

*Academic  
Journal  
of  
Modern  
Philology*

*Polish Academy of Sciences  
Wrocław Branch*

*Philological School of Higher Education  
in Wrocław*



*Academic*

*Journal*

*of*

*Modern*

*Philology*

e-ISSN 2353-3218

ISSN 2299-7164

VOL. 4 (2015)

**EDITOR-IN-CHIEF**

PIOTR P. CHRUSCZEWSKI

**HONORARY EDITORS**

FRANCISZEK GRUCZA

STANISŁAW PRĘDOTA

**ASSOCIATE EDITORS**

KATARZYNA BUCZEK

ALEKSANDRA R. KNAPIK

JACEK MIANOWSKI

WROCŁAW

2015

ACADEMIC JOURNAL OF MODERN PHILOLOGY

**EDITOR-IN-CHIEF**

PIOTR P. CHRUSCZEWSKI

**HONORARY EDITORS**

FRANCISZEK GRUCZA

STANISŁAW PRĘDOTA

**ASSOCIATE EDITORS**

KATARZYNA BUCZEK, ALEKSANDRA R. KNAPIK, JACEK MIANOWSKI

**SCIENTIFIC BOARD OF THE COMMITTEE FOR PHILOLOGY OF THE POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WROCŁAW BRANCH:**

Piotr Cap (Łódź), Camelia M. Cmeciu (Galati, Romania), Piotr P. Chruszczewski (Wrocław), Józef Darski (Poznań), Marta Degani (Verona, Italy), Robin Dunbar (Oxford, UK), Katarzyna Dziubalska-Kołaczyk (Poznań), Francesco Ferretti (Rome, Italy), Jacek Fisiak (Poznań), James A. Fox (Stanford, USA), Stanisław Gajda (Opole), Piotr Gaśiorowski (Poznań), Franciszek Grucza (Warszawa), Philippe Hiligsmann (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium), Rafael Jiménez Cataño (Rome, Italy), Henryk Kardela (Lublin), Ewa Kęblowska-Lawniczak (Wrocław), Tomasz P. Krzeszowski (Warszawa), Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczuk (Łódź), Ryszard Lipczuk (Szczecin), Lorenzo Magnani (Pavia, Italy), Witold Mańczak (Kraków), Marek Parzy (Warszawa), Michał Post (Wrocław), Stanisław Prędota (Wrocław), John R. Rickford (Stanford, USA), Hans Sauer (Munich, Germany), Aleksander Szwedek (Poznań), Elżbieta Tabakowska (Kraków), Marco Tamburelli (Bangor, Wales), Kamila Turewicz (Łódź), Zdzisław Wąsik (Wrocław), Jerzy Wełna (Warszawa), Roland Willemyns (Brussels, Belgium), Donald Winford (Columbus, USA), Tadeusz Zabrocki (Poznań)

**BOARD OF REVIEWERS**

Andrei Avram (Bucharest, Romania), Justyna Bajda (Wrocław), Tommaso Bertolotti (Pavia, Italy), Władysław Chłopicki (Kraków), C. Jac Conradie (Johannesburg, South Africa), Anna Dąbrowska (Wrocław), Tomasz P. Górski (Wrocław), Adam Jaworski (Hong-Kong), Ronald Kim (Poznań), Konrad Klimkowski (Lublin), Richard L. Lanigan (Washington, D.C., USA), Maria Katarzyna Lasatowicz (Opole), Elżbieta Mańczak-Wohlfeld (Kraków), Piotr Sawicki (Wrocław), Dennis Scheller-Boltz (Innsbruck, Austria), Wojciech Soliński (Wrocław), Marek Stachowski (Kraków), Dieter Stellmacher (Göttingen, Germany), Agnieszka Stępkowska (Warszawa), Waldemar Skrzypczak (Toruń), Magdalena Wolf (Wrocław), Przemysław Żywiczyński (Toruń)

**PROOFREADING**

ENGLISH PREP – BIURO JĘZYKOWE

**Editorial reading / korekta wydawnicza:** Barbara Woldan

**Cover design / opracowanie graficzne okładki:** Małgorzata Tyc-Klekot, Konstancja Czarny

**DTP:** Dorota Bazan

© Copyright by Oddział Polskiej Akademii Nauk we Wrocławiu & Wyższa Szkoła Filologiczna we Wrocławiu, Wrocław 2015  
All rights reserved

**e-ISSN 2353-3218**

**ISSN 2299-7164**

**Published by / adres wydawcy:**

Oddział Polskiej Akademii Nauk we Wrocławiu  
50-449 Wrocław, ul. Podwale 75  
[www.pan.wroc.pl](http://www.pan.wroc.pl)

Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Filologicznej we Wrocławiu  
50-335 Wrocław, ul. Sienkiewicza 32  
tel. (+48 71) 328 14 14, fax (+48 71) 322 10 06  
<http://www.wsf.edu.pl>, e-mail: [wsf@wsf.edu.pl](mailto:wsf@wsf.edu.pl)

**Committee for Philology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław Branch / Komisja Nauk Filologicznych PAN, Oddział we Wrocławiu**  
**Chairperson / przewodniczący:** prof. dr hab. Piotr P. Chruszczewski

**Deputy chairperson / wiceprzewodniczący:** dr Aleksandra R. Knapik, dr Jacek Mianowski

**Secretary / sekretarz:** dr Katarzyna Buczek, dr Szymon Wach

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ANDREI A. AVRAM	
Romanian and Japanese Name Truncations	7
NATALIA CZAJKOWSKA	
Internalization of Negative Images: Self-Loathing as Portrayed in Toni Morrison's <i>The Bluest Eye</i> . Geraldine's Case Study	25
ANNA FUCHS	
The Transformation of Ugly into Beautiful in the Literature of Decadence	33
IZABELA GATKOWSKA	
Empty Answers in an Experiment of Free Word Association	41
MAŁGORZATA HAŁADEWICZ-GRZELAK	
Segmentability and Transparency in English Latinate Prefixation	51
IGA MARIA LEHMAN	
Social Identification and Positioning in Academic Discourse: An English-Polish Comparative Study	65
NATALIA PIETRASZEWSKA	
On the Complexity of Creole Languages: The Fractal Approach	73
MICHAŁ PODSĘDEK	
<i>Empire of Liberty in expand:</i> Główne obszary proimperialnej argumentacji elit Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki na przełomie XIX i XX wieku	81
DENNIS SCHELLER-BOLTZ	
Identität als polydimensionales Selbst. Zu Verständnis und Konstruktion geschlechtlicher und sexueller Identität in Russland. Eine allgemeine Einführung für Slawist_inn_en	89
KAMILA TUREWICZ	
Intellectual Empathy as a Socio-Cultural Facet of Communication: The Case of English Modals from the Perspective of Polish	121
MACIEJ WIECZOREK	
Looking for Lear in Dennis Kelly's <i>The Gods Weep</i>	135
PIOTR WŁUCZKOWSKI	
Izolacjonizm a izolacjonizm amerykański. Wyróżnienie pojęciowe na podstawie analizy polityki zagranicznej USA na tle historycznym	145

## REVIEWS AND POLEMICS

ALEKSANDER SZWEDEK

Podobne habilitacje – różne oceny – różne zakończenia

155

**WITOLD MAŃCZAK**

Recenzja książki Marcina Walczyńskiego pt. *A living language. Selected aspects of Tok Pisin in the press (on the basis of "Wantok" newspaper)*. Nysa 2012: Oficyna Wydawnicza PWSZ w Nysie. ISBN 978-83-60081-61-7, 309 stron

175

SZYMON WACH

MAŁGORZATA HAŁADEWICZ-GRZELAK

Review of the Book: Leszek Bednarczuk, Anna Bochnakowa, Stanisław Widłak, Przemysław Dębowiak, Iwona Piechnik (eds.) *Linguistique Romane et linguistique Indo-Européene: Mélanges offerts à Witold Mańczak à l'occasion de son 90e anniversaire* [Romance and Indo-European Linguistics: A Festschrift in Honor of Prof. Witold Mańczak on the Occasion of His Ninetieth Birthday]. Kraków 2014: Polska Akademia Umiejętności and Instytut Filologii Romańskiej Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. ISBN: 978-83-7676-185-5, 487 pages

179

ANDREI A. AVRAM  
University of Bucharest, Romania

## Romanian and Japanese Name Truncations

### Abstract

This paper looks into the structural properties of both Romanian and Japanese truncated names. Name truncation is considered to be a word-formation process and is analyzed from the perspective of Prosodic Morphology (McCarthy & Prince 1995, 1998; Booij 2005; Downing 2006). A contrastive analysis of the morphological and phonological structure of truncated names in both Romanian and Japanese shows that they are subject to strict prosodic requirements. Thus, linguistically significant generalizations and constraints on the makeup of truncated names can only be formulated in terms of moras, syllables and feet. Also discussed is the relation between name truncation and prosodic minimality in the two languages.

*Keywords:* name truncation, syllable, bimoraic foot, prosodic minimality, derived word.

### 1. Introduction

The status of name truncations, word clippings and blends is a matter of some debate in the morphological literature. A number of authors (*e.g.* Zwicky & Pullum 1987; Dressler 2000; Haspelmath 2002; Booij 2005 or Ronneberger-Sibold 2010) do not include truncated names, word clippings and blends among word-formation processes proper. According to Zwicky and Pullum (1987), for example, name truncations and word clippings express familiarity and should be treated as instances of “expressive morphology.” Dressler (2000) states that truncated names, clippings and blends are highly idiosyncratic and are therefore “extragrammatical,” *i.e.* they do not fall within the province of grammatical morphology. Haspelmath (2002: 25) writes that clippings and blends “are operations that can be used to create new words [but] they do not fall under morphology, because the resulting new words do not show systematic meaning – sound

resemblances of the sort that speakers would recognize." Therefore, Haspelmath (2002: 25) concludes that "not all processes of word-creation fall under word-formation." Booij (2005: 20–21) lists truncated names, word clippings and blends among the types of word creation or word manufacturing which he regards as non-morphological sources of words. For Ronneberger-Sibold (2010: 201), "operations such as shortening or blending" are "techniques for the creation of new lexemes not covered by the rules (or models) of regular word formation," and "the use of a creative technique is termed *word creation*." Ronneberger-Sibold (2010: 203) explicitly considers word creation as "a subtype of extragrammatical morphology" which yields "words characterized by a specific sound shape and/or a specific degree of transparency." For other authors (e.g. Joseph 1997; Plag 2003; Aronoff & Fudeman 2005; Downing 2006 or Lappe 2007), however, morphology explicitly includes the study of truncated names, word clippings and blends. Essentially, two arguments can be put forth in support of viewing name truncation as a word-formation process. First, as argued by Plag (2003: 117) with respect to English, name truncations "are highly systematic." This systematicity also leads Aronoff and Fudeman (2005: 113–116) to include name truncations, word clippings and blends under the heading of "other derivational processes." Second, although derivation is commonly defined as a process whereby new words are formed, *i.e.* it should add new meaning to a base, a case can be made for name truncation as a type of word-formation. As briefly discussed by Plag (2003: 117), while truncated names do not have a new referential meaning, they do express familiarity and a (usually) positive attitude towards the referent, *i.e.* name truncation does add new meanings. On the strength of these two arguments, in this paper name truncation is considered to be a word-formation process.

A second problem that needs to be addressed is a terminological one. Besides "name truncation" or "truncated name," alternative terms appearing in the literature include "nickname" (Kenstowicz 1994: 9; McCarthy & Prince 1995: 344; Aronoff & Fudeman 2005: 75; Downing 2006: 62) and "hypocoristic" (Kenstowicz 1994: 9; Booij 2005: 21, 181; Crystal 2008: 232). However, nicknames are not necessarily the result of truncation. As for hypocoristics, there are considerable differences in the various definitions found in the literature. Booij (2005: 21, 181), for instance, simply defines them as "names of endearment" and "endearment forms of proper names," respectively. In Crystal (2008: 232), although the definition "a term used in LINGUISTICS for a pet name (e.g. *Harry* for *Harold*)" does not mention truncation, the only example given illustrates it. Variation in the definition of hypocoristics is also striking in the Romanian literature. The most restrictive definition is found in Graur (1965: 57), according to whom "the reduced forms [of names] are known in linguistics as hypocoristics." Ionescu (1989: 144) defines hypocoristics as "a secondary form resulting from the modification of the original form of a proper name." Hypocoristics are very similarly defined by Tomescu (2001: 254) as "a secondary [...] form with an affectionate character, resulting from the formal modification of a proper name." However, for both of these authors, hypocoristics also include forms derived via suffixation to the source name. Finally, the widest definition is given by Bidu-Vrănceanu (1997: 238): "value of tender affection of: some forms of addressing [...]; some proper names which undergo phonetic modifications [...], in casual, intimate or popular usage [...]; some diminutive suffixes." In order to avoid any possible terminological confusions, throughout this paper the terms "name truncation" or "truncated name" will be used exclusively.

The theoretical framework adopted here for the analysis of name truncation in both Japanese and Romanian is that of prosodic morphology. Along the lines of e.g. McCarthy and Prince (1995, 1998), Booij (2005), and Downing (2006), prosodic morphology is understood broadly as the theory of how morphology and phonology interact in the grammatical system of languages.

The corpus of Romanian truncated names consists of two dictionaries of first names (Ionescu 2008 and Cosnceanu 2010) and of my own collection (Avram 2011), while that of Japanese truncated names consists of forms listed in the literature.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 focuses on Romanian truncated names. The formation of Japanese truncated names is discussed in section 3. Section 4 summarizes the findings and discusses some of their implications.

## 2. Romanian

### 2.1. Truncated names

Truncated names are not so frequent in Romanian (Graur 1965: 63; Tomescu 2001: 254). There is considerable variation as to the part of the source name which is preserved.<sup>1</sup> A very frequently attested case<sup>2</sup> is that in which the segmental material is provided by both syllables of disyllabic source names or the first two syllables of longer source names, with the possible addition of a segment from the onset of the following syllable, as in the third variant in (1a):

(1)	Name	Truncated name
a.	<i>Alexandru</i>	<i>Al / Alec / Alex</i>
b.	<i>Emil</i>	<i>Emi</i>
c.	<i>Grigore</i>	<i>Grig</i>
d.	<i>Iulia</i>	<i>Iuli</i>
e.	<i>Liviu</i>	<i>Livi</i>
f.	<i>Mădălina</i>	<i>Mădă</i>
g.	<i>Nicolae</i>	<i>Nic</i>
h.	<i>Ştefan</i>	<i>Ştef</i>
i.	<i>Teodora</i>	<i>Teo</i>
j.	<i>Viorel</i>	<i>Vio</i>

The segmental material can also be taken from a stressed syllable and the following, word-final one<sup>3</sup>:

(2)	Name	Truncated name
a.	<i>Con'stanţa</i>	<i>Tanţa</i>
b.	<i>Geor'geta</i>	<i>Geta</i>
c.	<i>I'rina</i>	<i>Rina</i>
d.	<i>Va'sile</i>	<i>Sile</i>

1 This is sometimes called “anchoring points” in the literature on truncation (see e.g. Lappe 2008).

2 This is referred to as “apocope” in the literature on Romanian pet names (Ionescu 1989: 145; Bidu-Vrănceanu 1997: 238; Tomescu 2001: 254).

3 Romanian linguists (e.g. Ionescu 1989: 145; Bidu-Vrănceanu 1997: 238; Tomescu 2001: 254) use the term “apheresis.”

In other forms, it is the word-medial syllables, a stressed syllable and the preceding (3a) or following one (3b)–(3d), which provide the segmental material<sup>4</sup>:

10

- (3) Name      Truncated name
- a. *,Augu'stin*    *Gusti*
  - b. *Cor'nelia*     *Neli*
  - c. *E'milia*       *Mili*
  - d. *Oc,mtavi'an*   *Tavi*

Truncated names may also consist of segments which are not adjacent in the source name:

- (4) Name      Truncated name
- a. *Daniela*     *Dana*
  - b. *Maria*       *Mia*
  - c. *Nicolae*      *Nae*

Some name truncations exhibit simplification of onset clusters. In the examples below, the second syllable of the truncated name has a simple onset, even though the original syllable in the source name contains a complex one:

- (5) Name      Truncated name
- a. *Alexandru*    *Sandu*
  - b. *Dumitru*      *Mitu*<sup>5</sup>

A characteristic shared by all these name truncations is that their form is either that of a heavy syllable or that of a disyllabic foot.

## 2.2. Reduplicated truncated names

Romanian truncated names can also be derived via truncation and subsequent reduplication. There are two patterns, which have not been previously distinguished in the literature.<sup>6</sup> One such pattern is illustrated by the following forms:

- (6) Name      Truncated name
- a. *Cornelia*     *Coco*
  - b. *Dimitrie*    *Didi*
  - c. *Lucia*       *Lulu*
  - d. *Victoria*    *Vivi*

<sup>4</sup> Graur (1965: 64) describes this as “the simultaneous deletion of the beginning and of the end.”

<sup>5</sup> The [tr-] cluster is preserved in the variant *Mitru*.

<sup>6</sup> Both patterns are lumped together under various names, such as “doubling of a syllable” by Graur (1965: 64), “syllabic redoubling” by Ionescu (1989: 145) and Tomescu (2001: 254), or “reduplication” by Vascenco (1995: 40) and Bidu-Vrănceanu (1997: 238).

Examples (6a) and (6d) demonstrate that the initial CV sequence of the source name is reduplicated. This CV sequence does not necessarily coincide with the first syllable of the source name, contra Vascenco (1995: 40), who refers to this pattern as “reduplication of the initial syllable.” In the other pattern, a sequence made up of a consonant from the source name and the vowel [i] undergoes reduplication:

(7)	Name	Truncated name
a.	<i>Elena</i>	<i>Lili</i>
b.	<i>George</i>	<i>Gigi</i>
c.	<i>Maria</i>	<i>Mimi</i>
d.	<i>Octavian</i>	<i>Vivi</i>

Whatever the pattern of reduplication, the form of the reduplicated name truncations is that of a disyllabic foot.

### 2.3. Truncated names with diminutive suffixes

According to Tomescu (2001: 254), Romanian pet names are most frequently formed by means of a diminutive suffix, *e.g.* *-aş*, *-el*, *-ică/-ica*, *-iţă/-iţa*, *-uţ/-uţa*,<sup>7</sup> attached either to the source name or to a truncated form of the source name:

(8)	Name	Pet name
a.	<i>Andrei</i>	<i>Andreiaş</i>
b.	<i>Constantin</i>	<i>Costel / Costică</i>
c.	<i>Elena</i>	<i>Lenuţa</i>
d.	<i>George</i>	<i>Georgică</i>
e.	<i>Ion</i>	<i>Ionel / Ionică / Ioniţă / Ionuţ</i>
f.	<i>Irina</i>	<i>Irinel</i>
g.	<i>Ştefan</i>	<i>Ştefănel / Ştefăniţa / Fănel / Fănică / Făniţă / Fănuş</i>
h.	<i>Vasile</i>	<i>Vasilică</i>

These diminutive suffixes start with a vowel and consist either of a heavy syllable or of a disyllabic foot. Some of these pet names undergo further truncation. In such cases, only a consonant in onset position is preserved from the source name:

(9)	Pet name	Truncated name
a.	<i>Costică</i>	<i>Tică</i>
b.	<i>Georgică</i>	<i>Gică</i>
c.	<i>Lenuţa</i>	<i>Nuţa</i>
d.	<i>Ioniţă</i>	<i>Niţă</i>
e.	<i>Irinel</i>	<i>Nel</i>
f.	<i>Vasilică</i>	<i>Lică</i>

<sup>7</sup> A list of the most important suffixes used for deriving Romanian diminutive forms of names can be found in Graur (1965: 65–66).

The resulting form is either that of a heavy syllable or that of a disyllabic foot.

Less frequently, as noted by Graur (1965: 66) and Vasiliu (2001: 589), some diminutive suffixes can function as truncated names (and may correspond to more than one pet name), and no segment from the base survives. Contra Graur (1965: 66), who mentions the suffixes *-ica*, *-eta* and *-uța*, this does not only apply to feminine endearment forms (10b), but to some masculine ones as well (10a), in the case of e.g. *-ică* (Vasiliu 2001: 589):

- |      |               |                |
|------|---------------|----------------|
| (10) | Pet name      | Truncated name |
| a.   | <i>Ionică</i> | <i>Ică</i>     |
| b.   | <i>Lenuța</i> | <i>Uța</i>     |

Note that only disyllabic masculine forms of diminutive suffixes can function as name truncations. Romanian pet names can also be formed by truncation and the subsequent addition of the vowel [-i]:

- |      |                 |                |
|------|-----------------|----------------|
| (11) | Name            | Truncated name |
| a.   | <i>Adrian</i>   | <i>Adi</i>     |
| b.   | <i>Ciprian</i>  | <i>Cipi</i>    |
| c.   | <i>Dumitru</i>  | <i>Miti</i>    |
| d.   | <i>Eduard</i>   | <i>Edi</i>     |
| e.   | <i>Gabriela</i> | <i>Gabi</i>    |
| f.   | <i>Petru</i>    | <i>Peti</i>    |
| g.   | <i>Tiberiu</i>  | <i>Tibi</i>    |
| h.   | <i>Valentin</i> | <i>Vali</i>    |

In such forms, the second syllable disallows a complex onset even if the source name contains a complex onset, e.g. [dr-] in (11a), [pr-] in (11b), [tr-] in (11c) and (11f), [br-] in (11e). This suggests that the bare truncatum (*i.e.* the shortened form to which [-i] is added) must be a possible Romanian syllable. While e.g. [ad] in (11a), [tʃip] in (11b), [gab] in (11e) and [pet] in (11f) are possible Romanian syllables, [adr], [tʃipr], [gabr] and [petr] are not. Such an analysis appears to be more plausible than the account in Graur (1965: 64–65), according to whom “children’s pronunciation difficulties [...] explain the deletion of some sounds: *Adi* for *Adri-*.”

A few remarks are in order with respect to the status of [-i]. Thus, [-i] is analyzed by Graur (1965: 64) as “a new suffix, *-i* [...], with which diminutives are formed.” Vascenco (1995: 36–37) also writes that “after truncation most of [the diminutive hypocoristics] have been augmented by the attachment of the suffix *-i*.” Similarly, Vasiliu (2001: 589) states that “some truncated names are developed by the attachment of the suffix *-i*.” On the other hand, [-i] is considered “an ending” and, respectively, as “the vocalic ending *-i*” by Zafiu (2001: 246, 247). There is some independent evidence showing that [-i] is a suffix: it occurs in truncations of family names and in word clippings, e.g. *libi* from *liberare* ‘discharge from the army’ or *pluti* from *plutonier* ‘warrant officer’ (Zafiu 2001: 246).

## 2.4. Truncated names with a final vowel

Pet names can also be derived via truncation of a source name or of a pet name and the addition of the vowel [-u]:

(12)	Name / Pet name	Truncated name
a.	<i>Aurel</i>	<i>Relu</i>
b.	<i>Georgel</i>	<i>Gelu</i>
c.	<i>Ionel</i>	<i>Nelu</i>
d.	<i>Teodor</i>	<i>Doru</i>

As shown by the following example, the truncated name may occasionally exhibit changes on the segmental level, e.g. /h/ → [ʃ]:

(13)	Name	Truncated name
	<i>Mihai</i>	<i>Mișu</i> <sup>8</sup>

In all of these cases, the form of the truncated name is that of a disyllabic foot. The bare truncatum is monosyllabic and consists of a heavy syllable which conforms to the structural constraints on possible syllables.

## 2.5. Truncated family names

Family names can also undergo truncation, but less frequently so than first names. According to Zafiu (2001: 246), truncation of family names is a relatively recent phenomenon which is particularly typical of Romanian journalese. Zafiu (2001: 246) starts from the assumption that “the [family] name has to be somewhat longer, and likely to end in a vowel or to produce a phonetic figure of repetition, of symmetry” in its truncated version. She identifies three patterns in the truncation of family names. Thus, “the prototype of current truncation is represented by the disyllabic shape, with a vocalic ending and containing the same vowel in both syllables” (Zafiu 2001: 246). The following examples (Zafiu 2001: 247) are listed in support of this claim:

(14)	Name	Truncated name
a.	<i>Hrebenciuc</i>	<i>Hrebe</i>
b.	<i>Lăcătuș</i>	<i>Lăcă</i>
c.	<i>Patapievici</i>	<i>Pata</i>
d.	<i>Stolojan</i>	<i>Stolo</i>
e.	<i>Văcăroiu</i>	<i>Văcă</i>
f.	<i>Vătășescu</i>	<i>Vătă</i>

---

<sup>8</sup> An alternative truncated name derived from the base *Mihai* is *Mihu*, with no segmental change.

Zafiu (2001: 247) further maintains that in a second pattern “the remaining part of the name does not contain a repeated vowel, but respects the conditions of the disyllabic character and of the vocalic ending (in *-u* or *-o*)” as in the two examples provided:

- (15) Name            Truncated name  
       a. *Măgureanu*    *Măgu*  
       b. *Miloșevici*    *Milo*

Finally, Zafiu (2001: 247) notes that “in some less frequent cases, the shortened form is modified by adding the vocalic ending *-i*, as in hypocoristics of first names,” as in the only such example provided:

- (16) Name            Truncated name  
       *Truțulescu*    *Truți*

Several remarks are in order here. First, it is hardly clear what is meant by “a phonetic figure of repetition, of symmetry” (Zafiu 2001: 246). Second, the examples under (14) and (15), which allegedly illustrate two different patterns, actually instantiate the same type, in which the segmental material is taken from the first two syllables. As in the source name, the vowel in the second syllable may be identical with or different from that in the first syllable. Consequently, what Zafiu (2001: 247) calls “the vocalic ending (in *-u* or *-o*)” is in fact the vowel in the second syllable of the source name. Let us now consider the additional examples below, from my own collection, which show that the first two syllables of the source name provide the segmental material of the truncated name:

- (17) Name            Truncated name  
       a. *Arotărîtei*    *Aro*  
       b. *Băsescu*      *Băse*  
       c. *Pătrâșcoiu*    *Pătră*  
       d. *Smărăndescu*    *Smără*  
       e. *Teodorovici*    *Teo*

Third, the family name does not have to be “somewhat longer.” Even shorter family names which are already disyllabic may undergo truncation:

- (18) Name            Truncated name  
       *Avram*          *Avra*

Fourth, the *-i* in (16) is not a “vocalic ending,” but a suffix, as shown in section 2.3. The occurrence of the pattern of truncation in which the bare truncatum is suffixed with *-i* is confirmed by other forms in my corpus:

- (19) Name            Truncated name  
       a. *Pițurcă*        *Piți*  
       b. *Şumudică*      *Şumi*

Finally, there is another pattern of truncation, probably the least frequent one, in which the truncatum consists of a single, heavy syllable. This pattern is illustrated by one of the examples which Zafiu (2001: 246) lists without, however, analyzing it:

- (20) Family name Truncated name  
 Ștefănescu Ștef

To sum up, the truncated forms of family names instantiate a subset of the patterns previously identified in the truncation of first names. Thus, the truncatum may consist of a heavy syllable, which is a type of truncation discussed in section 2.1. Much more frequently, the form of the truncated name is that of a disyllabic foot. The disyllabic foot is built with segmental material from the first two syllables of the source name, a pattern that was also illustrated in section 2.1. Alternatively, the disyllabic foot obtains via truncation to a heavy syllable which is suffixed with *-i*, a pattern analyzed in section 2.3.

On the other hand, there appear to be some differences between the truncation of family names and that of first names. Thus, the segmental material in truncated family names is invariably taken from the first two syllables of the source name. Also, truncations of family names always consist of segments which are adjacent in the source name. Moreover, some patterns, such as reduplication or the use of the final vowel [-u], as discussed in sections 2.2 and 2.4, respectively, are not attested in truncated family names.

### 3. Japanese

#### 3.1. Rustic girls' names

The so-called “familiar forms” of rustic girls’ names are derived by attaching the honorific prefix *o-* to a base (Poser 1990: 92; Mester 1990: 479–480; Suzuki 1995: 450). There is variation in the part of the base which is preserved. Thus, if the root of the source name consists of a heavy syllable or of two light ones, *i.e.* of two moras, it coincides with the bare truncatum. This is the case for bimorphemic names which contain the suffix *-ko*. Consider the following examples (with the boundaries between moras indicated with a dot):

- (21) Name Truncated name  
 a. /ke.:ko/ [o.ke:]  
 b. /ha.na.ko/ [o.ha.na]  
 c. /sa.ki.ko/ [o.sa.ki]

Consider next monomorphemic names which consist of more than two moras:

- (22) Name Truncated name  
 a. /ka.e.de/ [o.ka.e]  
 b. /mi.do.fi/ [o.mi.do]

As can be observed, the bare truncatum (to which the prefix *o-* is attached) obtains by taking segmental material from the first two moras of the source name. Note that these two moras may be distributed in one heavy syllable or over two light syllables. The derivation of familiar forms of rustic girls' names thus presupposes the preservation of the initial bimoraic foot of the source name.

### 3.2. Truncated names suffixed with *-chan* or *-kun*

In Japanese there is a very productive process in which the suffix *-chan* or *-kun* is added to a truncated base (Poser 1984, 1990: 81–89; Mester 1990: 479; Suzuki 1995: 449; Kubozono 1999: 41). Consider the examples below:

(23)	Name	Truncated name
a.	/a.ki.fa/	[a.ki.tʃa.N]
b.	/ha.na.ko/	[ha.na.tʃa.N]
c.	/jo.ko/	[jo.ko.tʃa.N]
d.	/ma.fi.ko/	[ma.fi.tʃa.N]
e.	/ma.sa.fu/	[ma.sa.kuu.N]
f.	/no.fi.ko/	[no.fi.tʃa.N]
g.	/ta.ka.ko/	[ta.ka.tʃa.N]
h.	/a.i.ko/	[a.i.tʃa.N]
i.	/zjuu.N.ko/	[dʒuu.n.tʃa.N]

In such forms the bare truncatum (to which the suffix *-chan* or *-kun* is added) is a bimoraic foot. This bimoraic foot is created by taking segmental material from the first two moras of the source name, regardless of whether they are distributed in one or over two syllables. Another possibility is to lengthen the vowel in the first mora of the source name:

(24)	Name	Truncated name
a.	/ha.na.ko/	[ha.:tʃa.N]
b.	/jo.ko/	[jo.:tʃa.N]
c.	/ma.sa.fu/	[ma.:kuu.N]
d.	/ta.ka.ko/	[ta.:tʃa.N]

Changing a non-moraic consonant into a moraic<sup>9</sup> one is yet another option:

(25)	Name	Truncated name
a.	/ha.na.ko/	[ha.t.tʃa.N]
b.	/sa.ti.ko/	[sa.t.tʃa.N]
c.	/ta.ka.ko/	[ta.t.tʃa.N]

<sup>9</sup> The vowel is deleted and the remaining consonant undergoes total assimilation.

A bimoraic foot may also obtain via epenthesis of a moraic consonant<sup>10</sup>:

- (26) Name      Truncated name  
       /no.fi.ko/    [no.n.tʃa.N]

17

Truncated names can also be derived without the inclusion of segmental material from the first mora of the source name:

- (27) Name      Truncated name  
       /hi.fo.mi/    [fo.mi.tʃa.N]

Less frequently, the bare truncatum can consist of segments which are not adjacent in the source name. In such cases, when combining two moras, a portion of the source name is skipped over:

- (28) Name      Truncated name  
       /ma.fi.ko/    [ma.ko.tʃa.N]

All of the processes illustrated in the examples under (23) through (28) yield a bimoraic truncatum. Consequently, all of these forms have in common the characteristic that the bare truncatum to which the suffix *-chan* or *-kun* is attached is a bimoraic foot, which may consist either of a heavy syllable or of two light ones.

### 3.3. Names of regular customers of bars and of geishas

Regular customers of bars and of geishas are given special names, which are modified versions of their family names. These special names consist of a truncated base to which the honorific prefix *o-* and the honorific suffix *-san* are added (Poser 1990: 91–92; Mester 1990: 480; Suzuki 1995: 450). Several patterns of forming such names are attested. In one such pattern, the truncatum corresponds to the first syllable of the source name, provided that it is heavy and that it does not end in the first part of a geminate obstruent:

- (29) Name      Truncated name  
   a. /i.:da/      [o.i.:sa.N]  
   b. /sa.i.to/    [o.sa.i.sa.N]  
   c. /ko.N.do/    [o.ko.n.saN]

Alternatively, segmental material may be taken only from the first syllable, with lengthening of the vowel:

- (30) Name      Truncated name  
   a. /sa.i.to/    [o.sa.:sa.N]  
   b. /ko.N.do/    [o.ko.:sa.N]

---

<sup>10</sup> The epenthesized consonant is /N/, phonetically realized as [n] before a [CORONAL, –anterior] consonant.

If the initial syllable of the source name is heavy, but ends in the first part of a geminate obstruent, the vowel in the first mora undergoes lengthening:

18

- 
- (31) Name      Truncated name  
       /ha.t.to.fi/      [o.ha.:sa.N]

Finally, if the first syllable of the source name is light, the vowel of the first mora is lengthened. Consider the example below:

- (32) Name      Truncated name  
       /ta.na.ka/      [o.ta.:sa.N]

In this case it is impossible to derive the form \*[o.ta.n.sa.N] since /taN/ is not a syllable of the source name /tanaka/.

The examples above show that the bare truncatum is invariably bimoraic and monosyllabic. For instance, if the first two syllables of the source name are monomoraic, e.g. /hui.zi.muu.fa/, a form such as \*[o.ɸɯ.ðʒi.sa.N] is ill-formed since the bimoraic foot of the truncatum is disyllabic. To sum up, the process of forming the special names of regular customers of bars and of geishas involves taking over the initial syllable of the source name, and vowel lengthening if that syllable is monomoraic. In other words, the truncatum must be a bimoraic foot consisting of a heavy syllable.

### 3.4. Truncated names suffixed with *-ko*

As shown by Mester (1990: 484), truncated names can be suffixed with *-ko*. Consider first the following possible forms derived from the source name *Hiromi* [çiromi]:

- (33) Name      Truncated name  
       a. /hi.fo.mi/      [çi.ko]  
       b. /hi.fo.mi/      [mi.ko]  
       c. /hi.fo.mi/      [fo.ko]

In all of these examples, the suffix *-ko* is attached to a truncatum consisting of a light syllable. However, in another pattern, an originally short vowel is lengthened:

- (34) Name      Truncated name  
       a. /hi.fo.mi/      [çi.:ko]  
       b. /hi.fo.mi/      [mi.:ko]

Vowel lengthening yields a truncatum consisting of a heavy syllable. Finally, a non-moraic consonant, either of the source name or of the suffix, can be turned into a moraic one. Consequently, the truncatum consists of a heavy syllable:

(35)	Name	Truncated name
a.	/hisomi/	[fo.ŋ.ko] <sup>11</sup>
b.	/hisomi/	[çi.k.ko] <sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, the following examples are ill-formed, although the suffix *-ko* is attached to a bimoraic truncatum:

(36)	Name	Truncated name
a.	/hisomi/	*[çi.fo.ko]
b.	/hisomi/	*[çi.fo.mi.ko]
c.	/hisomi/	*[fo.mi.ko]

The generalization, accounting for all the cases under (33) through (35) and for the incorrect forms under (36), can only be formulated in terms of the type of syllable: the suffix *-ko* attaches to a truncatum consisting of one syllable, whether light (monomoraic) or heavy (bimoraic).

#### 4. Conclusions

Both Romanian and Japanese truncated names have been shown to exhibit systematic structural properties. Accordingly, as stated by Plag (2003: 117), this “indicates that the knowledge about the structural properties of these categories should be treated as part of the morphological competence of the speakers.”

Morphologically, Romanian truncated names can consist of a bare truncatum or of a truncatum augmented with a diminutive suffix, whereas Japanese truncated names are prefixed, suffixed or both prefixed and suffixed.

In both languages name truncation is an operation defined over prosodic units. The fact that Romanian name truncations too must meet certain prosodic requirements has gone unnoticed in much of the literature (e.g. Graur 1965; Ionescu 1976, 1989; Tomescu 1998, 2001; Ionescu 2008; Cosniceanu 2010). Notable exceptions are Vascenco (1995) and Zafiu (2001). Both authors, however, restrict their observations to a particular class of name truncations. Thus, Vascenco (1995: 36) only looks at truncated names of the so-called “common gender,”<sup>13</sup> noting that most “formations are disyllabic, have stress on the first syllable (being, therefore, of the trochaic type) and that those “with a consonantal ending are, generally, monosyllabic”). On the other hand, Zafiu (2001: 246–247) attempts to account for the phonological shape of truncated family names exclusively, and her analysis has been shown not to be entirely accurate.<sup>14</sup>

11 The vowel /i/ in /mi/ is deleted, while /m/ undergoes partial assimilation of the place of articulation and is phonetically realized as [ŋ] before a [DORSAL, +high] consonant.

12 The consonant /k/ of the suffix *-ko* undergoes gemination.

13 Truncations of either feminine or masculine forms of names.

14 See also Avram (2011: 15–16).

The shape of the truncatum in both Romanian and Japanese is that of a heavy syllable or of a disyllabic foot.<sup>15</sup> This is in accordance with the principle of foot binarity (e.g. McCarthy & Prince 1995; Hayes 1995; McCarthy & Prince 1998; Downing 2006; Kager 2007; Alber 2009), i.e. feet are binary under moraic and syllabic analysis. Moras, syllables and feet are all primitives of Universal Grammar, i.e. abstract linguistic categories. However, name truncations in the two languages are an “example of phonological knowledge” (Kenstowicz 1994: 9), and therefore demonstrate the so-called “psychological reality” of moras,<sup>16</sup> syllables and feet.

In both Romanian and Japanese truncated names the segmental material is generally taken from a prominent syllable. In Romanian it is either the first syllable or one which carries stress, while in Japanese it is usually the first syllable that provides the segmental material. This is consistent with cross-linguistic findings. Thus, according to Lappe (2008), “anchoring is surprisingly uniform,” with initial and (main-) stressed syllables as anchoring points.<sup>17</sup>

Romanian resorts to simplification of truncation-medial consonant clusters as a repair strategy whereby the truncatum is adjusted in accordance with the phonotactic constraints on possible syllables. As noted by Downing (2006: 142), truncation-medial simplification of consonant clusters “always results in a simplex coda and onset.” However, Downing (2006: 142) also states that “the only allowable coda – onset sequences are the least marked: sonorant – obstruent or s – obstruent.” This claim is disconfirmed by the occurrence of forms such as Romanian *Ocți* (from *Octavian* or *Octavia*), in which a marked cluster like [kt] survives and therefore yields an obstruent–obstruent coda–onset sequence.

The foot is also relevant for the truncation-medial simplification of consonant clusters attested in Romanian. Most name truncations are parsed into a trochaic stress foot and, as mentioned by Downing (2006: 142), “it is extremely common, cross-linguistically, for consonants and consonant sequences to be reduced in markedness or complexity in Foot-medial position, as this is a weak position.”

In addition to being a possible syllable in Romanian, the monosyllabic bare truncatum tends to be the maximal syllable extractable from the source name.<sup>18</sup>

In both Romanian and Japanese the truncatum occasionally consists of segments which are not adjacent in the source name.

Changes on the segmental level of truncated names occur in both languages. In Romanian, segmental changes only occur in idiosyncratic forms. In Japanese, on the other hand, such changes are dictated by the necessity to conform to a strict prosodic requirement: vowel lengthening, changing a non-moraic consonant into a moraic one or moraic consonant insertion all create an additional mora, such that the resulting truncatum is a bimoraic foot.

Unlike in Japanese, Romanian pet names formed with some diminutive suffixes can undergo truncation such that no segment from the base is preserved. In such cases the diminutive suffix by itself functions as a truncated name.

One last issue to be addressed is that of prosodic minimality, i.e. how this relates to the phonological shape of name truncations in Romanian and Japanese. Booij (2005: 181) writes that “the morphological

<sup>15</sup> Alber (2009) discusses the role of the foot in truncation.

<sup>16</sup> For the psychological reality of the mora in Japanese, see Kubozono (1992), Avram (1996), Kubozono and Honma (2002), Avram (2005: 71–83), Vance (2008: 117–131) and Otaka (2009: 47–64).

<sup>17</sup> See also Alber (2009).

<sup>18</sup> Itô and Mester (1997) make the same point with respect to German name truncations.

use of the prosodic category ‘minimal prosodic word’ is also found in the formation of hypocoristics [...] through truncation.” In her cross-linguistic survey of truncated names, Lappe (2008) concludes that “most truncations correspond to the minimal prosodic word form predicted in Prosodic Morphology.”

In both languages the relation between prosodic minimality and name truncation is less straightforward. Romanian is listed by Hayes (1995: 88–89) among the languages that do not have minimal word constraints. Indeed, there is no prosodic minimality restriction imposed in Romanian on lexical/content words, which can consist of a single, light syllable: *gri* ‘gray’, *şa* ‘saddle’, *zi* ‘day’. Similarly, Japanese does not have a minimal word constraint (Itô 1990), *i.e.* lexical/content words may consist of a single, light syllable, *e.g.* *ha* ‘tooth’, *ko* ‘child’, *su* ‘vinegar’. In truncated names, however, the truncatum has to consist of a bimoraic foot. This shows that the prosodic minimality constraints at issue here only hold for derived forms in both Romanian and Japanese. This observation is confirmed by Romanian word clippings,<sup>19</sup> which minimally consist of one heavy syllable or of two syllables (Avram 2011: 17), and by several classes of derived words in Japanese which have to be minimally bimoraic.<sup>20</sup> As noted by Downing (2006: 103), “derived words in some languages are subject to different minimality constraints from underived words.” Romanian and Japanese, then, both belong to this class of languages.

Name truncations in both languages also exhibit unexpected properties. Thus, primary stress in Romanian is “insensitive to weight” and “secondary stress is assigned by left to right trochees” which “must be disyllabic” (Chitoran 2002: 87), *i.e.* the stress foot is a quantity-insensitive syllabic trochee. In languages with this type of stress foot the minimal word would be expected to be disyllabic (Downing 2006: 49). However, Romanian truncated names (and word clippings) consist minimally either of a heavy syllable or, most frequently, of two light syllables (Avram 2011: 17) – a property that is typical of truncations in languages with quantity-sensitive stress feet, either iambs or moraic trochees. In Japanese, on the other hand, the base to which the suffix *-ko* is attached can also be a single, light syllable, *i.e.* monomoraic, and in violation of prosodic minimality (Itô 1990; Avram 2005: 94), which generally requires that the base of derived words should consist of at least one bimoraic foot.

## References

- Aronoff, Mark, Kirsten Fudeman (2005) *What Is Morphology?* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Avram, Andrei A. (1996) “The Psychological Reality of the Mora.” Paper presented at 10. Tagung der deutschen Japanologen, 10–12 October 1996, “Ludwig Erhard” Universität, Munich.
- Avram, Andrei A. (2005) *Fonologia limbii japoneze contemporane*. Bucharest: Editura Universității din București.
- Avram, Andrei A. (2011) “Trunchierea numelor de persoană în limba română.” [In:] Rodica Zafiu, Camelia Ușurelu, Helga Bogdan Oprea (eds.) *Limba română: ipostaze ale variației lingvistice. Actele celui de-al 10-lea Colocviu al Catedrei de limba română* (București, 3–4 decembrie 2010). Vol. 1: *Gramatică și fonologie. Lexic, semantică, terminologii. Istoria limbii române, dialectologie și filologie*. Bucharest: Editura Universității din București; 11–18.
- Bidu-Vrânceanu, Angela (1997) “Hipocoristic.” [In:] Angela Bidu-Vrânceanu, Cristina Călărașu, Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Mihaela Mancaș, Gabriela Pană Dindelegan (eds.) *Dicționar general de științe. Științe ale limbii*. Bucharest: Editura Științifică; 238.

19 Examples of such word clippings can be found in Vasiliu (2001: 598).

20 For other examples of derived words illustrating this constraint, see Itô (1990) and in particular Avram (2005: 83–94).

- Booij, Geert (2005) *The Grammar of Words. An Introduction to Linguistic Morphology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chitoran, Ioana (2002) *The Phonology of Romanian: A Constraint-Based Approach*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cosnceanu, Maria (2010) *Dicționar de prenume*. Chișinău: Știința.
- Crystal, David (2008) *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 6th ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Downing, Laura J. (2006) *Canonical Form in Prosodic Morphology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dressler, Wolfgang U. (2000) "Extragrammatical vs. Marginal Morphology." [In:] Ursula Doleschal, Anna M. Thornton (eds.) *Extragrammatical and Marginal Morphology*. Munich: Lincom; 1–10.
- Graur, Alexandru (1965) *Nume de persoane*. Bucharest: Editura Științifică.
- Haspelmath, Martin (2002) *Understanding Morphology*. London: Arnold.
- Hayes, Bruce (1995) *Metrical Stress Theory: Principles and Case Studies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ionescu, Christian (1976) *Mică enciclopedie onomastică*. Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică.
- Ionescu, Christian (1989) "Hipocoristice." [In:] Marius Sala (ed.) *Enciclopedia limbilor române*. Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică; 144–145.
- Ionescu, Christian (2008) *Dicționar de onomastică*. 2nd ed. Bucharest: Elion.
- Itô, Junko (1990) "Prosodic Minimality in Japanese." [In:] Michael Ziolkowski, Manuela Noske, Karen Deaton (eds.) *Chicago Linguistic Society 26, Papers from the Parasession on the Syllable in Phonetics and Phonology*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society; 213–239.
- Itô, Junko, Armin Mester (1997) "Sympathy Theory and German Truncations." [In:] *University of Maryland Working Papers in Linguistics* 5; 117–139.
- Joseph, Brian (1997) "On the Linguistics of Marginality: The Centrality of the Periphery." [In:] *Chicago Linguistic Society* 33; 197–213.
- Kager, René (2007) "Feet and Metrical Stress." [In:] Paul de Lacy (ed.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Phonology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 195–227.
- Kenstowicz, Michael (1994) *Phonology in Generative Grammar*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Kubozono, Haruo (1992) "Nihongo no mōra: sono yaku wari to tokusei." [In:] Shosuke Haraguchi (ed.) *Nihongo no mōra to onsetsukōzō ni kan suru sōgōteki kenkyū*. Vol. 1. Tsukuba: Tsukuba Daigaku; 48–61.
- Kubozono, Haruo (1999) "Mora and Syllable." [In:] Natsuko Tsujimura (ed.) *The Handbook of Japanese Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell; 31–61.
- Kubozono, Haruo, Takeru Honma (2002) *Onsetsu to mōra*. Tokyo: Kenkyūsha.
- Lappe, Sabine (2007) *English Prosodic Morphology*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- McCarthy, John J., Alan S. Prince (1995) "Prosodic Morphology." [In:] John A. Goldsmith (ed.) *The Handbook of Phonological Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell; 318–366.
- McCarthy, John J., Alan S. Prince (1998) "Prosodic Morphology." [In:] Andrew Spencer, Arnold Zwicky (eds.) *A Handbook of Morphology*. Oxford: Blackwell; 283–305.
- Mester, Arnim (1990) "Patterns of Truncation." [In:] *Linguistic Inquiry* 21 (3); 478–485.
- Otaka, Hiromi (2009) *Phonetics and Phonology of Moras, Feet, and Geminate Consonants in Japanese*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Plag, Ingo (2003) *Word-Formation in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Poser, William J. (1984) "Hypocoristic Formation in Japanese." [In:] Mark Cobler, Susannah MacKaye, Michael Westcoat (eds.) *Proceedings of the 3rd West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*. Stanford: CSLI Publications; 218–229.
- Poser, William J. (1990) "Evidence for Foot Structure in Japanese." [In:] *Language* 66 (1); 78–104.

Ronneberger-Sibold, Elke (2010) "Word Creation. Definition – Function – Typology." [In:] Franz Rainier, Wolfgang U. Dressler, Dieter Kastovsky, Hans Ch. Luschützky (eds.) *Variation and Change in Morphology: Selected Papers from the 13th International Morphology Meeting, Vienna, February 2008*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins; 201–216.

23

Suzuki, Hisami (1995) "Minimal Words in Japanese." [In:] *Chicago Linguistic Society 31* (1); 443–463.

Tomescu, Domnița (1998) *Gramatica numelor proprii în limba română*. Bucharest: All Educational.

Tomescu, Domnița (2001) "Hipocoristice." [In:] Marius Sala (ed.) *Enciclopedia limbii române*. Bucharest: Univers Enciclopedic; 254.

Vance, Timothy J. (2008) *The Sounds of Japanese*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vascenco, Victor (1995) "Asupra genului comun în română modernă." [In:] Victor Vascenco. *Studii de antroponimie*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române; 35–47.

Vasiliu, Laura (2001) "Trunchiere (scurtare)." [In:] Marius Sala (ed.) *Enciclopedia limbii române*. Bucharest: Univers Enciclopedic; 589–590.

Zafiu, Rodica (2001) *Diversitate stilistică în română actuală*. Bucharest: Editura Universității din București.

Zwicky, Arnold, Geoffrey K. Pullum (1987) "Plain Morphology and Expressive Morphology." [In:] *Berkeley Linguistic Society 13*; 339–342.

### Online sources

Alber, Birgit (2009) "The Foot in Truncation." Paper presented at CUNY Conference on the Foot, 15–17 January 2009. Available at: <http://www.cunyphonologyforum.net/FOOTPAPER/alberhandout.pdf>

Lappe, Sabine (2008) "Truncation and Exponence – How Small Can You Get?" Paper presented at DFG Network Core Mechanism of Exponence, 11–12 January 2008. Available at: <http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~exponet/Slides/January%2008/Lappe.pdf>

*Academic  
Journal  
of  
Modern  
Philology*

NATALIA CZAJKOWSKA

University of Wrocław

## **Internalization of Negative Images: Self-Loathing as Portrayed in Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye*. Geraldine's Case Study**

*The black woman had nothing to fall back on: not maleness, not whiteness, not ladyhood, not anything.  
And out of profound desolation of her reality she may very well have invented herself.*

Toni Morrison

### **Abstract**

The article presents the foundations, symptoms and consequences of self-hatred as experienced by Geraldine, the black female character portrayed in Toni Morrison's first novel, *The Bluest Eye*. Primarily, based on the psychological concepts of Rosenberg, Higgins and Horney, it defines self-loathing as an extremely negative self-concept, a depreciation of one's own physical attractiveness, intellect and abilities which is accompanied by anger towards oneself. The key characteristic of this process is expressed by a decreased level of self-esteem that is effectuated by an internalization of negative in- and out-group concepts based on racial prejudice and sexism, as well as on a sense of social rejection and intolerance. An additional reason behind the black woman's conviction of her inferiority and unworthiness is her idealization of white culture, of its standards of beauty and lifestyle with which she is bombarded. In consequence, the black female character tends to overestimate the image of whiteness and to underestimate her blackness. Instead, by being an organic part of the culture that detests her, she learns to hate her dark skin, her poverty, otherness and funkiness. This acquired hatred generates a discrepancy between her actual self and the ideal or ought self, effectuating in a neurotic desire to eradicate all attributes of the actual, despised self. Therefore, Geraldine disparages, doubts and discredits the epitomes of her blackness and bitterly endeavors to eradicate it. To achieve this, she firstly obliterates her native and cultural identity, both in the physical and mental dimension, and secondly she invents a new identity which allows her to escape from her hopelessness and ugliness.

*Keywords:* black self-hatred, self-esteem, female identity, racism, sexism, negative stereotypes, feminism.

With the emergence, around the 1960s, of women's ethnic fiction in American mainstream literature, the inner life and experiences of women became the central focus of feminist psychological investigation and literary research. The works of Toni Morrison, the first black female writer to be honored the Nobel

Prize in Literature, opened up interdisciplinary discourse on the development of gender, social and cultural identity. These studies emphasized the role of communal perceptions, images, schemes, myths and stereotypes in the formation of the female self. In Morrison's microcosm, the black female identity has always been correlated with pejorative images reinforced by the community. The black female characters of her novels are burdened with two dominant powers – racism and sexism. They are mentally devastated by either white Americans, black males or by other women of the same race. Being marginalized and isolated, they internalize the negative images reinforced by other people and develop scapegoating techniques which ultimately lead to their self-hatred and self-destruction. Arguably, the self-loathing that is presented in Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* is a complicated, multi-aspectual issue. On the one hand, it evolves out of external factors such as the split between white and black cultures, cultural and social incompatibility as well as a sense of alienation produced by racism, sexism and classism; and, on the other hand, it arises from an inner, personal characteristic – that of the black female's lack of emotional capacity to overcome the traumas she has experienced and her inability to fight for her own rights and spiritual independence.

This article, which is based on numerous scientific, social and psychological sources, aims to explain the mechanisms of self-loathing. With a primary focus on Geraldine, who is one of the black female characters depicted in Morrison's first novel, it investigates the course of internalization of negative images and analyzes its effects.

### **Self-hatred: definition and etiology**

According to Morris Rosenberg, the creator of the most popular tool for the measurement of self-esteem, as well as many other theorists, self-hatred is entrenched in low self-esteem resulting from the internalization of other people's negative stereotypes, images and perceptions. An individual's "self-esteem is an open, positive or negative attitude towards self, an active reaction to oneself and a kind of global assessment of oneself" (Rosenberg 1985: 209). High self-esteem implies perceiving oneself as a good, valuable person, whereas low self-esteem signifies dissatisfaction with oneself and a kind of rejection of one's own self (Dzwonkowska 2008: 17). Psychological studies have demonstrated that there are two perspectives by which an individual appraises his or her own self: his or her own or that of significant others (Doliński & Kofta 2006: 575). In other words, the appraisal of significant others is what one thinks that other people think. According to researchers, there are three main fields of self which are evaluated: the actual self, constituting all attributes that an individual believes that he/she possesses or thinks that others believe that he/she possesses; the ideal self, constituting all attributes that an individual wishes to possess or believes that others wish him/her to possess; and the ought self, constituting all attributes that an individual thinks he/she ought to have. A discrepancy between the different states of self always leads to diverse, negative emotions addressed to oneself as well as to mental and social disorders. Self-esteem is closely interrelated with social functioning: it primarily relates to the sense of being accepted, liked and competent (Doliński & Kofta 2006: 580); it is a social indicator, so it implicates current acceptance that is received in the social environment. Self-esteem further indicates the sense of membership in a social group, which is important for an individual. A decrease in self-esteem informs one of social rejection and manifests itself in negative affective states (Wojciszke 2006: 164).

What is crucial to an interpretation of Toni Morrison's text is a psychological report of the differences in the levels of self-esteem between both sexes. Significantly, the highest inconsistency between the level of self-esteem among males and females was documented in the 1960s (Aronson 1969: 108): Afro-American women were found to have lower self-esteem than the group of men in privileged European and American societies. Aronson's research also proves that women, to a greater extent than men, react to a given community's beliefs and opinions, and they determine their own achievements in relation to others. They are also more socially reactive and place heavier emphasis on social feedback (Dzwonkowska 2008: 89). Psychologists assert that people evaluate themselves in two ways, *i.e.* "they expose their independent self, which means that they perceive themselves as a separate, individual being, or the interdependent self, which implies that they identify themselves through interpersonal relationships," in their self-evaluation (Doliński & Kofta 2006: 584). Women tend to expose the interpersonal self and describe their position in a group or community through social and emotional relations with other people. They imagine how they must appear to others, imagine the implications of that appearance and eventually develop their self through the judgments of others. This perspective, based on Charles H. Cooley's social looking glass theory (see also Andersen & Taylor 2007: 95), assumes that the negative images of others more often than not distort our self-concept and clearly contribute to the perceived self-hatred. Karen Horney clarifies how the pride system generates self-loathing:

Briefly, when an individual shifts his center of gravity to his idealized self, he not only exalts himself but also is bound to look at his actual self – all that he is at given time, body, mind, healthy and neurotic – from a wrong perspective. The glorified self becomes not only a phantom to be pursued; it also becomes a measuring rod with which to measure his actual being. And this actual being is such an embarrassing sight when viewed from the perspective of a godlike perfection that he cannot but despise it. (1950: 110–111)

Indubitably, one can observe this mechanism in Toni Morrison's work. The black female figures presented in *The Bluest Eye* who assess themselves from the distorted perspective fail to achieve their idealized selves and underestimate their true selves. Geraldine, an emotionally unbalanced middle-class black woman who is obsessed with the mission of eradicating her African roots, is one of the characters epitomizing the consequences of internalizing other people's oppressive judgments.

### **The six forms of self-loathing**

In Morrison's work one can witness six major ways in which individuals express their self-loathing:

First, self-hatred may result in relentless demands on the self, which are exemplified by the tyranny of the should. The second mode of expressing self-hatred is merciless self-accusation. Thirdly, self-hatred may take the form of self-contempt, which might be expressed as belittling, disparaging, doubting, discrediting, and ridiculing oneself. (Feist 1994: 256)

Indisputably, the key indicators of Morrison's black females' low self-esteem are racism, classism and sexism. They all function as negative attitudes of significant others. Afro-American women such as Geraldine adopt negative images and myths which are reinforced by their own black community as well as by the dominant culture of whites. Acts of racial oppression cause an erosion of their humanity: a loss of their racial dignity, repression of their self-awareness and reconciliation to the untrue identity foisted

on them. As has been found in research studies conducted by Kenneth and Mamie Clark, as a result of the systematic and historic unfair treatment of black people in the United States, black people “developed contempt for being black and thus sought to be white” (Clark & Clark 1939: 595). The reinforcement of white standards that black people were not able to adhere to contributed to a crisis of their identities and to the eventual invention of a new self-antithetic of their African ancestry. The social science literature concerning the black ego describes this phenomenon as “black self-hatred” and recognizes it as the most extreme identity problem that is central to understanding the behavior of Afro-Americans (Wylie 1974: 122). Many scholars are more than willing to advance the claim that Morrison’s characters “inherit an inferior caste status and almost inevitably acquire the negative self-image that is the realistic ego reflection of such status” (Wylie 1974: 123). They internalize the negative stereotypes reinforced by the mass media, by whites and by their own community and, in consequence, they “develop deeply ingrained feelings of worthlessness” (Wylie 1974: 123) which lead to self-loathing. Black self-hatred is thus defined as an extreme dislike of or being angry at oneself as well as at the whole black community to which one belongs. An in-depth analysis of *The Bluest Eye* reveals the existence of three characters suffering from black self-loathing: Pauline, her daughter Pecola and a walk-on figure, Geraldine. All three schematize the movement as presented above from low self-esteem to self-hatred.

### Geraldine’s black self-loathing

Geraldine represents the Afro-American woman who tries to conform to an imposed Western ideal of femininity. For this reason she diminishes her racial roots and wishes to dissociate herself from her blackness by all means. The process of her self-loathing begins with her idealization of white standards and by adopting them into her life. First, she unrestrainedly approves of the radicalized model of beauty that is perpetuated in cultural carriers such as movies, billboards, magazines, books, newspapers, window displays and dolls. This results in a total negation of her true identity. Thereafter she classifies people as either black or blacker and believes in the untidiness and ugliness of Afro-Americans. Subsequently, she gradually and symptomatically starts to hate her own race. Her feelings are manifested in the vehement suppression of anything associated with the stereotyped blackness and African heritage. Toni Morrison names this a “get[ting] rid of the funkiness” (Morrison 1970: 68), which means eradicating all symptoms of African spontaneity, emotionality, sensuality and passion. Having acknowledged her black culture as inferior and disgusting, Geraldine is overwhelmed by the idea of adhering to white ideals: she obsessively straightens her hair, bleaches her skin and controls her gestures and emotions. The semi-white world of cleanliness and discipline gives her an illusionary sense of security. In contrast, the world of blacks symbolizes everything she is afraid of and that fills her with disgust and hate, *i.e.* exclusion, arraignment and contempt. Since she is not able to defend against discrimination, she propagandizes the negative, dysfunctional image of untidy, appalling and worthless black females. Her negrophobia is observable in her public abasement of the little, black Pecola. The supercilious colored female finds the young black girl an easy target of her self-hatred. Indubitably, she manifestly loathes Pecola’s blackness because she associates the color of her skin with dirt and evil. For Geraldine, Pecola is the source of the above-mentioned “funkiness” – the disorderliness of the black spirit and passion she strives to expel. She forbids her bored and isolated son to play with Pecola, for she perceives her as the embodiment of everything she attempts

to erase. This reinforcement of negative images of Pecola and scapegoating is intensified by Geraldine's feeling anxious about the sense of humiliation she sees in the young girl's eyes: "The end of the world lay in their eyes, and the beginning, and all the waste in between" (Morrison 1970: 92). Accordingly, Pecola epitomizes a symbol of disaster and pain of black people existing in a world of whites. Furthermore, by this illustration Toni Morrison proves that racism and classism exist not only when the person who is subjected to the oppression internalizes the shame and resentment but also when those feelings are released and transmitted to other people. *The Bluest Eye* exhibits how the oppression suffered by one human being elicits self-destruction in other individuals. Indubitably, as a result, Geraldine projects, via her hurtful behavior, onto Pecola the pejorative image of an untidy, ugly, poor, uneducated, ill-mannered and worthless Negro. She continues the vicious circle and takes out her resentment, anger and sense of inferiority on the little black girl. It might be observed that, feeling insecure and incapacitated, she intoxicates others and generates the corrosion of their self-esteem.

When analyzing her behavior from the above-mentioned psychological perspective, it might be stated that she incorporates attitudes, standards and views of significant others (in this case of the dominant culture of whites) and rejects her true self. In effect of the strong loathing of her black origins and in escaping from other Afro-Americans she invents a new form of her own self. Her new identity is a conflation of external white-like features, *i.e.* cleanliness, precision, quietness, high morality and good manners (Morrison 1970: 69), on the one hand, and an internal black sense of inferiority on the other. This new form of self affords her all of the social and personal attributes needed to bolster her shallow ego. As a respected "colored" woman, as opposed to a dirty "nigger" (Morrison 1970: 70), she feels more important, accepted and socially stimulated.

Additionally, it should be emphasized that the discrepancy between her actual and ought self contributes to negative emotional consequences, such as anxiety, insecurity, frustration and anger. These destructive emotions distort her social functioning. She is not able to establish positive interrelations with her family and other individuals since she is not ready to accept their otherness; for instance, this inability might be observed in her repeated fits of anger when with her son. Moreover, when interpreting her reactions in accordance with Burkley and Blanton's research, it can be maintained that Geraldine's diminished self-view, as produced by the endorsement of negative in-group images, effectuates her poor parenting skills. Since she is incapable of respecting, loving and indulging herself, she cannot develop and display these feelings towards her baby. Having reserved her tenderness solely for her cat, she willfully neglects her son's emotional needs and limits her parental care to nursing:

Geraldine did not allow her baby, Junior to cry. As long as his needs were physical, she could meet them – comfort and satiety. He was always brushed, bathed, oiled and shod. Geraldine did not talk to him, coo to him or indulge him in kissing bouts, but she saw that every other desire was fulfilled. (Morrison 1970: 71)

As Gloria Robertson observes, Geraldine also transfers her self-hatred to her son Junior (2003: 211). By explaining to him the difference between "niggers" and "colored people" (Morrison 1970: 70), and by forbidding him to meet with other black children, she teaches him to deprecate and ostracize all Afro-Americans. In consequence, her projection of hate and frustration turns against her and the whole black community: Junior abuses black school-girls and truly loathes his mother.

Likewise, the next negative affective state of Geraldine's – her chronic anxiety to conform to the racist and sexist stereotype of the oversexed-black-Jezebel manifesting itself in evasion of any

spontaneous, passionate intercourse – contributes to certain sexual disorders. In an attempt to achieve the ought self, she loathes her body and rejects all sensuous desires that are dictated by it. She disdains and discards sexual satisfaction because, in her mind, it would erode her image of purity and prudishness which she fights to maintain. During a sexual act Geraldine fears to “sway to free” (Morrison 1970: 69), so she exuberates herself only “sparingly and partially” (Morrison 1970: 69). As Morrison’s description of Geraldine’s mechanical sexual intercourse reveals, a sexual act is a source of shame and embarrassment for her:

He must enter her surreptitiously, lifting the hem of her nightgown only to her navel. He must rest his weight on his elbows when they make love, ostensibly to avoid hurting her breast but actually to keep her from having to touch or feel too much of him... [...] She stiffens when she feels one of her paper curlers come undone from the activity of love. (1970: 69–70)

She loathes the very moment in which she is forced to commune with the blackness.

The next consequence of Geraldine’s self-loathing is her compulsive comparing herself with others. On the one hand, she compares herself with white women and white families and, on the other, she continuously compares herself with other members of her own black community. The first attitude effectuates in the above-mentioned comparative inferiority: her actual self viewed from the perspective of a dream of white perfection is embarrassing and deplorable, whereas the former generates a false, pernicious sense of pride and superiority over the so despised “niggers.” She feels that she has gained control and power over them so that she can insult and abuse them with impunity. Additionally, the above-mentioned discrepancy between different states of selves also makes her a prisoner of her new identity; it implies relentless demands of her self and her inability to exceed the self-invented scheme of a “well-behaved,” disciplined colored female.

Ultimately, Geraldine, portrayed by Morrison as a parody of the American Puritan ethic, epitomizes a self-loathing character that is unable to struggle for her own, true identity that would be coherent with her African heritage. She approaches the white American culture and its values uncritically and even does not try to go beyond the perpetuated paradigm. In contrast to Morrison’s other black female characters who experience black self-hatred throughout the novel, she is relatively educated, prosperous and attractive. She has not encountered any traumas and humiliations from the outside world and, theoretically, she could build a positive image of a new generation of Afro-Americans. Instead, because of her suppressed, antisocial behavior, she contributes to her isolation and to the reinforcement of the scoffing, pejorative stereotypes of black society.

Having investigated Geraldine’s self-hatred mechanism, one can conclude that the black female’s self-loathing is one of America’s unresolved traumas. Despite the black liberation campaign calling for the “reclamation of racial beauty,” Afro-American women continue to take their self-value for granted. Facing the negative gaze of the dominant white culture, they perpetuate an assumption of immutable inferiority and thus try to bleach their own selves from the despised blackness.

## References

- Andersen, Margaret L., Howard F. Taylor (2007) *Sociology: Understanding a Diverse Society*. Stamford: Cengage Learning.

