¹² Beide Begriffe, Druckgenehmigungsverfahren und Begutachtung, waren synonym mit Zensur, einem Wort, das in der DDR Öffentlichkeit nicht existierte (Reichardt, 2011, S. 364).

¹³ Das heißt jedoch nicht, dass es in den Texten keine problematischen Stellen gab, insbesondere die 1950er bieten interessante und nahezu absurde Beispiele. So wurde darüber diskutiert, ob Tito, der Name einer Präriewölfin, mit dem jugoslawischen (und „faschistischen“) Präsidenten zu verbinden wäre; einer nach China fliegenden Marionette wurde vorgeschrieben, durch Moskau zu fliegen oder wenigstens „von weitem den roten Stern auf dem Kremelturm blitzen zu sehen.“ (Lokatis, 1999, S. 112f nach Steinlein et al., 2006, S. 101f).

sowohl doppelt übersetzt (vorhanden waren eine westdeutsche und eine ostdeutsche Übersetzung) als auch aus dem Westen in den Osten übernommen und umgekehrt (ebd.).

Bei der Auswahl der zu übersetzenden Texte wurden mehrere Faktoren einbezogen. Der erste Faktor war wirtschaftlich: die DDR hat sich nach dem Krieg nur langsam erholt, die Mark der DDR konnte nicht für westliche Währungen ausgetauscht werden, die Inflation war hoch und der Westen setzte Handelssanktionen gegen die DDR ein (Wagner, 1988, S. 72, zit. nach Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2003, S. 245). All dies beeinflusste die Wahl der Texte und die Hauptfrage war: Lohnt es sich, dieses Werk zu übersetzen bzw. die Rechte dafür zu erlangen? Aus dieser Frage leitet sich auch das zweite Auswahlkriterium ab, die Ideologie: Wenn der Text inhaltlich den Richtlinien des sozialistischen Realismus nicht folgte, kam das Werk für Übersetzung oft nicht in Frage. Übersetzungen mussten also den gleichen ideologischen Kriterien entsprechen wie in der DDR verfasste Literatur (Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2009, S. 91-92, 247). Creutziger nennt drei Auswahlkriterien bei der Beurteilung der zu übersetzenden Werke: erstens die Ideologie bzw. parteipolitische Zweckmäßigkeit des Werkes, zweitens die ökonomische Seite der Publikationsrechte und drittens den Wunsch der DDR-Führung, ein modernes und aufgeklärtes Bild der DDR zu präsentieren (1998, S. 21). Es war zu verhindern, dass die DDR im Ausland den Ruf bekommt, ein Land mit Zensur zu sein, und so wurden die meisten bedeutenden literarischen Werke übersetzt, mit Ausnahme von solchen, die besonders kritisch gegenüber dem Kommunismus waren (Creutziger, 1998, S. 20-21) nennt hier beispielsweise George Orwell sowie Werke von DDR- und sowjetischen Dissidenten, Charbon (1998, S. 164) erwähnt Günter Grass' *Die Blechtrommel*).

2.3 Richtlinien für Übersetzungen nach Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2009) und die zwei Gutachten zu Sparings Übersetzung

Bei der Analyse von Übersetzungen aus dem englischsprachigen Ausland geht Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2009) von André Lefeveres Theorie von Patronage und Umschreibung (*rewriting*) (siehe Kapitel 3) und konzentriert sich dabei auf extratextuelle Faktoren. Sie identifiziert dabei Richtlinien, die Herausgeber in Gutachten eingesetzt haben, um Werke als übersetzungswürdig und wertvoll darzustellen. Das Wichtigste war, dass die Texte Elemente enthielten, die dem sozialistischen Realismus entsprachen, während gegensätzliche Elemente betont wurden, um den nicht-sozialistischen Raum im negativen Licht darzustellen und so den sozialistischen Raum auf eine höhere Stufe zu erheben (2009, S. 125). Die wiederkehrenden Motive sind die Folgenden:

- a) Elemente des sozialistischen Paradigmas: Parteilichkeit, Realismus, Humanismus, Optimismus, das Typische und die Authentizität, Zugänglichkeit und Verständlichkeit
- b) Positive Motive: Aktualität und Gegenwartsnähe; Arbeitsethos und Lernbereitschaft; Gemeinschaftsgeist und Solidarität; aktive Teilnahme, Initiative und Selbstvertrauen; Parteitreue, Treue zur Sowjetunion und dem Sozialismus; Frieden; der positive Held; pädagogischer Nutzen; Gesellschaftskritik
- c) Negative Motive: Kapitalismus, Imperialismus und Profitgier; kleinbürgerliche Werte; soziale Ungleichheit, Klassensystem, Aussteiger; Faschismus, Semitismus/Zionismus; Religion, Fatalismus, Aberglaube; Gewalt, Verbrechen, Sex; Hooliganismus, Kriminalität; Realitätsflucht, Drogen, Entfremdung; Phantasie; Rassismus, Ausnutzung, Kolonialismus, Unterdrückung jeglicher Art; Sentimentalität, Romantik, Kitsch; apolitisches, antipolitisches oder neutrales Denken; Gleichgültigkeit, Resignation, Unschlüssigkeit, Passivität; Individualismus; Formalismus, L'Art pour l'art Einstellung (vgl. Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2009, S. 125-126, S. 147-153)

Bei der Begutachtung der zu übersetzenden Texte wurden außer dem Inhalt auch der Textstatus im Herkunftsland und der Ruf des Autors in Betracht gezogen (Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2009, S. 127).

Zu Sparings Übersetzung von Lovraks *Vlak u snijegu* liegen zwei Gutachten vor: ein Verlagsgutachten von Ruth Krenn vom 2. Februar 1959, einer in der DDR aktiven Autorin, Übersetzerin und Herausgeberin, das zweite Gutachten (externes Gutachten) stammt von Gerhard Holtz-Baumert vom 23. März 1959, der unter anderem Chefredakteur verschiedener Zeitschriften für Kinder- und Jugendliteratur war und auch selber Kinderliteratur sowie theoretische Arbeiten über Kinderliteratur verfasste.¹⁴ In beiden Gutachten werden die Handlung des Romans und das Leben und Werk des Autors beschrieben. Darüber hinaus werden positive Merkmale des Textes im Allgemeinen, aber auch besondere Probleme erwähnt.

In Krenns Gutachten wird hervorgehoben, dass der Roman zum „beliebtesten Kinderbuch“ geworden ist, das zeigt, „wie wichtig ein Kollektiv ist und wie es die Kinder dazu erzieht, verantwortungsbewusst zu sein.“ (BArch Akte DR 1/ 5029a, Bl. 439) In der kritischen Einschätzung des Romans beginnt Krenn mit der Behauptung, dass der Roman auf soziale

¹⁴ Das Verlagsgutachten von Ruth Krenn ist online zugänglich unter http://www.argus.bstu.bundesarchiv.de/dr1_druck/mets/dr1_druck_5029a/index.htm?target=midosaFraContent&backlink=/dr1_druck/index.htm-kid-5f9b7f19-e705-47b7-a5a4-005e6834e853&sign=DR%201/5029a#192, das Außengutachten von Gerhard Holtz-Baumert ist aus urheberrechtlichen Gründen nicht online einsehbar.

Unterschiede zwischen der armen und reichen Klasse hindeutet, wobei er auch zeigt, dass der Bruch in der Gemeinschaft durch die Willkür der als reich beschriebenen Kindern, die störerisch wirken, passiert (ebd.). Als implizit kann die Einschätzung von Krenn verstanden werden, dass im Roman "gesellschaftliche Kräfte, die den Hintergrund bilden, schwach dargestellt werden" (BArch Akte DR 1/ 5029a, Bl. 440). Eine mögliche Interpretation dieser Stelle wäre, dass Krenn das didaktische Potential des Textes in den durch Klassenunterschiede verursachten Störfällen im gesellschaftlichen System sieht. Sie sagt, „[d]er Bruch, der in der Gemeinschaft entsteht ist darauf zurückzuführen, daß Pero und Milan – weil sie reiche Eltern haben – glauben, sich alles erlauben zu können und die Gemeinschaft stören.“ (ebd.) Durch die Darstellung dieser Störfälle wird der kindliche Leser belehrt, dass das im Kontext der DDR herrschende System (Sozialismus), im Gegensatz zum Kapitalismus, die bessere Lösung ist.

Krenn erwähnt dazu noch Schwächen in der schwarz-weißen schematischen Charakterzeichnung der zwei Hauptgestalten Ljuban und Pero, wobei der arme Ljuban als absolut positiv und der reiche Pero als „ein widerliches Kind“ beschrieben wird (ebd.). Ein anderer Kritikpunkt besteht darin, dass die Handlung aus bloßen Zufällen ohne „echte Spannung“ aufgebaut wird, wobei die gesellschaftlichen Hintergründe blaß und „schwach behandelt“ bleiben (BArch Akte DR 1/ 5029a, Bl. 440). Unter „besonderen Problemen“ betont Krenn die Entstehungszeit des Romans und die unbefriedigt gebliebene „Erwartung, daß sich gerade aus seinem [Lovraks] Werk etwas Geeignetes finden würde [um den Lesern in der DDR die serbokroatische Kinderliteratur näher zu bringen], weil Lovrak zu den bekanntesten jugoslawischen Kinderautoren gehört" (ebd.).

Holtz-Baumerts Gutachten hebt Einfühlungsvermögen und gestalterische Kraft des Autors, starke Bilder, überzeugende Charakterisierung und Dialoge der Kinder als die positiven Aspekte des Romans hervor, aber bald wird im weiteren Text auf bestimmte „ideologisch-pädagogische Probleme“ hingewiesen, einleitend mit dem folgenden Punkt:

Der Autor ist ein zeitgenössischer jugoslawischer Schriftsteller. Das muss uns veranlassen, sehr achtsam zu prüfen, ob nicht irgendwelche revisionistischen Ideen dargestellt und eingeschleppt werden. Ich möchte das in diesem Falle verneinen – das Entstehungsdatum müßte das schon ausschliessen. Vom ‘Nationalkommunismus’, vom ‘Dritten Weg’ und ähnlichem ist nichts zu spüren. Aber etwas anderes, das in gewisser Weise mit den Erziehungsprinzipien des Revisionismus zusammenhängt. (BArch Akte DR 1/ 5029a, Bl. 435)

Die Hauptkritikpunkte („bedenkliche Fragen“) im Gutachten von Holtz-Baumert sind die folgenden:

1. Unbestimmte Handlungszeit und Handlungsort – den kindlichen Leser*innen ist schwer festzustellen, wo und wann die Handlung spielt. „Vielleicht ist dem jugoslawischen Leser sofort klar, wo und wann das spielt. Dann müßte man es für unseren Leser deutlich machen.“ (BArch Akte DR 1/ 5029a, Bl. 436)
2. Die unrealistische Kindergemeinschaft – „Ausgerechnet eine Gemeinschaft nach Vorbild serbischer Gemeinschaften der Vergangenheit muß es sein. Und alle Kinder sind darin, arm oder reich. Natürlich zeigt der Autor die Widersprüche, die aus dem Besitz oder Nichtbesitz der Eltern kommen. Er tut das sehr gut. Aber als Organisation ist diese Gemeinschaft zum Scheitern verurteilt und im Grunde eine Donquichotterie des Lehrers. Es ist edle Menschenfreundlichkeit, nicht mehr. Vielleicht gab es um diese Zeit in Jugoslawien keine Pionierorganisation oder ähnliches. Aber dann hätte der Autor konsequenter sein müßen.“ (BArch Akte DR 1/ 5029a, Bl. 436-437)
3. Der unrealistische Schluss – „Dieser Schluss ist unrealistisch. Er versöhnt. Schön, wenn Pero zurückgefunden hätte, das ist möglich, aber der Autor müßte doch zeigen, daß ihr Zusammensein nur vorübergehend ist. Jeder Leser muß sich fragen: Was wird, wenn beide älter werden? Pero wird der reiche egoistische, herrschsüchtige Bauer, wozu er schon Anlagen gezeigt hat, Ljuban der Kämpfer, vielleicht der Partisan des Befreiungskampfes. Das hätte der Leser erfahren müßen an Stelle des Traumes. Auch bei diesem sonst sehr schönen Zukunftstraum vermeidet der Autor den Begriff Sozialismus. Das Ende ist verwaschen. Es hebt vieles von dem auf, was vorher angedeutet oder gestaltet wurde.“ (BArch Akte DR 1/ 5029a, Bl. 437)

Das Gutachten wird mit dem folgenden Kommentar beendet:

Diese Probleme fasse ich unter 'bedenkliche Fragen' zusammen. Gewiss, man soll nicht das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütten, aber man muss in diesem Fall auch besonders vorsichtig sein. Es ist zu erwägen, ob durch geschickte Bearbeitung das Manuskript gewonnen werden könnte, in der Richtung, dass die Gegensätze stärker hervortreten. Auch das Nachwort müsste präziser gefasst werden und mehr erklären. Sollte das nicht möglich sein, was ich annehme, sollte man eine Herausgabe im Verlag noch einmal genau prüfen. Wie sie hier vorliegt, weist die Erzählung einige ernste Gefahren auf. [...] Die Verantwortung bei der Herausgabe eines noch so kleinen Buches aus Jugoslawien

ist immer groß – auch die Kinderliteratur hängt mit strategischen und taktischen Fragen unserer Politik eng zusammen. (BArch Akte DR 1/ 5029a, Bl. 437)

Eine genauere Einsicht in die Gutachten zeigt, dass scheinbar in beiden der Sozialismus als Ideologie präsent ist. Bei Krenn implizit, bei Holtz-Baumert etwas expliziter. Ferner ist auch sichtbar, dass der Ausgangstext bezüglich der darin bearbeiteten Motive und Techniken völlig mit den nach Karin Richter (2010) beschriebenen Charakteristika, Motiven und Techniken der in der DDR zu dieser Zeit dominanten Literatur übereinstimmen. Dies bezieht sich auf die Darstellung des Dorflebens, die Darstellung der Jungen bzw. Söhne als Protagonisten bzw. den Kontrast zwischen ihnen im Sinne ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu unterschiedlichen Klassen (Pero ist arm und Ljuban ist reich), wobei der Vertreter der armen Klasse am Ende als Sieger aus dem Konflikt herauskommt.

3. Die Frage der Ideologie im literarischen Übersetzen (von Kinderliteratur)

Ältere linguistische Ansätze in der Translationswissenschaft konzentrierten sich auf die Sprache und ließen die Tatsache, dass Literatur nicht unabhängig von Gesellschaft und Kultur existiert, mehr oder weniger unbeachtet. Ab den späten 1970ern entwickelten sich Strömungen, die dem kulturellen Rahmen des Übersetzungsprozesses mehr Beachtung schenkten. Eine der frühen Theorien dieser Art, die Polysystemtheorie, entwickelt von Itamar Even-Zohar (1990), sieht Literatur als ein Subsystem im größeren Polysystem Kultur und lenkt den Blick der Forschung auf äußere Einflüsse, die den Übersetzungsprozess regieren. Systeme sind voneinander abhängig und beeinflussen einander, sie existieren in einem größeren Kontext, in einer dynamischen Hierarchie der Systeme. Übersetzte Literatur als ein eigenes Polysystem bleibt dabei in der Zielkultur meistens eher peripher. Aufbauend auf der Polysystemtheorie verlangt Gideon Toury (1995) die Entwicklung eines deskriptiven Strangs der Translationswissenschaft, die bis dahin eher präskriptiv ausgerichtet war. Er führt den Begriff von Normen in den Übersetzungsprozess ein, unter denen er die Übertragung allgemeiner gemeinsamer Werte oder Ideen einer Gemeinschaft in Handlungsanweisungen für bestimmte Situationen versteht. Normen geben an, was vorgeschrieben oder verboten, toleriert oder erlaubt ist, sie werden während der Sozialisierung angeeignet, implizieren immer bestimmte (reale oder hypothetische, positive oder negative) Sanktionen und dienen als Evaluationskriterien für konkrete Fälle (1995, S. 55). Der Übergang von Übersetzung als Text zu Übersetzung als Kultur und Politik ist als ein Merkmal des „cultural turns“ identifiziert (Snell-Hornby nach Bassnett und Lefevere, 1990; Tymoczko und Gentzler, 2002, S. xvi) nannten ihn auch „power turn“,

weil durch neue Ansätze verschiedene Fragen der Machtverhältnisse mehr in den Fokus gekommen sind.

Übersetzen stellt eine Art interkulturellen Transfers dar, indem der Ausgangstext in einer anderen Sprache einer anderen und neuen Leserschaft präsentiert wird. Toury (1995) und Even-Zohar (1990) sehen in diesem Prozess eine Anpassung des Textes bzw. der ausgangskulturellen an zielkulturelle Modelle, wobei die Zielkultur die Oberhand hat. Munday meint, dass der Text dabei normalerweise nicht in Frage gestellt, bzw. er wird als Original gelesen und eventuelle Änderungen des Textes bleiben unbemerkt (2007, S. 196-197). Lefevere nennt Übersetzungen ursprünglich „refracted texts“ und definiert sie als Texte, die für ein bestimmtes Publikum (z.B. Kinder) bearbeitet („processed“) oder an eine bestimmte Poetik oder Ideologie angepasst wurden (1981, S. 72). Er und Bassnett (1992, S. vii) schreiben im Vorwort zu *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, dass jede Form von *rewriting* Manipulation ist und eine positive oder negative Funktion auf die Zielkultur ausüben kann – es kann einerseits neue Elemente einführen und zur Evolution von Literatur verhelfen oder andererseits Innovation unterdrücken.

Lefevere (1992, S. 8) erwähnt Übersetzungen in totalitären Systemen als offensichtlichere Beispiele von *rewriting*, schließt aber offenere Gesellschaften von diesem Prozess nicht aus. Er führt auch den Begriff *Patronage* ein und beschreibt ihn als die Mächte (Personen, Institutionen), die das Schreiben, Lesen und Umschreiben von Literatur unterstützen oder hindern (Lefevere, 1992, S. 15), wobei die ideologische Komponente dieses Begriffs die Textwahl beeinflusst. Er nennt Ideologie als entscheidend bei der Strategiewahl im Übersetzungsvorgang (1992, S. 41).

Der kulturorientierte Ansatz in der Übersetzungsforschung wurde auch bei Untersuchungen von Übersetzungen für Kinder angewendet, Zohar Shavit (1986) war eine der ersten, die die Polysystemtheorie in diesem Bereich anwendete. Sie behauptet, dass Veränderungen für Übersetzungen von Kinderliteratur typisch sind und oft von Ideologie oder stilistischen Normen der Zielkultur angetrieben werden, was aus der besonders komplexen Position von Kinderliteratur innerhalb des literarischen Polysystems resultiert (1994). Spätere Studien unterstützen diese Behauptung und zeigen, dass beim Übersetzen von Kinderliteratur viel häufiger Textteile ausgelassen oder durch zielsprachliche Elemente ersetzt werden als beim Übersetzen von Texten für Erwachsene (vgl. Oittinen 2000, O’Sullivan 2005, Lathey 2016), Kaniklidou und House beschreiben viele Beispiele von massiver kultureller Filtrierung (2017

nach Van Coillie und McMartin, 2020, S. 21). In diesem Prozess der Anpassung werden Übersetzer:innen von ihren eigenen Kindheitsbildern geleitet (wie Kinder sind, was sie mögen, womit sie umgehen können und was für sie angemessen ist), wobei diese Bilder von eigener Erfahrung oder einer impliziten bzw. expliziten Ideologie gefärbt sind (Van Coillie, 2020, S. 145). Klingberg (1986) nennt solche Eingriffe purification und definiert sie als "bringing the target text into correspondence with another set of values" (Klingberg, 1986, S. 12). O'Sullivan (2005: 71) meint, dass dabei insbesondere Beschreibungen ungewünschten Benehmens ausgelassen oder korrigiert werden und nennt als Beispiele Veränderungen in Charaktereigenschaften und Benehmen, Abschwächung bei Erwähnung von körperlichen Funktionen, Korrektur bei kreativer Sprache (z.B. absichtliche Schreibfehler) und Abschwächung von bestimmten Sprachregistern, die in der Zielkultur unpassend für Kinder sind (oft bei Beispielen von Humor).

In einer Situation ohne ein mehr oder weniger repressives Überwachungsapparat lassen Übersetzer:innen fremde Elemente aus dem Text aus, weil sie annehmen, dass ihre jungen Leser:innen diese aus sprachlichen, literarischen oder kulturellen Gründen nicht verstehen würden und somit der Genuss des Lesens beeinträchtigt wäre (Van Coillie, 2020, S. 145). In einem Umfeld mit einer kontrollierenden Überwachungsinstanz wie der DDR wurden fremde Elemente ausgelassen um, wie bereits beschrieben, einerseits die Veröffentlichung der Übersetzung zu sichern und andererseits die eigene Person vor Kritik zu schützen (Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2009, S. 227).

