DOI 10.51558/2490-3647.2024.9.2.457

UDK 81'276:364.632

Primljeno: 14. 06. 2024.

Izvorni naučni rad Original scientific paper

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LINGUISTIC VIOLENCE: FROM BENIGN TO FATAL CONSEQUENCES

Language, as the basic means of communication, transmits information and also provides us with an insight into the worldly values. In this paper, we shall examine general definitions of linguistic violence, as well as the consequences caused by inappropriate and irresponsible use of language. Violent language, as a form of communication, is encountered in all economic and social interactions at all ages; therefore, it has not been bypassed by the young population at all. Actually, it has become increasingly present in educational institutions and outside of them. As a matter of fact, it is with continuous use or exposure to violent communication that the social and emotional maturation of young people is extremely affected, and, in this paper, we shall provide the analysis of a specific case of verbal and symbolic violence with an unfortunate and tragic outcome. We shall also try to direct attention to the fact that timely detection of violent behaviour can prevent undesirable outcomes. Also, the paper elaborates on mechanisms that are effective for its suppression so that a person, if exposed to verbal violence, does not become a target of other forms of violent behaviour by an individual or a group of bullies.

Key words: symbolic violence; verbal violence; peer violence; consequences; abuser; victim

INTRODUCTION

Despite the economic, cultural, technological and every other advancement in the society we live in, we have become daily witnesses of violence. Although one would expect widespread, general development to contribute to overall well-being, the assumption remains relative. The relationship between modernisation and the state of concrete society is evidently not linear. For this reason, Inghehart and Baker (2000) conclude that modernisation is probabilistic, not deterministic. Violence is present in the family, among peers, in work environments, in the media, on social networks, in educational, health and other institutions. It can be economic, political, gender-based, symbolic. Therefore, intentional behaviours of harming other persons are present in all segments of our lives, in different social contexts in which there is a space large enough for irresponsible, incorrect and, often, abusive language. Violence, as a phenomenon, has marked the entire history of mankind, and we are brought to the assumption that its eradication is impossible. Thus, this paper focuses on one form of symbolic violence – verbal or *linguistic violence*.

To begin with a question: How can something as abstract as language have the power, which, in some cases, takes on a violent form? One of the possible answers would be that language is not only used to convey information; with language, we comfort, encourage, convince, insult, and threaten. Therefore, with language, we do things and influence conditions in which things are done or actions taken.

To define the nature of our utterance, i.e. to categorise something we say as violent, must be determined by pragmatic elements; for language to become or take on a violent form, the person who uses it must have a certain power in relation to the person addressed. The position of power or the powerful in relation to others is therefore created, among other things, using violent language, the issue exactly which Marina Katnić Bakrašić (2012: 9) explores, referring to the relationship between "power and language" and "power and discourse", and emphasizes that:

"(...) in order for an individual or a social group to have control over the discourse, some form of power has to be attained - they must be "the masters", i.e. have a certain authority and real power in society."

People who express a tendency towards such use of language begin to realize very early that language can become a powerful weapon in achieving a goal. This is also the case among the young population. A significant number of young people are born and bred in violent, unstable, and quite often, misogynistic societies, where the use

of violent language is present in the family, at school, in partner relationships and, above all, on social networks that have become an indispensable medium of communication. The use of such language affects the development of young people in such a way that words become actions, and actions, in some cases, become violent.

SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE: WHAT IS IT?

Linguistic violence is an integral part of a broader concept called symbolic violence. As a term, it was first used by Pierre Bourdieu in the seventies of the last century. It is a form of domination of a more subtle nature compared to physical violence, but, is an equally, if not more dangerous, form of violence that becomes almost naturally accepted by the victim." *That is* ", states Bourdieu (2014: 015),

"... every power that manages to impose its meanings as legitimate whilst concealing the power ratios that are at the basis of relations, adding its own symbolic power to those very same relations."

Furthermore, symbolic violence "... develops in the process of socialisation without physical coercion, leading groups and individuals who are exposed to it to unconsciously accept a subordinate position" (Struna 2011). This type of violence is found in various social contexts, but particularly and in line with our research, we will primarily refer to its presence in educational institutions as a very significant phenomenon that generates permanent internal problems in the development of every young person. As social and communicative beings, we need others to accept us.