- Aronson, Elliot (1969) *The Handbook of Social Psychology*. Boston: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.
- Beaulieu, Elizabeth A. (2003) *The Encyclopedia of Toni Morrison*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Bouson, J. Brooks (2000) *Quiet as It's Kept: Shame, Trauma and Race in the Novel of Toni Morrison*. New York: Sunny Press.
- Christiansé, Yvette (2012) *Toni Morrison: An Ethical Poetics*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Clark, Kenneth B., Mamie K. Clark (1939) "The Development of Consciousness of Self and the Emergence of Racial Identification in Negro Preschool Children." [In:] *Journal of Social Psychology* 10; 591–599.
- Cooley, Charles H. (1902) *Human Nature and the Social Order*. New York: Scribner's.
- Cooper, Terry (2003) *Sin, Pride, and Self-Acceptance: The Problem of Identity in Theology and Psychology*. Westmont: InterVarsity Press.
- Doliński, Dariusz, Mirosław Kofta (2006) *Poznawcze podejście do osobowości. Podręcznik akademicki*. Gdańsk: Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne.
- Dzwonkowska, Irena (2008) *Samoocena i jej pomiar. Polska adaptacja SES M. Rosenberga. Podręcznik*. Warszawa: Pracownia Testów Psychologicznych.
- Feist, Jess (1994) *Theories of Personality*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace.
- Hill Collins, Patricia (2000) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. London: Routledge.
- Horney, Karen (1950) *Neurosis and Human Growth: The Struggle Toward Self-Realization*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Morrison, Toni (1970) *The Bluest Eye*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Reynolds, Margaret, Jonathan Noakes (2012) *Toni Morrison: The Essential Guide*. London: Random House.
- Robertson, Gloria G. (2003) *The World of Toni Morrison: A Guide to Characters and Places in Her Novels*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Rosenberg, Morris (1985) *Self-Concept and Psychological Well-Being*. Orlando: Academic Press, Inc.
- Schreiber, Evelyn J. (2010) *Race, Trauma, and Home in the Novels of Toni Morrison*. Los Angeles: LSU Press.
- Smith, Valerie (2012) *Toni Morrison: Writing the Moral Imagination*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Stein, Karen F. (2009) *Reading, Learning, Teaching Toni Morrison*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Wojciszke, Bogdan (2006) *Człowiek wśród ludzi. Zarys psychologii społecznej*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.
- Wylie, Ruth C. (1974) *The Self-Concept*. Vol. 2.: *Theory and Research on Selected Topics*. Revised ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

### Online sources

- Burkley, Melissa, Hart Blanton "Endorsing a Negative In-Group Stereotype as a Self-Protective Strategy: Sacrificing the Group to Save the Self." Available at: [http://psychology.okstate.edu/faculty/mburkley/Melissa\\_Burkley,\\_Ph.D.\\_Social\\_Cognition\\_Lab/Publications\\_files/Burkley%20%26%20Blanton%2008%20JESP%20neg%20sst-1.pdf](http://psychology.okstate.edu/faculty/mburkley/Melissa_Burkley,_Ph.D._Social_Cognition_Lab/Publications_files/Burkley%20%26%20Blanton%2008%20JESP%20neg%20sst-1.pdf)
- Mtose, Xoliswa, Anass Bayaga "The Psychology of Black Identity." Available at: [http://www.sosyalarastirmalar.com/cilt4/sayi17/pdf/4felsefefd/mtose\\_xolisva\\_and\\_bayaga.pdf](http://www.sosyalarastirmalar.com/cilt4/sayi17/pdf/4felsefefd/mtose_xolisva_and_bayaga.pdf)
- Scott, Beverly "Institutional Racism: a Behavioral Measure." Available at: <http://books.google.pl/books?id=McpGAAAIAAJ&q=scott++++racisdq=scott++++racism&hl=pl&sa=X&ei=NxjFUJfzHvPY4QSvpYGIDw&ved=0CDkQ6AEwBA>

*Academic  
Journal  
of  
Modern  
Philology*

ANNA FUCHS

Collegium Hungaricum, Vienna, Austria  
Käte Hamburger Kolleg “Recht als Kultur,” Bonn, Germany

## **The Transformation of Ugly into Beautiful in the Literature of Decadence**

### **Abstract**

The transformation of ugly into beautiful is a feature of decadent literature. The embellishment of ugliness was important for the decadents to distinguish themselves from the followers of Classicism, who rejected the close representation of ugliness, from the naturalists who inserted ugliness in their works for the sake of a faithful representation of reality, and from such writers and theorists, who allowed the representation of ugliness only on condition that it turns the attention to its opposite, *i.e.* the beauty.

The decadents, by inserting ugly subjects in their works, wanted to prove the power of art, which can embellish ugliness too. By their artistic solutions, the decadents showed that ugly subjects need not be banished from literature, because the form of a work is more interesting than the subject. Huysmans writes on his hero, Duke Des Esseintes: “only the work of his brain [the writer’s] interested him, regardless of the subject” (2009: 244).

The decadent embellishment of ugliness had influence on the later periods of literature too. Even if there are important differences between Decadence and Avant-garde, the concept that art can embellish ugliness was a prior condition of the birth of the historical Avant-garde trends.

*Keywords:* Decadence, beauty, ugliness, Anti-classicism, Anti-naturalism, the power of art.

Transforming ugly into beautiful is an important feature of decadent literature. This phenomenon is shown well also by the fact that the decadents readily accepted the derogatory nickname of ‘decadent,’ proudly bore it and re-evaluated it as a positive attribute. As Roger Bauer states, decline, and especially its prototype, the decline of the Roman Empire, was not beautiful in its historical reality, but it was the decadents who sugarcoated it by adapting this subject to their literary innovation (2001: 7).

Huysmans’ decadent novel, *A Rebours* (1884), is a good example of the decadent embellishment of ugliness. The beautification of syphilis is very interesting. The main character of the novel, Duke

Des Esseintes, buys such flowers whose blotches look like a syphilis ulcer. He stares at the blotches of the caladium contentedly and states: "And now here it was again, reappearing in all its pristine splendour on the brightly colored leaves of these plants!" (Huysmans [1884] 1966: 102). He thinks that Mother Nature cannot create such flowers – it is the gardener (*i.e.* the master) who "finishes off her sketches, signs them with his stamp, impresses on them his artistic hall-mark" (Huysmans [1884] 1966: 102). Thus syphilis becomes a metaphor of artistic creation. The decadent novelist, with his highly artistic view, can afford to choose ugliness as a subject. This concept is also present when Huysmans inserts "great splashes of blood" in the narration of the book (Huysmans [1884] 1966: 62). This appears as a memory recalled by the duke when he is absorbing the taste and aroma of the Irish whisky. He recalls that he did not choose a "well-to-do businessman" dentist but rather went to a "mechanic who called himself a dentist" (Huysmans [1884] 1966: 60). Huysmans writes:

After staying for a while in the street, wondering what to do, he finally mastered his fears and climbed the dark staircase, taking four steps at a time as far as the third floor. There he came up against a door with an enamel plaque repeating the name he had seen on the placard outside. He rang the bell; then, terrified by the sight of great splashes of blood and spittle on the steps, he suddenly turned tail, resolved to go on suffering from toothache for the rest of his life, when a piercing scream came from behind the partition, filling the well of the staircase and nailing him to the spot with sheer horror. At that very moment a door opened and an old woman asked him to come in. ([1884] 1966: 62)

As is observable in the quotation, the "great splashes of blood" take place in an artistic, dense narration with excellent timing of the frightful impressions. He remembers the tooth extraction as a spectacular scene when he was hysterically squealing and stamping his feet: "At this point the drama really began. Clutching the arms of the chair, Des Esseintes felt the cold touch of metal inside his cheeks, then saw a whole galaxy of stars, and in unspeakable agony started stamping his feet and squealing like a stuck pig" (Huysmans [1884] 1966: 62). So the "great splashes of blood" are an organic part of the narrator's exaggerations, which render the story strongly literary.

Huysmans aimed to fill such domains with artistic values when most of his contemporaries settled for following the usual patterns: François Livi emphasizes that Huysmans changes the French word order, which results in "nervous" sentences (1991: 122). The contemporaries noticed that *A Rebours* broke with linguistic conventions. Jules Lemaître, in his article published in *Revue Contemporaine* in 1885, condemned the language of the novel on the basis that it was full of superfluous neologisms and grammar errors. However Lemaître admits that these do not do harm to the beauty of Huysmans' language. He adds that sometimes it is the imperfection that makes young writers original (Lemaître 1885: 559). It is not only in the field of sentence creation where Huysmans breaks with tradition. Apart from the frame story there is no plot in the novel. Nothing happens that could happen in a 19th-century neoclassical, romanticist or naturalist novel. Instead of a story, the author provides a portrait of a duke with odd preferences. There are no minor characters. "It was a novel without a plot, and with only one character" (Wilde [1891] 2011: 184), is what the narrator of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* says about the "yellow book," *i.e.* Huysmans' *A Rebours*. As Joëlle Gleize asserts, the only thing that changes during the novel is the duke's neurosis (1992: 197). The innovations in the field of word order and novel structure, in other words, formal originality were for Huysmans more important than the beauty of the subject because, in his conception as expressed in the metaphor of syphilis, art can embellish ugly subjects.

The embellishing of ugliness became an important literary convention in decadent literature. As is also shown by Verlaine's decadent volume *Jadis et Naguère*, decline and related topics, such as weakness, (mental) sickness, misery, suffering and death, are embellished by original associations and particular moods that are present in poems. The decadent embellishment of ugliness also influenced turn-of-the-century Hungarian literature. The Hungarian literary critic Aladár Schöpflin, when reviewing László Cholnoky's short story volume titled *Bartholomew's Night*, observed the narration's embellishing power over ugliness:

Although these short stories accompany their characters to dirty taverns, to vacant lots, where they sleep drunk, and to other ugly places, there is nothing disgusting or frightening in these writings. The environment is unimportant [...], we concentrate on spiritual functions, on the thoughts produced by the drunken brain, and we can only gloat over their strange, morbid beauty. [...] The man who creates art fills the desert with flowers. (Schöpflin 1918: 697)

The Hungarian writer Dezső Kosztolányi's decadent volume of poems, *The Laments of a Poor Little Child* (1910), was an exceptionally artistic representation of such subjects as sickness, death and prostitution. Also, later, Kosztolányi remained faithful to the idea that the beauty of the poem is independent of its subject, and it was from this aspect that he criticized the poetry of Endre Ady, in which the author frequently settled for inserting his favorite topics in the poems and did not work them artistically (Kosztolányi 1929: 7–21).

### Anti-classicism

The transformation of ugly into beautiful as an artistic task became important in the fight against classical esthetics as propagated by French official circles even as late as the mid-19th century. Désiré Nisard, who held several high-ranking government offices in his life, suggested in his book, *Histoire de la littérature française* (1844–1861), that writers should follow Boileau's *Art poétique* (Nisard [1844–1861] 1878–1880: 311). In his book, *Études de moeurs et de critiques sur les poètes latins de la décadence* (1834), Nisard examined late Roman literature from a conservative aspect, as Wolfdietrich Rasch, François Livi and Matei Calinescu similarly assert (Rasch 1986: 23; Livi 1991: 105; Calinescu [1977] 1987: 165). Although Nisard admitted that late Roman literature had certain merits, his overall opinion was negative. He believed that late Roman literature lacked true values. He drew a parallel between late Roman literature and Romanticism, which, in his interpretation, meant a decline in comparison with Classicism: “Le temps de la poésie est fini en France [...] Il n'y a pas d'exemple d'une langue qui ait eu deux beaux âges de poésie. [...] sa belle langue est marquée de tous les symptômes de décadence” (Nisard [1834] 1878: 393). The conservative critic Armand de Pontmartin believed that classical antiquity should serve as a model for writers. He condemned Dumas fils' *Lady of the Camellias* as a “Théâtre de la Décadence” because the play did not follow the rules of classical drama and because its main character was a prostitute (Rasch 1986: 24).

Classical esthetics rejected close representation of ugliness. Although Boileau, in *Art poétique*, mentions art's ability to beautify ugliness, he also states that it should be carried out by following the classical Greek dramas, where ugliness, rudeness and violence were not shown on the stage but subsequently informed about by a character: “il est des objets que l'Art judicieux / Doit offrir à l'oreille

et reculer des yeux” ([1674] 1966: 171). Winckelmann highly appreciated the fact that on the statue of Laocoön and His Sons, Laocoön’s face does not show anger despite his suffering. This statue and Virgil’s *Aeneid* were regarded by Lessing as examples of an appropriate representation of suffering. Lessing accepted the poetic description of pain on the condition that the poet also showed other, elevated moments of the character’s life ([1766] 1990: 35–36). He rejected the representation of suffering in visual arts on the basis that only one single moment can be recorded by these. And as for what was disgusting, Lessing thought that it could be important in the domain of the ridiculous, but disgusting itself must not be the subject of painting or poetry ([1766] 1990: 174–175).

Huysmans, in his decadent novel *A Rebours*, strongly rejects classicism. Des Esseintes does not accept classical ideals such as moral education, or elevated subjects and style. According to Des Esseintes, the classical Latin that is propagated by teachers is boring, contains predictable phrases and lacks nuances. He thinks “that idiom could, at a pinch, enunciate the pompous platitudes and vague commonplaces endlessly repeated by the rhetoricians and poets of the time, but it was so tedious and unoriginal that in the study of linguistics you had to come down to the French style current in the age of Louis XIV to find another idiom so wilfully debilitated, so solemnly tiresome and dull” (Huysmans [1884] 1966: 40). Des Esseintes considers Virgil as “one of the most appalling pedants and one of the most deadly bores that Antiquity ever produced” (Huysmans [1884] 1966: 40). He dislikes Virgil’s “well-washed, beribboned shepherds taking it in turns to empty over each other’s heads jugs of icy-cold sententious verse” (Huysmans [1884] 1966: 40). However, he is an admirer of Petronius, who did not choose an elevated subject, but depicted “the vices of a decrepit civilization, a crumbling Empire”<sup>1</sup> “in a splendidly wrought style” without any moral judgements (Huysmans [1884] 1966: 44). Petronius’ stylistic fineness reminds Des Esseintes of his favorite contemporary French writers who were not esteemed by official circles (Huysmans [1884] 1966: 44). According to the narrator, “the only thing that interested him was the working of the writer’s brain, no matter what subject he was tackling” (Huysmans [1884] 1966: 179–180). If it is not the subject that matters but the artistic creativity, then ugliness should not be banished from literature. By inserting ugliness into literature and creating new values in the field of form, Huysmans gives an artistic response to the classical norm, which prescribed elevated subjects and traditional techniques.

### **Anti-naturalism**

The decadent concept of the beautification of ugliness must be distinguished from the naturalists’ views. The naturalists also inserted ugliness into their literary works by choosing subjects despised by the followers of classicism or by depicting the ugliness of the milieu. But there is a very important difference – for the naturalists, ugliness was a part of faithful representation. Zola writes:

Our analysis will always be cruel, because our analysis goes to the bottom of the human body. High and low we throw ourselves at the beast. Certainly there are veils mere or less numerous, but when we have described them one after another, and when we have lifted up the last one, we see behind it more dirt than flowers. This is why our books are so black, so severe. We do not seek for what is repugnant – we find it; and if we try to hide it we must lie about it or at least leave it incomplete. ([1881] 1893: 271–272)

<sup>1</sup> Huysmans’ error. In that age the Roman Empire still did not show any symptom of crumbling.

Unlike the naturalists, the decadents were not interested in faithful representation. Vivian in Oscar Wilde's *The Decay of Lying* expresses his dissatisfaction with the spread of realism in literature, which he considers as boring and without fantasy. He says: "The ancient historians gave us delightful fiction in the form of fact; the modern novelist presents us with dull facts under the guise of fiction" (Wilde [1891] 1905: 8). According to him, "All bad art comes from returning to Life and Nature and elevating them into ideals" (Wilde [1891] 1905: 54). By representing ugliness, the naturalists aimed to improve society. The decadents, however, were not interested in society but separated art from it. For this reason Duke Des Esseintes appreciates that Mallarmé

in an age of universal suffrage and a time of commercial greed, lived outside the world of letters, sheltered from the raging folly all around him by his lofty scorn; taking pleasure, far from society, in the caprices of the mind and the visions of his brain; refining upon thoughts that were already subtle enough, grafting Byzantine niceties on them, perpetuating them in deductions that were barely hinted at and loosely linked by an imperceptible thread. (Huysmans [1884] 1966: 160)

Although it considers two different concepts, Naturalism and Decadence can be present in the same work. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt's novel, *Germinie Lacerteux*, is an example of this. The authors write in the preface of the book that they also want to deal with the sufferings of lower class people in their novel. However, the concept that art can embellish ugliness is also present in this work. According to David Weir (1996: 57), "the use of precious and careful style in the presentation of ugliness" can be observed in the novel. Weir emphasizes that the description of Germinie's ugliness ends with an unexpected turn:

From this ugly woman emanated a piquant, mysterious charm. Light and shadow, jostling and intercepting each other on her face on which hollows and protuberances abounded, imparted to it that suggestion of libertinism which the painter of love scenes gives to the rough sketch of his mistress. Everything about her,—her mouth, her eyes, her very plainness—was instinct with allurement and solicitation. (de Goncourt & de Goncourt 1865)

The description draws attention to the idea that unusual perception or thinking has power over ugliness. This unusual manner of thinking is related to art. As David Weir reveals, the description of Germinie's ugliness is highly artistic and is similar in tone and in the use of color motifs (yellow and gray) to the description of Montmartre:

The sky was of a leaden hue, with occasional cold, bluish streaks as if ink had been applied with a brush! over Montmartre there was a light streak, of a yellow color, like the Seine water after heavy rains. Above that wintry beam the wings of an invisible windmill turned and turned,—slow-moving wings, unvarying in their movement, which seemed to be turning for eternity. (de Goncourt & de Goncourt 1865)

According to David Weir, the metaphor comparing the sky over Montmartre to an artist's canvas washed with ink serves to underline "the decadent predisposition to replace nature with art, and to use style at a distance from subject matter traditionally handled in the realist mode" (Weir 1996: 56).

### **The rupture with the romanticist contrast between ugly and beautiful**

The decadent idea of embellishing ugliness must also be distinguished from such romanticist concepts that, in art, the role of ugliness is to turn attention to its opposite, *i.e.* beauty. Victor Hugo, who also used

this tool to emphasize beauty, wrote in the preface of *Cromwell*: “La salamandre fait ressortir l’ondine; le gnome embellit le sylphe. [...] Croit-on que Françoise de Rimini et Béatrix seraient aussi ravissantes chez un poète qui ne nous enfermerait pas la tour de la Faim et ne nous forcerait point à partager le repoussant repas d’Ugolin?” ([1827] 1932: 24). The German philosopher Karl Rosenkranz, in his book *Aesthetik des Häßlichen*, which was published in 1853, treated ugliness as a dialectical counterpart of beauty and related it with a lack of freedom. He, too, approved of the representation of ugliness only on condition that it turned one’s attention to beauty. His example is caricature, where disproportions necessarily recall the right proportions and which, via its comic character, has a liberating effect (Rosenkranz 1853: 63). The decadents, however, when using ugliness in literature did not aim to turn anyone’s attention to the right proportions, or moral ideas, or to the beauty of the characters of their works, but wanted instead to prove art’s capability to embellish ugliness.

Baudelaire’s volume, *Les Fleurs du mal*, was an important precedent for the decadents to transform ugliness into beauty. Baudelaire’s particularly artistic representation of decline and related themes was already praised by Théophile Gautier, who appreciated the “refined and subtle” structure of the poems, which enables one to see “the morbidly rich tints of decomposition, the tones of mother-of-pearl which freeze stagnant waters [...] the hateful bilious yellows, the leaden gray of pestilential fogs, the poisoned and metallic greens smelling of sulphide and arsenic [...] and all that gamut of intensified colours, correspondent to autumn, to the setting of the sun, to over-ripe fruit, and the last hour of civilisation” (Gautier 2013: 36). It needs to be emphasized, however, that in several poems of the volume, ugliness is still represented as the opposite of beauty; for example, in *L’albatros*, Baudelaire explicitly contrasts poets’ spiritual superiority with their sufferings: “Exilé sur le sol au milieu des huées / Ses ailes de géant l’empêchent de marcher” (2014: 78). By way of this contrast, Baudelaire applies a centuries-old literary convention – the concept of the miserable lives of poets (Santarcangeli 1980), which was later also adopted by the decadents, e.g. by Verlaine, in his *Poètes maudits* (1884 and 1888). Although the decadents also sometimes used this centuries-old tradition, they refused to use the traditional contrast between ugly and beautiful; they only wanted to show that art can embellish ugliness. When Huysmans writes about his hero that “only the work of his brain [the writer’s] interested him, regardless of the subject” (2009: 244), and when he represents ugliness in an unusual way, he does not recognize the contrast between elevated and ugly subjects but wants to prove that ugliness can be transformed into beauty through the writer’s skills.

### Towards the Avant-garde

The concept that art can embellish ugliness not only resulted in decadent works of high value, but also influenced later literary trends. This concept was a prior condition of the birth of the historical Avant-garde trends even if there were important differences between Decadence and the Avant-garde. The enervated characters of the decadents’ works would have considered Marinetti’s or Mayakovsky’s poetry too shrill. The role that surrealists attributed to chance in art was contrary to the decadents’ sympathy for artificiality. Most avant-garde artists rejected the concept of “l’art pour l’art,” and aimed to change society. Despite the differences, the Avant-garde owes much to Decadence. When avant-garde authors intended their works for a society-improving role, it was not by representing reality that they wanted to reach this aim but by provoking, or even shocking their readers. According to Peter Bürger, the most important objective of avant-garde art was to shock the public ([1974] 2010: 25). To shock

the readers they applied such methods as making connections between distant, unrelated subjects, using rude expressions, or utilizing the acoustic nature of the language. The unusual linking of distant subjects can be regarded as a continuation of the Baudelairean mysterious “correspondences,” even if in avant-garde art these connections often entirely lose their conventional meanings or cannot be interpreted even as inversions of the conventions. The use of rude expressions in literature was preceded by the decadents’ concept that art has power over lowly subjects and expressions, and therefore these need not be banished from literature. In using the acoustic nature of the language the decadents were initiators, since Verlaine, and later the symbolists too, aimed to transform poetry into music through which to fulfill their idea that the beauty of a poem is independent of its topic. Thus the concept that art embellishes ugliness is a milestone in the history of literature.

## References

- Baudelaire, Charles (2014) *Les fleurs du mal (édition posthume et Les épaves)*. Paris: Arvensa éditions.
- Bauer, Roger (2001) *Die schöne Décadence*. Frankfurt a. M.: Vittorio Klostermann.
- Boileau, Nicolas ([1674] 1966) *Oeuvres complètes*. Ed. by Françoise Escal. [Paris:] Gallimard.
- Bürger, Peter ([1974] 2010) *Az avantgárd elmélete*. Szeged: Universitas Szeged.
- Calinescu, Matei ([1977] 1987) *Five Faces of Modernity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Gautier, Théophile (2013) *Charles Baudelaire*. Bremen: Dogma.
- Gleize, Joëlle (1992) “A Rebours, musée de livres.” [In:] Joëlle Gleize. *Le Double Miroir*. Paris: Hachette; 197–216.
- Hugo, Victor ([1827] 1932) *Cromwell*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Huysmans, Joris-Karl ([1884] 1966) *Against Nature*. Transl. by Robert Baldick. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Huysmans, Joris-Karl (2009) *Against the Grain*. Transl. by John Howard. Auckland: The Floating Press.
- Kosztolányi, Dezső (1929) “Írástudatlanok árulása. Különvémény Ady Endréről.” [In:] *A toll* 1 (13); 7–21.
- Lemaître, Jules (1885) “J.-K. Huysmans.” [In:] *La Revue contemporaine* 1; 544–559.
- Lessing, Gotthold E. ([1766] 1990) *Werke 1766–1769*. Ed. by Wilfried Barner *et al.* Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag.
- Livi, François (1991) *J.-K. Huysmans: A Rebours et l'esprit décadent*. Paris: Nizet.
- Nisard, Désiré ([1834] 1878) *Études de moeurs et de critiques sur les poètes latins de la décadence*. Vol. 2. Paris: Hachette.
- Nisard, Désiré ([1844–1861] 1878–1880) *A francia irodalom története*. Vol. 2. Transl. by Károly Szász. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia.
- Rasch, Wolfdietrich (1986) *Die literarische Décadence um 1900*. München: Beck.
- Rosenkranz, Karl (1853) *Aesthetik des Häßlichen*. Königsberg: Gebrüder Bornträger.
- Santarcangeli, Paolo (1980) *Pokolra kell annak menni... Kötők pokoljárása*. Transl. by Márta Farkas, Judit Kepes. Budapest: Gondolat.
- Schöpflin, Aladár (1918) “Cholnoky László novellái. Bertalan éjszakája.” [In:] *Nyugat* 11; 695–698.
- Weir, David (1996) *Decadence and the Making of Modernism*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Wilde, Oscar ([1891] 1905) “The Decay of Lying.” [In:] Oscar Wilde. *Intentions*. New York: Brentano’s.
- Wilde, Oscar ([1891] 2011) *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Ed. by Nicholas Frankel. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Zola, Émile ([1881] 1893) *The Experimental Novel and Other Essays*. Transl. by Belle M. Sherman. New York: The Cassel.

### Online sources

Goncourt, Edmond de, Jules de Goncourt (1865) "Germinie Lacerteux." Available at: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/27711/27711-h/27711-h.htm>

## **Empty Answers in an Experiment of Free Word Association**

### **Abstract**

Empty responses in free word association tests were beyond the scope of research interest in classic experiments. The results of our experiment showed that 6.14% of associations are empty answers. Precise measurement of the time of reaction of each of the participants allowed us to confirm that the empty answer was the result of an intellectual process. An analysis of associations with the stimulus would permit us to segregate those word-stimuli in which the mechanism which generates associations behaves in an atypical manner, thus indicating a difficulty in identifying the meaning of the stimulus, which may then result in a high percentage of empty answers. Yet the significant number of empty responses is not linked with any difficulty in comprehending the stimulus. We may thus conclude that the high number of empty answers in our experiment may depend on the method of conducting the experiment. The participants in the classic experiment were provided with paper forms which contained all of the stimuli in a particular order. Therefore, there was neither a time limit for a single response nor control of the order of stimuli processing. As a consequence, the method allowed backtracking, which means that participants could omit a stimulus without answering and could return to the omitted stimulus later to provide the missing answer. This backtracking possibility may explain the very low number of empty answers in the classic experiment as opposed to our method, which made backtracking impossible.

*Keywords:* free word association, computer assisted experiment, stimulus word comprehension, empty answer.

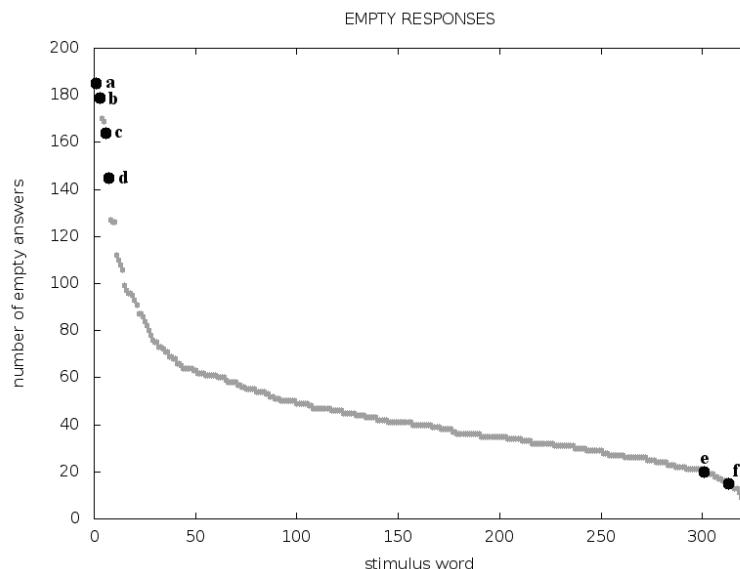
### **Introduction**

A test of word association in which the subject that is being researched gives the first word that comes to his or her mind after hearing the stimulus phrase is a diagnostic method that has been used in psychology for more than 100 years (Kent & Rosanoff 1910). The results of this test also have a linguistic value because

they permit one to research the dependence between linguistic units regardless of the sentence context. It is known (Clark 1970) that the list of responses obtained as a result of this experiment of word association principally contains semantic associations, such as (in Polish) *dom – ścianą* (house – wall), seldom seen pragmatic associations, such as *baranina – gangster* (mutton – gangster), and words which have similar sounds, e.g. *dom – tom* (house – volume (*i.e.* book)). There are also empty responses in the experiment results, but these were beyond the scope of research interest and were truncated from the association list, thus we can only find the number of such empty answers by comparing the number of tested subjects, e.g. 100 in the EAT (Edinburgh Associative Thesaurus) and the “total count of all answers,” *i.e.* 95 for the stimulus *home*. In some of the research that was previously conducted the number of empty answers was explicitly shown, as in Kurcz (1967), but no linguistic analysis of the empty response problem has been conducted. We can attempt to analyze the empty answers problem in a modern experiment which allows precise registration of the response time.

### Empty associations in the experiment

This analysis is based on the results of an experiment in which 750 people responded to 322 stimuli (Gatkowska *et al.* 2013; Gatkowska 2014). The tested subjects were provided stimuli-words that were subsequently presented on a computer monitor and they had five seconds to react, *i.e.* to start typing in an answer – the pressing of any key, except for the [Enter] key, was regarded as typing. If they did not start typing, an empty answer was recorded; if they did start typing, the time was recorded until they pressed the [Enter] key. Each tested subject had his or her own monitor, but the stimuli set and stimuli order were the same for each participant of the test.



Where: a – płoną ‘unfulfilled,’ b – bielinek ‘brimstone butterfly,’ c – wieku ‘age (gen.),’ d – kwiecie ‘blossom,’ e – woda ‘water,’ f – łóżko ‘bed’

Figure 1. Number of empty answers per stimulus word

The results of the experiment show that 6.14% of the 241 257 associations are empty answers. Figure 1 shows that there is a relatively small set of stimuli-words which collected an extremely high percentage of empty answers. These are: *płonna* ‘unfulfilled’ – 24.5%, *zawodna* ‘unreliable’ – 24.17%, *bielinek* ‘brimstone butterfly’ – 24.7%, *wieku* ‘age (genitive case)’ – 21%, *kwiecie* ‘blossoming flowers’ – 18.4%, *wisząca* ‘hanging’ – 16.07%, *duża* ‘big (fem. form)’ – 15.94%, *duży* ‘big (masc. form)’ – 14.1%, and *spokojny* ‘peaceful’ – 14.1%. But there is also an opposite set of stimuli with a very low number of empty responses: *woda* ‘water’, *świecić* ‘to light’, *drewiany* ‘wooden’, *korona* ‘crown’, *rodzinny* ‘family’, *tron* ‘throne’, *śpiew* ‘singing’, *władca* ‘ruler’, *zielona* ‘green (fem. form)’, *papieros* ‘cigarette’, *łóżko* ‘bed’, and *orzel* ‘eagle’. Each stimulus has an empty responses number below 2.7% of the total answers.

### Response time analysis

In the psycholinguistic tradition, the quality of an answer given to a stimulus is related to the response time – a response time that is too short might produce sound similarity (clang and rhyme) responses, but one that is too long might produce sophisticated associations that are distant to the meaning of the stimuli (Clark 1970). Therefore, we shall compare the reaction times which led to an empty response for stimuli of both the highest and the lowest percentages of empty responses.

Table 1 presents the reaction time for empty answers associated with the stimuli of the highest percentage of empty answers.

Table 1. Empty answers reaction time in seconds

Stimulus	Empty answers	< 1 sec	1–5 sec	> 5 sec
<i>płonna</i> ‘unfulfilled’	185	16	112	57
<i>zawodna</i> ‘unreliable’	184	8	84	92
<i>bielinek</i> ‘butterfly’	179	20	96	63
<i>wieku</i> ‘age (gen.)’	164	6	68	90
<i>kwiecie</i> ‘blossom’	145	8	72	65
<i>wisząca</i> ‘hanging’	127	2	61	64
<i>duża</i> ‘big (fem.)’	126	0	62	64
<i>spokojny</i> ‘peaceful’	112	2	48	62
<i>duży</i> ‘big (masc.)’	108	2	45	61

Precise measurement of the time of each reaction of every subject researched here allowed us to confirm that a response which took less than one second comprised barely 1% of the empty answers, therefore, an empty answer is the result of an intellectual process which lasts more than one second; some of the responses, in fact, lasted longer than ten seconds.

The same tendency can be observed in reactions to those stimuli which obtained the smallest number of empty answers. Table 2 shows the results:

Table 2. Empty answers reaction time in seconds

Stimulus	Empty answers	< 1 sec	1–5 sec	> 5 sec
woda ‘water’	20	2	11	7
świecić ‘to light’	19	0	10	9
drewniany ‘wooden’	19	3	5	11
korona ‘crown’	19	5	7	7
rodzinny ‘family’	18	5	4	9
tron ‘throne’	18	7	2	9
śpiew ‘singing’	17	0	7	10
władca ‘ruler’	17	8	3	6
zielona ‘green’	16	3	6	7
papieros ‘cigarette’	16	5	6	5
łóżko ‘bed’	15	0	4	11
orzeł ‘eagle’	15	3	5	7

We could therefore infer that there is no reaction time which is specific to an empty answer. In other words, an analysis of the reaction time does not explain the mechanism of providing an empty answer. This means that we must look for a linguistic explanation of this phenomenon.

### Analysis of the stimuli

If we look at the stimuli that collected the highest number of empty answers, we can find that it is difficult to find any grammatical or semantic features that all of these words share:

- *płonny* ‘unfulfilled, not carried out or brought to completion’ – an adjective which does not have a morphological relation in the contemporary Polish language; in the dictionaries it is only noted as a component of the idiomatic expression *płonna nadzieja* ‘unfulfilled hope’;
- *zawodny* ‘unreliable’ – an adjective derived from the perfective verb *zawieść* ‘to fail,’ which has a restricted set of morphological relations;
- *bielinek* ‘brimstone butterfly’ – a noun which is a regular derivative of the adjective *biały* ‘white’;
- *wieku* ‘age (gen.)’ – a noun which has two meanings: ‘human age’ or ‘period of time.’ Both meanings enter into a rather rich set of morphological relations; the genitive form of age *wieku* may serve as a component of a few idioms, e.g. *w kwiecie wieku* ‘mature’ or *w sile wieku* ‘mature’;
- *kwiecie* ‘blossoming flowers’ – a collective noun, ‘blossom,’ belonging to the rare class of singulare tantum, is itself a derivative from the noun *kwiat*, ‘flower’; it may serve as a component of the idiom *w kwiecie wieku* ‘mature’;
- *wisząca* ‘hanging’ – the active (present) participle of the verb *wisieć* ‘to hang’;
- *duża* and *duży* are, respectively, the feminine and masculine form of the adjective ‘big,’ with a very limited set of morphological relations;
- *spokojny* ‘peaceful’ – an adjective with limited morphological relations.

This means that we must look at the association sets and recognize if an empty answer depends on the meaning of the stimulus. If it does, then a high percentage of empty answers may signal a difficulty in understanding the stimulus, but in order to prove this hypothesis we must perform a qualitative analysis of the responses which co-occur with a high number of empty responses.

### Analysis of associations

In order to analyze associations we may accept what Clark (1970) stated – that the person who is the subject of a test employs a mechanism of his or her own association which we may observe in word association games. This mechanism functions in three phases: understanding the stimulus (identification of the meaning), operating on the meaning, and providing an answer.

An analysis of associations with stimulus words as mentioned above would permit us to segregate those situations in which the mechanism which generates associations behaved in an atypical fashion and which may then have resulted in a high percentage of empty answers.

As was mentioned earlier, the psycholinguistic tradition distinguishes three types of associations:

- semantic associations, where the dependency between a stimulus and a response may be explained by a semantic relation, e.g. the association *roof* – *house* is explained as ‘*roof* part of *house*.’ We assume that for our analysis there is no need to distinguish between paradigmatic, e.g. *dach* – *dom* (roof – house), syntagmatic, e.g. *duża* – *wieża* (big – tower) and causal *uderzenie* – *rana* (hit – wound) relations, but we must distinguish well-known (Clark 1970) idiom completion associations such as *kwiecie* – *wieku* or *kwiecie* – *wiek* (blossom – age), which is the association between the components of an idiom or a multi-part word; in our example: *w kwiecie wieku* ‘mature’;
- clang and rhyme associations, where there is no relation between the meaning of a stimulus and the meaning of a response; this association is based on sound similarity, which means that the association word sounds similar to the stimulus word, e.g. *dom* – *tom* (house – volume, i.e. book);
- pragmatic associations such as *baranina* – *gangster* (mutton – gangster), which can be explained on the basis of knowledge.

We shall use the criteria as described above to classify all associations given to those words which collected the highest number of empty associations.

**Semantic associations.** Each stimulus word has a large number of semantic associations, therefore, we shall present only the most frequent examples, accordingly to the number of empty associations: *bielinek* ‘brimstone butterfly’ associates with: *motyl* ‘butterfly,’ *owad* ‘insect,’ *cytrynek* ‘kind of butterfly,’ and *kapustnik*, a component of *bielinek kapustnik* ‘official name of the brimstone butterfly’; *płonna* ‘unfulfilled’ associates with: *nadzieja*, *nadzieje* ‘singular and plural of hope,’ which completes the idiom *płonne nadzieje* ‘unfulfilled hope’; *zawodna* ‘unreliable (fem.)’ associates with: *pamięć* ‘memory,’ *rada* ‘advice,’ *broń* ‘weapon’; *wieku* ‘age (gen.)’ associates with: *schyłek* ‘fall of,’ *lata* ‘years,’ *starość* ‘elderliness’; *kwiecie* ‘blossoming flowers’ associates with: *łąka* ‘meadow,’ *ogród* ‘garden,’ *wiosna* ‘spring’ and *wieku* ‘age (gen.),’ which completes the idiom: *w kwiecie wieku* ‘mature’; *wisząca* ‘hanging’ associates with: *lampa* ‘lamp,’ *skała* ‘rock,’ *lina* ‘rope’; *duża* and *duży* ‘big (fem./masc.)’ associates with: *mała/mał* ‘small (fem./masc.),’

*dziura* ‘hole’, *głowa* ‘head’, *dom* ‘house’; *spokojny* ‘peaceful’ associates with: *człowiek* ‘human being’, *cichy* ‘silent’, *morze* ‘sea’.

**Shifted semantic associations.** The listing presented above does not make the analysis of semantic associations a complete one. We can observe that there are responses on the association list in which the meaning does not enter into a semantic relation with the meaning of the stimulus, but we can *explain* the association through morphological relations which help us to find a word that is based on the same root as the stimulus word and that enters into a semantic relation with the response; for example, the association *bielinek* – *bielik* (‘brimstone butterfly’ – ‘sea eagle’) may be explained by the operation chain, which is based on the altering root *biel* : *biał* ‘white’: *biel-inek* ‘butterfly’ → *biał-y* ‘white’ → *bielik* ‘eagle’. We can state that a morphologically related word, *biały*, mediates this association. A similar mediation occurs in the association *bielinek* – *czarny* (‘brimstone butterfly’ – ‘black’): *biel-inek* ‘butterfly’ → *biał-y* ‘white’ → *czarny* ‘black’, where ‘white’ and ‘black’ are antonyms. If the stimulus word does not enter into morphological relations in contemporary Polish, the association can be based on a sound form similarity which enables a substitution of the stimulus, then the meaning of the substitute enters into a semantic relation with the response; for example, the association *płonna* – *mowa* (‘unfulfilled’ – ‘speech’) is based on the sound form similarity *płonna* : *płynna* (‘unfulfilled’ : ‘fluent’), where both forms differ by a single vowel *o* : *y*, then the meaning of the substitute *płynna* ‘fluent’ enters into a relation with *mowa* ‘speech’. Sound similarity between a stimulus and its substitute suggested by an answer may be even weaker, e.g. the association *płonna* – *czupryna* (‘unfulfilled’ – ‘pelt, hair’) suggests the substitution *płonna* : *płowa* (‘unfulfilled’ : ‘flaxen’), where the stimulus and its substitute differ by the consonant sequence *nn* : *w*, then the meaning of the response *czupryna* ‘pelt, hair’ enters into a syntagmatic relation with the meaning of the substitute *płowa* ‘flaxen.’ We shall call this type of semantic association a **shifted** one.

Shifted semantic associations are specific only to *bielinek*, *wieku*, *kwiciecie*, *płonna* and *zawodna*. Here are some examples:

- *bielinek* ‘brimstone butterfly’ has associations mediated by *biały* ‘white’: *bielinek* – *biały* (‘butterfly’ – ‘white’), *bielinek* – *biel* (‘butterfly’ – ‘whiteness’), *bielinek* – *bielik* (‘butterfly’ – ‘eagle’), *bielinek* – *czarny* (‘butterfly’ – ‘black’);
- *kwiciecie* ‘blossoming flowers’ has associations mediated by *kwiat* ‘flower’: *kwiciecie* – *łodyga* (‘blossoming flowers’ – ‘stem’), *kwiciecie* – *liść* (‘blossoming flowers’ – ‘leaf’), *kwiciecie* – *owoc* (‘blossoming flowers’ – ‘fruit’);
- *wieku* ‘age (gen.)’ has associations mediated by *wiek* ‘period of time’: *wieku* – *wiekuista* (‘age’ – ‘over time’), *wieku* – *wiekowy* (‘age’ – ‘elderly’), *wieku* – *historia* (‘age’ – ‘history’), *wieku* – *szmat* the idiom completion for *szmat czasu* (‘very long time’);
- *zawodna* ‘unreliable’ has associations mediated by *zawiść* ‘to fail and not match expectations’: *zawodna* – *kobieta* (‘unreliable’ – ‘woman’), *zawodna* – *rada* (‘unreliable’ – ‘advice’), *zawodna* – *przyjaźń* (‘unreliable’ – ‘friendship’);
- *płonna* ‘unfulfilled’ has associations mediated by form similarity: *płonna* – *czupryna* (‘unfulfilled’ – ‘pelt, hair’), substitution *płonna* : *płowa* (‘unfulfilled’ : ‘flaxen’), supposed association *płowa* – *czupryna* (‘flaxen’ – ‘pelt, hair’); *płonna* – *włosy* (‘unfulfilled’ – ‘hair’), substitution *płonna* : *płowa* (‘unfulfilled’ : ‘flaxen’), supposed association *płowa* – *włosy* (‘flaxen’ – ‘hair’); *płonna* – *sukienka* (‘unfulfilled’ – ‘shirt’), substitution *płonna* : *spłowała* (‘unfulfilled’ : ‘faded’), supposed association *spłowała* – *sukienka* (‘faded’ – ‘shirt’); *płonna* –

*kobieta* ('unfulfilled' – 'woman'), substitution *płonna* : *płocha* ('unfulfilled' : 'coltish'), supposed association *płocha* – *kobieta* ('coltish' – 'woman'); *płonna* – *świeca* ('unfulfilled' – 'candle'), substitution *płonna* : *płonąca* ('unfulfilled' : 'burning'), supposed association *płonąca* – *świeca* ('burning' – 'candle'); *płonna* – *mowa* ('unfulfilled' – 'speech'), substitution *płonna* : *płynna* ('unfulfilled' : 'fluent'), supposed association *płynna* – *mowa* ('fluent' – 'speech').

**Clang and rhyme associations.** We can find this type of association only for some stimuli. Because the clang and rhyme associations are based on a non-semantic sound similarity, we shall not translate any examples:

- *bielinek* 'brimstone butterfly' – *okrąglinek*, *walinek murzynek*;
- *płonny* 'unfulfilled' – *wonna*, *wanna*, *chlonna*, *błona*, *Anna*;
- *wieku* 'age (gen.)' – *człeku*, *człowieku*, *leku*, *powieka*;
- *kwiecie* 'blossoming flowers' – *plecie*, *świecie*, *dziecię*.

**Pragmatic associations.** This type of association is not frequent and depends on the meaning of the stimuli. We can state that only these two stimuli have a meaningful number of such associations; this means *wieku* 'age (gen.)'; e.g. *wieku* – *uniwersytet* ('age' – 'university'), where the association completes the thought *uniwersytet trzeciego wieku* 'university for seniors' and *spokojny* 'peaceful', e.g. *spokojny* – *ocean* ('peaceful' – 'ocean'), which completes *Ocean Spokojny* 'the Pacific Ocean.'

Finally, we can observe two additional answer types. The so-called **don't know** answer – where a response explicitly suggests that the tested person is unable to understand the meaning of the stimulus word, e.g. *bielinek* – *co to?* 'no guess.' The second type is the so-called **random** answer, which means that we cannot apply any of the rules listed above to find a dependency between a stimulus and a response, e.g. *kwiecie* – *daleko* ('blossoming flowers' – 'far away'), *kwiecie* – *jeszcze* ('blossoming flowers' – 'still').

Now we can sum up the results of the analysis, which is shown in Table 3 below:

Table 3. Association classes and empty answers

Word	Association						
	Empty	Semantic	Shifted	Clang and rhyme	Pragmatic	Don't know	Random
bielinek 'brimstone butterfly'	24.7	36.3	32.8	0.04	0	6.1	0.06
płonna 'unfulfilled'	24.5	51.8	14.1	1.3	0	1	7.3
zawodna 'unreliable'	24.17	53	0.07	0.01	0.04	0.03	22.68
wieku 'age (gen.)'	21	44	6.31	0.05	24.07	0.07	4.5
kwiecie 'blossom'	18.4	49	14	13.1	0.15	0.15	5.2
wisząca 'hanging'	16.07	78.19	0	0	0.01	0.03	5.7
duża 'big (fem.)'	15.94	83.98	0.01	0	0	0	0.07
duży 'big (masc.)'	14.1	85.74	0	0	0.09	0	0.07
spokojny 'peaceful'	14.1	77.68	0	0	4.22	0	4

The goal of this analysis was to find those situations in which the mechanism which generates the associations behaves in an atypical fashion, which may then result in a high percentage of empty

answers. And, in fact, there are stimuli (*płonna*, *bielinek*, *kwiecie*, *wieku*) which have a relatively small number of semantic associations (*i.e.* less than 50% of the answers provided, except for *płonna* – 51.8%), there are many shifted associations in the responses (32.8% – *bielinek* ‘brimstone butterfly’, 14% – *kwiecie* ‘blossoming flowers’, 14.1% – *płonna* ‘unfulfilled’ and 6.31% – *wieku* ‘age (gen.)’), and a relatively high number of associations going back directly to the audio forms of stimuli, *i.e.* the so-called clang and rhyme responses, respectively, 1.3% for *płonna* ‘unfulfilled’ and 13.1% for *kwiecie* ‘blossoming flowers.’ We can state that these figures describe an atypical association model because the remaining stimulus words with a high number of empty responses, *i.e.* adjectives such as: *zawodna* ‘unreliable’, *wisząca* ‘hanging’, *duża* ‘big (fem.)’, *duży* ‘big (masc.)’, *spokojny* ‘peaceful’, have answers which are almost always correct semantic associations, *i.e.* they are able to be clarified through the aid of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations, as well as rare onomatopoeic (clang and rhyme) and pragmatic associations. In other words, the remaining stimuli, with a high number of empty responses, have an association model that is the same as those stimuli which collected a low number of empty answers, *e.g.* *kwiat* ‘flower’ (76.51% semantic, 0% shifted, 0.36% clang and rhyme, 2.77% empty), and a very low number of empty answers, *e.g.* *łóżko* ‘bed’ (94.5% semantic, 0% shifted, 0% clang and rhyme, 0.18% empty), or *orzel* ‘eagle’ (56.43% semantic, 0% shifted, 0.45% clang and rhyme, 0.17% empty, and 39.53% pragmatic associations which are based on stimulus comprehension). Therefore, the significant number of empty responses is not linked with a difficulty in comprehension of a stimulus, thus we must search for its true cause.

We may thus conclude that the number of empty associations in our experiment may depend on the method of conducting the experiment. The participants in the classic experiment (Kurcz 1967; Kiss *et al.* 1973) were provided with paper forms which contained all of the stimuli in a particular order. Therefore, there was neither a time limit for a single response nor control of the order of stimuli processing. As a consequence, the classic method allowed backtracking, which means that the experiment’s participants could omit a stimulus without answering and could return to the omitted stimulus later to provide an answer. This backtracking possibility may explain the very low number of empty answers in Kurcz’s experiment as opposed to our experiment, which made backtracking impossible. Finally, Kurcz’s participants were provided with only 100 stimuli, as opposed to the 322 stimuli provided in our experiment.

Finally, we have to explain what the model of associations given to *płonna*, *bielinek*, *kwiecie* and *wieku* means. We may suppose that the low percentage of semantic associations combined with the large percentage of shifted associations and the relatively high number of clang and rhyme responses may show a difficulty in comprehension of the stimulus. To prove that this association model does not depend on the method used to conduct the experiment, we compared the associations with *kwiecie* ‘blossoming flowers’ that we obtained in our experiment (IG) and in Kurcz’s experiment (IK). For control purposes, we used the associations with *kwiat* ‘flower’ that we obtained in our experiment. The results of our comparison are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. *Kwiecie* in different word association experiments

Word	Semantic	Shifted	Clang and rhyme	Pragmatic	Empty	Don’t know	Random
<i>kwiecie</i> (IG) ‘blossoming flowers’	49	14	13.1	0.15	18.4	0.15	5.2

Word	Semantic	Shifted	Clang and rhyme	Pragmatic	Empty	Don't know	Random
kwiecie (IK) ‘blossoming flowers’	62.6	17.6	1.31	13.3	0.04	0	5.15
kwiat (IG) ‘flower’	76.51	0	0.36	19.28	2.77	0.12	0.96

As can be observed, *kwiecie* ‘blossoming flowers’ in Kurcz’s experiment has more semantic associations and, surprisingly, more shifted associations (17.6%) than *kwiecie* ‘blossoming flowers’ did in our experiment (14%). The clang and rhyme responses also differ, but Kurcz’s result is substantially lower (0.15%) than ours (13.3%). Therefore, one may conclude that the high number of shifted semantic associations truly shows a difficulty in stimulus comprehension, and the high number of clang and rhyme associations only confirm this conclusion. Hence, the high percentage of empty answers may only reflect this difficulty in stimulus word comprehension.

## References

- Clark, Herbert H. (1970) “Word Associations and Linguistic Theory.” [In:] John Lyons (ed.) *New Horizons in Linguistics*. Middlesex, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd; 271–286.
- Gatkowska, Izabela (2014) “Word Associations as a Linguistic Data.” [In:] Piotr P. Chruszczewski, John R. Rickford, Katarzyna Buczek, Aleksandra R. Knapik, Jacek Mianowski (eds.) *Languages in Contact 2012*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Filologicznej we Wrocławiu, Oddział Polskiej Akademii Nauki we Wrocławiu; 79–92 (Languages in Contact. Vol. 1).
- Gatkowska, Izabela, Michał Korzycki, Wiesław Lubaszewski (2013) “Can Human Association Norm Evaluate Latent Semantic Analysis?” [In:] *Proceedings of the 10th NLPWS Workshop*. Marseille; 92–104.
- Kent, Grace H., Aaron J. Rosanoff (1910) “A Study of Association in Insanity.” [In:] *American Journal of Insanity* 67; 37–96, 317–390.
- Kiss, George R., Christine Armstrong, Robert Milroy, James Piper (1973) “An Associative Thesaurus of English and Its Computer Analysis.” [In:] Adam J. Aitken, Richard W. Bailey, Neil Hamilton-Smith (eds.) *The Computer and Literary Studies*. Edinburgh: University Press; 153–165.
- Kurcz, Ida (1967) “Polskie normy powszechności skojarzeń swobodnych na 100 słów z listy Kent-Rosanoffa.” [In:] *Studia Psychologiczne* 8; 122–255.

*Academic  
Journal  
of  
Modern  
Philology*

MAŁGORZATA HAŁADEWICZ-GRZELAK

Opole University of Technology

## **Segmentability and Transparency in English Latinate Prefixation**

### **Abstract**

English suffixes have been the object of sustained inquiry across most phonological schools and paradigms, *e.g.* Chomsky-Halle's SPE, Lexical Phonology, Distributed Phonology (see, *e.g.* Booij 2005; Scheer 2011; Chornogor 2007; Rakić 2007; Carr 1993, for overviews and a sample discussion). In the current article I assume a 'panchronic' view (*cf.* Pociechina 2009) of selected issues implicated in English Latinate prefixation ({con-} and {ex-}) and I propose interpreting the apparent contrarieties in their productivity and phonological behavior as a canonical case of segmentability (*cf.* Bynon [1977] 1996; Nagano 2007).

*Keywords:* English Latinate prefixes, segmentability, transparency, productivity.

### **1. Introduction: segmentability and back formation**

The article focuses on English Latinate prefixation and argues that in the case of {con-} and {ex-} a process occurs called segmentability (reanalysis).<sup>1</sup> The following discussion addresses certain apparent paradoxes implicated in two Latinate prefixes: the fact that synchronic productivity of {con-} implies only forms with

1 The article forms a part of my larger Natural Phonology project on English prefixation, where the natural processes of voicing (in the case of {ex-}) and velar nasal POA (in the case of {con-}) are interpreted within the framework of Beats-and-Binding phonology. The reader is referred to these works for a more detailed description of the database and referential sources. The material for this discussion comes from a variety of dictionaries, in both paper and electronic form. Also used were online sources to check the pronunciation (*e.g.* Forvo) and for in-depth specialized vocabulary searches. As additional support, recordings of realizations by a native speaker were used for concatenations which did not appear in the dictionaries, for nonce words (*e.g.* *rhinegress*), and to corroborate basic dictionary versions. I also questioned other native speakers, asking them for their native intuitions and judgments on certain items.

{co-} and not with {con-/com-} (e.g. *\*con-production*). I also examine the difference in the phonological behavior of pairs such as, e.g. *exhilarate* and *ex-immigrant* (*ex-*): in *exhilarate*<sup>2</sup> there occurs an active, natural process of stress-driven lenition which consists in voicing the cluster and eliding the /h/. In, e.g. *ex-history*, the prefix cluster remains voiced and the /h/ remains, although the stress and phonological environments are the same as in *exilate*. Also, in, e.g. *exhortative*, the /h/ is elided, but in *cohortative* the /h/ remains.

There is a multitude of generative analyses that propose that *ex-* in, e.g. *ex-husband*, and *co-* in, e.g. *co-worker*, are separate phonological words,<sup>3</sup> separate phases or separate cycles, while *con-* in, e.g. *concrete* is merged at an earlier stage and forms a part of the same phonological word (e.g. Scheer 2011: 6.2.2–6.5, for a review).<sup>4</sup> Usually that is where the phonological explanations end, and the reader is not offered any explanations as to why *co-* in, e.g. *co-producer*, is a separate phonological word or why there is a phase boundary after *ex-* in *ex-president* but not in *express*.

In accordance with Natural Phonology tenets (e.g. Donegan & Stampe 2009; Dziubalska-Kołaczyk (ed.) 2001), I assume the priority of explanations of real processes through which the mind works. One of the landmarks of Natural Phonology is the claim that language is “a natural reflection of the needs, capacities, and world of its users” (Donegan & Stampe 1979: 127), rather than a conventional institution. Stampe assumes that the underlying segments “are mental representations of sounds which are, at least in principle, pronounceable” (Stampe 1979: 35). Thus it follows that the notion of explanatory adequacy in phonology cannot be theory-internal but must be based on phonetic facts and on the nature of human communication: “if a given utterance is naturally pronounceable as the result of a certain intention, then that intention is a natural perception of the utterance” (Donegan & Stampe 1979: 163). I propose that the process, which has been discussed in linguistic research as segmentability, could serve as a natural explanation of the differences between apparent synchronic productivity of {con-} and the lack thereof, as well as of some paradoxes encountered in the morphology of the {ex-} prefix. In other words, since NP distinguishes between prototypical phonological processes and morphological processes (rules), then phonetic assimilation or the lack of the latter proves that they are morphemes.

Such a holistic and semiotic approach to linguistic phenomena is not unique to Natural Phonology, as can be seen, for example, in cognitive linguistic analyses or in William Diver’s Phonology as a Human

2 From *ex* ‘thoroughly’ and Lat. *hilarare* ‘to make cheerful’ vs. Lat. *hilarus* ‘cheerful.’ Source: <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=exhilarate>. The basic form is, of course, the one without suffixation where the velar fricative is pronounced, hence there is ground to posit the elision in {ex-} derivatives.

3 For example, Booij, when defining a phonological word, mentioned that “by means of the notion of a phonological word we can express the fact that there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between syntactic words and their phonological correlates. In some languages, articles, clitics, and the like are not independent phonological words, but fuse phonologically with a preceding or a following word. Classic examples are Latin conjunctions *-que* ‘and’ and *-ve* ‘or’, which fuse with the preceding word. On the other hand, a phonological word may be smaller than a syntactic word. For example, the constituents of Dutch compounds and also certain affixes [...] have to be considered independent phonological words. This is clear from their syllabification patterns: the internal morphological boundaries of compounds always coincide with a syllable boundary, even when this would violate the Maximal Onset principle” (1985: 149). Booij (1985) provides an analysis of prefixation in German and Dutch by using the notion of a phonological word. By examining a wide selection of phonological evidence he concludes that the Dutch and German prefixes are non-cohering, which, however, does not imply that all prefixes have the status of phonological words by themselves. For prefixes such as *be-* and *ge-*, Booij proposes the status of an appendix to a phonological word (cf. Booij 1985: 155). A more detailed discussion on the cohering/non-cohering status is provided in Haładewicz-Grzelak (submitted). See also Scheer 2011 for a critique of the notion of a phonological word.

4 For example, “the class 2 affix *un-* but not the class 1 affix *in-* triggers the spell out of the root” (Scheer 2011: 251).

Behavior paradigm (Tobin (ed.) 2009). In general, most non-generative frameworks espouse the need to put linguistic behavior into the wider context of human cognitive factors. Along these lines, the discussion herein can also be inscribed into wider semiotic work on English prefixation along the concept of semantic integrality (SI) as elaborated by Tobin (*e.g.* 2011), in which the scholar proposes SI as a universal perceptual or cognitive semiotic feature in his explanation of various instances of English irregular plurals (Even-Simkin & Tobin 2011). Still, the analysis reported below assumes that the underlying set of tenets as elaborated within Natural Phonology is useful in fleshing out the nature of the morphonology of English prefixation.

Apart from data from English, the discussion also uses examples from Spanish. The reason for such a move is that these two languages, although they stand in opposition with respect to traditional taxonomies (*e.g.* stress-based vs. syllable-based), show a considerable portion of Latinate lexica in their native vocabularies, hence comparing various divergent phonetic and phonological outcomes could be of analytical interest.

The process of synchronic segmentation is concisely explained in Bynon ([1977] 1996), in her synopsis of the history of the English case system and the rise of the {-e)s} plural marker as a case for the Neogrammarian notion of analogy. Bynon observes that the phonological changes that took place in ME (affecting word-final unstressed vowels and final nasals) resulted in reducing the six separate forms of the OE noun paradigm to two phonologically distinct forms, *e.g.* in the case of the OE *stān* ‘stone’ to the common case *stone* and the gen. sing. and plural common *stones* (with the subsequent loss of -*e*). These processes led to the rise of a direct representation of the category of plural in the morphology (Bynon [1977] 1996: 32f). This, in turn, as Bynon further points out, could have been a result of the segmentability of plurals such as *stones* into *stone* and -*s*. The entire system of nouns was subsequently reshaped after the paradigm of this class of nouns, *i.e.* the relationship which Bynon proposes in the form of the equation “*stone : stones = wound : x*, where *x* is *wounds* rather than *wound*, the form which would be expected as the result of regular sound change” ([1977] 1996: 33f).<sup>5</sup>

The example as adduced above points to two elementary requirements for the analogical change to take place. First, it assumes “the functional identity in respect of some particular grammatical or semantic category (plural, agent noun, dative, etc.) of markers which are formally quite different and secondly it presupposes that the structure of the form which acts as a model be morphologically transparent for the native speaker” (Bynon [1977] 1996: 35). In what follows, I will argue for the transparent status of some Latinate prefixes which created the environment for a semantic reanalysis.<sup>6</sup>

5 Another telling example comes from Saussure’s *Écrits* ([2002] 2006: 125f), in which the scholar observes that linguistic analysis does not have to rely on etymology but on the “primitive link” between the forms, for which he gives two examples of plural formation. In the Germanic era, the plural form marker was *ō*, *e.g.* *kalbiz* – pl. *kalbizo*; and in the German era – *ir* : *kalb* – pl. *kalbir*. Furthermore, Saussure points out that because of the “phonetic necessity which happened to remove the singular -*iz* while preserving the plural, protected by the following vowel, and since language only ever judges on the basis of forms, it is inevitable that it divides *kalb*/*ir* and takes *ir* as the plural sign, even if originally it had nothing specifically plural about it. This is historically false, and yet it is true in terms of the morphology of the time in question. The life of language is riddled with such misunderstandings. Remember **that everything contained in the feeling that speaking subjects have for their language is a real phenomenon**” (Saussure [2002] 2006: 126, emphasis mine – M. H.-G.).

6 Zbierska-Sawala assumes a unidirectional inferential chain as far as productivity, transparency and analyzability are concerned, “so that in order to be productive a pattern must be analyzable, but not vice versa. Analyzability in turn is a cognitive function of transparency, and it is only the transparency of the pattern that is available for analysis in a diachronic study” (1993: 6). See also Kastovsky 1986, 1989.

A mention could also be made of a related process which is called “back formation” (BF). As Nagano (2007) points out, BF can be understood as a type of conversion supplemented by a deletion process. By examining what system underlies BF in English, Nagano observes that in its canonical form BF is understood as a process which relies on a reanalysis of the morphological structure of an input word; for example, “*beggar*<sub>N</sub> is originally a monomorphemic word, but is reanalyzed as having the structure [[begg]-ar], based on which BF takes place and brings about *beg*<sub>V</sub>. Similarly, the original N-N compound structure of *baby-sitter*<sub>N</sub> is reanalyzed as [[[*baby*][*sit*]]er] or as [[*babysit*]er], which provides the ground for BF” (2007: 34). Nagano, basing on data such as, e.g. <attrition<sub>N</sub>, attrit<sub>V</sub>> or <emoticon<sub>N</sub>, emote<sub>V</sub>>, postulates that back formation is an active synchronic process, thus showing that the revised version of Marchand’s (1960, 1969) zero-derivation approach to BF (on which the process consists of clipping, conversion, a rule-based word-formation process and a non-rule-based speech-level process) can account, e.g. for the anti-iconicity of these forms of their semantic diversity (Nagano 2007: 68). Although back formation in English as such does not refer to prefixation, it is crucial to observe that the process relies on a reanalysis of the base form, which supports the present perspective of seeking common denominators for (mor)phonological phenomena.

Finally, it needs to be emphasized that the process of segmentability is not restricted to a single linguistic layer (morphology); for example, Kuryłowicz (1972: 181) stresses the importance of semiotic factors (deictic) in language change based on examples of revaluation (semantic change) in tense systems. He points out that the past tense (< perfect) in -l (þ) in Polish, Russian, etc., originally denoted the predicate of a nominal sentence as the IE verbal adj. *in -lo-*. Along these lines, “Analytical’ pret. like / *have written*, Fr.*fai écrit*, je suis venu, G *ich habe geschrieben*, ich bin gekommen have the etymological value PRES. STATE or PRES. RESULT (of a former action)” (Kuryłowicz 1972: 181).

The following paper is structured as follows. In the next section I will sketch out the diachronic background for the current analysis. The third section discusses segmentability in the Latinate {con-}, positing {co-} as a reanalyzed form. In the following section I propose two levels of cognitive existence for the prefix {ex-}, both of which have the same phonetic form. The synchronically active {ex-}, as in *ex-husband*, is posited to be structurally parallel to the synchronically active {co-} and to arise similarly through segmentability. Finally, conclusions round off the argument.

## 2. English Latinate prefixes

English acquired most of its Latinate lexemes as far back as the Norman Conquest (Middle English period, ca. 1100), and nowadays they can be considered native. As Wełna (1978: 104) observes, new acquisitions were effectuated mainly via Northern French (also called Norman French), although direct Latin loans could have occurred as well, as most scholars (e.g. Millward & Hayes [1996] 2012) point out. Whether these lexemes were borrowed as compounds, i.e. whether the original meaning of the prefix was recoverable for Middle English speakers (Old French speakers), is a matter of debate that is beyond the thematic scope of the present research. Some of the prefixes were definitely still active, as etymological misspellings indicate.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, the same misspellings also imply that some prefixes might

<sup>7</sup> For example, Algeo observes that *h* could have sometimes been inserted in English words of French origin, where it was not etymological – “for instance, *habundance* (mistakenly regarded as coming from *habere* ‘to have’) and *abominable* (supposed

have lost their original semantic load, which in practice means that most of the lexemes borrowed had already been assimilated – without a semantically active morpheme boundary.<sup>8</sup> For example, the texts *De Marco Tullio Cicerōne* or *De aetāte aurēā* (Jurewicz et al. 2004: 59, 68–69) already feature *impositus* ‘imposed,’ *communis* ‘common’ or *incredibilis*, *iminens* ‘imminent’ which in practical terms means that the assimilative paradigm was operative by the time of Vulgar Latin, far before Old French. Whatever the status of Latinate compounds in ME, the semantic content of a prefix is not synchronically recoverable in most of the original Latin compounds; for example, *ex* ‘out’ and *sistere* ‘stand’ yields ‘stand out’ which is obviously not coterminous with ‘exists.’ Similarly, the Latin *com* ‘together’ and *pellere* ‘to drive’ are currently understood not as ‘to drive together’ but as ‘to compel’ – an individual vocabulary item (data from Flemons 1991: 21).<sup>9</sup>

### 3. Discussion: the {co-} prefix

As far as taxonomical insights are concerned, most reference sources that have been accessed give three allomorphs, i.e. {con-}, {com-} and {co-}, without indicating which are the assimilated variants. Sporadically, {com-} is preferred, e.g. “*com*: with, together. [com- before b, p, m; cor- before r; col- before l; co- before h, gn and usually before vowels; con- before all other consonants]. Examples: *colloquium* (a speaking together) *corrode* (gnaw thoroughly) *combine* (put two things together).”<sup>10</sup> Sometimes, however, the sources give only one allomorph, namely {co-}, thus disregarding {con-} and {com-} (e.g. Prčić 1993, as cited in Rakić 2007: 51f). In this case the lexical examples as cited above comprise only the hyphenated type, as in ‘co-author.’ The relevant entry in Partridge’s etymological dictionary stipulates that {co-} is an allomorph preceding vowels and glides:

co- the form taken by *com-* (c/f of *cum*) before a vowel and often before *h* (*cohabit*) and *w* (*co-worker*). *coi-* in *coil* (q.v. in Dict), is for *col-*, q.v. at *cum-.col-*, with, etc. See *cum-: col-* is an assimilated

---

to be from Latin *ab* plus *homine*, explained as ‘away from humanity, hence bestial’). When Shakespeare’s pedant Holofernes by implication recommended this latter misspelling and the consequent mispronunciation with [h] in *Love’s Labour’s Lost* (“This is abominable, which he would call abominable”), he was in very good company, at least as far as the writing of the word is concerned, for the error had been current since Middle English times” (2010: 143).