4. Übersetzungsanalyse

In der Übersetzungsanalyse wird von einem Vergleich zwischen Ausgangstext (AT) und Zielttext (ZT) ausgegangen, der in einem Korpus von im ZT ausgelassenen oder modifizierten Textstellen resultierte. Der ZT zeigt verschiedene Abweichungen vom AT, die nicht sprachlich oder pragmatisch bedingt sind. Auf der einen Seite werden Teile von mehreren Sätzen zu einem Satz verschmolzen und gleichzeitig Teile von den Gleichen ausgelassen, auf der anderen Seite wird im Prädikat ein anderes Tempus verwendet oder bestimmte Adjektive ausgelassen oder durch andere ausgetauscht. All diese Veränderungen führen zu inhaltlichen Unterschieden zwischen AT und ZT, die nicht durch die Sprache selbst sondern durch etwas anderes hervorgerufen werden. Sie werden in der Analyse Modifizierungen genannt. Unter Auslassung werden getilgte Sätze oder Passagen verstanden. Zuerst wird versucht, diese Textstellen inhaltlich zu gruppieren und die Gründe für ihr Auslassen oder Modifizieren in den Richtlinien

des sozialistischen Realismus oder in den zur Übersetzung angegebenen Gutachten zu finden, wobei als Hilfsmittel die Erkenntnisse von Thomson-Wohlgemuth benutzt werden (2009). Diese Gruppen der Forschungsergebnisse werden in Kapitel 3.1 und 3.2 erörtert und durch Beispiele veranschaulicht. Anschließend werden die restlichen nicht-kategorisierten Korpusbeispiele unter die Lupe genommen, da bestimmte Muster auch dort zu erkennen sind. Diese Beispiele werden in Kapitel 3.3 dargestellt. Jedes Beispiel wird mit der Ausgangssprachlichen Textstelle (AT), der Übersetzung (ZT) und einer Kontrollübersetzung (KÜ) angegeben, wobei modifizierte und ausgelassene Textteile unterstrichen werden, damit eine direkte Einsicht in die Abweichung im ZT möglich ist. Ausgelassene Textteile bzw. Nullstellen werden mit „0“ gekennzeichnet.

4.1 Modifizierungen nach den Richtlinien des sozialistischen Realismus

Der sozialistische Realismus der DDR ist bei vielen Entscheidungen darüber, welche Textstellen beim Übersetzen gekürzt oder ausgelassen werden sollen, der leitende Gedanke (Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2009, S. 147). So ist es auch in der untersuchten Übersetzung. Von den oben bereits genannten Elementen des sozialistischen Realismus, die in Übersetzungen nicht willkommen waren, sind die folgenden auch im untersuchten Text erkennbar: Darstellung der sozialen Unterschiede zwischen den Kindern, Dramatisierung der Geschehnisse, Sentimentalität, Gewalt. Diese werden in den folgenden Kapiteln einzeln erörtert.

4.1.1 Soziale Unterschiede

Da offiziell soziale Unterschiede in der DDR nicht existierten (vgl. Lauterbach, 2003, S. 17-19; Winterberg, 2017, S. 244), waren sie auch kein erwünschtes Motiv in der DDR Literatur. Lovrak spricht soziale Ungleichheit im Roman oft an und veranschaulicht sie durch konkrete Unterschiede zwischen den Kindern im Bereich Kleidung, Nahrungsmittel, Transportmittel der Eltern, usw. Diese Unterschiede werden in der Übersetzung ausgelassen oder durch Modifizierung ausgeglichen bzw. abgeschwächt:

1. AT: A neki nisu imali kaputa, naprosto nisu imali. Ne zato što su bili rđavi dječaci te nisu zaslužili, da ga imaju, niti zato, što ih možda roditelji nisu voljeli. Ne, nego ne mogu im ga roditelji nabaviti. Ne mogu smoći toliko novaca, pa ma koliko radili. (46)

KÜ: Und manche hatten gar keinen Mantel, sie hatten einfach keinen. Nicht, weil sie schlechte Jungs gewesen waren und keinen verdienten und auch nicht, weil ihre Eltern sie nicht gern hatten. Nein, sondern ihre Eltern konnten keinen Mantel anschaffen. Egal wie fleißig sie arbeiteten, sie konnten nicht genug Geld zusammensparen.

ZT: Und manche hatten auch gar keinen [Mantel], weil ihre Eltern ihnen keinen kaufen konnten. (29)

Wie erwartet werden Stellen, die die allgemeine soziale Ungleichheit in der Gesellschaft ansprechen, ausgelassen:

2. AT: Perina družba nasmija se grohotom, zadovoljna što je Milan našao prvi izraz: bogac. To su oni često slušali u svojim kućama, često su čuli, kako je taj i taj nitko i ništa, kako drugi neki ima samo toliko jutara, kako je neki nevješt i ništa ne zaradi, a drugi neki razumije iz svega vući korist. (59)

KÜ: Peros Clique lachte laut, zufrieden, dass Milan den richtigen Ausdruck gefunden hat: Habenichts. Das hörten sie oft in ihren Häusern, sie hörten oft, wie der und derjenige ein Nichts ist, wie ein anderer nur so und so viel Land hat, wie jemand ungeschickt ist und nichts verdient, während ein anderer aus allem einen Vorteil zu ziehen weiß.

ZT: 0

Von den anderen Beispielen getrennt zu betrachten ist die folgende Textstelle, die außer dem Thema Armut (veranschaulicht durch das Auftauchen und anschließende Verschwinden einer Tafel Schokolade) auch einen Onkel aus Amerika erwähnt, der den Kauf der Schokolade überhaupt ermöglicht hat. So werden beim Auslassen dieses Textteils gleich zwei Fliegen mit einer Klappe geschlagen: getilgt wird sowohl das Problem der sozialen Ungleichheit als auch die Erwähnung des kapitalistischen Auslands:

3. AT: Kako je donio odnekle trideset dinara. Nakupovao pol dućana, pa dijelio i mitio. Ploču je čokolade imao! Čovječe, toliki komad u ovoj krizi! I nestala ploča nekamo! Ta zar ju je pojeo? Pa odakle mu novac? Ne znaju. Veli Pero, poslao mu dolar neki stric iz Amerike. Za žvakanje. Kako ne bi! Baš u Americi stričevima pečeni golubovi lete u usta. I sve takve stvari. (29/30)

KÜ: Er brachte von irgendwo 30 Dinar. Er kaufte das halbe Geschäft und teilte dann aus und bestach. Eine Tafel Schokolade hatte er! Mann, solch ein Stück in dieser Krise! Und die Tafel verschwand irgendwo! Hat er sie denn aufgegessen? Und woher hat er das Geld? Sie wissen es nicht. Pero sagte, ein Onkel aus Amerika hat ihm einen Dollar geschickt. Zum kauen. Warum auch nicht! Gerade in Amerika fliegen Onkeln gebratene Tauben in den Mund. Und all solche Sachen.

ZT: 0

An einer Stelle wird die soziale Ungleichheit in die Vergangenheit verlegt:

4. AT Osobni vlakovi trebaju voziti svu slabunjavu, blijedu i bolešljivu djecu na more i u gorske krajeve, da promijene zrak i da ozdrave. I tako, da to ne bude kao danas, kad to mogu samo ona djeca, čiji su roditelji bogati, pa imaju mnogo novaca. (110)

KÜ: Die Personenzüge sollen schwache, blasse und kranke Kinder ans Meer und in die Berge bringen, damit sie Luftveränderung bekamen und gesund würden. Es soll nicht so sein wie heute, wo nur die Kinder reicher Eltern, die viel Geld bezahlen konnten, verreisten.

ZT: Die Personenzüge brachten schwache, blasse und kranke Kinder ans Meer und in die Berge, damit sie Luftveränderung bekamen und gesund würden. Es war nicht so wie vorher, wo nur die Kinder reicher Eltern, die viel Geld bezahlen konnten, verreisten. (71)

4.1.2 Dramatisierung und Sentimentalität

Da der sozialistische Realismus bereits im Namen eine realistische Beschreibung der Lebensverhältnisse vorschreibt, sind dramatische oder sentimentale Darstellungen in der Übersetzung unerwünscht. Die Beispiele zeigen die Tendenz, das Dramatische völlig auszulassen und das Sentimentale zu mildern, wie im folgenden Beispiel:

5. AT: Porukuje se konduktar sa svima, a s Ljubanom se nije mogao rastati. Suze mu kapahu na naočale. Dugo, dugo je tresao Ljubanu ruku, a onda ga naglo privukao k sebi i čvrsto ga zagrlio. Polovina djevojčica je zaplakala. (104)

KÜ: Der Schaffner gab allen die Hand, aber von Ljuban konnte er sich nicht trennen. Tränen tropften auf seine Brillengläser. Lange, lange schüttelte er Ljubans Hand, zog ihn dann plötzlich zu sich und umarmte ihn fest. Die Hälfte der Mädchen fing an zu weinen.

ZT: Der Schaffner gab allen die Hand, aber von Ljuban konnte er sich gar nicht trennen.
(66)

4.1.3 Gewalt

Darstellungen von Gewalt stimmen nicht mit der Idee des Humanismus überein und werden modifiziert oder ausgelassen:

6. AT: Ispočetka se i Pero smijao, ali onda se morao rukama braniti. Udarao je oko sebe, dok je mogao, jer je Milan našao komad uzice i čvrsto mu je odostrag svezao ruke... (28)

KÜ: Zuerst lachte auch Pero, aber dann musste er sich mit Händen wehren. Er schlug um sich, solange er konnte, denn Milan fand ein Stück Schnur und verband ihm die Hände fest hinter dem Rücken...

ZT: 0

4.2 Modifizierungen nach den Gutachten

Wie oben bereits beschrieben, fanden die Gutachter an dem Text bestimmte Elemente problematisch und verlangten ihre „Verbesserung“. Anschließend wurde auf dem Titelbogen der Druckgenehmigung vom 21. April 1959 unter "Bemerkungen" in Handschrift der folgende Satz notiert: "Der Verlag sieht entsprechend dem Gutachten einige Bearbeitungen im Manuskript vor" (BArch Akte DR 1/ 5029a, Bl. 433). Es wird also davon ausgegangen, dass die in den folgenden zwei Kapiteln behandelten Modifizierungen Folge der in den Gutachten kommentierten Mängel sind und mit diesem Motiv durchgeführt wurden.

4.2.1 Handlungszeit und Ort

Der erste von Holtz-Baumert kritisierte Punkt sind die unbestimmte Handlungszeit und Handlungsort im Ausgangstext. Der Satz im Beispiel 7 wurde gleich am Anfang des Romans hinzugefügt und löst das Problem des unbestimmten Handlungsortes, unterstützt von dem gleichen Hilfsmittel im danach folgenden Beispiel:

7. AT: 0

KÜ: 0

ZT: Da gab es irgendwo in Jugoslawien ein großes Dorf. (3)

8. AT: Nije u svim selima ovakva (9)

KÜ: Nicht in allen Dörfern gibt es ein solches.

ZT: Nicht in allen Dörfern Jugoslawiens gab es so eins. (4)

Zusätzlich werden „unsere“ Gemeinschaften zu „serbischen“ Gemeinschaften:

9. AT ... kako je naš narod u davna vremena živio u zadrugama (24)

KÜ ... wie unser Volk in alten Zeiten in Gemeinschaften lebte.

ZT wie das serbische Volk in alten Zeiten in Gemeinschaften lebte. (14)

4.2.2 Gegensätzlichkeiten zwischen Pero und Ljuban

Ein weiterer Aspekt, der in beiden oben beschriebenen Gutachten kritisiert wurde, ist die unrealistische Gemeinschaft bzw. die problematische Konstellation der Hauptfiguren, insbesondere der Konflikt zwischen Ljuban als einer armen, aber positiv charakterisierten und Pero als einer reichen, aber negativ charakterisierten Figur (Krenn schreibt: "Ljuban ist ein Junge ohne Fehl und Tadel, Pero dagegen ein widerliches Kind" (BArch Akte DR 1/ 5029a, Bl. 440). Das Korpus deutet darauf hin, dass in der Übersetzung versucht wird, diesen Unterschied zu verringern, indem diejenigen Textteile, die Ljuban als besonders positiv sowie Pero als besonders negativ beschreiben, ausgelassen oder modifiziert werden:

10. AT: Zato su njega mališani voljeli, a Peru nisu. (24)

KÜ: Deswegen mochten die Kleinen ihn [Ljuban] und Pero nicht.

ZT: 0

11. AT: Domaćin Ljuban je prirodan, ni traga od neke nadutosti. (36)

KÜ: Der Anführer Ljuban ist ganz natürlich, ohne jede Wichtigtuerei.

ZT: 0

12. AT: Bilo je u tim očima zavisti zlobe, lakomosti i nemoćnog bijesa. Zato su tako čudno sjale. (87)

KÜ: In diesen [Peros] Augen gab es Bosheit, Habgier und machtlose Wut. Deswegen leuchteten sie so merkwürdig.

ZT: 0

13. AT: ... mislio pakosno (88)

KÜ: ... er [Pero] dachte boshaft

ZT: ... und gedacht (55)

4.3 Weitere (nicht kategorisierte) Modifizierungen

Zusätzlich, obwohl nicht direkt mit dem sozialistischen Realismus verbunden, können die folgenden vier wiederkehrenden Motive genannt werden: Mädchen bzw. Frauen als das schwächere Geschlecht, Hygiene, hoher Stellenwert von Nahrung und Essen, Darstellung von Beamten.

4.3.1 Mädchen/Frauen sind anders als Jungs/Männer

Bereits in der Verfassung der DDR wurde die Gleichberechtigung von Mann und Frau niedergeschrieben¹⁵. Mädchen sollten nicht nur auf die Rolle der Frau und Mutter vorbereitet werden, sondern sie sollten auch zu aktiven Mitgliedern der Gesellschaft aufwachsen, insbesondere, um am Arbeitsmarkt aktiv tätig zu sein. Um bereits durch die Erziehung Mädchen auf diese Rolle vorzubereiten, war es sinnvoll, auch in der Literatur dasjenige Bild darzustellen, das von Mädchen, zukünftigen Frauen, erwartet wird. So werden in der Übersetzung Textstellen ausgelassen, die Mädchen als das schwächere Geschlecht darstellen, z. B.:

¹⁵ Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik vom 7. Oktober 1949, Art. 7.: „Mann und Frau sind gleichberechtigt. Alle Gesetze und Bestimmungen, die der Gleichberechtigung der Frau entgegenstehen, sind aufgehoben.“

14. AT: Mnoge djevojčice otiđoše u bolnicu. Tamo se po tri zajedno legoše na kanapeje, da se ugriju, jer ih je hvatala drhtavica, i ne mogahu na rad. (83)

KÜ: Viele Mädchen gingen in den Wagon für Kranke. Dort legten sie sich zu dritt hin, um sich zu wärmen, da sie Schüttelfrost bekamen und nicht mehr arbeiten konnten.

ZT: 0

15. AT: Jedna djevojčica uz vrući žar zaplače. (80)

KÜ: Ein Mädchen fing bei den glühenden Kohlen an zu weinen.

ZT: 0

Besonders erwähnenswert ist die Textstelle, die beschreibt, wie die einzige Protagonistin, das Mädchen Draga, Ljubans Gemeinschaft verlässt, um zu Peros Gruppe überzugehen. Im AT drückt Dragas Haltung Schuldgefühle oder Scham aus und in der Übersetzung wurde die Stelle so modifiziert, dass Draga mit gehobenem Kopf die Gruppe verlässt:

16. AT: Napokon se diže i ona, bez riječi i pognuta. [...] Ona kao najteža bolesnica uzima svoj kaput i torbu i diže se. A onda poniknu glavom i izađe posljednja... (66)

KÜ: Schließlich stand auch sie auf, ohne ein Wort und gekrümmt. [...] Wie in schlimmster Krankheit nahm sie ihren Mantel und ihre Tasche und ging. Und dann senkte sie den Kopf und folgte als letzte dem Schaffner.

ZT: Schließlich stand auch sie auf, ohne ein Wort zu sagen. [...] Langsam nahm sie ihren Mantel und ihre Tasche und ging. Sie hob stolz den Kopf und folgte als letzte dem Schaffner. (40)

Auch Textstellen, die erwachsene Frauen beschreiben, wurden ausgelassen oder so modifiziert, dass der als negativ betrachtete Aspekt verringert wird (die Mütter jammern nicht, kreischen nicht und zanken sich nicht).

Außerdem ist eine Textstelle zu betonen, die den patriarchalischen kroatischen Text der 1930er Jahre in die emanzipierte „moderne“ Welt der DDR an der Schwelle der 1960er Jahre überträgt, indem der Zeitbezug der Aussagen verändert wird:

17. AT: Tko kaže, da žena ne može biti glava? Bilo je u vrlo davna vremena tako, da je žena bila glava porodice. Žena treba imati ista prava kao i muškarac. (25)

KÜ: Wer sagt, dass eine Frau nicht der Kopf sein kann? So war es in uralten Zeiten, dass die Frau der Kopf der Familie war. Die Frau soll die gleichen Rechte haben wie der Mann.

ZT: Wer sagt denn, dass ein Mädchen so etwas nicht kann? Die Frau hat dieselben Rechte wie der Mann. (15)

4.3.2 Hygiene

Nach Israel (2008, S. 24) hatte in der DDR „Sauberkeit einen Symbolwert für Eltern und Erzieherinnen [...]. Sie galt als Ausdruck von Gehorsam, Erziehungstüchtigkeit, Leistungsfähigkeit“, Leuzinger-Bohleber und Garlichs (1993, S. 126 nach Geiling und Heinzl, 2013, S. 25-26) meinen genau so, dass in der DDR „Werte wie Ordnung, Disziplin und Sauberkeit [] eine 'überdimensionale Bedeutung' beigemessen“ wurde (vgl. Jung, 2011, S. 24, 93), mit dem Ziel, bereits in diesen Aspekten Kinder zu guten sozialistischen Staatsbürgern zu erziehen. In Lovraks Roman wird Hygiene (d.h. Maßnahmen zu ihrer Aufrechterhaltung bzw. ihr Fehlen unter Kindern oder Erwachsenen) oft erwähnt (der Text stammt aus den 1930er Jahren, als die Lebensverhältnisse in Bezug auf Hygiene anders waren als fast 30 Jahre später zur Zeit der Veröffentlichung der Übersetzung in der DDR), diese Problematik wird in der Übersetzung jedoch konsequent ausgelassen:

18. AT: (Od tog novca kupovat će se) četke za odijelo, četkice za zube i sapun za ruke. Ostat će još novaca. Nabavljat će sve dječje časopise, koji se kod nas štampaju. (43)

KÜ: Von diesem Geld werden Kleiderbürsten, Zahnbürste und Seife gekauft. Es wird noch Geld übrig bleiben. Sie werden Kinderzeitschriften anschaffen, die bei uns gedruckt werden.

ZT: Davon wollten sie Bücher, Zeitschriften und Lehrbücher kaufen. (26)

19. AT: Jedan ima paziti na čistoću zahoda – izmjenivat će se (67)

KÜ: Einer soll auf die Sauberkeit der Toiletten aufpassen – sie werden sich austauschen.

ZT: Einer sollte darauf achten, daß kein Papier herumgeworfen wurde. (40)

4.3.3 *Nahrung und Essen*

In der Übersetzung werden sehr oft Stellen ausgelassen, die auf den hohen Stellenwert von Nahrung und Essen hindeuten. Solche Stellen kommen in dem Teil des Romans vor, wo der Zug im Schnee stecken geblieben ist und die Kinder sich auf eine längere Wartezeit im Zug vorbereiten und dabei ihre für die Reise eingepackten Nahrungsmittel teilen und rationieren müssen. Mehrmals wird erwähnt, dass die Kinder vor der Arbeit etwas essen sollen, dass zuerst Nahrung, die leicht verderben kann, aufgegessen wird oder, dass Essen Trost bietet. Genannt werden gelegentlich auch konkrete Nahrungsmittel, die zur Verfügung stehen. All das wird im ZT überwiegend ausgelassen:

20. AT: Najprije se baciše na jelo. Da nahranimo svoje strojeve! Večerali su meso, i svaki je mjesto vode dobio po tri kriške naranče. (76)

KÜ: Zuerst stürzten sie sich auf das Essen. Füttern wir unsere Maschinen! Zu Abend aßen sie Fleisch, und jeder bekam statt Wasser drei Stückchen Orange.

ZT: 0

21. AT: Pazili su, da jela ostane još za jedan dobar obrok. (78)

KÜ: Sie achteten darauf, dass genug Essen für noch eine Mahlzeit übrig bleibt.