In educational institutions, it is important for children and young people to be accepted by their peers. A child's perception that s/he is not accepted causes a series of changes in behavioural patterns. Some children will psychologically withdraw from their environment and will experience a feeling of loneliness, intense negative emotions, lack of social support, and lastly, depending on individual characteristics, in some cases, will avoid or reject going to school.

There are different types of symbolic violence: mental health stigmatization, institutionalized racism, gender-based violence, and linguistic or verbal violence. Each of the listed types of violence often has lasting consequences for the victim because they can be stronger and more complex than physical violence. General violent behaviour towards target groups (e.g. women, members of other ethnic and racial groups, people suffering from schizophrenia, people with difficulties in psychophysical development, and people of other sexual orientations) manifests itself in benign

(but inappropriate) forms, ranging from jokes to malicious comments such as references to offensive words and other forms involving physical attack and discrimination. Psychological violence cannot be noticed with the naked eye; it is symbolically camouflaged, sometimes for a very long time, because it leaves no scars or physical traces. Physical violence is usually preceded by verbal violence, in fact, it is most often also a product of verbal violence. The use of violent language, i.e. words that hurt or affect the psychological health of the victim, is classified as psychological or emotional violence (Bilić 2018). The consequences of emotional violence are restlessness, loss of control over life and feeling of hopelessness. In addition to psychological manifestations, people who are the target of emotional violence experience a series of physiological changes, such as increased secretion of the hormone cortisol, which implies that the victim is in a highly stressful situation.

Given that emotional/verbal violence is invisible and ubiquitous, two questions inevitably arise that we will try to answer in this paper:

- How to detect violent behaviour when it is not aggressive, i.e. when there is no physical contact between the perpetrator and its victim?
- What are the effective mechanisms for combating verbal violence that often leads to social exclusion?

For the purpose of this research, we analysed one specific case of verbal and symbolic violence at school, but, prior to that, it is necessary to define what exactly is meant by peer violence in general. In various scholastic texts, there are many definitions of peer violence, but in the research so far, the definition of peer violence by the Norwegian psychologist Dan Olweus (1993: 78) is most often taken as a starting point:

"A person is bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more persons, and he or she, consequently, has difficulty defending himself or herself."

The research conducted by Cardona Restrepo and Elias Otálora (2015: 10) has shown that:

"Statistics have shown that emotional violence is dominantly present in the classroom and school centres. The protagonists of peer violence are girls and boys in the pre-adolescent age, while the victims are slightly more often girls".

^{1 &}quot;Estadísticamente, el tipo de violencia dominante es la emocional y ocurre principalmente en las aulas y patios de las escuelas. Los protagonistas de los casos de acoso escolar suelen ser niños y niñas en proceso de ingreso a la adolescencia, siendo el porcentaje de niñas ligeramente mayor en el perfil de víctima."

When it comes to verbal violence, it was thought that girls are more prone to it, but recent research (Bilić 2013, 2015, 2016) has shown that verbal violence is equally present in both sexes and, at a younger age, it is more present in boys.

This research is qualitative, not quantitative in nature, given that only one specific case of peer violence and its consequences for the victim was analysed. It is so complex in itself that peer violence is actually only one of several other types of violence that were recorded during the case research. The analysis was done using the methods applied in social sciences, primarily the method of content analysis and the use of archival material, in this particular case, the content of addresses and conversations that were held with the victim's parents in the media, the boy's notebooks in which his peers left him verbal and symbolic messages. Such an approach in terms of systematic observation would include the analysis of a specific target group, whereby the group had not been informed that they were the subject of the analysis in order not to prevent the members of the group from modifying their own behaviour (after the analysis was completed, we were obliged to explain the purpose of the same to the people involved in it).

THE LANGUAGE OF VIOLENCE

The language of violence is present in all cultures, regardless of the level of development they have reached throughout history. Linguistic violence can be verbal or in the form of sign language, in other words, in body movement/language.

"Non-verbal communication is the expression of language without using linguistic means, or combining linguistic means with non-linguistic means. (...) these movements can be performed intentionally or unintentionally and can have a genetic or cultural origin." (Luque Nadal 2010: 64-65)

This violence is considered a modality of relational violence, and it includes body movements such as grimaces, eye-rolling, and showing violent movements/symbols with the whole body or parts of the body. So, with linguistic violence, we will hurt another person with simple and offensive words, gossip, and statements with which we humiliate, attack, ridicule, and call the victim by different names and nicknames, but also with movements and language that do not use linguistic media. A particularly sensitive period for every young person is the period of adolescence when the person has not reached the level to build effective defence mechanisms against such interlocutors.