- 8 An example for this strategy also comes from Algeo: “*Comptroller* is a pseudo-learned respelling of *controller*, taken by English from Old French. The fancy spelling is doubtless due to an erroneous association with French *compte* ‘count.’ The word has fairly recently acquired a new pronunciation based on the misspelling. *Receipt* and *indict*, both taken from Anglo-French, and *victual*, from Old French, have been similarly remodeled to give them a Latin look” (2010: 143). Also, Horobin & Smith (2002: 9, 22) testified to the existence of words such as *conclusion*, *temptation* *experience*, *complaint* in *The Canterbury Tales*. Corrie (2006: 103), when discussing ME manuscripts, gives an example of a poem titled *The Prick of Conscience* which was written in English and in which words such as *unconna[n]d* or *conscience* or *confort* occur. Finally, Wełna (1978: 110), when discussing the vowel quality of French loanwords in (E)ME, gives, among others, examples such as *concēve* ‘conceive,’ *coūntrefēte* ‘counterfeit,’ *incrēse* ‘increase,’ *decrēse* ‘decrease’ or *complēte* ‘complete.’
- 9 Algeo calls this a process of shifting a concrete meaning to an abstract one. He additionally observes that in OE the compound to *understand* “must have meant ‘to stand among,’ that is, ‘close to’— *under* presumably having had the meaning ‘among,’ as do its German and Latin cognates *unter* and *inter*. But this literal concrete meaning gave way to the abstract sense the word has today. Parallel shifts from concrete to abstract in words meaning ‘understand’ can be seen in German *verstehen* (‘to stand before’), Greek *epistamai* (‘I stand upon’), Latin *comprehendere* (‘to take hold of’)” (Algeo 2010: 209).
- 10 From <http://www.class.uidaho.edu/luschnig/EWO/24.htm> [ED August 2010] (notation as in the original, XXX).

form of *com-* before *l.com-*, with, etc. See *cum-*, of which it constitutes the basic c/f in v cpds. *co-* and *con-*, with, etc. The form taken by *com-* before any consonant except *b, h, l, m, p, r, w*, and often (as in *connect*) before *n*. See *cum*" (Partridge [1958] 2006: 3874, notation as in the original – M. H.-G.).

Taking into account that the data from Partridge also include items such as *co-worker*, we cannot state that he is describing only the original Latin distribution. If the description refers to the synchronic state, then it is definitely not the case that {co-} is an allomorph used only before vowels and glides:

- |        |                    |    |                      |
|--------|--------------------|----|----------------------|
| (1) a. | <i>co-variance</i> | d. | <i>co-dependency</i> |
| b.     | <i>co-producer</i> | e. | <i>co-founder</i>    |
| c.     | <i>co-manager</i>  | f. | <i>co-author</i>     |

To compare, see also, e.g. a similar strategy for word formation in Polish with *współ* 'co':

- |        |                       |    |                       |
|--------|-----------------------|----|-----------------------|
| (2) a. | <i>współautor</i>     | c. | <i>współproducent</i> |
| b.     | <i>współzależność</i> | d. | <i>współpracownik</i> |

and with Spanish, although it must be admitted that 'co-' in Spanish is not used as widely as in English: (Sp.) *coautor*, *co-productor*.

We, thus, have an apparent paradox: on the one hand, the prefix {con-} is no longer semantically extractable, not only from words of the type *collate*, but also in cases where it persists orthographically, e.g. *nomen omen*, *compound*. In other words, the speakers of contemporary English do not perform an "online" concatenation of (Lat.) {com-} + {latus}.<sup>11</sup>

Contemporary online sources listing English prefixes sometimes do not mention {con-/com-} at all.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, the prefix {co-}, as in *coherence*, is definitely synchronically active (*cf.* the list in (2)). My scenario for the synchronic activities of {co-} is as follows: using the standard structural methodology of Claude Lévi-Strauss, it could be proposed that what happens here is a sort of "folk reinterpretation," or, in linguistic terminology, a reanalysis or segmentability based on prior transparency of the form. In brief, some of the plethora of original meanings of {con-} were at some point taken out of context as a folk "common core"; {co-} is undeniably a common immutable surface component of all Latinate vocabulary diachronically involving {con-}, which was assimilated in most contexts in diachronic development, e.g.:

- |        |                           |    |                         |
|--------|---------------------------|----|-------------------------|
| (3) a. | <i><u>collaborate</u></i> | c. | <i><u>coherence</u></i> |
| b.     | <i><u>compliance</u></i>  | d. | <i><u>corrosive</u></i> |

This secondary, newly created morpheme {co-} then started to be grafted onto words in new contexts.<sup>13</sup> A crucial stipulation here is that in order for the segmentability to have taken place (*cf.* Bynon above), the original prefix must no longer have been semantically active (it had to be transparent). In other words, the semantic content of {con-(co-)} in, e.g. *corrosive*, *coherence* or *condemn*, is no longer

11 Data from [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed\\_in\\_frame=0&search=collate&searchmode=none](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=collate&searchmode=none)

12 For example <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/con->

13 Without making diachronic claims at this stage of the analysis as to when this could have taken place.

extractable.<sup>14</sup> The process in question can also be called “semantic grafting,” and is also found in a given culture (for example, some aspects of the persona of the Bishop of Myra were appropriated into commercial contexts by a producer of fizzy drinks and are now extremely productive).<sup>15</sup> We can thus assume that, synchronically, the Latinate {con-} is no longer active as a morpheme and that this created a classic prerequisite for segmentability, *i.e.* that the structure of the form that acts as a model must be morphologically transparent. The “folk” etymology therefore “extracted” such a “transparent” common core for the whole prefixed Latinate lexicon as {co-}, with the narrow meaning of ‘together with’.<sup>16</sup>

There are also phonological correlates to the peculiar status of some English prefixes, such as the previously analyzed {con-}. In brief, if the prefix and the root communicate, then the nasal and the plosive obey morpheme-internal restrictions. There are two criteria along which this communication can be tested in the case of prefixes ending in a nasal: (i) gemination and (ii) the ability to undergo “velar place of articulation assimilation” (POA assimilation henceforth) (for more detailed motivation of this criterion, see Haładewicz-Grzelak 2014a, 2014b). In what follows, I will briefly address each of these criteria.

As Sobkowiak points out, {mis-} and {dis-}, just like {un-}, are a source of geminates in English. “Like the case with geminate plosives, the articulation of geminate nonplosives involves the prolongation of the sound” (Sobkowiak 1996: 213). Some examples from the exhaustive list given in Sobkowiak (1996: 213f) are *misspell*, *disservice* or *dissent*. These geminates pattern with other prefixal geminates, suffixal gemination or gemination in compounds, *e.g.* *ex-service*, *sex-starved*, *spaceshuttle*, *barrenness*, *unnatural*, *unnecessary*, *oneness*. However, in English there is no gemination in Latinate compounds with {con-}, *e.g.* *connote* or *connive* are realized with the simplex nasal. It should also be noted that the <c> (/s/) in *except* is not pronounced, and there is no gemination of /s/ here, either.<sup>17</sup> The gemination, like the lack of voicing, can be assumed to be a criterion related to blockage created by the presence of a morphological boundary in a given lexeme.

14 For example, according to *etymology online* ([http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed\\_in\\_frame=0&search=corrode&searchmode=none](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=corrode&searchmode=none)), ‘to corrode’ can be traced directly to the “Latin *corrodere* ‘to gnaw to bits, wear away,’ from *com-*, intensive prefix [...] + *rodere* ‘to gnaw.’” Etymology points to another crucial fact: the prefix not only meant ‘together with’ but also ‘in combination’ and could also be used with intensive meaning. The re-analysis, taking place, as I posit, in contemporary English, uses only one specific area out of the plethora of original Latin semantic components: ‘together with.’

15 *Hamburger* is an example from the catering register. Etymologically, the word *hamburger* is derived from the word *Hamburg* (*e.g.* <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=hamburger>): “1610s, ‘native of Hamburg;’ the meat product so-called from 1884, *hamburg steak*, named for the German city of Hamburg, though no certain connection has ever been put forth.” As this entry goes on to point out, in the late 1930s the word was ‘reanalyzed’ as consisting of different components: *ham* and *burger*. Naturally, this new *burger* entity immediately became a generative rotor for other tasty derivatives, such as *beefburger* or *Double Big Cheeseburger*, etc.

16 At this point in the research I cannot provide an answer as to when the process started exactly. Assuming, however, that the assimilations in the Latinate vocabulary occurred by Classical Latin, we can disregard the question of whether the loans came into English through Norman French or directly from Latin: Latin phonology had effectuated the assimilations long before the cognates/original words entered the English lexicon. For example, in his list of morphemes in Chaucer’s English, Fisiak states the following: “*co-* modified nouns and adjectives conveying the meaning ‘together’ as in *co-empcioun* ‘coemption’ and *co-eterne* ‘coeternal’. The prefix was non combinative and unproductive” (1965: 60).

17 To compare, in the Spanish realization of the word *excepción*, all the fricatives are retained: /e(k)sθepθjon/. The Classical Latin spelling (Jurewicz *et al.* 2004: 58, text *de Marco Tullio Cicerone*) retains the orthographic forms as, *e.g.* *exsillio* ‘exile’.

The lack of gemination in, e.g. *connote*, is not that self-evident. Let us briefly inspect the relevant contexts for inter-morphemic nasal clusters as compared with, e.g. Spanish, which is another language where the Latinate lexica are abundant. The <-mn-> morpheme contact with respect to {con-} is indeed resolved by total assimilation in English, and this happens regardless of stress placement, e.g. *commotion* /kə'məʊʃən/, *commode* /kə'məʊd/ or *commute* /kə'mju:t/. In Spanish, however, degemination in such strings is not allowed: the realization is according to Spanish pronouncing dictionaries, with an assimilated but not elided formative final nasal, e.g. (Sp.) *commoción* [kom̪o'moθjon] E ‘commotion,’ (Sp.) *commutable* [kom̪mu'taβle] E ‘commutable.’ Moreover, Spanish orthography clearly reflects the fact that the morpheme boundary is more salient and that the two nasals are still perceived as separate entities. The /-nn-/ morpheme contact in English follows the pattern for /nm-/ , i.e. it results in total assimilation and degemination: *connect* /kə'nɛkt/, *connubial* /kə'nju:bɪəl/. In such cases, total assimilation does not occur in Spanish, as was the case with <-nm->: *connivencia* /ko'ni'venθja/, *connubio* /ko'nuθjo/. On the other hand, word-medial /-mn-/ clusters involving {som-} tend to be preserved in English, also across morpheme boundaries: *somnolent* /'səmnələnt/, *somnambulism* /sə'mnæm-/ . In Spanish, such clusters are either obligatorily assimilated (e.g. *sonambulismo*) or optionally assimilated: *somnifero* /so(m)'nifero/.

The second criterion of the morphonological status as mentioned above was the ability to undergo velar POA assimilation. An exhaustive vocabulary check as well as recordings of native speaker pronunciation of nonce words revealed that the most susceptible element to velar POA assimilation (further conditioned by the presence of stress) is the prefix {con-}, e.g. *congress*, *concave*, where in the tonic syllable the nasal assimilates to the velar POA of the following consonant. In the remaining prefixes, in particular {in-}, assimilation is either optional (and rarely seen) or illicit, as in, e.g. certain concatenations in the database of recordings in the native speaker data that the author of this article collected, e.g. *rhinegress* or *Mr Phongraff*.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, it should be pointed out that the phonetic forms of <co>, as in *collateral* /kə'lætərəl/, *collapse* or *corrosive*, are different from those as in, e.g. *co-worker*, *coercive*, *co-producer* or *co-host*. In the former there is a lax vowel, while in the latter there is a tense one. The contrast is best exemplified by the pair *collapse* vs. a hypothetical lexeme *co-lapsus linguae* (which would denote a slip of the tongue occurring with vs. particular one): /kə'læps/ vs. /kou'læpsəs 'lɪŋwgɪ/.<sup>19</sup> To understand why this should be the case it is enough to recall that in English phonology only tense vowels can occur in word-final open stressed syllables. Also, only tense vowels can occur freely at the end of one-syllable words. The contrast in the tenseness of <co->, as in *collateral* and *co-Lateran accords*, would only be one more criterion for positing that {co-} does not communicate with the root and is processed as word-final.

#### 4. Discussion: the {ex-} prefix

In this section, while using insights from the previous section, I will attempt to solve an apparent paradox in pairs of the type: *exhilarate* vs. *ex-history*, *exhilarate* and *ex-immigrant* (ex-). As was pointed out in the introduction, in *exhilarate* we can observe a process of stress-driven lenition. In the English

18 See also the form as, e.g. E *circumnavigate*, where both nasals are pronounced.

19 The Oxford online dictionary gives a different pronunciation version of *lapsus linguae* – as /læpsəs'lɪŋwgɪ/ (<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/lapsus-linguae>).

Latinate vocabulary, the cluster in post-stress positions becomes voiced and the /h/ is elided. In, e.g. *ex-history*, the prefix cluster remains voiced and the /h/ remains, although the stress and phonological environments are the same as in *exhilarate*. In Haladewicz-Grzelak (submitted), I propose to account for the phonological differences within the paradigm of Beats-and-Binding phonology with the help of an extension to the theory in terms of stigmatized bindings. This extension of the original research contextualizes such phonological facts within a wider background.

In words such as *exhilarate* there is a voicing process which is triggered morpheme-internally in the presence of a /ks/ cluster, e.g. *auxiliary*, while in *ex-history*, although the phonological environment and stress pattern are practically the same, the two morphemes do not communicate. To recall, generative scholars usually propose {ex-} in, e.g. *ex-Hitlerian*, as being a separate phonological word and they note the lack of such status in *express*.

The apparent paradox of the productivity of the prefix and the synchronic monomorphemic status of, e.g. *expel*, could again be explained by applying the traditional concept of segmentability. I propose that a natural process similar to that in the pair {con-}/{co-} operates in the case of {ex-} as well. Synchronously, {ex-} with its whole original array of meanings is no longer productive, e.g. *existence*, just like *symbol* or *impel*, is no longer decomposed into two separate morphemes.<sup>20</sup> The Latinate {ex-} seems thus to have largely severed its semantic ties with the original prefixes. As a result, a sort of second loop of morphological activity has come into being, which we have seen in diachronic and synchronic perspective studies dealing with segmentability, and thus the synchronic productivity of {ex-} is in a sense derived.<sup>21</sup> This second stage of the morphological trajectory is hyphenated in orthography (there is no hyphenation in, e.g. *misspell*).<sup>22</sup>

The ensuing semantically-derived morpheme is structurally parallel with {co-} and might be denoted analytically as {ex-}<sub>2</sub>. It also seems to have retained only one narrowly defined meaning ('former') from the plethora of original senses associated with the Latin {ex-}.<sup>23</sup> The different morphological status (different structural positions) of the doublets ({co-} and {ex-}<sub>2</sub> vs. {con-} and {ex-}<sub>1</sub>) is corroborated by a total lack of assimilation in the former. This lack was, of course, not detectable with the {co-} prefix since the allomorph lacks a word-final consonant to establish whether there is assimilation. In the case of {ex-}, however, both the dictionary entries and the recordings of native speakers indicate unanimously that there is no voice assimilation in the case of the hyphenated version of {ex-} in any phonotactic environment (e.g. there is no voicing of the /ks/ cluster in *ex-immigrant*).

Furthermore, it is possible to disentangle semantic concatenations with {ex-} and {co-}, even if they precede the "original" prefixes, e.g. *an ex-exit* as a 'former exit,' *co-conversant* or *co-concubine* as referring to one of two concubines of the same partner, or something like *an ex-exhaust pipe* as referring to an installation of modern art (e.g. something that used to be an exhaust pipe and is now

20 As pointed out in, e.g. Denning *et al.*, concatenations with {ex-}, just as {in-} and {con-}, diachronically involved considerable assimilatory elisions, e.g. *ex + vade = evade*, *ex + mitt + ing = emitting* (Denning *et al.* [1995] 2007: 121).

21 For example, the process of such synchronic (fake) "segmentation" is the rotor for the pun: "What's Hercules' wife called? Fraucules!"

22 The hyphen might not, however, be necessary in technical words, e.g. *exfoliate*, *exfiltration*, *exsanguinate* (cf. Cummings 1992: 182). The same reference for specifications of assimilation patterns and holdouts with *ex*.

23 For example, 'out of,' 'completely' 'from,' 'upwards,' 'deprive of,' 'without,' 'thoroughly,' and also 'former' ([http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed\\_in\\_frame=0&search=ex&searchmode=none](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=ex&searchmode=none)).

a pivot for an artistic vision). This procedure is not possible for, e.g. {mis-} or {dis-}: in *mis-misspelling*, *dis-disinformation* the hyphenated prefix does not create any new meaning and even seems to obscure the original one. Also, contemporary prefixation with {co-} can also attach to Latinate forms with {ex-}, as, e.g. *coexecutor* or *coextend*.<sup>24</sup>

Hence, {ex-}, meaning ‘former’ is still a productive prefix in the contemporary English lexicon and is denoted by writing the prefix with a hyphen, e.g. *ex-girlfriend*. The generative potential of the new, hyphenated avatar of {ex-} can be seen in its use as an independent word, e.g. *Here comes my ex!*, implying the speaker’s former partner. Interestingly, some of the sources which provide lists of English prefixes<sup>25</sup> exemplify {ex-} entirely on vocabulary where the suffix is written separately with a hyphen. This could confirm the view that Latinate lexemes orthographically represented as one word (as such, e.g. *expire*) and where the particular semantic contribution of {ex-} can no longer be extracted might not be perceived as consisting of a prefix {ex-} plus a root at all.

## 5. Conclusions

Zbierska-Sawala (1993) argued for the vital importance of the cognitive perspective in diachronic analysis of prefixation. Inferences regarding the form/meaning, which the scholar concisely captures, are also valid for the present discussion, hence I would like to cite a relevant passage as a conclusion for the present discussion:

It should follow from the preceding discussion that a theory of word formation has to look for a mechanism by which morphological patterns and the corresponding functional (syntactic or semantic) changes are related. These mechanisms should be capable of accounting for various types of form/meaning asymmetry evident in word-formation in the form of co-functional and multifunctional formatives/operations and cumulative or extended exponence. Preferably, such mechanisms should be non-arbitrary, i.e. in addition to mapping the functions into relevant operations, they should capture the cognitive relationship between them. (Zbierska-Sawala 1993: 7)

This discussion was meant to be a contribution to the debate over the visibility of morphological boundaries on phonological rules. It could also be important for the debate concerning the historical development of the phonological structure of morphemes that have different origins. The research perspective, while framed as Natural Phonology due to the fact that this article is part of a larger NP project on English prefixation, could also be considered as support for a typology as a panchronic perspective which “as a universal research method removes contrarieties between synchrony and diachrony” (Kotin 2012: 63).<sup>26</sup> This analysis shows that the contemporary status of the English prefixes {co-} and {ex-} results

<sup>24</sup> {dis-} and {mis-} behave just like {co-}: there is no communication at all between the morphemes they concatenate with (compare: *irrelevant* vs. *disrespected*). With the reservation that {mis-} is not really a Latinate prefix, according to Burney ([1992] 2002); it is an Old English one that merged with Latinate {mes-}.

<sup>25</sup> For example <http://www.learnenglish.de/grammar/prefixtext.htm>

<sup>26</sup> See also the motivation in Pociechina: “Типологическое описание в известной степени амбивалентно по отношению к строго разделяемым в структурном языкоznании понятиям синхронии и диахронии. Принятый в данной работе панхронический подход обоснован с точки зрения объекта исследования — условий появления и особенностей функционирования грамматических вариантов именных основ в славянских языках” (2009: 10).

from the natural morphological process of segmentability, through which particular forms first become semantically transparent and then serve as a basis for new generative activity.

## References

- Algeo, John (2010) *The Origins and Development of the English Language* (based on the original work by Thomas Pyles). Boston: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Blake, Norman (ed.) ([1992] 2002) *The Cambridge History of English Language*. Vol. 2: 1066-1476. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Booij, Geert (1985) "Coordination Reduction in Complex Words: A Case for Prosodic Phonology." [In:] Harry van der Hulst, Norval Smith (eds.) *Advances in Nonlinear Phonology*. Dordrecht: Foris; 143–160.
- Booij, Geert E. (2005) "Compounding and Derivation: Evidence for Construction Morphology." [In:] Wolfgang U. Dressler, Dieter Kastovsky, Oskar E. Pfeiffer, Franz Rainer (eds.) *Morphology and Its Demarcations*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins; 109–132.
- Burney, David ([1992] 2002) "Lexis and Semantics." [In:] Norman Blake (ed.) *The Cambridge History of English Language*. Vol. 2: 1066-1476. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 409–499.
- Bynon, Theodora ([1977] 1996) *Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carr, Phillip (1993) *Phonology*. London: Macmillan.
- Chornogor, Yulia (2007) "On Morphophonological Categorization of Suffixes in English Stress." [In:] *System und Variation: 29. DGfS-Jahrestagung*. Universität Siegen; 187–188.
- Corrie, Marilyn (2006) "Middle English: Dialects and Diversity." [In:] Lynda Mugglestone (ed.) *The Oxford History of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 86–119.
- Cummings, D[onald] W. (1988) *American English Spelling*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Denning, Keith, Brett Kresler, William Leben ([1995] 2007) *English Vocabulary Items*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dinnsen, Daniel A. (ed.) *Current Approaches to Phonological Theory*. Bloomington: Indiana University of Pennsylvania.
- Donegan, Patricia, David Stampe (1979) "The Study of Natural Phonology." [In:] Daniel A. Dinnsen (ed.) *Current Approaches to Phonological Theory*. Bloomington: Indiana University of Pennsylvania; 126–173.
- Donegan, Patricia, David Stampe (2009) "Hypotheses of Natural Phonology." [In:] *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 45 (1); 1–32.
- Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, Katarzyna (ed.) (2001) *Constraints and Preferences*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Even-Simkin, Elena, Yishai Tobin (2011) "Common Semantic Denominators of the Internal Vowel Alteration System in English." [In:] *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 47 (2); 308–330.
- Fisiak, Jacek (1965) *Morphological Structure of Chaucer's English*. Alabama: University of Alabama Press.
- Flemons, Douglas (1991) *Completing Distinctions*. Boston: Shambhala.
- Haładewicz-Grzelak, Małgorzata (2014a) "Reanalysis and Saliency in English Latinate Prefixation: A Case Study of the Prefixal POA Assimilation in English." [In:] *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego* 70; 79–93.
- Haładewicz-Grzelak, Małgorzata (2014b) "Zabrocki's Structural Phonetics in the Case Study of Velar POA Assimilation in Latinate Prefixation in RP English." [In:] *Lingua Posnaniensis* 61 (2); 19–28.
- Haładewicz-Grzelak Małgorzata (submitted) "Beats-and-Binding Topics in the (Mor)Phonology of {con-} in English."

- Horobin, Simon, Jeremy Smith (2002) *An Introduction to Middle English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Jurewicz, Oktawiusz, Lidia Winniczuk, Janina Żuławska (2004) *Język łaciński: podręcznik dla lektoratów szkół wyższych*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Kastovsky, Dieter (1986) "Problems in the Morphological Analysis of Complex Linguistic Items." [In:] *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 36; 97–117.
- Kastovsky, Dieter (1989) "Old English Morphonological Processes and Morphology." [In:] Wolfgang Grosser, Karl Humayer, Franz Wagner, Wilfried Wieden (eds.) *Phonophilia. Untersuchungen zur Phonetik und Phonologie. Festschrift für Franc Zaic*. Salzburg: Abakus; 83–94.
- Kotin, Michał (2012) "Typologia ogólna a historyczna." [In:] *Academic Journal of Modern Philology* 1; 57–64.
- Kuryłowicz, Jerzy (1972) "The Role of Deictic Elements in Linguistic Evolution." [In:] *Semiotica* 5 (2); 174–183.
- MacMahon, Michael K. C. (1998) "Phonology." [In:] *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. 4. Ed. by Suzanne Romaine. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 373–535.
- Millward, Celia, Mary Hayes ([1996] 2012) *A Biography of the English Language*. Boston: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Mugglestone, Lynda (2006) (ed.) *The Oxford History of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nagano, Akiko (2007) "Marchand's Analysis of Back Formation Revisited: Back-Formation as a Type of Conversion." [In:] *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 54 (1); 33–72.
- Partridge, Eric ([1958] 2006) *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*. London: Taylor and Francis Group.
- Pociechina, Helena (2009) *Грамматическая вариативность в славянских языках: Морфонологический аспект*. Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de ([2002] 2006) *Writings in General Linguistics*. Transl. by Carol Sanders, Matthew Pires. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scheer, Tobias (2011) *A Guide to Morphosyntax-Phonology Interface Theories*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sobkowiak, Włodzimierz (1996) *English Phonetics for Poles: A Resource Book for Learners and Teachers*. Poznań: Bene Nati.
- Stampe, David (1979) *A Dissertation on Natural Phonology*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Tobin, Yishai (ed.) (2009) *Special Theme Issue: Phonology as Human Behavior. The Asia-Pacific Journal of Speech, Language and Hearing* 12 (2), June.
- Wełna, Jerzy (1978) *A Diachronic Grammar of English*. Part 1: *Phonology*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Zbierska-Sawala, Anna (1993) *Early Middle English Word Formation*. Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang.

### Dictionaries used

- Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1988) London: Klett.
- Diccionario de uso inglés-español, Spanish-English* (1993) Madrid: SGEL-Educación.
- El Diccionario Oxford / The Oxford Spanish Dictionary* (1994) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, Daniel (2003) *Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary*. 16th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1978/1981) Bath: Longman.
- Oxford English Dictionary on CD-ROM* (1992) 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wells, J[ohn] C. (1990) *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary*. Harlow: Pearson Education.

### Online sources

- “Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500).” Available at: <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf>
- Rakić, Stanimir (2007) “A Note on the Latinate Constraint in English Affixation.” [In:] *SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics* 4 (3); 45–56. Available at: [http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL10/pdf\\_doc/4.pdf](http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL10/pdf_doc/4.pdf)
- [http://atilf.atilf.fr/scripts/dmfX.exe?LEM=RESSORT1;ISIS=isis\\_dmf2012.txt;MENU=menu\\_dmf;OUVRIR\\_MENU=2;s=s0c480738;LANGUE=FR;FERMER;AFFICHAGE=2;MENU=menu\\_dmf;XMODE=STELLa;FERMER;;](http://atilf.atilf.fr/scripts/dmfX.exe?LEM=RESSORT1;ISIS=isis_dmf2012.txt;MENU=menu_dmf;OUVRIR_MENU=2;s=s0c480738;LANGUE=FR;FERMER;AFFICHAGE=2;MENU=menu_dmf;XMODE=STELLa;FERMER;;)
- <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/>
- <http://dictionary.reference.com>
- <http://www.encyclo.co.uk>
- <http://pl.forvo.com/>
- [www.macmillandictionary.pronunciation/british](http://www.macmillandictionary.pronunciation/british)
- <http://melodict.com/>
- <http://www.memidex.com/>
- <http://micmap.org/dicfro/search/dictionnaire-godefroy/>
- <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/>
- <http://www.yourdictionary.com/>

*Academic  
Journal  
of  
Modern  
Philology*

## **Social Identification and Positioning in Academic Discourse: An English-Polish Comparative Study**

### **Abstract**

This article sets out to present the critical role of positioning theory and social identification theory in the discoursal analysis of authorial presence in academic texts by focusing on the dynamic nature of writer identity. Drawing on Harré's, Fairclough's and Hall's work, and my own focus on the relationship between students' identities and their experience of academic writing, I claim that discoursal identity often establishes itself in relation to difference and that it refers to the various "selves" which writers employ in the act of writing, which locates identity in socio-cultural and institutionally defined subject positions. An empirical case is then presented. It consists of a description of my own semi-ethnographic study<sup>1</sup> on the co-construction of *authorial identity* in student writing in both English and Polish, focusing on the findings of the macro-level analysis of a text corpus. The findings of the study support my other claim that *authorial identity* is a dynamic concept which cannot be determined entirely by socio-cultural or institutional factors, but is unique for each writer and can be negotiated and changed.

*Keywords:* academic discourse, authorial identity, social identification, deliberate self-positioning, forced self-positioning.

### **Theoretical background**

"Discourse" is a difficult concept, mainly because of the wide variety of conflicting definitions that have been formulated from different theoretical and disciplinary perspectives. The multiplicity of discourse functions is accentuated in Gee's (2012: 3) definition that: "Discourses are ways of behaving, interacting,

<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on a part of my Ph.D. research project on "The co-construction of authorial identity in student writing in Polish and English."

valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing [...]. They are ‘ways of being in the world.’ They are ‘forms of life.’ They are socially situated identities.” Gee also asserts that “[f]ailing to display an identity fully is tantamount to announcing you do not have that identity – at best you are pretender or a beginner” (1990: 155). Such a multidimensional view of discourse does not allow text analyses in linguistics to focus exclusively on sentence-level research (as Fisiak’s research in the 1980s did), or on the investigation of textual organization patterns (which was the subject of Duszak’s 1994, 1997 and Golebiowski’s 1998, 2006 studies). Today, discourse analyses extend their scope to higher-level organizational features which emphasize interaction between discourse participants situated in a particular socio-cultural and institutional context. This approach has been made possible due to Halliday’s and Fairclough’s methods for discourse analysis which view language as an analytical tool in a “social-semiotic perspective.” Fairclough (1992: 64) argues that discourse contributes predominantly to what are referred to as “social identities” and “subject positions” for social “subjects” and types of “self.” *Subject positions*, which in the original sense of the term correspond to the interactants’ dynamic and discourse-situated actions, thus underlining the participants’ *agency*, seem to be a more attractive alternative for a linguistically-oriented socio-cultural analyst than the static and high-order concept of “role” as proposed by Goffman in the late 1950s. The plural form of this noun brings to mind the theories of Harré, Davis, van Langenhove or Bakhtin, who emphasized the variety of possibilities for the realization of the discursal *self* and now allow us to avoid the trap of single positioning. Academic authors usually move between different subject positions, some of which are more important than others, some of which they identify themselves with and some of which they reject. The plural word “positionings” also captures the idea of people interacting simultaneously with a variety of social groups. It means that there is no identity as a product but a continuous self-identification process which lasts throughout one’s lifetime and equips each individual with several identities. In identifying myself as a woman, for example, I identify myself with the broader category of “women,” or at least with some aspects of that category. I also identify myself as a native speaker of Polish, a mother, an academic teacher, a writer and a jazz lover. I have to manage all of my identities because they impact each other rather than simply add up to one another, so the way I enact my identity as, for example, an academic teacher, is influenced by my other identities.

Burke (1969) was the first rhetorical theorist to claim that *identification* is the key term in *rhetoric* (referring both to spoken and written discourse) and argued that *rhetoric* as such cannot be viewed solely as the act of explicit and intentional persuasion addressed to a specific audience because, first of all, it requires *identification*. According to Burke, the primary aim of rhetoric is not to win an argument but to establish a relationship between the interactants. He argued, “You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his” (Burke 1969: 55).

Burke’s *identification theory* is in line with the conventional meaning of *identification*, which is understood as a notion constituted on the basis of shared origin, properties or characteristics with another individual or group. In contrast to this common sense definition, a more recent approach accentuates the critical role of *difference* in the act of discursive identity construction. Along these lines, Stuart Hall argues:

[t]he discursive approach sees identification as a construction, a process never completed [...] subject to the ‘play’, of différence. It obeys the logic of more-than-one. And since as a process it operates across difference, it entails discursive work, the blinding and marking of symbolic boundaries, the production of ‘frontier-effects’. It requires what is left outside, its constitutive outside, to consolidate the process. (1996: 2–3)

The problem of conflicting identities is often the case of academic writers who do not define themselves in terms of areas of similarity shared with other group members. Connolly (1991), when exploring the nature of political identity, argued that identity only establishes itself in relation to difference, *i.e.* in order to initiate the process of identity formation it is necessary for there to be other identities – other relationships which are being rejected. Similarity, difference and boundaries between an individual writer and social groups play a critical role in the act of authorial identity construction. As Ivanič (1998) observes, the problem of identification with one particular academic community is reflected in the process of writing an academic essay when students, on the one hand, have a sense of belonging to their academic community but, on the other hand, identify themselves strongly with other groups, from whom their academic community may be differentiating itself. In my teaching practice I have often witnessed situations when student-writers decided not to express some important aspects of their identity constituted by their cultural experience for fear of not being understood by the audience (a teacher or their classmates).

The boundary that might help to establish academic writer identity does not, however, seem possible to be set because of the wide variety of positionings that constitute the individual's self. This is well explained by Harré's and van Langenhove's *positioning theory*, which can be viewed as a conceptual and methodological framework classifying acts of positioning into three main categories:

[O]n one dimension of difference what matters is whether individual persons are positioned by individuals or collectives by collectives. On another dimension what matters is whether an individual or collective reflectively positions themselves, or whether it is by some other which positions and is positioned. The third dimension is whether the positioning act is symmetrical or asymmetrical, that is, whether each positions the other or whether in positioning one the other is also positioned in the same act. (1999: 6)

Since an individual's identity is a complex of interweaving positionings embedded in a lifelong self-identification process, both positioning theory and identification theory should not be treated as deterministic theories that call for immediate application but rather as a starting point for reflecting on many different aspects involved in the construction of academic writer identity.

### **The study**

The critical impact of social identification and positioning on writer identity became evident during an analysis of the text and the interview corpora of my own research project on the co-construction of authorial identity in student writing in both Polish and English.

My study was conducted at two universities in Warsaw and at one university in Łódź, Poland. The subjects participating in the study were Polish students in their fourth year of full-time English Philology<sup>2</sup> studies (the first year of their master's studies) and Polish students in their first year of full-time Polish Philology<sup>3</sup> studies at the master's level. The sample size consisted of 16 student participants and was

2 *English Philology* is a common university department in Poland which combines the study of practical language learning, linguistics, literature and culture of English-speaking countries.

3 *Polish Philology* is a common university department in Poland which combines the study of literature and linguistics with other disciplines relevant to both literature and linguistics.

divided into two groups: a research group and a control group. The subject of my research inquiry was the authorial identity of English Philology students which was compared with the textual realization of the identity of Polish Philology subjects.

My control group subjects had basic knowledge of English and no experience with writing in this language, whereas my research subjects were at either the second (intercultural) or third (transcultural) level of intercultural learning (according to Meyer's and Kordes' classification) and, therefore, were aware of how to navigate the linguistic and cultural divide. They had been required to write in English as a part of their curriculum for three years prior to this study. Just as other second language writers in English, they were expected to align themselves both with the language behavior of native speakers and with the conventions of their academic discourse community.

My study was modeled on research methods from the ethnographic inquiry used by Geertz (1973) and Ivanič (1998), and from the discourse analysis that had been conducted by van Leeuwen (2008). Believing, along with Geertz (1973: 5), that “man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun,” I took culture to be those webs and not an exercise in experimental science in search of a law but an interpretative one in search of meaning.

To test the validity of the research assumptions, writing samples and interviews with the students were selected for the case-study research. The study used an interpretative, contextualized and qualitative approach to data analysis and included a small sample of quantitative observations.

The following research question was the main subject of inquiry of this research project:

- Does a dual authorial “self” exist? If it does, how is it developed and expressed in student writing in English and Polish?

First, the “thick description” as proposed by Geertz was used here to describe the students’ written work in order to find out what kind of themes would emerge during the analysis of the writing samples. Then, narrative interviews were conducted (Chamberlyne *et al.* 2000) to obtain narrative accounts of the subjects’ lives for the corpus. The students’ responses to my questionnaire-based questions were examined for indicators of recurring themes both in the interviews and in the writing samples. Later, the recurring themes were typified, categorized and coded. My questions were subject to modification and alteration as the study progressed. Then, four aspects of “self” as outlined by Ivanič (1998), *i.e.* “autobiographical self,” “discursal self,” “self as author” and **“possibilities for selfhood in a socio-cultural and institutional context,”** were applied to provide a framework to investigate the role of identity in student writing in both Polish and English.

The study drew on a three-dimensional framework for studying discourse as first developed by Fairclough and applied in critical discourse analysis (CDA). Since the responses to the questions posed at the meso level of analysis were known, the study concentrated on the two other aspects of CDA, *i.e.* on the macro and micro levels.

The concept of social actors investigated at the macro level in my study was inspired by the work of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), which offers a very useful framework for a metalinguistic understanding of social actor representation. Their functional “grammar of visual design” acknowledges that all texts have social, cultural and contextual aspects that must be considered along with consideration of the intended audience and purpose.

To examine the role of social actors as depicted in the writing samples of my study subjects, I posed the following research questions:

- What relevant identities do authors communicate in their texts?
- Why are these identities conceptualized and communicated the way they are?

To answer these questions, I considered the following two parameters of social actor representation:

---

69

- the number and types of social actors in discourse;
- the frequency of a change in perspective.

In response to the writing task, the study subjects were asked to draw on their personal experience with writing and to express their opinions about the relationship between their situation as student-writers and the metaphor of Scheherazade's plight. The research group students were required to produce two essays, one written in English and one written in Polish, whereas the control group students were to write one essay in Polish. All of the subjects were also asked to address the following question: "How does Hawthorne's saying 'Easy reading is damn hard writing' relate to Scheherazade's talent and to your personal experience as a student writer?"

The basic interpretation of Scheherazade's metaphor assumes a direct comparison of the situation of the "I-student-writer" to Scheherazade's plight. However, the identities communicated by the actors in the subjects' essays from both groups varied in type and number. The number of social actors in the texts written by the research group subjects ranged from 6 to 10, and in the texts written by the control group subjects it ranged from 3 to 12. The identities communicated by my study subjects also differed in the sequence of a change in perspective. However, the disparities in both the number and status of the social actors were observed not between groups but within the groups.

This finding can be explained by the fact that each academic writer is equipped with several identities and that writer has to decide how to enact his or her identities in a particular text. In the narratives of my study subjects, their authorial identities "travel" through different stages according to each writer's individual choice (they move from general, expressed by the pronouns "we" or "they," to specific identities, expressed by the pronouns "I" or "s/he," or the narrative voice of the "I-writer" is hidden behind other perspectives, thus effacing the writer's *self* completely). This observation shows that academic writers may see themselves, to a greater or lesser extent, as authors and, consequently, thus present themselves to a greater or lesser extent as authors. Some writers express their ideas by activating the voices of other social actors represented in the test, whereas others take up a strong authorial stance by the more frequent use of the "I-writer" perspective.

The diversified data presented above support my claim that writing is an act of identity which reveals the author's natural habit or characteristic in order for that writer to present him or herself or others as authoritative and to develop a widespread or more concise interpretative approach. Therefore, the ability to reflect, or to look at ideas from several points of view, is the individual predisposition of each writer, and not a skill to be mastered from observation and practice.

The dynamic view of identity I am presenting here also stresses the tensions that occur when student-writers are expected to align themselves with the rhetorical conventions of the institution in which they write and to meet the expectations of individual teachers.

My analysis of the text and the interview corpora for the power relations that exist between readers and writers yields the following observations:

- both groups of students expressed power relations through the following perspectives: listeners → storytellers; Scheherazade → the king; writers → readers; student-writers → teachers;
- both groups of students used modal verbs of external constraint to signal power relations (e.g. must, have to, should, ought to).

These data clearly show that power relations are a central part of the writing process for both groups of students under investigation since they refer to fixed, pre-discursive subject positions that are assigned to readers (teachers) and writers (students). In this way, power relations contribute to the creation of the “institutional” part of the student-writers’ identity since students are expected to obey the conventionalized values and beliefs of academic communication and the institutionally established rules for the rhetorical structure of the written work.

## Conclusions

To sum up, the above-mentioned findings show that the construction of *authorial identity* is a dynamic concept which cannot be determined entirely by any socio-cultural or institutional factors but is rather the outcome of complex social identification processes and the different positions that writers occupy in discourse. Some of these occur in the form of *deliberate self-positioning* (according to Harré’s classification), which happens when one wants to express his/her personal identity and decides to do so by stressing one’s agency, by referring to one’s unique point of view, or by referring to events in one’s biography. The other type of positioning, referred to by Harré as *forced self-positioning*, shifts the initiative from the person involved (“the author” in academic discourse) to somebody else (“the external socio-cultural and institutional forces” in an academic text). Since the resources for the construction of identity are multiple, the academic writer’s identity remains a complex of interweaving and dynamic positionings.

My research project has only been an issue-raising study revealing the complexity of the factors involved in the discursal construction of writer identity in academic texts written in the subjects’ mother tongue and a foreign language. It is therefore clear that there are many avenues for future research within this new field of discourse studies of identity, with particular reference to the context of academic writing. An important line of further study can be inspired by the following questions which emerged from this study:

- To what extent is authorial identity constructed by the *agency* of the writers, their deliberate self-positioning, and to what extent is it a product of forced subject positions that writers occupy in a particular socio-cultural and institutional context?
- Which subject positions do writers identify with, which do they feel ambivalent about and which do they reject?
- What is the role of power as a force which mediates academic discourse?
- What major and minor identities are communicated in an academic text?
- What are the factors that determine the strength of authorial stance in an academic text?

Since the problem of the mechanisms of discourse identity construction is by no means resolved and requires further interdisciplinary research, answers to the above questions should contribute to the development of theory and practice in such fields as discourse studies, textual linguistics and cultural studies.

## References

- Burke, Kenneth (1969) *A Rhetoric of Motives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chamberlyne, Prue, Joanna Bornat, Tom Wengraf (2000) *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science*. London: Routledge.
- Connolly, William E. (1991) *Identity / Difference*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Duszak, Anna (1994) "Academic Discourse and Intellectual Styles." [In:] *Journal of Pragmatics* 21; 291–313.
- Duszak, Anna (1997) "Cross-Cultural Academic Communication: A Discourse-Community View." [In:] Anna Duszak (ed.) *Culture and Styles of Academic Discourse*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter; 11–39.
- Fairclough, Norman (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fisiak, Jacek (1981) *Contrastive Linguistics and the Language Teacher*. New York: Pergamon.
- Gee, James P. (1990) *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourses*. Basingstoke: Falmer Press.
- Gee, James P. (2012) *Social Linguistics and Literacies*. London: Routledge.
- Geertz, Clifford (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. New York: Basic Books.
- Golebiowski, Zofia (1998) "Rhetorical Approaches to Scientific Writing: An English-Polish Contrastive Study." [In:] *Text* 18 (1); 67–102.
- Golebiowski, Zofia (2006) "Globalisation of Academic Communities and the Style of Research Reporting: The Case of Sociology Research Article." [In:] *Transcultural Studies: A Series in Interdisciplinary Research* 1; 57–72.
- Hall, Stuart, Paul du Gay (eds.) (1996) *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications.
- Harré, Rom, Luk van Langenhove (1999) *Positioning Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Ivanič, Roz (1998) *Writing and Identity. The Discoursal Construction of Identity in Academic Writing*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kress, Gunther, Theo van Leeuwen (1996) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. New York: Routledge.
- Leeuwen, Theo van (2008) *Discourse and Practice: Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press.

*Academic  
Journal  
of  
Modern  
Philology*

NATALIA PIETRASZEWSKA

Philological School of Higher Education in Wrocław

e-ISSN 2353-3218  
ISSN 2299-7164  
Vol. 4 (2015)  
73–80

## **On the Complexity of Creole Languages: The Fractal Approach**

### **Abstract**

The current paper aims to compare the complexity of texts translated into English-based creole languages and English. The main motivation for the choice of topic was the growing body of evidence that languages and language phenomena, such as texts, may be regarded as complex adaptable systems of signs. These systems may display some fractal properties, such as self-similarity at different scales. In consequence, texts may be analysed in the same manner as other fractal objects. It is possible, for instance, to estimate their fractal dimensions which, to some extent, reflect the degree of their structural complexity. Such an assumption enables one to calculate and compare fractal dimensions of parallel translations of texts to various languages in order to compare their complexity levels. Methods which enable comparisons of complexity of texts in different languages are particularly important with regard to creole languages, since the complexity of contact languages is still the subject of debate.

In the following study, ten parallel translations of passages from the New Testament were mapped onto time series plots based on the length and the frequency rank of words. The values of Hurst exponent as well as fractal dimension were estimated and it was found that the studied time series did not differ significantly between English and English-based creoles with respect to their fractal dimensions. The results lend support to the idea that creole languages are simply new languages which are merely different from their superstrate language rather than being less complex, at least with regard to their lexical patterns.

*Keywords:* fractal dimension, language complexity, creole languages, time series.

Semiotic signs, which may take the form of words, sounds or images, are arranged into systems which are embedded in other semiotic systems. In a similar manner, each text is an example of a sign-system embedded in language (Sebeok [1994] 2001: 7–8), which, in turn, is embedded in its cultural setting. Furthermore, texts may be considered to be communicative events embedded in a context that may be

either situational, social or cultural (Chruszczewski 2006). This stems from the fact that text production is governed by sets of cultural practices influencing the signifying system, also known as codes, which help to link signs in interpretative frameworks and thus have a crucial role in text production and interpretation (Hall 1980: 131; Chandler 2002: 147–148).

It is important to acknowledge that texts are not only sets of units, such as phrases or clauses, but also sign systems embedded in higher-level systems and which integrate many sub-systems (Hřebíček 1995: 6–7). Cohesion and coherence are among the most significant standards of textuality (de Beaugrande & Dressler [1972] 1981), and they clearly stem from interactions between the symbolic constituents of a text. The importance of such interactions may lead one to the conclusion that the text may be viewed as a “complex system,” *i.e.* according to the science of complexity. This is further supported by the idea, as proposed by the “Five Graces Group” of Santa Fe in 2009, that language is a complex adaptive system (Beckner *et al.* 2009). Such complex systems are postulated to have a number of features which distinguish them from disordered or chaotic structures. First, they are composed of a number of agents, the interactions of which play a vital role in shaping the emergent behavior of the system (Rickles *et al.* 2007). Each complex system is subject to feedback, which means that its components are able to adapt and change, first on a local level of organization and then within the global level of the system, which again modifies the agents. Such complex systems have an intrinsic tendency to self-organize, as local interactions commonly lead to global coordination and to the emergence of global properties stemming from local interactions. The response to modifications is, nevertheless, hardly ever predictable: it is not proportional to causal factors, therefore it is nonlinear (Goldstein 1999). It appears that all of the features of complex systems, including agent-based architecture, robustness, self-organization, and emergence of new properties on a global scale due to interactions between agents, may be found in language (Beckner *et al.* 2009).

If language is indeed a “complex system” as understood by complexity science, this sheds new light on the issue of measuring its complexity. It appears that the methods used to quantify some of the properties of physical systems may also be of use in linguistics. Many complex systems display fractal properties such as self-similarity, which is linked with the issue of self-organization of the system and may be calculated using well-established methods (Kale & Butar Butar 2011; Liebovitch & Scheurle 2000). One of the areas in which such an approach to measuring the complexity of language will be useful is estimating and comparing the complexity of creole languages, since this may help to establish whether language contact leads to simplification or complexification.

Analysis of time series is among the most promising methods used to study the complex behavior of language. It is based on the assumption that languages are dynamical, complex adaptive systems of signs, and that their texts are symbolic entities with a seemingly linear structure which allows their mapping by time series. Nevertheless, as languages are postulated to have fractal organization, texts may be regarded as spatial or temporal fractals, and it is possible to estimate their self-similarity and correlations between statistical properties on various structural levels, or at various timescales.

At this point it is necessary to explain how the term “fractal” is interpreted in linguistics. Fractals may be understood as self-similar patterns at every scale which lead to the emergence of rich and complex spatial or temporal structures (Mandelbrot 1989). These objects make it possible to describe a number of apparently irregular forms observed in nature (Mandelbrot 1989). The main properties of natural fractals include self-similarity, scalability and unique statistical properties, which make it impossible to characterize the data by using well-known statistical measures such as “mean” or “variance.” Fractal

objects or processes are commonly characterized by their fractal dimension, which reflects the roughness of the self-similar pattern. Fractal dimension calculations have successfully been used in numerous analyses, and this parameter is effective in establishing the measure of the complexity (Sandau & Kurz 1997). Fractal analysis seems to be rather comprehensive, as it may take into account the lengths of units on all linguistic levels as well as both short-range and long-range correlations between the constituents of a text.

One of the approaches is based on the fact that the distribution of units in texts follows the Menzerath–Altmann law, according to which an increase in the size of a linguistic construct, such as a sentence, is coupled with a decrease in the size of its constituents (Altmann 1980). There is a power-law relation between these parameters that may be a signature of the structural self-similarity that is typical of fractal patterns. As language is composed of units that are arranged in a certain manner, it allows for the creation of more and more complex structures: phonemes are arranged into words, words into sentences, sentences into texts; and as such, complex structures can be analyzed in various scales, so that their fractal dimension may be established (Andres 2010; Andres *et al.* 2012). It is also possible to present the text in the form of time series. Thus far, approaches to the construction of time series have involved using the properties of letters, words and sentences as values on the time axis of the time series (Ausloos 2012). This is followed by an analysis of a plot including the search for long-range correlations, which indicates the fractal nature of texts.

### Research method and results

Since words seem to be an example of an easy-to-delimit, and thus accessible, structural unit, they were chosen as the basis for devising the time series. In the following study, ten translations of passages from the Book of Matthew in the New Testament were mapped onto time series plots based on the length of words and on the frequency-rank of the words (as described by Kosmidis *et al.* 2006). Three English translations were studied, namely the English Standard Version, the Common English Bible and the Contemporary English Version, as well as seven translations into English-based creole languages: Belize Kriol, Bislama, Hawaiian Creole, Jamaican Patois, Kriol, Nigerian Pidgin and Tok Pisin. The Book of Matthew was chosen due to the fact that it was the only text to be translated into all English-based creole languages that were of interest at the time. The same fragments of translations of the same text were chosen so that the differences could not be attributed to different register, field or tenor.

The next step involved calculating the Hurst exponent ( $H$ ), which reflects the long-term memory or persistence of time series and is closely linked to the fractal dimension (Weron 2002; Kale & Butar Butar 2011). The idea of long memory refers to the presence of statistical dependencies over long time-scales (Riley *et al.* 2012), *i.e.* when time series exhibit statistical self-similarity. Values of  $H$  larger than 0.5 are believed to indicate long memory of time series, while values below 0.5 suggest the anti-persistence of a time series, meaning that: “[...] successive changes tend to cancel each other out” (Sandau & Kurz 1997).

The calculations were conducted by using the rescaled range or the R/S method based on the formula:  $H = \frac{\log(R/S)}{\log(T)}$ , where  $T$  is the time or duration of the sample data and  $R/S$  is the value of the rescaled range calculated for this duration (for more details, see Kale & Butar Butar 2011). It was assumed that the fractal dimension ( $D$ ) representing surface roughness of a time series equals  $2 - H$  (Kale & Butar Butar 2011).

Additional data were obtained from the Ethnologue website in order to observe the possible dependence of the fractal dimension of the language on the number of speakers, the time of creole formation as well as the EGIDS rank reflecting the status of the language among its speakers (see Lewis *et al.* (eds.) 2014). The relevant information for the studied creole languages may be found in Table 1.

Table 1. Selected characteristics of analyzed creole languages according to the Ethnologue website

Language	Belizean Creole (BKE)	Bislama (BIS)	Hawaiian creole (HCE)	Jamaican Patois (JCE)	Kriol	Nigerian Pidgin (NPE)	Tok Pisin (TPI)
Estimated number of L1 speakers	70 000	10 000	600 000	2 670 000	4200	unknown	122 000
Total number of speakers	110 000	210 000	1 100 000	3 205 000	14 200	30 000 000	4 122 000
Approximate time of creole formation	1750s	1880s	1900s	1655	1908	1900s	1860s
EGIDS rank	3	3	5	5	3	3	1

The values of the Hurst exponent  $H$  as well as fractal dimension  $D$  (calculated for time series constructed for ten translations of the same Biblical text) are presented in Tables 2, 3 and 4. The texts in various languages are ordered according to their fractal dimension  $D$ . Abbreviations used are: Belizean Kriol English (BKE), Bislama (BIS), The Common English Bible (CEB), Contemporary English Version (CEV), English Standard Version (ESV), Hawai'i Creole English (HCE), Jamaican Creole English (JCE), Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE), and Tok Pisin (TPI).  $N$  denotes the number of words in the analyzed version, while  $H$  denotes the estimated value of the Hurst exponent.

Table 2. Hurst exponent and fractal dimension of word length time series

	BKE	NPE	CEB	ESV	CEV	JCE	TPI	Kriol	HCE	BIS
$N$	2180	2308	1633	1676	1699	2262	2519	2517	2367	2827
$H$	0.773	0.758	0.657	0.644	0.629	0.624	0.597	0.559	0.533	0.512
$D$	1.227	1.242	1.343	1.356	1.371	1.376	1.403	1.441	1.467	1.488

Table 3. Hurst exponent and fractal dimension of word frequency time series with tied ranks

	NPE	BKE	HCE	CEB	ESV	CEV	Kriol	JCE	BIS	TPI
$N$	2308	2180	2367	1633	1676	1699	2517	2262	2827	2519

	NPE	BKE	HCE	CEB	ESV	CEV	Kriol	JCE	BIS	TPI	
H	0.765	0.546	0.536	0.528	0.522	0.516	0.507	0.504	0.497	0.484	77
D	1.235	1.454	1.464	1.472	1.478	1.484	1.493	1.496	1.503	1.516	

Table 4. Hurst exponent and fractal dimension of word frequency time series without tied ranks

	BKE	NPE	CEV	Kriol	CEB	TPI	BIS	ESV	JCE	HCE
N	2180	2308	1699	2517	1633	2519	2827	1676	2262	2367
H	0.706	0.694	0.598	0.592	0.573	0.561	0.545	0.534	0.531	0.520
D	1.294	1.306	1.402	1.408	1.427	1.439	1.455	1.466	1.469	1.480

## Conclusions

The aim of this study was to explore the fractality as well as possible complexity of both non-creole and creole languages. If the complexity of contact languages differs much from the complexity of the superstrate language, then a significant difference in their fractal dimensions should be observed.

However, the data calculated here indicate similarities in the Hurst exponents as well as fractal dimensions of texts translated into creole languages and Standard English versions. The data concerning the fractal dimensions estimated for the studied time series do not indicate any significant differences between the fractal dimension of the texts in creole languages and in Standard English versions. This means that, although the values of the fractal dimensions may differ greatly between individual languages (for instance, Tok Pisin and Nigerian Pidgin English have equal word frequency in the time series), there is no observable clustering of contact languages with reference to their fractal dimension. Similarly, it appears that the Common English Bible (CEB), the Contemporary English Version (CEV) and the English Standard Version (ESV) are clustered with respect to their fractal dimension only in word-length time series. However, in this case only two creole languages have a significantly lower fractal dimension, whereas texts translated into five creoles seem to have higher roughness levels than the English translations.

Moreover, in the frequency-based time series without tied ranks (Table 4), the differences between assorted English translations were larger than the differences between the English and creole translations; for example, the fractal dimension of Kriol shows that its roughness lies between the Contemporary English Version and the Common English Bible Version. Similarly, the roughness of the Tok Pisin and Bislama texts is higher than for CEB but lower than in the English Standard Version. Furthermore, the differences in the values of D between certain creoles and English are very slight. The assumption that creole languages are less complex than the established and stable languages is therefore not supported by these findings.

The results seem to indicate that creole languages are simply new languages which are merely different from their superstrate language rather than being less complex, at least with regard to their lexical patterns. This lends support to the argument of Holm (2000: 5), who observed that “[i]t is only comparatively recently that linguists have realised that Pidgins and Creoles are not wrong versions of other languages but rather new languages... shaped by the same linguistic forces that shaped English and other ‘proper’ languages.” The values of the Hurst exponent estimated for the time series of the analyzed

texts clearly lend support to such a view. The lack of significant differences between statistical self-similarity in English and the creole texts suggests that contact languages cannot be presented as simplified English. One must, however, bear in mind that the time series constructed on the basis of words allows for an examination of only one aspect of linguistic self-similarity and complexity. Therefore, more research on linguistic units at other levels of language organization is necessary in order to draw any firm conclusions regarding the complexity of languages.

Interestingly, no evidence for correlations between the estimated times of formation of the languages, the numbers of speakers, or the EGIDS ranks and their roughness was found. Despite the fact that the creole languages analyzed here are English-based, and that many of them have quite similar origins and had similar linguistic constraints limiting their development, their fractal dimensions are far from equal. This suggests that in the process of language evolution, even slight differences in initial conditions may eventually lead to the development of large differences in the structure of the system. It also leads to the conclusion that perhaps other factors, such as the number of L2 speakers at the time of creolization or the extent of contact between different communities, played a primary role in shaping the languages in question. Unfortunately, only very limited data concerning such factors are available, which is not surprising since both the degree and type of contact with neighboring speech communities seem to be especially difficult to research and quantify.

The existence of differences between languages may be attributed to the different levels of synthetism of each studied language (Popescu *et al.* 2013), *i.e.* in the case of word-length time series. This stems from the fact that in analytic languages, words tend to be short, while in more synthetic languages the word length is more variable, as it is influenced by affixes. As a result, synthetic languages display more irregular oscillations in word length, and thus lower persistence of time series, thus meaning a lower Hurst exponent and higher roughness. The frequency time series can also provide some information pertaining to the structure of language, or at least to a given text. With high lexical diversity in a text there is a lower chance of observing repetitive sequences and, as a result, much lower values of the Hurst exponent are expected. This may, however, reflect the skills of the translator rather than provide insight into the nature of a studied language.

The method applied in this study is commonly used to estimate the fractal dimension of time series, but one has to remember that in some rare cases random processes (which are not fractal) may also appear to display self-similarity (Sandau & Kurz 1997). It has been assumed that texts are linguistic units which have a fractal nature (Andres 2010; Andres *et al.* 2012), but one has to remain cautious when forming any firm conclusions. Moreover, Ausloos (2012) noted that in the case of texts, multifractal models may prove more successful in the description of their complex dynamics. Other methods of multifractal analysis are still being developed, and if perfected they may become a standard tool for estimating roughness in texts. The level of text fractality could also be determined for a greater number of levels with the use of the method devised by Andres *et al.* (2012), which is focused on estimating the relationships between language constructs on various levels of linguistic organization. The self-similarity of language can be observed with regard to the Menzerath–Altmann law. The method based on defining the statistical relationships between the properties of neighboring linguistic levels could indeed allow an in-depth analysis of the surface text and its statistical self-similarity. The main difficulty, and the reason why such a methodology is not easily applicable to the study of creole languages, is that it involves text segmentation into semantic constructs, clauses, words, syllables and phonemes, and such

segmentation is purely subjective; for instance, because there is great variability in the way speakers pronounce words, there may be a problem concerning the delimitation of syllables. Therefore, the error rate in the analysis of creole languages could be too high for the analysis results and comparisons to be significant and meaningful.

In conclusion, it appears that semiotic systems such as texts (or possibly even languages) can be treated as complex adaptive systems of signs exhibiting self-similarity and structural roughness; and therefore they can be studied by using fractal analysis. Some further research is definitely required, for instance, regarding the influence of situational, social and cultural embedding on the fractal dimension of the texts produced. In the study of creole languages, valuable conclusions could be drawn from the correlations between the fractal dimensions of texts (estimated either with time series analyses or on the basis of MAL) and certain socio-economic factors. Many more texts in creole languages and their superstrate languages need to be analyzed using the same method in order to allow any further comparisons as well as to help establish whether the language of translation, or the skills of the translator, have a larger impact on the fractality of a given text. Nevertheless, it appears that fractal analyses may be of some use in linguistics, and the correlations between various factors and the fractal dimensions of symbolic systems are a promising area of study, which may contribute to a better understanding of language complexity and language evolution.

## References

- Altmann, Gabriel (1980) "Prolegomena to Menzerath's Law." [In:] *Glottometrika* 2; 1–10.
- Andres, Jan (2010) "On a Conjecture about the Fractal Structure of Language." [In:] *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics* 17 (2); 101–122.
- Andres, Jan, Martina Benešová, Lubomír Kubáček, Jana Vrbková (2012) "Methodological Note on the Fractal Analysis of Texts." [In:] *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics* 19 (1); 1–31.
- Ausloos, Marcel (2012) "Generalized Hurst Exponent and Multifractal Function of Original and Translated Texts Mapped into Frequency and Length Time Series." [In:] *Physical Review E* 86 (3); 1–12.
- Beaugrande, Robert de, Wolfgang Dressler ([1972] 1981) *Introduction to Text Linguistics*. London, New York: Longman.
- Beckner, Clay, Richard Blythe, Joan Bybee, Morten H. Christiansen, William Croft, Nick C. Ellis, John Holland, Jinyun Ke, Diane Larsen-Freeman, Tom Schoenemann (The "Five Graces Group") (2009) "Language Is a Complex Adaptive System: Position Paper." Wiley-Blackwell.
- Chandler, Daniel (2002) *Semiotics: The Basics*. London: Routledge.
- Chruszczewski, Piotr P. (2006) "On the Fractal Nature of Linguistic and Cultural Communication; an Outline Proposal." [In:] Piotr P. Chruszczewski, Michał Garcarz, Tomasz P. Górska (eds.) *At the Crossroads of Linguistic Sciences*. Kraków: Tertium; 23–29 (Język a komunikacja. Vol. 10).
- Goldstein, Jeffrey (1999) "Emergence as a Construct: History, and Issues." [In:] *Emergence* 1 (1); 49–72.
- Hall, Stuart (1980) "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms." [In:] *Media, Culture and Society* 2 (1); 57–72.
- Holm, John (2000) *An Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hřebíček, Luděk (1995) *Text Levels. Language Constructs, Constituents and the Menzerath-Altmann Law*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier.

- Kale, Malhar, Ferry Butar Butar (2011) "Fractal Analysis of Time Series and Distribution Properties of Hurst Exponent." [In:] *Journal of Mathematical Sciences & Mathematics Education* 5 (1); 8–19.
- Kosmidis, Kosmas, Alkiviadis Kalampokis, Panos Argyraakis (2006) "Language Time Series Analysis." [In:] *Physica A: Statistical Mechanics and Its Applications* 370 (2); 808–816.
- Lewis, Paul, Gary F. Simons, Charles D. Fennig (eds.) (2014) *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. 17th ed. Dallas: SIL International. (Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>).
- Liebovitch, Larry S., Daniela Scheurle (2000) "Two Lessons from Fractals and Chaos." [In:] *Complexity* 5 (4); 34–43.
- Mandelbrot, Benoit (1989) "Fractal Geometry: What Is It, and What Does It Do?" [In:] *Proceedings of the Royal Society A* 423 (1864); 3–16.
- Popescu, Ioan-Iovitz, Peter Zörnig, Peter Grzybek, Sven Naumann, Gabriel Altmann (2013) "Some Statistics for Sequential Text Properties." [In:] *Glottometrics* 26; 50–95.
- Rickles, Dean, Penelope Hawe, Alan Shiell (2007) "A Simple Guide to Chaos and Complexity." [In:] *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 61 (11); 933–937.
- Riley, Michael, Scott Bonnette, Nikita Kuznetsov, Sebastian Wallot, Jianbo Gao (2012) "A Tutorial Introduction to Adaptive Fractal Analysis." [In:] *Frontiers in Physiology* 3; 371.
- Sandau, Konrad, Haymo Kurz (1997) "Measuring Fractal Dimension and Complexity – an Alternative Approach with an Application." [In:] *Journal of Microscopy* 186 (2); 164–176.
- Sebeok, Thomas ([1994] 2001) *Signs: An Introduction to Semiotics*. Toronto, Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.
- Weron, Rafał (2002) "Measuring Long-Range Dependence in Electricity Prices." [In:] Hideki Takayasu (ed.) *Empirical Science of Financial Fluctuations*. Tokyo: Springer; 110–119.

MICHAŁ PODSĘDEK  
Uniwersytet Wrocławski

***Empire of Liberty in expand.  
Główne obszary proimperialnej argumentacji  
elit Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki  
na przełomie XIX i XX wieku***

**Abstract**

***Empire of Liberty in Expand. Proimperial Argumentation of United States  
Elite from the Turn of 19th and 20th Century: Main Areas***

The article raises the problem of American imperialism. The author proposes a new approach to the issue. He states research should concentrate on understanding, taking into consideration mental, intellectual and emotional aspects. As an example, the author provides an analysis of argumentation of proimperial elite of United States from the turn of 19th and 20th century. As a background of that analysis, drawing on methodological approach of Ferdinand Braudel, the author also provides an outline of imperialism in the United States. Likewise, he points at psychological mechanism of cognitive dissonance as important factor in forming the argumentation. The author notes it was focusing on proving imperialism to be moral. He identifies main areas of argumentation: (1) identification imperialism with the expand of an American model of political system, which was considered to be ideal; (2) bringing civilization to the uncivilized nations; (3) presenting imperialism as a mission from God; (4) referring to the law of nature; (5) justifying expansion with the safety issue; (6) referring to the idea of *New Manifest Destiny*.

**Keywords:** American imperialism, historiography, Braudel, American morality, civilization.

**Wstęp**

Problem imperializmu amerykańskiego w historiografii światowej jest zagadnieniem od dawna obecnym. Jeżeli chodzi jednak o historiografię polską, temat ten jest dobrze poznany jedynie przez wąskie grono badaczy i najczęściej pojawia się w kontekście ogólnego omawiania historii Stanów Zjednoczonych, historii

stosunków międzynarodowych czy też problematyki kolonializmu. Ponadto omawiając imperializm amerykański, badacze rzadko cofają się w swojej analizie do wieku XIX, koncentrując się głównie na okresie od I wojny światowej. Celem mojej pracy jest wskazanie nowego podejścia do polskich badań nad imperializmem amerykańskim. Chciałbym zwrócić uwagę na istotność okresu przełomu XIX i XX wieku, a także wcześniejszych dziesięcioleci. Pragnę również zaproponować wyjście poza pozytywistyczny opis przeszłej rzeczywistości, zwracając szczególną uwagę na analizę mentalności, emocjonalność oraz intelektualność Amerykanów z przełomu XIX i XX wieku. Przyczynkiem do badań tego typu może być analiza argumentacji, jaką stosowały ówczesne elity USA, aby wyrazić swój pozytywny stosunek do imperializmu oraz przekonać antyimperialistów.