ZT: 0

Da in der DDR offiziell keine Armut vorhanden war (vgl. Lorke, 2013) und alle genug zu essen hatten, konnte in der Literatur keine Welt gezeigt werden, in der Kindern Essen so viel bedeutet (offenbar, weil sie nicht viel davon haben). Gleichzeitig wird durch die Unterschiede in der Art und Menge der Nahrung auch auf die sozialen Unterschiede zwischen den Kindern hingewiesen, was ein weiterer Grund für die Auslassung einiger solcher Stellen ist.

4.3.4 *Staatliche Beamte*

Während der Zug im Schnee stecken geblieben ist und die Kinder ohne ihren Lehrer auskommen müssen, wird die Rolle des Lehrers als einer beratenden (in diesem Buch nicht leitenden) Person vom Schaffner im Zug übernommen. Er ist jedoch anders, als man von einem DDR-Beamten erwarten würde: emotional und sentimental, manchmal verwirrt und er hört

sogar Ljuban zu, ein Kind, wobei von einem Beamten das Umgekehrte zu erwarten wäre. Das Problematische an dieser Darstellung ist, dass der kindliche Protagonist Ljuban in der Handlung dem Schaffner fast gleichgesetzt wird bzw. in der Kommunikation scheint der Schaffner Ljubans Ideen zu erwägen und zu akzeptieren (dies erkennt man an den häufigen Besprechungen der zwei Figuren sowie an den verwunderten und verwirrten Reaktionen des Schaffners). Obwohl Kinder als Partner im Sozialismus angesehen wurden, war sicherlich vorgesehen, dass sie die Anweisungen der Erwachsenen befolgen und nicht umgekehrt. Merkmale, die den Schaffner zu einer verwirrten, emotionalen oder lustigen Person machen, werden ausgelassen oder modifiziert:

22. AT: Onda se kondukter zbunio. (49)

KÜ: Das hat den Schaffner verwirrt.

ZT: 0

23. AT: Pjeva i on s njima. Ispod naočala na oči mu iskočiše dvije debele suze. (83)

KÜ: Auch er [der Schaffner] singt mit ihnen. Unter seiner Brille erschienen zwei dicke Tränen.

ZT: Er wollte an der Freude der Kinder teilnehmen. (52)

4.3.5 Präzisierung der Sprache

Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2009, S. 147) erwähnt die Präzisierung der Sprache bzw. Kürzung von Textteilen (insbesondere von solchen, die ideologisch problematisch sind) als eine oft vorkommende Übersetzungsstrategie, und sie ist auch in *Der Zug im Schnee* erkennbar. Einerseits werden kurze Sätze ausgelassen, die bereits Gesagtes beschreiben oder paraphrasieren, andererseits wird ein ganzer Textteil (ca eine Seite lang) ausgelassen, in dem beschrieben wird, wie am Anfang der Zugreise weitere Passagiere in den Kinderwagen einsteigen und von den Kindern oder dem Schaffner in andere Wagons umgesetzt werden.

5. Schlusswort

Die in dieser Arbeit analysierten Modifizierungen in der DDR-Übersetzung von Mato Lovraks *Vlak u snijegu* weisen auf, dass hinter den ausgelassenen und modifizierten Elemente eine nachvollziehbare Logik besteht, die sowohl dem geschichtlichen als auch dem literaturwissenschaftlichen Kontext der Zeit bzw. der 1950er Jahren in der DDR entspricht: die Befolgung der Richtlinien des sozialistischen Realismus und der beiden zur Übersetzung

verfassten Gutachten. Die oben dargestellten Beispiele aus dem ZT zeigen, dass ein Großteil der Modifizierungen von den allgemeinen Richtlinien des sozialistischen Realismus ausgeht und ein proportionell kleiner Anteil der Modifizierungen auf die Angaben der Gutachter eingeht. Bestimmte ausgelassene Textteile enthalten mehrere problematische Aspekte (z.B. beschreiben sie einerseits die Wichtigkeit von Nahrungsmitteln für die Kinder und gleichzeitig deuten sie auch auf die sozialen Unterschiede zwischen den Kindern hin) und könnten so in mehrere Kategorien eingeordnet werden. Die Analyse zeigt, dass sich die Änderungen teilweise mit den Forschungsergebnissen von Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2009) decken: ausgelassen und modifiziert wurden Beschreibungen von sozialer Ungleichheit; Dramatisierung oder sentimentale Beschreibung der Geschehnisse und schließlich Darstellungen von Gewalt. Die Empfehlungen des Gutachters befolgend wurde der Handlungsort eindeutig gemacht und die Handlungszeit modifiziert, während die gegensätzlichen Merkmale der Protagonisten gemildert wurden, um die Kindergemeinschaft realistischer zu gestalten.

Neben den nach dem Gutachten und den Richtlinien des sozialistischen Realismus durchgeführten Modifizierungen im Text wurden weitere festgestellt, die mit dem sozialen Umfeld und dem Alltag in der DDR verbunden werden können: 1) Textteile, in denen Mädchen und Frauen als das schwächere Geschlecht dargestellt werden; 2) Stellen, die mangelnde Hygiene oder die Notwendigkeit einer Hygieneaufsicht unter den Kindern beschreiben; 3) der hohe Stellenwert von Essen und Nahrungsmitteln; 4) Elemente der Charakterisierung des Schaffners als eines staatlichen Beamten. Von Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2009) genannt und auch in dieser Analyse zu erkennen ist die Präzisierung der Sprache. „Da gab es irgendwo in Jugoslawien ein großes Dorf.“ – dieser in die Übersetzung einführende und im Titel dieses Beitrags genannte Satz kann als indikativ für den ganzen Text betrachtet werden – er spezifiziert den Handlungsort (wie im externen Gutachten verlangt wurde) und betont so von Anfang an die Trennung zwischen der „entfernten“ Welt im Roman und der realen Welt der Leser*innen in der DDR. Dadurch sollen die jungen Leser*innen bei bestimmten Umständen und Geschehnissen im Roman wissen, dass sie im weit weg liegenden Jugoslawien vorkommen und dass es „bei uns“ in der DDR anders ist bzw. dass diese Umstände und Geschehnisse dort nicht zu erwarten sind.

Da bei der Forschung für diesen Beitrag keine weiteren Analysen von DDR-Übersetzungen von jugoslawischen Texten gefunden wurden, bestehen keine Erkenntnisse, mit denen die hier vorgelegten Forschungsergebnisse zu vergleichen wären. Beim Vergleich mit den

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Forschungsergebnissen von Thomson-Wohlgemuth sind Parallelen in bestimmten Punkten erkennbar, Unterschiede waren jedoch von Anfang an zu erwarten, da sich die Herkunftsländer der AT (wenigstens in ihrer politischen Ausrichtung) unterscheiden. Aus diesem Grund haben die dargestellten Analyseergebnisse keinen repräsentativen Charakter, sondern geben eine auf einer ganzheitlichen Analyse basierte Einsicht in die Besonderheiten der Übersetzungen von Texten der jugoslawischen (Kinder)Literatur in der DDR. Weitere Forschung ist nötig, um Regelmäßigkeiten zu entdecken bzw. die hier dargestellten Erkenntnisse zu bestätigen und durch zusätzliche zu erweitern.

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Structured Abstract

Walter Benjamin explains in the preface to his own translations of Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens* that it is the task of the translator to find and release in his own language that pure language which is under the spell of another, to liberate the language imprisoned in a work in his re-creation of that work (2022, p. 17f). But what happens when the translator is affected and, to some extent, limited by factors outside the language itself such as politics that do not allow them to, as Benjamin himself says, release their own language or that make them adapt their translations to censorship. The following paper investigates Barbara Sparing's German translation of Mato Lovrak's Yugoslavian children's book *Vlak u snijegu* [A Train in the Snow] (1933) in the GDR. The translation was published in 1959 by the Berliner Kinderbuchverlag under the title *Der Zug im Schnee*. The analysis in this paper focuses on the alterations and deviations as well as omissions from the original text and offers explanations for possible reasons to introduce these changes. The starting point and the hypothesis is that some of the changes in the target text may be traced back to the conventions of the socialist realism of the time, a dominant and accepted literary paradigm in the context of the GDR in the 1950s on the one hand, while on the other, the reasons for these alterations may lie in the assessments made by the publishers or other stakeholders outside the publishing industry that criticized some aspects of the original text. The alterations that cannot be explained on the basis of these two sources may be connected with the socio-cultural context of the GDR, i.e. the everyday life as well as the censorship that influenced the writing as well as the translating processes in the GDR. Methodologically, the paper relies on the analysis of the socio-political context, i.e. the context outside of the literary, for both the target text as well as the original. On the other hand, the analysis also considers the detailed comparison of both text levels with special consideration of Thomson-Wohlgemuth's guidelines (2009), which he identifies in translations of English source texts that were employed by assessors to define literary works that were worthy of translating. According to these guidelines, it can be concluded that the texts chosen for translation have to contain elements that correspond with the conventions of the socialist realism, whilst emphasizing also the elements that represent the non-socialist orders in a negative light (Thomson-Wohlgemut, 2009, p. 125).

The paper will thus examine Sparing Antkowiak's translation in the light of Thomson-Wohlgemut's guidelines as well as in the light of the two assessments that were handed in to the publisher with the translation proposal. Antkowiak, (born Sparing) worked as a proofreader and translator in the GDR from 1959 to 1990 and the here analyzed translation of the Yugoslaw author Mato Lovrak's novel *A Train in the Snow* is one of her earlier ones. The source text is a well-known children's book that was written in 1933 and contain a realistic narrative discourse that stems from Lovrak's experience as a village teacher in Croatia of the time. The study focuses on a corpus of modified and omitted parts of the source and target text and on the possible interpretation and explanation of causes for these alterations.

Dil, Kültür ve Zihniyet: Dil Çalışmaları ve Etkili İletişimin Üç Boyutlu Eksenini*

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Geliş Tarihi: 23.04.2024
Kabul Tarihi: 26.06.2024
Yayın Tarihi: 27.06.2024
Değerlendirme: İki Dış Hakem /
Çift Taraflı Körleme
Makale Türü: Araştırma Makalesi

Atıf Bilgisi:

Fenuku, Dodzi Samson (2024). Dil, Kültür ve Zihniyet: Dil Çalışmaları ve Etkili İletişimin Üç Boyutlu Eksenini. *International Journal of Language and Translation Studies*, 4/1, 76-103.

Benzerlik Taraması: Yapıldı –
iThenticate

Etik Bildirim:
lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Çıkar Çatışması: Çıkar çatışması beyan edilmemiştir.

Finansman: Bu araştırmayı desteklemek için dış fon kullanılmamıştır.

Telif Hakkı & Lisans Yazarlar: Dergide yayımlanan çalışmalarının telif hakkına sahiptirler ve çalışmalarını CC BY-NC 4.0 lisansı altında yayımlanmaktadır.

Öz

Dil çalışmaları alanı, kültürel yetkinlik ve zihniyetin dil öğrenme sonuçlarını şekillenmesinde oynadığı bütünsel rolleri giderek kabul etmeye başlamış durumda. Ancak, literatürün incelenmesi, dil, kültür ve zihniyet'in dil çalışmaları ve etkili iletişim üzerindeki etkisinin yeterli araştırma yapılmadığını göstermektedir. Bu çalışma, sosyo-kültürel teorik bakış açısı, röportaj yanıtları ve yorumsal nitelikli tematik analiz yoluyla üç temel araştırma sorusu üzerinde araştırmalar yürütmektedir. Bulgular, kültürel anlatılar ve uygulamaların dil öğretisine entegrasyonu ile karakterize edilmiş kültürel destek çerçevesinin, öğrenmeyi alakalı ve çekici hale getirerek önemli ölçüde artırdığını ortaya koymaktadır. Zihniyet'in dil öğrenme üzerindeki etkisi açısından, tutumlar, inançlar ve eğitim ortamı kültürel tutumları, öğrenenlerin motivasyonunu ve katılımını şekillendirmektedir. Özellikle çok kültürlü kurumsal ortamlarda, iletişim engellerini aşmak için açıklık ve kültürel çeşitliliğe saygı içeren uyarlanabilir bir zihniyet, önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Analiz, bu tür ortamlarda etkili iletişimin dil becerilerine sahip olmaktan daha fazlasını talep ettiğini ve kültürel inceliklere anlayışa ve buna göre iletişim stillerini uyarlama esnekliğine ihtiyaç duyduğunu daha da göstermektedir. Dil, sadece bilgi alışverişini değil, aynı zamanda kültürel empati ve anlayışı da teşvik etmek için bir kültürel araç olarak hizmet vermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Lingwistiği Anlama, Nitel Yaklaşım, Yakınlık Bölgesi, Kültürlerarası İletişim, Sosyo-Kültürel Teori

* Etik Beyan: * Bu çalışmanın hazırlanma sürecinde bilimsel ve etik ilkelere uyulduğu ve yararlanılan tüm çalışmaların kaynakçada belirtildiği beyan olunur.

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Language, Culture, and Mentality: The Three-Dimensional Axis of Language Studies and Effective Communication*

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Date of Submission: 23.04.2024
Date of Acceptance: 26.06.2024
Date of Publication: 27.06.2024
Review: Double-blind peer review
Article Type: Research Article

Citation:

Fenuku, Dodzi Samson (2024).
Language, Culture, and Mentality: The
Three-Dimensional Axis of Language
Studies and Effective Communication.
*International Journal of Language and
Translation Studies*, 4/1, 76-103.

Plagiarism Check: Yes - iThenticate

Complaints: lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Conflict of Interest: The author(s) has
no conflict of interest to declare.

Grant Support: The author(s)
acknowledges that they received no
external funding to support this research.

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Abstract

The field of language studies has increasingly acknowledged the integral roles of cultural competence and mentality in shaping language learning outcomes. However, an examination of the literature reveals that the influence of language, culture, and mentality on language studies and effective communication is not adequately researched. Through the sociocultural theoretical lens, interview responses, and interpretive qualitative thematic analysis, this study researched three underpinning research questions. The findings reveal that cultural scaffolding, characterized by the integration of cultural narratives and practices into language teaching, significantly enhances learning by making it relevant and engaging. On the influence of mentality on language learning, attitudes, beliefs, and the educational environment's cultural attitudes shape learners' motivation and engagement. An adaptive mentality, marked by openness and respect for cultural diversity, emerges as crucial for navigating communication barriers, especially in multicultural corporate settings. The analysis further demonstrates that effective communication in such environments requires more than linguistic competence; it demands an understanding of cultural nuances and the flexibility to adapt communication styles accordingly. Language serves as a cultural mediator, facilitating not only the exchange of information but also cultural empathy and understanding.

Keywords: Linguistic comprehension, qualitative approach, Zone of Proximal Development, cross-cultural communication, sociocultural theory

* Ethical Statement: * It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited.

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Introduction

The word "language" has a fascinating linguistic history. It can be traced back to Middle English, where it was known as "langage," and Middle English borrowed this term from Old French, specifically "lange" or "language." In turn, Old French inherited it from Latin, where "lingua" denoted "tongue" or "speech." The Latin word "lingua" has even deeper roots in older Indo-European languages. Its origin can be linked to the Proto-Indo-European root "dn̥ǵʰwéh₂s," a term associated with the act of speaking or the concept of a tongue. Language is a fundamental tool for human communication and is essential for the transmission of culture, knowledge, and ideas (Gürbüz et al., 2023). It plays a crucial role in human society and is an area of study in fields such as linguistics and anthropology. Human interaction is woven through language, culture, and mentality. These elements do not operate in isolation; rather, they form a complex, dynamic relationship that shapes and is shaped by human communication (Maroof et al., 2023).. The study of this triadic relationship is essential for understanding not just the mechanics of language, but also the deeper, more nuanced aspects of communication that transcend words and grammatical structures. This paper aims to dissect and examine these components both as individual entities and in their interconnected states, providing insights into how they collectively influence and define effective communication. Language serves as the primary tool for communication, a vehicle for expressing thoughts, emotions, and intentions (Athanasopoulos et al., 2015). It is through language that humans can convey complex ideas, share knowledge, and foster social bonds. However, language is not a static entity; it evolves in response to various factors, including cultural shifts, technological advancements, and changes in societal norms (Fuhrman et al., 2011). This fluid nature of language highlights the importance of understanding its role not just as a means of communication, but as a reflection of the society in which it is used. Culture provides the context within which language operates. It encompasses the values, beliefs, practices, and social norms of a community, shaping the way language is used and interpreted. Culture influences language at every level, from the selection of words and phrases to the construction of sentences and the development of narrative styles (Sepora et al., 2012). The relationship between language and culture is symbiotic; language is a tool for cultural expression, while culture imbues language with meaning beyond its literal interpretation. Understanding the cultural context is crucial for effective communication, as it enables individuals to grasp the intended meaning and emotional nuances of the language used (Danziger, 2011). Mentality, or the cognitive framework through which individuals perceive and interpret the world, plays a critical role in language use and comprehension

(Athanasopoulos et al., 2015). This encompasses cognitive processes such as perception, memory, and reasoning, as well as psychological factors like emotions and attitudes. The mentality of language users influences how they encode and decode messages, the linguistic choices they make, and how they interpret the subtleties of meaning in communication. It also affects the ability to navigate cross-cultural interactions, where differences in mentality can lead to misunderstandings or misinterpretations.

Within the vast expanse of language studies and communication research (Akilandeswari et al., 2015; Ponsonnet, 2022; Sepora et al., 2012), a discernible void underscores the intricate dance between cultural dimensions, individual mentality, and the essence of language itself. This interstice not only signals a ripe avenue for scholarly exploration but also delineates the foundational queries that this paper seeks to address. The academic landscape, while rich in its diversity of inquiry, reveals a notable dearth of fully integrating cultural dimensions within the frameworks of language teaching and learning. The nuanced ways in which cultural underpinnings sculpt pedagogical methodologies and influence language acquisition outcomes remain insufficiently charted territories. This gap in the literature necessitates an empirical investigation that bridges cultural theory with practical language education strategies, aiming to enhance both teaching efficacy and learning experiences. Simultaneously, the role of mentality spans cognitive styles, psychological traits, and individual learning preferences (Ponsonnet, 2022). The prevailing focus on linguistic and social determinants has overshadowed the profound impact of cognitive and psychological factors on language learning processes and outcomes. This oversight illuminates a research problem of considerable magnitude: the need to delve into the cognitive and psychological dimensions of language learning, which could pave the way for more personalized and effective educational practices.

Furthermore, the literature reveals an insufficient understanding of how language, culture, and mentality coalesce to facilitate or impede effective communication. The dynamic and synergistic interplay among these three dimensions is pivotal to navigating the complexities of human interaction, particularly in a world increasingly characterized by cultural and linguistic diversity. Yet, comprehensive research that elucidates this triadic relationship and the mechanisms through which it influences communication effectiveness remains limited. This gap in academic inquiry underscores a pressing research problem: deciphering the multifaceted nature of communication across diverse cultural and mental landscapes to identify strategies that surmount barriers and foster understanding. The confluence of these gaps and research problems underscores the imperative for an interdisciplinary exploration that transcends

traditional boundaries in language studies. By examining the interconnections between language, culture, and mentality, this paper aims not only to bridge existing divides in the literature but also to illuminate paths towards more effective communication and language education practices. Such an endeavour holds the promise of enriching our collective understanding of the human condition, facilitating better educational outcomes, and enhancing interpersonal and intercultural communication across the globe. Building upon the identified gaps and research problems within the realms of language studies, culture, and mentality, this research aims to navigate the intricate intersections of these domains. Consequently, we articulate the following objectives and research questions, designed to unravel the complex dynamics at play and offer insights into enhancing language teaching, learning, and effective communication across diverse cultural and cognitive contexts.

1. To investigate the cultural dimensions of language teaching and learning
2. To understand how mentality influences language teaching and learning
3. To examine how language, culture, and mentality influence effective communication

Research questions

1. What cultural dimensions influence language teaching and learning?
2. How do people's mentality influence language teaching and learning?
3. How do language, culture, and mentality influence effective communication?

The rest of the study is organized as follows; section 2 presents a review of the language literature with a focus on the aforementioned three dimensions; the section highlights the theoretical foundation of the study with a focus on the sociocultural theory as a lens; the methodology used is explained in section 4; section 5 also presents the data in the form of a case study descriptions; section 6 presents the thematic analysis of the case study; the subsequent sections present the discussion of the findings, review of the research questions, implications, contributions, key insights, and conclusions.