In the period of pre-adolescence, according to Éibar José Ordoñez (2011: viii):

"a person is in the process of searching for his own identity through which he will create relationships with others and be accepted by others, therefore nicknames, jokes, humiliation as well as any other form of verbal violence will affect the way that a young person can develop emotional conflicts, complexes, frustrations and psychological trauma (...)"

Patricia Evans (2000: 8) recognizes different types of verbal violence: "This abuse may be overt or covert, constant, controlling, and what Bach and Deutsch (1980) call "crazymaking"." Furthermore, Evans claims that: "Verbal abuse is, in a sense, built into our culture. One-upmanship, defeating, putting down, topping, countering, manipulating, criticizing, hard selling, and intimidating are accepted as fair games by many." (Ibidem)

The goal of a verbal abuser is always the same, to humiliate the victim to the point where she thinks there is something wrong with her. Whether verbal violence is open or covert, subtle in the form of brainwashing, it leads to social exclusion and discrimination on various grounds: belonging to a certain social group, nationality, confession, skin colour, physical appearance, sexual orientation, mental illness...

Forms of verbal violence, focusing on partner relationships, Evans (2010: 81) classifies into fifteen categories, some of which can be considered forms of verbal violence in any context, namely: countering, criticizing, ridiculing or blaming the victim, accusing, assessing, trivializing, underestimating, threatening, ordering. The narrative of violence is increasingly visible in different media. The media is powerful. Low-quality content on television, as well as in other electronic media, is flooded with programmes that promote (consciously or unconsciously) violence, both physical and symbolic and verbal. They, especially among young people, set standards and determine what is acceptable and what is not. Signorielli et al. (1995) estimated that the average 12-year-old sees more than 100,000 acts of violence on television. Answering the question of why violence in the media affects aggression, Aronson et al. (2005: 435) state the most common reactions as a result of watching violence in the media:

- (1) If I can do it, so can I. In other words, exposure to aggressive behaviour weakens previously learned inhibitions towards violent behaviour.
- (2) Oh, so that's how it's done! The methods used by violent characters on TV encourage young people to imitate them.

^{2 &}quot;(...) la persona está en el proceso de búsqueda de una identidad propia que le permita relacionarse y ser aceptado por los demás, de manera que los apodos, las burlas, las humillaciones y cualquier expresión de violencia verbal pueden trastocar este proceso y desarrollar en el (la) joven conflictos emocionales, complejos, frustraciones y traumas psicológicos."

- (3) I think that what I am experiencing must be aggressive feelings. In particular, young people who are exposed to violent scenes on TV or play similar video games can misinterpret their feelings. For example, mild anxiety can be experienced as intense anger.
- (4) Ah, another cruel fight; which is on another programme. Exposure to watching a large number of violent scenes or participating in violent video games increases the likelihood that adolescents become numb to such scenes, increasingly look for stimuli that arouse them, reduce the ability to empathize with the victim and identify with the so-called powerful characters.

Also, different social networks are a training ground or platforms for various types of violence. People prone to violent behaviour use them to post compromising content in the form of photos, messages, comments, and threats directed at a specific person or a social group. There is no doubt that modern media encourage violent communication and glorify violent behaviour, language, and gesticulation, whereby the bully is often anonymous, in other words, cowardly in nature. Still, the bully is allowed to go unpunished in the end.

TYPES OF BULLIES

One becomes a bully, learns under the influence of various circumstances. The first forms of violent behaviour often come from the family, and then from other social environments that approve and motivate such behaviour. The same is the case with the use of violent language in everyday communication, it will first be learned in the family circle if such language is present in it, and then in educational institutions, in the work environment and in other social contexts. Manuel J. Fontanilla López (2011: 50), stemming from the method of observation and conversation about the importance of the family in adopting the way of communication, states the following: "I asserted that the language of each student primarily comes from the family. Mothers whose way of communicating was aggressive and disqualifying noticed this way of communicating in their daughters and sons."

Children generally spend most of their time with their mothers, especially in child-hood and adolescence. The figure of the mother is very important, but she is often burdened with raising children (generally more than fathers) and many other obligations, consequently leading to frustration, which then generates verbal violence directed at children. The role of the family is certainly very important. However, contemporary research (Neufeld and Mate 2014, according to Jašarević 2022: 89)

has shown that "the pressure is much stronger from peer culture and new media than primarily from parents".