Aby sprecyzować poruszany problem, należy jeszcze przedstawić definicję imperializmu. Imperializm rozumiem jako nurt w myśleniu zarówno elit, jak i całego społeczeństwa. W odniesieniu do elit politycznych mniej więcej po wojnie secesyjnej zaczyna on stopniowo przyjmować formę ideologii państwowej. Natomiast jeżeli chodzi o przeciętnych obywateli, ma on raczej charakter bardziej rozmytej i nie do końca uświadomionej idei, kształtowanej zarówno przez promowaną ideologię, jak i tradycję, kulturę, zbiór wartości. Ponadto w imperializmie amerykańskim można wyszczególnić dwa czynniki. Pierwszy z nich to ekspansja, rozumiana zarówno jako potrzeba rozprzestrzeniania się, jak i namacalne jej przejawy. Drugi to postęp, rozumiany jako dążenie do ciągłego rozwoju, pracy, doskonalenia zarówno siebie, jak i całego systemu. Ekspansja z racji wymogów swej realizacji związana jest silniej z ideologią i posunięciami elit politycznych (dlatego też to właśnie z tym czynnikiem związana jest proimperialna argumentacja), natomiast postęp bliższy jest formie idei wyznawanej przez zwykłych obywateli (Podsędek 2014: 5).

### **Imperializm amerykański w ujęciu Braudelowskim**

W dalszych akapitach przestawię, jak wyglądała i do czego odwoływała się argumentacja proimperialnych elit USA na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Zanim jednak przejdę do meritum, aby umożliwić lepsze zrozumienie owej argumentacji, dostrzeżenie nie tylko jej aspektów racjonalnych, ale przede wszystkim emocjonalnych, postaram się naszkicować obraz imperializmu w Stanach Zjednoczonych. Do analizy tak złożonego zjawiska wykorzystam propozycję Ferdynanda Braudela rozpatrywania historii na trzech warstwach (Grabski 2011: 759–764). Zwrócić także uwagę na czynnik psychologiczny, który w sposób szczególny oddziaływał na kształt proimperialnej argumentacji.

Kiedy w USA zaczął się imperializm? To pytanie absurdalne, pytanie, na które nie da się jednoznacznie odpowiedzieć. Odwołując się jednak do koncepcji Braudela, możemy dostrzec dynamikę imperializmu jako zjawiska i zbliżyć się do poznania jego natury. W warstwie wydarzeniowej należy wyróżnić wojnę z Hiszpanią z 1898 roku. Uzyskanie, w jej następstwie, przez USA Filipin, Portoryko i wyspy Guam oraz przejęcie kontroli nad Kubą stało się najbardziej widoczną manifestacją imperialnych tendencji USA. Znaczenie wojny z Hiszpanią zauważa m.in. Krzysztof Michałek: „zwycięstwo we „wspaniałej małej wojnie” podziało jak katalizator, przyspieszając rozwój procesów już wcześniej ujawnionych w amerykańskiej polityce zagranicznej” (Michałek 1995: 327). W warstwie koniunkturalnej, z jednej strony, na arenie międzynarodowej dostrzeżemy odrodzenie się rywalizacji kolonialnej potęg europejskich, do której Stany Zjednoczone, chcąc realizować swój mocarstwowy potencjał, powinny były się włączyć. Z drugiej strony na arenie wewnętrznej widzimy stopniowe wysycanie się rynku,

skłaniające elity USA do szukania nowych, zamorskich rynków zbytu. Wreszcie w perspektywie długiego trwania wyłania się idea imperializmu, obecna w społeczeństwie Stanów Zjednoczonych od samych jego początków, objawiająca się w dążeniu do rozwoju gospodarczego, samodoskonalenia oraz ekspansji – zasiedlania nowych terenów. Idea ta skłaniała Amerykanów do ciągłego poszukiwania nowych obszarów rozwoju, najpierw na kontynencie, później poza jego granicami. Wspomniane czynniki w mniejszym lub większym stopniu wpłyneły na sytuację, w jakiej znalazły się Stany Zjednoczone na przełomie XIX i XX wieku – sytuację wyboru między reformami wewnętrznymi a złamaniem izolacjonizmu – ekspansję zamorską. Stany Zjednoczone można tutaj porównać do lokomotywy. Wraz z ciągłą ekspansją w głęb kontynentu, postępem technicznym i gospodarczym ta potężna maszyna nie tylko nabierała prędkości i pędu, ale też nieuchronnie zbliżała się do muru, jaki stanowiły granice państwa i chłonność rynku. Zatrzymanie tej pędzącej maszyny wymagałoby ogromnego nakładu sił i energii, odbyłoby się wśród przenikliwego pisku trącego o siebie metalu i padającego wokół deszczu rozgrzanych iskier. Znacznie łatwiej było pozwolić, aby z całym impetem rozbiła ona ograniczającą ją barierę i wjechała na nowe tory polityki światowej.

### **Obrońca wolności czy żandarm narodów – dysonans poznawczy**

Jednak decyzja o ekspansji zamorskiej stała w sprzeczności z wartościami panującymi w społeczeństwie amerykańskim, zwłaszcza z wartością, jaką była wolność. Uzależnienie tak ekonomiczne, jak i militarne innych narodów kłociło się z historycznym doświadczeniem Stanów Zjednoczonych. Państwo powstałe poprzez „obalenie tyranii metropolii” – obronę wolności, teraz samo miało stać się tyranem – żandarem innych narodów? Refleksje tego typu wywoływały mogły psychologiczny mechanizm dysonansu poznawczego – stan nieprzyjemnego napięcia psychicznego i fizjologicznego pojawiający się, gdy jednocześnie występują dwa niezgodne ze sobą elementy poznawcze (np. przekonania i zachowania). Stan ten wymaga redukcji, najczęściej poprzez zmianę interpretacji sądów i zachowań (McLeod [2008] 2014). Aby zredukować dysonans, elity USA musiały zreinterpretować pojęcie ekspansji, usprawiedliwić, że ich imperializm jest odmienny od opresyjnego imperializmu mocarstw europejskich, że jest moralnie uzasadniony. To właśnie wokół dowodzenia moralności zamorskiej ekspansji Stanów Zjednoczonych skupiła się proimperialna argumentacja elit.

### ***Empire of Liberty* – urząd idealny**

Elity Stanów Zjednoczonych uciekły się do zabiegu, który wydawać się może paradoksalny. Stwierdzono, że ekspansja prowadzona przez Stany Zjednoczone wcale nie ogranicza wolności, wręcz przeciwnie, jest z nią tożsama. Już Thomas Jefferson w Deklaracji niepodległości dał wyraz owemu przekonaniu, pisząc o *Empire of Liberty* jako potędze mającej rozszerzać wolność oraz o wolności jako wyniku i uzasadnieniu potęgi (Bender [2003] 2004: 36). Uważano, że urząd polityczny oparty na wartościach wolnościowych i demokratycznych jest najlepszym z możliwych. Należy zaszczepić go, gdzie tylko jest to możliwe. Zgodnie z tym wzorcem Amerykanie mieli prowadzić ekspansję osadniczą, a na skolonizowanych terenach wprowadzać obowiązujący we wschodnich stanach urząd polityczny. Rozprzestrzenienie

demokracji nie mogło się jednak ograniczać jedynie do kontynentalnej Ameryki. Jak pisał amerykański historyk i senator Albert J. Beveridge:

84

Oceany nie ograniczają władzy, którą Konstytucja jednoznacznie daje Kongresowi w kwestii zarządzania wszelkimi terytoriami, jakie kraj może uzyskać... Ojcowie-Założyciele nie byli prowincjuszami. Ich geografia była geografią świata... Bóg nie przygotowywał przez tysiąc lat narodów mówiących po angielsku i narodów teutońskich, by pasywnie przyglądały się same sobie w podziwie. Nie! On uczynił nas głównymi organizatorami świata (Lewicki 2012: 196).

Jednym z czynników ugruntowujących myślenie w kategoriach *Empire of Liberty in expand* – ekspansji idealnego ustroju – było zestawianie modelu amerykańskiego z europejskim. Pozwalało to Amerykanom twierdzić, że niesplamione despotyzmem, feudalizmem, nierównością szans USA są – by przytoczyć wzorem Waltera Nugenta słowa Lincolna – „ostatnią, największą nadzieję świata” (Nugent 1995: 366). Peter Bender, różnicując pod względem stosunku do własnego ustroju Rzymian i Amerykanów, stwierdził: „Dla Rzymian ich konstytucja była święta, ale tylko dla nich. Amerykanom ich konstytucja wydaje się wzorcowa dla ludzkości. [...] Rzymianie nie chcieli świata poprawiać, lecz opanowywać; świat kształtowany na własną modłę był politycznym marzeniem Amerykanów” ([2003] 2004: 157).

### **Brzemię białego człowieka**

Przekonanie o wyjątkowości własnego ustroju politycznego wiązało się także z przekonaniem o wyższości cywilizacji amerykańskiej w ogóle. Uzasadnianie ekspansji politycznej i handlowej chęcią cywilizowania innych krajów było jednym z najczęściej spotykanych argumentów zwolenników imperializmu. W argumentach tego typu przodowali prezydenci. William McKinley twierdził, że aneksje, będące konsekwencją traktatu paryskiego z 1898 roku kończącego wojnę z Hiszpanią, są wynikiem „decyzyji czysto altruistycznej”. Stanom nie chodzi bowiem „ani o zawiadnienie krajem, ani o handel, ani o imperium, lecz jedynie o ludzi, o postęp ludzkości i cywilizacji” (Deschner [1992] 1996: 153). Jego następca, Theodore Roosevelt, uważały, że „Wojny przeciw niecywilizowanym siłom są zwykłą powinnością w międzynarodowej polityce” (Zaremba 2012: 197). Przekonanie o obowiązkach narodów cywilizowanych wobec tych zagrożonych siłami mogącymi cywilizację zniszczyć stało się retorycznym podłożem sformułowanego przez 26. prezydenta Stanów Zjednoczonych uzupełnienia doktryny Monroe, znanej jako *Roosevelt Corollary*. Głosiła ona, że „[...] brutalne złe postępowanie albo impotencja prowadząca do rozluźnienia więzów cywilizowanego społeczeństwa może wymagać interwencji każdego cywilizowanego narodu. Stany Zjednoczone nie mogą zignorować tego obowiązku na półkuli zachodniej” (Zaremba 2012: 209). Można tutaj zauważać, że tendencje do tego rodzaju argumentacji nie były typowe tylko dla USA, można je odszukać w niemal każdym narodzie o ambicjach imperialnych. Odbieranie ludności „trzeciego świata” miana cywilizowanych, przekonanie o niesieniu „brzemienia białego człowieka” i konieczności zaszczepiania kultury ludom nierożwiniętym jest charakterystyczne dla każdego imperium prowadzącego ekspansję pod koniec XIX i na początku XX wieku. Podobnie przekonanie o wyższości własnej kultury i własnego narodu nad wszystkimi innymi można powiązać nie tylko z aspiracjami imperialnymi, ale przypisać naturze ludzkiej w ogóle. Wydaje mi się jednak, że o ile pod względem jakościowym wymienione wyżej cechy są tożsame, o tyle pod względem ilościowym Stany Zjednoczone wysuwają się przed szeregi (Podsędek 2014: 44).

### **Misja nadana przez Boga**

Innym obszarem argumentacji, wspierającym twierdzenie o moralności ekspansji, było odwoływanie się do metafizyki. Rozprzestrzenianie wartości amerykańskich było nie tylko obowiązkiem moralnym, ale wręcz misją nadaną przez Boga. Jak napisał Peter Bender: „Wierzący Amerykanie czują się narzędziem Boga i uważają Stany Zjednoczone za „Nowe Jeruzalem, zesłane z nieba”” ([2003] 2004: 173). Natomiast redaktor „Atlantic Monthly”, Horace N. Fisher, napisał w 1898 roku: „Dla nas potęga oznacza szansę niesienia pomocy innym. Jednocześnie jednak oznacza odpowiedzialność, nie tylko wobec ludzi, ale i Boga za mądre wykorzystanie danej nam od Niego siły” (Michałek 1999: 167). Z kolei Josiah Strong, duchowny, działacz społeczny i autor, postulował konieczność przejęcia przez Stany Zjednoczone, będące w jego ocenie centrum chrześcijaństwa, misji chrystianizacji innych narodów. Jako kierunek ekspansji religijnej wskazywał Azję. Wiarę w to, iż Amerykanie są narodem wybranym, ugruntowywała specyfika religijności amerykańskiej. Odwołując się do koncepcji Maxa Webera, protestanckie przekonanie o predestynacji do zbawienia, o wybraniu przez Boga było uzależnione od powodzenia w życiu doczesnym. Sukces gospodarczy i dobrobyt Stanów Zjednoczonych był dla Amerykanów niepodważalnym dowodem boskiej opieki nad ich narodem.

### **Prawo natury**

Innym obok Boga bytem transcendentnym, który miał legitymizować prawo Amerykanów do ekspansji, była Natura. Już w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku jeden z projektantów doktryny Monroe i szósty prezydent Stanów Zjednoczonych, John Quincy Adams, stwierdził, że amerykańskie „roszczenia do rządzenia całym kontynentem są tak samo prawem natury jak fakt, że Mississippi wpływa do morza” (Bender [2003] 2004: 30). Amerykanie uważały, że wszystkie ziemie od Atlantyku do Pacyfiku jakoby z nadania należą do nich. Postrzegali siebie jako prawowitych właścicieli tych terenów bez względu na to, czy były wcześniej zamieszkiwane przez Indian czy nie. Po wojnie secesyjnej owo naturalne prawo Amerykanów rozszerza się na ziemie pozakontynentalne. Sekretarz stanu William Stewart, wzorem Quincy'ego Adamsa, przywołując Missisipi jako symbol naturalnego prawa do ekspansji, napisał o Kubie: „Każdy kamień i każde ziarenko piasku na tej wyspie pochodzi z ziemi amerykańskiej; zostały przyniesione przez Missisipi i inne rzeki wpadające do Zatoki Meksykańskiej” (Deschner [1992] 1996: 159). Teraz już nie tylko ziemie kontynentalne, ale także to, co jakoby z nich powstało, postrzegane było jako naturalna własność Stanów Zjednoczonych.

### ***Si vis pacem para bellum***

Konieczność ekspansji uzasadniano także bardziej przyziemnymi sprawami niż Bóg czy prawa Natury. Podstawowym argumentem było bezpieczeństwo Stanów Zjednoczonych. Społeczeństwo amerykańskie niemal od początków swego istnienia wzrastało w ciągłym poczuciu zagrożenia i konieczności obrony. Obrony przed brytyjskim uciskiem, obrony przed Indianami, obrony własnej niepodległości. Obrona ta zawsze realizowała się w sposób aktywny. Elity słusznie założyły, że państwo słabe jest zawsze zagrożone. Dlatego też, aby zapewnić sobie potęgę, a co za tym idzie bezpieczeństwo, podejmowano działania

ekspansyjne. Potrzeba bezpieczeństwa była charakterystyczna nie tylko dla zwykłego obywatela, ale także, a może przede wszystkim, dla władz. Zdaniem George'a E. Mowry'ego najsilniej potrzebę tę przejawiał Theodor Roosevelt. Sądził on, że „granice bezpieczeństwa USA leżą w pewnych sytuacjach nad Jangcy, nad Renem, w Paryżu, ba, w Maroku i wielu innych miejscowościach, których nazwy nie są nawet znane członkom Kongresu” (Mowry 1962: 195, cyt. za: Zaremba 2012: 261). Biorąc pod uwagę wcześniejsze rozważania, należy zauważać, że Amerykanie występowali nie tylko w obronie własnego życia czy niepodległości, ale także wartości nadzędnych takich jak Bóg czy dobro. Nietrudno wyobrazić sobie, że uzając słuszność słów Edmunda Burke'a, że wszystkim, czego zło potrzebuje, aby zatwierdzić, jest bierność dobrego człowieka, Amerykanie uważali swoją ekspansję i imperializm, ponieważ prowadzony był w obronie ogólnie rozumianego dobra, za w pełni moralny.

### *New Manifest Destiny*

Ostatnim obszarem argumentacji jest koncepcja *New Manifest Destiny*. Z racji że jest to koncepcja znacznie rozbudowana i złożona tak, że mogłyby stać się przedmiotem osobnych rozważań, zasygnalizuję jedynie jej główne założenia. Na koncepcję *New Manifest Destiny* składały się teoria nawalizmu Alfreda Thayera Mahana oraz teoria pogranicza Fredericka Jacksona Turnera. Turner wskazywał, że historia USA to historia nieustannego przesuwania granicy ze wschodu na zachód. Kiedy cały kontynent został zasiedlony, dalszy rozwój społeczeństwa Turner łączył z koniecznością wyznaczenia nowego pogranicza, które widział w krajach zamorskich. Z kolei teoria Mahana przedstawiona w dziele *Wpływ potęgi morskiej na historię* stała się podłożem ideologicznym pod przekonanie, że tylko silna flota jest w stanie zapewnić Stanom Zjednoczonym mocarstwo. Mahan, powołując się na warunki geograficzne, argumentował, że flota jest niezbędna dla bezpieczeństwa USA. Koncepcja *New Manifest Destiny*, wychodząc od założeń darwinizmu społecznego, wskazywała na konieczność oraz sposoby ekspansji Stanów Zjednoczonych (Lubragge).

W powyższych rozważaniach przedstawiłem główne obszary argumentacji, jakie poruszały elity USA na przełomie XIX i XX wieku, chcąc przedstawić imperializm amerykański jako w pełni moralny. Wskazałem na ideę *Empire of Liberty* – ekspansji wolnościowego systemu politycznego wzmacnianą poprzez porównania z systemami europejskimi. Wspomniałem o (charakterystycznym nie tylko dla Stanów Zjednoczonych, ale i mocarstw imperialnych epoki) powoływaniu się na misję cywilizowania innych narodów. Zwróciłem uwagę na odwoływanie się do Boga i Natury jako bytów transcendentnych, uwypuklając ich znaczenie w kontekście religijności amerykańskiej oraz podkreślanie konieczności zapewnienia szeroko rozumianego bezpieczeństwa. Przedstawiając poglądy Alfreda Thayera Mahana oraz Fredericka Jacksona Turnera, zasygnalizowałem także rolę koncepcji Nowego Objawionego Przeznaczenia.

### Zakończenie

Mimo iż tytuł konferencji, na której prezentowana była praca (Stany Zjednoczone Ameryki – obrońca wolności czy żandarm narodów), obdarzony jest pewnym retorycznym napięciem, skłania do dyskusji i formułowania ocen, nie podejmuję się wchodzenia w polemikę, na ile proimperialna argumentacja

stosowana przez elity Stanów Zjednoczonych znalazła swoje przełożenie w działaniach USA. Czy była jedynie cynicznie używanym narzędziem retorycznym, czy może elity szczerze wierzyły w głoszone przez siebie idee? Chciałbym również uniknąć oceny owej argumentacji, czy to w aspekcie efektywności, czy też pod względem moralnym. Jeżeli jednak ktoś chciałby taką ocenę przeprowadzić, proszę o wzięcie pod uwagę i zrozumienie przedstawionej przeze mnie na wstępnie specyfiki imperializmu amerykańskiego oraz psychologicznych czynników, które mogły wpływać na kształt stosowanej argumentacji.

Mam nadzieję, że moja praca przyczyni się do osiągnięcia sformułowanych we wstępnie celów. Problematyka imperializmu amerykańskiego, zwłaszcza dziewiętnastowiecznego, wymaga dalszych badań. Mogą się one okazać szczególnie owocne i wartościowe, jeżeli obok podejścia opisowego i wyjaśniającego pojawi się także podejście nastawione na rozumienie. Koncentracja na analizie mentalności, intelektualności oraz emocjonalności może znacznie poszerzyć i wzbogacić naszą wizję przeszłości.

## Literatura

- Bender, Peter ([2003] 2004) *Ameryka – nowy Rzym*. Tłum. Agnieszka Krzemińska, Adam Krzemiński. Warszawa: Sic!
- Deschner, Karlhainz ([1992] 1996) *Moloch: krytyczna historia Stanów Zjednoczonych*. Tłum. Antoni Baniukiewicz. Gdynia: Agencja Wydawnicza Uraeus.
- Grabski, Andrzej F. (2011) *Dzieje historiografii*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie.
- Lewicki, Zbigniew (2012) *Historia cywilizacji amerykańskiej*. T. 3: *Era konsolidacji 1861–1945*. Warszawa: Scholar.
- Michałek, Krzysztof (1995) „Stany Zjednoczone a sprawy międzynarodowe do 1898 r.”. [W:] Walter Nugent, Halina Parafianowicz (red.) *Historia Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki*. T. 3: 1848–1917. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN; 275–310.
- Michałek, Krzysztof (1999) *Na drodze ku potędze: historia Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki 1861–1945*. Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza.
- Mowry, George E. (1962) *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of Modern America*. New York: Harper Torchbooks.
- Nugent, Walter (1995) „Społeczeństwo amerykańskie w latach 1850–1920”. [W:] Walter Nugent, Halina Parafianowicz (red.) *Historia Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki*. T. 3: 1848–1917. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN; 343–369.
- Podsędek, Michał (2014) *Narodziny imperializmu amerykańskiego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Zarys problematyki*. Nieopublikowana praca licencjacka. Uniwersytet Wrocławski.
- Zaremba, Piotr (2012) *Dzieje polityczne Stanów Zjednoczonych od roku 1900*. T. 1: *Uzbrojona demokracja: Theodore Roosevelt i jego Ameryka*. Warszawa: Neriton.

## Źródła internetowe

- Lubragge, Michael T. „Manifest Destiny”. [W:] <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/essays/1801-1900/manifest-destiny/the-new-manifest-destiny.php> [DW: 3.06.2015].
- McLeod, Saul ([2008] 2014) „Cognitive Dissonance”. [W:] <http://www.simplypsychology.org/cognitive-dissonance.html> [DW: 26.06.2015].

*Academic  
Journal  
of  
Modern  
Philology*

DENNIS SCHELLER-BOLTZ

Leopold-Franzens-Universität, Innsbruck, Österreich

**Identität als polydimensionales Selbst.  
Zu Verständnis und Konstruktion geschlechtlicher  
und sexueller Identität in Russland.  
Eine allgemeine Einführung für Slawist\_inn\_en**

**Abstract**

**Identity as a Polydimensional Self. On the Conception and Construction of  
Gender and Sexual Identity in Russia: A General Introduction for Slavists**

Dealing with questions of gender and sexual identity from a linguistic perspective requires an explicit and detailed examination of identity itself and of the variety of identity concepts. As one can see, some linguists ignore the variety of identities or, at least, the different identity concepts when they approach gender and queer linguistics questions. The current paper aims at providing a general basis for gender and queer linguistic research by offering a detailed and profound introduction to the concept of identity. Different identity concepts will be discussed and it will be shown that the knowledge on identity and identity concepts is essential for dealing with gender and queer linguistic topics. In the end, it will become clear that the prefabricated idea of man and woman as stable and universal categories is neither useful nor justified when one deals with the relation between language and identity.

*Keywords:* identity, gender, sexuality, femininity, masculinity, collectivism, gender linguistics, queer linguistics.

**1. Identität: zu Diffusität und Komplexität eines Persönlichkeitskonzepts**

Dass Identität ein diffuses und komplexes Phänomen ist, wird ersichtlich, wenn dieses Phänomen definiert werden soll. In meinen Lehrveranstaltungen zu slawistischer Gender- und Queer-Linguistik hat sich in den vergangenen Semestern immer wieder gezeigt, dass deutsche Einwort-Synonyme für *Identität* in irgend gearteter und/oder möglicher Form nie herangezogen werden. Man könne diesen Terminus, so die Studierenden, nicht mit einem Wort synonymisieren. Doch auch das Paraphrasieren

von *Identität* bereitet in der Regel Schwierigkeiten, da auf diese Weise eine ganzheitliche oder zumindest zufriedenstellende denotative Definition ebenso nicht erreicht zu werden scheint. Einmal abgesehen davon, dass Studierende mitunter mehrere Anläufe benötigen, um diesen Terminus zu erklären, lässt sich beobachten, dass sie es häufig nicht vermögen, in einem in sich geschlossenen Satz eine (mehr oder weniger) präzise und verständliche denotative Definition vorzulegen. Zum Teil benötigen sie drei, vier oder fünf Sätze, um einigermaßen das in Worte fassen zu können, was sie unter *Identität* verstehen, wobei oftmals noch nicht einmal dann alle Facetten und wesentlichen Merkmale Berücksichtigung finden, die der Terminus bzw. das Konzept *Identität* umfasst. Resigniert wird daher nicht selten nachgeschoben, dass sie zwar wüssten, was *Identität* sei – nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil jede Person eine *Identität* habe –, dass sie es allerdings nicht in Worte fassen und beschreiben könnten.

Die definitorischen Schwierigkeiten lassen sich meines Erachtens zum einen damit erklären, dass sich die meisten Personen mit dem Thema *Identität* – und auch *Identitätsbildung* – wenig befassen und diesen Terminus folgerichtig inflationär und dabei leichtsinnig und unbedacht verwenden. *Identität* scheint ein allbekanntes Lexem zu sein, was seine Aktivierung im Sprachgebrauch ermöglicht und vor allem erleichtert; das dahinterstehende Konzept scheint jedoch weniger bekannt, was die Art und Weise der Verwendung wiederum zweifelhaft erscheinen lässt. Zum anderen zeigt sich offensichtlich, dass *Identität* ein wesentlich komplexeres, insbesondere vielschichtiges Phänomen benennt, das sich nicht so einfach in seiner gesamten Dimension beschreiben lässt. Eine ungefähre Definition wird niemals den Kern des Phänomens treffen und nur im Ansatz verdeutlichen können, was *Identität* eigentlich meint bzw. ist. Das gilt erst recht für eine einseitige Betrachtung, die immer wieder die binären Kategorien *Mann* und *Frau* in ihrer hermetischen Geschlossenheit aufleben lässt. Markante Spezifika und konzeptuelle Nuancen, die das Wesen von *Identität* ausmachen, sind dagegen erforderlich, um ein Verständnis von *Identität* zu vermitteln, um daraufhin *Identität* auch gezielt und korrekt anwenden zu können. Dies bezieht sich beispielsweise auf Faktoren, wie Variabilität, Flexibilität und Kontinuität, deren expliziter Einbezug in den Identitätskontext vermeidet, dass *Identität* auf triviale Weise als festgelegte und starre Entität erscheint und letztlich auch derart aufgefasst wird. Jedoch stehen *cis*-Identitäten in binärer Konstellation stets im Vordergrund (s. hierzu unten); *trans*- und *inter*-Identitäten spielen auf den ersten Blick keine Rolle und werden größtenteils übergangen. Folglich wird eine abgrenzbare und damit einhergehend eindeutige Kategorie bei *Identität* insgeheim angenommen bzw. eine solche lässt sich aus den Definitionsversuchen oft ablesen.

In dem vorliegenden Beitrag stelle ich ein paar grundsätzliche Überlegungen über *Identität(en)*, *Identitätskonzept(e)* und *Identitätskonstruktion(en)* an, ohne dabei eine finale Definition anzustreben. Die Schwierigkeit einer ganzheitlichen Definition wurde bereits erwähnt, und auch dieser Beitrag wird mitnichten eine solche liefern können. Für mein Vorhaben ist ein Definitionsversuch oder ein Definitionsvorschlag aber auch gar nicht sinnvoll und förderlich. Zum einen geben die Psychologie, die Soziologie oder die Philosophie zuhauf Definitionen und Erklärungsansätze vor, die an anderen Stellen eingesehen und nachgelesen werden können. Zum anderen wird *Identität* je nach Forschungsdisziplin, Untersuchungsgegenstand und Kontext anders verstanden, themenorientiert angewandt und mitunter individuell angepasst. Dabei werden die jeweils bedeutsamen Merkmale und Bezugsparameter hervorgehoben, wohingegen andere Spezifika unberücksichtigt bleiben, die jedoch für das Identitätskonzept an sich nicht unerheblich sind. Mir erscheint indes wichtig zu sein, *Identität* ganz allgemein zu behandeln und in diesem Zusammenhang auf wesentliche Faktoren und Phänomene aufmerksam zu machen, insbesondere auf den primär in der westlichen Welt seit längerer Zeit zu

beobachtenden Gesellschaftswandel und das veränderte Geschlechterbild hinzuweisen und allgemein bedeutsame Tendenzen hervorzuheben, die zu einem veränderten Identitätsbewusstsein führen und einen Identitätswandel fördern. Die Frage nach Identität und Identitätszugehörigkeit ist gegenwärtig ein fester Bestandteil in den Medien und wird dort in unterschiedlicher Weise diskutiert. Dabei geht es nicht nur um nationale, regionale, religiöse oder ethnische Identität, sondern auch die geschlechtliche Identität spielt heute medial wie auch gesellschaftlich eine große Rolle. Der allgemeine Diskurs macht deutlich, dass wir uns von klassischen Geschlechterrollen und Identitätsmerkmalen allmählich verabschieden müssen oder sollten, wobei nicht selten auch der Versuch unternommen wird, an klassische Geschlechter- und Identitätsbilder zu appellieren, um an dem traditionellen, heute aber ein wenig obsolet wirkenden Gesellschaftsmodell festzuhalten. Das aktuelle, sich wandelnde Frauen- und Männerbild erzeugt kontroverse Diskussionen, die zum Teil in Polemik münden. Allerdings gelangen über den Diskurs – womöglich gerade ob kritischer, polemischer, pejorativer und warnender Stimmen – zunehmend andere Identitäten, Identitätsmöglichkeiten und Identitätsbilder an die gesellschaftliche Oberfläche, die wesentlich dazu beitragen, althergebrachte Rollenbilder und Gesellschaftsmuster zu hinterfragen.

Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrags ist es also, Identität, insbesondere geschlechtliche Identität kritisch zu beleuchten und nicht-traditionelle Identitätsbilder aufzuzeigen, um dadurch die fließenden Übergänge von Identität zu verdeutlichen und Identität als Kontinuum darzustellen. Anschließend wird auf die Wahrnehmung und Auffassung von sowie auf den Umgang mit Identität in Russland eingegangen, das sich seit geraumer Zeit neuen gesellschaftlichen Herausforderungen ausgesetzt sieht. Russland wird unmittelbar mit – scheinbar neuen – Identitätskonzepten konfrontiert und muss seit langem bekannte, jedoch nicht-traditionelle, insbesondere nicht-heteronormative Identitäten gesellschaftlich tragfähig machen. Die westliche Welt ist mit solchen Persönlichkeiten, wie RuPaul, Dame Edna Everage, Conchita Wurst, Dana International, Andrej Pejić (heute: Andreja Pejić) oder Norrie May-Welby, größtenteils vertraut. Für die russische Gesellschaft werden solche Identitätskonstrukte, so scheint es zumindest, erst seit jüngster Zeit zu einem realen, vor allem aber öffentlich sichtbaren Phänomen, welches sich nach der Wende in den Jahren 1989/1990 aus der Tabu-Zone befreien konnte. Allerdings unterscheidet sich der Umgang mit Identität(en) in Russland von anderen postsozialistischen Ländern. Während beispielsweise die polnischen Abgeordneten Anna Grodzka und Robert Biedroń öffentlich zu ihrer Identität stehen und heute in Polen bereits zu so genannten Role Models avancieren, setzt die russische Politik unter starkem Einfluss der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche auf moralische und traditionelle Werte und verhindert darüber hinaus juristisch das Ausleben nicht-traditioneller Identität. Die mediale und gesellschaftliche Empörung sowie die sehr kritische und nicht selten spöttisch-verächtliche Beurteilung der letztjährigen Gewinnerin des Eurovision Song Contest, Conchita Wurst, macht einmal mehr deutlich, wie wenig Spielraum der Identitätsbildung in Russland öffentlich gewährt wird.

Abschließend soll eine kurze Reflexion über das Verhältnis von Identität und Sprache erfolgen und hinterfragt werden, welche Aufgabe Sprache im Identitätskontext einnimmt, inwieweit Möglichkeiten zur sprachlichen Abbildung von Geschlecht im Russischen anvisiert werden und welche Rolle die Linguistik in diesem Zusammenhang spielen kann. Diesem Kapitel liegt die Hypothese zugrunde, dass sich die Auffassung von und der Umgang mit geschlechtlicher Identität sprachlich ersehen und nachvollziehen und mithin in einem poststrukturalistischen Verständnis interpretieren lässt.

An dieser Stelle gilt es ein paar Anmerkungen zur Aufbereitung des vorliegenden Beitrags zu machen und auf einige Punkte hinzuweisen. Mein Beitrag versteht sich zum einen explizit

als allgemeine Einführung in die Thematik *Identität und Geschlecht* und ist zum anderen primär an Slawist\_inn\_en gerichtet. Die slawistische Gender-Forschung verharrt insbesondere in der Linguistik in einem Geschlechterkonzept, welches fast ausschließlich aus (eindeutig) Mann und (eindeutig) Frau besteht. Andere Identitäten werden weder berücksichtigt noch scheinen sie in irgendeiner Form eine Rolle zu spielen, obschon Gender solche Identitäten unmittelbar einschließt; nicht zuletzt ist Gender-Forschung keine Mann-Frau-Forschung. In anderen Disziplinen hat sich die Genderlinguistik thematisch bereits weiterentwickelt und widmet sich beispielsweise auch linguistischen Fragestellungen in intersexuellem oder trans-identitärem Kontext (vgl. *Queer-Linguistik*). Die slawistische Genderlinguistik hat in diesem Zusammenhang Nachholbedarf. Daher wird im vorliegenden Beitrag explizit auf das Verhältnis zwischen Geschlecht und Identität eingegangen; andere Identitätsmerkmale, wie Ethnie, Religion, Bildung oder sozialer Status, finden keine Berücksichtigung. Die im Folgenden angestellten Überlegungen und Ausführungen sollen Slawist\_inn\_en verschiedene geschlechtliche und sexuelle Identitätskonzepte näherbringen. Dies soll dazu beitragen, a) Gender in der slawistischen Linguistik zukünftig weiterzufassen, um langfristig das stark vereinheitlichte Bild von Mann und Frau aufzugeben und eine differenziert(er)e Forschung zu gewährleisten, und b) Geschlechteridentitäten jenseits von Mann und Frau in die Forschung einzubeziehen, um auch heteronormativitätskritische Forschung zu ermöglichen.

## 2. Identität: zwischen Selbstempfinden und Fremdwahrnehmung

Was Identität ist, lässt sich nur schwer sagen. Oben wurde Identität als Phänomen bezeichnet, obschon Phänomen ein ziemlich weiter und unpräziser Begriff scheint, denn hierbei kann es sich um ein Objekt, eine Erscheinung, einen Wesenszug, eine Verhaltensweise oder ähnliches handeln. Gleichzeitig konkretisiert Phänomen jedoch immer seinen Referenten oder begrenzt zumindest den möglichen Referenzbereich und verweist daher eher auf etwas Konkretes oder auf etwas konkret Vorstellbares (*Konzept*). Nun ist Identität zwar tendenziell weit und unpräzise und kann sich auf verschiedene Faktoren und Bereiche beziehen, doch ist Identität als Konzept keineswegs ein konkreter Sachverhalt. Denn es gibt nicht *eine* (konkrete) Identität, die dann als *ein* (konkretes) Phänomen zu verstehen ist. Identität setzt sich aus mehreren Komponenten zusammen, die Identität eine Komplexität verleihen. Aus diesem Grunde ist es angemessener, Identität als Phänomene zu bezeichnen. Identität sind miteinander verwobene (Einzel) Phänomene, die in ein komplexes *Konzept* münden, das dann in seiner vielseitigen Gesamtheit eben als *Identität* bezeichnet wird.

Identität wird im Titel dieses Beitrags als ein *polydimensionales Selbst* beschrieben, sodass die Annahme besteht, Identität nehme verschiedene Ausmaße an. Diese Annahme ist insofern berechtigt, als Identität ein auf eine Person bezogenes Konglomerat aus Eigenschaften, Verhaltensweisen und Wesensarten darstellt, die das Sein ebendieser Person bestimmen und ausdrücken. Identität ist gekennzeichnet durch Individualität und Subjektivität, was auf die Vielseitigkeit und Unterschiedlichkeit ihrer Ausprägung und Erscheinung hinweist und eine generelle Eindeutigkeit und überindividuelle Pauschalisierung verneint, sodass nicht von einer (einzig) Identität die Rede sein kann. Durch Identität als unser eigenes Selbst (*Ich-Identität*) bzw. als eine auf uns bezogene Eigenschafts- oder Merkmalsgruppe (*Ich-Konzept*) wird unser gesamtes Sein in seinem Wesen, Verhalten, Denken und Wahrnehmen individuell und gesellschaftlich bestimmt und wahrgenommen und uns ein hoher Wiedererkennungswert mit subjektiver Prägung verliehen (Mogge-Grotjahn 2004). Das Selbst umfasst unser Ich-Konzept in

seiner inneren und äußeren Ausgeprägtheit. Äußerliche Identitätsfaktoren beziehen sich beispielsweise auf unser Aussehen und Erscheinungsbild, unsere visuell wahrnehmbaren Verhaltensweisen (Gestik, Mimik) und unser auditiv wahrnehmbares Sprechverhalten (Stimme, Stimmlage, Sprachgebrauch). Innerliche Identitätsfaktoren sind unser Empfinden, unsere Denkweise, unsere Weltanschauung, unsere Erfahrungen und maßgeblich unsere durch verschiedene Faktoren bedingte (und erwünschte) Eigenpositionierung innerhalb einer Gesellschaft, die die Ausprägung unserer Identität und mithin das Ausleben unseres Selbst beeinflussen.

Wie bereits angedeutet, wird Identität im Alltag in der Regel mit einer derartigen Selbstverständlichkeit und Überzeugung gebraucht, obschon sich Identität als ein umfassendes, vielschichtiges und dadurch diffuses Konzept nicht ohne genaues Hinterfragen und schon gar nicht auf Anhieb in all seiner Breite und Vielfältigkeit erfassen lässt (Metzeltin u. Wallmann 2010: 70). Das eigene Selbst (*Ich-Identität*) ist zu komplex und intransparent, als dass es eine oberflächliche und pauschalisierende Verwendung zuließe.

Zunächst einmal gilt es in aller Trivialität festzuhalten, dass weder in universellem Sinne noch in einem personalen Bezug von *der* Identität ausgegangen werden kann. Dies mag auf der einen Seite so einleuchtend erscheinen wie es aber auf der anderen Seite wiederum auch allzu unverständlich erscheint. So wird beispielsweise die Frau als Identitätskonstrukt mehrheitlich ganz eindeutig ob vorliegender primärer und sekundärer Geschlechtsmerkmale definiert, wobei ergänzend auch als typisch angenommene weibliche Verhaltensweisen das Bild einer Frau komplettieren. Dass sich Frauen aber in ihren Wesenszügen, Wahrnehmungen und nicht zuletzt auch in ihren Geschlechtsmerkmalen unterscheiden und gänzlich andere Eigenkonzepte ausbilden können, wird größtenteils übergangen oder ausgeblendet. Somit werden Frauen als eine in sich geschlossene Identitätsgruppe aufgefasst, woraus Stereotypisierungen und klischeehafte Bilder abgeleitet und kontinuierlich tradiert werden. Dies führt oftmals dazu, Frauen, die nicht den klassischen Stereotypen und Identitätsvorstellungen entsprechen, auszusortieren und als „keine richtigen Frauen“ zu stigmatisieren.

I do my own laundry. I clean, iron and cook (occasionally). I also like to wear make-up and sometimes a short skirt. I love my husband and hope to have children. I work full-time and I enjoy teaching my students. I am a member of a feminist association and I have a weakness for shopping and celebrity magazines. What does this make me? A housewife, narcissist, wife and (potential) mother, worker, feminist, consumer? A schizophrenic? (Genz 2009: 1)

Im postmodernen Verständnis ist Identität keine feste, invariante und in sich abgeschlossene Ansammlung von Eigenschaften.

As a conceptual category, the postmodern subject is fluid rather than stable, constructed rather than fixed, contested rather than secure, multiple rather than uniform, deconstructed rather than whole. (Genz u. Brabon 2009: 107)

Identität ist prozessual (Hartmann u. Becker 2002: 2f), ein wandelbares, anreicherbares und dynamisches, dabei sozial und sozionormativ bedingtes Ich-Konzept, weshalb Sunderland und Litosseliti (2002: 7) bei Personen ganz klar von einer individuellen Vielfalt an Identitäten ausgehen (vgl. auch Weydt 2008: 91ff). Steht der Postmodernismus für Pluralität bzw. Pluralisierung von Lebensformen, Lebensstilen, Lebenswelten und Identitäten (Villa 2007: 52f), also für „a multiplication of the notion of difference“, „an expansion of difference towards differences, towards a plurality that resists any set identities“ (Beasley 2005: 24), so lässt sich berechtigt feststellen:

Frau [...] gibt es nicht im Singular – weder empirisch, noch theoretisch noch politisch. Dazu sind die konkreten Weiblichkeitkeiten, die spezifischen Existenzweisen und die jeweiligen Bedeutungen des Geschlechts sozial zu sehr verortet in [...] unterschiedlichen Kontexten wie Klasse/Schicht, Nationalstaat; Ethnizität/race, Alter, Sexualität, Religion usw. (Villa 2007: 55)

## 2.1. Aktive und passive Identität

Identitäts(weiter)entwicklung kann bewusst oder unbewusst erfolgen, ist jedoch immer das Resultat situativ, lokal und sozial-gesellschaftlich bedingter Anpassung und/oder Abgrenzung und kann aus temporärer Sicht sowohl auf Dauer als auch nur für einen bestimmten Zeitraum in die Identitätsbildung und das Identitätsverständnis einfließen. Geleitet von den Fragen, a) wer bin ich?, b) wer will ich sein?, c) wie sehe ich mich selbst? und d) wie werde ich von anderen gesehen/wahrgenommen? (Wippermann et al. 2009: 73), gelangt eine Person zum persönlichen Selbstverständnis sowie zur Eigenwahrnehmung ihres Körpers (darunter ihres Geschlechts), ihres Begehrens (darunter ihrer sexuellen Orientierung), ihrer sozialen Stellung, ihrer Zugehörigkeit (darunter ihrer Abstammung/ethnischen Herkunft, sozialen Stellung), ihrer Denkweise, ihrer Weltanschauung, ihrer Einstellung und ihres Verhaltens. Durch Vergleich zu ihrer Umwelt und unter Einfluss von Abgrenzungs- und Anpassungs- resp. Eingliederungsmechanismen, die zur Exklusion und Inklusion eines Individuums sowohl in der Gesellschaft an sich als auch in einer bestimmten Gemeinschaft oder Gruppe führen, bestimmt die Person ihre Selbstpositionierung. Eine solche durch das eigene Selbst begründete Konstruktion von Identität wird aufgrund der Selbstgerichtetheit *aktive Identitätsbildung* genannt. Hiervon gilt es die *passive Identitätsbildung* als fremde, von außen einwirkende Identitätsbestimmung abzugrenzen. Die passive Identität wird einem Individuum durch das soziale Umfeld zugeschrieben. Diese Unterscheidung ist insofern von Relevanz, als sich ein Individuum eine Identität zuschreiben kann, die jedoch von seinem sozialen Umfeld keine Bestätigung oder Beachtung finden muss. Das heißt, ein Individuum kann sich selbst in einer bestimmten Weise sehen, von der ihm umgebenden Gesellschaft hingegen anders, abweichend oder gar falsch wahrgenommen werden. So kann sich beispielsweise ein homosexueller Politiker in seinem beruflichen Alltag selbst als Politiker sehen, der für eine bestimmte Aufgabe zuständig ist, die nichts mit seiner sexuellen Orientierung zu tun hat. Seine Umwelt fokussiert und nimmt jedoch primär seine homosexuelle Neigung wahr, selbst wenn der Politiker nicht als Homosexueller auftritt. Eine Politikerin kann in der Öffentlichkeit ausschließlich als Frau wahrgenommen und auf Grundlage ihres biologischen Geschlechts beurteilt werden, obschon sie in ihrer Rolle als Politikerin ihren Aufgaben- und Kompetenzbereich vertritt und sich in diesem Zusammenhang weder als Frau wahrnimmt bzw. präsentiert noch ihr biologisches Geschlecht als relevant ansieht.

Die aktive Identitätsbildung steht mit der passiven Identitätsbildung in einem interdependenten Verhältnis. Die Eigenwahrnehmung und Eigenkonstruktion von Identität, also die aktive Identitätsbildung, kann unter bestimmten Umständen durch die Fremdwahrnehmung und Fremdkonstruktion von Identität, also durch die passive Identitätsbildung, beeinflusst werden, wobei die aktive Identitätsbildung wiederum merklichen Einfluss auf die passive Identitätsbildung nehmen kann. Das allgemein vorherrschende Bild eines Mannes veranlasst Personen männlichen Geschlechts häufig dazu, im Rahmen dieser Vorstellung zu agieren, um dem allgemein erwünschten Männerbild zu entsprechen. Der seit Jahren zu beobachtende Trend zur Metrosexualität führt aber gleichzeitig zu einem veränderten Männerbild und zu einer neuen Wahrnehmung von Mann und Männlichkeit in der Gesellschaft. Daher werden mitunter heute althergebrachte Männlichkeitsbilder und traditionelles männliches Verhalten kritisch beäugt oder gar abgelehnt.

Interessant ist die Tatsache, dass sowohl Eigen- und Fremdwahrnehmung als auch Eigen- und Fremdbestimmung – teilweise erheblich – divergieren können. Conchita Wurst kann in diesem Zusammenhang als Paradebeispiel angeführt werden, da sie seit ihrem Auftritt beim letztjährigen Eurovision Song Contest in Kopenhagen für Verwirrung in Bezug auf Identitätsbilder sorgt. Ihre eigens empfundene und konstruierte Identität weicht zum Teil stark von der gesellschaftlichen (Fremd) Wahrnehmung ab, da sie weder eine eindeutige Männlichkeit noch eine eindeutige Weiblichkeit verkörpert. Ihr Verweis auf Identitäten jenseits der strikten Geschlechterbinarität wird häufig nicht erkannt bzw. nicht akzeptiert, da immerzu versucht wird zu hinterfragen, ob es sich bei dieser Figur nun um eine Frau oder einen Mann handelt, sodass nur diese beiden Geschlechtskategorien als einzige existierende und mögliche Identitätsklassen Gültigkeit besitzen.

## 2.2. Individuelle und kollektive Identität

Neben der Abgrenzung von aktiver und passiver Identität(sbildung) gilt es auch grundsätzlich zwischen individueller und kollektiver Identität(sbildung) zu unterscheiden. Diese Unterscheidung ist insbesondere für den vorliegenden Beitrag bedeutsam, da die Dichotomie *Individuum-Kollektiv* resp. *individuell-kollektiv* für den postsozialistischen Raum eine herausragende Rolle spielt, dies vor allem im sozialen Bereich. Die *individuelle Identität*, ergo die ein Individuum sich selbst zur Abgrenzung von Gesellschaft oder sozialem Umfeld zuschreibende Identität, ist eine aktiv auf sich selbst bezogene Einschätzung, Verortung und Definition. Die Konstruktion und Zuweisung individueller Identität erfolgt häufig unabhängig vom sozialen Umfeld, und zwar in dem Sinne, dass dieses keinen direkten Einfluss auf die eigene Identitätsbildung ausübt. Individuelle Identität wird durch einen Vergleich zum sozialen Umfeld hergestellt, woraufhin sich ein Individuum von seinem sozialen Umfeld abgrenzen versucht; eine Anpassung oder Eingliederung erfolgt nicht. Eine Anpassung findet ausschließlich dann statt, wenn sich das Individuum gänzlich mit anderen Identitäten identifiziert und diese als wesentlich für die eigene Identitätsbildung erachtet, sodass neue Komponenten in seine Identität einfließen und diese bereichern. So kann sich ein Mann ein primär mit homosexuellen Personen in Verbindung gebrachtes Aussehen oder Verhalten zulegen, was durch den Trend zur Metrosexualität heute nicht selten anzutreffen ist, ohne sich dabei als homosexuell zu deklarieren bzw. homosexuell zu sein.

Im Gegensatz zur individuellen Identität mit aktivem Fokus auf sich selbst handelt es sich bei der gegenteiligen *kollektiven Identität* um eine gesellschafts- oder gruppenbezogene Identität, die zwar in gewissem Maße auch individuellen Charakter trägt, in erster Linie jedoch sozial auf eine Gemeinschaft ausgerichtet ist (Joseph 2004: 5f; vgl. auch Niethammer 2000). Die Herausbildung einer kollektiven Identität beruht ebenso auf einem Vergleich zur sozialen Umwelt. Allerdings erfolgt daraufhin eine intendierte Anpassung an eine bestimmte Gesellschaft oder Gemeinschaft (*In-Group*) und zugleich eine unmittelbare Abgrenzung von außerhalb dieser Gesellschaft bzw. Gemeinschaft stehenden Individuen (*Out-Group*). Die individuelle Identität wird primär aktiv, aus dem eigenen Sein entwickelt, kann jedoch passiv unterstützt und beeinflusst werden. Kollektive Identität wird primär passiv gesteuert, aktiv jedoch aufgenommen und angewandt. Eine kollektive oder soziale Identität beruht auf einem innerhalb einer sozialen Gemeinschaft einheitlichen Wertesystem, auf einer gemeinsamen Weltanschauung, auf gemeinsam zu erreichenden Zielen und vor allem auf dem Glauben an eben diese Gemeinschaft (Tajfel (Hg.) 1982). Eine kollektive Identität wird demgemäß durch eine Gruppenzugehörigkeit erzeugt und bekräftigt, stärkt jedoch gleichzeitig auch die Gruppenzugehörigkeit.

### **2.3. Identitätenvielfalt als polydimensionales Konzept**

Nun gestaltet es sich nicht so, dass Personen eine individuelle oder eine kollektive Identität haben. Eine Person trägt aufgrund ihrer Individualität eine individuelle Identität in sich. Ihr Leben in einer Gemeinschaft führt jedoch auch zwangsläufig zur Ausbildung einer kollektiven Identität. Die Gesamtidentität eines jeden Menschen setzt sich somit aus Einzelidentitäten zusammen (de Marco 2011: 108). Identitäten können integrativ auftreten, ineinanderfließen und ergänzend wirken. Identitäten können jedoch auch dualistisch und konträr nebeneinanderstehen. Die jedem Menschen innenwohnende Identitätenvielfalt erlaubt es, Identitäten verschieden, situativ und umstandsbezogen einzusetzen, sodass sich eine Person durch eine Pluriidentität auszeichnet. Die Konstruktion und Darstellung einer bestimmten Identität kann dabei durch das soziale Umfeld ausgelöst werden, dient dem jeweiligen Individuum jedoch stets als Anpassung (Integration, Akzeptanz) oder Abgrenzung (Isolation, Schutz) (Metzeltin u. Wallmann 2010: 70–77).

Das hier skizzierte Identitätskonzept schließt bei weitem nicht alle Faktoren und Bereiche ein, die im Identitätskontext bedeutsam sind. Dennoch lässt sich aus diesem Überblick ersehen, dass Identität eine wesentlich komplexere Struktur aufweist als gemeinhin angenommen wird. Die Identität einer Person setzt sich aus verschiedenen Konzepten zusammen, die die Selbstpositionierung ebendieser Person in der Gesellschaft gewährleisten und die eigene Wahrnehmung ihres Selbst zum Ausdruck bringen. Zur vollständigen Ausbildung von Identität müssen unterschiedliche Dimensionen (z.B. biologisches Geschlecht, körperliches Aussehen, äußerliches Erscheinungsbild, soziales Verhalten, sozialer Status, soziale Funktion/Rolle, Bildung, Herkunft) Berücksichtigung finden. Zudem müssen die einzelnen Dimensionen nicht kongruent zueinander auftreten, da beispielsweise das Aussehen einer Person nicht unmittelbare Rückschlüsse auf ihr biologisches Geschlecht zulässt oder Verhaltensweisen kein Indiz für Status und Bildungsgrad sind. Die einzelnen Dimensionen werden im Falle der Notwendigkeit in bestimmten Situationen und Kontexten wirksam und relevant, um ausgewählte und situativ bedeutsame Identitäts- und Persönlichkeitsmerkmale auszudrücken. Eine bisexuelle, sich für den Tierschutz engagierende Rechtsanwältin wird nicht in allen Situationen ihre gesamte Identität präsentieren, da in ihrer Kanzlei beispielsweise das biologische Geschlecht, ihre sexuelle Neigung und ihr soziales Engagement unerheblich scheinen. Ihre Außenwelt kann jedoch in Situationen bestimmte Identitätsmerkmale, wie biologisches Geschlecht oder sexuelle Orientierung, betonen und eher wahrnehmen, obschon diese im gegebenen Sachverhalt keine Rolle spielen. Unsere Identität kann von unserer Umwelt anders wahrgenommen werden bzw. einige Identitätsmerkmale scheinen häufig für unsere Umwelt ein anderes Gewicht zu besitzen als wir ihnen selbst beimessen.

### **3. Identität: zur Relevanz des Sexus**

Jüngst schien die Weiblichkeit der deutschen FDP-Politikerin Katja Suding interessanter zu sein als ihre Aussagen zum neuen FDP-Parteiprogramm, was die Medien durch eine „sexistische Kamerafahrt“<sup>1</sup> unterstützten. Häufig steht das biologische Geschlecht einer Person im Vordergrund und überschattet damit Kompetenzen und Fähigkeiten, vor allem aber andere Identitätsmerkmale. Unser biologisches

<sup>1</sup> Quelle: [www.focus.de/kultur/kino\\_tv/medien-tagesschau-entschuldigt-sich-fuer-sexistische-kamerafahrt\\_id\\_4386999.html#](http://www.focus.de/kultur/kino_tv/medien-tagesschau-entschuldigt-sich-fuer-sexistische-kamerafahrt_id_4386999.html#) [zuletzt eingesehen am 15. März 2015].

Geschlecht ist das Identitätsmerkmal, an welchem wir gemessen und beurteilt werden; es ist das Identitätsmerkmal, das häufig vorzugsweise wahrgenommen wird und uns auffordert, uns in einem vorgefertigten und vorgedachten gesellschaftlichen Rahmen zu bewegen und darin geschlechtsspezifisch zu agieren.

Das »Ich« wird durch seine »Performanz« nicht ausgeschöpft, nicht der gesamte Inhalt des Ich wird sichtbar ausgebreitet, denn wenn die Performanz »wiederholt« wird, dann ist die Frage, was die wiederholten Identitätsmomente denn voneinander unterscheidet. Und wenn das »Ich« der Effekt einer bestimmten Wiederholung ist, die den Anschein von Kontinuität oder Kohärenz produziert, dann gibt es kein »Ich«, das der Geschlechtsidentität, die es angeblich vollzieht, vorausgeht; die Wiederholung und die unterlassene Wiederholung produzieren eine Kette von Performanzen, die die Kohärenz des »Ich« zugleich konstituieren und in Frage stellen. (Butler 2003: 152)

Unser biologisches Geschlecht bzw. unsere Geschlechtsidentität, als (Selbst)Zuschreibung zu oder (Selbst)Identifizierung mit einem Geschlecht, ist wesentlich an der Wahrnehmung unserer Gesamtidentität beteiligt und wirkt sich nicht selten dominant auf die äußere Wahrnehmung unserer Person aus, sodass andere Identitätsmerkmale häufig in den Hintergrund geraten. In vielen Kulturen ist der soziale Umgang mit und die gesellschaftliche Einordnung durch Geschlecht von Geburt an gängige Praxis. Das biologische Geschlecht bestimmt und begleitet eine Person damit ein Leben lang. Es ist wohl aber zumeist auch die Kategorie *Sexus*, die am stärksten auf die eigene, also aktive Identitätsbildung einwirkt und für ein Individuum aufgrund ihrer scheinbar offensichtlichen Präsenz eine bedeutende und prägende Rolle spielt. Geschlechtsidentität ist folglich die geschlechtliche Wahrnehmung, Bestimmung und Verortung einer Person durch sich selbst (*aktive Geschlechtszuweisung*) und durch andere Gesellschafts- oder Gruppenmitglieder (*passive Geschlechtszuweisung*).

Die menschliche Geschlechtsidentität ist [...] das Ergebnis eines interaktionellen Entwicklungsprozesses, in dem biologische, psychische und soziokulturelle Bedingungen im Normalfall so zusammenwirken, dass Kongruenz zwischen chromosomalen [sic!], gonadalem, hormonellem, gonoduktalem, genitalem, cerebralem und sozialem Geschlecht und der Geschlechtsidentität besteht. (Hartmann u. Becker 2002: 17)

Was Hartmann und Becker vorstehend als „Normalfall“ bezeichnen, ist die aufgrund ausgeprägter und eindeutig vorliegender primärer und sekundärer Geschlechtsmerkmale vorgenommene Geschlechtsverortung einer Person innerhalb des Geschlechterdualismus *Mann-Frau*. Dieses historisch gewachsene und sozial bzw. soziokulturell bedingte gesellschaftliche Ordnungsschema begründet in seiner scheinbar soziokonventionellen und soziokognitiven Beständigkeit einen Orientierungsmechanismus, wodurch Personen innerhalb einer Gesellschaft aufgrund ihrer optischen Wahrnehmung und daraufhin durch Rückschluss auf ihr biologisches Geschlecht als Mann oder Frau bestimmt werden. Für eine Person selbst ist die Zuweisung zu einer bestimmten Geschlechtsgruppe, also die konkrete Einordnung als Mann oder Frau durch ihr biologisches Geschlecht wesentlich für die eigene Selbstbestimmung, Selbstwahrnehmung und in der Konsequenz für die Bildung und Ausformung ihrer (Geschlechts) Identität (Goffman [1994] 2001: 107). Der Vollzug eines Unterscheidungsprozesses zur Abgrenzung von Frauen als Nicht-Männer und von Männern als Nicht-Frauen wirkt identitätsstiftend und trägt Exklusionscharakter (Herma 2003).

Die Kategorie *Sexus* weist gemeinhin einen dualistischen Charakter auf. Das Vorkommen von (eindeutigem) Geschlecht in nur zwei Gruppen wurde lange Zeit medizinisch propagiert, ist heute aber vor allem ein soziokulturelles und soziokognitives Phänomen, sodass die Geschlechterbinarität auch weiterhin aufrechterhalten bleibt. Der dualistische Charakter des *Sexus* ist zudem komplementär begründet, was sich unschwer daran erkennen lässt, dass die Kategorie *Sexus* stets in einer heterosexuellen Matrix (Butler 1991) angesiedelt ist und der Vorstellung von Heteronormativität folgt, wodurch insbesondere dem Fortpflanzungsprozess ein bedeutsames Gewicht zuteilwird. Allerdings ergeben sich hieraus für den individuellen und kollektiven Alltag sowie für das Gesellschaftsbild weitreichende Folgen, welche die Ausbildung und Tradierung von Stereotypen und Vorurteilen sowie von Vor- und Nachteilen fördern, die sich wiederum beispielsweise in Verhalten, Aussehen, Berufsleben oder diversen Privilegien niederschlagen (Herma 2003). Bilden (2006: 50) fasst all diese Punkte zusammen und sieht in Geschlechtsidentität a) die (Selbst)Zuordnung zu einer der beiden Geschlechterkategorien, in der Regel lebenslang gemäß der Geschlechtszuweisung bei der Geburt (*sex*), b) die Identifikation mit Geschlechternormen und Geschlechteridealen, das heißt, mit bestimmten Formen von Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit (*gender*) und c) die sexuelle Präferenz, im Rahmen der Heteronormativität, also in heterosexueller Orientierung (vgl. auch Rumjanceva 2009; Trautner 2006). Das normativ vorgegebene bzw. an die Norm angelegte Ideal der Geschlechtsidentität kann jedoch nie erreicht werden, weshalb sie stets performativ produziert wird. Dabei müssen Geschlecht und Geschlechtsidentität kohärent erscheinen, um auf diese Weise die kontinuierlich angestrebte Idealisierung zu erreichen (Bilden 2006: 50). In Bezug auf die Möglichkeit zur Identifizierung mit (s)einem Geschlecht, das heißt für die eigene Identitätsbildung, gilt es sich entsprechend seiner primären – in bedingtem Maße auch sekundären – Geschlechtsmerkmale in das Modell der Zweigeschlechtlichkeit einzugliedern, um dadurch nicht zuletzt auch die für dieses Geschlecht vorgesehene Rolle innerhalb der Gesellschaft einzunehmen, Geschlechterstereotype auszubilden und anzunehmen, um somit auf der Grundlage des projizierten Geschlechterbildes für die Gesellschaft – in Butler'schem Sinne – intelligibel zu sein (Butler 1991: 37). Geschlechtliche Intelligibilität geht zumeist von einem Frau-Mann-Bild aus, wobei beide Konzepte in einer derart hermetischen Geschlossenheit nebeneinanderstehen, dass sie scheinbar keine Berührungs-, geschweige denn Überschneidungspunkte haben und folglich konträr auftreten. Zudem weisen die Konzepte ein offensichtliches Machtgefälle auf, da das Konzept *Mann* gemeinhin als das ideale, vollkommene Konzept angesehen wird, das Konzept *Frau* hinwieder als weniger ausgeprägt gilt: denn alles, was dem Konzept *Mann* inhärent ist, ist im Konzept *Frau* defizitär vorhanden bzw. der Mann besitzt in jeder Hinsicht stärkere und ausgeprägtere Eigenschaften, wohingegen die Frau diese in abgeschwächter oder nur latent ausgeprägter Form aufweist. Dies führt unmittelbar zur Ableitung geschlechtsspezifischer Stereotype, die auf den tradierten Identitätskonzepten beruhen und damit genauso dem biologischen Determinismus unterliegen wie das *Sexus* selbst. Dies wird zumeist ersichtlich, wenn Personen beispielsweise ihr Aussehen oder ihr Verhalten mit ihrem biologischen Geschlecht begründen und dadurch Aussehen resp. Verhalten zu einem – scheinbar – biologisch-natürlichen Phänomen machen. Die soziokognitiv begründete Zugehörigkeit zu einer der beiden Geschlechtergruppen wird begleitet von einem affektiven Zugang zu Geschlecht (z.B. Beurteilung von Merkmalen und Wesenszügen, Besonderheiten des geschlechtlichen Verhaltens im Rahmen der Geschlechtermodelle) und liegt ferner auf konativer Ebene begründet, die die geschlechtliche Eigendarstellung in der Gesellschaft bestimmt, fördert und letztendlich auch umsetzt (Rumjanceva 2009: 249). Dass Geschlecht jedoch eine instabile und einem Kontinuum gleichende Kategorie des Seins darstellt, zeigt die Veränderbarkeit

von Geschlechtsidentität. Sunderland und Litosseliti (2002: 7) sehen in Multiplizität, Wandelbarkeit und Kontinuität wesentliche Merkmale von Geschlechtsidentität, sodass Geschlechtsidentität nie vollendet ist. Ein Geschlecht jenseits der Geschlechterbinarität, wodurch der multiple und fließende Charakter von Geschlecht am deutlichsten sichtbar wird, ist in vielen Soziokulturen jedoch immer noch wenig akzeptiert, wenn überhaupt vorstellbar.

### 3.1. Sexus und Intersexualität

Intersexualität – mitunter auch *Hermaphroditismus* oder (abwertend) *Zwittrigkeit* genannt (Klöppel 2010) – als angeborenes oder nach der Geburt auftretendes biologisches Phänomen (Beasley 2005: 152) ist der offensichtlichste Fall von so genannter Zwischengeschlechtlichkeit (vgl. auch Dreger 2000; Groß *et al.* (Hg.) 2008; Klöppel 2010; Preves 2005). Intersexualität wird konstatiert bei

Mischformen von ›männlichen‹ und ›weiblichen‹ Merkmalen, die mehr oder weniger ausgeprägt sein können. (Kroll (Hg.) 2002: 189)

Intersexualität beschreibt Beasley (2005) als Körperproblem. Denn Intersexuelle befinden sich innerhalb der Geschlechterbinarität Mann-Frau, gleichzeitig aber ob ihrer Zwischen- oder Doppelgeschlechtlichkeit auch außerhalb dieser Geschlechterdichotomie, wodurch ihnen eine Identitätsbildung häufig erschwert wird, da sie stets gezwungen sind, sich innerhalb einer Gesellschaft geschlechtlich festzulegen (Preves 2005). Intersexualität ist heute in vielen Ländern anerkannt und unterliegt dort keiner Zwangsoperation mehr, damit auf diesem Wege ein eindeutiges und folgerichtig intelligibles biologisches Geschlecht hergestellt wird. Dennoch stellt dieses Geschlechtskonzept viele Gesellschaften weiterhin vor große Herausforderungen, da beispielsweise Anredeformen (dt. *Herr, Frau*) oder Pronomina (dt. *er, sie*) nur binär vorliegen (King 2014). Zudem scheint es häufig noch ungewohnt, Geschlecht jenseits von männlich und weiblich zu denken, sodass insgeheim immer wieder der Versuch unternommen wird, intersexuelle Personen auf der Mann-Frau-Achse zu verorten.<sup>2</sup> Der Fall um Norrie May-Welby, *das* sich jüngst vor den australischen Behörden eine androgynie Geschlechtszuweisung erstritt und nun als *sex not specified*, also als geschlechts- oder sexuslos gilt,<sup>3</sup> zeigt indes, dass in einigen Gesellschaften ein „anderes“ Geschlecht, hier Neutrum,<sup>4</sup> mehr und mehr Anerkennung findet.

### 3.2. Sexus und Trans-Identität

Nun existieren aber auch andere Identitäten, bei denen eine Zwischengeschlechtlichkeit vorliegt, die jedoch vom biologischen Geschlecht nicht abhängen scheinen. Transsexuelle Personen mögen dieser Gruppe zuzuordnen sein, „deren Identitätsgeschlecht nicht dem zugewiesenen Geburtsgeschlecht entspricht“ (Kollektiv Sternchen u. Steine (Hg.) 2012: 122). Ist also Intersexualität ein „body problem“, so ist Transsexualität ein „mind problem“ (Beasley 2005: 152). Transsexuelle Personen stehen „im Widerspruch

<sup>2</sup> Im Deutschen sollen Erfahrungsberichte intersexueller Personen diese Art der Geschlechtlichkeit hervorheben und Akzeptanz schaffen, um letztendlich zu verdeutlichen, dass es in einer Gesellschaft nicht nur Frau und Mann gibt. Vgl. hierzu Barth *et al.* (Hg.) 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Quelle: Zeit Online vom 17. März 2010, online unter: [www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2010-03/geschlecht-adrogyn](http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2010-03/geschlecht-adrogyn) [zuletzt eingesehen am 1. Juni 2014].