Literature Review

Language, Culture, and Mentality

Language, culture, and mentality are interconnected dimensions in language studies and effective communication. Effective communication is crucial for the success of organizations and programmes, including service quality initiatives (Gürbüz et al., 2023). Communication involves the transfer of meaning and depends on understanding between the sender and receiver (Akilandeswari et al., 2015). Emotions, environment, and technical characteristics of the

medium play a role in enhancing organizational performance through effective communication (Bouajjar, 2023). Language enables us to represent our world and shapes social life, while discourse unfolds in interaction and influences societies, politics, and markets (Shinde et al., 2016). Language and culture serve as sources for constructing various types of discourse, such as artistic, political, and religious, which reflect the values and dominants of ethnic groups (Ponsonnet, 2022). The triad of language, culture, and discourse forms a complex continuum that facilitates efficient communication among participants. The intricate interplay between language, culture, and mentality has long captivated scholars across various disciplines, leading to the development of rich theoretical frameworks and a diverse range of empirical research studies. This section delves into the pivotal works and emerging trends that explore the dynamic relationships among these three domains, elucidating how they collectively influence human cognition, communication, and societal structures.

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, or linguistic relativity, suggests that the language one speaks profoundly influences one's thought processes and perceptions of the world (Lucy, 2001). While early foundational works by Sapir and Whorf laid the groundwork for understanding the impact of linguistic structures on cognitive patterns, subsequent research has nuanced these claims, promoting a more moderate influence where language shapes but does not strictly determine cognitive processes. In recent years, studies have explored the relationship, with researchers like Athanasopoulos et al. (2015) and Casasanto (2016) providing evidence that supports a flexible interaction between language and thought, contingent on context and exposure. Cultural psychology has significantly contributed to this discourse, examining how cultural contexts shape mental processes and behaviours. Building on the seminal work of Markus and Kitayama on independent and interdependent self-construals, recent research by Varnum et al. (2020) and Gelfand et al. (2018) has further elucidated how culture influences cognition, emotion, and motivation, reinforcing the idea that mentality and behaviour are deeply embedded within the cultural milieu.

Empirical studies in the past decade have delved into how language affects cognitive domains such as spatial reasoning, time perception, and numerical understanding. Researchers like Haun et al. (2018) and Boroditsky & Gaby (2018) have continued to show that speakers of languages with distinct spatial orientation systems differ in their navigational skills and spatial cognition, affirming and expanding upon earlier findings by Levinson and Majid et al. Similarly, recent investigations into time perception, such as those by Fuhrman et al. (2021), provide updated evidence that language influences how individuals conceptualize time, employing varying

spatial metaphors across different languages. The study of cross-cultural communication has also evolved, with recent research emphasizing the role of cultural norms and values in shaping language use and interpretation. Studies by Uskul & Kikutani (2019) and Ishii (2018) build on Hall's distinction between high-context and low-context cultures, exploring how these differences affect communication in today's globalized world. Similarly, recent work by Nguyen & Blum (2020) extends Tannen's analysis of conversational styles, examining how digital communication mediums have influenced cultural preferences for directness and the use of silence.

In the realm of language learning and bilingualism, recent research continues to uncover how mentality interacts with linguistic proficiency. Beyond Cummins' foundational distinction between BICS and CALP, studies by Antoniou et al. (2019) and Bak (2020) suggest that bilingualism and multilingualism confer cognitive advantages, such as enhanced executive control and mental flexibility, further demonstrating the deep interconnections between language, mentality, and cognitive development. Within language education, the integration of cultural dimensions into teaching methodologies remains a critical focus. Echoing Byram's model of intercultural communicative competence, recent studies by Liu (2021) and Ham & Nguyen (2020) have explored the implementation of culturally responsive teaching practices, highlighting their effectiveness in fostering linguistic and intercultural skills in an increasingly diverse student population. The advent of the digital age has introduced new dimensions to the study of language, culture, and mentality, with emerging research exploring the impact of digital communication tools on language use, cultural exchange, and cognitive processes. The works of Thorne & Reinhardt (2018) and Zheng & Zhan (2020) investigate how social media, online gaming, and virtual reality platforms offer novel contexts for studying language learning, cultural identity formation, and intercultural communication in the digital era.

Gaps in the Literature

The burgeoning field of language studies has increasingly acknowledged the integral roles of cultural competence and mentality in shaping language learning outcomes. However, a meticulous examination of the literature reveals persistent gaps that this research aims to fill, guided by its objectives to investigate the cultural dimensions of language teaching and learning, understand the influence of mentality on these processes, and examine their collective impact on effective communication.

Despite the recognition of cultural competence as foundational in language education, as advocated by Byram (2017) and Kramsch (2018), there exists a notable paucity of empirical

studies delving into the pragmatic application of cultural theories within the classroom. Specifically, the literature seldom provides an in-depth exploration of how educators, acting as cultural mediators within the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), tailor their pedagogical practices to accommodate the diverse cultural backgrounds of learners. This study seeks to bridge this gap by offering a granular investigation into the cultural dimensions that underpin language teaching and learning, thereby extending theoretical frameworks into actionable pedagogical strategies. Moreover, the role of mentality in influencing language learning experiences, while acknowledged by scholars such as Mercer & Dörnyei (2020), demands further exploration, particularly regarding the sociocultural scaffolding mechanisms that shape learners' mindsets. Existing literature, though insightful, often stops short of providing a comprehensive understanding of how these mental frameworks interact with pedagogical practices to influence language acquisition. This research aims to illuminate the dynamic interplay between mentality and language learning, enriching the discourse on the sociocultural underpinnings of mindset development within educational settings. The integration of learners' cultural narratives and artefacts in language teaching, a concept resonant with Vygotsky's theories as revisited by Lantolf & Thorne (2020), presents another area ripe for exploration. While the significance of cultural integration for enhancing linguistic and intercultural competencies is recognized, detailed studies on how these cultural elements facilitate effective communication are sparse. This study endeavours to fill this void by examining how language, culture, and mentality converge to influence communication effectiveness, providing insights into the practical implications of these intersections for language education and beyond.

Lastly, the extant literature often overlooks the broader ecosystem of language learning, particularly the roles of community and family as co-participants in the educational process, a gap highlighted by Kozulin et al. (2019). Recognizing the sociocultural theory's emphasis on the collective aspect of learning, this research seeks to explore how language acquisition extends beyond the classroom to involve a network of social interactions, thereby addressing the need for a more holistic understanding of language education within diverse sociocultural landscapes. By addressing these identified gaps, the present study articulates a focused research problem: the imperative for an in-depth exploration of the interplay between cultural dimensions, mentality, and their influence on language teaching, learning, and effective communication. In doing so, this research not only seeks to bridge the existing gaps but also to make substantial contributions to the discourse on language, culture, and mentality. Through a meticulous investigation guided by the outlined objectives, this study promises to enrich our

understanding of the multifaceted relationships that define language education and communication, offering valuable insights and strategies for educators, policymakers, and scholars engaged in this interdisciplinary field.

Theoretical Foundation

The sociocultural theory

The theoretical foundation of this study is anchored in Sociocultural Theory, a framework that posits learning as a fundamentally social process, deeply embedded within and inseparable from the cultural, historical, and institutional contexts in which it occurs. Originating from the work of Lev Vygotsky in the early 20th century, Sociocultural Theory has profoundly influenced contemporary understanding of cognitive development and education, emphasizing the critical role of social interaction and cultural tools in the process of learning. Vygotsky's (1978) seminal concept of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) is central to Sociocultural Theory. The ZPD represents the difference between what a learner can do independently and what they can achieve through interaction with more knowledgeable others, such as teachers or peers. This concept underscores the importance of scaffolding in education, where support is tailored to the learner's current level of competence and gradually withdrawn as they gain independence (Vygotsky, 1978; Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976). Sociocultural Theory also highlights the role of language as both a cultural tool and a medium of thought, facilitating cognitive development and learning. According to Vygotsky, cognitive functions, particularly higher mental functions, are initially social processes that become internalized through language (Vygotsky, 1981). This perspective foregrounds the significance of language in shaping thought and underscores the interdependence of language learning and cognitive development.

Further extending Vygotsky's ideas, contemporary scholars like Lantolf and Thorne (2006) have explored the application of Sociocultural Theory to second language acquisition, emphasizing the social nature of language learning and the pivotal role of interaction in the development of linguistic competence. This body of work suggests that effective language education transcends mere linguistic knowledge, incorporating cultural, historical, and social dimensions to fully support the learner's development. The concept of mediated action, another cornerstone of Sociocultural Theory, posits that human action and cognition are mediated by cultural artefacts, signs, and tools (Wertsch, 1991). This notion is particularly relevant to language education, where cultural narratives, texts, and practices serve not only as content to be learned but also as a means for cognitive development and socialization into cultural practices.

In applying Sociocultural Theory to the study of language, culture, and mentality, this research draws on the theory's emphasis on the social and cultural dimensions of learning. By investigating how cultural scaffolding, language as a mediating tool, and the social nature of learning environments contribute to language acquisition and effective communication, this study seeks to expand our understanding of the dynamic interplay between these elements. This theoretical foundation supports the exploration of how educators can act as mediators within the ZPD, adapting their teaching strategies to the cultural and cognitive needs of learners. It also provides a lens through which to examine the influence of mentality on language learning, highlighting the role of social and cultural contexts in shaping learners' attitudes and motivations.

Methodology

The choice of a qualitative approach was justified on several grounds. Firstly, the study aimed to explore complex sociocultural phenomena that required an in-depth understanding of participants' experiences and perspectives, which are best captured through qualitative methods. Secondly, the sociocultural theory framework necessitated an approach that could account for the nuances of social interactions, cultural contexts, and mentalities, which quantitative methods are less equipped to capture. Lastly, the qualitative approach allowed for the flexibility needed to adapt to the diverse settings of the study, facilitating a rich and nuanced understanding of the research questions.

Study Setting

The setting for this study was chosen to reflect the diverse linguistic and cultural landscape of Ghana, which provides a rich backdrop for examining the sociocultural dynamics of language and communication. The study was conducted in three distinct environments: a secondary school in Accra known for its language education programmes, a community involved in language and cultural preservation, and a multinational corporate office located in the capital city. This selection allowed for the examination of language and communication across educational, social, and professional contexts, offering a broad perspective on the sociocultural influences at play.

Participant Selection

Participants were purposively selected to include a range of perspectives on language and communication within these settings. In the educational context, participants included language teachers, students, and parents. For the community setting, local cultural figures, such as

storytellers and festival organizers, were chosen, along with residents who actively participated in cultural practices. Within the corporate setting, a cross-section of employees from various departments, including customer service, project management, and human resources, were selected. This purposive sampling strategy was justified by the need to gather in-depth insights from individuals directly engaged with the phenomena under study, thereby ensuring rich, contextually grounded data. The study engaged a diverse group of participants across various age groups, educational backgrounds, occupations, and ethnicities, as summarized in Table 1. A total of 100 participants were purposively selected to represent different stakeholders relevant to the research questions. The participant group consisted of 15 teachers with an age range of 25 to 60 years. This group was almost equally split by gender, with eight females and seven males. The teachers' educational qualifications varied from Bachelor's to Master's degrees, with years of experience ranging from 3 to 25 years in the educational sector. They represented several ethnic groups commonly found in Ghana, including Akan, Ga, and Ewe, and were proficient in English and one or more local languages.

Students accounted for the largest participant group, with 30 individuals aged between 12 and 18 years, balanced in gender distribution with 15 females and 15 males. All students were currently enrolled in secondary education and came from a mix of ethnic backgrounds, including Akan, Ga, Ewe, and others, reflecting the typical diversity of a Ghanaian secondary school. The parents' group included 20 participants, also with an equal gender distribution. Their ages ranged from 30 to 55 years, and they held educational levels from secondary school to college. While their occupations varied, they all shared common linguistic abilities in English and the major local languages, indicative of the linguistic landscape of the communities from which they hail. Community members participating in the study numbered 10, with ages spanning from 25 to 70 years, providing a generational perspective. This group was equally split by gender and included cultural figures and residents who had significant experience in community cultural activities, ranging from 10 to 50 years. Lastly, the corporate employees group included 25 participants ranging in age from 22 to 55 years, with a slight female majority (13 females and 12 males). Their education levels were predominantly Bachelor's or Master's degrees. The years of experience in the corporate setting ranged widely from 1 to 30 years, and their linguistic repertoire often included other languages alongside English and the major local languages, reflecting the global orientation of the corporate environment.

Table 1. Demographics of participants

Participant Group	Total Number	Age Range	Gender	Education Level	Ethnicity	Years of Experience	Occupation	Language(s) Spoken
Teachers	15	25-60	8F/7M	Bachelor's/Master's	Akan, Ga, Ewe	3-25	Educators	English, Twi, Ga, Ewe
Students	30	12-23	15F/15M	Secondary School	Akan, Ga, Ewe, Others	N/A	Students	English, Twi, Ga, Ewe
Parents	20	30-55	10F/10M	Secondary/College	Akan, Ga, Ewe	N/A	Various	English, Twi, Ga, Ewe
Community Members	10	25-70	5F/5M	Varied	Akan, Ga, Ewe	Oct-50	Cultural Figures, Residents	English, Twi, Ga, Ewe
Corporate Employees	25	22-55	13F/12M	Bachelor's/Master's	Akan, Ga, Ewe, Others	1-30	Various Roles in Corporate	English, Twi, Ga, Ewe, Others

*F = Female, M = Male, N/A = Not Applicable

Data Collection

Data was collected from diverse groups using tailored approaches to ensure depth and relevance. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with language teachers and corporate employees to explore their professional experiences with integrating cultural dimensions in language teaching and corporate communication. These interviews helped to understand the challenges and effective strategies employed in multicultural educational and business settings. Similarly, interviews with students and parents focused on personal experiences with language learning, examining the influence of cultural narratives and mentality on their educational processes. Focus group discussions were utilized to engage language teachers and students in a dynamic dialogue, allowing them to share and contrast their views on the effectiveness of cultural integration in language education. This method proved invaluable for uncovering collective insights and group dynamics. In the corporate environment, focus groups facilitated discussions on language use, cultural understanding in teamwork, and client interactions, highlighting various communication styles and approaches to managing cultural diversity at work. Participant observations were carried out among cultural figures and community members during community events and language classes. These observations provided real-time data on how cultural practices are woven into language use and the informal transmission of linguistic and cultural knowledge. Each method was specifically chosen and applied to appropriate participant groups to gather rich, context-specific information, laying a robust foundation for the study's thematic analysis. This detailed approach ensured a comprehensive understanding

of the sociocultural dynamics influencing language teaching and learning across different contexts.

Method of Analysis

Thematic analysis was employed as the primary method of data analysis, chosen for its flexibility and suitability for qualitative research. This approach involved a systematic process of coding data and identifying themes that were salient across the data set. The analysis was conducted iteratively, moving back and forth between the entire data set, coded extracts, and the analysis of individual themes, ensuring a rigorous and reflective engagement with the data. The thematic analysis was guided by the principles of sociocultural theory, which provided a theoretical lens for interpreting the findings.

Case Description

This case study delves into the influence of cultural dimensions on language teaching and learning within the multifaceted educational landscape of Ghana, a country renowned for its diverse linguistic and cultural tapestry and focusing on a language programme that integrates local languages such as Twi, Ewe, and Ga with English the official language. The study uncovers how cultural norms and values permeate language education practices. Ghana's educational system reflects its colonial history and multicultural present, offering a unique setting for exploring the language and culture relationship. The chosen language program aims to promote bilingual or multilingual proficiency, underpinning the importance of cultural heritage alongside global connectivity.

Cultural Dimensions in Language Teaching and Learning:

As the interviews commence, the resonant voice of Ms. Esinam, a seasoned language educator, echoes through the corridors of our study. "Teaching is not just about transmitting knowledge; it's about forging connections," she reflects. Sarah's narrative unfolds as a masterclass in navigating the intricate tapestry of cultural influences on language pedagogy. "I've come to realize that understanding my students' cultural backgrounds is like deciphering a code. It unlocks a deeper understanding of their motivations, challenges, and preferred learning styles." Esinam's sentiment is mirrored by Twumasi, a language learner who articulates the impact of cultural dimensions on the learning experience.

"It's not just about vocabulary and grammar; it's about cultural context. Language comes alive when you understand the nuances, the unspoken rules that shape communication."

As the plot thickens, Aku, engaged in cross-cultural communication, adds another layer to the narrative.

"Teaching and learning are not isolated acts; they are embedded in a broader cultural context. Effective communication requires an awareness of these nuances. It's about adapting your language and approach to resonate with different cultural perspectives."

Through interviews with educators, students, and parents, the study highlights the vital role of cultural dimensions in shaping educational experiences. Mr. Akwasi, a language teacher, also emphasizes,

"Language is the soul of culture. In teaching our languages, we are passing on our ancestors' wisdom, values, and ways of life."

This perspective showcases the intrinsic link between language instruction and cultural transmission. Parents express appreciation for the programme's dual focus. Mrs. Adjoa comments,

"It's essential for my children to master English for global opportunities, but equally important is their fluency in our local language, which keeps them connected to our roots."

Such sentiments illustrate the community's value of cultural identity and global participation. Students report that learning languages within a cultural context makes the educational experience more engaging and meaningful. Kofi, a student, reflects,

"Understanding the culture behind the words makes learning more interesting. It's not just about language; it's about connecting with our heritage and others'."

Educators incorporate a variety of cultural artefacts and practices into their teaching methodologies, from folk stories and traditional songs to historical narratives and cultural festivals. Mrs. Mensah, a Twi teacher, shares,

"We integrate cultural teachings with language lessons. For instance, when we teach proverbs, we delve into their meanings, origins, and applications in daily life, offering students a deeper cultural understanding."

Balancing the educational emphasis between local languages and English presents challenges, particularly in ensuring adequate resources and teacher expertise across languages. Mr. Akwasi notes,

"While we strive for balance, disparities in materials and training for local languages versus English can affect our effectiveness."

Community events, such as cultural festivals and local storytelling nights, further enrich students' learning experiences. These events offer practical contexts for applying language skills and deepening cultural understanding, creating a vibrant, interactive learning ecosystem. The programme also addresses the challenges of navigating multiple linguistic and cultural identities. Amavi, a student who speaks Ewe at home but is learning Twi and English at school, reflects on her journey:

"It can be challenging to switch between languages and cultures, but it's also empowering. I feel like I can communicate and belong in different worlds."

While the programme has garnered positive feedback, it faces challenges, including resource allocation, teacher training disparities, and the need for a curriculum that equally values all languages taught. Addressing these challenges requires systemic support and innovative strategies to ensure all students have equitable access to quality language and cultural education.

The Influence of Mentality on Language Teaching and Learning:

This section of the case study focuses on how individual and collective mentalities influence language teaching and learning within Ghana's multilingual and multicultural educational landscape. Focusing on a secondary school in Accra that offers instruction in both local languages (such as Twi, Ga, and Ewe) and English, this study aims to uncover the nuanced ways in which students' and educators' mindsets impact the acquisition and teaching of languages.

Educators consistently underscored the importance of fostering a positive learning environment and cultivating a growth mindset among students. Madam Abena, a Twi language teacher, emphasized the role of motivation and positive attitudes, noting that students who believe in their capacity to learn a language tend to engage more actively and achieve higher proficiency levels. She strives to celebrate small successes and highlight the real-life applications of language skills, thereby encouraging students to see beyond the classroom's confines. Mr. Ofori, an English teacher, addressed the challenge of language learning anxiety, particularly among students apprehensive about making mistakes in a foreign language. He highlighted the necessity of creating a classroom atmosphere where errors are viewed as integral to the learning journey, thus helping students transition from a mindset of apprehension to one of exploration and discovery. Parents play a pivotal role in shaping the mentality towards language learning.

Mrs Adwoa, the mother of two students, spoke to the importance of setting expectations around bilingualism, viewing it as both a valuable skill in the global landscape and a means of preserving cultural identity. This dual perspective underscores the broader community's influence, where cultural pride and the value placed on linguistic heritage significantly impact students' attitudes toward language acquisition. Students' reflections provided insight into the impact of mentality on their language learning experiences. Kwame, a final-year student, shared his initial scepticism toward learning Ga, a local language he perceived as having limited utility. However, his involvement in a community project through his language class transformed his perspective, illustrating the profound effect of experiential learning on student motivation and engagement. Similarly, Esi, a sophomore, highlighted the motivational boost she received from her peers' positive attitudes towards language learning. This peer influence, facilitated by study groups and collaborative learning activities, exemplified the communal aspect of mentality in shaping educational outcomes. Nana Yaa, a language learner with a voracious appetite for linguistic exploration, shares her journey.

"Learning a language is a mental gymnastics of sorts. Your mindset shapes the trajectory of your learning. It's not just about memorization; it's about adopting a new way of thinking."

Conversely, Elena, a language educator, reflects on the role of mindset in teaching.

"Instilling a growth mindset in my students is pivotal. Language learning is a journey fraught with challenges, and having the right mentality can make all the difference. It's about embracing the process, celebrating small victories, and understanding that mistakes are stepping stones, not stumbling blocks."