The more a person is exposed to violent communication, the chances that he himself will take on this form of communication are very certain. According to Coloroso (2004), bullies can be divided into seven types:

- 1. Self-confident bully big ego, inflated self-esteem, sense of entitlement, propensity for violence and lack of empathy. He feels good only when he has a feeling of superiority over others. He is often admired by peers and teachers for his strong personality.
- 2. The social bully uses rumours, gossip, verbal abuse and avoidance to systematically isolate his targets and effectively exclude them from social activities. He has low self-esteem, however, he hides his feelings and insecurities with excessive confidence and charm. He is deviant and manipulative.
- 3. Fully armed bully calm and seemingly disinterested, looking for an opportunity to bully when no one sees him or cannot stop him. He is vindictive and mean to his target but charming and deceptive to others, especially adults. He has great difficulty in finding and identifying feelings.
- 4. Hyperactive bully poorly developed social skills and difficulties mastering the material. Usually, these are children who have some kind of disorder of academic skills, and difficulties in correctly interpreting social cues. Hence, they often interpret the actions of others as hostile and react with aggression. They have difficulty making friends.
- 5. The bully is the victim both the target and the bully at the same time. Being a victim of violence or abuse by adults or older children abuses others to ease his feelings of helplessness and self-loathing. Attacks smaller and weaker targets.
- 6. A group of bullies is a group of friends who together do something to the person they want to exclude that they would never do on their own. Bullying is carried out by a group of "good" kids who know that what they are doing is wrong and hurts their target.
- 7. Gang of thugs a group that is connected not by friendship but by a strategic alliance to achieve power, control, dominance and conquest of territory. Individuals join gangs to belong to a family of like-minded people and to be respected and protected. They become so loyal to the group that they don't pay attention to the overall consequences of their actions.

All bullies have the same goals:

- to humiliate another, to make her/him think that something is wrong with them;
- to dominate others;
- in the end, achieve a feeling of satisfaction by fulfilling the goal.

All bullies will direct their aggression, contempt, and intolerance towards those weaker than themselves and almost always seek support from their peers, accomplices in the violence or silent observers.

SOCIAL CONTEXT AND CASE STUDY

The society of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a transitional one, burdened by a deep political and social crisis of a long-term nature. The period of transition was quite a suitable and opportunistic arena for the growth of numerous new institutions, with the establishment of educational institutions leading the way. One such newly established institution is an international school which links itself to a global chain of international schools and has legitimate ties to the Turkish organisation of Fethullah Gülen³.

According to the local media working on the investigation of a suicide case, the boy was a victim of repeated peer violence in the above-mentioned private school. Suppose we return to Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence. In that case, the case in this school represents a blatant example of symbolic violence arising from the imposition of arbitrarily accepted values created by the selection of the ruling elite, which, through cultural production, adjusts the conditions (school, education, values) in line with their own needs, thus creating cultural arbitrariness and through a set of "institutionalized or customary mechanisms ... the inherited cultural past is transmitted from generation to generation." (Bourdieu and Passeron 1986: 146)

The purpose of researching this particular case of peer violence lies in the fact that society, as a whole, and especially the education system, is in a serious crisis. Our argument is based on the facts obtained by investigative media, which indicate that a boy was exposed to peer violence for a long period of time, where symbolic/verbal violence was dominant. Dubravko Lovrenović pointed out the shortcomings and weak points of the Bosnian community in one of his public speeches:

³ The movement of Fethullah Gülen began to spread in the eighties of the last century and is considered one of the largest Islamic civil organizations based on religious beliefs. His Hizmet movement was believed to have millions of followers and sponsors 1,000 centers based on Islamic dogma, which help high school students prepare for university exams in 150 countries.

"We are a patriarchal, misogynistic and incestuous society, and Mahir's case is such that he brought all these phenomena to the surface. And that is why it is no longer a case that happened in Dobrinja, in Branislava Nušića Street, it has become a case far wider than Bosnia and Herzegovina."

Prolonged concealment and deception, hiding and, subsequently, the boy's fear of speaking, culminated in suicide. Among other things, the boy was also a victim of the culture of silence, a phenomenon which, together with the phenomenon of a high threshold of tolerance, leads the victim to the act of suicide. This tragic case opened a "Pandora's box" of extreme issues that contemporary Bosnian society is facing.