<sup>4</sup> Quelle: Bild Online vom 1. April 2014, online unter: [www.bild.de/bildlive/bild-aus-l-a/los-angeles/bild-live-aus-la-mobil-35329694.bild.html](http://www.bild.de/bildlive/bild-aus-l-a/los-angeles/bild-live-aus-la-mobil-35329694.bild.html) [zuletzt eingesehen am 1. Juni 2014].

zu ihrer Anatomie“ (Kroll (Hg.) 2002: 392) und fühlen sich zu jedem Zeitpunkt der Geschlechtsidentität zugehörig, die sie psychisch glauben, in sich zu tragen, biologisch jedoch nicht aufweisen (Beasley 2005: 152). Sie fühlen sich im falschen Körper (geboren) und verfolgen durch hormonelle Behandlungen und operative Eingriffe eine Geschlechtsangleichung (Barrett 1999; Kroll (Hg.) 2002). Allerdings nehmen transsexuelle Personen grundsätzlich vor ihrer Geschlechtsangleichung eine Geschlechtsidentität an, die ihren biologischen Vorgaben nicht entspricht, die sie aber glauben, sozial ausleben zu müssen. Die Phase der Zwischengeschlechtlichkeit erstreckt sich damit nur bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, an dem operativ die eindeutige Geschlechtsspezifizierung vorgenommen und dadurch die Zwischengeschlechtlichkeit unmittelbar aufgehoben wird.

Trans-Identitäten als *cross-identities* illustrieren anschaulich, dass (biologisches) Geschlecht und Geschlechtsidentität nicht immer klar zu trennen sind und Geschlechtsidentität in einigen Fällen unsicher, uneindeutig und unzuverlässig ist (Mehlmann 2006). Deutlich tritt dies im Transgender-Bereich hervor, der zu vielfältig und diffus erscheint, als dass er bis in alle Einzelheiten beschrieben und genau definiert werden könnte (Groß *et al.* (Hg.) 2008). Transgender-Personen weisen ein (eindeutiges) biologisches Geschlecht auf und lassen dies auch – in der Regel – nicht operativ entfernen bzw. verändern. Allerdings identifizieren sie sich nicht oder nur teilweise mit ihrem biologischen Geschlecht, mitunter fühlen sie sich gar keinem Geschlecht zugehörig und nehmen in der Gesellschaft zum Teil sehr kontroverse Geschlechtsidentitäten an (Connell 2010; Kroll (Hg.) 2002). Als *transgender* bezeichnen sich Personen, die sich entweder keinem Geschlecht zuordnen können oder auf kein Geschlecht festlegen wollen (Kollektiv Sternchen u. Steine 2012: 122).

Transgender refers in this case to those who have rejected their gender of social assignment, but refuse to occupy an invisible or conformist place in the men/women gender binary. (Beasley 2005: 161f)

Die Polydimensionalität und Diffusität des Transgender-Konzepts<sup>5</sup> zeigen sich bei genauer Untersuchung dieser Identitätsgruppe. So bezeichnen sich einige intersexuelle Personen als *transgender*. Androgyn (durch Aussehen, Kleidung, Verhalten etc.) auftretende oder lediglich optisch mit Geschlechterbildern spielende Personen, wie seinerzeit das Topmodel Andrej Pejić, verstehen sich selbst ebenso als *transgender*. Als prototypisch gilt heute aber wohl das vorwiegend im asiatischen und lateinamerikanischen Raum anzutreffende Konzept des *Ladyboy*, wodurch zum einen die fließenden Grenzen zwischen Geschlechtsidentitäten aufgrund nicht kongruent erscheinender primärer und sekundärer Geschlechtsmerkmale sichtbar werden und Geschlechtsidentität als eindeutiges und abgrenzbares Konzept in Frage gestellt wird, zum anderen aber auch der Übergang von Transsexualität und

5 Im Bereich der Trans-Identitäten gilt es Travestie-Künstler\_innen (darunter Drag-Queens, Drag-Kings) und Transvestiten von transsexuellen oder Transgender-Personen abzugrenzen, da jene nur temporär oder situativ eine andere Identität annehmen (Beasley 2005: 152). Im Rahmen der Travestie spielen die Künstler\_innen mit Rollenklichtheit; sie identifizieren sich jedoch nicht mit ihrem dargestellten Geschlecht, sondern sehen ihre Darbietung als künstlerisches Rollenspiel und akzeptieren ihr biologisches Geschlecht. Somit sehen sich Drag-Queens auf der Bühne als Frau und imitieren die Weiblichkeit in zumeist übertriebener Weise, sehen sich jedoch gesellschaftlich als Mann (Barrett 1999). Hiervon gilt es den Transvestismus als „Verkleidungsfetischismus“ (de Silva 2013: 88) abzugrenzen. Dieser ist primär „erotisch motiviert“ (Kroll (Hg.) 2002: 392) und tritt bei Männern in der Regel als fetischistische sexuelle Neigung auf, die durch das Tragen von Frauenkleidern befriedigt wird. Ebenfalls sind *genderqueer*-Identitäten nicht als Trans-Identitäten aufzufassen. Als *genderqueer* bezeichnen sich Personen, die für sich das Mann-Frau-Konzept ablehnen und für eine geschlechtliche Hybridität eintreten, welches sie im Alltag durch ihr *Gender-Mixing* erzeugen und leben (Connell 2010).

Transgender verschwimmt und an Diffusität gewinnt, da diese beiden Bereiche – wie an dem Pornodarsteller Buck Angel ersichtlich – nicht mehr voneinander abgrenzbar erscheinen (vgl. Connell 2010).

Während Transsexualität die Kategorie sex, das biologische und körperliche Geschlecht, und die Konnotation des Sexuellen fokussiert, ermöglicht der Begriff des gender mit der Betonung des sozialen Geschlechts dagegen eine Anerkennung des anderen Geschlechts, die nicht auf das biologische Geschlecht fixiert sein muß. (Kroll (Hg.) 2002: 391)

### 3.3. Sexus und das dritte Geschlecht

Die Dominanz des sozialen Geschlechts und die dadurch hervorgerufene Bedeutungslosigkeit des Sexus lassen sich darüber hinaus in Bezug auf das so genannte *dritte Geschlecht* (*third gender*) aufzeigen, welches manchmal auch als Zwischengeschlecht (*intermediate gender*) bezeichnet wird. Anhänger\_innen des dritten Geschlechts definieren sich ausschließlich anhand ihrer sozial zugeschriebenen Rollen und gesellschaftlich bedingten Funktionen, sodass die Ausbildung ihrer Ich-Identität unabhängig vom jeweiligen biologischen Geschlecht erfolgt. Das Konzept *drittes Geschlecht* ist uneindeutig und komplex und wird weder in der Forschung noch von den entsprechenden Identitätsträger\_inne\_n einheitlich verwandt. Bis ins 19. Jahrhundert wurden Homosexuelle mitunter als drittes Geschlecht angesehen. So bezeichnet Karl Heinrich Ulrichs den (homosexuellen) Urning als drittes Geschlecht, da dieser eine weibliche Seele in seinem männlichen Körper trage (van der Meer 1994: 137; vgl. auch Herdt (Hg.) 1994a). Jüngst gab Indien die offizielle Anerkennung des dritten Geschlechts bekannt. In Dokumenten haben Personen fortan die Möglichkeit, sich neben *Mann* oder *Frau* auch als *transgender* zu bezeichnen, wenn sie beispielsweise den so genannten *Hijras* angehören (s. hierzu unten).<sup>6</sup> Doch auch im Antrag für die Ausstellung eines Visums für Indien ist neben *männlich* und *weiblich* ein drittes Geschlecht (*third gender*) vorgesehen (Scheller-Boltz 2013). In diesen Fällen muss keine biologische Intersexualität vorliegen. Auch die psychisch bedingte und damit biologisch unabhängige Einordnung einer Person zu einer Geschlechtskategorie oder zu einer geschlechtsunspezifischen Identitätsgruppe bewirkt die Selbstbestimmung und Selbstwahrnehmung als drittes Geschlecht. In der Konsequenz weist das dritte Geschlecht viele Gemeinsamkeiten mit der Transgender-Identität auf, nicht selten scheinen beide Konzepte auch identisch zu sein. Allerdings ist der Terminus *drittes Geschlecht* heute vorwiegend bestimmten Identitätsgruppen vorbehalten (Herdt (Hg.) 1994a). Personen, die sich einem dritten Geschlecht zugehörig fühlen, nehmen innerhalb einer Gesellschaft oder Gemeinschaft eine Geschlechterrolle an, die sich von ihrem eigentlichen Sexus unterscheidet, wobei sich ihre (soziale) Geschlechtsidentität aus rein sozialen Umständen ergibt. Im Gegensatz zu transsexuellen Personen wird ihr Sexus – in der Regel – nicht operativ an ihre soziale Rolle angeglichen, nicht zuletzt aus dem Grunde, dass sich „das dritte Geschlecht“ nicht im falschen Körper (geboren) fühlt und sein biologisches Geschlecht akzeptiert. Im Gegensatz zu vielen Transgender-Personen nehmen Anhänger\_innen des dritten Geschlechts aus sozial und gesellschaftlich relevanten Gründen eine eindeutige Geschlechterrolle im Rahmen der soziokonventionellen Geschlechterbinarität an und spielen nicht mit Geschlechterbildern (Herdt 1994c). Zudem verfolgen sie weder politische Ziele noch öffentliches Aufsehen und bringen ihre soziale Geschlechterrolle nicht mit sexueller Orientierung oder sexuellem Begehrten in Verbindung, wie sich bei Transgender-Personen

<sup>6</sup> Quelle: FAZ Online vom 5. Juni 2014, online unter: [www.faz.net/aktuell/gesellschaft/menschen/transgender-in-indien-weder-er-noch-sie-12965125.html](http://www.faz.net/aktuell/gesellschaft/menschen/transgender-in-indien-weder-er-noch-sie-12965125.html) [zuletzt eingesehen am 10. Juni 2014].

häufig beobachten lässt, wenn sie in der Öffentlichkeit gegen das vorherrschende Glaubenssystem rebellieren und dieses zu stürzen versuchen (Bucholtz 1999: 14). Und während Transgender-Personen versuchen, Geschlechtergrenzen aufzubrechen und scheinbar genau abgesteckte Geschlechteridentitäten demonstrativ in Frage zu stellen, wodurch sie unmittelbar Kritik an der gängigen Geschlechterbinarität üben, so erachten die Anhänger\_innen des dritten Geschlechts die konventionelle Genderbinarität als Maßstab für die Ausbildung ihrer Geschlechtsidentität und fügen sich dem Geschlechterdualismus, sodass sie sich sozial entweder als Mann oder als Frau sehen.

[E]ven members of these ‘third genders’ cannot but construct their identities through recourse to dominant discourses of gender binarism, i.e. they are usually judged against the gender-binary norm and resort to practices that are associated with maleness and femaleness, but in a gender-incoherent way. (Motschenbacher 2010: 9)

Jedoch ist auch hier, wie im gesamten Identitätskontext, der Übergang recht fließend, wodurch eine genaue Abgrenzung von Transgender-Personen und Personen des dritten Geschlechts nicht durchgehend möglich ist; Personen des dritten Geschlecht zum Teil auch als transgender gesehen werden (Herdt (Hg.) 1994a).

Die indischen **Hijras** – zu unterscheiden von den Kotis (Nagar 2008) – sind wohl die bekanntesten Vertreter\_innen des dritten Geschlechts (ausführlich zu Hijras s. z.B. Herdt 1994c; Nanda 1994; Schröter 2002). Sie sind mehrheitlich biologisch männlich, vereinzelt auch intersexuell, leben jedoch mit einer sozial weiblichen Identität und unterstützen diese durch ein weibliches Aussehen, Auftreten und Verhalten. In einigen Fällen unterziehen sie sich auch einer Geschlechtsanpassung, wodurch „die Transformation eines gewöhnlichen Homosexuellen oder Transvestiten in einen *hijra* [markiert wird]“ (Schröter 2002: 147). Denn die Geschlechtsanpassung

transforms an impotent man, a ‘useless creature’ into a powerful person, a hijra, who now becomes a vehicle of the power of the Mother Goddess to bless and to curse. (Nanda 1994: 383)

Unfruchtbare Frauen können auch eine *hijra*-Identität annehmen, da sie sich wie die biologisch männlichen Hijras als unvollkommen und unvollständig ansehen (Nanda 1994). Hijras nehmen in der Gesellschaft eine weibliche Rolle ein, die oftmals stereotypverhaftet ist und einer burlesque-artigen Performance ähnelt, sodass sie in der Regel ein übertriebenes, überdimensioniertes Frauenbild verkörpern (Nanda 1994: 382f.).

Auf dem Balkan, insbesondere in Albanien und ferner vereinzelt in Bosnien, Mazedonien, Montenegro, Serbien und im Kosovo, existiert in primär abgelegenen ländlichen Gegenden die **geschworene Jungfrau** (*sworn virgin*; alban. *vajzë e betuar*, bosn. *tobelija* ‚person bound by a vow‘, ‚die Geschworene‘, kroat. *zavjetovana djevojka*, montenegr. *virginéshë* od. *tybelí* ‚female committed to virginity‘, serb. *muskobanja* ‚manlike woman‘, ‚man-woman‘ od. *ostajnica* ‚die, die bleibt und nicht verheiratet wird‘) als Identitätskonzept (Grémaux 1994; Schröter 2002), worunter Personen weiblichen Geschlechts zusammengefasst werden,

die einen männlichen Habitus pflegen und in ihrer männlichen Rolle von der Gesellschaft anerkannt werden. (Schröter 2002: 129)

In der Regel sind es soziale Umstände und Ursachen, die Frauen lebenslängliche Jungfräulichkeit schwören lassen. Mädchen werden häufig bereits im frühen Kindesalter in die Rolle eines Jungen bzw. eines (fiktiven) Sohnes hineinerzogen, wenn dieser in der Familie fehlt, jedoch notwendig ist, da

eine Familie mit einem männlichen Nachfolger und Erben vielerorts einen höheren Status genießt, wohingegen männerlosen Familien weniger Wertschätzung und Achtung entgegengebracht werden. Allerdings können Frauen auch selbst die soziale Identität eines Mannes annehmen.

[T]wo main types of social males should be distinguished. The first type comprises the biological female person who is raised as a son from infancy or early childhood; the second type embraces the biological female who, later in life, after having been socialized as a woman for many years, reconstructs herself as a "social man". (Grémaux 1994: 244)

Ähnlich verhält es sich im polynesischen Kulturraum, wo die **Fakafefinen** „wie eine Art Frau“ (samoan. *fa'afafine*, tonga. *fakaleiti*, tahitian./hawaiian. *māhū*) beheimatet sind. Sie sind biologisch männliche Personen, die allerdings in der Rolle eines Mädchens bzw. einer Frau sozialisiert werden, da ihre Familien keine oder zu wenige Töchter zur Bewältigung der alltäglichen Hausarbeit und Kindererziehung haben. Die Fakafefinen nehmen in der Gesellschaft ausschließlich weibliche Aufgaben wahr, werden jedoch nicht als Frau, sondern als eigenes (drittes) Geschlecht aufgefasst. Zudem gelten sie nicht als homosexuell, da sie auch mit Frauen eine Partnerschaft gründen können (Besnier 2003, 1994).

Weibliche Ehemänner, weibliche Väter oder weibliche Söhne lassen sich auch in Teilen Afrikas finden (Schröter 2002: 115–128). So erfolgt die Rollenverteilung bei den **Fon**, den **Igbo** oder den **Nuer** strikt nach binärem Muster (Mann-Frau) mit hierarchisch angeordnetem Machtverhältnis (dominant-devot). Wird in einer Familie ein Sohn oder ein männlicher Erbe benötigt, wird eine Tochter zu einer *nhanye* „männliche Tochter“ oder zur *igba ohu* „weiblicher Ehemann“ umfunktioniert. Dieses Verfahren ist auch bei den kenianischen **Nandi** anzutreffen.<sup>7</sup> Bei den Nuer werden unfruchtbare Frauen zudem als Männer klassifiziert, sodass es ihnen erlaubt ist, mit Frauen eine Ehe einzugehen.

Die „Uminterpretation“ und „Umwandlung“ der geschlechtlichen Identität einer Person und ihre Sozialisation in einem nicht auf ihren biologischen Geschlechtsmerkmalen beruhenden Identitätsverständnis, wobei jegliche Identitätskonstruktion stets im Rahmen der vorherrschenden Geschlechterbinarität erfolgt (Mann → Frau, Frau → Mann), haben eine für die jeweilige Gesellschaft wichtige Funktion. Der intendierte Wandel der Geschlechtsidentität basiert häufig auf mikrostruktureller, das heißt familiärer Rationalität: Er verfolgt die Erhöhung eines in einer bestimmten Gemeinschaft nicht ausreichend vorhandenen Geschlechts und demgemäß den Anstieg von Status und Anerkennung.

Die vorstehenden Geschlechterkonzepte zeigen exemplarisch, dass in solchen Fällen die biologisch gegebene Geschlechtsidentität nicht das ausschlaggebende Kriterium für die soziale Identität und damit nur zweitrangig ist.

Nun gibt es aber auch andere Gesellschaftsmodelle, in denen die soziale Geschlechtsidentität nicht nach mehr Status und Achtung strebt. Die **Xanith** (Chanith) im Oman sind beispielsweise homosexuelle Männer (häufig intersexuell mit Trans-Identität), die den Status eines dritten Geschlechts innehaben. Interessant ist hierbei, dass sie sich diesen Status selbst zuschreiben: Denn während eine Frau als Frau festgelegt ist, so kann sich der Mann in der omanischen Gesellschaft eigens aussuchen, ob er als Mann in einer männlichen Geschlechtsidentität oder als Frau als so genanntes drittes Geschlecht leben möchte.

Die omanische Gesellschaft differenziert durchaus binär: in Frauen, d. h. Personen ohne Penis, und in Männer, Personen mit Penis. Diese Unterscheidung erfolgt bereits bei der Geburt. Erst in einem zweiten Differenzierungsvorgang, der frühestens mit der Pubertät einsetzt, werden Männer noch einmal in zwei Kategorien eingeteilt: in diejenigen, die penetrieren, und in diejenigen,

<sup>7</sup> Ausführlich zu Geschlechtsidentitäten in Afrika s. Schröter 2002.

die penetriert werden. In Oman existiert ein doppeltes Klassifizierungssystem: ein duales, das sich ausschließlich anhand der Anatomie, also des *sex*, orientiert [...]. Während Menschen mit weiblichen Geschlechtsorganen sexuell und sozial unverrückbar weiblich definiert werden, besitzen Menschen mit Penis das Recht, sich temporär oder dauerhaft zwischen dem männlichen und dem weiblichen Geschlecht zu entscheiden. (Schröter 2002: 113)

Ein drittes Geschlecht ist in vielen Soziokulturen anzutreffen. Dabei wird ersichtlich, dass weder das biologische Geschlecht noch die sexuelle Orientierung ausschlaggebend sind, um als vollwertiges Mitglied einer Gemeinschaft zu gelten. Von Relevanz ist primär die soziale Funktion und Stellung einer Person innerhalb einer Gemeinschaft. Dem dritten Geschlecht kommt je nach Kulturkreis eine unterschiedliche Bedeutung zu; es zeigt sich allerdings, dass das dritte Geschlecht für das Zusammenleben einer Gemeinschaft von großer Relevanz ist. So gelten Personen des dritten Geschlechts in einigen Gemeinschaften auch als Glücksbringer mit magischen und übernatürlichen Kräften, wodurch ihnen besonders viel Respekt und Achtung zukommt. Hierzu zählen beispielsweise bei den nordamerikanischen Ureinwohnern die **Berdache** (Roscoe 1994) oder die **Two Spirits** (Herdt 1994b, 1994d; Schröter 2002) sowie auch die indischen **Hijras**.

Viele Anhänger\_innen des dritten Geschlechts leben häufig abgeschottet von der allgemeinen Bevölkerung in gleichgesinnten Gemeinschaften. Die **Travestis** sind in Brasilien, aber auch in anderen Teilen Mittel- und Südamerikas, eine Identitätsgruppe mit biologisch männlichen Geschlechtsmerkmalen, wobei die Mitglieder eine sozial weibliche Identitätsrolle ausführen. Ihr Körper ist in der Regel primär von weiblicher Erscheinung, wobei sie eine komplette Geschlechtsumwandlung für sich ablehnen, da sie sich nicht als transsexuell sehen und nicht als Frau empfinden (Schröter 2002). In gleicher Weise verhält es sich bei den thailändischen **Kathoey** (*Ladyboy, Shemale*), den mexikanischen **Muxes**, den indischen **Kotis** oder den pakistanischen **Khusra**.

### **3.4. Sexus als (ir)relevante Identitätskategorie**

Diese Übersicht verdeutlicht den immensen Einfluss, den das biologische Geschlecht auf unsere Gesamtidentität und folglich auf unsere Persönlichkeitsstruktur nimmt. Wir agieren häufig bewusst oder unbewusst gemäß unserer biologischen Veranlagung und rechtfertigen unsere Persönlichkeit auf quasi natürlich-biologische Weise (z.B. *Ich bin doch eine Frau!, Das gehört sich nicht als Mädchen!, Also als Mann würde ich sagen ...*), sodass unsere gesamte Identität von einem biologischen Determinismus gesteuert zu sein scheint. Unsere Identität ist allerdings in jeder Hinsicht ein soziokulturelles, das heißt in einer Soziokultur anerzeugenes, erlerntes und imitiertes Konstrukt, welches dem mythischen Glauben an unsere biologische Vorbestimmung und geschlechtliche Einordnung entspringt. Denn Verhaltensweisen sind mitnichten durch unsere Anatomie und biologische Ausgeprägtheit vorgegeben; unsere Identität ist kein natürliches Produkt, welches unser biologisches Geschlecht widerspiegelt und an die Oberfläche trägt. Dennoch werden dem biologischen Geschlecht und der geschlechtlichen Identität gemeinhin sehr viel Bedeutung und Begründungskraft beigemessen.

Gleichzeitig lässt dieser Überblick schlussfolgern, dass Identität, vor allem Geschlechtsidentität, nicht so starr und invariant auftritt, wie einige vorstehend angeführte Identitätskonzepte verdeutlichen. Es existieren durchaus gemischte Genderkonzepte, welche die Mann-Frau-Achse durchbrechen und die Einordnung in die traditionelle Geschlechterbinarität unmöglich machen. Darüber hinaus zeigt sich, wie wenig Relevanz dem biologischen Geschlecht mitunter zukommt, wenn es um soziale Rollen

und soziale Identität geht. Das Ausbilden, Einnehmen und Ausleben von sozialer (Geschlechts)Identität erfolgt in einigen Soziokulturen zwar häufig im Rahmen der Geschlechterbinarität, sie steht jedoch nicht in Abhängigkeit vom biologischen Geschlecht. Dabei ist das sich im Widerspruch zum biologischen Geschlecht befindende soziale Geschlecht nicht weniger anerkennungswürdig und erhält eine bedeutsame soziale Funktion.

#### **4. Identität: zum Identitätsverständnis und Gesellschaftsmodell in Russland**

Mögen der vorstehende Überblick und die zum Teil sehr detailliert wirkenden Ausführungen selbsterklärend und überflüssig erscheinen, so lässt sich dem meines Erachtens entgegenhalten, dass dies eine Frage der Perspektive ist. Mein Artikel ist ein slawistischer Beitrag, und im Rahmen der slawistischen Genderlinguistik kann nicht unbedingt ein solches Verständnis bzw. Vorwissen vorausgesetzt werden bzw. in die slawistische Genderlinguistik sind die Komplexität, Diffusität und Intransparenz von Identität und Identitätsmodellen bislang noch nicht gänzlich eingeflossen, sodass die allgemeinen Anmerkungen zu Identität und die vielen Beispiele für Identitätskonzepte zunächst einmal das grundlegende Verständnis dafür schaffen sollen, dass Identität weder ein natürliches noch steuerbares Konzept ist und Identität nicht als in sich geschlossener Komplex unter natürlich-biologischem Vorzeichen auftritt. Denn die Kenntnis darüber, dass die Einteilung in Mann und Frau, männlich und weiblich sowie Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit nicht strikt durchzuhalten und in gewissem Maße mythisch-ideologischen Ursprungs ist, ist nicht in dem Sinne geläufig wie es Linguist\_inn\_en anderer Disziplinen erscheinen mag.

Das Konzept Nation basiert auf dem Konzept Zweigeschlechtlichkeit in seinen vielfältigen aber immer hierarchischen Verhältnissen. [...] Der moderne Nationalstaat wird als autonom verstanden, dem die männlichen Bürger ihre Macht übertragen. Zur gleichen Zeit entstand ein Verständnis von Männlichkeit oder Männlich-Sein, das sich von einem Verständnis von Weiblich-Sein oder Weiblichkeit abgrenzen musste. (Eckert 2013: 164f)

Betrachten wir die gegenwärtige gesellschaftliche und sozialpolitische Lage in Russland, dann steht das obige Zitat stellvertretend für die aktuelle Situation im Land. Die russische Gesellschaft sieht sich seit geraumer Zeit der Ausweitung eines neuen Männlichkeitskultes und damit einhergehend der Appellierung an ein neues Männerbild ausgesetzt. Das Überbetonen und das geradezu offensichtliche Zelebrieren der neuen Männlichkeit resultiert dabei nicht nur aus den heldenhaften Darstellungen des Präsidenten Vladimir Putin (beispielsweise beim Jagen) oder aus seinen maskulinisierten Auftritten (beispielsweise mit freiem Oberkörper in freier Wildnis), sondern die aktuelle Berichterstattung in den Medien und die jüngsten Debatten um Gesellschaft, Geschlecht und Identität leisten ebenso einen wesentlichen Beitrag zum Aufleben einer neuen Männlichkeit, zur allgegenwärtigen Präsenz des Mannes und demgemäß zum Anstieg männlicher Dominanz in der russischen Gesellschaft. Die Hegemonie des Mannes als geschlechtlichen Individuums und der männlichen Identität als geschlechtlichen Konzepts fungiert nicht nur als allgemeine Determinante oder maßgebende Richtlinie, der sich Frau(en) und so genannte „Nicht-Männer“ als abweichende Wesen unterzuordnen haben, sondern sie besitzt auch einen autonomen Status, wodurch Homogenität gewährleistet und Pluralität von Identität in postmodernem Verständnis von vornherein unterbunden werden soll. Die Annahme eines kongruenten, in sich schlüssigen und einheitlichen Konzepts *Mann* dominiert in all seiner stereotyphaften Stilisierung.

Von ihm gehen die Kraft und die Macht aus, die auf die russische Gesellschaft gezielt einwirken und sie in bestimmter Hinsicht formieren, dabei vor allem die gesellschaftliche Struktur und die Stellung des Mannes an die Oberfläche projizieren und das Machtgefälle zwischen Mann und anderen Identitäten hervorbringen; woraus jedoch gleichzeitig die nationale Identität ihre Stärke und in erster Linie ihr Wesen zu schöpfen scheint, sodass das Männlichkeitsbild zu einem für die Nation identitätsstiftenden Moment avanciert und Russland letztendlich eine bestimmte Identität verleiht. Dies wird nicht zuletzt dadurch ersichtlich, dass Russland das propagierte Männerbild als entscheidenden Faktor bemüht, um sich unter anderem von Europa abzugrenzen und sich in der Konsequenz eine eigene Identität zuzuschreiben. Dieser Abgrenzungsmechanismus nach dem *svoe-čužoe*-Prinzip war im vergangenen Jahr nach dem Sieg von Conchita Wurst beim Eurovision Song Contest in Kopenhagen medial sehr präsent und entfachte international hitzige Debatte. Auch das Gesetz über das Verbot der Propaganda nicht-traditioneller sexueller Beziehungen gegenüber Minderjährigen ist das Ergebnis eines Abschottungsversuchs.

#### **4.1. Identitätspolitik in Russland**

Aus jüngster Zeit lassen sich meines Erachtens drei Ereignisse heranziehen, welche das russische Gesellschaftsmodell und Identitätskonzept exemplarisch veranschaulichen.

##### **4.1.1. Drei-Kind-Ehe**

Die von Vladimir Putin im Jahre 2012 propagierte Drei-Kind-Ehe, durch welche die Frau, vor allem aber die kinderreiche Familie eine finanzielle und gesellschaftliche Aufwertung erführe, verfolgt die Intention, das traditionelle Gesellschaftsbild wiederzubeleben resp. zu stärken sowie die Identitätskonzepte Mann und Frau in ihren klassischen Funktionen zu bewahren. Dieses Vorhaben steht stellvertretend für die gegenwärtige politische und – maßgeblich durch die Politik beeinflusste – gesellschaftliche Auffassung von Mann und Frau bzw. von Identität und Geschlecht in Russland. In der russischen Gesellschaft dominiert Identität als ein Zwei-Kategorien-System mit allgemeiner Gültigkeit. Personen werden nach ihrer Geburt gemäß ihrem amtlich festgestellten biologischen Geschlecht (*akušerskij pol, pasportnyj pol*) einer der beiden Kategorien *Frau* oder *Mann* zugeordnet und nach den allgemein der jeweiligen Kategorie zugeschriebenen traditionellen Vorstellungen sozialisiert, sodass Identität, Verhaltensweisen sowie gesellschaftliche Rolle und Funktion (z.B. Fortpflanzung, Arbeitsteilung, Mutterschaft) biologisch begründet sind und geschlechterbezogen gedacht werden, was unmittelbar zu einer Geschlechterschematisierung (*gendernaja schematizacija*) führt, ergo zu einer biologisch determinierten und daher unterschiedlichen Assoziation, Wahrnehmung und Klassifikation von Mann und Frau (Klecina [2003] 2009a, 2009b).

В любом обществе от разнополых детей ожидают разного поведения и по-разному обращаются с ними, в соответствии с этим в любом обществе мальчики и девочки ведут себя по-разному. (Klecina 2009b: 201)

Die traditionellen Geschlechterstereotype und klassischen Vorstellungen von Geschlecht werden bereits im frühen Kindesalter vermittelt (Herma 2003).

Kinder lernen bereits in den ersten Lebensjahren, dass sie Mädchen oder Jungen und dass alle Menschen in ihrer Umgebung als weiblich oder männlich zu klassifizieren sind [...]. (Mogge-Grotjahn 2004: 93)

Die traditionelle Kindererziehung setzt in dem Glauben an eine biologische Vorbestimmung auf gezielte Geschlechtertrennung, wodurch unter anderem mit dem biologischen Geschlecht des Kindes im Widerspruch stehende Interessen und somit Individualität ignoriert werden (Semenova u. Semenova 2009: 212). In der Konsequenz wird Mädchen das Bild vermittelt, eine Person weiblichen Geschlechts sei stets *dobraja*, ‚gutmütig‘, *skromnaja*, ‚bescheiden‘, *poslušnaja*, ‚gehorsam‘, *zabotlivaja*, ‚besorgt‘, *umejuščaja*, ‚sredit, za svoej vnešnost’ju, ‚auf ihr Äußeres bedacht‘, *priležnaja*, ‚fleißig/strebsam‘ und *trudoljubivaja*, ‚arbeitsam‘. Jungen müssen hingegen lernen, weibliche Schwächen zu belächeln, Frauenarbeit abzulehnen, Stärke und Überlegenheit zu demonstrieren und Gefühle zu unterdrücken; sie gelten als (willens)stark, mutig, entschieden, hartnäckig, zielgerichtet, zielsicher, selbstständig, prinzippetreu und kompetent. Daher wird ihnen auch in beruflicher Hinsicht ein anderes Bild vermittelt, nämlich das einer aufstiegsorientierten und gut verdienenden Person, die nach realer Macht und einer hohen Position strebt (Semenova u. Semenova 2009: 213f). Außerhalb des Elternhauses und der Schule als Stätten der kulturellen Einschreibung in die Geschlechterordnung, wo Kinder zu Männern und Frauen gemacht werden (Luserke-Jaqui 2002), wird aber vor allem in den Medien und in der Werbung ein Geschlechterbild gezeichnet, dass Frauen stets als schön, akkurat, (für andere) attraktiv, häuslich, anpassungsfähig, bescheiden, uneigennützig, zurückhaltend und weniger karriereorientiert abbilden, wohingegen der Mann als echter Kerl (*nastojaščij mužčina, mužik*) erscheint (Semenova u. Semenova 2009: 213f).

Mädchen und Jungen beziehungsweise weibliche und männliche Jugendliche empfangen [...] geschlechtsspezifisch unterschiedliche mediale und lebensweltliche Botschaften. (Mogge-Grotjahn 2004: 95)

Die Erosionierung und Sexualisierung des weiblichen Geschlechts mit der damit einhergehenden Darstellung der Frau als Lustobjekt auf der einen Seite und der heroische, allmächtige und starke Charakter des männlichen Geschlechts mit der damit einhergehenden Darstellung des Mannes als Eroberer und Beschützer auf der anderen Seite lernen Kinder und Jugendliche bereits durch die Aufmachung von Kinderspielzeug oder Schulmaterialien kennen. Der zu beobachtende Wandel der Gesellschafts- und Familienverhältnisse – beispielsweise durch die Zunahme alleinerziehender Mütter und Väter – begründet jedoch auch in der Erziehung ein Umdenken, da Personen an die neuen Lebensumstände herangeführt werden müssen, wodurch eine auf Traditionalismus basierende Identität sowohl in ihrer aktiven als auch passiven Steuerung und Wahrnehmung ihre Gültigkeit verliert, insbesondere aber die Annahme einer kollektiven Identität, wie sie bereits zu Sowjetzeiten erwünscht war und durchaus vorherrschte, heute obsolet erscheint. Für die heutige russische Gesellschaft lehnen Semenova und Semenova (2009: 217) daher das unifizierte und einheitliche Individuum ab. Stattdessen plädieren sie für eine freie Entfaltung eines jeden Individuums unabhängig von seinem biologischen Geschlecht und für Pluralität von Identität(en). Für die Zukunft erachten sie eine geschlechterneutrale Erziehung unter Berücksichtigung der Geschlechtergleichheit und Förderung von Individualität als sinnvoll, wodurch langfristig Vielfalt gewährleistet, Toleranz gefördert und kategorisches Denken abgelegt wird.

#### 4.1.2. Propagandagesetz

Wird in der Psychologie das Erziehungs- und Gesellschaftsmodell nach strikt binärer Einteilung mit klassischer Geschlechtervorstellung mitunter verworfen, so macht sich dies trotz sich wandelnder Lebensumstände – sowohl in Russland als auch weltweit – gesellschaftlich und sozialpolitisch weniger

bemerkbar. Die Verabschiedung des landesweiten Gesetzes zum Verbot der Propaganda nicht-traditioneller sexueller Beziehungen gegenüber Minderjährigen, welches zuvor durch entsprechende Verordnungen und Verbote in vereinzelten Städten und Gebieten vorbereitet worden ist, zeugt ebenso wie dieses Verbot begleitende politische und juristische Maßnahmen sowie von russischen Bürger\_inne\_n veranstaltete Demonstrationen davon, dass Identität in jeder Hinsicht in einem biologisch determinierten Traditionalismus verharrt, der jede Individualität im Keim ersticken lässt. Die Verabschiedung des föderalen Gesetzes verdeutlicht, welch hohen Stellenwert die kollektive Identität genießt, wonach Personen eines Geschlechts dieselben Merkmale aufweisen sollen. Kollektive Identität als

формирующеся на основе общности интересов и ценностей состояние групповой солидарности, включающее коллективный (осознание и переживание группой своей целостности и тождественности) и индивидуальный (осознание и переживание индивидами своей принадлежности к группе) уровни (Kurnaeva u. Rjabov 2006: 240)

macht im Geschlechterkontext dadurch verständlich, dass der biologisch angenommene Geschlechterdualismus in einer heterosexuellen Matrix angeordnet ist. Diese normative Konzeption der Welt oder einer Soziokultur in Bezug auf „normal geschlechtliche“ (West u. Fenstermaker 1997: 62) Personen wird derzeit in Russland verstärkt als Wirklichkeit konstruiert, sodass Individuen, Gesellschaft und Gesellschaftsstrukturen heteronormativ gedacht werden, Individuen sich jedoch gleichzeitig mit der gesellschaftlichen Heterosexualität identifizieren sollen.

Das Propagandagesetz hat primär zum Ziel, politisch und juristisch gegen Pädophilie vorzugehen, zugleich sollen Kinder und Jugendliche aber nicht mit einer nicht-traditionellen Identitätsmöglichkeit konfrontiert werden. Die Umsetzung des Gesetzes ist allerdings von Willkürlichkeit geprägt, da die Anzeichen für „homosexuelle Propaganda“ nicht einheitlich gelesen werden, sodass das Ausleben von Identität insgesamt (fast) unmöglich wird. Das harsche politische Vorgehen gegen Personen mit homosexueller Neigung veranlasst die russische Gesellschaft mehrheitlich zu entsprechenden Reaktionen und Denkweisen, schürt einen stark anwachsenden Schwulenhass und bewegt mitunter dazu, die „Liquidierung homosexueller Personen“<sup>8</sup> zu fordern. Interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang, dass fast ausschließlich Männer mit Homosexualität in Verbindung gebracht werden. Zudem erfolgt häufig die Gleichsetzung von homosexuell mit pädophil bzw. psychisch krank, woraus Homosexualität zu einer krankhaften und widernatürlichen Identität wird. Vergessen wird in diesem Kontext, dass selbst Heterosexualität keine natürliche, biologisch gegebene Erscheinung ist, sondern eine rein auf Kategorisierung angelegte Konstruktion sexueller Orientierung. Die strikte Trennung von Hetero- und Homosexualität ist ein Konstrukt der Neuzeit, da in der Geschichte der Menschheit nicht immer eine solche Unterscheidung gezogen wurde.

Einige dieser Identitätskategorien hatten in verschiedenen Formen jahrtausendlang Bestand, bevor das moderne Wort oder Konzept der Homosexualität erfunden wurde. (Halperin 2003: 175)

Denn was heute als normativ männlich gilt, wechselte über die Jahrtausende. Teilweise galten Männer mit effeminerter Ausstrahlung oder Neigung nicht weniger als Männer (Halperin 2003). Diese Auffassung hat gegenwärtig vielerorts nicht an Gültigkeit verloren.

<sup>8</sup> Quelle: Spiegel Online vom 11. Juni 2013, online unter: [www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/russland-duma-gesetz-gegen-homosexuellen-propaganda-a-905108.html](http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/russland-duma-gesetz-gegen-homosexuellen-propaganda-a-905108.html) [zuletzt eingesehen am 11. März 2015].

Moving from sex to gender can make the investigation more subtle: gender categories are not restricted to the male/female dichotomy, females need not be feminine, and femininity can be a matter of degree [or, as I might now put it, take many different forms]. (McConnell-Ginet 2011: 41)

Darüber hinaus gelten in verschiedenen Kulturen homosexuelle Rituale bis heute als „normal“ (Rubin 2003). Die Bestimmung bzw. die Zuschreibung sexueller Identität und die gesellschaftliche Einordnung von Personen über ihr sexuelles Begehrten ist ein relativ neues Phänomen (McConnell-Ginet 2011).

#### Sexuelle Identität als

Verbindungen der Kategorien des biologischen und des sozialen Geschlechts sowie des sexuellen Begehrts als Merkmale, die eine personale und kulturelle Identität unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sexualität konstruieren (Kroll (Hg.) 2002: 360)

ist eine Identitätskomponente, die momentan in Russland nicht nur auf der politischen Agenda steht, sondern sie wird auch gesellschaftlich beurteilt und problematisiert. Die Annahme, dass sich eine Soziokultur durch Homogenität auszeichnet, wobei Homogenität auch in Bezug auf die sexuelle Identität ihrer Träger\_innen gedacht wird, ignoriert die intern immer gegebene Heterogenität ebendieser Gesellschaft (Kroll (Hg.) 2002: 219).

Wenn heutige Kulturen als komplexe Mischungen des Eigenen, des Anderen, des angeeigneten Anderen, des entfremdeten Eigenen etc. verstanden werden, dann muß die kulturelle [Identitätsbildung] diesen Phänomenen der kulturellen Hybridität und der kulturellen Mehrfachzugehörigkeiten von Individuen entsprechen. Statt eine konsistente und stabile [Identität] auszubilden, müssen die Brüche, Heterogenitäten und Widersprüche in eine neue >transdifferentielle< [kulturelle Identität] aufgenommen und kreativ genutzt werden. (Kroll (Hg.) 2002: 219)

In Russland werden fremde oder als fremd empfundene Identitäten gegenwärtig stark marginalisiert oder gar ausgeschlossen. Identität und Identitätsmuster mögen global und kosmopolitisch erscheinen, werden jedoch häufig territorial bzw. territorial-national begründet und eingesetzt. Homosexualität als relativ neue sichtbare Identität, die erst nach dem Fall des Eisernen Vorhangs aus der Tabu-Zone heraustrat, findet somit nur schwer gesellschaftliche Akzeptanz. Sie widerspricht dem bereits im Sozialismus vorherrschenden Prinzip der kollektiven Geschlechteridentität, sodass Homosexuelle als gesellschaftlicher Störfaktor, fremd und unrussisch stigmatisiert werden, da sie nicht dem traditionellen Männerbild entsprechen und sich weder in das allgemeine Identitätsbewusstsein noch in das gesellschaftliche Identitätsbild einfügen.

Gay masculinity highlights failure to achieve hegemonic masculinity and specifically draws attention to the non-natural, non-inevitable status of masculinity as an achievement. (Beasley 2005: 216)

Identität in ihrer aktiven Ausbildung und passiven Wahrnehmung unterliegen ideologischen Vorstellungen nach heteronormativem Standard (Bucholtz *et al.* (Hg.) 1999). Identität tritt in jeglicher Form als soziales Konstrukt in Erscheinung, das auf sozial etablierten Leitbildern und Mustern fußt. Hierbei handelt es sich um gesellschaftlich gefestigte Vorstellungen, Denkweisen, Erwartungshaltungen und Überzeugungen mit evaluativem Gehalt (gut-schlecht, richtig-falsch, angemessen-unangemessen).

These all-pervasive abstract beliefs about what is right and legitimate, and thus most appropriate, pervade the discourses of the community; both mainstream and marginalized members of a society are constrained by dominant ideologies, and the identities of both groups are realized in relation to hegemony. (Wood 1999: 52)

Ideologien nehmen im Leben eine zentrale Stellung ein, die einen (richtigen) Weg und eine (richtige) Orientierung vorzugeben scheinen, die Menschen bei ihrer Identitätsbildung anstreben. Dabei sind Ideologien, darin eingeschlossen die Ideologie der Heteronormativität, nicht weniger sozial konstruiert.

[I]deological systems themselves exist as cultural constructs, subject to processes of change and revision by individuals and groups. (Bucholtz 1999: 14)

Die in der Sowjetunion geforderte kollektive Identität als einzige denkbare Identitätskonzeption scheint im heutigen Russland weiterhin als Ideal zu gelten und wird von der Politik, maßgeblich jedoch von der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche propagiert, die als oberste Institution das Wesen der Identität vorgibt.

#### *4.1.3. Conchita Wurst und der Identitätendiskurs*

Die Diskussionen um Geschlechtsidentität und um Identitäten jenseits der heterosexuellen Matrix gewannen in Russland nach dem Sieg von Conchita Wurst beim Eurovision Song Contest 2014 in Kopenhagen an Intensität. Geschlechtsidentität wird gemeinhin über den Körper dargestellt und assoziiert, sodass Aussehen, Verhalten, Bewegung, Lebensstil, Ausstrahlung wesentlich die geschlechtliche Bestimmung determinieren (Mogge-Grotjahn 2004: 96f). Wie die vorstehenden Erläuterungen bereits verdeutlichen, spielen hier die ideologischen Vorstellungen einer Soziokultur eine große Rolle. Die Diskussion in den russischen Medien wie auch in der russischen Gesellschaft zeigen indes, dass auch Geschlechteridentität als stabiles und (biologisch) festgelegtes Konzept existiert und ihr jegliche Wandelbarkeit und Invarianz abgesprochen wird. Die heute noch zumeist stark pauschalisierte und auf Binarität basierende Auffassung von Geschlecht und Identität wird deutlich, wenn eine Bestimmtheit von Geschlecht und Geschlechteridentität und in der Konsequenz – fälschlicherweise – von *Gender* als soziokulturelles Konzept angesetzt wird, die in unserer Wirklichkeit in der Form nicht (immer) gegeben ist und auch nicht gegeben sein kann. Wird *Gender* definiert als

аспект самосознания, описывающий переживание человеком себя как представителя определенного пола (Klecina 2009b: 201)<sup>9</sup>

oder als

первая категория, в которой ребенок осмысливает свое собственное Я (Klecina 2009b: 201)

dann folgt hieraus unmittelbar, dass das Konzept *Gender* nur aus zwei Kategorien, nämlich eindeutig Mann und eindeutig Frau besteht. Personen sind Vertreter\_innen eines bestimmten Geschlechts und das Geschlecht ist die erste Kategorie, in der eine Person ihr eigenes Selbst erkennt. Für *cis*-Personen, „die in dem bei ihrer Geburt zugewiesenen Geschlecht leben“ (Bauer *et al.* (Hg.) 2007: 25) und dieses akzeptieren, mag das durchaus zutreffen. Andere Konzepte bringen diese Vorstellung nun ins Wanken. Intersexuelle Personen werden sich nicht mit einem bestimmten Geschlecht identifizieren; und auch Trans-Personen lassen sich nicht problemlos in das binäre Schema einordnen. Anhänger\_innen des dritten Geschlechts als Gruppe

whose gender identities and enactments fall outside of socio-cultural norms for women and men  
(Zimman u. Hall 2010: 166)

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. darüber hinaus kritisch Rumjanceva 2009.

nehmen eine soziale Rolle ein und identifizieren sich mit der sozialen Geschlechtszuschreibung, weisen jedoch biologisch ein anderes Geschlecht auf.

Identität kann multipel und variable, dadurch uneindeutig sein. Zudem ist das, was eine soziokulturelle und soziohistorische Gemeinschaft als männlich und weiblich wahrnimmt und definiert, immer das Resultat interpretativer Zuschreibungen (Kroll (Hg.) 2002: 357).

Im Kontext der Problematisierungen von Hermaphroditismus und Homosexualität, die sich in den ätiologischen Debatten um 1900 schließlich überschneiden, werden eine immer größere Zahl und immer neue Formen der Abweichung von der Norm einer reproduktionsorientierten heterosexuellen Zweigeschlechtlichkeit hervorgebracht, welche die zugrunde gelegten Naturgesetze überschreiten und nicht nur grundsätzliche Fragen nach dem kausalen Zusammenhang zwischen Anatomie/Physiologie/Psyche/Sexualtrieb, sondern auch nach den ›natürlichen‹ Grenzen zwischen den Geschlechtern sowie den Grenzen des ›Normalen‹ aufwerfen. (Mehlmann 2006: 350)

Daher liegt dem Postfeminismus ein dekonstruktivistischer Ansatz zugrunde, welcher von einer Pluralität und Diversifikation und somit von einem weiten Deutungsraum von Identität ausgeht (Genz u. Brabon 2009: 28). Identität wird dadurch mehrdeutig, da eine Person nicht nur über eine Identität verfügt, folglich auch nicht über eine singuläre Identität bestimmt werden kann (Hieber u. Villa (Hg.) 2007). Darüber hinaus ist Identität nichts, was wir haben, obschon wir sie haben. Identität ist gemäß Performativitätsprinzip etwas, das wir machen, inszenieren, kontinuierlich herstellen (Butler 1997).

In die russische Gender-Forschung sind Identitätskonzepte jenseits der Heteronormativität noch nicht eingegangen. Temkina (2009: 34) deutet zwar an, dass sie jenseits von Mann und Frau noch etwas anderes sieht oder vermutet, in der Literatur wird dieses „Andere“ jedoch nicht oder nur selten benannt. Mit dem Sieg von Conchita Wurst auf dem letztjährigen Eurovision Song Contest bekam die Existenz nicht-heteronormativer Identitäten ein neues und gleichzeitig ein sehr konkretes Gesicht. Fortan war das Thema um Identität zwar – soweit mir bisher bekannt – weniger in der Forschung präsent, drang dafür aber umso mehr in den öffentlichen Diskurs ein. Die Travestie-Figur Conchita Wurst, eine betont weibliche Erscheinung mit markantem Bart und auffällig männlicher Stimme, lenkte die Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums nicht nur auf das Konzept der Pluriidentität, sondern betonte auch nachdrücklich die Existenz nicht-heteronormativer Identitäten und verwies auf die Diffusität von Identität. Mit ihrem politischen Statement „We are unstoppable“ warb sie unmittelbar nach ihrem Sieg vor laufender Kamera für (europaweite) Akzeptanz von Personen, die sich nicht eindeutig in das binäre Gender-Schema einordnen lassen (wollen). In Russland setzte daraufhin eine Diskussion ein, die zwei unterschiedliche Richtungen mit jedoch einem gemeinsamen Schnittpunkt einschlug. Der Dreh- und Angelpunkt beider Diskussionsstrände ist Identität. Während jedoch die einen in dem Auftritt von Conchita Wurst eine eindeutige Propaganda von Homosexualität sehen und unter Berufung auf das in der Russischen Föderation geltende *anti-gay-law* ihre Antipathie gegen Homosexuelle kundtun, gehen andere noch einen Schritt weiter und nutzen Conchita Wurst als territorial-nationales Abgrenzungskriterium. Beide Haltungen gehen Hand in Hand, betonen lediglich unterschiedliche Identitätsdimensionen. Das eine Lager bezieht sich primär auf die geschlechtliche und sexuelle Identität. Unter dem Einfluss der russischen Politik und Kirche sowie geleitet vom gesetzlichen Verbot der Propaganda nicht-traditioneller sexueller Beziehungen werden moralische und traditionelle Werte betont und an klassische Geschlechterrollen und Identitätskonzepte appelliert. Identität wird mehrheitlich binär und ausschließlich heterosexuell gedacht, wohingegen hiervon abweichende Konzepte als unnatürlich und Gefahr für die Gesellschaft gewertet werden (Klecina [2003] 2009a). Dies führt seit einigen Jahren zur Verbreitung von Homophobie

im Land und zu einer starken Marginalisierung und Missbilligung dieser Minderheit, was durch mediale Propaganda maßgeblich gefördert wird.

Die Anderen sehen in Conchita Wurst das Andere, das Fremde, den Fremdkörper und begeben sich in die Dimension der nationalen Identität. Conchita Wurst demonstriert Identität als einen ständigen subjektiven Konstruktionsprozess (Mogge-Grotjahn 2004: 96) und als ein Konzept des Sich-Entwerfens (Wippermann *et al.* 2009: 73). Doch liefern in Russland Trans-Identitäten, darunter auch Travestiten, die gemeinhin keiner sexuellen Orientierung unterliegen,

Irritationspotential [...], [da] das Verhältnis der Geschlechter als polare Differenz konzipiert ist und der Körper als Grundlage lebenslanger Geschlechtszuweisung dient. (Kroll (Hg.) 2002: 392)

Identität wird wie bereits zu Sowjetzeiten mit Kollektivismus in Zusammenhang gebracht, sodass Individualität und Pluriidentität verneint und abgelehnt werden.

Statt allseitige Entfaltung der Persönlichkeit zu ermöglichen, reduzierte das [...] staatssozialistische Gesellschaftsmodell das Individuum auf seine Rolle als Klient bzw. Klientin und blockierte im Zuge bürokratischer Normierung die Ausdifferenzierung einer – auf individuellen, reflexiven Normen und Wertungen beruhenden – Pluralität von Lebensentwürfen. (Schmitt 1997: 65)

#### **4.2. Über die europäische Dekadenz zur russisch-nationalen Identität**

Der russische Mann ist wie alle Gesellschaftsmitglieder der russischen Nation heterosexueller Orientierung. Heterosexualität bzw. Heteronormativität avanciert folglich zu einem russisch-nationalen Identitätsmerkmal und damit zu einem Abgrenzungskriterium. Conchita Wurst wird in ihrer selbst entworfenen Identität als Zeichen westeuropäischer Dekadenz und Perversion gedeutet – eine Haltung, die derzeit wohl auch unter maßgeblichem Einfluss der außenpolitischen Lage steht. Conchita Wurst, die bärige Frau aus Österreich, demonstriere brillant, wie verkehrt, widernatürlich, krank, skandalös, wertlos und letztendlich pervers Europa heute sei. Insbesondere bedient sich die Politik dieser Auffassung und appelliert im Sinne der Drei-Kind-Ehe an traditionelle Werte und in Anlehnung an das Propagandagesetz an das klassische Geschlechterverständnis. Vor allem aber dienen die homophobe Haltung und die identitätskritische Rhetorik der Formierung, Stärkung und Propagierung einer russisch-nationalen Identität, was in der heutigen Krisenzeit wohl geradezu notwendig scheint. Ein interessantes Moment ist in diesem Zusammenhang, dass die nationale Identitätsbildung nicht über das Affirmationsprinzip (was bin ich?) erfolgt, sondern dass eine Negationsstrategie (was bin ich nicht?) bemüht wird. Es geht weder um das Herausstellen von Merkmalen und Gemeinsamkeiten, die die russische Nation besitzt, noch um die Akzentuierung des Besonderen, das die eigene Nation ausmacht. Die russisch-nationale Identität gelangt zu ihrem Selbst durch einen Abgrenzungsmechanismus, indem bestimmte Spezifika und Wesenszüge verneint und abgelehnt und dabei anderenorts lokalisiert werden. Für diese durch Negation herbeigeführte Affirmation der nationalen Identität wird sowohl seitens der Politik als auch der Medien und der Gesellschaft selbst ein Raum-Konzept bemüht, sodass Identität lokalisierbar und eingrenzbar erscheint. Räume verhelfen dazu, Alltag, Gesellschaft und somit auch Identität zu denken und zu verstehen (Benwell u. Stokoe 2006: 210), wobei es hier auf die Interdependenz hinzuweisen gilt, denn

not only do people make spaces, but also spaces make people, by constraining them but also by offering opportunities for identity construction. (Benwell u. Stokoe 2006: 211)

Die russische Gesellschaft sieht die Möglichkeit der Ausbildung und Stärkung ihrer nationalen Identität derzeit durch Abgrenzung vom (west)europäischen Raum. Sie verortet die Vielfalt von Identität territorial in (West)Europa und negiert dadurch die Existenz von Vielfalt in Russland. Die russische Gesellschaft setzt auf Konformität und Einheitlichkeit und untergräbt auf diese Weise die Möglichkeit zur Ausbildung einer individuellen Identität. Die geografische – zumindest partielle – Zugehörigkeit Russlands zu Europa, die in der Vergangenheit zu politischen Zwecken immer wieder betont wurde, sowie die (west)europäischen Werte und Standards, deren Übernahme, Integration und Achtung lange Zeit für die Entwicklung eines gerechten Staates und einer modernen Gesellschaft standen, um dadurch nicht zuletzt die Zugehörigkeit Russlands zu Europa zu signalisieren, rücken gegenwärtig in den Hintergrund. Die verschiedenen Emanzipationsbewegungen in vielen westeuropäischen Ländern spielen für den russischen Diskurs um nationale Identität eine zentrale Rolle. Die veröffentlichte Meinung kommt dabei nicht ohne Figuren aus, die als Projektionsfläche für entsprechende Zuschreibungen dienen. Dies trifft in besonderem Maße auf die Künstlerin Conchita Wurst zu. Russischen Kommentator\_inn\_en, Politiker\_inne\_n und Medien gilt sie als eine Art Schreckbild für die Verkommenheit, Verdorbenheit und Dekadenz des Westens. Nachhaltig wirken in diesem Zusammenhang die Äußerungen des Rechtspopulisten Vladimir Žirinovskij in einer Fernsehshow, in der er den Sieg von Conchita Wurst als Ende und Untergang Europas deutete und in polemischer Weise darauf hinwies, dass die Männer in Europa keine richtigen Männer mehr seien, sondern nur noch ein *Es*. Europa existiere nur noch im Neutrum. Seine Äußerungen beendete er mit den Worten:

Vor 50 Jahren besetzte die sowjetische Armee Österreich. Es war ein Fehler, es wieder freizugeben.  
Wir hätten dort bleiben sollen.

Der Sänger und Schauspieler Danko schloss sich dieser Meinung an und fügte ergänzend hinzu, dass die Europäische Union durch den Sieg von Conchita Wurst ihr wahres Gesicht zeige.<sup>10</sup>

Die öffentlichen Diskussionen um Conchita Wurst zeigten fortan die traditionelle Wahrnehmung von Identität, die bei heterosexueller Orientierung entweder weiblich oder männlich zu sein hat. Die allgemeine Inakzeptabilität von Zwischengeschlechtlichkeit, Andersgeschlechtlichkeit und Identitätsvielfalt wird verdeutlicht durch die häufigen – auch in den Medien unternommenen – Versuche zu hinterfragen und abschließend klären zu können, ob es sich bei der Figur nun um einen Mann oder eine Frau handelt. Die nicht gegebene Intelligibilität der Künstlerin sorgt für Verwirrung, da eine Einordnung in den Geschlechterdualismus nicht gewährleistet ist. Überschattet wurde die Diskussion um geschlechtliche und sexuelle Identität jedoch vom Diskurs um nationale Identität. Durch seine Äußerungen skizzerte bereits Žirinovskij das Bild einer russischen Frau und eines russischen Mannes und suggerierte damit spezifische Eigenschaften der russischen Gesellschaft bzw. der russischen Nation. In den Medien, vor allem im Internet, nahm die Diskussion um die nationale Identität daraufhin enorme Ausmaße an, wobei das Konzept der Nicht-Homosexualität als Bezugsfaktor und ausschlaggebendes Kriterium angesetzt wurde. Die russische Gesellschaft identifizierte sich überwiegend über eine nicht-homosexuelle Orientierung. Wortbildungsprodukte, wie *Gejropa*, *'Gayropa'*, *gejropejcy*, *'Gayropäer'*, *evrosodomija*, *'Eurosodomie'*, *evrosodom*, *'Eurosodom'*, *Gejrovizija*, *'Gayvision'*, unterstützen dabei

<sup>10</sup> Ausführlich hierzu vgl. online [www.google.de/imgres?imgurl=http://i.ytimg.com/vi/lDiGK8PwOqM/maxresdefault.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=%3DlDiGK8PwOqM&h=720&w=1280&tbnid=Y-Ee7YGEA4r-AM:&zoom=1&tbnh=90&tbnw=160&usg=\\_\\_b3SJqAONfLqaNn4LrdJVPGOtYF8=&docid=XzxZ2RXB2QbLIM](http://www.google.de/imgres?imgurl=http://i.ytimg.com/vi/lDiGK8PwOqM/maxresdefault.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=%3DlDiGK8PwOqM&h=720&w=1280&tbnid=Y-Ee7YGEA4r-AM:&zoom=1&tbnh=90&tbnw=160&usg=__b3SJqAONfLqaNn4LrdJVPGOtYF8=&docid=XzxZ2RXB2QbLIM) [zuletzt eingesehen am 1. April 2015].

sichtlich die intendierte Abgrenzung und zeigen anschaulich, wie Identität genutzt wird, um ein nationales Selbst zu schaffen. Die offensichtliche Hermetisierung von Identität, die letztendlich zu solchen Diskriminierungshandlungen führen muss, mag in der Angst vor Überfremdung und Kulturverlust begründet liegen. Ausgehend von einem derzeit unsicheren Verständnis davon, was zu Zeiten der Globalisierung noch russisch ist und als russisch gilt bzw. gelten kann, wird durch Politik und Medien der Versuch unternommen, durch entsprechende Maßnahmen dieser Entwicklung entgegenzutreten, um den Soll-Zustand, also das erwünschte Verständnis wieder herzustellen. Denn die Annahme einer instabilen eigenen Identität fördert Differenzierungsmechanismen zur Abgrenzung von anderen Identitäten, um sich selbst zu schützen und die eigene Identität zu stärken resp. aufrechtzuerhalten.

#### **4.3. Russlands Identitätsdiskurs: eine Zusammenfassung**

Die Vorstellung einer kollektiven Identität scheint im heutigen Russland weiterhin als Ideal zu gelten. Unter dem starken Einfluss von Kirche, Politik und Bildungsinstitutionen, jedoch ebenso maßgeblich geprägt durch die Gesellschaft und die gesellschaftlichen Denkmuster, ist die Aneignung und Darstellung einer individuellen Identität bis heute stark restringiert. Vor allem in Bezug auf Geschlecht scheint Russland in traditionellen Geschlechterbildern und Geschlechterrollen zu verharren, sodass durch Sozialisation versucht wird, stereotype Identitäten aufrechtzuerhalten (Hoffmann 2005: 283). Zudem fehlt es an so genannten Role Models, sodass öffentliche Auftritte anders-sexueller Personen nur selten sind. In jüngster Zeit wird vermehrt der Versuch unternommen, über den Geschlechter- und Identitätsdiskurs die russisch-nationale Identität zu festigen und merklich von der (west)europäischen Identität abzugrenzen. Durch die hierzu herangezogene Negationsstrategie werden Identitätenvielfalt und Nicht-Heteronormativität im westlichen Europa verortet und für diesen Raum als typisch angesehen, sodass für die Ausbildung der russisch-nationalen Identität diese Konzepte ausgeschlossen und im Rahmen des Geschlechterkontextes generell abgelehnt werden.

#### **5. Identität: Benennen und Wahrnehmen durch Sprache**

Als Lann Hornscheidt vor einiger Zeit ihre *x*-Theorie vorstellte, löste dies über die deutschen Grenzen hinaus einen Sturm der Empörung, ja gar der kompletten Fassungslosigkeit aus.<sup>11</sup> Hornscheidt unterbreitete in einem Interview den Vorschlag, sämtliche geschlechterspezifische Endungen im Deutschen durch ein *x* zu ersetzen. Ihrer Theorie liegt ein dekonstruktivistischer Ansatz zugrunde, der Geschlecht an sich, vor allem aber die Geschlechterdivision strikt verneint bzw. infrage stellt, dass es wirklich unterschiedliche Geschlechter gibt, da diese nur durch Bedeutungszuweisung und Abgrenzungsprinzipien konstruiert werden, in eigentlichem Sinne, also in natürlicher Form, jedoch nicht vorliegen. In Anlehnung an die Butler'sche Dekonstruktion von Geschlecht unternimmt Hornscheidt den Versuch, Geschlecht auch sprachlich zu dekonstruieren und lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit unter anderem auf personale Appellationen, mittels welcher Geschlecht stetig in binären Kategorien konstruiert wird.

---

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. hierzu online [www.spiegel.de/unispiegel/wunderbar/gendertheorie-studierx-lann-hornscheidt-ueber-gerechte-sprache-a-965843.html](http://www.spiegel.de/unispiegel/wunderbar/gendertheorie-studierx-lann-hornscheidt-ueber-gerechte-sprache-a-965843.html) [zuletzt eingesehen am 1. März 2015].

Die Genderidentität einer Person oder einer Gruppe von Menschen entsteht erst im Akt der Benennung bzw. wird in ihr geschaffen, indem Menschen durch Sprache adressiert, typisiert und kategorisiert werden. (Hornscheidt 2009: 255)

Identitäten werden durch ihre sprachlichen Benennungen sozial relevant und auf diese Weise zu interaktiv hergestellter und erlebter Realität. (Hornscheidt 2006: 1)

Um jedoch dieser Konstruktion entgegenzuwirken, erscheint es Hornscheidt logisch, geschlechterspezifische Endungen zu tilgen und durch ein geschlechterunspezifisches *x* zu ersetzen, wodurch Personalität sichtbar, Geschlecht allerdings unpräzise bleibt.

So richtig nachvollziehen lässt sich die Entrüstung gegen Hornscheidts Vorschlag nicht. Zum einen handelt es sich lediglich um einen Vorschlag. Hornscheidt hatte nie die Intention, ihre Meinung anderen Personen zu oktroyieren und einen kompletten Sprachwandel zu provozieren. Zum anderen und damit einhergehend – so denke ich – lassen sich Hornscheidts Überlegungen primär als Idee lesen. Die *x*-Theorie soll in erster Linie auf unser kategoriales Geschlechterdenken aufmerksam machen und ein Bewusstsein dafür schaffen, wie sehr wir tagtäglich in unserem Denken Geschlechterkategorien bemühen und Personen geschlechtlich verorten. Aus diesem Grunde möchte Hornscheidt ein Bewusstsein dafür schaffen, reflektierter mit Geschlecht umzugehen, und darüber nachzudenken, wozu wir sprachlich in der Lage sind.

Ist die germanistische Genderlinguistik bereits so weit, dass sie auch dekonstruktivistische Ansätze in die Forschung zu implementieren versucht (vgl. hierzu auch die im Englischen zunehmende Verwendung von *they* in indefinitem Kontext, z.B. *if someone would like to join the party they can come around*), so lässt sich für die russistische Genderlinguistik sagen, dass diese bislang immer noch zu stark in strukturalistischen Ansätzen verhaftet ist. Zwar wird in der Forschung auf die Möglichkeit einer poststrukturalistischen Herangehensweise an Sprache eingegangen und ihr theoretischer Mehrwert unterstrichen, eine praktische Umsetzung bleibt jedoch größtenteils aus. Dabei geht ein poststrukturalistischer Forschungsansatz von einer realitätsbezogenen Perspektive und Wahrnehmung aus, wodurch die Funktion von Sprache in Gesellschaft und Wirklichkeit sowie die Wirksamkeit von Sprache objektiver hinterfragt werden können. Denn Sprache vermag wesentlich mehr als nur zu benennen. Im Identitäts- und Geschlechterkontext zeigt sich sehr deutlich, dass Sprache nicht nur die Funktion zukommt, Personen zu benennen, sondern dass Sprache auch Identität zuschreibt und dadurch stiftet. Sprache ist ein wesentliches Medium zur Bildung, Unterstützung und zum Ausdruck sowie zur Anerkennung und Wahrnehmung von Identität. Durch Sprache wird Identität angenommen und sichtbar gemacht; durch Sprache kann Identität auch zurückgewiesen und in Frage gestellt werden. Für die Geschlechtsidentität bedeutet dies, dass Sprache das Geschlecht einer Person und ihre Zugehörigkeit zu einer Geschlechtsgruppe unterstützt, wodurch die geschlechtliche Relevanz und Bedeutsamkeit einer Person in den Vordergrund treten. Die sprachliche Selbstidentifizierung und geschlechtliche Selbstverortung mittels Eigenbezeichnungen erfolgt zum einen durch Namen, zum anderen aber auch durch die Art und Weise, wie auf sich selbst referiert wird. Die sprachliche Fremdidentifizierung und geschlechtliche Fremdverortung erfolgt hingegen von außen durch Fremdbezeichnungen. Das Anrufen einer Person (Butler 1998) suggeriert dabei wahrgenommene Merkmale, die die geschlechtliche und gesellschaftliche Einordnung der Person offenlegen. Dabei kann es zu einem Widerspruch kommen, wenn die Art der Bezeichnung nicht der Wahrnehmung und Selbstverortung der angerufenen Person entspricht, sodass diese ihre von außen erzeugte Fremdidentifizierung ablehnt. In sprachlichen Handlungen manifestiert sich mithin die Identität von Sprecher\_inne\_n bzw. die Wahrnehmung der Identität einer angerufenen Person durch ihre Umwelt.