Influence of language, culture, and mentality on Effective Communication:

Participants across various departments shared insights that illuminate the nuanced ways in which language proficiency, cultural understanding, and an adaptive mentality collectively enhance or impede effective communication. One poignant reflection came from Amina, a customer service representative, who underscored the value of linguistic versatility in her role:

"Navigating between English and local languages such as Twi or Ga not only augments our customer engagement but also fosters a sense of respect and personal connection with our clientele."

This sentiment echoes the broader necessity for language adaptability in a multicultural workplace, highlighting the direct impact of linguistic skills on customer relations and service efficacy.

Equally, the case study sheds light on the subtleties of cultural influences on communication. James, involved in project management, highlighted the importance of cultural context in understanding and interpreting messages within the workplace. He noted,

"Grasping the cultural underpinnings that inform communication styles, such as the preference for indirectness or the use of proverbs in Ghanaian discourse, is vital. These cultural nuances, when misunderstood, can lead to miscommunication among team members, especially those less acquainted with these practices."

The study further delves into the realm of cultural sensitivity and adaptation, regarded by participants as crucial for navigating the complexities of a diverse workplace. Mary, from the Human Resources department, detailed initiatives aimed at enhancing cultural competency among employees:

"Through our cultural competency training, we've seen a transformation in communication dynamics, fostering a more inclusive and understanding workplace environment."

An essential aspect of effective communication highlighted in this case study is the mentality of openness and respect for cultural diversity. Kofi, a senior engineer, articulated the significance of embracing a diverse mentality, stating,

"It's imperative to adopt a mindset that not only acknowledges diversity but actively seeks to understand and respect it. Effective communication transcends linguistic compatibility; it involves a genuine effort to comprehend others' perspectives."

Despite the observed benefits of linguistic diversity and cultural understanding, the study identifies persistent challenges, including language barriers, cultural misinterpretations, and resistance to adapting communication styles. In response, the company has implemented several strategies aimed at mitigating these challenges, such as language exchange initiatives, cultural awareness workshops, and the development of a guide to multicultural communication practices.

Thematic Analysis of Case Description

The thematic analysis conducted on the case study presented in this paper is grounded in sociocultural theory, which posits that individual cognition is deeply rooted in social interactions and cultural contexts. By examining the relationship between language, culture, and mentality within Ghanaian educational and corporate settings, this analysis seeks to identify the factors that influence language teaching, learning, and effective communication.

Integration of Language and Culture in Education

The first case study, focusing on the cultural dimensions in language teaching and learning, revealed the theme of 'Cultural Scaffolding as a Pedagogical Tool'. Educators utilized cultural narratives and practices as scaffolds to support the language learning process, a clear reflection of Vygotsky's concept that learning is facilitated by the provision of cultural tools. This approach not only engaged students but also allowed them to navigate within their Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), progressing towards linguistic proficiency with the support of more knowledgeable others. The community and family emerged as co-participants, reinforcing the sociocultural assertion that learning is a socially mediated activity, extending beyond the formal classroom into the informal spaces of home and community life.

The Role of Mentality in Language Acquisition

In the second case study, the influence of mentality on language teaching and learning was dissected, uncovering the profound role of attitudes, beliefs, and expectations. The 'Attitudes and Beliefs Shaping Learning Motivation' theme emphasized the notion that learners' engagement is significantly influenced by their social environment's cultural attitudes and educational practices. The transformative power of 'Social Interactions as Vehicles for Mentality Transformation' was observed, where both peer influence and educator-student dynamics served as catalysts for cultivating a conducive learning mentality. Furthermore, the theme 'Cultural Identity and Language Learning' underscored the connection between language proficiency and cultural identity, resonating with sociocultural theory's perspective on language as a central element of cultural identity.

Effective Communication in a Multicultural Corporate Environment

The third case study delved into a multicultural corporate environment, highlighting the 'Cultural Contexts in Communication Practices'. Employees acknowledged the importance of understanding cultural nuances and adapting communication styles to suit varied cultural contexts, thereby enhancing the effectiveness of workplace interactions. The 'Language as a

Cultural Mediator' theme emerged, illustrating how language functions as a crucial tool for mediating social interactions and cultural exchanges. Finally, 'Adaptive Mentality and Interpersonal Understanding' was identified as a key factor in navigating communication barriers, with openness and respect for diversity playing a vital role in overcoming potential misunderstandings and fostering effective communication.

The analysis synthesized across the case studies illuminates the intricate connections between sociocultural factors and their impact on language-related outcomes. By applying sociocultural theory, the themes provide rich insights into how cultural scaffolding, mentality, and adaptation to cultural contexts are pivotal in shaping language education and communication practices. This blend not only reaffirms the relevance of sociocultural theory in understanding language phenomena but also highlights the need for educational and communication strategies that are responsive to the sociocultural realities of individuals and communities. The themes derived from this analysis contribute to a deeper understanding of the sociocultural dynamics at play and underscore the importance of considering these dynamics in the design and implementation of language and communication programmes in multicultural settings such as Ghana.

Table 2. Cultural Dimensions in Language Teaching and Learning

Codes	Code Categories	Themes
Cultural understanding and backgrounds	Cultural dimensions in education	Cultural dimensions in language teaching and learning
Community involvement	Community and family participation	
Language learning in cultural context	Language learning in informal spaces	

Table 3. Influence of Mentality on Language Teaching and Learning

Codes	Code Categories	Themes
Role of positive attitudes and beliefs	Mentality in language acquisition	Attitudes and beliefs shaping learning motivation

Importance of social interactions	Social interactions as vehicles	Social interactions as vehicles for mentality transformation
Cultural identity and language learning	Cultural identity and language learning	Cultural identity and language learning

Table 4. Influence of Language, Culture, and Mentality on Effective Communication

Codes	Code Categories	Themes
Importance of language proficiency	Effective communication	Cultural contexts in communication practices
Cultural nuances in communication	Language as a cultural mediator	Language as a cultural mediator
Mindset of openness and respect for diversity	Adaptive mentality and interpersonal understanding	Adaptive mentality and interpersonal understanding

Findings

The findings from our thematic analysis, grounded in sociocultural theory, underscore the intricate interplay between language, culture, and mentality in shaping language teaching, learning, and effective communication within Ghanaian contexts. In response to the gaps identified in the existing literature shown in section two, this study addressed the following research questions:

1. What cultural dimensions influence language teaching and learning?
2. How do people's mentality influence language teaching and learning?
3. How do language, culture, and mentality influence effective communication?

To achieve the research purpose and provide solutions to the research questions, the study drew on interpretive case study methodology, thematic analysis, and sociocultural theory as a theoretical lens. The research questions were addressed by the study as follows:

1. Cultural dimensions influence language teaching and learning

From the thematic analysis of the case study focusing on Ghanaian educational settings, the findings to the question of what cultural dimensions influence language teaching and learning is encapsulated in the theme of 'Cultural Scaffolding as a Pedagogical Tool'. This theme reveals

that educators leverage cultural narratives and practices as scaffolds to support the language learning process. These cultural dimensions include:

Utilization of Cultural Narratives and Practices: Educators incorporate stories, traditions, and practices from students' native cultures into language teaching. This approach not only makes learning more relevant and engaging for students but also bridges new linguistic concepts with familiar cultural contexts.

Community and Family Involvement: The analysis highlights the role of community and family as integral co-participants in the language learning process. This suggests that language teaching and learning are significantly influenced by the broader sociocultural environment, extending beyond the formal classroom setting. The active engagement of family and community members in educational activities reinforces language learning and underscores the collective nature of educational development within a cultural context.

Cultural Identity and Language Learning: The theme also points to the relationship between cultural identity and language proficiency. By integrating cultural content into language education, educators not only teach a new language but also foster an appreciation of cultural diversity, thereby reinforcing students' cultural identities and intercultural competence.

2. How mentality influences language teaching and learning

The significant impact of mentality, particularly attitudes and beliefs on language learning, is encapsulated in the theme 'Attitudes and Beliefs Shaping Learning Motivation.' This implies that positive attitudes and beliefs foster students' motivation and engagement in language learning. Interactions with peers and teachers also emerged as a factor that helps overcome language learning anxiety and develop a growth mindset. Also, cultural backgrounds and recognition of bilingualism were found to impact students' motivation and engagement in language learning. These findings align with recent research on growth mindset in education, which shows that learners' perceptions of their abilities significantly influence their learning outcomes (Dweck, 2017; Yeager & Dweck, 2020). The transformative role of social interactions in shaping a conducive learning mentality underscores the need for educational environments that promote positive educational practices and peer influences, echoing the call for a more nuanced understanding of the sociocultural factors influencing learner engagement and motivation (Mercer & Ryan, 2015).

3. Influence of Language, Culture, and Mentality in Effective Communication

The thematic analysis, particularly from the case study in a multicultural corporate environment, directly addresses how language, culture, and mentality influence effective communication. The key findings are:

Cultural Contexts in Communication Practices: The analysis revealed that an understanding of cultural nuances and the adaptation of communication styles to these nuances are crucial for effective communication. Awareness and sensitivity to different cultural contexts allow for more nuanced and effective interactions.

Language as a Cultural Mediator: Language plays a pivotal role in mediating social interactions and cultural exchanges. Effective communication in multicultural environments relies on the use of language not just for information exchange but also for navigating cultural differences and fostering mutual understanding.

Adaptive Mentality and Interpersonal Understanding: An adaptive mentality, characterized by openness, respect for diversity, and a willingness to understand different cultural perspectives, is essential for overcoming potential communication barriers. This mindset facilitates the interpretation of messages within their cultural contexts and supports meaningful intercultural interactions.

Discussion

The purpose of this study has been to understand the nexus between language, culture, and mentality, emphasizing their collective significance in the realm of language studies and effective communication. Guided by the Socio-Cultural Theory, the study explored the intricate interplay of these elements, revealing educators as cultural mediators within the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), which adapts teaching methods to diverse cultural backgrounds. This finding builds upon and adds depth to the existing theories on cultural competence in language education, such as those proposed by Byram (2017) and Kramsch (2018), by unveiling the nuances of how educators navigate cultural nuances in instructional practices. Moreover, this study contributes to the dialogue on culturally responsive pedagogy, aligning with Gay's (2018) insights and extending our understanding of educators' experiences in diverse classrooms.

The impact of mentality on language teaching and learning underscores the dynamic role of mindsets in shaping language learning experiences. This study's observation of learners with growth mindsets within the ZPD exemplifies the crucial role of social and cultural scaffolding in cognitive development, echoing the findings of Mercer & Dörnyei (2020) and extending the

work of Blackwell et al. (2007) by highlighting sociocultural mechanisms that shape learners' mindsets.

Furthermore, the importance of cultural context in educational practices was underscored. The theme 'Cultural Scaffolding as a Pedagogical Tool' aligns with Vygotsky's notion, as recently discussed by Lantolf & Thorne (2020), that integrating learners' cultural experiences enhances learning. In Ghanaian language classrooms, the use of cultural narratives and artefacts as cognitive tools supported student learning within their ZPD, facilitating linguistic proficiency and fostering cultural identity and intercultural competence. The study also revealed that the collaborative nature of learning extends beyond the classroom to involve families and communities, highlighting the collective aspect of learning emphasized by sociocultural theory and supporting recent findings by Kozulin et al. (2019). This suggests that educational programmes should actively engage with learners' cultural backgrounds and communities to optimize learning outcomes.

Addressing mentalities in language learning, the study found that attitudes and beliefs significantly affect engagement and motivation, supporting the sociocultural perspective on internalized cultural values outlined by King & Mackey (2018). The transformational role of social interactions as vehicles for mentality transformation illustrates language learning as a multifaceted process, echoing the sentiments of Filippi et al. (2020) regarding the importance of fostering positive learning environments. In examining the corporate setting, the study's findings on the 'Cultural Contexts in Communication Practices' theme reaffirm the sociocultural assertion that communication processes are culturally embedded, as discussed by Holmes & O'Neill (2019). The mediating role of language in social interactions and the necessity of an adaptive mentality for effective intercultural communication were emphasized, highlighting the importance of intercultural competence in multicultural workplaces, a topic explored by Ang & Van Dyne (2020). This discussion explains the sociocultural complexity in language education and communication, aligning with recent research that calls for cultural, cognitive, and attitudinal considerations into educational and corporate strategies. The findings suggest that organizations in culturally diverse environments should foster intercultural competence, possibly through training and the promotion of a diversity-valuing culture, as suggested by Thomas & Peterson (2021).

Implications

The findings related to the cultural dimensions of language teaching and learning in Ghana highlight the integral role of culture as both content and context in the educational process. The

use of cultural scaffolding demonstrates that when students' learning experiences are embedded within their cultural context, they are more likely to be engaged and motivated. This engagement is not merely academic; it is also personal, connecting students to their heritage and identity through language. The implication is profound, suggesting that language cannot be decoupled from its cultural roots if the goal is to achieve meaningful and lasting language acquisition. The influence of mentality on language teaching and learning reveals that the psychological disposition of both learners and educators can significantly impact language acquisition outcomes. A growth mindset, or the belief in one's ability to learn and improve, is particularly crucial. The implication here is that educators need to create environments that foster this mindset, which can be achieved through positive reinforcement, setting achievable goals, and demonstrating the tangible progress of language proficiency. The findings also point to the importance of social influences, such as peer interactions and teacher support, indicating that language learning is a communal endeavour that thrives in a collaborative and supportive atmosphere. The implications of the findings in terms of educational policy and curriculum design are significant. The findings suggest that educational policies should encourage the integration of cultural elements into language curricula to provide students with a more holistic learning experience. Curriculum designers are prompted to consider local cultural practices, narratives, and values as central components of language education. This culturally responsive approach to language teaching can facilitate deeper learning and foster students' sense of identity and belonging. For educators, the findings indicate the need for professional development that equips them with the skills to incorporate cultural content effectively and to cultivate a positive learning mentality among students. Training programmes should emphasize the development of strategies to build students' growth mindsets and leverage social interactions for language learning. Teachers also need to be aware of their influence on students' attitudes toward language learning and be trained to foster an inclusive and motivating classroom environment. In the corporate sphere, the implications point to the necessity of developing communication strategies that consider linguistic diversity and cultural differences. Human resource managers and corporate leaders should prioritize cultural intelligence in their teams, creating policies that encourage language learning and cultural exchange. Investment in regular intercultural communication training could be essential for enhancing employees' ability to navigate a multicultural workplace effectively. The role of community engagement in language learning, suggests that language education initiatives should extend beyond formal schooling to include community-based programmes. This could involve partnerships with cultural institutions, local storytelling events, and other community activities that provide a

real-world context for language use. Promoting lifelong learning through community engagement can contribute to the preservation of cultural heritage and the continued development of language skills throughout life. In theory, the findings from the case studies, when viewed through the lens of sociocultural theory, offer valuable insights into the multifaceted nature of language learning and communication. The implications drawn from these insights provide actionable recommendations for educators, policymakers, corporate leaders, and community organizers aiming to enhance language-related outcomes in a culturally diverse context.

Conclusion, Contributions and Key Insights

This study explored the relationships between language, culture, and mentality, emphasising their collective significant effects on language studies and effective communication. This qualitative exploration of language, culture, and mentality within the Ghanaian context, as presented through the lens of sociocultural theory, provided a comprehensive understanding of the intricate dynamics that characterize language teaching, learning, and effective communication. The thematic analysis conducted across three distinct case studies has revealed the multifaceted ways in which cultural scaffolding enriches language education, how mentality shapes language acquisition and the vital role of language proficiency and cultural sensitivity in communication within multicultural environments. The study underlines the necessity of integrating cultural dimensions into language teaching to enhance engagement and retention. It highlights the pivotal role of educators in leveraging cultural narratives and practices to scaffold language learning, thereby fostering a deeper connection between students and their linguistic heritage. The findings also emphasize the significant impact of individual and collective mentalities on language learning, where attitudes, expectations, and beliefs either facilitate or hinder language acquisition. In corporate settings, the ability to effectively communicate across cultural divides is shown to be dependent not only on linguistic abilities but also on cultural understanding and a flexible, open-minded mentality. The implications for educational and organizational practices are clear and far-reaching. Educational policies should be designed to foster a culturally rich learning environment, while teacher training programmes should place greater emphasis on developing culturally responsive teaching competencies. This study also opens avenues for future research, suggesting the need for further investigation into the long-term impacts of culturally integrated language programmes on students' cognitive and social development.

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Makine Çevirisinin Tarihsel Süreci*

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Geliş Tarihi: 18.03.2024
Kabul Tarihi: 24.05.2024
Yayın Tarihi: 27.06.2024
Değerlendirme: İki Dış Hakem /
Çift Taraflı Körlleme
Makale Türü: Derleme

Atıf Bilgisi:

Mercan, Hanımınur; Akgün, Yaşar; Odacıoğlu, Mehmet Cem (2024). Makine Çevirisinin Tarihsel Süreci. *International Journal of Language and Translation Studies*, 4/1, 104-116.

Benzerlik Taraması: Yapıldı –
iThenticate

Etik Bildirim:

lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Çıkar Çatışması: Çıkar çatışması beyan edilmemiştir.

Finansman: Bu araştırmayı desteklemek için dış fon kullanılmamıştır.

Telif Hakkı & Lisans Yazarlar: Dergide yayımlanan çalışmalarının telif hakkına sahiptirler ve çalışmaları CC BY-NC 4.0 lisansı altında yayımlanmaktadır.

Öz

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Çeviribilim; Makine Çevirisi (MT); MT Tarihi, Bilgisayar Destekli Çeviri (BDÇ) Araçları; MT Etiği

* Etik Beyan: * Bu çalışmanın hazırlanma sürecinde bilimsel ve etik ilkelere uyulduğu ve yararlanılan tüm çalışmaların kaynakçada belirtildiği beyan olunur.

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The Evolution of Machine Translation: A Review Study*

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Date of Submission: 18.03.2024
Date of Acceptance: 24.05.2024
Date of Publication: 27.06.2024
Review: Double-blind peer review
Article Type: Review

Citation:

Mercan, Hanımnur; Akgün, Yaşar; Odacıoğlu, Mehmet Cem (2024). The Evolution of Machine Translation: A Review Study. *International Journal of Language and Translation Studies*, 4/1, 104-116.

Plagiarism Check: Yes - iThenticate

Complaints: lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Conflict of Interest: The author(s) has no conflict of interest to declare.

Grant Support: The author(s) acknowledges that they received no external funding to support this research.

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Abstract

In the era of globalization, where an increased need for communication emerges day by day, translation is of vital importance to establish communication among various cultures. Accordingly, there is an increasing demand for translation which also means a burden on translators. With a skyrocketing amount of business and commercial-related translation tasks, the volumes of translation projects have increased to the same extent. Situated in a position where the translators are obliged to terminate the designated project in much more time-restricted schedules, new alternatives brought about by the improvement of technology have happened to be implemented into the translation field. Within this scope, machine translation (MT) and computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools, regarded as the current issues in translation studies, cushion this burden of translation on translators by making the translation process automated and easier, which reveals their significant role in shaping the future of this field. It is also worth mentioning that MT has obtained this prevalence only after many challenges. This situation has created a massive shift in translation studies. However much it affects the field of translation, machine translation still has unexplained ethical issues due to its shared data policy. Each interaction with the system is stored in its database and can be reused by any other users. Considering those, this paper scrutinizes the historical evolution of machine translation as well as its discussion from the ethical aspect.

Keywords:

Translation Studies; Machine Translation (MT); History of MT; Computer-Assisted Translation (CAT) tools; Ethics of MT

* Ethical Statement: * It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited.

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Introduction

Machine translation (MT) is one of the popular issues in the translation community. It basically refers to "computerized systems responsible for the production of translations with or without human assistance" (Hutchins, 1995, p. 431). That is to say, it makes use of artificial intelligence and some algorithms to automatically generate translations from one language to another without requiring human intervention. In the words of (Hatim & Munday, 2004, p. 217), "Machine Translation started out with the hope and expectation that most of the work of translation could be handled by a system which contained all the information we find in a standard paper bilingual dictionary". However, the fact that it only offered raw translation turned this system into an extension of computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools which make the translation process structured with their many features mentioned below. Additionally, there are machine-aided human translation (MAHT) and human-aided machine translation (HAMT) systems. They are often considered ambiguous and, consequently, have merged into a single term called computer-assisted translation (CAT), encompassing both systems.