The teenager, in this case, was the son and stepson of two university professors who persisted for a long time in the fight for the truth to sanction the perpetrators of the heinous mistreatment of a schoolmate. The married couple invested inexhaustible strength, will, and even sacrificed their academic reputation, in attempt to resolve the case in favour of every child who goes through peer violence in silence. "Although they are minors, those minors are very aware of what they did. Society, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as it is, must put a lot of pressure, because it concerns all of us. Today it's Mahir, tomorrow it's someone else's child," child's mother, Alisa Mahmutović, said in one of her media appearances.

Unfortunately, the fight was in vain because closing the school (which was not the goal of their fight) did not help expose the bullies and punish them. Instead, the married couple was subjected to severe forms of symbolic violence, both by institutions and by part of the social community. In particular, the mother was the object of verbal violence, severe criticism embodied in sexist language as a repressive mechanism of women's oppression. They questioned her private life, her decisions, the way she mourned, which she talked about in an interview with the DEPO portal:

"You know, it's not just tears... There are healthy and pathological forms of mourning. The other day, my therapist told me that I was a school example of healthy mourning, however culturally unacceptable. People expect you to neglect yourself and everything around you, I guess. And not to fight, speak, write."

The case of the suicide of a minor boy unravelled a tangle of anomalies in Bosnian society. One of them is misogyny, which every culture manifests in its own way, and, very often, common are the stereotypes about women and their role in society (See Spahić 2014). So, suppose people invite you, verbally force you, to commit suicide. In that case, it is simply "the result of observing your own behaviour within a cultural

community that has, more or less, defined what is culturally acceptable or unacceptable" (Spahić 2023: 242). The mother was expected to accept the social norms of behaviour (including mourning) as her own, i.e. to simply internalize them. There is no doubt that in our country, as in most Mediterranean nations, women are subject to countless forms of verbal violence: criticizing, humiliating, evaluating, and underestimating.

A blatant example of linguistic violence against women, as a central figure, is metaphorical language, yet not a single age or gender group in our society is spared of this seemingly innocent language. Broken by the tragedy and the fact that the fight is uncertain and long, the married couple soon had to fight against the malignant diseases which they both contracted. It is not medically possible to directly connect one with the other, but neither can it be dismissed as a potential trigger.

Not long after, they both died. It was the epilogue of an unprecedented case of continuous symbolic violence.

The case of the boy who underwent torture moved the Bosnian public in two directions or "teams". One was made up of responsible citizens who demanded that the culprits be punished, and the other was retrograde members of society who blamed the "irresponsible mother" for the act of suicide first, then the family, but least of all, the thugs who forced the boy to commit suicide.

The boy went through the cruellest form of verbal and symbolic violence in all its forms. It was not about sporadic violence, but continuous and long-term violent behaviour of a group of boys and girls. So, it was not a conflict between equals, but the constant bullying of the weaker. Abuse was done verbally: by insulting on different grounds: origin, family context (child of divorced parents), religion and nationality of the adoptive father. They threatened to kill him, mocked him and asked him to take off his clothes. They drew violent symbols in his notebook and left violent verbal messages.

Knowing that the victim may belong to certain social groups or have some connection with them, the abuser will focus his actions on those particularly sensitive areas. In Mahir's case, in addition to the violence directed at him, the violence directed at his mother and then at his adoptive father stands out. Namely, the father was a member of the Catholic religion, which bullies did not belong to, so the boy was called derogatory names such as *kjafir*.⁵ Verbal violence was especially directed at

^{4 [&}quot;Internalization is a process in which social norms established in society are adopted as one's own" (Rayan and Conell 1989: 752, according to Čeriman, Spahić Šiljak 2022: 46)].

⁵ Kafir is often translated as 'infidel,' 'pagan,' 'rejector,' 'denier,' 'disbeliever,' 'unbeliever,' 'nonbeliever,' and 'non-Muslim.' The term is used in different ways in the Quran, with the most fundamental sense being ungrateful toward God.

the boy's mother because she was divorced and then married to a man of a different religion. Thus, the verbal violence in this case was sexist, religious and in origin. The boy was called the son of a whore, a kafir, *Tuzlak* (a person from Tuzla, the third largest city in B&H, located in the north-eastern region of the country) indicating that being a non-Sarajevan is less worthy.