Geleitet wird die sprachliche Identifizierung von ideologischen Vorstellungen, die die Sicht auf Gesellschaft und die Wahrnehmung der Welt offenlegen, die auf soziokulturell festgelegten Glaubenssystemen, Denkmustern und Deutungsmechanismen fußen.

[Language] is a form of ideological practice that mediates, influences and even constructs our experiences, identities and ways of viewing the world. (Benwell u. Stokoe 2006: 44)

Eine binär-geschlechtliche Vorstellung von Gesellschaft kann somit eigentlich nicht dazu führen, intersexuellen Personen durch Sprache eine für sie adäquate Identität zuzuweisen bzw. intersexuellen Personen selbst die Möglichkeit einzuräumen, ihre Geschlechtsidentität sprachlich auszudrücken (King 2014).

Ein weiteres, nicht weniger ideologisch aufgeladenes Thema ist das generische Maskulinum. Dieses wirke gemeinhin geschlechtsneutral bzw. geschlechtsabstrahierend und schließt – wohl primär aus Gründen der Einfachheit sowie der besseren Les- und Sprechbarkeit – das weibliche Geschlecht unmittelbar ein. Welche Ideologie jedoch dem generischen Maskulinum anhaftet, wurde jüngst ersichtlich, als die Universität Leipzig sich dazu entschloss, in ihrer Satzung das generische Femininum zu gebrauchen (z.B. *Professorinnen, Rektorinnen, Dekaninnen*). Die sich hieran entfachte Entrüstung machte deutlich, dass sich zwar Personen nicht-männlichen Geschlechts einer maskulinen Form durchaus unterordnen können, Personen männlichen Geschlechts sich jedoch in einer femininen Form nicht wiederfinden, obgleich die Movierung bei Vorliegen der maskulinen Form erfolgt und die feminine Form somit unmittelbar die maskuline Form einschließt. Dabei mutet der Gebrauch des generischen Maskulinums in konkreten Kontexten nicht selten seltsam an, ist mitunter gar nicht möglich. So ist die Verwendung des generischen Maskulinums unzulässig, wenn eine Person auf das Restaurantpersonal referiert, das zum gegebenen Zeitpunkt ausschließlich weiblichen Geschlechts ist (*\*die Kellner hier sind aber sehr freundlich*). Auch in der direkten Anrede ist das generische Maskulinum nicht korrekt (*\*Sie als Student sollten wissen, dass ...*). Generische Formen bilden also in jeder Hinsicht ein referenzielles und kognitives Problem. Das generische Femininum zu kritisieren, das generische Maskulinum dagegen zu präferieren, ist daher keine derart einfache Aufgabe, wie dies in Diskussionen oft dargestellt wird.

In der Russistik haben viele dieser Fragestellungen noch nicht an derartiger Aktualität gewonnen. Dabei wäre es vor allem aus Sicht der Linguistik als wissenschaftlicher Disziplin wichtig und wünschenswert, sich sprachlichen Phänomenen im Identitäts- und Geschlechterkontext zu widmen. Es geht nicht nur darum, auf vorherrschende sprachliche Strukturen aufmerksam zu machen und diese in Bezug zur Wirklichkeit zu setzen und kritisch zu hinterfragen. Auch sich sukzessiv etablierende Strukturen gilt es auf ihre Notwendigkeit hin zu untersuchen.

### Literaturverzeichnis

- Barrett, Rusty (1999) „Indexing Polyphonic Identity in the Speech of African American Drag Queens“. [In:] Mary Bucholtz, A. C. Liang, Laurel A. Sutton (Hg.) *Reinventing Identities. The Gendered Self in Discourse*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press; 313–331 (Studies in Language and Gender. Bd. 1).  
 Barth, Elisa, Ben Böttger, Dan C. Ghattas, Ina Schneider (Hg.) (2013) *Inter. Erfahrungen intergeschlechtlicher Menschen in der Welt der zwei Geschlechter*. Berlin: NoNo.

- Bauer, Robin, Josch Hoenes, Volker Woltersdorff (Hg.) (2007) *Unbeschreiblich männlich. Heteronormativitätskritische Perspektiven*. Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript.
- Beasley, Chris (2005) *Gender & Sexuality. Critical Theories, Critical Thinkers*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.
- Benwell, Bethan, Elizabeth Stokoe (2006) *Discourse and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Besnier, Niko (1994) „Polynesian Gender Liminality through Time and Space“. [In:] Gilbert Herdt (Hg.) *Third Sex, Third Gender. Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone Books; 285–328.
- Besnier, Niko (2003) „Crossing Genders, Mixing Languages: The Linguistic Construction of Transgenderism in Tonga“. [In:] Janet Holmes, Miriam Meyerhoff (Hg.) *The Handbook of Language and Gender*. Malden: Blackwell; 279–301 (Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics. Bd. 13).
- Bilden, Helga (2006) „Sozialisation in der Dynamik von Geschlechter- und anderen Machtverhältnissen“. [In:] Helga Bilden, Bettina Dausien (Hg.) *Sozialisation und Geschlecht. Theoretische und methodologische Aspekte*. Opladen, Farmington Hills: Budrich; 45–70.
- Bucholtz, Mary (1999) „Bad Examples. Transgression and Progress in Language and Gender Studies“. [In:] Mary Bucholtz, A. C. Liang, Laurel A. Sutton (Hg.) *Reinventing Identities. The Gendered Self in Discourse*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press; 3–24 (Studies in Language and Gender. Bd. 1).
- Bucholtz, Mary, Liang, A. C. Liang, Laurel A. Sutton (Hg.) *Reinventing Identities. The Gendered Self in Discourse*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press (Studies in Language and Gender. Bd. 1).
- Butler, Judith (1991) *Das Unbehagen der Geschlechter*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp (Gender Studies. Vom Unterschied der Geschlechter; edition suhrkamp. Bd. 1722).
- Butler, Judith (1997) *Körper von Gewicht. Die diskursiven Grenzen des Geschlechts*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp (edition suhrkamp. Bd. 1737).
- Butler, Judith (1998) *Haß spricht. Zur Politik des Performativen*. Berlin: Berlin Verlag.
- Butler, Judith (2003) „Imitation und die Aufsässigkeit der Geschlechtsidentität“. [In:] Andreas Kraß (Hg.) *Queer denken. Gegen die Ordnung der Sexualität (Queer Studies)*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp; 144–168 (edition suhrkamp. Bd. 2248).
- Connell, Catherine (2010) „Doing, Undoing, or Redoing Gender? Learning from the Workplace Experiences of Transpeople“. [In:] *Gender & Society* 24; 31–55.
- Dreger, Alice D. (2000) *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex*. Cambridge u. a.: Harvard University Press.
- Eckert, Lena (2013) „Intersexualisierung. Sportliche Gesellschaften, gender tests und Graswurzelbewegung“. [In:] Christian Schmelzer (Hg.) *Gender Turn. Gesellschaft jenseits der Geschlechternorm*. Bielefeld: transcript; 143–172.
- Genz, Stéphanie (2009) *Postfemininities in Popular Culture*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Genz, Stéphanie, Benjamin A. Brabon (2009) *Postfeminism. Cultural Texts and Theories*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Goffman, Erving ([1994] 2001) *Interaktion und Geschlecht*. 2. Aufl. Frankfurt a. M., New York: Campus.
- Gréaux, René (1994) „Woman Becomes Man in the Balkans“. [In:] Gilbert Herdt (Hg.) *Third Sex, Third Gender. Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone Books; 241–281.
- Groß, Dominik, Christiane Neuschaefer-Rube, Jan Steinmetzer (Hg.) (2008) *Transsexualität und Intersexualität. Medizinische, ethische, soziale und juristische Aspekte*. Berlin: MWV (Humandiskurs. Medizinische Herausforderungen in Geschichte und Gegenwart).
- Halperin, David M. (2003) „Ein Wegweiser zur Geschichtsschreibung der männlichen Homosexualität“. [In:] Andreas Kraß (Hg.) *Queer denken. Gegen die Ordnung der Sexualität (Queer Studies)*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp; 171–220 (edition suhrkamp. Bd. 2248).

- Hartmann, Uwe, Hinnerk Becker (2002) *Störungen der Geschlechtsidentität. Ursachen, Verlauf, Therapie*. Wien, New York: Springer.
- Herdt, Gilbert (Hg.) (1994a) *Third Sex, Third Gender. Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone Books.
- Herdt, Gilbert (1994b) „Preface“. [In:] Gilbert Herdt (Hg.) *Third Sex, Third Gender. Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone Books; 11–20.
- Herdt, Gilbert (1994c) „Introduction: Third Sexes and Third Genders“. [In:] Gilbert Herdt (Hg.) *Third Sex, Third Gender. Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone Books; 21–81.
- Herdt, Gilbert (1994d) „Mistaken Sex: Culture, Biology and the Third Sex in New Guinea“. [In:] Gilbert Herdt (Hg.) *Third Sex, Third Gender. Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone Books; 419–445.
- Herma, Holger (2003) „Geschlechtsidentität in Zweierbeziehungen. Eine Diskursanalyse anhand populärer Musiktexte“. [In:] Karl Lenz (Hg.) *Frauen und Männer. Zur Geschlechtstypik persönlicher Beziehungen*. Weinheim, München: Juventa; 139–160.
- Hieber, Lutz, Paula-Irene Villa (Hg.) (2007) *Images von Gewicht. Soziale Bewegungen, Queer Theory und Kunst in den USA*. Bielefeld: transcript.
- Hoffmann, Edgar (2005) „Identitätskonstruktionen durch Werbung in Russland“. [In:] Katrin Berwanger, Peter Kosta (Hg.) *Stereotyp und Geschichtsmythos in Kunst und Sprache*. Die Kultur Ostmitteleuropas in Beiträgen zur Potsdamer Tagung, 16.–18. Januar 2003. Frankfurt a. M. u. a.: Peter Lang; 273–292 (Vergleichende Studien zu den Slavischen Sprachen und Literaturen. Bd. 11).
- Hornscheidt, Antje (2006) *Die sprachliche Benennung von Personen aus konstruktivistischer Sicht. Genderspezifizierung und ihre diskursive Verhandlung im heutigen Schwedisch*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter (Linguistik – Impulse & Tendenzen. Bd. 15).
- Hornscheidt, Antje (2009) „Sprache/Semiotik“. [In:] Christina von Braun, Inge Stephan (Hg.) *Gender@Wissen. Ein Handbuch der Gender-Theorien*. 2. Aufl. Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau; 243–262 (UTB. Bd. 2584).
- Joseph, John E. (2004) *Language and Identity. National, Ethnic, Religious*. Hounds mills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- King, Brian W. (2014) „Reclaiming Masculinity in an Account of Lived Intersex Experience: Language, Desire, and Embodied Knowledge“. [In:] Tommaso M. Milani (Hg.) *Language and Masculinities. Performances, Intersections, Dislocations*. New York: Routledge; 220–242 (Routledge Critical Studies in Discourse).
- Klecina, Irina S. (Hg.) ([2003] 2009a) *Gendernaja psichologija*. 2. Aufl. Sankt-Peterburg: Piter (Praktikum po psichologii).
- Klecina, Irina S. (2009b) „Gendernaja avtobiografija kak metod izuchenija mechanizmov gendernoj socializacii“. [In:] Irina S. Klecina (Hg.) *Gendernaja psichologija*. 2. Aufl. Sankt-Peterburg: Piter; 201–210 (Praktikum po psichologii).
- Klöppel, Ulrike (2010) *XXOXY ungelöst. Hermaphroditismus, Sex und Gender in der deutschen Medizin. Eine historische Studie zur Intersexualität*. Bielefeld: transcript (GenderCodes. Transkriptionen zwischen Wissen und Geschlecht. Bd. 12).
- Kollektiv Sternchen und Steine (Hg.) (2012) *Begegnungen auf der Trans\*fläche – reflektiert 76 queere Momente des transnormalen Alltags*. Münster: edition assemblage.
- Kroll, Renate (Hg.) (2002) *Metzler Lexikon Gender Studies/Geschlechterforschung. Ansätze – Personen – Grundbegriffe*. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler.
- Kurnaeva, N. A., O. V. Rjabov (2006) „„Gusary deneg ne berut“: Svoi i čyžie v gendernom diskurse kollektivnoj identičnosti“. [In:] *Gender: Jazyk, Kul'tura, Kommunikacija*. Materialy Tret'ej Meždunarodnoj konferencii (27–28 nojabrja 2003 g.). Moskva: REMA; 239–246 (Vestnik MGLU, 518, Serija Lingvistika).

- Luserke-Jaqui, Matthias (2002) „»Dieses grausame, entartete, wilde Geschlecht«. Über die literarische Darstellung der Schule als Ort männlicher Sozialisation“. [In:] Karin Tebben (Hg.) *Abschied vom Mythos Mann. Kulturelle Konzepte der Moderne*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; 49–64.
- Marco, Anna de (2011) „Gender and Politeness: An Investigation on Diminutives“. [In:] Eleonora Federici (Hg.) *Translating Gender*. Bern u. a.: Peter Lang; 105–116 (IRIS – Forschungen zur europäischen Kultur. Bd. 25).
- McConnell-Ginet, Sally (2011) *Gender, Sexuality, and Meaning. Linguistic Practice and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Meer, Theo van der (1994) „Sodomy and the Pursuit of a Third Sex in the Early Modern Period“. [In:] Gilbert Herdt (Hg.) *Third Sex, Third Gender. Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone Books; 137–212.
- Mehlmann, Sabine (2006) *Unzuverlässige Körper. Zur Diskursgeschichte des Konzepts geschlechtlicher Identität*. Königstein, Taunus: Helmer.
- Metzeltin, Michael, Thomas Wallmann (2010) *Wege zur Europäischen Identität. Individuelle, nationalstaatliche und supranationale Identitätskonstrukte*. Berlin: Frank & Timme.
- Mogge-Grotjahn, Hildegard (2004) „Geschlecht, Identität und Sozialisation“. [In:] Hildegard Mogge-Grotjahn (Hg.) *Gender, Sex und Gender Studies. Eine Einführung*. Freiburg i. Br.: Lambertus; 93–102.
- Motschenbacher, Heiko (2010) *Language, Gender and Sexual Identity. Poststructuralist Perspectives*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins (Studies in Language and Society. Bd. 29).
- Nanda, Serena (1994) „Hijras: An Alternative Sex and Gender Role in India“. [In:] Gilbert Herdt (Hg.) *Third Sex, Third Gender. Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone Books; 373–417.
- Niethammer, Lutz (2000) *Kollektive Identität. Heimliche Quellen einer unheimlichen Konjunktur*. Reinbek: Rowohlt.
- Preves, Sharon E. ([2003] 2005) *Intersex and Identity. The Contested Self*. 2. Aufl. New Brunswick u. a.: Rutgers University Press.
- Roscoe, Will (1994) „How to Become a Berdache: Toward a Unified Analysis of Gender Diversity“. [In:] Gilbert Herdt (Hg.) *Third Sex, Third Gender. Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone Books; 329–372.
- Rubin, Gayle S. (2003) „Sex denken: Anmerkungen zu einer radikalen Theorie der sexuellen Politik“. [In:] Andreas Kraß (Hg.) *Queer denken. Gegen die Ordnung der Sexualität (Queer Studies)*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp; 31–79 (edition suhrkamp. Bd. 2248).
- Rumjanceva, P. V. (2009) „Gendernaja identičnost“ [In:] Irina S. Klecina (Hg.) *Gendernaja psichologija*. 2. Aufl. Sankt-Peterburg: Piter; 248–255 (Praktikum po psichologii).
- Scheller-Boltz, Dennis (2013) „Politische Korrektheit und Translation im Lichte des postcolonial turn (an deutschem, polnischem und russischem Material)“. [In:] Katarzyna Lukas, Izabela Olszewska, Marta Turska (Hg.) *Translation im Spannungsfeld der cultural turns*. Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang; 167–182 (Studien zur Germanistik, Skandinavistik und Übersetzungskultur. Bd. 7).
- Schmitt, Britta (1997) *Zivilgesellschaft, Frauenpolitik und Frauenbewegung in Rußland. Von 1917 bis zur Gegenwart*. Königstein, Taunus: Helmer.
- Schröter, Susanne (2002) *FeMale. Über Grenzverläufe zwischen den Geschlechtern*. Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer.
- Semenova, L. È., V. È. Semenova (2009) „Vospitanie sovremennych devoček i mal'čikov s pozicij gendernogo podchoda“. [In:] Irina S. Klecina (Hg.) *Gendernaja psichologija*. 2. Aufl. Sankt-Peterburg: Piter; 211–234 (Praktikum po psichologii).
- Silva, Adrian de (2013) „Trans\*. In Sexualwissenschaft und Recht vor Inkrafttreten des Transsexuellengesetzes“ [In:] Christian Schmelzer (Hg.) *Gender Turn. Gesellschaft jenseits der Geschlechternorm*. Bielefeld: transcript; 81–103.

- Sunderland, Jane, Lia Litosseliti (2002) „Gender Identity and Discourse Analysis. Theoretical and Empirical Considerations“. [In:] Lia Litosseliti, Jane Sunderland (Hg.) *Gender Identity and Discourse Analysis*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins; 1–39 (Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture. Bd. 2).
- Tajfel, Henri (Hg.) (1982) *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Temkina, Anna (2009) „Novyj byt, seksual'naja žizn' i gendernaja revoljucija“. [In:] Elena Zdravomyslova, Anna Rotkirch, Anna Temkina (Hg.) *Novyj byt v sovremennoj Rossii: gendernye issledovanija povsednevnosti*. Sankt-Peterburg: Evropejskij Universitet v Sankt-Peterburge; 33–67 (Trudy fakul'teta političeskich nauk i sociologii. Bd. 17).
- Trautner, Hanns M. (2006) „Sozialisation und Geschlecht. Die entwicklungspsychologische Perspektive“. [In:] Helga Bilden, Bettina Dausien (Hg.) *Sozialisation und Geschlecht. Theoretische und methodologische Aspekte*. Opladen, Farmington Hills: Budrich; 103–120.
- Villa, Paula-Irene (2007) „Postmoderne Geschlechter – Feminismus in der Postmoderne“. [In:] Lutz Hieber, Paula-Irene Villa (Hg.) *Images von Gewicht. Soziale Bewegungen, Queer Theory und Kunst in den USA*. Bielefeld: transcript; 47–79.
- West, Candace, Sarah Fenstermaker (1997) „Doing Difference“. [In:] Mary R. Walsh (Hg.) *Women, Men, and Gender. Ongoing Debates*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press; 58–72.
- Weydt, Harald (2008) „Complex Ethnic Identities and Language“. [In:] Kirsten Süsselbeck, Ulrike Mühlischlegel, Peter Masson (Hg.) *Lengua, Nación e Identidad. La regulación del plurilingüismo en España y América Latina*. Madrid, Frankfurt a. M.: Vervuert, Iberoamericana; 89–98.
- Wippermann, Carsten, Marc Calmbach, Katja Wippermann (2009) *Männer: Rolle vorwärts, Rolle rückwärts? Identitäten und Verhalten von traditionellen, modernen und postmodernen Männern*. Opladen, Farmington Hills: Budrich.
- Wood, Kathleen M. (1999) „Coherent Identities amid Heterosexist Ideologies. Deaf and Hearing Lesbian Coming-out Stories“. [In:] Mary Bucholtz, A. C. Liang, Laurel A. Sutton (Hg.) *Reinventing Identities. The Gendered Self in Discourse*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press; 46–63 (Studies in Language and Gender. Bd. 1).
- Zimman, Lal, Kira Hall (2010) „Language, Embodiment, and the “Third Sex”“. [In:] Dominic Watt, Carmen Llamas (Hg.) *Language and Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; 166–178.

### Internetquellen

- Nagar, Ila (2008) „Language, Gender and Identity. The Case of Kotis in Lucknow-India“. Ohio: Ohio State University. Online unter: [https://etd.ohiolink.edu/?etd.send\\_file?accession=osu1222102359&disposition=inline](https://etd.ohiolink.edu/?etd.send_file?accession=osu1222102359&disposition=inline) [zuletzt eingesehen am 1. April 2015].

KAMILA TUREWICZ  
Academy of Humanities and Economics in Łódź

## **Intellectual Empathy as a Socio-Cultural Facet of Communication: The Case of English Modals from the Perspective of Polish**

### **Abstract**

The paper addresses the issue of compatibility between the speaker's intention and the hearer's expectations in a communicative act as an issue related to what I would like to call "intellectual empathy." The immediate inspiration for the topic is the following quotation from Susan M. Ervin-Tripp (1964: 93): "The possibility of insult and of humor based on linguistic choices means that members agree on the underlying rules of speech and on the social meaning of linguistic features." Langacker's Cognitive Grammar allows us to accommodate the extra-linguistic facets of meaning construction, thus to identify the role of the speaker/hearer's cooperation in the construction and reconstruction of meaning in a particular usage context, the role that is dependent on the degree of intellectual empathy between the speech act participants. English modals have been selected as an aspect of the language illustrating the relevance of linguistic choices resulting from socio-cultural determinants behind intellectual empathy.

*Keywords:* communication, sociolinguistics, semantics, foreign language learning, concepts, metaphor.

The paper will be akin to a journey – from an aspect of learning a foreign language, through the notion of intellectual empathy, to the semantics of modal predicates in English, whose functioning in the language is immersed in intellectual empathy.

I tend to think of learning a foreign language in terms of the metaphor: LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IS A CONTACT OF THREE PEOPLE FOR A COMMON GOAL.<sup>1</sup> These three people are: the learner, the native language, and the foreign language. The first two personae, *i.e.* the learner and the native language, are good friends; the third one, *i.e.* the foreign language, is a stranger to the learner that is

---

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank prof. Post for his suggestion definitely improving the formula.

somehow related to the well-known friend – the native language. Each of these personae has a different role to play in the drama: the persona expecting to take advantage of reaching the goal, *i.e.* the potential beneficiary (the learner), wants to get acquainted with the stranger, *i.e.* the foreign language, in order to gain, through this acquaintance, access to new perspectives and possibilities, *e.g.* success. The potential beneficiary's (*i.e.* learner's) well-known friend (*i.e.* the native language) is the persona mediating between the potential beneficiary and the stranger by being a relative of the stranger and always being around the potential beneficiary. The stranger (*i.e.* the foreign language) is the newcomer/stranger that the potential beneficiary (*i.e.* the learner) wants to get to know, thus expecting some kind of benefits from this acquaintance. Summing up, the three personae act toward the common goal, which is the potential beneficiary's welfare, to be achieved through his or her familiarizing him or herself with the stranger with the aid of the stranger's relative who is the potential beneficiary's well-known friend. This fairly complicated system of interdependencies is illustrated in Figure 1.

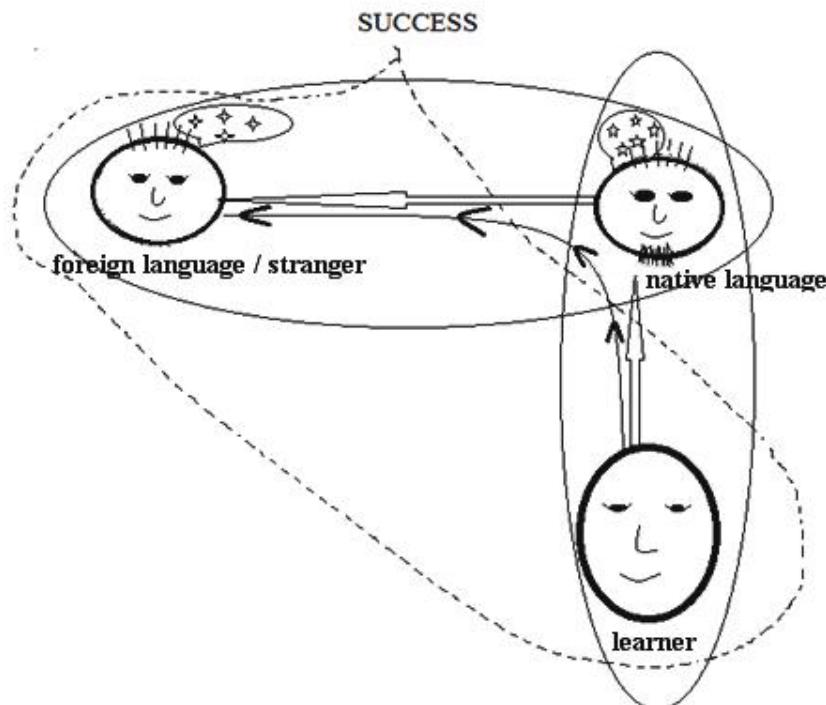


Figure 1. A reflection of the conceptual metaphor LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IS A CONTACT OF THREE PEOPLE FOR A COMMON GOAL

An interesting question is: to what extent can the potential beneficiary's friendship with the well-known friend truly help achieve his/her goal, *i.e.* in getting to know the stranger to such a degree that the acquaintance will bring advantages? By proceeding with the metaphor that LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IS A CONTACT OF THREE PEOPLE FOR A COMMON GOAL, we can draw a number of inferences concerning the role of the mediating person, *i.e.* the metaphorical native language, in the process of getting to know the stranger, *i.e.* the metaphorical foreign language, by the potential beneficiary, *i.e.* the metaphorical learner.

To begin with, in the process of familiarizing oneself with the stranger, the potential beneficiary may look for some similarities and/or differences in the appearances of the two relatives. This phase of the process of familiarizing oneself with the stranger through his/her physical resemblance to the well-known relative can be accomplished relatively easily, as physical appearance is accessible to perception and subsequent similarity judgments. When people meet for the first time, getting *familiar with their appearance* is a natural first step in getting familiar with the person. By analogy, in the initial phase of learning a foreign language, for a learner, *the word stock* is the directly accessible component of language. If that is so, then the metaphor allows for two inferences: (i) that similarities and differences between both the native and foreign vocabulary attract the learner's attention, first of all; and (ii) that for a learner, learning the vocabulary is a natural priority in the process of familiarizing oneself with the foreign language.

In the world of social communication – important as familiarizing oneself with physical appearance may be – it does not guarantee successful communication with the “stranger,” in that to know *what one looks like* does not exactly mean to know *the way one thinks*. Hence, in order to achieve the goal of getting access “through the acquaintance to new perspectives and possibilities,” the potential beneficiary will need to obtain some knowledge about the stranger’s personality (which is represented by the “clouds” in the figure). In this case, the fact that our stranger and the well-known friend are relatives need not be helpful. Indeed, knowing the well-known friend’s social manners, preferences, habits, etc., i.e. having developed a certain *concept of the friend’s mentality*, can facilitate getting to know the stranger’s manners, preferences, habits, etc., i.e. *the stranger’s mentality*. However, relying too heavily in the process of construing a representation of the stranger’s mentality on what the potential beneficiary knows about (the mentality of) the stranger’s relative (and the beneficiary’s well-known friend) may turn out to be very misleading and may impede reaching the goal, i.e. the possibility of taking advantage from familiarizing oneself with the stranger. Simply put, presupposing *a priori a similarity of mentalities* between two relatives may prevent the potential beneficiary from getting to know *what the mentality of the stranger truly is* and, subsequently, *how to interact with him towards the common goal*.

Mapping metaphorically the above inferences from the real world to the mental world, in which the learner experiences “two languages in contact,” invites the following entailments: (i) becoming familiar with the vocabulary is only the first step in the process of getting to know the foreign language (just like getting to know the appearance of a person is only the first phase in the process of getting acquainted); (ii) language beyond vocabulary is equally important for successful communication (just like knowing more than the appearance of our partner in a communicative act is important for successful communication); (iii) in becoming familiar with the body of a foreign language beyond its vocabulary, the mental representation of the learner’s native language beyond its vocabulary *need not* be very helpful, (just like having developed a representation of the mentality of a well-known friend need not be helpful in trying to get to know the mentality of the friend’s relative).

So far, the metaphor LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IS A CONTACT OF THREE PEOPLE FOR A COMMON GOAL has shed some light on the roles of the learner, the native language and the foreign language in the process of learning the latter. As may have already been noticed, within the metaphor the native and foreign languages are construed as living creatures. Thus, the metaphor imposes on the **concept language** the structure of a **living organism** or, simply, of a human being, with elements of the structure: the flesh (the element of the body that is accessible to perception), the bones (inaccessible to

perception and immersed in the flesh, whose positions determine the body's outer looks), and the mind / neural system (inaccessible to perception, inherent in the flesh and in the bones) which organizes proper interactions between the flesh and the bones and is responsible for the proper functioning of the whole organism.

Based on the assumption that the metaphor LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IS A CONTACT OF THREE PEOPLE FOR A COMMON GOAL implies the metaphor LANGUAGE IS A HUMAN BEING, the following mappings can be postulated: the lexicon as the flesh (both are directly accessible to perception) and the constructional schemas as the bone structure (both inaccessible to direct perception, immersed in the lexicon/flesh, respectively). Supposing that the mappings do look sound, there remains one more question: what facet of language structure is the metaphorical counterpart of the human mind? As a cognitive linguist, I would like to postulate that in the metaphor the human mind maps onto the grammar of the language, the grammar conceived of as serving "an 'imaginistic' function" by construing the meanings of utterances by organizing the symbolic resources of the language "in a particular way [...], emphasizing certain facets [of the scene under conceptualization] at the expense of others, viewing it from a certain perspective, [...]" (Langacker 1987: 39). In other words, by analogy to the mind, which controls processes at the flesh/bone structure interface, the grammar of the language "controls" the process of meaning construction out of the symbolic resources: phonemes, morphemes, words, and constructional schemas.

Consequently, in view of the mappings between the mind and grammar as postulated above, an inference that is directly relevant to the present discussion can be formulated: since *empathy* is situated within the human mind, then *intellectual empathy* can be understood as a facet grammar. More precisely, to the extent that *empathy* is one of the factors controlling human social interaction, *intellectual empathy* as an agent in the process of meaning construction and reconstruction contributes to communicative intelligibility of the utterance.

Obviously, the notion of *intellectual empathy*, postulated here as a facet of meaning construction, must not be left without a word on its methodological context. In view of the number of excellent papers that were published in *Kognitywistyka: Empatia, obrazowanie i kontekst jako kategorie kognitywistyczne*, edited by Henryk Kardela, Zbysław Muszyński and Maciej Rajewski (2012), in which an inquisitive reader can enjoy disputes on the notion of *empathy* from philosophical, sociological, psychological, linguistic and literary studies perspectives, I will refrain from dwelling on the issue. Instead, I will evoke Langacker's (2001) work titled "Discourse in Cognitive Grammar" in which the linguist characterizes the roles of speech event participants in discourse as a usage event as follows:

A usage event is an action carried out by the speaker and the hearer. The speaker [...] acts in an initiative capacity, the hearer [...] being responsive: but whether their role is active or reactive, each has to deal with both a conceptualization and a vocalization, the two basic "poles" of an utterance. The speaker's and the hearer's action involves the directing and focusing attention. In successful communication they manage to coordinate this action and focus attention on the same conceived entity. (Langacker 2001: 144)

Precisely, the ability to direct, focus and *share* the interlocutors' attention for (re)construing the meaning of an actual utterance is what I would call *intellectual empathy*.<sup>2</sup> The adjective "intellectual" is to stress the "non-emotional" nature of the type of empathy, understood as being responsible for

<sup>2</sup> Kubiński (2012: 174) suggests that the term "empathy" could be appropriate for the particular "cooperation" between the speaker and the hearer in discourse, raising the question how could it be accommodated in Cognitive Grammar.

the “merging” of two independent processes of meaning construction, *i.e.* the speaker’s and the hearer’s, which consist in integrating the contents of predicates (overt language structures) with specifications of the context of the utterance that is relevant for the overall construal of the message. Intellectual empathy means the responsibility of the conceptualizer in *selecting* linguistic devices that are appropriately explicit for precise meaning construal in view of the available specifications of the actual (extra-linguistic) context; on the part of the addressee of the message, the responsibility consists in her/his ability to *reconstruct* the intended meaning emerging from what is encoded in the symbolic resources and relevant specifications of the usage context.<sup>3</sup>

Towards postulating the notion of intellectual empathy, I was driven by my research into the area of English modal predicates,<sup>4</sup> therefore, this aspect of English will serve as a case illustrating the issue.

### The modals

Supposing that the metaphor which helped introduce the notion of *intellectual empathy* makes sense and that we are ready to tentatively accept the notion as an analytic tool that is relevant for the study of languages in contact, as, for example, in the process of learning a foreign language, what awaits to be demonstrated is whether indeed the notion of intellectual empathy bears relevance for the study of language and where the intellectual empathy comes from. As the languages in focus are English and Polish, and modals serve as the study material, let me begin with a brief overview of modal verbs in the two languages.<sup>5</sup> Specifically, for my present purpose I have selected the Polish modals which are considered to be equivalents of the core modal predicates in the English system: *móc* ('may/can'), *musieć* ('must'), *mieć powinność* ('ought (to) / should'), *potrzebować / mieć potrzebę* ('need'), and *oszcierać się* (dare). As the purpose of introducing the overview is watching languages in contact, I will discuss Polish modals and point to some similarities and differences with the English system.

1. The Polish equivalents of *may/can* and *must*, which are *móc* (for *may/can*) and *musieć* (for *must*), form conjugation paradigms like full verbs: *mogę* (I ‘may/can’), *możesz* (you ‘may/can’), *może* (he, she, it ‘may/can’), *możemy* (we ‘may/can’), *możecie* (you ‘may/can’), *mogą* (they ‘may/can’); the Polish counterparts also inflect in the past tense: *mogłem* (I ‘may/can’ + past), *mogłeś* (you ‘may/can’ + past), *mógł* (he ‘may/can’ + past), *mogliśmy* (we ‘may/can’ + past), *mogliście* (you ‘may/can’ + past), *mogli* (they ‘may/can’ + past); importantly, the past tense forms in Polish do not convey hypothetical meanings, as is the case with the past forms of the English modals: *could/might*.
2. The assumed Polish counterpart of *ought/should*, the verb *powinien* (third person, masculine), is inflected only for person and number, with neither the infinitive (unless one accepts *mieć*

3 I expect to receive arguments that pragmatics could handle the cooperation problems that are an indispensable part of discourse. Without disagreeing, I would like to stress that I view intellectual empathy as a facet of the meaning construction process rather than as a factor that comes into play when meaning is (pragmatically) interpreted.

4 My first mention of intellectual empathy as a notion relevant for the analysis of English modals was in 2005.

5 To my present knowledge, at least within Polish linguistics, modal verbs have not been analyzed as a formally marked subcategory of verbal predicates, thus, I will characterize selected modal verbs in Polish on the basis of both my native speaker intuition and on my analytic experience as a linguist.

*powinność* ‘to have the duty/obligation’ as the periphrastic infinitive) nor present/past tense differentiation (again, unless the conjugation paradigm of *mieć powinność* is accepted as a periphrastic variant). Interestingly, the Polish form forms paradigms for counter-factual meanings: *powinien był* ‘should/ought’ 3rd person, sg. + ‘be’ 3rd person, sg., past tense for all persons, both singular and plural.

3. *Need* and *dare* can be regarded as counterparts of *potrzebować* / *mieć potrzebę* ‘have a need’ and *osmiałać się* / *mieć śmiałość*, respectively. In either case, the Polish counterparts of *need* and *dare* appear to form conjugation paradigms inflected for person, number, tense and mood.
4. As for *will*, possibly *mieć wolę* ‘have (a) will’ with inflected *have* could be considered a better counterpart than *woleć*, i.e. the verb which shares the root with the noun *wola* ‘will’ but is used to mean ‘prefer’ rather than ‘have (a) will’.

Summing up the above comparison, I would like to point to a number of differences between the grammar(s) of the “assumed as equivalent” predicates: in Polish, inflectional endings specify the relations within a sentence with a modal verb, so that there is no doubt as to who the “possibility,” “permission” or “obligation” refers to; English is “deficient” in this respect. Besides, although the above comparison does not reflect it, polysemy is the most often discussed feature of English modals, thus the range of meanings assigned to the English predicates is only partly reflected in the pairs above. Indeed, as far as modal predicates are concerned, it may prove counter-effective for a Polish learner to look for similarities between the well-known friend, the Polish language, and its relative – the English language, especially if grammatical information is analyzed as contributing to meaning construction. Bearing in mind that the speakers of English are somehow able to uncover necessary information from what they hear despite the deficiency in formal grammatical devices, there must be other factors that facilitate construing the meaning of utterances with modals in English, the factors to be explicated and, possibly, to be implemented in the teaching of English to Polish learners. In what follows I will attempt to find an answer to the question as to what it is that aids successful communication despite the peculiarities of English modals.

### The root/epistemic distinction

The root/epistemic opposition has been acknowledged in the majority of analyses of modal meaning since Hofmann (1966) (Lyons (1977), Leech and Coates (1979), Coates and Leech (1980), Butler (1982), Coates (1983), Sweetser (1984), Langacker (1991)), though alternative subcategories have also been postulated. Researchers basically agree as far as the differentiation is concerned, although the definitions of the two categories are fairly vague. For example, Coates defines the category *epistemic* as: “... concerned with the speaker’s assumptions or assessment of possibilities” (1983: 18); root modality, as a non-epistemic modality, is identified basically through its syntactic patterns. For practical purposes, a handy way of differentiating the meanings is to evoke paraphrases of sentences with epistemic modals and root modals. As far as the modal MAY is concerned, the paraphrases of epistemic meaning are: *it is possible/probable that sth is the case*, whereas the root meanings, besides the meaning of *permission*, are *it is possible/probable for sb to do sth*. At the same time, a few more specific meanings can be identified within each

of the categories; for example, epistemic MAY allows paraphrases with *it is possible/probable/likely that, perhaps*; whereas root MAY paraphrases as *permit/allow sb to do sth, be probable, possible for sb to do sth*. Besides, there are also subjunctive meanings, such as *May God bless you*, which is difficult to categorize as either epistemic or root.

A milestone in the area of research into modal indeterminacy and the problem of ambiguity between *root* and *epistemic* is Coates' work (1983), which uncovered regular interdependencies between a meaning assigned to a modal and the predicate's syntactic context, thus calling for a framework capable of accounting for the (traditional) syntax/semantics interface. Cognitive Grammar satisfies the criterion as a framework providing tools for discerning a conceptual contribution of grammatical elements and patterns to the construction of the overall meaning of a sentence. In Turewicz (2000), I discuss the interdependency between the syntactic context of a modal and the root/epistemic dichotomy, pointing to the conceptual import of the main verb's profile, *i.e.* perfective or imperfective (Langacker 1987: 254–267) to the meaning of the utterance (sentence). That discussion also allowed to discern the parameters of the usage context which differentiate *within* the modal category *root* in relation to the interlocutor's "reading" of the contextual information. Because my later attempt to accommodate these facts into the analysis of modals directed me to the notion of intellectual empathy,<sup>6</sup> let me briefly summarize the study.

### The meaning of MAY

Let us analyze sentences (1)–(3). The only formal element differentiating the sentences given below is the choice of personal pronoun in the function of the subject, whereas the verb is agentive in each case.

- (1) I may go out tonight.
- (2) You may go out tonight.
- (3) S/he may go out tonight.

All three sentences allow *permission* reading, though only in (2) is this type of meaning the "first choice" meaning assigned to the modal; (1) does not exclude the root/permission modal meaning, though it simultaneously allows the epistemic reading *it is possible that I will go out tonight*, or, simply the root/possibility *it is possible for me to go out tonight*. All three readings: root permission, root possibility and epistemic possibility obtain in (3). Considering the fact that formally the three sentences differ in the *pronoun* in the function of the subject, the differences in meaning are related to the specifications of the language expression in the function of *subject* of the sentence, rather than the modal itself. The evidently root meaning is assigned to (2), where the subject is *you*.

Consider, however, (4):

- (4) You may be going out tonight.

---

<sup>6</sup> My first truly premature attempt to explicate the role of intellectual empathy for the analysis of modals was in my paper, titled "From Usage Based Model to Intellectual Empathy: A Three Level Approach to Modal Meanings," which was presented during the conference Converging and diverging tendencies in Cognitive Linguistics. October 2005, Dubrovnik, Croatia.

In (4), the subject is specified as *you*, just as in the case of (2), but the root permission interpretation is not likely. Rather, a possible paraphrase is *It is possible that you will be going out tonight*, hence the meaning of the sentence conforms to the “epistemic prediction of some future event.”

The fact that (4) does not categorize as a root meaning although the subject is *you* suggests that the “nature” of the main verb as the syntactic context can be the decisive factor for interpreting a modal as root, thus confirming the role of the immediate syntactic context in the *construction of meaning* with the modal predicate MAY. If this is the case, then *neither epistemic nor root meanings are the meanings of the modal predicate*; instead, they are *meanings construed at the level of sentences*. The questions that remain to be asked now are: (i) what is the meaning of MAY if it is *not* a possibility/probability or permission; and (ii) where does the permission meaning of MAY come from?

Of the three meanings related to MAY, *permit* seems to be the most concrete one, therefore, we start our search for the meaning of MAY with an analysis of *permit*.

### Towards the meaning of *permit*

Consider (5):

(5) I permit you to go out tonight.

Informally, the meaning of *permit* as in (5) can be characterized as follows: *permit* defines a special kind of participation of a human being (*I*) in carrying out an activity performed by another human being (*you*). Indeed, an utterance such as (5) implies a special usage context: there are two participants (a speaker and a hearer); they are related by a special type of relation, *i.e.* one of them is an **authority** to the other; the other, the **performer**, intends to perform an activity that he or she is able to perform by him or herself, but undertaking the action requires a kind of declaration on the part of the non-performer/authority. The declaration has the value of *not preventing* the action specified by the other verb. In view of the above, the performer’s influence on fulfilling the activity designated by the main verb has the value of the authority/non-performer’s “declaration” not to bar the performer’s action. Indeed, without the non-performer’s share, *i.e.* his or her “declaration,” the action is blocked, and without the performer’s share, his or her readiness to perform, the non-performer’s readiness not to bar the action remains just a “declaration.” Although both participants have equal influence on the realization of the action, the verb *permit* points to its subject, the **non-performer**, as the more important participant. His or her **authority** to decide without performing gives him or her a privileged position. The organization of conceptual material in *permit* is reflected in Figure 2.

The thickest circle represents the figure of the conceptualization, *i.e.* the authority (A), the thick arrow represents the act of “giving the share,” the rectangle represents the action that “giving the share” makes possible, the thin circle represents the actual performer and the wavy arrow represents the perfective process to be performed.

More formally, the meaning of *permit* can be defined as follows: *an act of declaring by a non-performer giving his or her share to the realization of an action specified by the other verb, to be performed by the other participant – the performer; the share of the non-performer in the realization of the action to*

*be performed stems from his or her authority status with respect to the performer.* Despite the different statuses, each of the participants has about the same, *i.e.* 50%, responsibility towards fulfillment of the situation designated by the main verb, and both “shares” are equally indispensable for the action to be performed. Accordingly, in (5) *I permit you to go out tonight*, the subject *I* **explicitly** assumes the position of **the authority** and guarantees fulfillment of the process: *go out tonight* to a degree of 50%, thus leaving the other half to be supplied by the **performer**. In other words, *I* does not impose on the performer fulfillment of the action; the subject *I* only declares not to bar the action. In view of the above discussion, the “*fifty/fifty*” responsibility of both individuals and *the authority position* of the non-performer are two salient elements in the meaning structure of *permit*.

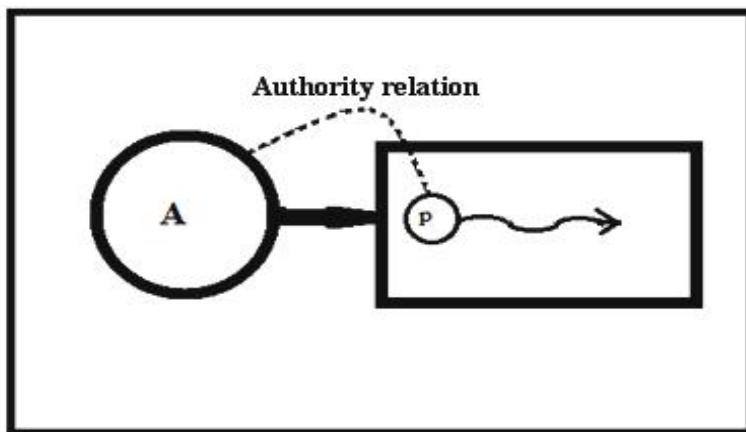


Figure 2. Graphic representation of the construal *permit*

Interestingly, as far as **epistemic** MAY is concerned, Sweetser (1984: 63) postulates the following definition: “may denotes **lack of restriction**”; for Langacker (1991: 273), MAY has a value of “absence of a potentially present barrier.” Non-cognitive works on modality also define epistemic MAY as a modal expressing a possibility/probability of occurrence of the situation denoted by the main verb (Palmer 1979). Examples (6), (7) illustrate the case.

- (6) I may be a few minutes late but I don't know.
- (7) They may or may not come and connect the television on Saturday.

Both sentences estimate the occurrence of the situation specified by the main verbs as probable, but with no guarantee. Indeed, the presence of “I don't know” and “may or may not” in the respective sentences suggests that the degree of guarantee is relatively low, as it allows the speaker to avoid responsibility in case the situations depicted by the main verbs do not come true.

In view of the above, the 50% guarantee on the part of the speaker with respect to the reality status, *i.e.* the probability of occurrence, of some situation is present in both *epistemic MAY* and *permit*. Recalling that the meaning permission in (5) *I permit you to go out tonight* can be conveyed by *You may go out tonight*, with MAY categorizing as the **root** meaning, it is legitimate to hypothesize that an equal amount of certainty and doubt, which for the sake of convenience can be presented as *a 50% guarantee*

of occurrence of some situation, as estimated by the speaker, is also the meaning of MAY in sentences/utterances conveying the meaning **root permission**.

130

Of all the meaning elements profiled by *permit* in (5), only the 50% guarantee can be found in (2), understood as “granting permission.” The meaning elements missing from sentence (2) in comparison to (5) are: a specified source of authority and the authority relation. In view of the fact that (2) can legitimately be used to grant permission, the “authority” elements missing from the overt language structure *You may go out tonight* should be recoverable from usage specifications. This brings us to the notion of ground.

### The Ground, the speaker, the hearer

Langacker (1987: 126) formally introduces the term of *Ground* “to indicate the speech event, its participants, and its setting.” Specifically, the role of *Ground* in structuring the meaning of an utterance is to specify an epistemic status of the scene that the speaker describes: whether it is a fact or a non-/counter fact, coinciding with the time of speaking or not. To define the “reality status” of a situation, the speaker employs appropriate language devices, such as: traditional grammatical tense markers and modal verbs, deictic expressions as articles, pronouns, and some adverbs and prepositions. The predicates whose conceptual contents specify various aspects of the speaker’s perspective on the scene are **epistemic predicates**.

Accordingly, language expressions can be divided into those designating a type of real world entity – an objective scene, such as “permit,” “go out” or “talk,” and those used by the speaker to define his or her subjective perspective on the objective (conceptualized) scene, *i.e.* epistemic grounding predicates. In view of the definition of *Ground* and epistemic grounding predicates, English modals are epistemic grounding predicates. This being the case, MAY is an epistemic grounding predicate regardless of whether it is related to *epistemic* or *root* modal meanings.

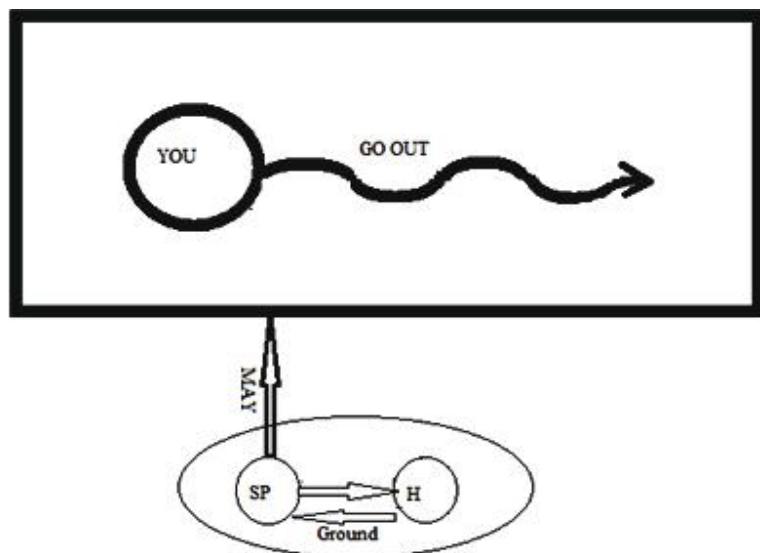


Figure 3. Graphic representation of the construal of MAY in sentence (2)

Due to their function, English modals as epistemic grounding predicates encode the speaker's assessment/guarantee of the reality of a scene construed by non-grounding language elements. In the case of MAY, the judgment has the value of a 50% guarantee on the part of the speaker towards fulfillment of the situation specified by the main verb. Since the other participant within the Ground is the hearer, by construing a sentence with MAY the speaker informs him or her that, from the speaker's point of view, the situation is 50% probable. The construal of sentences with MAY is represented by the Figure 3.

In the construal, the salient/on-stage information is that encoded explicitly in the linguistic form, *e.g. you go out tonight*. The arrow between the speaker and the circle with the linguistic form relates the source of the probability/guarantee judgment – the speaker – and the situation the judgment refers to. The arrows within the Ground between the speaker and the hearer represent the flow of information (the probability/guarantee judgment) that the speaker intends to share with the hearer, and the hearer's responsiveness.

If one compares the construal represented by Figure 2 (*permit*) with that represented by Figure 3 (the sentence with MAY), certain similarities can be observed:

- both construals incorporate the participant *expressing the 50% probability/guarantee judgment expressed by the non-performer*: it is the subject in sentence (5) and the speaker/conceptualizer in sentence (2);
- both incorporate the *performer* with equal *contribution to fulfillment of the action*: the embedded clause subject in sentence (5) and the subject in sentence (2).

As for the differences:

- the construal in Figure 2 foregrounds the *authority of the non-performer* by assigning him or her the function of a sentence subject, whereas in Figure 3 the authority value is absent from the overt language structure; simultaneously, because in Figure 3 the source of the guarantee is not overtly present, *i.e.* it is not encoded by the actual language form (it remains implicit in the Ground), the *figure in the construal is the performer* of the potential action, *i.e.* the sentence subject;
- in Figure 2 the construal explicates the entities linked by the authority relation, whereas in the construal in Figure 3 there is no such link because there is no entity with authority status, while the 50% judgment is directed towards the *action as a whole* rather than at an individual to perform the action.

In view of the similarities and differences between the two construals, let us now attempt to specify the conditions under which the construal in Figure 3 with MAY as an epistemic grounding predicate could represent the meaning of *permit*, as represented in Figure 2.

As the speaker in the Ground is the source of the 50% judgment, just like the authority in Figure 2, let us assign the value of "authority" to the speaker. What remains missing is the entity with whom the speaker – authority – is related. The language material used to construe sentence (2) points to the correspondence between the subject *you* and the implicit element in the ground – the hearer – to whom the information about the 50% probability/guarantee of making the scene real is directed. In other words, assuming that the speaker is an authority that could bar realization of the action intended by the hearer, the authority relation between the onstage performer *you* and the source of authority is possible only *indirectly*, through

the authority relation between the speaker and the hearer.<sup>7</sup> More precisely, the authority relation can be established in an online manner during an act of communication between the authority (the speaker) and the performer (you) only if the hearer as the referent of the onstage *you* acts in a responsive way and acknowledges the authority status of the speaker. Figure 4 reflects the construal *permit* for utterances with root MAY.

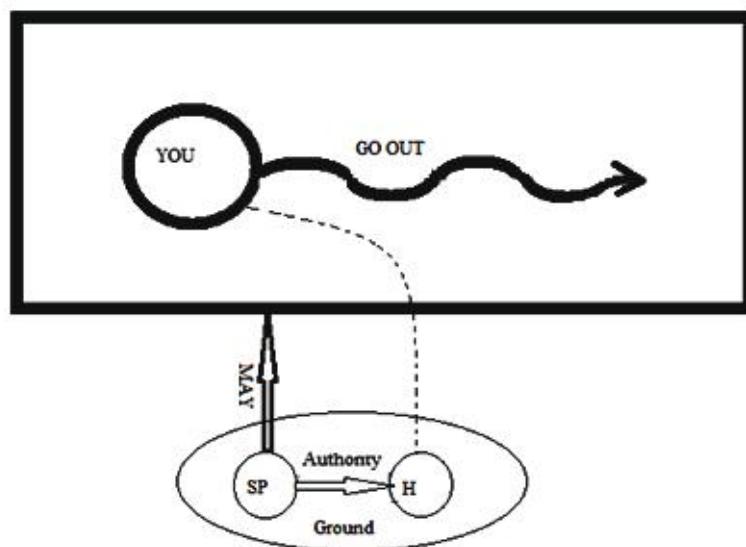


Figure 4. Graphic representation of construal *permit* with MAY

In view of the above, MAY can contribute to the construction and reconstruction of the meaning 'permit' rather than has the meaning of *permit*, when the addressee of sentences such as (2) through *intellectual empathy* (i) identifies the specifications of the actual usage context corresponding to the meaning components of *permit* (and missing in overt language expressions: "you go out") by sharing with the speaker the focus of attention, and (ii) (re)construes the meaning by integrating the semantic structures of language expressions with thus identified specifications of the usage context.

*Intellectual empathy* – the ability to direct, focus and share the interlocutors' attention to (re)construing the meaning of an actual utterance through mapping elements of the actual usage context onto the explicit and implicit knowledge of the speech act participants – seems to be the key to understanding the semantic indeterminacy of English modals. Indeed, if *You may go out tonight* is uttered by a parent to his/her child, granting permission comes as the first interpretation, i.e. as long as the addressee is able to map the parameters of usage onto the implicit knowledge defining the context for appropriate use of *permit*. However, if a sentence of the type is uttered by a non-authority speaker, e.g. a friend checking whether the interlocutor will be home in the evening, as in *I understand, you may go out tonight*, the permission meaning is unlikely. Precisely, in that case, *intellectual empathy*, i.e. the ability to direct, focus and share the interlocutors' attention to (re)construing the meaning of an actual utterance, will not direct the addressee towards construing the permission meaning.

<sup>7</sup> As may be rightly noticed, the case under discussion illustrates partial objectification of Ground elements. Due to limitations of the paper, I refrain from discussing Langacker's (1990) concept of subjectification.

### Intellectual empathy as a socio-cultural facet of communication

Supposing *intellectual empathy* is an indispensable facet of meaning construction for successful communication between speakers of the same, ethnic language, it should be viewed as an inherent element of the process of first language acquisition. Indeed, in connection with Langacker's conception of the dynamic usage-based model, I would like to argue that a natural linguistic interaction with a child, *i.e.* a language acquirer, has a double effect on the acquired language structure: (i) it guides the child towards establishing a symbolic relation between salient aspects of the scene and its phonological representation, *i.e.* facilitating the learning of an explicit meaning of the word, and (ii) it contributes to the development of a particular type of implicit knowledge of relevant socio-cultural aspects of the usage context of the acquired language structure, to the effect that they become conventionalized facets of meaning construal.

Indeed, to the extent that the speakers of a language share implicit socio-cultural knowledge as conventionalized aspects of usage, they are capable of intellectual empathy, *i.e.* the ability to direct, focus and *share* the interlocutors' attention to (re)construing the meaning of an actual utterance integrating the symbolic structure profiled in language forms with the *conventionalized parameters of usage to guarantee compatibility of the speaker's intention and the hearer's expectations in a communicative act*.

The metaphor LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IS A CONTACT OF THREE PEOPLE FOR A COMMON GOAL relates the problem of intellectual empathy to successful communicative teaching of a foreign language. Should a metaphorical learner tend to implement intellectual empathy organizing his or her interaction with a well-known friend, *i.e.* the native language, onto the interactions with the metaphorical stranger, *i.e.* the foreign language, successful communication can be endangered because of the different socio-cultural parameters that have become a part of the linguistic convention. In that case, intellectual empathy as a facet of one language convention should not map onto the meaning construal of the other one. An example related directly to my present argument is English sentence (5), which is grammatically correct and semantically correct but never heard, probably because the construal foregrounding the "I - authority" would make the utterance sound rude. Its closest Polish equivalent, *Pozwalam*, is a socio-culturally acceptable form of granting permission, without the heavy load of foregrounding the authority status of the "I." In view of the socio-cultural inappropriateness of utterances such as (5) in English, the communicative teaching of English to Polish learners should accommodate the role of intellectual empathy in construing meanings such as *permit* in an indirect manner and in (re)construing them according to the conventions of English.

### References

- Butler, Christopher S. (1982) *The Directive Function of the English Modals*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation.  
Nottingham: University of Nottingham.
- Coates, Jennifer (1983) *The Semantics of Modal Auxiliaries*. London: Croom Helm.
- Coates, Jennifer, Geoffrey Leech (1980) "The Meanings of the Modals in Modern British and American English."  
[In:] *York Papers in Linguistics* 8; 23–34.
- Ervin-Tripp, Susan M. (1964) "Sociolinguistics." [In:] Leonard Berkovitz (ed.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. Vol 4. New York: Academic Press; 93–107.

- Hofmann, T. R. (1966) *Past Tense Replacement and the Modal System* (*Harvard University Computation Lab, Report 17*). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Computation Laboratory.
- Kardela, Henryk, Zbysław Muszyński, Maciej Rajewski (2012) *Kognitywistyka: Empatia, obrazowanie i kontekst jako kategorie kognitywistyczne*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego.
- Kubiński, Wojciech (2012) "Empatia: kluczowe podejście dla kognitywnej analizy dyskursu?" [In:] Henryk Kardela, Zbysław Muszyński, Maciej Rajewski. *Kognitywistyka: Empatia, obrazowanie i kontekst jako kategorie kognitywistyczne*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego; 167–179.
- Lakoff, George, Marc Johnson (1980) *Metaphors We Live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1987) *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. Vol. 1: *Theoretical Prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1990) "Subjectification." [In:] *Cognitive Linguistics* 1; 5–38.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1991) *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. Vol. 2: *Descriptive Applications*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1999) *Grammar and Conceptualization*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (2001) "Discourse in Cognitive Grammar." [In:] *Cognitive Linguistics* 12 (2); 143–188.
- Leech, Geoffrey, Jennifer Coates (1979) "Semantic Indeterminacy and the Modals." [In:] Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, Jan Svartvik (eds.) *Studies in English Linguistics for Randolph Quirk*. London, New York: Longman; 79–90.
- Lyons, John (1977) *Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Palmer, Frank R. (1979) *Modality and the English Modals*. London: Longman.
- Sweetser, Eve (1984) *The Semantic Structure and Semantic Change: A Cognitive Linguistic Study of Modality, Perception, Speech Acts and Logical Relations*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Berkeley: University of Berkeley.
- Turewicz, Kamila (2000) *Applicability of Cognitive Grammar as a Foundation of Pedagogical/Reference Grammar*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Turewicz, Kamila (2005) "From Usage Based Model to Intellectual Empathy: A Three Level Approach to Modal Meanings." Paper presented at the conference Converging and diverging tendencies in Cognitive Linguistics, Dubrovnik, Croatia, 17–18 October, 2005.

MACIEJ WIECZOREK

University of Łódź

e-ISSN 2353-3218  
ISSN 2299-7164  
Vol. 4 (2015)  
135–143

## Looking for Lear in Dennis Kelly's *The Gods Weep*

### Abstract

First staged by the Royal Shakespeare Company in 2010, Dennis Kelly's *The Gods Weep* is an attempt to update the well-known story of *King Lear* to contemporary times. It focuses on Colm, an aging CEO who decides to divide his company evenly between two of his employees at the price of his only son's share, a decision that results in escalating a bloody conflict that tears apart the business empire. Despite featuring an all-star cast and having the full support of the RSC, *The Gods Weep* received mixed to wholly negative reviews and was criticized for being chaotic, lengthy and not faithful enough to the masterpiece of the Bard. The present article addresses the problems raised by the critics and attempts to demonstrate that their responses were largely misguided, as most of them failed to recognize the full complexity of what they were dealing with. Thus the paper first shows that Kelly's play is not merely a response to *King Lear* but, rather, a *bricolage* that recycles Akira Kurosawa's *Ran* and Sarah Kane's *Blasted* as well as a number of other works. The article then suggests that *The Gods Weep* is not an adaptation but an appropriation, as it shifts the political thrust of the hypotext and bears a mark of Kelly's in-yer-face sensibility. Finally, the contribution argues that, given the range of sources that are being recycled, the play should not be viewed as an appropriation of a single text. Building on the concept of the "work" as formulated in Margaret Jane Kidnie's *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*, I suggest that *The Gods Weep* should be viewed in the context of all texts which may be subsumed under what I call the "Lear type."

*Keywords:* *The Gods Weep*, Dennis Kelly, Shakespeare, adaptation, appropriation.

## 1. Introduction

136

Dennis Kelly's *The Gods Weep* tells the story of Colm, an aging CEO of a multinational corporation who grows disillusioned with his life and decides to divide his company evenly between two of his employees, Richard and Catherine, at the price of his only son's share. His only terms are that the board members allow him to oversee an investment project in Belize which he aims to use for humanitarian purposes and that he retain the title of chairman. Predictably, Colm's successors wrest control of the company from their old leader and persuade his son, Jimmy, to double-cross him. As the power struggle between the board members escalates into a bloody conflict, Colm goes mad and seeks refuge with Barbara, the daughter of a man he determinedly drove to commit suicide. When the two finally resolve their differences and find a delicate balance, Jimmy betrays Richard and Catherine and ventures to find his father. Once he does, one of his soldiers inadvertently shoots Barbara and Colm goes mad again.

The play, deemed to be a response to Shakespeare's *King Lear*, was given its theatrical premiere by the Royal Shakespeare Company on March 12, 2010, with Jeremy Irons starring as Colm. The reviews it received were almost unanimously negative, as the play prompted acerbic responses such as: "Never mind the gods, this will make everyone cry" (Letts 2010), "Can Jeremy Irons save this modern take on Lear?" (Billen 2010: 46), or "The Gods Weep [...] would remain intolerable even if reduced to the length of a haiku" (Spencer 2010). While the play was praised for its visceral imagery, the majority of critics complained about it being lengthy, chaotic, implausible, vulgar and lacking in narrative momentum as well as realism. They also displayed a tendency to, as Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan put it in their study of film adaptations, view the derivative work as "inevitably doomed to be inferior to its original" (2007: 2). Thus, Spencer (2010) claimed that *The Gods Weep* pales in comparison with Shakespeare's play as it lacks his "poetry, pity and depth of characterisation," while others argued that *King Lear* does not require any responses (Billen 2010: 46) and that adaptations are not what the British taxpayer expects from the RSC (Letts 2010).<sup>1</sup> More balanced assessments were offered by Michael Billington and Kate Bassett, who, unlike the other critics, felt that the least successful moments of the play were the ones that bore the most marked resemblance to *King Lear*.

The present paper will attempt to address the doubts raised by the critics and to suggest that they were mostly ill-founded. The article will, however, refrain from expressing a value judgment of the play and from defending it against those who claim that it is a poorly written text. Instead, it will concentrate on trying to answer the questions of how much of Shakespeare is truly left in Kelly's play and whether it was possible for *The Gods Weep* to live up to the expectations of the reviewers. The first part of the paper will compendiously identify some of the influences at play in the drama and will briefly analyze the effect that they exert on its meaning. The article will demonstrate that Kelly's text should be approached as a fairly complex *bricolage*<sup>2</sup> rather than as a simple-minded response to *King Lear*, and it will argue that the negative press reviews may be attributed to misrecognition of the hypotext. The article will then address the question of whether *The Gods Weep* should be approached as a production, an adaptation or as an appropriation, and of what exactly.

1 Obviously, there are many more reviews of the play, but the ones referred to in the present article are perfectly representative of the criticism leveled at *The Gods Weep*.

2 Sanders defines *bricolage* as "a collage or collection of different allusions, quotations, and references in the context of a new creative work" (2005: 161).

## 2. Influences

When asked about *The Gods Weep*, Kelly replied that he wrote the play because he was haunted by an idea for a character – a powerful man who has everything that one could possibly wish for who suddenly realizes that his achievements are meaningless and decides to divide his company between two of his followers (Kelly & Aberg 2010). While in the early drafts of the play the character that Kelly described was called Leon, a potential reference to Lear, but Kelly explains that the biggest inspiration for his play was Akira Kurosawa's *Ran* (Kelly & Aberg 2010), a 1985 film that intermingles Shakespeare's *King Lear* with the Japanese stories of Mōri Motonari, a 16th-century daimyo. While far less radical than a number of other adaptations (Edward Bond's *Lear* being a case in point), *Ran* introduces several significant changes that are later echoed in Kelly's *The Gods Weep*. Perhaps most importantly, Kurosawa was dissatisfied with there being nothing to account for the behavior of Lear's daughters. In one of the interviews he argued that:

Lear doesn't seem to have any reflection on his past. If he begins in a position of such great power, and then he goes mad because his daughters turn against him, there has to be a reason [...] and the only reason must lie in his past behavior. He must have been a terrible tyrant to get to where he is at the beginning of the play. And his daughters must have learned from him. (Kurosawa, cited in Hoile 1987: 30)

Thus, as Hoile rightly notes, "Kurosawa's Lear is clearly not a man 'more sinn'd against / than sinning'" (1987: 31–32). As the film gradually reveals his past atrocities, it becomes increasingly obvious that its protagonist, Hidetora, is responsible for his own downfall. Kelly, too, leaves no doubt that Colm is fully to blame for what happens to him. His financial empire was built on a policy of aggressive expansion – he acquired other companies, ruthlessly fought his competitors and exploited his own personnel, firing the bottom 8% every year. In his own words, he also "fanned the flames" of disagreement between his board members so as to make them more productive (Kelly 2010: 29).