MT and CAT diverge because the core of the above-mentioned systems is MT, which assumes the upper automation of the translation process. To elaborate more, CAT is composed of some tools that are intended to assist human translators in the translation process. Within these tools, translation is generated by the software and presented to the translator with separate segments – a phrase, sentence, or paragraph, and the translator can use the tool for editing, managing, and storing translations. Thus, it is worth mentioning that CAT tools and MT have made the translation process easier and faster. Regarding the advantages of CAT tools, Mohammed, Samed, and Mahdi (2020, pp. 1084-1085) state that CAT tools are consistently employed to disburden and expedite the translation process, offering advantages for both translators and clients. They not only save translators valuable time but also reduce the overall cost of the translation service. However, it appears to be neither puzzling nor surprising that the integration of such a newly-coined and improved term as machine translation into the translation market has caused new discussions to spring up. At the end of the day, the concept of machine translation encapsulates many different stratifications that have remained undiscussed. Given that each budding field brings about new challenges which necessitates to be confronted and resolved, it is of vital importance to address the unresolved questions in the new field. For instance, taken machine translation into account, tapping into the shared data policy which has come to be rarely pronounced till the machine translation evolution, both the professionals and clients seem to have been drawn into a relentless discussion with regard to the ethical aspect of

the process. At the end of the day, MT makes use of a shared data policy formed through previously-handled translation activities by many users, jeopardizing their data. Therefore, some clients tend to demand that machine translation is not used by the professionals assuming their projects. By relying on these, ethical issues regarding machine translation have been discussed in this paper after giving a brief history of MT.

History of Machine Translation

Without any doubt, MT and CAT tools have not immediately gained this popularity and offered the benefits they include. It has taken years and many experiences to reach that position. Though dreamt in the seventeenth century, it was only in the late twentieth that the concept of machine translation materialized (Hutchins, 1995). Leon Dostert (1957), who was one of the prominent scholars that joined in the research project to design a machine translation in Georgetown University states in his article that it was only the last couple of years that the notion of machine translation sparked a rampant interest in the academic circles, prompting a research and improvement to be accelerated. The growing interest within the promising field of machine translation has gained such a traction that it soon has become an interdisciplinary field, in which many professions have collaborated. As Chéragui (2012) notes, “[o]ver the years, Machine Translation has been a focus of investigations by linguists, psychologists, philosophers, computer scientists and engineers” (p. 160). Nonetheless, the background of MT poses some uncertainty due to the lack of reliable sources in this field. As support to this claim, Harold L. Somers (1997, p. 115) alleges that the information available on MT was relatively limited, with pertinent articles found in journals focusing on related or contributing fields such as computational linguistics, translation studies, human-computer interfaces, and software engineering. The scarcity of these articles made it feasible for individuals to stay well-informed on all pertinent content.

The story of MT began in 1933 when Soviet scientist Peter Troyanskii introduced a mechanical translating machine to the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. It was a necessarily simple invention with cards in four different languages, a typewriter, and an old-school film camera, but it was considered useless by the USSR. In the meanwhile, Troyanskii passed away while trying to finish his invention. In 1949, the pioneers of MT, such as Warren Weaver, proposed using computers to translate text by breaking it down into smaller units and processing them systematically. As described by the Hutchins Report, on January 7th, 1954, the Georgetown experiment, the first successful demonstration of MT, was conducted. However, the fact that pilot sentences were deliberately selected and excluded out of any ambiguity was not a spoken

issue. To improve MT, forty years passed with vain struggles. The US ALPAC (Automatic Language Processing Advisory Committee) considered MT expensive, inaccurate, and unpromising. Instead of MT, they suggested working on dictionary development, which resulted in a halt for almost a decade. Consequently, with each development in the MT world, there occurred some approaches based on the periods named after later on:

1. **Rule-based Machine Translation (1950s-1980s):** In this approach, linguistic rules were used to translate text from one language into another. However, it proved to be highly ineffective due to the complexity of natural languages.
2. **Transfer-based Machine Translation (1980s-1990s):** This approach used a bilingual dictionary and a set of rules to transfer the meaning from the source language into the target language. It was an improvement compared to the rule-based MT, but it still had limitations.
3. **Interlingual Machine Translation (1990s):** This approach benefited from an intermediary language (interlingua) that represented the meaning of the source language. It was more effective than transfer-based MT but required extensive manual effort to create an interlingua.
4. **Corpus-based Machine Translation (1990s):** It included example-based machine translation and statistical machine translation as well as using a parallel corpus to gain new knowledge for future translations.
5. **Example-based Machine Translation (1990s-2000s):** In this approach, translation was based on similarities between parallel sentences in the source and target languages. It was more effective than the previous approaches but required a large amount of training data.
6. **Statistical Machine Translation (2000s-2010s):** This approach was based on statistical models using large amounts of bilingual data to translate text. It was a significant improvement compared to earlier approaches and was widely used in industry.
7. **Neural Machine Translation (2010s-present):** This approach uses deep learning neural networks to translate text. It has shown remarkable improvements in translation quality and has become the most widely used approach in machine translation.
8. **Hybrid Machine Translation (present):** It combines two or more machine translation approaches, such as rule-based, statistical, and neural machine translation, to improve

the quality of translations. In hybrid machine translation, each approach handles a specific aspect of the translation process, such as grammar, vocabulary, or context, and the results are combined to produce a more accurate translation. This kind of translation aims to overcome the limitations of individual approaches and provide more reliable and consistent translations, especially for languages with complex grammar and syntax. It is widely used in industry and research and has shown promising results in improving translation quality.

These approaches, respectively given above, present the process of MT in a nutshell. In fact, by relying on the statement related to the lack of sources, the approaches are found to have been classified in accordance with different criteria in several sources. For example, Somers (1997) distinguishes linguistic and corpus-based (analogy-based, example-based) approaches. Likewise, Margaret D. Okpor (2014) mentions two main paradigms: rule-based and corpus-based approaches. Direct, transfer-based, and interlingua machine translation approaches are available within the sub-approaches of the rule-based approach. Statistical machine translation and example-based machine translation are encountered regarding the sub-approaches of the corpus-based approach. Besides, Okpor (2014, p. 164) refers to hybrid machine translation by saying the reason behind the creation of hybrid machine translation systems arises from the inadequacy of individual techniques to attain a desirable level of precision. That is to say, hybrid machine translation can be considered to be a combination of the approaches' efficacious aspects.

Furthermore, MT is mostly applied via CAT tools, as mentioned above. Especially professional translators benefit from the advantages of making the translation process easier, faster, and more systematic. Therefore, MT will be referred to in the progress of the paper by mentioning CAT tools.

Why has the concept of Machine Translation and CAT tools become such an important topic?

It is no secret that the term globalization has affected the translation field more than anything else. As the world has become closer with the countries among which there has formed a link of cooperation ranking from commercial tasks to politics, the experienced language barrier has necessitated being sorted out with the help of language experts. These commercial and business-related documents have challenged translators too much. What is more, the burden in question occurred due to the circulation and speed of the upcoming tasks and the lengthiness of the documents demanded to be translated. Given that globalization has not transpired in a seclusion

but rather in tandem with technological improvement, it might be stated that globalization and technology have contributed equally to the rising burden of the translators (Doherty, 2016). Some of the research has also proved that the number of translation tasks has been constantly rising. For instance, Kučiš (2010), who compared the number of translated documents within two different timelines, explains the phenomena by stating that within the translation market of the European Union alone, there were 1,125,709 pages translated in 1997. By 2007, this figure had increased to 1,762,773 pages, which is likely to have grown further. The rising demand for translation services has led to an increased hiring of freelance translators, indicating that computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools are likely to remain a permanent fixture in this landscape.

Therefore, the translators who have faced an unprecedented flow of translation tasks have needed to possess an aid through which a much more accelerated translation process would be possible. Thus, The life-saver at stake has become known as CAT tools, which basically stand for the applications equipped with several come-in-handly technological traits used by hands-on translators. So much so that, it has become a cardinal necessity for translators to use CAT tools to survive in such a globalized world (Vukolavic, 2021); it is also to be noted that the intensified amount of workload in the translation field appears to be dominated by technical texts. When the demands of the translation market are considered, it is to be seen that the documents demanded to be translated consist of technical and formative texts, in which recurrent and terminological usages are frequent. At this point, two of the most widely utilized traits of the CAT tools appear to come to the forefront: terminology-base and translation memory. Since translators are asked to translate technically written texts, they end up confronting the same usages and terminological words that almost always follow each other. For the texts in the business sectors are generally similar to each other, these traits are nearly the most essential parts of the CAT tools (Craciunescu, 2004). Thus, the operating modern-world translators, in one way or another, end up utilizing CAT tools a lot.

Ethical Aspect of MT and CAT Tools and Shared Data Policy

The reality of MT and CAT tools can be asserted to have added one more layer to the already multi-layered characteristic of the translation field. Due to its nature, the translation field has been ripe enough to harbor many debates crafted by its doers. Both practical and theoretical ideas have been throned and dethroned ever since the dawn of the day when conveying one message from one language into another was made possible. As a field, translation has always been open to ethics-driven discussions, the most well-known ones of which are word-for-word

or sense-for-sense techniques that have come to be discussed ever since Cicero's time. It should be noted that the appearance and skyrocketing usage of MT and CAT tools have come to be evaluated within the scope of ethics, too. When scrutinized under the name of ethics, it ought to be addressed that the usage of these tools causes many ethical problems. Although MT and CAT tools have been examined from several aspects, not much research has been conducted to tackle the situation from the ethical side of it. One of the sporadic studies is the one conducted by Melby and Warner (1995). They point out that for a healthy conversation to crystallize, an agency, which stands for an alive interlocutor actually listening and responding, is necessary. In the words of Melby and Warner (1995, p. 4), for effective communication, it is essential to possess agency, encompassing the ability to make genuine choices for which we assume accountability. Additionally, we must recognize our conversational partners as individuals with the capacity to make choices. They (1995) state that if humans are destitute of agency in their conversations, then the interaction is doomed to spiral into being no more than an artificial and shallow chain of sounds.

Without agency, we are reduced to the status of machines, and there is no dynamic general language (see also Kenny, 2011). Accordingly, as Melby and Warner (1995, p. 7) state the lack of dynamic, versatile language would result in a computer-like approach to translation, eliminating the distinctively human quality in our current understanding of the translation process. Consequently, the lack of agency represents a key factor preventing computers from translating in a manner akin to human capabilities. The moment the agency is stripped away from the grasp of people, the conversations happen to sound not as human as they should be. At this point, it is necessary to remember the previous lines mentioned above. Modern life translation projects are dominated by recurrent usages and terminologies that are often translated by terminology base and translation memory. Since these usages are technical information, machines seem to be entirely accomplished in conducting their translation. However, it also causes the language to be deprived of the needed agency, leading the translated project to seem like a sound in which no human touch has been infused.

Moreover, even though machines seem to be well-versed in technical translation due to their nature of being dominated by technical usages, it may not be inaccurate to assert that the lack of agency is bound to cause lexical problems while conducting texts in which human touches are present. As Kenny (2018, p. 62) puts the idea forward, computers may be come-in-handly in terms of technical fields. Lack of agency, however, sets the limits to the possibility of computers which translate like humans in dynamic and general domains. It also extinguishes

the responsibility of any undesirable action. For example, when a text containing private and personal information is entered into the system to be translated, the machine which lacks agency cannot be responsible for its privacy because it employs a shared data policy. The source and target texts are stored to be used for the future translations. This ethical aspect of the MT and CAT tools appears to be dominated by the reality of shared data policy. In relation to this point, Dorothy Kenny (2011) alleges:

“... in other cases where translation memories are shared, or services such as Google Translator Toolkit retain source texts and their translations to assist in the training of the Google Translate SMT system, then significant issues of confidentiality arise (as the texts in question might contain sensitive personal or commercial information, for example). Not only that, but people who reuse translations through Google Translate cannot be sure that those translations have been shared by their rightful owners in the first place, and nor can they acknowledge the anonymous translators whose work they are reusing” (p. 126)

It is no secret that MT is generally based on data, which comes to be arranged through innumerable amounts of previously done projects. Each human intervention in the outcome of MT is stored as data in the algorithm. That’s why, “[d]ata collection is the first and most evident issue when it comes to translation” (Mager et al., 2023, p. 4874). The final translation product is ultimately presented to the public without filtering any sensitive data. However, the question of ethics arises when one thinks about the fact that the majority of the clients demand their projects to be translated in secret. Since translators happen to perform the profession with the most access to people's personal data, the clients' demand for their documents to be translated in compliance with confidentiality is reasonable. However, as the translation memory is created through necessary usages extracted from the previously done translations, one needs to ask, “[w]hose data is it that is actually being used?” Thus, when the concept of confidentiality is thought within the realm of data-sharing, several ethical problems arise (Kenny, 2018).

Last but not least, one of the ethical problems caused by the use of MT and CAT tools is the issue of creativity. It is widely known that translation is a creativity-driven profession. Yet, The interfaces of CAT tools happen to be segment-arranged, meaning the sentences are translated segment by segment in an extracted form. Therefore, translators generally end up not being cognizant of the following sentences, leading him/her to be focused on the segment on which they are operating, narrowing their vision. Although the raw translation seems beneficial for the questions of speed and accuracy, the creativity tends to be derailed given that translators'

choices and thoughts are channeled into the already-translated raw translation segment. The study carried out by Dow and Massey (2014, p. 20) revealed that numerous statements from professional translators indicate that language technology tools are unduly limiting their creative autonomy.

The conductor scholars are of the opinion that the segmented nature of the CAT tools constrains the freedom and creativity of the translators to move away from the text (Dow & Massey, 2014). Another author, who analyzed the relationship between creativity and the usage of CAT tools, concluded that the recycling nature of the machines may discourage the new creative forms of utterances (Todorova, 2020). These realities may explain the reasonable fears when using CAT tools becomes the topic for the literary texts.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be stated that MT has undergone a number of phases throughout history, each of which has contributed new strategies, notions, and, to some extent, questions to be sorted out, thus leading the concept of MT and CAT tools to be ameliorated. When all these phases combined are scrutinized, it is highly likely to perceive that each new phase has opened a road to transform the more manual usage of MT and CAT tools into a more auto-generated one, which can easily be characterized as much more technology-driven.

Furthermore, the concept of CAT tools has apparently gained solid ground within the field of translation owing to the warranted reasons brought about by the modern world. Among these reasons, the globalization of the world (companies), which has caused lengthier documents and projects to be translated, can be deemed as the driving force for improving MT and CAT tools. The more the world has become closer and more globalized, the more expedited, consolidated, and intensified commercial activities have begun. Thus, the corporations formed between the nations have necessitated that the language experts dominate the market. Yet, it ought not to come as a surprise that the more intensified tasks and document circulations have triggered translators to be obliged to assume more responsibilities, leading them to bear much more burden. Thus, MT and CAT tools have come to ease the burden on these translators, equipped with numerous traits the professionals utilize.

Notwithstanding, the popularity of MT and CAT tools has naturally added one more facet to an already multifaceted nature of the field of translation. Translators, who have found themselves left in limbo regarding the ethical questions arising by the nature of their professions, have now encountered a new set of ethical questions caused by this newly-appeared concept. Creativity,

which marks the very core of the translation field, appears to be derailed by the automated translation skills of the MT, which direct translators to be focused on the raw translation and harm the potential creative options. The lack of agency, which stands for the absence of a real person conducting the conversation, appears to be just another problem caused by the artificially created language style of MT. Moreover, the fact that MT relies on shared and collected data has also caused confidentiality questions. Since it should be trained to produce translations as expected from the users, not surprisingly MT is required to obtain and process the users' own entered data. Considering this, any personal or private input is highly likely to be manifested to the broad public and to be reused as if it were created by the MT database. Therefore, in an age, in which the use of MT and CAT tools dominantly shapes the field of translation, it is highly preferable to consider these listed ethical problems so that the ethical codes of the profession and the use of highly-chosen tools can be melted in the same pot. Having regard to this ethical issue, the users and translators should be aware of the jeopardy stemming from the shared data policy and take precautions against unexpected results.

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Ümmügülsüm Dohman: Rus Sözlükbilimi *

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Geliş Tarihi: 17.04.2024
Kabul Tarihi: 23.05.2024
Yayın Tarihi: 27.06.2024
Değerlendirme: İki Dış Hakem /
Çift Taraflı Körleme
Makale Türü: Kitap İncelemesi

Atıf Bilgisi:

Karavin Yüce, Harika (2024).
Ümmügülsüm Dohman: Rus
Sözlükbilimi. *International Journal of
Language and Translation Studies*, 4/1,
117-123.

Benzerlik Taraması: Yapıldı –
iThenticate

Etik Bildirim:
lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Çıkar Çatışması: Çıkar çatışması beyan
edilmemiştir.

Finansman: Bu araştırmayı desteklemek
için dış fon kullanılmamıştır.

Telif Hakkı & Lisans Yazarlar: Dergide
yayınlanan çalışmalarının telif hakkına
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Öz

Çalışmada Ümmügülsüm Dohman tarafından hazırlanan “Rus Sözlükbilimi” adlı kitap tanıtılmaktadır. Ayrıntılı bir araştırma sunan kitapta zengin bir sözlükbilim geleneğine sahip olan Rus sözlükbilimin tarihsel gelişimi, kuramsal ve uygulamalı sözlükbilim faaliyetleri incelenmektedir. Çalışmanın amacı, Rus sözlükbilimin temel kavram ve ilkelerini açıklamak, Rus sözlüklerinin hazırlanmasında etkili olan dilsel, toplumsal, tarihî, siyasî, ideolojik, kültürel faktörleri ve bunların Rusça söz varlığına nasıl yansıtıldığını göstermektir. Bunların yanı sıra, çalışmada Rus sözlüklerindeki Türk kökenli unsurların tespiti yapılmakta ve ilk Rusça-Türkçe sözlükbilim terimleri sözlükçesi sunulmaktadır. Rus Sözlükbiliminin gelişiminde rol oynayan önemli olay, kişi ya da kurumları ele alan bu çalışma yedi bölümden oluşmaktadır. Bu çalışma, Rusçanın farklı türdeki sözlüklerinde bulunan Türk kökenli unsurların belirtilmesi ve ilk Rusça-Türkçe sözlükbilim terimleri sözlükçesini sunması açısından yenilikçi bir çalışmadır. Çalışmanın sözlükbilim tarihi, sözlüklerin sınıflandırılması, yeni sözlük türleri ve yaklaşımları, terimleri adlandırma karşılaşılan zorluklar gibi konulara farklı bir bakış açısı kazandıracığı öne sürülmektedir. Ayrıca çalışmanın sözlükbilim ve Türkoloji alanında çalışan araştırmacılara önemli bir kaynak olacağı ve Türkiye’de gerçekleştirilen sözlükbilim çalışmalarına katkı sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Rus sözlükbilimi, sözlükler, kuram, uygulama, terminoloji.

* Etik Beyan: * Bu çalışmanın hazırlanma sürecinde bilimsel ve etik ilkelere uyulduğu ve yararlanılan tüm çalışmaların kaynakçada belirtildiği beyan olunur.

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Ümmügülsüm Dohman: Russian Lexicography*

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Date of Submission: 17.04.2024

Date of Acceptance: 23.05.2024

Date of Publication: 27.06.2024

Review: Double-blind peer review

Article Type: Book Review

Citation:

Karavin Yüce, Harika (2024).
Ümmügülsüm Dohman: Russian
Lexicography. *International Journal of
Language and Translation Studies*, 4/1,
117-123.

Plagiarism Check: Yes - iThenticate

Complaints: lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Conflict of Interest: The author(s) has
no conflict of interest to declare.

Grant Support: The author(s)
acknowledges that they received no
external funding to support this research.

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Abstract

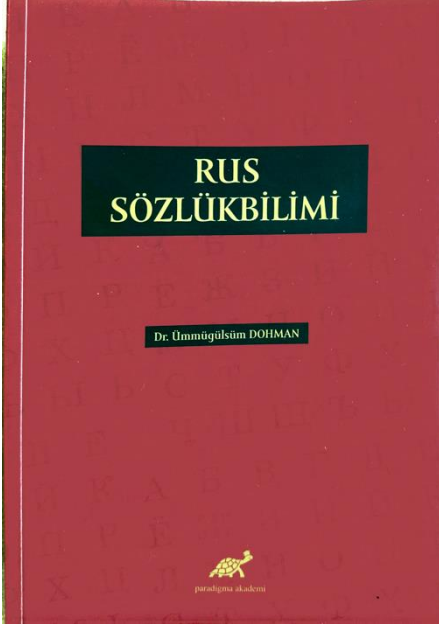
This study introduces the book titled “Russian Lexicography” prepared by Ümmügülsüm Dohman. The book, which presents a detailed research, examines the historical development of Russian lexicography, which has a rich lexicographical tradition, and theoretical and practical lexicographical activities. The aim of the study is to explain the basic concepts and principles of Russian lexicography, to show the linguistic, social, historical, political, ideological, cultural factors that influence the preparation of Russian dictionaries and how they are reflected in Russian vocabulary. In addition, the study identifies the elements of Turkish origin in Russian dictionaries, and presents the first Russian-Turkish lexicographical glossary. This study, which deals with important events, persons or institutions that played a role in the development of Russian lexicography, consists of seven chapters. It is an innovative study in terms of specifying the elements of Turkish origin in different types of Russian dictionaries and presenting the first Russian-Turkish lexicographical glossary. It is suggested that the study will provide a different perspective on issues such as the history of lexicography, classification of dictionaries, new dictionary types and approaches, difficulties encountered in naming the terms. In addition, it is thought that the study will be an important resource for researchers working in the field of lexicology and Turkology, and will contribute to the lexicographic studies carried out in Türkiye.