The bullies also questioned and ridiculed the boy's sexual preferences by using violent and homophobic language. They called him a *fag* and forced him to say that he was a fag, while someone from the group of bullies would record him with a mobile phone with the purpose of possible usage of the compromising footage against the boy. Particularly significant is the symbolic violence in the form of crosses and armed men with shields that the bullies drew in the boy's notebook, as well as verbally violent messages in English: *Mahir go to hell, Kill Mahir*:

The children and young people in this sort of social environment suffer dramatic, serious psychological changes. They feel and think that they are worthless, they withdraw and avoid meeting their peers, develop depression, do not see a way out of the situation, do not have the "strength" to confide in people who would protect them, and, ultimately, it happens that, sometimes, they decide to end their life.

CONCLUSION

Verbal violence, as well as other forms of violence, is ubiquitous in contemporary society. Before entering into any social contacts, the child will take its first relational steps within the family. If, in a familiar environment, the child does not develop positive emotions, if s/he does not learn to distinguish violent from non-violent language, if s/he is not given examples contrary to violent behaviour, then the educational institutions have to fill the gaps created in the early development of a young person. At the same time, we are aware that schools cannot be single correctors for everything omitted in the family environment.

In this paper, we have shown that peer culture and the media that encourage violent communication and glorify violent behaviour, language and gestures play an extremely powerful role in the formation and development of a young person. The consequences of verbal and symbolic violence can be benign, leaving no trace on the child's psyche. Still, they can also have a fatal outcome, as we pointed out, drawing attention to a specific analysis of a case of peer violence in one elementary school. Aware that the children and young people brought up in hostile social environments suffer dramatic and serious psychological changes, one of the initial questions we

asked is whether there was an adequate mechanism to prevent such outcomes. The answer would be: that there are mechanisms, and one of the effective ones, we believe, would be if the school the boy in case attended (as well as any other educational institution) had conducted research on the presence of any form of violence, it would have been noticed and addressed before any form of tragic act. Both educational institutions and the parents could have intervened promptly and possibly prevented a large number of examples of peer violence, which, unfortunately, concluded tragically.

Violent communication and bullies are present in our everyday environment, and very often, various forms of violence are directed towards the victim at the same time, which we exemplified through a particular case in this paper. The goals of bullies are almost identical. They want to humiliate the other, who is often different, to make him think that something is wrong with him, and to dominate him by displaying repeated verbal aggression, intolerance, and contempt whilst seeking support from similar violent accomplices.

In our society, the problem of violence is spoken about more clearly and loudly today. It is pointed out that victims, and everyone else, can easily recognise and respond to any form of violence adequately, including everyone who is able prevent and stop it.

There is still a long way ahead of our social community. It is paramount that we talk about violence to acknowledge it within the framework of various teaching areas particularly in language classes, so that we could teach and/or relearn that the language must not be used to discriminate but to must be tolerated, and that, in the end, we, as individuals, are nobody's "masters" despite our relative authority and power in society.

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OD BENIGNIH DO FATALNIH POSLJEDICA LINGVISTIČKOG NASILJA

Sažetak:

Jezikom kao osnovnim sredstvom komunikacije prenosimo informacije ali i percipiramo svijet i njegove vrijednosti. Ovaj rad bavi se posljedicama koje nekorektna i neodgovorna upotreba jezika može izazvati kod Drugoga. Nasilni jezik kao vid komunikacije susrećemo u svim društvenim interakcijama pa stoga nije zaobišao ni mladu populaciju. On je prisutan u učionici i van nje. Kontinuirana upotreba ili izloženost nasilnoj komunikaciji utječe na emocionalno sazrijavanje maldih ljudi. U svrhu ovog istraživanja analizirali smo jedan konkretan slučaj verbalnog i simboličkog nasilja sa tragičnim ishodom da bismo pokušali ukazati kako na vrijeme detektirati nasilno ponašanje kada ono nije fizičko, te koji su mehanizmi efikasni za njegovo suzbijanje kako žrtva verbalnog nasilja ne bi postala metom i drugih oblika nasilnog ponašanja od strane pojedinca ili grupe nasilnika.

Ključne riječi: simboličko nasilje; verbalno nasilje; vršnjačko nasilje; posljedice; zlostavljač; žrtva

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