However, unlike Hidetora (or Lear for that matter), Colm does indeed recognize his past mistakes. In the opening scene he describes a dream<sup>3</sup> in which he was wandering on the beach and collecting shells until he saw a blackhead on his belly. He tried to squeeze it out and "it just kept coming, meters and meters of this, thick as your finger [...] until there was a huge pile of it there on the floor. And it stank" (Kelly 2010: 28). This repelling image obviously points to Colm's moral degradation. The character recognizes this and, in an attempt to change his life, resigns, divides his company, and implores his successors not to follow in his footsteps: "I made you into beasts [...] But do we make things that can only destroy, ravenous engines of wealth that can only move in one direction? [...] are we monsters? No. No we are not" (Kelly 2010: 28–29). He rightly suspects that the company's division will be a trial not only for its employees, but also for the entire human race: "This is a test [...] For all of us. For everything. For everything in the world" (Kelly 2010: 30). However, he fails to predict the outcome of his decision as, contrary to his expectations, people turn out to be monsters. When it becomes clear that depravity, greed and selfishness have triumphed, Colm offers an interesting take on reality: "I used to believe that the universe was cruel, that gods made things this way [...] But now I see the truth [...] they watch us and what we make and

<sup>3</sup> The dream itself is another borrowing from *Ran*, where, directly before he divides his kingdom, Hidetora has a nightmare in which he is walking alone through a wilderness and is unable to find other people. Unlike Colm, however, Kurosawa's character attaches no significance to his oneiric vision.

what we do with our lives and to each other and they weep. They watch us and weep" (Kelly 2010: 122). His words, which are also used as the title of the play, are clearly a tribute to *Ran*, in which Tango, the Kent figure, utters similar lines upon witnessing the death of Hidetora and his loyal son. Interestingly, in both works they reverse the thrust of Gloucester's "As flies to wanton boys are we to th'gods: / They kill us for their sport" (Shakespeare [1605–1606] 2007: 2052), thus attributing the blame for all the atrocities to mankind rather than to supernatural beings.<sup>4</sup>

While Colm appears to be aware of his mistakes from the very onset of the play, it is clear that he learns his lesson only towards its very end. In what seems to be a reversal of the scene from Shakespeare's *King Lear*, Colm decides to disinherit his son, Jimmy, precisely because of his capability to love, which he views as a weakness. He also tells him that to successfully manage a company, he has to be able to break his own son's arms if necessary. Jimmy decides to prove his father wrong – in order to assert his strength he betrays him and breaks his arm. This act foregrounds another significant, if not necessarily apparent, similarity between *Ran* and *The Gods Weep*. Like Kurosawa,<sup>5</sup> Kelly decides to conflate several characters from *King Lear* in his play, thus making their portrayal all the more problematic. Until his betrayal, Jimmy could well be perceived as Cordelia's counterpart. However, the fact that he physically assaults his father and aligns himself with Richard and Catherine, who obviously represent Goneril and Regan, allows one to view him as the main antagonist of Shakespeare's play – Edmund. Such a reading could also be supported by the fact that Colm seems to view him as an illegitimate son, although he never says this directly. He does, however, believe that Jimmy has none of his qualities, says that he used to view him "as a kind of tumour" (Kelly 2010: 31), and notes that he had to convince himself to love him. Jimmy's portrayal proves to be even more problematic when one considers the fact that when he betrays Colm by taking control of Belize and destroying the life of his lover, Beth, he actually repeats his father's mistakes and proves to be his legitimate son. By the end of the play, when he has already had his revenge, he also realizes that he has no choice but to love Colm, and it is he who finds and rescues him. It may, therefore, be argued that the character is a conflation of Edgar as well as of Edmund and Cordelia.

Kurosawa's influence is also visible in Kelly's reworking of the storm that Lear rushes into after his argument with Goneril and Regan. As Hoile rightly observes, in *Ran* the tempest becomes a 5-minute-long battle sequence (1987: 32), a change that is signaled by a gust of wind that sweeps through a nearby plain and whips the grass right after the battle. Kelly opts for a similar solution in *The Gods Weep*, and the storm becomes a shelling, which is also one of the first signs of the ongoing war between Richard and Catherine. Not only is it an externalization of Colm's emotional breakdown, but it is also a testimony to how unpredictable and destructive the consequences of our actions can be. The shelling may also be viewed as a link with another text inspired by *King Lear* – Sarah Kane's infamous debut play titled *Blasted* (cf. Saunders 2002: 54). Like Kelly, Kane was fiercely criticized for not making it clear how the naturalistic expository part of her drama leads to the sudden escalation of a military conflict when a mortar shell

4 This is not to say that Shakespeare's *King Lear* suggests that it is the gods who are responsible for the tragic events. After he defeats Edmund in a duel, Edgar says that "The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices / Make instruments to plague us" (Shakespeare [1605–1606] 2007: 2070). Edmund replies with: "Th'hast spoken right: 'tis true, / The wheel is a come full circle: I am here" (Shakespeare [1605–1606] 2007: 2070), which might suggest that the supernatural forces made it possible for Edgar to punish the archvillain. For a while it seems that justice has, indeed, triumphed. Shortly after, however, it is revealed that Cordelia was hanged, and Lear enters, carrying her body. He dies only a moment later, leaving the question of divine justice entirely unresolved and perhaps even more problematic than earlier.

5 For a detailed discussion of how this is done in *Ran*, see Hoile (1987).

blasts the hotel room in which it is set. In both cases, however, the outbreak of hostilities need not, and perhaps even should not, be plausible as its *raison d'être* is precisely to be unexpected. By catching the audience unaware it helps it realize that domestic violence (in the case of *Blasted*) and economic disruption (in the case of *The Gods Weep*) may easily get out of hand and lead to a much bigger problem with far more dire consequences.

The full complexity of Kelly's approach to his sources is, perhaps, best visible in his treatment of Barbara, the real Cordelia figure, and her relationship to Colm, as it seems to be drawn from Kurosawa, Kane, and Shakespeare alike. Like Lady Sue's in *Ran*, Barbara's life was destroyed by the Lear character who caused the death of her family. While in Hidetora's case the cruelty was a result of his military conquests, in Colm's it appears to be almost whimsical; when the character learns that Barbara's father, Ken, published an article that criticized one of his business decisions, he drives his company bankrupt, destroys his marriage and provides his son with medication until he overdoses, which results in Ken's suicide. Despite being one of the primary victims of Colm's cruelty, Barbara takes care of him and triggers a profound change in his behavior, which is symbolically marked by his apparent death and subsequent return to life. Their relationship is similar to that between Cate and Ian in *Blasted*, where the victimized woman takes care of her oppressor who also changes, dies and is reborn. Upon coming back from the dead, Colm echoes Shakespeare's play and asks: "Is this the afterlife?" (Kelly 2010: 161). He is then temporarily reunited with Barbara and is content to forget about everything that had happened.<sup>6</sup> This is clearly reminiscent of Lear's joyful acceptance of imprisonment alongside Cordelia after their military defeat: "Come, let's away to prison. / We two alone will sing like birds i'thcage" (Shakespeare [1605–1606] 2007: 2066). For a while, Colm and Barbara manage to live a life of pastoral idyll, which ends abruptly when the woman is shot by Jimmy's soldiers. Colm goes mad once more and the fate of his corporation is left in his son's hands, a fact that further highlights the similarities between Jimmy and Edgar.

While the influence of *King Lear* is primarily filtered through Kurosawa's *Ran*, and is restricted mostly to Kelly's approach to his characters and decision to preserve certain plot elements (e.g. Goneril and Regan's fight for Edmund, which is echoed by Catherine and Richard's struggle for Jimmy's loyalty), *The Gods Weep* nevertheless recycles some of the themes of Shakespeare's play, such as nature and madness. More interestingly, however, Kelly puts special emphasis on the astrological phenomena that Shakespeare's characters frequently refer to. Annabella Kitson (1996: 200) argues that "Shakespeare's plays are full of cosmic references [...] [including] explicitly astrological ones which play a crucial part in the action." and rightly spots that Gloucester, for instance, refers to solar eclipses and takes them as a bad augury for the fate of the kingdom. *The Gods Weep* continues this theme and replaces the eclipses with a few mentions of astrological aspects and a meteor shower. Interestingly, Kelly decides to introduce the character of the Astrologer, who appears to be the driving force behind Richard's actions. The businessman consults each of his decisions with her and it is his inability to comprehend one of her prophecies that eventually leads to his downfall. She tells him that the only thing he has to fear is his greatest crime. Richard is

<sup>6</sup> There is also another similarity to *Blasted*; shortly after Barbara learns the truth about Colm's identity, a storm starts and the protagonist is sitting in the rain, getting soaked because of his inability to build a proper shelter. Coupled with his earlier plans to dig a hole in which he planned to sit and wait for the rain to stop, it is an obvious, if faint, echo of one of the most memorable images of Kane's play – that of Ian dying and coming back to life when the rain starts to fall on his body. In both cases, the rain is also intricately tied to the notion of forgiveness.

convinced that the Astrologer means Colm, and asks his men to find and kill him, but before that happens he is killed by Beth, whose life was ruined as a result of the orders he gave to Jimmy. Interestingly, while the future of mankind does, indeed, seem to be written in the stars, it is still men who fail to make sense of it, thus bringing about their own destruction.

Finally, the imagery used in *The Gods Weep* echoes other works of culture, ranging from Hollywood cinema to canonical fine art. In one of the scenes, Barbara and Colm rejoice at the sight of snow, only to realize that it is actually ash falling from the sky, which might be seen as a reference to Spielberg's *Schindler's List*, which contains an iconic scene in which something resembling snow is cascading from the sky as children play happily in the park. It then cuts into concentration camps where the bodies of Jewish people are being incinerated, and it becomes clear that it is their ashes that are floating in the air. The inclusion of such an image in *The Gods Weep* greatly heightens the audience's awareness of the atrocities that are taking place as a result of the bloody conflict between the company's shareholders. A similar effect is achieved by the description of brutality of one of the characters who decides to hack the bodies of the slain enemies to pieces and to display them on a tree. This may be approached as a faint echo of Francisco Goya's *A Heroic Feat! With Dead Men!*, which is one of the prints from his *The Disasters of War* series.<sup>7</sup> The play also includes less provocative images taken from other sources, but appears to use them subversively. This is best visible in a dream that Richard narrates towards the middle of the play – he dreamed of a number of woodland critters who came through his windows to watch him sleep. Kelly clearly recycles one of the most recognizable elements of Disney's classic *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* and reverses its thrust for comic effect. He does so by replacing Snow White, a symbol of beauty and innocence, with Richard – arguably the most repulsive character in the play – and by adding earthworms and ants to the list of animals that visit him, thus making it excessively long and ridiculously inclusive.

This brief overview of Kelly's sources carries significant implications for the discussion on the critical response that the play received, as it points to the fact that the vast majority of the reviewers failed to recognize and fully grasp what they were dealing with. Irrespective of whether it was the RSC's production or the critics themselves that were to blame for this, the fact remains that the play was approached primarily as an adaptation of Shakespeare's *King Lear*. This mistake is not as innocent as it may initially seem. Theorists and critics who deal with the issue of adaptations unanimously agree that the reception of such works is largely based on an interplay between the familiar and the unfamiliar, between repetition and change (Hutcheon 2006: 8; Sanders 2005: 25; Helman 1998: 15–16). We perceive adaptations as new texts, but as ones that are nevertheless always connected to a particular hypotext – and it is this unusual tension between them that allows us to experience pleasure (Hutcheon 2006: 114; Sanders 2005: 14). It may, therefore, be argued that the reviewers who viewed *The Gods Weep* solely as a response to Shakespeare's *King Lear* were bound to dislike the play because they were seeing it through a distorted lens. Their misrecognition of the source text effectively shifted the balance between repetition and innovation – decisively in favor of the latter – thus depriving the critics of what Hutcheon calls "the comfort of ritual and recognition" (2006: 173), and allowing them to indulge in misguided accusations of butchery and infidelity which precluded them from appreciating *The Gods Weep* as a play in its own right.

<sup>7</sup> It is also probable that Kelly was inspired by *The Great Deeds Against the Dead* (1994), by Jake and Dinos Chapman, a sculpture which reworked Goya's etching.

### 3. Implications

Despite the fact that Kelly distills an eclectic range of sources into *The Gods Weep*, it would be a significant mistake to view him simply as a derivative writer. While the play does, indeed, preserve the basic plot structure of Shakespeare's *King Lear* and it recycles a number of elements from *Ran* and *Blasted*, it is, first and foremost, an expression of Kelly's growing interest in capitalism and the importance of money in contemporary society. Just like his 2006 play, *Love and Money*, it probes into our inability to take the human factor into account when considering financial matters and exposes our readiness to exploit other people. Written shortly after the Global Financial Crisis of 2008 which resulted in the ongoing European sovereign debt crisis, the play is primarily a warning against our complacency toward Western economic policies. Clearly, Kelly's driving impulse was not to retell or update the story of Lear and his daughters but to weave a cautionary tale about the dangers of capitalism. He uses his sources to offer analogues and treats them as merely a means of communicating the message rather than as the message itself. Thus his play is perhaps best described as an appropriation, a product of an act that, in Hutcheon's words, involves "taking possession of another's story, and filtering it, in a sense, through one's own sensibility, interests, and talents" (2006: 18). Kelly's play also fits into Sanders' definition of appropriation, as she claims that in this type of work the relation between the hypotext and the hypertext is often less explicit than in adaptations proper, and notes that they often involve "a political or ethical commitment [that] shapes a writer's [...] decision to re-interpret a source text" (Sanders 2005: 2). In the case of *The Gods Weep*, the need to recycle the story of both *King Lear* and *Ran* is driven by Kelly's intention to criticize Western capitalism. Apart from shifting the political thrust of the story and transposing it to a contemporary setting, the playwright also leaves a visible mark of his in-yer-face sensibility in the play.

This, however, still does not answer the question of what it is exactly that Kelly's *bricolage* appropriates – is it *Ran*, *King Lear*, or perhaps still another text such as Edward Bond's *Lear*? The answer is somewhat paradoxical, as one may claim that it appropriates all of them and neither one of them at the same time. Clearly, *The Gods Weep* bears enough similarities with Shakespeare's drama for the reviewers to approach it primarily as a response to the Bard's play. To view it as an appropriation of a single text, however, would be extremely reductive. This is so since to a reader/viewer who has a developed genre and media literacy – to use one of Hutcheon's terms – a given text may simultaneously evoke a large number of other adaptations or appropriations. It would, therefore, be wise to adopt the perspective associated with what Sanders calls "open structuralism," *i.e.* "readings which are invested not in proving a text's closure to alternatives, but in celebrating its ongoing interaction with other texts and artistic productions" (2005: 18).

Indeed, as Margaret Jane Kidnie observes in her seminal book *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*, it is extremely difficult to speak of original versions and, consequently, of closure to alternatives in the case of drama. This is largely so since dramatic texts are usually meant to be performed on the theatrical stage. Inevitably, the dramatist is not the only person involved in the production of a given play, as preparing a performance largely relies on the work of stage designers, actors, choreographers, directors, lighting directors and fight directors. A single decision on the part of any of these people may easily subvert the meaning of the drama and render it entirely inauthentic in the eyes of the critics. Voice inflection, the physical appearance of the actors and the use of light may all redirect the political or philosophical thrust of an otherwise faithful production of a given play. All this is even more problematic when it comes to Shakespeare. Not only is he long dead and has no control over the performances, but

his plays also exist in several versions that differ from one another – a fact that further complicates the question of their authenticity.

With all this in mind, Kidnie asserts that a play “is not an object at all, but rather a dynamic process that evolves over time in response to the needs and sensibilities of its users” (2009: 2). In order to advance her argument, she uses Wilsmore’s category of the “work,” which he describes as “a normative structure embedded in the practices of a shared culture where values enter into the determination of the identity of the work of art”; she then argues that his concept is flawed in that it locates the work’s essence in the authorial intention (Kidnie 2009: 29). In an attempt to correct this, she suggests that the criteria of the work are located “not prior to the work’s instances of production [...] but subsequent to production, in users’ perceptions of sameness and difference among the many variants found in distinct production instances” (Kidnie 2009: 29). It is the spectator who looks for patterns and identifies a play as an instance of a given work (Kidnie 2009: 29).<sup>8</sup> A work is, therefore, an abstract construct, a type that may be used to group “under a generic title non-identical examples of text and performance that are somehow recognized as ‘the same’” (Kidnie 2009: 7).

As long as there is some agreement between the spectators, Kurosawa’s *Ran*, Shakespeare’s *King Lear*, Bond’s *Lear*, and any future variations on the story may be approached as different instances (tokens) of the same work (type). The concept of the work, then, is extremely useful when trying to answer the question of what Kelly is truly appropriating; it allows one to go beyond the reductive perspective adopted by the reviewers of the play who tried to posit that *The Gods Weep* is a response to a single text. Inevitably, their opinions veered in the direction of fidelity criticism as they accused the play of being too innovative and, in consequence, inferior to Shakespeare’s text. Given the complexity of the play, however, it would be far more productive to place it in the context of all the texts/productions which are believed to be tokens of the “Lear type.” Not only would such a perspective do away with fidelity criticism and survival discourse, but it would also establish a creative tension with other plays, films and works of art, thus revealing a complex web of relations not only with prior texts, but also with the ones that are yet to be written. In other words, it would liberate criticism from its obsession with synchronic fixity of a given text and allow one to fully appreciate the diachronic fluidity of the work.

## References

- Billen, Andrew (2010) “Kingdom Come: Can Jeremy Irons Save this Modern Take on Lear?” [In:] *New Statesman* 29.03; 46.
- Cartmell, Deborah, Imelda Whelehan (2007) “Introduction – Literature on Screen: A Synoptic View.” [In:] Deborah Cartmell, Imelda Whelehan (eds.) *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1–12.
- Fish, Stanley ([1980] 2004) “How to Recognize a Poem When You See One.” [In:] David H. Richter (ed.) *The Critical Tradition: Classic Texts and Contemporary Trends*. Boston: Bedford, St. Martin’s; 1023–1030.
- Helman, Alicja (1998) *Twórcza zdrada: filmowe adaptacje literatury*. Poznań: Ars Nova.

<sup>8</sup> This is reminiscent of the ideas formulated in Stanley Fish’s seminal article titled “How to Recognize a Poem when You See One,” in which he argues that poems have no qualities that make them poems and that it is actually the act of interpretation on the part of the reader that allows for the emergence of features peculiar to verse ([1980] 2004: 1023–1030).

- Hoile, Christopher (1987) "King Lear' and Kurosawa's 'Ran': Splitting, Doubling, Distancing." [In:] *Pacific Coast Philology* 22 (1–2); 29–34.
- Hutcheon, Linda (2006) *A Theory of Adaptation*. New York: Routledge.
- Kelly, Dennis (2010) *The Gods Weep*. London: Oberon Books.
- Kidnie, Margaret J. (2009) *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Kitson, Annabella (1996) "Astrology and English Literature." [In:] *Contemporary Review* 269 (1569); 200.
- Kurosawa, Akira (dir.) (1985) *Ran* (motion picture). With Tatsuya Nakadai, Akira Terao, Jinpachi Nezu, Daisuke Ryu, Mieko Harada, Yoshiko Miyazaki and Peter. Produced by Katsumi Furukawa for Nippon Herald Films.
- Sanders, Julie (2005) *Adaptation and Appropriation*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Saunders, Graham (2002) *'Love Me or Kill Me': Sarah Kane and the Theatre of Extremes*. Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press.
- Shakespeare, William ([1605–1606] 2007) "The Tragedy of King Lear." [In:] Jonathan Bate, Eric Rasmussen (eds.) *The RSC Shakespeare: Complete Works*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers Ltd; 2004–2080.

### Online sources

- Bassett, Kate (2010) "The Gods Weep, Hampstead Theatre, London A Good Night Out in the Valleys, Miners' Institute, Blackwood Sisters, Crucible Studio, Sheffield." Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/theatre-dance/reviews/the-gods-weep-hampstead-theatre-londonbra-good-night-out-in-the-valleys-miners-institute-blackwoodbsisters-crucible-studio-sheffield-1924552.html>
- Billington, Michael (2010) "The Gods Weep, Hampstead, London." Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2010/mar/18/the-gods-weep-review>
- Kelly, Dennis, Maria Aberg (2010) "Dennis Kelly and Maria Aberg: The Gods Weep." Available at: <http://www.theatrevoice.com/audio/dennis-kelly-and-maria-aberg-the-gods-weep/>
- Letts, Quentin (2010) "Never Mind the Gods, This Will Make Everyone Cry." Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/reviews/article-1259008/The-Gods-Weep-review-Never-mind-gods-make-cry.html>
- Spencer, Charles (2010) "The Gods Weep, RSC, Hampstead Theatre, Review." Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/london-shows/7472953/The-Gods-Weep-RSC-Hampstead-Theatre-review.html>

*Academic  
Journal  
of  
Modern  
Philology*

PIOTR WŁUCZKOWSKI  
Uniwersytet Wrocławski

## **Izolacjonizm a izolacjonizm amerykański. Wyróżnienie pojęciowe na podstawie analizy polityki zagranicznej USA na tle historycznym**

### **Abstract**

### **Isolationism and American Isolationism. Conceptual Distinction Based on the Analysis of US Foreign Policy on the Historical Background**

The article presents an image of one of the most significant American foreign policy strategy of the past – isolationism. With a historical perspective on how the United States foreign policy was creating and changing through the decades, the difference between basic definition of political isolation and isolation carried by USA was highlighted. It was shown how specific term American isolationism is. Particular attention is given to connection between specific foreign policy doctrines and reasons for which they were created. Remarks also address variable attitude of USA, which were balancing through the history between two strategies: isolation and intervention. At the end of the article author takes a look closer to nowadays position of United States on the foreign policy field.

*Keywords:* USA, foreign policy, isolationism, Monroe Doctrine.

### **Wstęp**

Polityka izolacjonizmu przez większą część historii Stanów Zjednoczonych wyznaczała drogę, którą podążał ten kraj. W referacie przedstawione zostały najważniejsze w tej materii doktryny polityczne, położono również nacisk na ukazanie relacji przyczynowo-skutkowej między konkretnymi postawami USA w danym okresie a faktami, które miały na to wpływ. Nakreślona została kwestia pojęciowa z uwidoczeniem różnicy między klasyczną definicją izolacjonizmu a izolacjonizmem w wydaniu amerykańskim. Na podstawie analizy faktów historycznych wykazano, jak bardzo specyficzny

pojęciem jest amerykański izolacjonizm. Prócz tego nakreślona została kwestia zmiany w kierunku polityki zagranicznej USA, przechylająca Stany na pole politycznego interwencjonizmu, dzięki której dziś Stany Zjednoczone posiadają status „obrońcy wolności” bądź „żandarma narodów”. Nie bez komentarza pozostawiono dzisiejszy obraz polityki zagranicznej USA.

### Amerykańskie początki idei izolacjonizmu

Poszukując początków amerykańskiego izolacjonizmu, należy wziąć pod uwagę już pierwszego prezydenta tego państwa – George'a Washingtona – i jego proklamację o neutralności z 1796 roku (Winid 1992). Założeniem jego polityki było bowiem utrzymywanie jak najluźniejszych związków politycznych z innymi państwami, ze szczególną ostrożnością w kwestiach zawierania wszelakich umów czy sojuszy militarnych (Pacuła 2011: 115). Nie dotyczyło to oczywiście związków handlowych. Jak by jednak nie spojrzeć, było to zrozumiałe, biorąc pod uwagę kształt ówczesnych Stanów Zjednoczonych – niewielkiego państewka powstałego z gromady zbuntowanych brytyjskich kolonii.

Były to wszakże bardziej wytyczne, jakimi kierowała się amerykańska polityka, nie zaś ścisłe określone ramy. Ze skonkretyzowanym, państwowym stanowiskiem poczekać należało do tzw. doktryny Monroe'a. Utworzona została z inicjatywy Johna Quincy'ego Adamsa (Brogan [1985] 2004: 282–283), sekretarza prezydenta Jamesa Monroe'a, zawarta zaś w corocznym orędziku prezydenta do Kongresu wygłoszonym 2 grudnia 1823 roku (Rusinowa 1992).

Doktryna Monroe'a miała za zadanie regulację kluczowych kwestii stosunków na linii kontynenty amerykańskie–Europa. Przede wszystkim głosiła sprzeciw wobec kolonizacji (w tym także restauracji systemów monarchicznych (Rusinowa 1992)) na terenie obu Ameryk, we fragmencie:

[...] kontynenty Ameryki, dzięki wolnemu i niepodległemu stanowi, jaki przyjęły i utrzymują, od tej pory nie mają być uważane za przedmiot przyszłej kolonizacji przez jakikolwiek europejską potęgę (Brogan [1985] 2004: 282).

Inny fragment orędzia z kolei głosi:

Nasza polityka w stosunku do Europy, przyjęta we wczesnej fazie wojen, które przez tak długi czas wzburzały tę część globu, pozostaje taka sama, tzn. nieingerowanie w wewnętrzne problemy któryregokolwiek z mocarstw (Brogan [1985] 2004: 282).

Oznaczało to nic innego jak obietnicę nieingerencji zarówno w sprawy państw Europy, jak i pozostających pod ich pieczęą kolonii.

USA obrały więc ścieżkę izolacjonizmu z jednej strony w celu oddzielenia się od problemów europejskich, z drugiej zaś, by skupić się na zabezpieczeniu swoich interesów politycznych oraz terytorialnych na północnoamerykańskim kontynencie. Wniosek poprzeć można pooglądzie w poniższe kalendarium, prezentujące najważniejsze spory oraz umowy terytorialne z pierwszej połowy XIX wieku:

- 1812–1815 – wojna amerykańsko-brytyjska;
- 1818 – konwencja normalizująca stosunki USA–Wielka Brytania;
- 1819 (ratyfikowane 1821) – przyłączenie Florydy;
- 1842 – regulacja granicy USA–Kanada Brytyjska;
- 1846–1848 – wojna amerykańsko-meksykańska (USA zyskały Teksas, Kalifornię, Nowy Meksyk);

- 1846 – przyłączenie terytorium Oregonu (dzisiejsze Oregon i Waszyngton);
- 1861–1865 – Wojna Secesyjna;
- 1867 – zakup Alaski od Rosji.

Wydarzenia z pierwszej połowy XIX wieku zaowocowały kilkukrotnym zwiększeniem terytorium USA w stosunku do ich pierwotnego kształtu z roku 1783.

### Izolacjonizm czy kolonializm?

Nie ma dowodów na to, że James Monroe mógł zakładać tak ogromny sukces USA w następnych latach, z pewnością jednak miał pełną świadomość tego, co w zasadzie miał zapewnić obrany kierunek polityki zagranicznej. Było to zdeterminowane działanie, mające na celu zapobiegnięcie ingerowaniu państw europejskich na półkuli zachodniej. Dzięki zapewnieniom doktryny Stany Zjednoczone mogły skupić się nie tylko na scaleniu ze sobą nowo nabytych obszarów, lecz na osiągnięciu dominacji na swoim kontynencie, następnie zaś – na zdominowaniu całej półkuli zachodniej. Jak stwierdził amerykański historyk, Hugh Brogan ([1985] 2004: 282),

Doktryna (Monroe'a) zawierała także kiełkujące aspiracje Stanów Zjednoczonych, aby narzucić własną hegemonię nad Nowym Światem – aspiracje, które w odpowiednim czasie dojrzeją do działania.

Kluczowa w tej kwestii była zdefiniowana w doktrynie Monroe'a neutralność wobec konfliktów **kolonii** państw europejskich, nie zaś niepodległych **państw** półkuli zachodniej. Przypomnieć w tym miejscu należy toczące się już od 1810 roku wojny niepodległościowe ze strony kolonii hiszpańskich. W samym roku 1821 niepodległość proklamowały Gwatemala, Honduras, Kostaryka i Meksyk (Bielski, Trąba 2003b: 154). Dawało to Stanom Zjednoczonym możliwości zdobywania wpływów na obszarach niegdyś pozostających pod władaniem Hiszpanii.

Przy historycznym wględzie stwierdzić można, że tzw. era izolacjonizmu była dla Stanów Zjednoczonych w istocie erą specyficznego kolonializmu, czy też – delikatniej rzecz ujmując – konsekwentnej ekspansji i poszerzania strefy wpływów.

Tendencję konsekwentnych ruchów ze strony USA na kontynencie południowoamerykańskim zaakcentował francuski dziennikarz Maurice Lemoine (2007) w magazynie *Le Monde diplomatique*:

Od 1880 r., dokonawszy podboju zachodu, kierowały się na południe. W trakcie prezydenckiej kadencji generała Granta (1869–1877 r.) teoria „objawionego przeznaczenia” (manifest destiny) odsłoniła charakter amerykańskich ambicji: dążenie do kontroli całego kontynentu. Stany Zjednoczone mówiły łagodnie o „obronie demokracji”, a działając za pomocą metody grubego kija – wysyłały swych marines. Obok sporadycznych interwencji militarnych miały miejsce inwazje, których wynikiem było tworzenie protektoratów.

Kluczowy dla tego punktu widzenia teorii był z pewnością rok 1898 i wojna hiszpańsko-amerykańska. Pretekstem do wypowiedzenia wojny była eksplozja w Hawanie amerykańskiego statku USS Maine 15 lutego 1898 roku, o wywołanie której oskarżono Hiszpanię (Brogan [1985] 2004: 485). Ta zaś nie mogła dorównać hegemonowi półkuli zachodniej, którym już wtedy były Stany Zjednoczone. W wyniku tej wojny na mocy traktatu paryskiego z 1898 roku USA nie tylko przyłączyły do swoich

obszarów Puerto Rico i wyspę Guam, lecz także zdobyły kontrolę nad Filipinami (Kwiecień 1992: 233). Dodatkowo objęły protektorat nad Kubą, *de facto* choć nie *de iure* sprowadzając ją do roli swojej kolonii (Brogan [1985] 2004: 486).

Przypieczętowaniem hegemonicznych skłonności USA było uzupełnienie do doktryny Monroe'a autorstwa prezydenta Theodora Roosevelta z 6 grudnia 1904 roku, przynajmniej Stanom pierwszeństwo w jakiekolwiek interwencji na zachodniej półkuli (Parafianowicz 1992: 276). Pretekstem do tego uzupełnienia było zapobiegnięcie działaniom militarnym ze strony Europy w celu pozyskania zwrotu długów zaciągniętych przez kraje Ameryki Łacińskiej. W efekcie jednak stanowiło ono doktrynalne uzasadnienie interwencji zbrojnych Stanów Zjednoczonych wobec kontynentu południowoamerykańskiego (Parafianowicz 1992: 276). Hugh Brogan podkreślił, że „Pierwsze czwierćwiecze XX miało doprowadzić do interwencji w Ameryce Południowej na niespotykaną do tej pory skalę” ([1985] 2004: 486). Przykładami tego są m.in. meksykańska kampania graniczna (Mularska-Andziak 1992: 200–201), interwencje USA w sferze wysp Karaibskich (Brogan [1985] 2004: 487) czy sprawa budowy Kanału Panamskiego (Mularska-Andziak 1992: 230).

Ambicje USA nie ograniczały się zresztą jedynie do zachodniej hemisfery. Wspomnieć należy np. zmuszenie Japonii do otwarcia na handel w latach 1852–1854 czy też lata 1899–1990 i proklamowanie przez Stany polityki „otwartych drzwi” w Chinach (Brogan [1985] 2004: 487–488).

### Izolacjonizm à la USA

W obliczu widocznych faktów należy wziąć pod uwagę prawidłowość nazywania „erą izolacjonizmu” okresu między doktryną Monroe'a a I wojną światową. By lepiej to zobrazować, przytoczymy klasyczną definicję izolacjonizmu, zaczerpniętą ze *Słownika pojęć i organizacji międzynarodowych*:

izolacjonizm – tendencja w polityce zagranicznej zakładająca minimalny udział państwa w stosunkach międzynarodowych i skupienie uwagi na sprawach wewnętrznych, wykluczająca utrzymywanie bliskich związków i sojuszy z innymi państwami oraz angażowanie się w wojny nie dotyczące obrony terytorium państwowego; najczęściej pociąga za sobą protekcjonizm handlowy.

Wybitnie zbliżony opis stosowany jest również w ujęciu encyklopedycznym (Pieszczachowicz (red.) 2003). Nie jest trudno zauważyc, iż polityka stosowana przez Stany Zjednoczone nie klasyfikowała się do powyższej definicji. Jednakże – mimo ewidentnych działań mocarstwowych (by nie rzec – imperialnych) – polityka USA pozostawała w zgodzie z doktryną Monroe'a. Przykładowo działania USA w Ameryce Łacińskiej mogły być bowiem tłumaczone jako sprzeciwianie się próbom restauracji systemów monarchicznych (nawet jeśli powstałe tam formy rządów niewiele miały wspólnego z demokracją). W przypadku wojny z Hiszpanią zaś wykorzystano argument obrony państwa. W *Encyklopedii historii Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki* (Winid 1992: 129) definicja głosi:

izolacjonizm – doktryna amerykańskiej polityki zagranicznej, zakładająca świadome nieuznawanie w sojuszach i konfliktach światowych, **nie dotyczących bezpośrednio Stanów Zjednoczonych** (wyróżnienie moje – P. W.).

Można więc wyciągnąć wniosek, że kwestia, które konflikty bezpośrednio dotyczyły USA, jest kwestią elastyczną.

Należy zatem wprowadzić rozróżnienie pojęciowe między izolacjonizmem – kierunkiem polityki zagranicznej a izolacjонizmem amerykańskim – specyficzną jego odmianą stosowaną przez pryzmat doktryny Monroe'a. Nie bez powodu w haśle encyklopedycznym tuż pod ogólną definicją izolacjonizmu opisywany jest izolacjонizm właśnie w odniesieniu do Stanów Zjednoczonych (Pieszczachowicz (red.) 2003).

### I wojna światowa – standardowe działanie w ramach izolacjонизму amerykańskiego?

Niezależnie od przyjętej definicji izolacjонизmu za pierwszy okres zerwania z tą postawą uznaje się okres I wojny światowej. Stany Zjednoczone przyłączyły się do niej 6 kwietnia 1917 roku, zajmując miejsce po stronie państw ententy. Należy wziąć pod uwagę jednak, że nie była to decyzja bezinteresowna czy też kierowana chęcią zaprowadzenia światowego pokoju. Wspomnijmy bowiem dwa fakty stawiające USA naprzeciwko państw osi, a zwłaszcza Niemiec. Pierwszym z nich jest wprowadzenie przez Niemcy nieograniczonej wojny podwodnej na obszarze Oceanu Atlantyckiego. Strategia ta zawieszona została w roku 1916, wznowiono ją jednakże właśnie w 1917 (Brogan [1985] 2004: 519–523). Utrudniło to przepływ towarów na linii USA–Europa i stanowiło poważne zagrożenie dla gospodarki Stanów. Kolejnym z powodów, dla których USA zdecydowały się na udział w wojnie, były plany cichej umowy między Niemcami a Meksykiem, obiecującej pomoc w odzyskaniu utraconych przez Meksyk ziem w latach 1846–1848. Plany te ujrzały światło dzienne po przechwytceniu telegramu wysłanego przez Alberta Zimmermana – wiceministra spraw zagranicznych Niemiec, w którym napisano:

Berlin, 19 I 1917 r. Z dniem 1 lutego zamierzamy rozpocząć nieograniczoną wojnę okrętami podwodnymi. Będziemy się starali pomimo to utrzymać Stany Zjednoczone Ameryki w stanie neutralności. Gdybyśmy nie zdołali tego osiągnąć, proponujemy Meksykowi sojusz na następujących warunkach: wspólne prowadzenie wojny, wspólne zawarcie pokoju. Udzielimy ogólnego finansowego wsparcia i jest zrozumiałe, że Meksyk odzyska swoje utracone terytoria w Nowym Meksyku, Teksasie i Arizonie (Brogan [1985] 2004: 523).

Udział w wojnie był więc dla Stanów obroną interesu narodowego i terytorialnego. Zadać można pytanie, czy I wojna światowa aby na pewno była odejściem od stosowanej przez Stany Zjednoczone odmiany izolacjонизmu, czy też wręcz przeciwnie – konsekwentnym działaniem wedle tego właśnie kierunku polityki. Z końcem wojny zainteresowanie Stanów kontynentem europejskim wróciło do punktu wyjścia. Uporano się bowiem z zagrożeniem „bezpośrednio dotyczącym Stanów Zjednoczonych” (Winid 1992: 129). Z tego też powodu Kongres USA odmówił ratyfikacji paktu Ligii Narodów (Pacuła 2011: 115–116), która miała być gwarantem pokoju światowego; utworzona została zresztą z inicjatywy Woodrowa Wilsona, ówczesnego prezydenta Stanów Zjednoczonych (Brogan [1985] 2004: 528).

I wojna światowa zmieniła jednak sposób postrzegania Stanów Zjednoczonych przez resztę państw. USA, będące czynnikiem, który zadecydował o zwycięstwie ententy, potwierdziły swój mocarstwowy status. Ten swoisty pokaz siły stworzył obraz Stanów Zjednoczonych jako jednego z najmocniejszych graczy w światowych rozgrywkach politycznych (Pacuła 2011: 116).

## II wojna światowa i okres zimnej wojny – USA jako gwarant pokoju

150

W obliczu tak rozległego i intensywnego konfliktu USA nie mogły pozostać obojętne, tym bardziej, że już po I wojnie światowej politycy tego kraju byli podzieleni w kwestii trzymania się wcześniejszego stanowiska izolacjonizmu lub aktywnego uczestnictwa w światowej polityce (Michałek 1992). Mimo to decyzja o przystąpieniu do II wojny światowej nie nastąpiła od razu, bo dopiero 7 grudnia 1941, kiedy to Japonia zaatakowała amerykański port Pearl Harbor (Bielski, Trąba 2003a: 257), toteż ponownie miało miejsce bezpośrednie zagrożenie terytorialne. Jednak już wcześniej Stany podejmowały kroki w kierunku pomocy państwom alianckim. Dowodem na to jest np. ustanowienie „Lend-Lease” z 11 marca 1941 roku, uprawniająca prezydenta USA do sprzedaży, wymiany bądź dzierżawy militariów na rzecz Wielkiej Brytanii (Brogan [1985] 2004: 613). Następnym krokiem było utworzenie Karty Atlantyckiej 14 sierpnia 1941 roku. Jej twórcami byli prezydent USA Franklin Delano Roosevelt oraz premier Wielkiej Brytanii Winston Churchill (Kwiecień 1992a: 25). Miała ona określać wspólne cele polityki obu mocarstw zarówno podczas wojny, jak i po jej zakończeniu. Z czasem dopisały się do niej i inne państwa koalicji antyhitlerowskiej (Kwiecień 1992b: 233).

II wojna światowa była punktem, po którym Stany Zjednoczone nigdy już nie miały powrócić do wcześniejszej prowadzonej polityki izolacji. W latach 1940–1944 ich PKB wzrósł o ponad połowę. W roku 1945 USA wytwarzaly blisko połowę światowej produkcji przemysłowej (van Creveld [2006] 2008: 214). Stany Zjednoczone stały się supermocarstwem. Jako jedna z wiodących światowych potęg USA stały się jednym z tych państw, które miały zadecydować o kształcie przeszłości nie tylko swojej, ale i całego globu (Pacuła 2011: 116–117). Z tej pozycji nie było już odwrotu, zwłaszcza w obliczu innego kraju o porównywalnej sile, do tego z ekspansywnymi skłonnościami. Mowa tu oczywiście o Związkach Radzieckich.

### Interwencja nowym standardem

Theoretycznie za utrzymanie pokoju miała być odpowiedzialna Organizacja Narodów Zjednoczonych powołana 24 października 1945 (Roszkowski 2003: 15). Jednak jako najpotężniejsze państwo „świata Zachodu” faktycznym gwarantem względnego bezpieczeństwa były Stany Zjednoczone.

ZSRR sukcesywnie działał w celu poszerzenia swoich stref wpływów, nie ukrywając zresztą swoich zamiarów jeszcze podczas trwania konfliktu, czego dowodem jest m.in. konferencja jałtańska 4–11 lutego 1945 (Roszkowski 2003: 13). Negocjacje z państwem, którego jednym z głównych „punktów programowych” jest ekspansja ideologiczna, z góry skazane były na niepowodzenie, toteż podział na strefy wpływów oraz walka o przesunięcie tych stref stały się faktem. Jak powiedział Churchill w 1946 roku, świat podzielony został „żelazną kurtyną” (Brogan [1985] 2004: 645).

USA szybko określili kształt swojej polityki zagranicznej za sprawą następujących po sobie doktryn, będących wyrazem przyjętej przez Stany Zjednoczone polityki *cointainment* (pol. powstrzymywania – chodziło o powstrzymywanie wpływów komunizmu) (Roszkowski 2003: 30–31). Były to doktryna Trumana (1947), doktryna Eisenhowera (1957), doktryna Johnsona (1965). Każda kolejna doktryna była oficjalnym poszerzeniem poprzedniej, wszystkie miały na celu *cointainment*, powstrzymywanie wpływów ZSRR, pociągając za sobą szereg interwencji m.in. w Grecji, Korei czy na

Kubie. Niejednokrotnie *cointainment* stosowano za wszelką cenę, np. w przypadku wojny wietnamskiej (van Creveld [2006] 2008: 272–273).

Wraz z upadkiem „żelaznej kurtyny” USA skupiły się na ideologicznym polu demokratyzacji. Greg Grandin (2014), profesor historii z New York University, napisał w jednym ze swoich artykułów, że właśnie demokratyzacja stała się głównym wytłumaczeniem ingerencji USA w konflikty niemające już na celu walki z komunizmem. Wedle jego słów cały proces zaczął się już podczas operacji w Panamie w roku 1989, prowadząc następnie np. do konfliktu w Zatoce Perskiej w roku 1990 (Grandin 2014) czy na Bliskim Wschodzie (lata 80. do dziś) (Grossman 2014). Dodatkowo USA, jako członek NATO i ONZ, nie stroniły od uczestnictwa w akcjach zbrojnych angażujących siły tych organizacji. Przykładem jest zaangażowanie Sojuszu Północnoatlantyckiego w konflikt na Balkanach w latach 1993–1999 (Roszkowski 2003: 493–498) czy sił ONZ w wojnę domową w Somalii (1993). Po zamachu na World Trade Center z 11 września 2001 roku interwencja na obszarach państw takich jak Irak czy Afganistan mogła zostać łatwo uzasadniona. Stany Zjednoczone rozpoczęły szeroko zakrojoną wojnę z terroryzmem (van Creveld [2006] 2008: 303–309).

Nastawiona na interweniowanie postawa USA zdobyć mogła zarówno zwolenników, jak i przeciwników. W Stanach Zjednoczonych widać można zarówno obrońcę wolności i demokracji, jak i „żandarma narodów” kontrolującego światowy układ sił (oraz surowców).

### **USA dzisiaj – powrót do izolacjonizmu?**

Patrząc na Stany Zjednoczone dzisiaj, nie sposób nie odnieść wrażenia, że mamy do czynienia z wycofywaniem się USA z polityki interwencji. Tendencja ta utrzymuje się od pierwszej kadencji Barracka Obamy. Przykładami są m.in. wycofywanie sił z Bliskiego Wschodu (Chaber 2013; Bell 2015) czy brak realnego wsparcia dla sojuszników (postępująca dominacja Chin na Morzu Południowochińskim oraz ich roszczenia wobec Japonii) (Gwiazda 2014).

Z najbardziej aktualnych zdarzeń można przytoczyć ograniczone działania podjęte przez gabinet Obamy w sprawie Krymu i Ukrainy (Nowak), a także praktyczny brak zainteresowania sytuacją w Afryce, gdzie mają miejsce masowe ludobójstwa chrześcijan (Greenfield 2014).

Bret Stephens, amerykański dziennikarz i zdobywca nagrody Pulitzer, w swojej książce *America in Retreat: The New Isolationism and the Coming Global Disorder* twierdzi, iż dzisiejsze USA krok po kroku powracają do polityki izolacjonizmu, zaś brak aktywnego uczestnictwa Stanów Zjednoczonych w światowej polityce może spowodować chaos na tym polu (Stephens 2014). Mając na uwadze rolę USA w kształtowaniu światowej polityki w ostatnich dziesięcioleciach, nie sposób nie przyznać mu racji.

### **Literatura**

- Bartrnicki, Andrzej, Krzysztof Michałek, Izabella Rusinowa (1992) *Encyklopedia historii Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki*. Warszawa: Egmont Morex.
- Bielski, Lech, Mariusz Trąba (2003a) „Japoński atak na Pearl Harbor”. [W:] *Tablice Historyczne*. Warszawa: Świat Książki; 257.

- Bielski, Lech, Mariusz Trąba (2003b) „Lata 1789/1795–1919”. [W:] *Tablice Historyczne*. Warszawa: Świat Książki; 154.
- Brogan, Hugh (1985 [2004]) *Historia Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki*. Tłum. Elżbieta Macauley. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Creveld, Martin van ([2006] 2008) *Zmienne oblicze wojny, od Marny do Iraku*. Tłum. Jak Szkudliński. Poznań: Rebis.
- Kwiecień, Zbigniew (1992a) „Atlantycka Karta”. [W:] Andrzej Bartnicki, Krzysztof Michałek, Izabella Rusinowa. *Encyklopedia historii Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki*. Warszawa: Egross Morex; 25.
- Kwiecień, Zbigniew (1992b) „Paryski Traktat Pokojowy 1989”. [W:] Andrzej Bartnicki, Krzysztof Michałek, Izabella Rusinowa. *Encyklopedia historii Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki*. Warszawa: Egross Morex; 233.
- Michałek, Krzysztof (1992) „Stany Zjednoczone w I Wojnie Światowej”. [W:] Andrzej Bartnicki, Krzysztof Michałek, Izabella Rusinowa. *Encyklopedia historii Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki*. Warszawa: Egross Morex; 350–353.
- Mularska-Andziak, Lidia (1992) „Meksykańska kampania graniczna”. [W:] Andrzej Bartnicki, Krzysztof Michałek, Izabella Rusinowa. *Encyklopedia historii Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki*. Warszawa: Egross Morex; 276.
- Pacuła, Przemysław (2011) „Symptomy neoizolacjonizmu w USA”. [W:] *Bezpieczeństwo Narodowe* 19; 115–128.
- Parafianowicz, Halina (1992) „Roosevelta uzupełnienie doktryny Monroe”. [W:] Andrzej Bartnicki, Krzysztof Michałek, Izabella Rusinowa. *Encyklopedia historii Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki*. Warszawa: Egross Morex; 276.
- Pieszczachowicz, Jan (red.) (2003) „Izolacjonizm”. [W:] *Popularna encyklopedia powszechna*. Kraków: Fogra Oficyna Wydawnicza; 630.
- Roszkowski, Wojciech (2003) *Półwiecze, historia polityczna świata po 1945 roku*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Rusinowa, Izabella (1992) „Monroe Doctrine”. [W:] Andrzej Bartnicki, Krzysztof Michałek, Izabella Rusinowa. *Encyklopedia historii Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki*. Warszawa: Egross Morex; 206.
- Stephens, Bret (2014) *America in Retreat: The New Isolationism and the Coming Global Disorder*. New York: Sentinel.
- Winid, Bogusław (1992) „Izolacjonizm”. [W:] Andrzej Bartnicki, Krzysztof Michałek, Izabella Rusinowa. *Encyklopedia historii Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki*. Warszawa: Egross Morex; 129.

### Źródła internetowe

- Bell, Zachary (2015) „The End of an Era”. [W:] <[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/zachary-bell/helmand-province-withdrawal\\_b\\_6096220.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/zachary-bell/helmand-province-withdrawal_b_6096220.html)> [DW 29.06.2015].
- Chaber, Wojciech (2013) „10 lat po wojnie w Iraku”. [W:] <<http://www.politykaglobalna.pl/2013/03/10-lat-po-wojnie-w-iraku/>> [DW 29.06.2015].
- Grandin, Greg (2014) „How the Iraq War Began in Panama”. [W:] <[http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/175937/tomgram%3A\\_greg\\_grandin,\\_how\\_the\\_iraq\\_war\\_began\\_in\\_panama/](http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/175937/tomgram%3A_greg_grandin,_how_the_iraq_war_began_in_panama/)> [DW 29.06.2015].
- Greenfield, Daniel (2014) „Christian Blood on Obama’s Hands”. [W:] <http://www.ruthfullyyours.com/2012/04/02/daniel-greenfield-christian-blood-on-obamas-hands/> [DW 29.06.2015].
- Grossman, Zoltan (2014) „From Wounded Knee to Syria: A Century of U.S. Military Interventions”. [W:] <<http://academic.evergreen.edu/g/grossmaz/interventions.html>> [DW 29.06.2015].
- Gwiazda, Adam (2014) „Rywalizacja Chin i Japonii w regionie Azji Wschodniej”. [W:] <<http://geopolityka.net/rywalizacja-chin-i-japonii-w-regionie-azji-wschodniej/>> [DW 29.06.2015].

„Izolacjonizm” [W:] *Słownik pojęć i organizacji międzynarodowych*. [W:] <<http://www.stosunkimiedzynarodowe.info/haslo,izolacjonizm>> [DW 29.06.2015].

Lemoine, Maurice (2007) „Objawione przeznaczenie Wuja Sama”. Tłum. Marcin Starnawski. [W:] *Le Monde diplomatique* 4 (14). [W:] <<http://monde-diplomatique.pl/LMD14/index.php?id=4>> [DW 29.06.2015].

Nowak, Agnieszka „Polityka USA wobec rosyjskiej agresji na Krymie”. [W:] <<http://www.diplomacja.org/index.php/pl/osmsz/83-omsz/220-polityka-usa-wobec-rosyjskiej-ekspansji-na-krymie.html>> [DW 29.06.2015].

*Academic  
Journal  
of  
Modern  
Philology*

ALEKSANDER SZWEDEK

Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu

e-ISSN 2353-3218  
ISSN 2299-7164  
Vol. 4 (2015)  
155–173

## **Podobne habilitacje – różne oceny – różne zakończenia**

### **Abstract**

### **Similar Post-Doctoral Degrees, Different Opinions, Different Endings**

The following article addresses two reviews of post-doctoral publications, both of which are scandalous on formal and substantive levels. The key elements related to the issue are the same person (professor), acting both as a reviewer in one case, and as a committee chair in the other, along with two dramatically different final decisions concerning both post-doctoral applications.

This review seeks to address two articles by Anna Bączkowska and a monograph by Dorota Zielińska-Długosz. Aside from a substantive evaluation, I address the issue of ethical conduct in relation to “Kodeks etyki pracownika naukowego” PAN (Polish Academy of Sciences Scolar’s Ethics Code). The ground of professional ethics is important not only in relation to both authors’ publications, but also to the process of post-doctoral degree procedure.

*Keywords:* ethics, post-doctoral degree, review Dorota Zielińska-Długosz, Anna Bączkowska, Piotr Stalmaszczyk.

Poniżej przedstawiam dwie recenzje opracowań habilitacyjnych, które łączy podobnie skandaliczny poziom merytoryczny i formalny oraz jedna osoba biorąca udział w obu przewodach (prof. dr hab. Piotr

Stalmaszczyk), a różni skrajna ocena przez osoby i ciała opiniujące oraz inne końcowe rozwiązanie<sup>1</sup>. Pewnym zaskakującym elementem jest to, że prof. Stalmaszczyk miał różne zdania w podobnie kompromitujących przypadkach – to prawda, że występował w nieco innych rolach – raz jako przewodniczący komisji, a drugi raz jako recenzent, co jednak, według mnie, nie zmienia istoty sprawy.

Moje recenzje dotyczą książki i dwóch artykułów Anny Bączkowskiej oraz książki Doroty Zielińskiej(-Długosz). Poza oceną merytoryczną w obu recenzjach odwołuję się także do „Kodeksu etyki pracownika naukowego” PAN, nie tylko w odniesieniu do prac Autorek, ale także przy okazji do procesu recenzowania. Tego ostatniego dotyczy następujący zapis Kodeksu: „Do szczególnie rażących naruszeń rzetelności należy wystawianie fałszywej recenzji rozpraw doktorskich, habilitacyjnych” (pkt 4.1.). Jak wykażę poniżej, ta uwaga dotyczy recenzji prac Anny Bączkowskiej.

### Recenzja prac Anny Bączkowskiej na temat kognitywnej analizy przyimków angielskich

#### Wprowadzenie

O publikację poniższej recenzji prac Anny Bączkowskiej (dorobek habilitacyjny), z odniesieniem do „Kodeksu etyki pracownika naukowego” PAN, zwróciłem się w drugiej połowie 2013 roku do dwóch redakcji. Jedna odmówiła natychmiast bez uzasadnienia. W drugiej redakcji, Biuletynu Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego, Redaktor Naczelny najpierw z entuzjazmem ją przyjął, ale po około dwóch miesiącach odpowiedział, że jej nie opublikuje, ponieważ została opublikowana wcześniej w *Kwartalniku Neofilologicznym*. Była to oczywiście tylko wymówka, ponieważ już w pierwszym mailu uprzedzałem redaktora, że jedną recenzję po polsku już w *KN* opublikowałem, ale była to inna recenzja, ponieważ niniejsza została bardzo rozszerzona o elementy odwołujące się do „Kodeksu etyki pracownika naukowego” PAN. Jak wykazuje licznik komputerowy, poniższa recenzja jest dwa razy obszerniejsza (prawie 4382 wyrazów) od tej w *KN* (2142). Nie śmiem wiązać tego odrzucenia z faktem, że w tym czasie członkiem zarządu PTJ w latach 2011–2014 była koleżanka p. Bączkowskiej z UKW, prof. Małgorzata Święcicka. Natomiast jednym z członków Komitetu Redakcyjnego BPTJ był prof. Stalmaszczyk, dziekan Wydziału Filologicznego UŁ, który rekomendował opisany poniżej dorobek jako „znaczny wkład w rozwój językoznawstwa”. Pewno bez znaczenia jest też fakt, że jedną z recenzentek była prof. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, promotor doktoratu p. Bączkowskiej i wieloletnia szefowa Instytutu Anglistyki, w którym pracowała i pracuje prof. Stalmaszczyk. Dziekan Stalmaszczyk był przewodniczącym Komisji Wydziałowej ds. tejże habilitacji i rekomendował jej przyjęcie, ignorując moje fundamentalne uwagi, a koncentrując się na zdawkowych recenzjach pozytywnych, których autorzy najpewniej tej książki nie czytali. Pod koniec roku 2014 nowa redakcja BPTJ również odmówiła opublikowania niniejszej recenzji, „chcąc uszanować decyzję poprzedniej redakcji”. Profesor Stalmaszczyk jest od września 2014 roku członkiem zarządu Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego. Odrzucenie mojej recenzji potraktowałem jako ograniczenie wolności dyskusji akademickiej i w tej sytuacji wystąpiłem z tego towarzystwa, którego byłem członkiem od 1968 roku.

1 Procedura habilitacji Anny Bączkowskiej została zakończona pozytywnie, a Doroty Zielińskiej-Długosz negatywnie.

### Pozycje recenzowane

Książka: *Space, Time, and Language: A Cognitive Analysis of English Prepositions* (Przestrzeń, czas i język: kognitywna analiza przyimków angielskich). 2011. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego.

Artykuły:

„Kognitywna analiza angielskiego przyimka *at* oraz jej implikacje pedagogiczne”. 2003. *Języki Obce w Szkole* 4: 12–19.

„Schematy wyobrażeniowe przyimka *in*: implikacje pedagogiczne”. 2003. *Języki Obce w Szkole* 5: 3–6.

Tak książka, jak i artykuły są częścią dorobku ocenianego w procedurze habilitacyjnej<sup>2</sup>.

Jako podstawę niniejszej recenzji proponuję przyjąć dwa dokumenty: Art. 17.1. ustawy o stopniach naukowych mówiący, że „Rozprawa habilitacyjna powinna stanowić **znaczący wkład autora w rozwój określonej dyscypliny** naukowej lub artystycznej”, oraz „Kodeks etyki pracownika naukowego” PAN (2012), który wśród przewinień wymienia **niechlujność, niepoprawne cytowanie, nierzetelność, fabrykowanie i fałszowanie**. Te dwa ostatnie przewinienia kodeks określa jako „rażące” (punkt 4.1.). Pierwsze trzy przewinienia są oczywiste. Przyjmuję, że w językoznawstwie fabrykowanie dotyczy danych językowych, w przypadku recenzowanej pracy będzie to wymyślanie fikcyjnych znaczeń przyimków, znaczeń niemających żadnego uzasadnienia w rzeczywistości i w wyrażeniach językowych<sup>3</sup>. Natomiast fałszowanie dotyczy przede wszystkim przypadku poważnej, a jednocześnie niedorzecznej ingerencji w oryginalny tekst definicji słownikowej bez jakiegokolwiek tejże ingerencji zaznaczenia. Na pograniczu fałszerstwa, lub zwykłym fałszerstwem, są liczne przypadki wprowadzania nieistniejących w języku angielskim eksplikacji<sup>4</sup>.

Książkę o objętości trochę ponad 400 stron można podzielić na dwie części. Część pierwsza, prawie 300 stron, jest sprawozdawcza. Ta opisowa część nie wymaga szczegółowego komentarza, poza tym, że większość zawartych tam informacji jest dla właściwego tematu pracy zupełnie zbędna. Odzwierciedla to także rozdęta ponad miarę bibliografia zawierająca wiele pozycji zupełnie niezwiązanych z tematem, np. z neurologii (Mendole *et al.* 1999. „The representation of illusory and real contours in human cortical visual areas revealed by functional magnetic resonance imaging”), kosmologii (Harrison 2000. *Cosmology: the Science of the Universe*), czy biologii lub biochemii (Lumsden 2002. „Photoperiodism in plants”).

2 Dorobek (wymieniona na początku książki oraz artykuły) został przyjęty przez recenzentów wydawniczych (prof. prof. Barbarę Lewandowską-Tomaszczyk – UŁ i Romana Kalisza – WSJO w Świeciu), troje recenzentów habilitacyjnych (prof. prof. Barbarę Lewandowską-Tomaszczyk – UŁ, Elżbiętę Tabakowską – UJ i Henryka Kardelę – UMCS), Komisję Wydziałową i Radę Wydziału Filologicznego UŁ (uchwała z 26.04.2013 r.) jako „znaczący wkład w rozwój językoznawstwa”. Moja recenzja na 13 stron była skrajnie negatywna. Uchwała z 26.04.2013 r. została potwierdzona przez ww. Radę na przyjętym kolokwium habilitacyjnym 4.10.2013.

3 Swoje krytyczne uwagi konsultowałem z takimi znanymi zagranicznymi i krajowymi specjalistami, jak prof. prof. Ronald Langacker, Seth Lindstromberg, Francisco Ruiz de Mendoza, Renata Przybylska, Elżbieta Górska, Tomasz Krzeszowski i Maciej Grochowski. Wszyscy potwierdzili moją opinię i wydali zgodę na wymienienie ich w recenzji.

4 Kodeks przewiduje także, że „Popelnienie tych przewinień może przyczynić się do dyskwalifikacji ich sprawcy jako naukowca. Ich ujawnienie musi więc bezwzględnie prowadzić do wszczęcia postępowania dyscyplinarnego”. Moim zdaniem był to obowiązek dziekana po zapoznaniu się z moją recenzją, ale jakie były powody innego zakwalifikowania tej pracy, mogę się jedynie domyślać. Zamiast dyscyplinarki, p. Bączkowska za te wybitne dzieła została nagrodzona stanowiskiem profesor UKW.

W tej części Autorka przedstawia interpretację czasu i przestrzeni w różnych ujęciach: filozoficznym, antropologicznym, fizycznym, psychologicznym, socjologicznym, a nawet biologicznym. Są to rozważania eksperckie, które z postrzeganiem, pojmovaniem i wyrażaniem czasu i przestrzeni przez zwykłych ludzi nie mają nic wspólnego. Na przykład w rozdz. II punkty 3.1 i 3.2 opisują reakcje psychologiczne w sensie świadomości upływu czasu i biologiczne w zakresie np. fal alfa w mózgu. Punkt 3.3.1 opisuje „pojęcie czasu w związku z roślinami” i zwierzętami, natomiast punkt 3.4 odnosi się do odczucia wolniejszego lub szybszego upływu czasu w zależności od naszego stanu emocjonalnego, od temperatury ciała, brania używek (alkohol, środki uspokajające, środki znieczulające), choroby, wieku. Autorka nie przedstawiła jednak żadnych dowodów ani przykładów, jak te odczucia przekładają się na wyrażenia językowe dotyczące czasu i przestrzeni, w szczególności na wyrażenia z przyimkami, które stanowią główny temat pracy.

Oczywiście nie ma nic złego w przedstawieniu eksperckich ujęć z nauk ścisłych, ale zdecydowanie zostały zachwiane proporcje i ten opis teorii z nauk ścisłych pełni tu jedynie funkcję „wypełniacza”. Historii językoznawstwa poświęcono jedynie trzy strony.

Część druga poświęcona jest „nowatorskiej”, według autorki, metodologii zastosowania stożków czasoprzestrzeni Minkowskiego do analizy przyimków i samej „kognitywnej” ich analizie. Zaczynę od przedstawienia zastrzeżeń merytorycznych ogólnych oraz bardziej szczegółowo tych, które można, zgodnie z Kodeksem etyki PAN, podciągnąć pod rażące przewinienia, a mianowicie **fabrykowanie**<sup>5</sup> danych językowych i **fałszowanie**.

Stożkom czasoprzestrzeni Minkowskiego poświęca Autorka około 30 stron (m.in. 287–291 i 310–315). Reszta to analiza przyimków angielskich, szczególnie *in* ('w'), *at* ('przy') i *on* ('na'), ale nie ma tam żadnych przykładów na użycie przyimków w stosunku do czasoprzestrzeni jako odrębnego wymiaru. Problemowi stożków Minkowskiego nie chcę poświęcać w tym miejscu więcej uwagi, gdyż Autorka nie wykazała żadnego ich związku z językoznawstwem, uważam jednak za konieczne dodać, że jako fałsz traktuję jej twierdzenie, że zastosowanie stożków Minkowskiego to „nowatorska metodologia”. Na s. 288 Autorka pisze, że „[...] dalecy jesteśmy od twierdzenia, że użycie języka może być opisane przy pomocy praw fizyki”. Nie jest w tym twierdzeniu oryginalna. Przy dogłębnej, jak zakładam, lekturze dzieł Langackera nie dostrzegła jego uwagi z 1987 roku, że „rygorystyczna formalizacja jest niedorzeczną nadzieję” (Langacker 1987: 33). Na kolejnej stronie (289) Autorka wyjawia prawdziwy cel zastosowania tych stożków w następujący sposób: „Nasza metodologia to taka, która poszukuje zintegrowanego opisu domen przestrzennej i czasowej, wartości aksjologicznych [???, czyli wartości wartościujących!] i wewnętrznej struktury zdarzenia. Innymi słowy, chcemy upakować maksymalną ilość właściwości w jednym tylko diagramie”.

Fałsz polega tutaj na tym, że najpierw Bączkowska twierdzi, że jest to nowatorska metodologia w analizie przyimków, a następnie, że nie można jej zastosować do językoznawstwa. Fałszerstwem jest też zapowiedź, że „upakowanie maksymalnej ilości właściwości w jednym diagramie” jest jakąś metodologią; jest jedynie zabiegiem czysto graficznym. Co więcej, fałszerstwem jest ta zapowiedź także dlatego, że żadnego takiego „upakowania” Bączkowska w ogóle nawet nie próbowała przedstawić.

Przypomnę, że wybrane prace dotyczą kognitywnej analizy przyimków angielskich, a przede wszystkim *at* ('przy'), *on* ('na') i *in* ('w'), chociaż także *of* (sygnalizuje posiadanie, ale także może być tłumaczony jako 'od'), *from* ('od', 'z(e)' szkoły), *off* ('z(e)' stołu) i *with* ('z' kimś). Prace te mają mało wspólnego

5 Wszystkie wytłuszczenia i podkreślenia są moje – A. S.

z nauką w ogóle, a z językoznawstwem kognitywnym i analizami językowymi w szczególności. Co więcej, Autorka ma poważne braki w znajomości podstaw gramatyki języka angielskiego. Oto przykłady:

Autorka w ogóle nie rozumie, co to jest hipoteza. Tak opisuje **hipotezę nr 4: „H<sub>4</sub>: Istnieją struktury, które pozwalają na więcej niż jeden przyimek, a wybór przyimka w danej strukturze zależy od intencji mówcy oraz jego pragmatycznych celów”**.

„Hipoteza” ta jest fałszerstwem przynajmniej z dwóch powodów. Po pierwsze, przedstawia zwykłe obserwacje znane od stuleci jako hipotezę (pierwsza część tej „hipotezy” – por. Quirk *et al.* 1985, np. s. 675 i następne; druga część tej „hipotezy” – por. całą pragmatykę, może w szczególności de Beaugrande i Dressler 1980, rozdz. VI, oraz Maksymy Grice'a i Teoria Aktów Mowy). Nigdzie jednak dalej Autorka tej „hipotezy” nie uzasadnia.

Po drugie, nie podając żadnych odsyłaczy, fałszywie sugeruje, że jest to jej własna „hipoteza”.

O ignorancji Bączkowskiej podstaw językoznawstwa świadczy definicja terminu **polisemia**, którą przedstawia jako „**dwa sensy wyrazu [...]**” (2011: 241). Trudno sobie wyobrazić, żeby na poziomie habilitacji Autorka nie rozumiała znaczenia członu ‘poli-’.

Niekompetencję autorki w zakresie kognitywistyki widać w przypisaniu Lakoffowi i Johnsonowi (1980) metafory koncepcyjnej **CZAS TO SUBSTANCJA** jako metafory strukturalnej. Autorzy ci, jak zresztą wielu innych, jednoznacznie piszą, że jest to metafora ontologiczna. Jest to szkoła podstawowa językoznawstwa kognitywnego (Lakoff i Johnson 1980: 66).

Podobny brak jakiekolwiek refleksji kognitywistycznej widać w przeinaczeniu tytułu książki Krzeszowskiego. Autorka zmieniła ten tytuł *z Anioły i diabły w piekle* ('Angels and Devils in Hell') na *Anioły, diabły w piekle* ('Angels, Devils in Hell'). Wersja tytułu Bączkowskiej jest zupełnie bezsensowna w konfrontacji z tekstem książki Krzeszowskiego. Gotów byłbym uznać to za zwykłą pomyłkę, jednakże takich przykładów niekompetencji, bezmyślności i zwykłego niechlujstwa jest zbyt wiele, aby je uznać za przypadkowe. Autorka po prostu zupełnie nie rozumie ani nie kontroluje tego, co pisze.

Chociaż Bączkowska deklaruje, że jednym z filarów jej analiz jest teoria Langackera (1987), szybko rezygnuje z jego konwencji notacyjnej na rzecz tradycyjnych eksplikacji, niestety, najczęściej sfabrykowanych przez nią samą i całkowicie bezsensownych. Na s. 299 pisze, że „przyimek *on* ('na') implikuje wolniejszy ruch niż *at* ('przy'), i że *at* ('przy') „wskazuje na szybki ruch”, a *on* ('na') „wskazuje na wolny ruch (lub jego brak)... Do czasowników wyrażających szybki ruch Autorka zalicza np. *nibble* ('skubać'), *sip* ('sączyć'). Wynika z tego jednoznacznie, że do rzeczywistości Bączkowskiej nie należy powolne sączenie wina (*sip at*), czy też powolne skubanie (*nibble at*) liści eukaliptusa przez misia koala”.