Keywords:

Russian Lexicography, dictionaries, theory, practice, terminology

* Ethical Statement: * It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited.

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Dohman, Ü. (2021). *Rus Sözlükbilimi*. Çanakkale: Paradigma Akademi, 577 s.

Rus Sözlükbilimi adlı bu kitap Dr. Ümmügülsüm Dohman tarafından Prof. Dr. Zeynep Bağlan ÖZER'in danışmanlığında Gazi Üniversitesi, Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsünde, Rus Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalında doktora tezi olarak hazırlanmıştır. 577 sayfadan oluşan kitap 2021 yılında Paradigma Akademi Yayınları tarafından basılmıştır. Ayrıntılı bir araştırma sunan kitabın konusunu zengin bir sözlükbilim geleneğine sahip olan Rus sözlükbiliminin tarihsel gelişimi ile kuramsal ve uygulamalı sözlükbilim faaliyetleri oluşturmaktadır.

Kitapta çalışmanın amacı Rus sözlükbiliminin temel kavram ve ilkelerini açıklamak, Rus sözlüklerinin hazırlanmasında etkili olan dilsel, toplumsal, tarihî, siyasî, ideolojik, kültürel faktörleri ve bunların Rusça söz varlığına nasıl yansıdığını göstermek şeklinde ifade edilmektedir. Çalışmada araştırma yöntemleri olarak betimleme ve etimolojik yöntemlerinin yanı sıra karşılaştırmalı tarih yöntemi, karşılaştırmalı sözlükbilim, semantik, morfolojik, artzamanlı ve eşzamanlı inceleme yöntemleri kullanılmıştır. Çalışma, Rus sözlükbilimini kapsamlı bir biçimde ele alması, bu alanda temel eserler vermiş (M. V. Lomonosov, İ. İ. Sreznevskiy, D. N. Uşakov, N. M. Şanskiy vd.) birçok bilim insanını ilk kez tanıtmaları ve değerlendirmesi, sözlüklerin doğasına farklı bir bakış açısı getirmesi, Rusçanın farklı türdeki sözlüklerinde bulunan Türk kökenli sözcükleri tespit etmesi ve Rusça – Türkçe sözlükbilim terimleri sözlükçesinin hazırlanması bakımından önemlidir. Yazar, bu çalışmanın sözlükbilim tarihi, sözlüklerin sınıflandırılması, yeni sözlük türleri ve yaklaşımları, madde başı sözcüklerin tanımlanması ve tanımlanmasında kullanılan yöntemler, terimleri adlandırmada karşılaşılan zorluklar konularına farklı bir bakış açısı kazandırarak, Türkiye'deki sözlükbilim araştırmalarına katkıda bulunacağını belirtmektedir. Ayrıca yazar çalışmanın, Rusça sözlüklerde karşılaşılan Türk dillerine özgü unsurları öne çıkarması nedeniyle Türk araştırmacılarının da dikkatini çekeceğini düşünmektedir (Dohman, 2021, s. 25).

Kitap “önsöz” ile başlamakta, “giriş”, “sonuç ve öneriler” bölümlerini de kapsayan yedi bölümden oluşmaktadır. Bu bölümlerin dışında, kitabın sonunda “kaynaklar” ve “dizin” bölümleri yer almaktadır.

“Önsöz”de dünyada hazırlanan ilk sözlüklerden bahsedilerek uygulamalı sözlükbilimin kadim dönemlerden itibaren var olduğu, kuramsal sözlükbilimin ise XX. yüzyılın ikinci çeyreğinden itibaren oluşturulmaya başlandığı belirtilmektedir. Ardından çalışmanın konusu, amacı, içeriği, yöntemi ve öneminden bahsedilmektedir.

Kitabın “Giriş” adlı birinci bölümünde dünyadaki ilk sözlük çalışmalarının tarihsel gelişim süreci ve oluşturulan ilk sözlüklerin içerikleri ve işlevleri hakkında bilgi verilmektedir. Bu süreçte etkin rol oynayan toplumlar ile hazırladıkları ilk sözlükler (Batı Asyalılar *Urta Hubullu*), (Çinliler *Erya*), (Hintliler *Nirukta, Nighantu*), (Türkler *Dîvânu Lugâti't Türk*), Antik Yunanlılar *Lekseis, Onomastikon*), (Antik Romalılar *De Verborum Significatu*, Slavlar-Ruslar *Novgorod Kilise Kurallar Kitabı* vb.) ve bu halkların sözlükbilimin gelişmesinde oynadıkları roller irdelenmektedir. Avrupa’daki çağdaş sözlükbilim çalışmalarının XX. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında kuramsal bir kimlik kazandığını belirten yazar Türkiye’de kuramsal sözlükbilim çalışmalarının XX. yüzyılın son çeyreğinde geliştiğini ve “başlangıç evresinde” olduğunu vurgulayarak Türkiye’de yapılan çalışmalardan örnekler sunmaktadır (Dohman, 2021, s. 10). Benzer şekilde, Rusya’da sözlükbilim alanında yapılan çalışmalar açıklanıp, Rus sözlükbiliminin gelişim evreleri üzerinde durulmaktadır. Son olarak, çalışmanın çıkış noktası, amaçları, bilimsel açıdan önemi/yeniliği, varsayımları, kapsamı, araştırma yöntem ve kaynakları açık bir şekilde açıklanmaktadır.

Kitabın “Sözlük ve İşlevleri” adlı ikinci bölümünde “sözlük” kavramının Rus ve Türk dilbilimciler tarafından yapılan tanımlamaları verilir, “dilbilimsel” ve “ansiklopedik” sözlük türleri, içerikleri ve işlevleri seçilen örnek sözlükler üzerinden karşılaştırmalı bir şekilde incelenmekte ve elde edilen bulgular yorumlanmaktadır. Bu bölümde sözlükler “eğitim ve öğretim aracı”, “toplumsal bir olgu”, “kültürel öğelerin göstergesi”, “tarihî bir belge”, “bilgi kaynağı”, “ideoloji aracı” ve “metin” olarak ele alınmakta ve sözlüklerin bu işlevleri nasıl gerçekleştirdikleri değerlendirilmektedir. Bu bölümde yazarın söz konusu sözlük işlevlerini sadece açıklamayıp, eleştirel bir şekilde değerlendirmesi, önerilerde bulunması ve ilgili sözlüklere örnekler sunması çalışmayı güçlendirmektedir. Örneğin, “toplumsal bir olgu olarak sözlük” başlığı altında yazar toplumdaki bireylerin sözlük kullanmayı bilmediğini bilimsel olarak açıklamakta ve bu nedenle “öncelikle topluma sözlükbilim kültürü kazandırmalı ve sözlüklerden nasıl faydalanılması gerektiği gösterilmeli” çağrısında bulunmaktadır (Dohman, 2021, s. 64). Yazarın yaptığı bu çağrı, sözlükbilim ve toplumbilim arasındaki ilişkinin gelişmesine katkıda bulunacak niteliktedir.

Çalışmanın “Bir Bilim Dalı Olarak Sözlükbilim” adlı üçüncü bölümünde sözlükbilim teriminin

tanımı ve kapsamı açıklanıp, sözlükbilimle ilgili ortaya atılan temel sorunlar üzerinde durulmaktadır. Bu sorunlardan yola çıkan yazar, sözlükbilimi kuramsal ve uygulamalı olarak ikiye ayırmakta ve bir bilim dalı olarak tanımlamaktadır (Dohman, 2021, s. 124). Bu tanıma göre, sözlükbilimin kuramsal yönü sözlük hazırlama yöntemleri, sözlükbilim tarihi ve sözlük eleştirisi gibi konularla ilgilenirken, uygulamalı yönü farklı türde sözlüklerin hazırlanması, kullanıcının istekleri, basım ve satış işleriyle ilgilenmektedir. Yazar, sözlükbilim ve sözcükbilim arasındaki ilişkiye de dikkat çekerek, söz konusu iki alanın birbirini beslediğini belirtmektedir (Dohman, 2021, s. 126). Aynı bölümde Avrupa’da ve Türkiye’de yapılan sözlükbilim çalışmaları da kuramsal açıdan ele alınmaktadır. Bu kapsamda yazar, “Türkiye’de Sözlükbilim Çalışmaları” adlı başlıkta, Türk sözlükbilim geleneğinin öncüsü ve şaheseri olan Kâşgarlı Mahmud’un *Dîvânu Lugâti’t-Türk* adlı eseriyle başlayarak *Codex Cumanicus*, *Abuşka Lugati*, *Lehçe-i Osmanî* adlı sözlüklere değinmekte ve böylece Türk sözlükbilim geleneğinin tarihi gelişimini göstermektedir. Bu bölümün ardından çağdaş Türkçe sözlükbilim çalışmalarına geçilmekte ve Türkiye’deki sözlükbilim çalışmalarının yönü, içeriği ve D. Mehmet Doğan, Ali Püsküllüoğlu, İsmail Parlatur gibi öne çıkan sözlükbilimcilerin çalışmaları değerlendirilmektedir. Türkiye’de kuramsal sözlükbilim çalışmalarının başlatıcısı olarak Doğan Aksan, Erdim Öztokat ve Talat Tekin adlı bilim insanlarından bahsedilirken bu alanda hazırlanan çalışmaların 2000’li yıllardan itibaren hız kazandığı vurgulanmaktadır. Bölümün son kısmında ise İngiltere, Fransa, Almanya, Amerika, İtalya, İspanya, İsveç, Danimarka, Norveç, Finlandiya, İzlanda, Avustralya, Çekoslovakya gibi Avrupa ülkelerinin sözlükbilim çalışmaları ile önemli sözlükbilimcileri hakkında bilgi verilmektedir.

Yazar, Rus sözlükbiliminin tarihî gelişimini “Çarlık Dönemi Rus Sözlükbilimi”, “Soyvet Dönemi Rus Sözlükbilimi” ve “Post-Sovyet Dönemi Rus Sözlükbilimi” olarak üçe ayırmaktadır.

“Çarlık Dönemi Rus Sözlükbilim Araştırmaları” adlı dördüncü bölümünde Rus dilinin kökeni ve geçirdiği tarihsel süreç ile ilişkin ortaya atılan fikirler ele alınmaktadır. Bu bölümde günümüze ulaşan ilk Rus sözlüklerinin Güney-Batı Rusya kaynaklı olduğu açıklanarak, XV. yüzyıl öncesi hazırlanan sözlüklerin türü ve özellikleri hakkında bilgi verilmektedir. Ayrıca bu bölümde çarlık döneminin öne çıkan sözlükbilim çalışmaları dönemin tarihsel, toplumsal ve siyasî yapısı çerçevesinde sunulmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, özellikle 1783 yılında açılan Rusya Akademisinin çalışmalarından, Rus dilbiliminin kurucusu olarak nitelendirilen M. V. Lomonosov’un (1711-1765) sözlük projeleri, sözlük eleştirileri ve sözlük hazırlama ilkelerinden bahsedilmektedir. Dönemin öne çıkan sözlükbilim çalışmaları olarak tarihsel ve

diyalektolojik sözlükler ile bu sözlüklerin ortaya çıkmasında rol oynayan A. L. Dyuvernua, A. H. Vostokov gibi önemli araştırmacılar üzerinde durulmaktadır.

Kitabın en kapsamlı bölümünü oluşturan “Sovyet Dönemi Rus Sözlükbilimi” adlı beşinci bölümde sözlükbilimin gelişimini etkileyen Sovyet dönemi, dil siyaseti, alfabe değişimleri ve iki dilli sözlükler açısından ele alınmaktadır. Ayrıca bu bölümde Türk dillerinin ve lehçelerinin söz varlığını sunması bakımından en kapsamlı çalışma olarak bilinen *Kadim Türk Dili Sözlüğü* (Древнетюркский словарь) (1969) incelenmektedir. Bu incelemenin ardından, Sovyet dönemi sözlükbilim kuramları ve kuramsal sözlükbilimin temel sorunları, sözcüklerin sınıflandırılması, sözlüklerin yapısal özellikleri ve sözlük maddelerinin tanımlanmasında kullanılan yöntemler sorunsallaştırılmaktadır. Yazar, sözlük tipolojisini ilk öne süren Rus dilbilimci L. V. Şçerba’nın ardından S. İ. Ojegov, P. N. Denisov, A. M. Tsıvin, V. V. Morkovkin, V. V. Dubiçinskiy gibi araştırmacıların sözlük sınıflandırmalarına da yer vererek her sınıflandırmada kuramsal ve uygulamalı sözlükbilimin gelişmesiyle farklı sözlük türlerinin ve sınıflandırmalarının arttığını göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Sözlüğün yapısal özelliklerini “megayapı”, “makroyapı” ve “mikroyapı” altında ele almaktadır. Madde başlarının açıklanmasında kullanılan yöntemleri ele aldığı kısımda “betimleme yöntemi”, “eş anlam odaklı açıklama yöntemi” ve “referans yöntemi” olmak üzere üç yöntemden bahsetmekte ve örneklerle açıklamaktadır. Kuramsal sözlükbilim içerisinde bulunan “normatif sözlükbilim”, “etimolojik sözlükbilim”, “adbilimsel sözlükbilim” başlıklarına yer verilmektedir. “Normatif Sözlükbilim” başlığı altında bu alana kuramsal ve uygulamalı açıdan katkı sağlayan “D. N. Uşakov”, “V. V. Vinogradov”, “S. İ. Ojegov” adlı bilim insanlarının çalışmaları değerlendirilmektedir. “Etimolojik Sözlükbilim” başlığı altında Sovyet döneminde bu disiplinin bilimsel olarak ilerlemesine önemli katkılarda bulunan “M. Fasmer”, “E. V. Sevortyan” gibi etimologların kuramları ve etimolojik sözlükleri incelenmektedir. “Adbilimsel Sözlükbilim” adlı başlıkta ise bu kuramın sözlükbilim açısından önemi açıklanmaktadır. Özellikle bu bölümde N.A. Baskakov’un Türk kökenli soyadlarının oluşturulmasında öne sürdüğü yöntem incelenerek, bu yöntem sayesinde Rus arşivlerinde Türk kökenli pek çok Rus kişi adının tespit edilebileceği belirtilmektedir (Dohman, 2021, s. 513).

“Post-Sovyet Dönemi Rus Sözlükbilimi ve Sözlük Uygulaması” adlı altıncı bölümde Sovyetler Birliği’nin parçalanmasıyla dilde yaşanan değişimler ve bu dönemdeki sözlükbilim çalışmalarının içeriği ve yenilikçi yönleri betimlenmekte, sözlüklerden örnekler sunulmaktadır. Post-Sovyet dönemine geçildikten kısa bir süre sonra Sovyet döneminin söz varlığını göstermek amacıyla V. M. Mokienko ve T. G. Nikitina tarafından *Sovyet Dilinin Açıklamalı Sözlüğü* (Толковый словарь языка совдепии) 1998 yılında yayımlanmıştır. Bu dönemde insan

merkezli sözlükbilimin ortaya çıktığını belirten yazar, bu akımın etkisiyle hazırlanan ideografik ve çağrışım sözlükleri gibi yeni tür sözlükleri incelemiştir. Teknolojinin gelişimiyle ortaya çıkan sözlükbilim yönelimlerinden elektronik sözlükbilim de çalışmada ele alınmaktadır. Kitapta sözlükbilim alanında önemli çalışmalar yürüten “İvanov Sözlükbilim Merkezi (Ивановская лексикографическая школа)” ve “Novosibirsk Sözlükbilim Merkezi (Новосибирская лексикографическая школа)” de tanıtılmakta ve çalışmaları hakkında bilgi verilmektedir. Son olarak, çalışmanın uygulamalı kısmını oluşturan “Rusça – Türkçe Sözlükbilim Terimleri Sözlükçesi”nin amacı, kapsamı ve hazırlanma ilkeleri açıklanmakta ve çalışma kapsamında örnek bir “Rusça – Türkçe Sözlükbilim Terimleri Sözlükçesi” sunulmaktadır.

Kitabın yedinci ve son bölümünü oluşturan “Sonuç ve Öneriler” bölümünde çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçlar ve bunların sözlükbilim çalışmaları açısından önemi maddeler halinde sunulmaktadır. Yazar çalışma boyunca ele aldığı konulara ilişkin bulguları ve bunların önemini ayrıntılı bir şekilde açıklamaktadır. Kısaca bahsetmek gerekirse, Rus sözlükbiliminin geçmişten bugüne zengin ve köklü bir sözlükbilim geleneğine sahip olduğu; Rus sözlükbilim geleneğinin dönemin toplumsal, tarihî, dinî, siyasi, teknolojik ve bilimsel gelişmeler çerçevesinde ilerlediğinden dönemin yansıtıcısı olarak ortaya çıktığı; Türk ve Rus halklarının kadim dönemlerden itibaren toplumsal, siyasî, ticarî, kültürel ve dilsel açılardan etkileşime girmiş olmalarının Rus söz varlığına yansıdığı gibi sonuçlar çıkarılmıştır. Burada dikkat çeken bir diğer nokta sözlüklerin “bireysel ve devlet ideolojilerinden uzak, nesnel bir bakış açısıyla oluşturulması” (Dohman, 2021, s. 515) gerektiği gibi ileriye dönük uygulamalar için öneriler verilmiş olmasıdır.

Sonuç olarak, kitabın Rus sözlükbilim tarihini dönemin toplumsal, tarihî, siyasî vb. gelişmeleri ekseninde kapsamlı bir şekilde ele aldığı ve sözlüklerin incelenmesine dair farklı bir bakış açısı sunduğu görülmektedir. Rusçanın farklı türdeki sözlüklerinde bulunan Türk kökenli unsurların açıklanması ve Rusça-Türkçe sözlükbilim terimleri sözlükçesinin hazırlanması bakımından Türkiye’de alanında yapılan ilk çalışma olması çalışmanın değerini arttırmaktadır. Çalışmanın sadece sözlükbilim araştırmacılarına değil Türkoloji alanıyla ilgilenen araştırmacılara da önemli bir kaynak olacağı ve Türkiye’de gerçekleştirilen sözlükbilim çalışmalarına katkı sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir. Sözlükbilim kuramına özgü terimler içeren çalışmanın başta Rus dilbilim araştırmacıları olmak üzere tüm dilbilimcilere hitap ettiği düşünülmektedir.

Kaynakça

Dohman, Ü. (2021). *Rus Sözlükbilimi*. Çanakkale: Paradigma Akademi.

Kısa Çin Tarihi*

Salih IŞIK¹

Geliş Tarihi: 28.05.2024
Kabul Tarihi: 10.06.2024
Yayın Tarihi: 27.06.2024
Değerlendirme: İki Dış Hakem /
Çift Taraflı Körleme
Makale Türü: Kitap İncelemesi

Atıf Bilgisi:

Işık, Salih (2024). Kısa Çin Tarihi. *International Journal of Language and Translation Studies*, 4/1, 124-130.

Benzerlik Taraması: Yapıldı –
iThenticate

Etik Bildirim:
lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Çıkar Çatışması: Çıkar çatışması beyan edilmemiştir.

Finansman: Bu araştırmayı desteklemek için dış fon kullanılmamıştır.

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Öz

Gordon Kerr'in "Kısa Çin Tarihi" adlı kitabı, Çin'in yaklaşık beş bin yıllık tarihini 192 sayfada özetleyen kapsamlı bir eserdir. Şükrü Alpagut'un çevirisiyle, tarihsel olayları, kültürel ve teknolojik gelişmeleri sade ve anlaşılır bir dille anlatmaktadır. Kitap, Çin'in coğrafyasından başlayarak, hanedanlıkların yükseliş ve düşüşlerini, önemli buluşlarını ve Çin'in dünya ticaretindeki rolünü ayrıntılı bir şekilde açıklar. Yazar, barut ve pusula gibi icatlara ve İpek Yolu'nun tarihine değinirken, Çin'in felsefi ve dini akımlarının topluma etkilerini de inceler. Kerr, Çin tarihindeki önemli olayları ve figürleri ele alırken, nesnel ve eleştirel bir bakış açısıyla yaklaşır. Ayrıca, her dönemin sosyal, ekonomik ve politik değişimlerini de okuyucuya sunarak, tarihsel olayları daha geniş bir çerçevede değerlendirme imkânı sunar. Kerr, tarihi anlatırken dönemin günlük yaşamından, sanattan ve bilimden de örnekler vererek, okuyucuların Çin tarihini daha derinlemesine anlamalarını sağlar. Modernleşme çabaları ve ekonomik büyüme süreçleri de kitapta detaylı bir şekilde ele alınmaktadır. İnceleme, kitabın tarih ve kültür meraklıları için önemli bir kaynak olduğunu vurgularken, Kerr'in ayrıntılı ve nesnel anlatımını da özellikle belirtmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gordon Kerr, Çin Tarihi, Kısa Çin Tarihi, Çin.

* Bu çalışmanın hazırlanma sürecinde bilimsel ve etik ilkelere uyulduğu ve yararlanılan tüm çalışmaların kaynakçada belirtildiği beyan olunur.

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A Short History of China*

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Date of Submission: 28.05.2024

Date of Acceptance: 10.06.2024

Date of Publication: 27.06.2024

Review: Double-blind peer review

Article Type: Book Review

Citation:

Işık, Salih (2024). A Short History of China. *International Journal of Language and Translation Studies*, 4/1, 124-130.

Plagiarism Check: Yes - iThenticate

Complaints: lotusjournal@selcuk.edu.tr

Conflict of Interest: The author(s) has no conflict of interest to declare.

Grant Support: The author(s) acknowledges that they received no external funding to support this research.

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Abstract

Gordon Kerr's "A Short History of China" is a comprehensive work summarizing nearly five thousand years of Chinese history in 192 pages. Translated by Şükrü Alpagut, the book narrates historical events, cultural and technological advancements in a simple and comprehensible manner. Starting with China's geographical features, Kerr details the rise and fall of dynasties, significant inventions, and China's role in global trade. The author highlights inventions like gunpowder and the compass, and discusses the historical significance of the Silk Road. Kerr explores the influence of philosophical and religious movements on Chinese society with an impartial and critical approach. The book also covers social, economic, and political changes in each era, providing readers with a broad perspective. By including examples from daily life, art, and science, Kerr helps readers gain a deeper understanding of Chinese history. Modernization efforts and economic growth processes are also addressed. The review emphasizes the book's value for history and culture enthusiasts, underscoring Kerr's detailed and objective narrative.

Keywords: Gordon Kerr, History of China, A Short History of China, China.

* It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited.

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Gordon Kerr'in yazdığı *A Short History of China* isimli kitap 2013 yılında yayınlanmıştır. Türkçesi *Kısa Çin Tarihi* olarak yayınlanan eser, *Şükrü Alpagut* tarafından çevrilmiş ve ilk baskısı 2021 yılında yapılmıştır. Kitap 13.5x21 cm boyutlarında, 2.hamur kâğıt tipinde 192 sayfa olarak Say Yayınları tarafından İstanbul'da basılmıştır. Kitabın editörlüğünü Sinan Köseoğlu, kapak ve sayfa tasarımını ise Gülizar Ç. Çetinkaya üstlenmiştir. Kitabın ön yüzünde üstte Mao Zedong'un portresine ve altta Yasak Şehir'in kare kalem çizimine; arka yüzünde ise Çin Seddi'nin kara kalem çizimine yer verilmiştir.

Kitabın yazarı Gordon Kerr, İskoçya'nın East Kilbride kasabasında büyümüştür. Glasgow Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Bölümü'nden mezun olduktan sonra Fransa'da yaşamış, Waterstones ve Bloomsbury için kitapçılık ve yayıncılıkta pazarlama işleri yapmıştır. Yazarlık hayatına başladıktan sonra sanat, tarih, gerçek suç, seyahat ve mizah gibi çeşitli türlerde çok sayıda kitap yazmıştır. Yazar evli ve iki çocuk babasıdır. Hayatına Fransa'da devam etmektedir.

Kitabın çevirmeni Şükrü Alpagut, 1954 yılında Tokat'ta doğmuştur. İstanbul Üniversitesi Yabancı Diller Eğitim Fakültesi İngilizce Bölümü'nden 1977 yılında mezun olduktan sonra öğretmenlik, çevirmenlik ve çeşitli yayınevlerinde editörlük ve yayın yönetmenliği yapmıştır.

Çin, yaklaşık beş bin yıllık tarihiyle dünyanın en eski uygarlıklarından biridir. Barut, kâğıt, matbaa ve pusula gibi birçok önemli icadı dünyaya kazandırmış ve bu icatlar dünya tarihine yön vererek medeniyetin ilerlemesinde büyük rol oynamıştır. Çin'in zengin tarihi ve kültürel mirası, edebiyattan sanata, mimariden felsefeye kadar geniş bir yelpazede kendini göstermektedir. Tarihi İpek Yolu, Doğu ile Batı arasında ticaretin ve kültürel etkileşimin sağlanmasında hayati bir rol oynamıştır.

Konfüçyüsçülük, Taoizm ve Budizm gibi felsefi ve dini akımlar, Çin toplumunun düşünce yapısını ve yaşam tarzını şekillendirmiştir. Çin mutfağı, geleneksel tıbbı, dövüş sanatları ve festivalleri de dünya çapında tanınmaktadır. Ekonomik reformlar ve dışa açılma politikaları sayesinde, Çin son birkaç on yılda önemli ekonomik büyüme kaydetmiş ve bu büyüme, Çin'i dünyanın en büyük ikinci ekonomisi haline getirmiştir. Bugün Çin, küresel ticaretin merkezlerinden biri olarak kendine özgü kültürü ve yönetim sistemiyle Asya kıtasının önde gelen güçlerinden biridir. Yaklaşık 1,4 milyar nüfusuyla Hindistan'dan sonra dünyanın en kalabalık ikinci ülkesi konumundadır.

Yazar, giriş bölümünün ardından Çin tarihini 7 ana başlık altında incelemiş, “Çin Yol Ayrımında” başlıklı son sözü ve ek okuma önerileriyle kitabını sonlandırmıştır.

Giriş bölümünde Çin’in dünyanın en eski uygarlıklarından biri olduğu vurgulanarak Çin tarihi hakkında genel bilgi verilmiştir. Çin halkının inançlarına, yaptığı ve geliştirdiği icatlara değinilmiştir. Yazarın giriş bölümünde kaleme aldığı “*Aynı zamanda hem tuhaf hem de tüyler ürpertici olan bir tarihten etkilenip heyecanlanmamak, Orta Krallık’a egemen olmak isteyen ya da orayı daha iyi bir yer yapmaya çalışan kudretli erkekler ve kadınlar karşısında hayrete düşüp kendinden geçmemek elde değildir.*” sözüyle Çin tarihinden etkilendiği görülmektedir.

Orta Krallık’ın Coğrafyası olarak adlandırılan birinci bölümde, Çin’in coğrafi özelliklerine ve iklimine değinilmiştir. Çin’in doğudan batıya 5.200 kilometreyi ve kuzeyden güneye 5.500 kilometreyi aşan boyutlarıyla dünyanın üçüncü büyük ülkesi olduğundan, kuzeyde Sarı Irmak, güneyde Gök Irmak olmak üzere iki büyük ırmak sistemi olduğundan bahsedilmiştir. Irmak sistemi, suyun kaynağından denize kadar uzanan ve çeşitli yan kollarla beslenen geniş su ağıdır. Bu sistemler, tarım, taşkın kontrolü ve genel ekosistem üzerinde etkilidir. Çin’deki Sarı Irmak ve Gök Irmak sistemleri, ülkenin tarihini, kültürünü ve ekonomisini şekillendiren kritik doğal unsurlardır. Kuzeydeki iklimin daha soğuk, arazisinin ise daha düz ve kıraç olduğu; tarım mevsiminin kısalığından ötürü buğday ve akdarı gibi ürünlerin yetiştiği alkali topraklara sahip olduğundan söz edilmiştir. Sarı Irmak’ın getirdiği milin, akarsu yatağının yükselmesine yol açarak taşkınları meydana getirmesi ve bu taşkınların çok yıkıcı etkilerinin olması, yüzlerce yıl boyunca halkın ve yönetimin suyu yatağında tutabilmek için setler inşa etmeleri anlatılmıştır.

Cilalı Taş Çağı ve Erken İmparatorluklar olarak adlandırılan ikinci bölümde, Tarih öncesi, Üç Hükümdar ve Beş İmparator, Xie Hanedanı, Shang Hanedanı, Zhou Hanedanı, Qin Hanedanı, Han Hanedanı, Xin Hanedanı ve Sonrası olmak üzere 8 alt başlık bulunmaktadır. Yazar Çin tarihi anlatımına ilk insanın Çin’e ulaştığı noktayla başlamıştır. İlk insan ve kalıntıları hakkında bilgi verdikten sonra insanların hayatta kalmak için geliştiklerinden, tarımla uğraştıklarından, yerleşik yaşama geçtiklerinden ve Neolitik kültürlerin ortaya çıkmasından bahsetmiştir. Üç hükümdar ve beş imparator döneminin insanların korunmak için bir araya gelip kabileler ya da klanlar oluşturarak başladığına değinmiştir. Xia Hanedanının ortaya çıkışıyla Tunç Çağı uygarlığına geçilmiştir. Shang Hanedanlığı döneminde yapılan icatları sıralayan yazar, bu dönemin siyaseti, ekonomisi ve dini hakkında yaşamsal bilgileri sağlayan kehanet kemiklerine de değinmiştir. 900 yıl hüküm sürdüğünü belirttiği Zhou Hanedanlığını *entelektüel ve sanatsal bir mükemmellik patlaması dahil büyük bir değişim* olarak nitelendirmiştir. Qin Hanedanlığı döneminde yapılan reformlara çokça yer veren yazar, o dönem yapımı süren projelerden de

bahsetmiştir. Aynı zamanda yazar, Han hanedanlığını ikiye bölen, kısa süreli tahtı ele geçiren Xin Hanedanlığı döneminde yapılan birçok reforma değinmiştir.

Karışıklık, Yeniden Birleşme ve Altın Çağ olarak adlandırılan üçüncü bölümde, Altı Hanedan: Bölünmüşlük Çağı, Üç Krallık, Jin Hanedanı, Güney ve Kuzey Hanedanlıkları, Sui Hanedanı, Tang Hanedanı olmak üzere 6 alt başlık bulunmaktadır. Han Hanedanlığının yıkılmasından sonra imparatorluğu bölüşen generallerin zamanla bağımsız birer savaş ağasına dönüştüklerine değinen yazar bu dönemi kanlı dönem olarak nitelendirmiş, 369 yıl süren bölünmüşlük çağında birçok hanedanlığın kurulup yıkıldığına değinmiştir. Sui Hanedanlığı döneminde pusulanın, gelişmiş tezgâhın ve suyu yükselten çarkın icadı, pi sabit değerinin bulunması, ansiklopedinin hazırlanması gibi gelişmelere değinilmiştir. Yazar Avrupa’da 1170-1250 yılları arasına kadar henüz el arabası kullanılmazken Çinlilerin 2.yüzyıldan beri tek tekerlekli arabaları kullanmalarına ve hatta böyle bir araçtan ilk kez M.Ö. 30 yılında söz etmiş olmalarına yer vermiştir. Yapılan projeler ve savaşların giderleri nedeniyle getirilen ek vergiler Sui Hanedanlığının sonunu getirmiş ve Tang Hanedanlığı kurulmuştur. Yazar, imparatorluğun Tang döneminde güçlü bir ekonomik gelişme sergilediğini söylemiştir. Tang döneminde imparatorluğun kuzeyi ile güneyini birbirine bağlayacak Büyük Kanal’ın inşası, toprak mülkiyeti ve paylaşımı alanında eşit tarla sisteminin ihyası, Konfüçyüs sınav sisteminin geliştirilmesi, vergi toplamak için uygulanan “üç şef” sistemi gibi yenilikler bu dönemi öne çıkartmıştır.

Kaos, Yatıştırma ve İstila olarak adlandırılan dördüncü bölümde, Beş Hanedanlık ve On Krallık, Song Hanedanı olmak üzere 2 alt başlık bulunmaktadır. Çin’in tekrar bölünmesiyle 907-960 arası yıllarda siyasal kargaşanın etkisiyle kuzeyde beş hanedanlığın yükselip düştüğünü, güneyde ise bir düzineden fazla bağımsız devlet kurulduğunu aktaran yazar yaşanan çatışmaları, gelişmeleri kaleme almıştır. Kurulup yıkılan hanedanlıklar ve beyliklerin, yaşanan çatışmaların ardından Song Hanedanlığı kurulmuştur. Song Hanedanlığı dönemi için söylediği “uzun süren saltanat dönemlerinde Çin’e istikrar ve refah getiren, alışılmamış ölçüde hünerli ve aydın hükümdarlardan oluşuyordu” sözleriyle bu dönemin yönetiminden etkilenen yazar, o dönem sanatının mükemmelliğine şu sözleriyle vurgu yapmıştır: “o zamana kadar ulaşılmış tüm düzeyleri aşan sanatsal ve teknik mükemmelliğin damga vurduğu bir dönem”. Bu dönemde güçlü bir merkezi yönetim kurulmuş, en yetenekli memurları bulmak için sınav sistemi yeniden getirilmiş, barut icat edilmiş, ticaret yaygınlaşmış, iç su yolu ve kıyı gemi taşımacılığı sanayileri hızla gelişmiş, pusulanın seferlerde kullanımı için uyarlaması yapılmıştır. Song dönemi gelişmeleri de tek tek ele alan yazar bu dönemi çok farklı bir yere koymuş, “*Song Hanedanı*

11., 12. ve 13. yüzyıllarda tarımsal üretim, teknoloji, ticaret, kentleşme ve yaşam standartları bakımından dünyanın en ileri toplumdur” sözleriyle de hayranlığını dile getirmiştir.

Toparlanma ve İmparatorluğun Sonu olarak adlandırılan beşinci bölümde, Yuan ya da Moğol Hanedanı, Ming Hanedanı, Qing Hanedanı, Afyon ve “Eşitsiz Antlaşmalar” olmak üzere 4 alt başlık bulunmaktadır. Cengiz Han geliştirdiği ordularıyla 1212-1213 arasında Kuzey Çin’i ele geçirip doksandan fazla kenti ve Asya kıtası üzerinde birçok bölgeyi yağmalamış, topraklarına katmıştı. Çin geleneklerinin birçoğunu benimsemiş olan Moğol Hanı Kubilay Han başa geçtiğinde kendini imparator ilan ederek Yuan Hanedanlığını kurmuştu. Moğollardan sonraki dönem ise Ming Hanedanlığıydı. Yazar, Ming döneminde genişlemeyi, sanat ve edebiyatı, din ve felsefeyi ayrı başlıklar altında incelemiştir. Yazar bu dönemin sıklıkla eleştirildiğine değinmiş bunu “söz gelişi, hanedanın hükümdarları etkili bir yönetim gösteremediler, çünkü hadımları, ekonomiyi, Moğollar ve Japonlar gibi dış güçleri denetim altında tutacak güçten yoksundular” sözleriyle savunmuştur. Yazar, Avrupa’nın o dönemde yenilikçilik ve değişim adımlarıyla ileri atılımlar yaparken Ming Hanedanlığının ise yenilikçi ve girişimciliği baskılayarak durgunluk dönemine girmesi durumunu; Avrupa’nın denizci ulusları Asya ve Amerika’ya göndererek Keşifler Çağı’na adım atarken, Çin’in gemilerini denizden geri çekmesi olarak örneklendiriyordu.

Devrim Öncesi olarak adlandırılan altıncı bölümde, Batı’nın rönesanstan coğrafi keşiflere, reformasyona, aydınlanmaya, Fransız Devrimine ve Sanayi Devrimine uzanan gelişmeleri karşısında Çin’in duraklamaya girdiğini, bir zamanlar bilimde, teknolojiye ve ulaşımda sahip olduğu avantajları çarçur ettiğini savunan yazar, Çin’in dünyanın gerisinde kalmayıp aynı zamanda dünyanın insafına kaldığını söylemiştir. Cumhuriyetin ilanından sonra Pekin’deki Cumhuriyet hükümetinin göstermelik bir örgüt olmaktan öteye geçemediğini belirten yazar, yabancı güçlerin desteklediği general grupların çatışmaları nedeniyle Çin’in her yanının savaş alanına döndüğünü, kaostan yararlanan haydut çetelerin kırsal kesime yayılarak karışıklıklara neden olduklarını aktarmıştır.

Köklü Reformdan Küresel Süper Güce isimli yedinci bölümde, Çin’in neredeyse yarım yüzyıldan beri kendisiyle savaş içinde olduğunu vurgulayan yazar, mücadelenin artık devrimci vizyonunu hayata geçirme göreviyle yüz yüze olan Çin Komünist Partisi’nin zaferiyle sona erdiğini belirtmiştir. Devrimleriyle Çin’i şekillendiren Mao Zedong’un “*Devrim bir yemekli davet değildir. Öyle nazık, ölçülü ve yüce gönüllü olamaz. Devrim bir ayaklanmadır, bir sınıfın diğerini devirdiği bir şiddet eylemidir.*” sözünü aktaran yazar, 1951 yılında “Karşıdevrimciler”e yönelik bir seferberlik sonucunda yüz binlerce kişinin idam edildiği, bir o kadarının ise çalışma

kamplarına gönderilmesiyle bu gerçeğin açıkça ortaya çıktığının altını çizmiştir. Yazar, köylülerin topraklandırılması, birinci beş yıllık planın uygulanması, köylülerin yöneticilik görevleri üstlenmesi gibi yenilikleri önemli gelişmeler ve toplumsal hareketlilik fırsatı olarak değerlendirmiştir ancak 1950'lerden itibaren yanlış giden her şeyin en büyük sorumluluğunun Mao Zedong'a yükleneceğini belirtmiştir. Yazar bu bölümde Komünist Çin'de atılan adımları sıralamış, SSCB ile ilişkileri, Kültür Devrimi'ni, kuşak kuşak yönetimleri kaleme almıştır.

Sonsöz: Çin Yol Ayrımında isimli bölümde, Çin ekonomisinin ABD'nin ardından dünyanın en hızlı büyüyen ekonomisi ve ikinci en büyük ticaret gücü olduğunu vurgulayan yazar bunun sebebinin Çinin tükenmez bir ucuz emek kaynağına sahip olmasına, üretkenliğin yüksek, ülke altyapısının iyi olmasına, hükümetin sanayiye ve yatırıma olumlu bakmasına bağlamıştır. Çin'deki ekonomik modelin güçten düştüğünü söylerken bu düşüşten kaçmanın yolunun değişiklikten geçtiğine değinmiştir. Yazar son sözünde yetkililerin gelecek yıllarda uyguladıkları politikalarda başarısız olması durumunda halkın ayaklanacağını ve değişiklik yapacağını, bunun da tarihlerinde bir ilk olmayacağını savunarak kitabını noktalamıştır.

Yaklaşık beş bin yıllık Çin tarihini 192 sayfada anlatmaya çalışmak, kolay değildir. Yazar *Gordon Kerr*, bu işi ustalıkla başarmaktadır. Hiçbir görsele yer verilmeyen eserde oldukça sade ve anlaşılır bir dil kullanılmıştır. Başlıkları çok genel bir şekilde ele alan yazar, okuyucuya hikâye tadında bir eser sunmuştur. Yaşanan olaylara dıştan bir gözle bakarak eleştirilerini tarafsız bir şekilde kaleme almıştır. Yazarın bir tarih kitabı yazarken bölgenin coğrafi özelliklerine, iklimine de değinmesi, anlattıklarını okuyucunun zihninde canlandırması ve olayları anlamlandırması açısından önemlidir. Yazar tarih boyunca yapılan hataları yermiş, başarıları ise satırlarında övmüştür. Yöneticilerin kötü karakterli olmalarına karşın siyasetteki güçlü duruşlarına yaptığı vurgu, tarafsızlığının bir kanıtını taşımaktadır. Dönemleri anlatırken özellikle yapılan icatları tek tek aktaran yazar, dünyaya mal olan bu eserlerden ötürü memnuniyetini satırlarına yansıtmıştır. Çevirmenin Çin tarihinde ve kültüründe yer bulmayan "Dük" unvanını kullanma sebebinin Çin tarihi alanına hâkim olmamasından kaynaklandığı düşünülmektedir. Kitap, tarihsel olayların yanı sıra kültürel ve teknolojik gelişmeleri de kapsayarak, Çin'in dünya tarihi içindeki yerini ve önemini vurgulamaktadır. Bu açıdan, "Kısa Çin Tarihi", Çin tarihi alanında önemli bir katkı sağlamaktadır. *Kısa Çin Tarihi*, Çin tarihini merak edip ağır anlatımlar altında kalmak istemeyen, tarafsız bir gözle neler yaşandığını öğrenmek ve bilgisini tazelemek isteyen her okuyucunun faydalanabileceği bir kitaptır.

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