Natomiast czasowniki wyrażające wolny ruch lub jego brak to *lie* ('leżeć'), *accumulate* ('zbierać') itp. O ile brak ruchu w czasowniku 'leżeć' nie budzi wątpliwości, to znowu można wnosić, że 'szybkie zbieranie' (*accumulate*) jest niezgodne z rzeczywistością Bączkowskiej.

Taka interpretacja przyimków 'przy' i 'na' prowadzi do fałszywych, kompletnie absurdalnych wniosków, że jak się powie 'Siadaj przy stole', to to znaczy 'Siadaj szybko', a 'Siadaj na stole' znaczy 'Siadaj wolno'!?

Na s. 293 Bączkowska pisze, że przyimki *on* ('na') i *of* ('od') kodują tak znaczenia statyczne, jak i dynamiczne. Tak więc *of* w wyrażeniu *leg of the table* ('noga (od) stołu') ma znaczenie statyczne, a w wyrażeniu *in walking distance of Y* ('w odległości spaceru od Y') ma znaczenie dynamiczne. Autorka nie rozumie, że ta różnica wynika nie ze znaczeń przyimka *of*, ale z kontekstu, w drugim przypadku z dynamicznego charakteru czasownika. Wystarczy sięgnąć do gramatyki (np. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 177),

żeby znaleźć podział na czasowniki statyczne i dynamiczne, który to podział wyjaśnia wymienioną powyżej tezę Autorki bez absurdalnego wiążania jej z przyimkami.

Na s. 299 Autorka pisze: „Jak udowodniliśmy w poprzednich paragrafach, *on* [‘na’] [...] implikuje wolniejszy ruch niż *at* [‘przy’]”. Otóż Autorka niczego nie udowodniła, tylko coś takiego stwierdziła, a jak wykazałem powyżej, w dodatku fałszywie, ponieważ to nie przyimki wyrażają szybszy czy wolniejszy ruch, ale czasowniki z nimi występujące.

Bączkowska wprowadza czytelnika w błąd, pisząc fałszywie, że przyimek *on* (‘na’) „ilustruje fakty i zdarzenia o wysokim prawdopodobieństwie, jak w *The book is on the table* (‘Książka jest na stole’); a mianowicie, że „[...] prawdopodobnie książka była na stole minutę wcześniej i istnieje wysokie prawdopodobieństwo, że będzie tam przez pięć minut”! (2011: 342). Uważam to za świadome, skandaliczne fałszowanie, ponieważ nie wyobrażam sobie, żeby na poziomie habilitacji ktoś nie potrafił zanalizować najprostszego zdania angielskiego, i nie wiedział, że przyimek ‘na’ określa przestrzenną relację między książką a stołem, a wykładnikiem znaczenia, które Bączkowska przypisuje przyimkowi ‘na’, jest teraźniejsza forma czasownika *is* (‘jest’). Taka interpretacja jest znana od wieków i dotyczy podstawowej znajomości gramatyki angielskiej i innych języków. Czas ten jest opisywany jako *generic* (ogólny) (Jespersen 1931), *timeless* (bezczasowy) (Twaddell 1940), *most general and unmarked* (najbardziej ogólny i nienacechowany) (Quirk *et al.* 1985). Informacje takie można też znaleźć w podręcznikach dla szkół podstawowych i wielu miejscach w Internecie.

Takie same interpretacje można znaleźć dla języka polskiego (Wróbel 2001). Tak więc w podanym wyżej przykładzie ‘Książka jest na stole’ to forma czasownika ‘jest’ wyraża to, co Bączkowska przypisuje fałszywie i bezsensownie przyimkowi ‘na’.

W związku z przyimkiem ‘na’ Bączkowska stwierdza także (2011: 332), że „**przestrzeń rozchodzi się we wszystkich kierunkach albo dwóch kierunkach, tak jak w *na podłodze* [wszystkie kierunki] w przeciwieństwie do *na plaży* [dwa kierunki??]**”! Nie podaje przy tym żadnego uzasadnienia tej kompletnie niedorzecznej, niezgodnej z rzeczywistością tezy.

Z innych przyimków, według Bączkowskiej, **przyimek *from* (‘od’, ‘z’)** wskazuje na przyciąganie (*attraction*) (2011: 318), z czego wynika, że możliwe byłoby zdanie \*‘Przyciągam Cię OD siebie’! Jest to absurdalna teza, niezgodna nie tylko, i przede wszystkim, ze zdrowym rozsądkiem, ale także z analizą wybitnych jazykoznawców, takich jak Lindstromberg ([1998] 2010), który analizuje przyimek *from* (‘od’) w kategoriach oddzielania (*separation*), czy Talmy (1988), który pisze o tym przyimku w kategoriach ruchu OD przedmiotu.

**Natomiast według Bączkowskiej przyimek *at* (‘przy’)** oznacza odpychanie! (2011: 318). Autorka ilustruje to znaczenie przykładem *I was delighted at your news* (‘Byłem zachwycony Twoją informacją’) (2011: 307), czyli **zachwyt oznacza odpychanie!!!** Autorka traktuje formę *delighted* (‘zachwycony’) jako formę czasownika (2011: 16: *delight at*), choć słownik *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* podaje, że jest to przymiotnik, a żaden z dużych słowników, w tym największy *Oxford English Dictionary*, nie odnotowuje wyrażenia *delight at* jako formy czasownikowej.

Przyimek *off* (‘z’, ‘ze’) oznacza według Bączkowskiej (2011: 405) nagłość i raptowność (*suddenness and abruptness*), np. *zoom off*. Autorka nie rozumie i chyba nawet nie sprawdziła w słowniku, że to czasownik *zoom* znaczy ‘pognąć’, ‘śmignąć’ (raptownie, nagle), natomiast przyimek *off* znaczy ‘z’, ‘od’ i występuje także w *crawl off*, *slither off* (‘spełznąć’, ‘zczołgać się’), *put off* (‘odłożyć’), *take off* (‘zdjąć’ np. płaszcz), które żadnej nagłości i raptowności nie wyrażają.

Mimo własnych zastrzeżeń Bączkowskiej („[...] dalecy jesteśmy od twierdzenia, że użycie języka może być opisane przy pomocy praw fizyki” (2011: 288)) oraz ostrzeżeń Langackera, że „rygorystyczna formalizacja jest niedorzeczną nadzieję” (1987: 33), Autorka jest najwyraźniej zafascynowana naukami ścisłymi, fizyką i matematyką. Zastosowanie teorii zbiorów (do teorii Minkowskiego odniosę się jeszcze w dalszej części recenzji) do analizy przyimków *in* (‘w’) i *with* (‘z’) Autorka ilustruje dwoma przykładami:

- *Tom can't stop talking about the woman in ribbons he met at John's party yesterday.*  
('Tomek nie może przestać rozmawiać o kobiecie **we wstążkach**, którą spotkał wczoraj na przyjęciu u Janka?');
- *Tom can't stop talking about the woman with ribbons he met at John's party yesterday.*  
('Tomek nie może przestać rozmawiać o kobiecie **z wstążkami**, którą spotkał wczoraj na przyjęciu u Janka') (2011: 307).

Ważne są tu wyrażenia ‘kobieta we wstążkach’ i ‘kobieta z wstążkami’. Wyjaśniając znaczenie wyrażenia ‘kobieta we wstążkach’, Bączkowska podaje następującą formułę:

„(dla (7)  $\bar{1} \text{ lm } (., \text{tr})$  jest elementem (*member*) zbioru „lm”)” (2011: 309), gdzie tr = kobieta, lm = wstążki. Po podstawieniu wyrażeń językowych otrzymujemy następującą formułę:  
‘dla (7) [wyrażenie ‘kobieta we wstążkach’], tr [kobieta]  $\bar{1}$  [jest podzbiorem] lm [wstążki].

W przełożeniu na język potoczny ‘kobieta jest jakimś rodzajem wstążki’. To samo dotyczy wyrażenia ‘kobieta w okularach’. Tego bezsensu nie warto nawet komentować.

Przytoczone powyżej fakty świadczą dobrze o tym, że Bączkowska nie ma pojęcia o nauce, metodologii, analizie językowej i o samym języku angielskim, jej eksplikacje są całkowicie sfabrykowane i sfałszowane.

Równie skandalicznie niechlujna i nierzetelna jest strona formalna książki. Oto kilka przykładów z ich wręcz niezliczonej ilości.

Bibliografia liczy ok. 550 nazwisk, a bezpośrednio po bibliografii następuje Indeks autorów z 77 nazwiskami! Czy reszta z tych 550 osób to nie są autorzy?

W bibliografii panuje całkowity chaos. Brakuje prac autorów wspomnianych w tekście, w którym wymienia się ich bez daty i stron, np. Mach (2011: 25), Meinong (2011: 254), Pylyshyn (2011: 44), Twardowski (2011: 367), Vygotsky (2011: 36: brak daty, choć jest w Indeksie). Nazwisko Paivio pojawia się na s. 44 z datą, ale nie ma go ani w bibliografii, ani w indeksie autorów; podobnie Klebanowska 1971 (2011: 207, 281), Weisenberg 1973 (2011: 207, 281), Strugiecka 2005 (2011: 210). Strugiecka 2000 jest w Bibliografii po Surwillu. Znalazłem także różnice w datach w tekście i w bibliografii, np. na s. 32 jest Bowerman 2001, a w bibliografii 2007, natomiast w pracy z 2001 to nazwisko pojawia się we współautorstwie z Choi. Twardowski (2011: 367) pojawia się bez daty i brak go w bibliografii.

Na s. 24 znajduje się odwołanie do słów Huggetta (1999: 103), który w bibliografii figuruje jedynie jako redaktor cytowanej pracy:

Huggett, N. (ed.). 1997. *Space: From Zeno to Einstein*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT.

Pełny tytuł brzmi *Space from Zeno to Einstein. Classic Readings with a Contemporary Commentary* (‘Przestrzeń: od Zenona do Einsteina. Klasyczne teksty ze współczesnym komentarzem’), ed. N. Huggett, The MIT Press. Wynika z tego zapisu, że Huggett jest także autorem komentarzy wybranych prac i taka informacja powinna się znaleźć w bibliografii, szczególnie kiedy cytuje się jego słowa jako autora tych komentarzy.

Na s. 288 Autorka powołuje się na pracę Catherine Fuchs z 1994, a w bibliografii Fuchs figuruje tylko jako współredaktorka, a nie autorka tekstu. Współredaktorem jest Bernard Victorri, a nie Vitorri.

Niezählone są drobne uchybienia, jak inna pisownia nazwiska w tekście pracy i w bibliografii (Bloch/Block, Zelinsky/Zielński, Cumre/Curme), pomyłki w pisowni (Grece zamiast Greece – s. 24), w tekście jest D. Live, a w bibliografii A. Live, czy też niejednorodne podawanie nazwisk – czasami bez imienia, czasami z imieniem, czasami tylko z inicjałem. Książka Tylera i Evansa (2003) jest wpisana w bibliografii dwa razy w dwóch różnych miejscach, natomiast książka Brentano jest wymieniona dwa razy w dwóch wersjach dat, Brentano, F. 1988 [1914] i Brentano, F. [1914] 1988. Brak także nazwiska tłumacza (Cezary Cieśliński) polskiej wersji (1999) książki Quine'a (1960).

Równie rażąca nierzetelnością jest też to, że chociaż jednym z filarów recenzowanej książki jest teoria stożków Hermanna Minkowskiego, jego prac nie ma w ogóle w bibliografii, z czego można wysnuć wniosek, że Autorka zna jego prace jedynie z opracowań, o czym świadczy opisany dalej przypadek przypisania słów Minkowskiego innym autorom.

Zapis w bibliografii:

**Aristotle. 1999. Physics. Oxford University Press.**

nie pozostawia żadnych wątpliwości, że oto jakiś nowy Arystoteles, w 1999 r., napisał po angielsku książkę pt. *Fizyka*, wydaną przez Oxford University Press.

Innym, podobnym rażący przypadkiem nierzetelności jest zmiana tytułu największego słownika angielskiego. W dziale ‘Słowniki’ w bibliografii w wersji Bączkowskiej tytuł tego największego słownika to w skrócie OUP, czyli Oxford University Press (**Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Oksfordzkiego jako tytuł słownika!!!**), który to skrót Autorka rozwija bezsensownie w *The Oxford University Press Dictionary*. Chodzi zapewne o *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) (‘Oksfordzki słownik angielski’) wydany przez Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Oksfordzkiego. To tak, jakby uznać za tytuł *Słownik Państwowego Wydawnictwa Naukowego* w odniesieniu do *Słownika poprawnej polszczyzny* wydanego przez PWN. Nie jest to jedyny przypadek niewłaściwego opisu słownika. Na s. 393, zamiast *Wielki słownik angielsko-polski: English-Polish Dictionary*, Autorka pisze *The Oxford-PWN dictionary* (‘Słownik Oxford-PWN’), podając nazwy wydawnictw zamiast tytułu.

W bibliografii w dziale ‘Słowniki’ brak jakiekolwiek informacji bibliograficznej (rok, wydanie).

Nie ma także w bibliografii jedynego korpusu, na który Autorka się powołuje w tekście – BNC ([The] British National Corpus).

Niechlujnie jest również skonstruowany Indeks rzeczowy. Są tam takie hasła jak ‘reprezentacja’, ‘mózg’, ‘pamięć’, a nie ma takich ważnych merytorycznie terminów jak *illativus*, *repulsion* (siła odpchania), *attraction* (siła przyciągania), itp.

Pod literą <s> w spisie rzecznym pojawia się termin *prosody*. Pomijając fakt, że *prosody* zaczyna się na <p>, a nie na <s>, oraz pytanie jaką rolę może prozodia pełnić w kognitywnej analizie przyimków, to zadziwiające jest to, że termin ten w ogóle nie pojawia się na podanych w indeksie stronach. Z podanych przez autorkę w indeksie 77 stron (w tym także stron bibliografii!?), na których ten termin rzekomo się pojawia, w rzeczywistości występuje tylko na czterech stronach w wyrażeniu *semantic prosody* (prozodia semantyczna). Pomijając niezgodność jej opisu ze współczesnym rozumieniem tego zjawiska (por. Louw 1993 i Sinclair 1991), zupełnie nie wiadomo, po co Bączkowska ten temat wywołuje, bo na s. 373 pisze, że „Ten problem [...] wybiega bardzo daleko poza zakres niniejszych badań”.

Przypadek szczególnie nieuczciwego cytowania znajduje się na ss. 286–287. Autorka pisze, że Hermann Minkowski wypowiedział następujące słowa: „Stąd sama przestrzeń i sam czas są skazane na

odejście w cień, i tylko jedność ich obu zachowa niezależną rzeczywistość". Po tym cytacie następuje odsyłacz: (Taylor i Wheeler 1992: 15), fałszywie przypisujący te słowa innym autorom. Taki zapis oraz brak prac Minkowskiego w bibliografii zmusza do wyciągnięcia tylko jednego wniosku, że Autorka prac Minkowskiego w ogóle nie czytała<sup>6</sup>, choć jego teoria jest jednym, przynajmniej według Autorki, z filarów tej pracy i „nowatorską metodologią”.

Przypadki niedorzecznych fabrykacji danych językowych, omówione w pierwszej części recenzji, znaleźć można także w innych pracach Bączkowskiej. W artykule „Kognitywna analiza angielskiego przyimka *at* oraz jej implikacje pedagogiczne” (2003a) Autorka pisze, że „Jak widać w przykładzie 6., *at* ('przy', 'w') występujące po *good* wyraża zwykle zdolności, tj. umiejętności praktyczne, co ilustruje również przykład 7: *He is good at taking photographs at night*” (2003a: 15). Przekładając to na język polski, w wyrażeniu *On jest dobry w koszykówkę* przyimek 'w' wyraża zdolności!

Są to artykuły na poziomie wypracowań szkolnych. Takim przykładem jest trzystronicowy artykuł „Schematy wyobrażeniowe przyimka *in*: implikacje pedagogiczne” (2003b), który składa się z kilku banalnych rysunków na wzór, który można znaleźć w każdym podstawowym podręczniku, z kilku przykładowych zdań, i prymitywnej, tautologicznej konkluzji, że „Postulowanym znaczeniem przyimka *w* przedstawionym w artykule jest inkluзja, a prototypowym schematem realizującym relację inkluзji jest schemat ‘pojemnika’” (2003b: 6) – i żadnych implikacji pedagogicznych. Natomiast sformułowanie „Postulowanym znaczeniem przyimka *w* przedstawionym w artykule [...]” sugeruje, że jest to oryginalny postulat Bączkowskiej. Wobec wielu wcześniejszych prac na ten temat za przejaw wyjątkowej megalomanii i wręcz arogancji należy uznać przedstawienie tego artykułu jako pracy naukowej, a potraktowanie go jako takiej przez recenzentów świadczy o ich niekompetencji i nieuczciwości.

Autorka sfałszowała także, w niedopuszczalny sposób, definicję ze słownika *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDOCE). W artykule pisze tak: „**Ograniczone zaangażowanie w opisywanie czynności:** [...] Schemat ograniczonego zaangażowania jest charakterystyczny dla czasowników opisujących jedzenie lub picie, takich jak: *sip* ['səççyç'], *gnaw* ['obgryzaç'], *zuç*], *pick* ['dłubaç'], *nibble* ['skubaç'], oraz wspomniany powyżej *peck* ['dziobaç']. **Wszystkie te czasowniki opisują jedzenie lub picie jako czynności, które wykonujemy niechętnie, wbrew naszej woli, bez przekonania lub powoli i ostrożnie** (LDOCE)” (Bączkowska 2003a: 15).

Podkreślone słowa nie są częścią definicji z tego słownika ani z żadnego innego. Jest to oczywiste fałszerstwo, ponieważ w treść hasła słownika Bączkowska wpisała swoje własne, zupełnie niedorzeczne słowa (podkreślone powyżej) jako część oryginalnej definicji. To tak jakby zaakceptować następujący tekst:

Litwo, Ojczyzno moja! ty jesteś jak zdrowie;  
Ile cię trzeba cenić, **niechętnie, wbrew naszej woli, bez przekonania**, ten tylko się dowie,  
Kto cię stracił. (Adam Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz*)

Uważam to za świadome fałszerstwo, ponieważ nie wyobrażam sobie, żeby na poziomie habilitacji ktoś nie wiedział, że oryginalnego tekstu nie można dowolnie zmieniać.

---

6 Na swoim profilu internetowym Autorka nie wymienia języka niemieckiego jako języka, który zna, ale nie sprawdziła, że prace Minkowskiego, szczególnie *Space and time* ('Przestrzeń i czas'), są dostępne w tłumaczeniu angielskim w Internecie.

Na zakończenie powtórzę jeszcze raz, że wszystkie te przykłady świadczą o skandalicznie kompromitującej ignorancji autorki w zakresie nauki i językoznawstwa, analizy językowej oraz samego języka angielskiego, a także wyjątkowym niechlujstwie formalnym. Twierdzenia Bączkowskiej są jedynie pseudonaukowym bełkotem, który niestety został **nieuczciwie** uznany przez większość recenzentów, Komisję Wydziałową pod przewodnictwem Dziekana oraz Radę Wydziału Filologicznego Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego za „znaczny wkład w rozwój językoznawstwa”.

Punkt 3.4.3. „Kodeksu etyki pracownika naukowego” tak pisze o recenzjach: „recenzje powinny być skrupulatne, dokładne i obiektywne, a oceny uzasadnione. Nieuzasadnione recenzje pozytywne są również naganne, jak nieuzasadnione recenzje negatywne”.

W opisywanym przypadku dotyczy to nie tylko recenzentów wydawniczych i habilitacyjnych, ale także całej Rady Wydziału, ponieważ do prawie każdego z ponad stu jej członków wystosowałem apel, w którym podałem w skrócie ww. fabrykacje i fałszerstwa i zwróciłem uwagę na kompromitującą nieuczciwy charakter uchwały uznającej ten dorobek za „znaczny wkład”.

Pani Bączkowska może sobie oczywiście pisać i publikować co Jej się żywnie podoba, ale przyjęcie takiej pracy jako „znacznego wkładu w rozwój językoznawstwa” jest skandaliczną kompromitacją recenzentów, Komisji ds. habilitacji i całej Rady Wydziału.

### Literatura

- Austin, John (1962) *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Awdiejew, Alelsiej (red.) (1999) *Gramatyka komunikacyjna*. Warszawa, Kraków. Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Beaugrande, Robert de (1978) „Information, Expectation, and Processing”. [W:] *Poetics* 7; 3–44.
- Beaugrande, Robert de, Wolfgang Dressler (1980) *Introduction to Text Linguistics*. London: Longman.
- Grice, Paul (1975) „Logic and Conversation”. [W:] Peter Cole, Jerry Morgan (red.) *Syntax and Semantics*. T. 3: *Speech Acts*. New York: Academic Press; 41–58.
- Jespersen, Otto ([1909–1949] 1961) *Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*. London, Copenhagen: Allen & Unwin, Einar Munksgaard.
- Jespersen, Otto (1931) *Essentials of English Grammar*. London. Routledge.
- Lakoff, George, Mark Johnson (1980) *Metaphors We Live by*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald (1987) *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. T. 1: *Theoretical Foundations*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Lindstromberg, Seth ([1998] 2010) *English Prepositions Explained*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Louw, Bill (1993) „Irony in the Text or Insincerity in the Writer? The Diagnostic Potential of Semantic Prosodies”. [W:] Mona Baker, Gill Francis, Elena Tognini-Bonelli (red.) *Text and Technology. In Honour of John Sinclair*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins; 157–176.
- Quirk, Randolph *et al.* (1985) *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.
- Searle, John (1969) *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sinclair, John M. (1991) *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Talmy, Leonard (1988) „Force Dynamics in Language and Cognition.” [W:] *Cognitive Science* 12; 49–100.
- Twaddell, William F. (1940) *The English Verb Auxiliaries*. Providence: Brown University Press.
- Wróbel, Henryk (2001) *Gramatyka języka polskiego*. Kraków: Od Nowa.

**Recenzja książki Doroty Zielińskiej *Proceduralny model języka. Językoznawstwo z pozycji teorii modeli nauk empirycznych.* 2007. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.**

Jak wynika ze strony internetowej Centralnej Komisji do Spraw Stopni i Tytułów, książka wymieniona w tytule została wydana w 2007 r., a po raz kolejny przedstawiona jako praca habilitacyjna w 2012 r. Znajdujemy tam także autoreferat Doroty Zielińskiej i recenzje prof. Macieja Grochowskiego (UMK), prof. Piotra Stalmaszczaka (UŁ) i dr. hab. Adama Wojtaszka (UŚ i WSF Wrocław). Ze strony tytułowej książki dowiadujemy się, że recenzentami wydawniczymi byli prof. Aleksy Awdiejew (UJ) i dr hab. Teresa Grabińska (filozof etyk<sup>7</sup>, prof. UZ i, według Internetu, prof. Wyższej Szkoły Oficerskiej Wojsk Lądowych we Wrocławiu).

Przypomnę na wstępie, że habilitacja została zgłoszona w zakresie językoznawstwa. Trudno mi się ustosunkować do roli prof. Grabińskiej, o której dokonaniach językowych nic mi nie wiadomo ani nie znalazłem niczego na ten temat w Internecie. Zakładam, że chodziło o opinię metodologiczną. Nie mam oczywiście nic przeciwko pracom multidyscyplinarnym, jednakże, jak wykażę poniżej, akurat rozprawa dr Zielińskiej takiej multidyscyplinarności nie wykazuje. Sam opis metodologii nauk przyrodniczych nie wystarcza, żeby uznać pracę za multidyscyplinarną. Natomiast wniosę szereg uwag pośrednich do kompetencji językowych i rzetelności prof. Awdiejewa<sup>8</sup>. Do recenzji habilitacyjnych dodam wiele swoich uwag pominiętych w tychże recenzjach.

Jak wykażę, książka ta nie tylko nie spełnia podstawowych wymogów rozprawy habilitacyjnej, ale w ogóle trudno ją zakwalifikować do gatunku prac naukowych.

### **Uwaga wstępna**

Swoje uwagi zacznę od zacytowania dwóch punktów z „Kodeksu etyki pracownika naukowego” Polskiej Akademii Nauk, według którego do uniwersalnych zasad m.in. należą:

- 2) wiarygodność w prowadzeniu badań, krytyczm wobec własnych rezultatów, skrupulatność, troska o szczegóły [...]
- 9) rzetelność w uznawaniu osiągnięć naukowych tych, którym się ono rzeczywiście należy, wyrażająca się poprzez właściwe podawanie źródeł i uczciwe uznawanie udziału niezbędnego innym badaczom, niezależnie od tego, czy są to współpracownicy, konkurenci czy poprzednicy.

Autorka omawianej pracy nagminnie łamie zasady skrupulatności i troski o szczegóły. Nieznajomość pisowni znanych nazwisk, błędy językowe i interpretacyjne, które przedstawię w dalszej części recenzji, świadczą nie tylko o braku skrupulatności i troski o szczegóły, ale także o całkowitym braku odpowiedzialności za własne słowa. Dodam jeszcze do tego, że nie wyobrażam sobie już pracy naukowej bez indeksu rzeczowego i indeksu nazwisk, ponieważ ich brak uniemożliwia powrót do jakiegokolwiek autora czy wątku bez przeszukania całej pracy.

Natomiast złamanie przez Zielińską zasady 9) przekracza, moim zdaniem, wszelkie granice przyzwoitości, chyba na granicy łamania prawa, co także zilustruję przykładami w dalszej części recenzji.

<sup>7</sup> Tak przynajmniej wnioskuję z dostępnych informacji w Internecie, gdzie nie znalazłem Jej biogramu.

<sup>8</sup> Na podstawie Jego *Gramatyki komunikacyjnej* (PWN 1999), do której odwołuje się dr Zielińska.

Zdziwienie musi budzić fakt, iż książka po raz kolejny przedstawiona w 2012 r. jako habilitacyjna, została napisana w 2007 r. W ten sposób Autorka pozbawiła się możliwości nie tylko poprawienia oczywistych horrendalnych błędów, ale także uwzględnienia ogromnej literatury językoznawczej po roku 2007, w tym prac bezpośrednio dotyczących tematyki rozprawy. Jednakże w tej sytuacji będę się w swojej recenzji odnosił tylko do literatury sprzed roku 2007.

### Tytuł książki

Jak rozumiem, tytuł książki odzwierciedla główny wątek treści. Język jest strukturą bardzo złożoną, obejmującą kilka poziomów. Jeżeli używamy terminu „model języka”, to powinien taki model obejmować wszystkie najważniejsze aspekty języka. Tymczasem dla Autorki ten „nowatorski na skalę światową model”, jak o nim pisze, sprowadza się do statystyki leksykalnej i to jeszcze w niepełnym wymiarze, do czego, kuriozalnie zupełnie, przyznaje się sama Autorka, pisząc na s. 115, że **proponowany przez nią ‘model’ „w pełni może [...] modelować jedynie statystyczne aspekty języka”**.

Pierwszy człon tytułu też budzi daleko idące wątpliwości. Jak piszę poniżej, Autorka pominęła jedną z podstawowych prac w tym zakresie, a mianowicie rzeczywiście proceduralne podejście do komunikacji zaproponowane w książce de Beaugrande'a i Dresslera (1980), której III rozdział jest zatytułowany „The procedural approach”. Zresztą można w niej znaleźć omówienie większości problemów poruszanych przez Zielińską i przedstawianych jako własne przemyślenia. Zwykła uczciwość nakazywałaby tę książkę omówić, wskazać różnice i podobieństwa.

### Treść książki

Największym mankamentem recenzowanej książki jest brak rzetelności wynikający z ignorancji Autorki w zakresie właściwie całego językoznawstwa, czego skutkiem jest przypisywanie sobie jako nowatorskich różnych dobrze opisanych problemów i rozwiązań. Ta ignorancja jest, niestety, źródłem aroganckiej, wysokiej samooceny Autorki. Na s. 59 Autorka pisze, że „[...] główna **nowatorska** myśl zawarta w proponowanym modelu komunikacji w języku naturalnym polega na wprowadzeniu wybierającej funkcji języka, działającej w pewnym polu”. Jeszcze lepiej ocenia Zielińska swoje pomysły w autoreferacie dostępnym na stronie internetowej Centralnej Komisji do spraw Stopni i Tytułów, pisząc: „[...] moje prace badawcze w tym rozprawa habilitacyjna, przedstawiają nowatorską (**o ile mi wiadomo na skalę światową**) propozycję metodologii językoznawczej, choć osadzoną mocno w istniejących, uznanych badaniach”. Szczególnie arogancko brzmią słowa „mocno osadzoną w istniejących, uznanych badaniach” wobec, jak wykażę poniżej, nieznajomości ogromnej części fundamentalnej literatury językoznawczej.

O nieprzyzwoitym wręcz braku skromności niech świadczy następujący fragment (s. 93): „Wprowadził bez wyraźnego rozróżnienia na funkcje wybierające języka oraz pole komunikacyjne, ale również podobnie jak ja, formowanie złożień wyjaśnia Eve E. Sweetser (1990: 12)”. Zarówno pozycja obu pań w nauce, jak, przede wszystkim, chronologia wskazują na zdecydowanie odwrotną zależność.

Wspomniana powyżej książka de Beaugrande'a i Dresslera to tylko jedna z wielu podstawowych prac językoznawczych, których Zielińska nie uwzględniła. Najczęściej siega Autorka do źródeł wtórnych lub mało istotnych, czy też niewiarygodnych. Największym autorytetem językoznawczym dla Zielińskiej wydaje się być Awdiejew. Niestety, wygląda na to, że dla Awdiejewa ostatecznym autorytetem jest... Awdiejew, który w swojej *Gramatyce komunikacyjnej* (1999) prezentuje powszechnie znane interpretacje znanych przykładów bez podania ich oryginalnych, równie powszechnie znanych i łatwo dostępnych

źródeł. Taki sposób pisania wskazuje na to, że Awdiejew sobie przypisuje autorstwo tych analiz przykładów, co graniczny z plagiatem, jeżeli nim w rzeczywistości nie jest.

Oto dalsze przykłady kompromitującej niewiedzy Autorki i, jak należy domniemywać, Awdiejewa. Na s. 70 Zielińska pisze: „Jak zauważa Awdiejew (1999a), (rozważając zdanie *Dzieci będą dziećmi*), ludzie, posługując się językiem naturalnym, korzystają z oby typów informacji skorelowanej z tym leksemem [...].” Jak wynika z artykułu Awdiejewa (1999a) i ze słów Zielińskiej, ani Awdiejew, ani Zielińska nie wiedzą, że analiza takich tautologii i ich implikatur została wprowadzona do językoznawstwa przez Grice'a w 1975 r. na przykładzie *Boys are boys* i pisała o nich także Wierzbicka w 1987 r. na przykładzie *Kids are kids*, który to przykład jest identyczny z przykładem Awdiejewa z 1999 r. Bez odnośników może to być traktowane jako plagiat.

Dalej, na s. 78, Zielińska pisze, że „Awdiejew zauważa ponadto, że większość jednostek leksykalnych nie tylko uszczegółnia swoje znaczenie w różnych kontekstach, lecz także służy do informacji o różnych swoich aspektach. Awdiejew (1999a) ilustruje tę wypowiedź zdaniami typu:

- 22a. Książka jest głupia.
- 22b. Książka leży na stole.

W zdaniu 22a leksem książka przekazuje informacje „treść książki”, natomiast w 22b ten sam leksem wskazuje na fizyczne aspekty wydrukowanego woluminu [...]”.

I znów trzeba zarzucić i Awdiejewowi (1999: 142–143), i Zielińskiej nieznajomość pierwotnego źródła tego rozróżnienia, czyli jednego z najważniejszych artykułów językoznawstwa kognitywnego autorstwa Michaela Reddy'ego (1979) o metaforze przewodu. Wspomnę jeszcze, że problem ten był także przedmiotem ożywionej dyskusji w artykułach Crofta (1993), Barcelony (2000; referat na konferencji w 1997 r.), Ruiza de Mendozy (2000) i innych językoznawców, także całkowicie przez Zielińską pominiętych. Sądzę znowu, że takie postępowanie można, za Encyklopedią Gazety Prawnej, nazwać „kradzieżą własności intelektualnej”, czyli plagiatem.

Przyjęcie Awdiejewa jako wyroczni skutkuje tak bałwochwalczymi wręcz stwierdzeniami jak na s. 106: „Porównaj **niezwykle trafną** obserwację Awdiejewa (1999a), że wiele faktów nie jest komunikowanych językowo [...].” Ten kompromitujący banał pozostawię bez komentarza.

Innym przykładem ignorancji Zielińskiej jest cytat (s. 56), skądinąd trywialny i naiwny, z Elbowa (1989): „Mamy zwyczaj myśleć, że znaczenie istnieje gdzieś tam, a naszym zadaniem, czytając i pisząc, jest jego odnalezienie, a nie stworzenie go”. Ten proces został bardzo dokładnie opisany we wspomnianym już przełomowym artykule Reddy'ego w 1979 r. Jeżeli nawet Elbow go nie zna, to nie stanowi to dla Zielińskiej żadnego usprawiedliwienia.

Skoro mowa o metaforach, to i tutaj ignorancja Autorki jest rażąca. Po pierwsze, na s. 108 Autorka pisze o metaforze jako „jednostkowym, nieregularnym użyciu języka”. Nie jest też żadnym odkryciem ani prawdziwą stwierdzeniem (s. 92), że „Metaforyczne użycie języka nie tylko pozwala nam się komunikować w sposób ekonomiczny, ale także, w zadanym polu komunikacyjnym, w nowy sposób postrzegać rzeczywistość”. Nie sięgając nawet do Arystotelesa czy Tomasza z Akwinu, w czasach najnowszych od pracy Lakoffa i Johnsona (1980) wiadomo, że metafory to **podstawowa** forma komunikacji. Autorka najwyraźniej nie zdaje sobie sprawy, że właściwie cały język, jak i postrzeganie jest metonimiczne (Wittgenstein, Searle, Michotte), natomiast bez metafory moglibyśmy się komunikować najwyżej na poziomie neandertalczyków (Mithen 1996).

Z tej niewiedzy bierze się kuriozalna interpretacja zdań *Jesteś świnią* i *Jesteś jak świnia* (s. 91). Autorka powołuje się na przykład Davidsona (1978), całkowicie ignorując olbrzymią literaturę na temat metafory i porównania.

Co do pierwszego zdania Autorka pisze, że „W proponowanym modelu [...] użycie powyższego zdania oznacza, iż mówca [...] uważa, [...] że osoba, do której się zwraca jest ‘bardziej jak świnia niż jak człowiek’”. Należy w tym miejscu zauważać, że do wyjaśnienia metafory *Ty świnio* Autorka używa porównania *jak świnia*, wyraźnie nie rozróżniając tych zjawisk. Co więcej, wbrew powszechnie przyjętemu rozróżnieniu, Autorka oznajmia, że ona zarezerwowałaby słowo ‘metaforyczny’ tylko dla określenia tej drugiej sytuacji. Należy z tego wyciągnąć wniosek, że skoro *Jesteś świnią* nie jest metaforyczne, to jest dosłowne, co zresztą zgadzałoby się ze słowami, „że osoba, do której [nadawca] się zwraca jest ‘**bardziej jak świnia niż jak człowiek**’”. Autorka jednak nie preczuje, jak dalece należy to wyrażenie traktować dosłownie, czyli co to znaczy być „bardziej jak świnia niż jak człowiek”.

W innym miejscu, pisząc zdawkowo o kwantyfikatorach (s. 98), cytując przykłady Palmera (1976): *Many people read few books* i *Few books are read by many people*, Autorka twierdzi, że jej model wyjaśnia zjawisko, które „nie zostało wyjaśnione w gramatykach generatywnych”, a mianowicie zmiany „zakresu stosowania kwantyfikatorów podczas przejścia do strony biernej”. A przykład polski *Niewiele książek czyta wielu ludzi* tłumaczy zmianą kolejności słów. Jest to bardzo prymitywne wyjaśnienie wobec wielu opracowań na ten temat. Problem ten był jednym z fundamentalnych argumentów w sporze między semantykami generatywnymi a semantykami interpretacyjnymi w wielu pracach (Lakoff 1971; Postal 1972; McCawley 1975; Jackendoff 1972). Klasycznym przykładem są zdania *Many arrows did not hit the target* i *The target was not hit by many arrows*.

Na s. 67 Autorka znów cytuje Awdiejewa: „Jak podkreśla Awdiejew (1999a: 137), wyobrażenie, ‘syntetyczne znaczenie słowa jest nieseparowalne od jego otoczenia’. O potrzebie włączenia do opisu znaczenia jego konotacji argumentują też przekonywujaco [sic!] Jerzy Bartmiński (1984) i Ryszard Tokarski (1988), uznając, że leksemu uaktywniają w naszych umysłach rejon znacznie szerszy, niż wynikałoby to z ich autonomicznego znaczenia”. I te obserwacje nie są niczym nowym i były omawiane szeroko w literaturze przed ukazaniem się prac Awdiejewa i Zielińskiej. Wspomnę tu tylko dyskusje takich podstawowych pojęć związanych z tym problemem jak domena, profilowanie, schematy wyobrażeniowe, czy wreszcie aktywacja rozszerzająca (‘spreading activation’; por. Quillian 1966; Collins i Loftus 1975; de Beaugrande i Dressler 1980).

Całkowicie fałszywe jest też stwierdzenie Autorki, że „w przeciwieństwie do gramatyki kognitywnej, funkcjonowanie gramatyki proceduralnej jest osadzone w naszym poczuciu upływu czasu [...]” (s. 111). A czymże innym jest jedna z podstawowych tez kognitywistyki o roli doświadczenia (*experientialism*)? Czyżby doświadczenie było bezczasowe?

Na s. 67 Autorka pisze, że „użycie pewnych leksków pozwala też na czynienie pewnych przewidywań co do całej sytuacji, z jaką owo *denotatum* jest związane”. Jak na rok 2007 to bardzo trywialne stwierdzenie wobec całej literatury na temat presupozycji we współczesnej filozofii i językoznawstwie (por. chociażby Petöfi i Franck 1974; de Beaugrande i Dressler 1980). De Beaugrande i Dressler (1980) piszą także o prawdopodobieństwie kontekstowym związanym z oczekiwaniemi ludzi (‘human expectations’), mającymi miejsce w różnym stopniu podczas komunikacji (por. także de Beaugrande 1978). Autorka nie odnosi się w ogóle do tych propozycji, operując niejasnym pojęciem pola komunikacyjnego, które, jak sama pisze, wymaga uszczegółowienia (s. 112). Mimo braku tego uszczegółowienia, czyli niejasności

tego pojęcia, Autorka pisze, że „żadne z napotkanych w literaturze pojęć nie jest wystarczająco bliskie pojęciom zaproponowanych [sic!] przeze mnie” (s. 112). Skoro to pojęcie jest tak mało szczegółowe, jak można ocenić jego podobieństwo do innych pojęć, tym bardziej, że, jak pokazałem powyżej, ze względu na bardzo słabą znajomość literatury tych pojęć się nie zna.

Ważny dla Autorki jest mechanizm wyboru, opisany dla różnych kategorii bardziej lub mniej szczerliwie. Mechanizm ten jest jednak w sposób oczywisty przejawem wszechobecnego zjawiska, jakim jest rozwiązywanie problemu. Dość szeroko piszą o tym w odniesieniu do języka de Beaugrande i Dressler (1980), odwołując się do pracy Newella i Simona (1972) *Human Problem Solving* i proponując zastąpić statystykę „prawdopodobieństwem kontekstowym” (1980: 140), co bardzo przypomina wybierania z pola komunikacyjnego (szeroko pojętego kontekstu), ale Autorka do tego porównania się nie odnosi. Odsyłam Autorkę do książki de Beaugrande'a i Dresslera (1980) i ich postulatów o dynamicznym, interaktywnym i probabilistycznym charakterze dyskursu.

W innym miejscu Autorka „proponuje” procedurę, w której „na przykład leksem stół w swej wybierającej funkcji określa zadany obiekt jako stół, oznacza, że zadany obiekt jest bardziej podobny do zbioru stołów, z jakimi wcześniej spotkał się mówiący, niż do któregokolwiek innego zbioru obiektów kategoryzowanych przy pomocy innych leksków” (s. 60). Pomijając tę dość zawiłą konstrukcję językową, znaczącą tyle, że stół odnosi się do przedmiotu ‘stół’, a nie np. ‘krzesło’, to to sformułowanie jest dokładnie takie samo, jakie można znaleźć u Gärdenforsa (2007):

Jeżeli widzę Fido, widzę go jako psa, ponieważ moje spostrzeżenie zgadza się ze strukturą kognitywną w mojej głowie, to znaczy z pojęciem psa. W mojej mentalnej klasyfikacji różnych zwierząt istnieje ‘schemat’ jak pies wygląda (szczeka, jaki ma zapach i jaki jest w dotyku). Zgodnie z semantyką kognitywną, to ten schemat jest dokładnie znaczeniem słowa ‘pies’ ( tłum. – A. S.).

Nie jest to więc żadna nowa propozycja Autorki, ale standardowa interpretacja kognitywna.

Powtórzę, że w świetle powyższych argumentów wysoka samoocena Autorki jest całkowicie gołosłowna, bo jak sama Autorka przyznaje, proponowany przez nią ‘model’ „**w pełni może [...] modelować jedynie statystyczne aspekty języka**” (s. 115). A więc nie jest to ani proceduralny, ani model języka.

Jak pisze Autorka na s. 156, jednym z celów poznawczych pracy jest „pełniejsze uwzględnienie szerokiej informacji niesionej przez formy językowe (kontekstości) w procesie komunikacji”. To też żadna nowość. Już w roku 1977 Ilene Lanin opublikowała artykuł pt. „You Can Take the Sentence out of the Discourse, but You Can't Take the Discourse out of the Mind of the Speaker” (Można wyjąć zdanie z dyskursu, ale nie można wyjąć dyskursu z umysłu mówiącego).

Trudno wymienić wszystkich językoznawców, którzy zajmowali się kontekstem (ogromna liczba prac dotyczących lingwistyki tekstu), więc wspomnę znowu książkę de Beaugrande'a i Dresslera (1980). To, co Zielińska pisze o kontekście czy polu komunikacyjnym, dałoby się ująć słowami wymienionych autorów: „Decydującym krokiem byłoby zastąpienie pojęcia prawdopodobieństwa statystycznego pojęciem prawdopodobieństwa kontekstowego. Podstawą rozważań byłoby wtedy nie jak często pewne elementy występują razem w częstotliwości absolutnej, ale raczej jakie klasy wystąpień tekstowych wykazują większe lub mniejsze prawdopodobieństwo pod wpływem systematycznych układów bieżących czynników” (de Beaugrande i Dressler 1980: 140–141, tłum. – A. S.).

Żenujące są także opisy roli akcentu zdaniowego (ss. 62, 82). Nawet nie wspominając wcześniejszych prac, np. gramatyki rosyjskiej Barsova z lat 1783–1788, literatura najnowsza na ten temat jest bardzo

bogata (z bardzo wielu autorów wspomnę tu tylko Bogusławskiego, Jackendoffa, Bollingera, Schmerling, Hymana, także i moje prace) i bardzo prymitywny opis tego zjawiska przez Autorkę nie wnosi niczego nowego do naszej wiedzy.

Nie wiadomo także, czemu mają służyć takie „odkrywcze” stwierdzenia, jak na ss. 107–108: „Język nie tylko ciągle się zmienia, ale przede wszystkim musiał najpierw zaistnieć” i dalej: „Jeżeli rozwój języka przebiegał w sposób, jaki opisuje zaproponowany tu model, język powinien ulegać zmianie w czasie”. Z czego wynika, że język nie ulegałby zmianie, gdyby jego rozwój nie przebiegał według opisanego przez Autorkę modelu.

Wiele jest też przykładów niekonsekwenckiej i nieuzasadnionej kategoryzacji (wspomniał o tym w swojej recenzji prof. Grochowski). Nie wiadomo np., dlaczego *free* (‘wolny’, ‘swobodny’) należy do kategorii wielkości (s. 135), a *mellow* (‘łagodny’) do kategorii wieku, dlaczego *długi* jest w kategorii wielkości i kształtu (s. 141), dlaczego *otyły* reprezentuje kategorię wielkości, a *krępy* i *szczupły* kategorię kształtu. Sądząc z kolejnych słów, o przynależności do „zadanej” (?) kategorii decyduje Autorka. Pisze bowiem (s. 133), że „leksem *długa* w grupie nominalnej *długa sukienka* jest odczuwalny jako fason sukienki, a więc jej kształt, a nie wielkość”. Należy rozumieć, że jest odczuwalny przez Autorkę, tak samo jak odczuwalny przez Autorkę jest *swobodny* jako wielkość, *łagodny* jako wiek, *krępy* i *szeroki* jako kształt, a *otyły* jako wielkość, itd.

Autorka nie podaje żadnych badań, jak są te określenia „odczuwalne” przez innych użytkowników języka.

### Forma książki

Absolutnie nie do przyjęcia jest także forma zawierająca wiele kompromitujących błędów: w identyfikacji płci autorów, pisowni nazwisk, a co gorsza, w języku polskim i angielskim. Oto przykłady.

Na s. 77 Autorka powołuje się na badania Gentner i France (1988) stwierdzające, że „Fakt, że znaczenie **rzeczowników** jest bardziej stabilne wobec towarzyszących im **rzeczowników** niż odwrotnie, **zademonstrowali eksperimentalnie** Dedre Gentner i Ilene M. France (1988), **którzy pytali** [...]. Pomijając wynikającą z bezmyślności absurdalną niedorzeczość wyrażenia „rzeczowników w towarzystwie rzeczowników, a nie odwrotnie”, to Gentner i France to kobiety. Wyraźną predylekcję Zielińskiej do rodzaju męskiego reprezentują kolejne maskulinizacje Gillian Brown (u Zielińskiej „publikacja Gilliana Browna [...]”, s. 95) i Judith N. Levi, choć to też kobiety.

Autorce najwyraźniej nie chciało się, w swojej arrogancji wynikającej z ignorancji, sprawdzić pisowni nazwisk powszechnie znanych i fundamentalnych dla jazykoznawstwa, a także ortografii polskiej i obcojęzycznej. Oto lista (zapewne niepełna; w nawiasach strona):

<u>wersja Zielińskiej</u>	<u>forma poprawna</u>
Paninian (47)	Pānini (powszechnie stosowane: Panini)
Hajcova (81)	Hajičová
Paul Hermann (48)	Hermann Paul (Paul to nazwisko)
Hermann, P. (176)	Paul, H. (nazwisko to Paul)
Rakowa (51, 179)	Rakova
po objedzie (100)	po obiedzie
przekonywująco (67)	przekonującą lub przekonywającą

tym czasem (13)	tymczasem
być wstanie (25)	być w stanie
w prawdzie (57)	wprawdzie
Learners (81)	Learner's
Iren (48)	Ihren
<i>tertium non datum</i>	<i>tertium non datur</i>
relay on (167)	rely on

Słowo *extracellular* (s. 123) Zielińska tłumaczy jako ‘pozagalaktyczny’, choć znaczy ono przecież ‘pozakomórkowy’ i być może pomyliło się Autorce z *extraterrestrial* (‘pozaziemski’) lub z nieistniejącym *extracelestial* (słowo stworzone w Internecie, które można by przetłumaczyć jako ‘pozaniebiański?’). Zielińska nie zna nawet tak prostych słów jak *overlook*, które tłumaczy jako ‘przewidzieć’ (s. 58), chociaż znaczy ono ‘przeoczyć’ (ew. ‘wychodzić na’ – o oknie).

Autorka lubuje się też w przedziwnych spolszczeniach. Oto kilka przykładów:

fizyka przez długie wieki **aproksymowała** świat jako pewne struktury (może chodzi o apercypowanie?  
– A. S.) (s. 54);

modelowanie jest niemożliwe bez założenia **aproksymowania** przez kategorie arystotelesowskie;  
[...] które kategorie mogą być **aproksymowane** jako arystotelesowskie [...] (s. 56);

[...] przymiotniki są ustawione w taki sposób, iż dany **adiektyw** znajduje się [...] (s. 117).

Całkiem kuriozalne jest zdanie następujące (s. 57): „[...] dalekiego rozwoju nie da się **w prawdzie** [sic!] **estymować** [...].” Zielińska, popisując się obcobrzmiącymi potworkami, popisuje się także nieznajomością języka własnego. Pisze się ‘wprawdzie’, a ‘estymować’ znaczy w języku polskim ‘szanować, poważyć’ (*Słownik wyrazów obcych*, 1980, PWN), a pewno Zielińska pomyliła angielskie *esteem* (też znaczy ‘poważać’) z *estimate*, które znaczy ‘oceniać’.

Ulubionym wyrazem Autorki jest ‘zadany/a/e’, który nie wiadomo, co znaczy. Oto parę przykładów:

[...] co zadany model ma odzwierciedlać (s. 55);

Postulowane pole odzwierciedla korelację między użyciami poszczególnych leksemów oraz zadaną sytuację wypowiedzi (s. 59);

[...] leksem *stół* w swej wybierającej funkcji określa zadany obiekt jako stół, oznacza, że zadany obiekt jest bardziej podobny do zbioru stołów [...];

[...] formy językowe [...] są także używane do wskazywania na jeden z możliwych zadanych wcześniej obiektów [...] (s. 59).

W świetle powyższych uwag trudno uznać za model języka coś, co według samej Autorki „w pełni może [...] modelować jedynie statystyczne aspekty języka”. Trawestując dementi Marka Twaina o swojej śmierci, można napisać, że stwierdzenia Zielińskiej, iż jej model jest nowatorski na skalę światową, że jest to model proceduralny, i że jest to w ogóle model języka, są mocno przesadzone.

## Literatura

- Barcelona, Antonio (2000) „On the Plausibility of Claiming a Metonymic Motivation for Conceptual Metaphor”. [W:] Antonio Barcelona (red.) *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter; 3–58 (referat wygłoszony na konferencji).
- Barsov, Anton A. (1783–1788) *Rossijskaja grammatika* (manuskrypt).
- Beaugrande, Robert de, Wolfgang Dressler (1980) *Introduction to Text Linguistics*. London: Longman.
- Bogusławski, Andrzej (1977) *Problems of the Thematic-Rhematic Structure of Sentences*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Bolinger, Dwight (1958) „A Theory of Pitch Accent in English”. [W:] *Word* 14; 109–149.
- Collins, Allan, Elisabeth Loftus (1975) „A Spreading-Activation Theory of Semantic Processing”. [W:] *Psychological Review* 82; 407–428.
- Croft, William (1993) „The Role of Domains in the Interpretation of Metaphors and Metonymies”. [W:] *Cognitive Linguistics* 4; 335–370.
- Dijk, Teun van (1977) „Acceptability in Context”. [W:] Sidney Greenbaum (red.) *Acceptability in Language*. The Hague: Mouton; 39–61.
- Dijk, Teun van (1977) *Text and Context*. London: Longman.
- Gärdenfors, Peter (2007) „Cognitive Semantics and Image Schemas with Embodied Forces”. [W:] John M. Krois, Mats Rosengren, Angela Steidele, Dirk Westerkamp (red.) *Embodiment in Cognition and Culture*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins; 57–76.
- Grice, Paul (1975) „Logic and Conversation”. [W:] Peter Cole, Jerry Morgan (red.) *Syntax and Semantics*. T. 3: *Speech Acts*. New York: Academic Press; 41–58.
- Hymen, Larry (1977) „Studies in Stress and Accent”. [W:] *SC Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 4; 261–302.
- Jackendoff, Ray (1972) *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Lakoff, George (1971) „On Generative Semantics”. [W:] Danny Steinberg, Leon Jakobovits (red.) *Semantics: An Interdisciplinary Reader in Philosophy, Linguistics and Psychology*. Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press; 232–296.
- Lanin, Ilene (1977) „You Can Take the Sentence out of the Context, but You Can't Take the Context out of the Mind of the Speaker”. [W:] Woodford A. Beach, Samuel E. Fox, Shulamith Philosoph (red.) *Papers from the Thirteenth Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society, April 14–16, 1977*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society; 232–296.
- McCawley, James (1975) Review of studies on *Semantics in Generative Grammar* by Noam Chomsky. [W:] *Studies in English Language* 3; 209–311.
- Michotte, Albert, Georges Thines, Georges Crabbé (1964/1991) „Amodal Completion of Perceptual Structures”. [W:] Georges Thinès, Alan Costall, George Butterworth (red.) *Michotte's Experimental Phenomenology of Perception*. Hillsdale: Erlbaum; 140–167.
- Mithen, Stephen (1996) *The Prehistory of Mind*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Newell, Allen, Herbert Simon (1972) *Human Problem Solving*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Petöfi, János, Dorothea Franck (1974) *Präsuppositionen in Philosophie und Linguistik / Presuppositions in Philosophy and Linguistics*. Frankfurt: Athenäum.
- Postal, Paul M. (1972) „The Best Theory”. [W:] Stanley Peters (red.) *Goals of Linguistic Theory*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall; 131–170.
- Quillian, M. Ross (1966) *Semantic Memory*. Cambridge et al.: Bolt Beranek and Newman Inc.
- Reddy, Michael J. (1979) „The Conduit Metaphor: A Case of Frame Conflict in Our Language about Language”. [W:] Andrew Ortony (red.) *Metaphor and Thought*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press; 284–310.

- Ruiz de Mendoza, Francisco (2000) „The Role Of Mappings and Domains in Understanding Metonymy”. [W:] Antonio Barcelona (red.) *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter; 109–132.
- Schmerling, Susan (1976) *Aspects of English Sentence Stress*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Searle, John R. (1990) „Consciousness, Explanatory Inversion, and Cognitive Science”. [W:] *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 13; 585–642.
- Wierzbicka, Anna (1987) *English Speech Act Verbs: A Semantic Dictionary*. Sydney: Academic Press.

*Academic  
Journal  
of  
Modern  
Philology*

WITOLD MAŃCZAK

Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie

**Recenzja książki Marcina Walczyńskiego pt. *A living language. Selected aspects of Tok Pisin in the press (on the basis of “Wantok” newspaper)*. Nysa 2012: Oficyna Wydawnicza PWSZ w Nysie. ISBN 978-83-60081-61-7, 309 stron**

### **Abstract**

**A Review of a Book by Marcin Walczyński entitled *A living language. Selected aspects of Tok Pisin in the press (on the basis of “Wantok” newspaper)*. Nysa 2012: Oficyna Wydawnicza PWSZ w Nysie. ISBN 978-83-60081-61-7, 309 pages**

*A living language. Selected aspects of Tok Pisin in the press (on the basis of “Wantok” newspaper)* by Marcin Walczyński is a revised and expanded version of the doctoral thesis defended at the Department of English Studies at the University of Wrocław. The book is structured into six chapters where the first three chapters serve as a theoretical introduction to the topic, and the next three chapters provide a discussion of Tok Pisin. The reviewer emphasizes the salience and accuracy of the work and points out that the book focuses not only on the sociological and cultural aspects of the discussed pidgin, but also its phonological and morphological development. Additionally, the reviewer draws our attention to certain aspects that demand further discussion, e.g. *irregular phonetic development* caused by frequency and can shed new light on understanding the phonetic and phonological mechanisms appearing in Tok Pisin. Finally, the reviewer points out that the monograph is meticulously and carefully prepared.

**Keywords:** Tok Pisin, pidgin, creole, phonetics, grammar, culture, lexicon, standardization.

Książka jest przerobioną i rozszerzoną wersją pracy doktorskiej obronnej w Instytucie Filologii Angielskiej Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego. Jak powiada autor w polskim streszczeniu książki, jej celem było pokazanie „na przykładzie angielskiego pidżyna neomelanzyjskiego z Papui Nowej Gwinei (Tok Pisin), że języki pidżynowe i kreolskie, które w przeszłości były uważane za «karykatury» języków naturalnych, za krótkotrwałe twory językowe, mające zastosowanie tylko i wyłącznie w bardzo prostych sytuacjach komunikacyjnych, mogą stanowić ważne środki komunikacji werbalnej oraz że mogą one rozwinać się w złożone tryby językowe”.

Recenzowana książka składa się z sześciu rozdziałów, które się rozpadają na dwie części: „Rozdziały 1, 2 oraz 3 stanowią część teoretyczną, w której omówione zostały najważniejsze zagadnienia związane z językoznawstwem pidżynów i kreoli. Rozdziały 4, 5 i 6 koncentrują się na wybranych aspektach pidżyna Tok Pisin”. A oto garść uwag, jakie mi się nasunęły podczas lektury tej interesującej pracy.

Na s. 166 jest wzmianka o „the reduction of certain function word and morphemes (*i.e. bombai* to *bai*, *ba* or *bə*; *fela* to *fla* or *flə*)”. O innych podobnych redukcjach wspomina autor na s. 169: „the preposition *long* becomes *lo*, the possessive marker *bilong* becomes *bolo*, the transitivity marker *-im* becomes *-i*”. Osobiście od lat próbuję zwrócić uwagę językoznawców na to, że w rzeczywistości chodzi o zjawisko o bez porównania ogólniejszym charakterze. Moim zdaniem we wszystkich językach świata forma wyrazów zależy nie od dwóch, ale od trzech głównych czynników, a mianowicie nie tylko od regularnego rozwoju fonetycznego i rozwoju analogicznego, lecz również od tego, co nazywamy nieregularnym rozwojem fonetycznym spowodowanym frekwencją. W moim przekonaniu we wszystkich językach bardzo często używane grupy wyrazowe, wyrazy i morfemy nieraz ulegają nieregularnym redukcjom, np. *God be with you* > *good-by*, *business* > [biznis] lub (*Scott*)-*ish* > (*Scot*)-*ch*. Zagadniemu temu poświęciłem nie tylko mnóstwo artykułów, ale i trzy monografie obrazujące ten nieregularny rozwój w językach romańskich, słowiańskich i germańskich. Warto też dodać, że według obliczeń pewnego profesora matematyki stosowanej szansa, żeby moja teoria nieregularnego rozwoju fonetycznego spowodowanego frekwencją była błędna, jest mniejsza niż 1 na 10 milionów.

Odnoszę wrażenie, że autor nie lubi mówić o tym, że w lingwistyce istnieją jeszcze kwestie nierostrzygnięte. Na przykład na s. 218 dowiadujemy się, że w badanym przez niego języku przeszłość bywa wyrażana za pomocą „the preverbal marker *bin*”, który pochodzi od angielskiego *been*, a przyszłość – za pomocą „preverbal marker *bai*”. Skoro autor nie mówi, skąd się wzięło *bai*, można przypuszczać, że etymologia elementu *bai* jest nieznana. Uważam, że byłoby lepiej, gdyby autor poinformował czytelnika o tym *expressis verbis*.

Na s. 32 pisze, co następuje: „The grammatical structure of a pidgin is usually based on the grammar(s) of local language (that is, a language or languages of communities which are dominated in contact situations) whereas the lexis is derived mostly from the language spoken by the dominating group”.

Autor uznał zatem powszechny pogląd, że języki kreolskie (czy jak je nazwiemy) są językami mieszanymi: ich słownictwo w zasadzie pochodzi z języków europejskich, natomiast ich budowa została przejęta z języków autochtonicznych. Osobiście nie podzielam tego poglądu, a doprowadziły mnie do tego rozważania nad istotą pokrewieństwa językowego. Siedemnastowieczny orientalista niemiecki sformułował zasadę, że „pokrewieństwo językowe przejawia się nie w słowniku, ale w gramatyce”, a zasada ta jest powszechnie aprobowana do dziś. Ja jednak skonfrontowałem ją z faktami i doszłem do wniosku, że o stopniu pokrewieństwa językowego w rzeczywistości decyduje słownictwo. W tym stanie rzeczy np. język kreolski używany na Gwadelupie, którego słownictwo jest w znacznej mierze

pochodzenia francuskiego, nie jest bynajmniej jakimś językiem mieszanym, ale jest językiem romańskim i indoeuropejskim w równej mierze jak francuszczyzna.

W polskim streszczeniu książki autor kilkakrotnie używa wyrażenia *język Tok Pisin* (np. na s. 289), co jest sprzeczne z polskim przepisem ortograficznym, który nazwy języków nakazuje pisać małą literą, np. łacina, greka, sanskryt, francuszczyzna czy polski. Oczywiście autor postępuje tak pod wpływem języka angielskiego. O ile mi wiadomo, ani żaden polonista, ani żaden anglista nigdy się nie zastanawiał nad tym, jakie jest uzasadnienie faktu, że po polsku nazwy języków pisze się małą literą, a po angielsku dużą. Moim zdaniem łączy się to z wielkim zagadnieniem, na czym polega różnica między nazwami własnymi a apelatywami. Różnica ta bywa przedstawiana na różne sposoby. W moim przekonaniu żadna z istniejących definicji nazw własnych nie odnosi się do 100% nazw własnych, ale definicją, która ma najmniej wyjątków, jest ta, według której różnica między nazwami własnymi a apelatywami sprowadza się do tego, że apelatywa w zasadzie się tłumaczy z języka na język, np. odpowiednikiem pol. *masto* jest fr. *ville*, wł. *citta*, niem. *Stadt*, czy ang. *town*, natomiast nazw własnych w zasadzie się nie tłumaczy z języka na język, por. pol. *Warszawa*, fr. *Varsovie*, wł. *Varsavia*, niem. *Warschau*, czy ang. *Warsaw*. Oczywiście nie tłumaczy się także przyimotników utworzonych od nazw własnych. Ta, o ile mi wiadomo, przez nikogo *expressis verbis* nie sformułowana zasada tłumaczy, czemu się po angielsku pisze nie tylko *England*, *France*, *Italy*, ale i *English*, *French*, *Italian* (podobnie się pisze po holendersku i niekiedy po łacinie).

M. Walczyński używa formy gen. sg. *pidżyna* (s. 290). Jako autor artykułu o repartycji końcówek dopełniacza *-a/-u* powiedziałbym *pidżynu*.

Na s. 289 autor mówi o „Nowej Gwinei, która uważana jest za jeden z najbardziej zróżnicowanych językowo obszarów (występuje tam około 800 różnych języków)”. W związku z tym pragnę wspomnieć o tym, że z końcem lat czterdziestych przypadkiem natrafiłem na artykuł Jespersena, który zrobił na mnie wielkie wrażenie. Słynny językoznawca duński zwraca uwagę na fakt, że na Dalekiej Północy, gdzie używany jest język eskimoski i języki ugrofińskie, zróżnicowanie językowe jest minimalne, natomiast na południu, np. w Kalifornii czy Brazylii, zróżnicowanie językowe jest ogromne, i tłumaczy to tym, że na północy małe dzieci o nieumówionym jeszcze języku, gdyby straciły kontakt z rodzicami lub innymi dorosłymi, nie przeżyłyby z powodu zimna i głodu. Natomiast w krajach podzwrotnikowych w niezwykle rzadkich wypadkach mogło się zdarzyć, że takie dzieci przeżywały i tworzyły własny język, który w razie osiągnięcia wieku dojrzałego przekazywały swemu potomstwu. Choć od lat czterdziestych upłynęło wiele czasu, nigdy mi się nie zdarzyło natknąć na jakąś wzmiankę o poglądzie Jespersena. Pomimo to wydaje mi się, że hipoteza Jespersena w przekonywający sposób tłumaczy wielkie zróżnicowanie językowe na obszarach podzwrotnikowych. Gwoli ścisłości należy dodać, że Jespersen tę myśl przejął od amerykańskiego etnografa Horatio Hale'a, który na ten temat pisał ćwierć wieku wcześniej.

Wracając do recenzji książki, należy stwierdzić, że korekta była staranna, na skutek czego błędy drukarskie należą do rzadkości, np. *Sara* (s. 30) zamiast *Sarah*, *romanicos*, *Ámerica* (s. 41) zamiast *românicos*, *América*, *Unserdeutsch* (s. 55) zamiast *Unserdeutsch* czy *Silvestein* (s. 94) zamiast *Silverstein*.

## Literatura

Bochankowa, Anna, Zenon Szkutnik (2011) „O półwieczu pewnej koncepcji językoznawczej (w nawiązaniu do tekstu W. Mańczaka w BPTJ 2009)”. [W:] *Bulletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego* 67; 317–319.

- Hale, Horatio (1886) *The Origin of Languages, and the Antiquity of Speaking Man. An Address before the Section of Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*. Cambridge: John Wilson and Son.
- Hale, Horatio (1888) *The Development of Language*. Toronto: Canadian Institute.
- Jespersen, Otto (1909) „Origin of Linguistic Species”. [W:] *Scientia* 6; 3–12.
- Mańczak, Witold (1953) „O repartycji końcówek dopełniacza -a : -u”. [W:] *Język Polski* 33; 70–84.
- Mańczak, Witold (1969) *Le développement phonétique des langues romanes et la fréquence*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński.
- Mańczak, Witold (1977) *Słowiańska fonetyka historyczna a frekwencja*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński.
- Mańczak, Witold (1987) *Frequenzbedingter unregelmäßiger Lautwandel in den germanischen Sprachen*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Mańczak, Witold (1992) „La classification des créoles et les opinions de Schuchhardt et de Meillet”. [W:] Dieter Kremer (red.) *Actes du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes*. T. 1. Tübingen: M. Niemeyer; 574–581.
- Mańczak, Witold (1996) *Problemy językoznawstwa ogólnego*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Mańczak, Witold (2005) „La nature des noms propres”. [W:] *Lingua Posnaniensis* 47; 119–122.

SZYMON WACH

Opole University of Technology, Committee for Philology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław Branch

MAŁGORZATA HAŁADEWICZ-GRZELAK

Opole University of Technology

**Review of the Book: Leszek Bednarczuk, Anna Bochnakowa, Stanisław Widłak, Przemysław Dębowiak, Iwona Piechnik (eds.) *Linguistique Romane et linguistique Indo-Européene: Mélanges offerts à Witold Mańczak à l'occasion de son 90e anniversaire [Romance and Indo-European Linguistics: A Festschrift in Honor of Prof. Witold Mańczak on the Occasion of His Ninetieth Birthday]. Kraków 2014: Polska Akademia Umiejętności and Instytut Filologii Romańskiej Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. ISBN: 978-83-7676-185-5, 487 pages***

### **Abstract**

In this review we provide an evaluation of the Festschrift honoring the occasion of Prof. Witold Mańczak's ninetieth birthday. We start by sketching general characteristics of the book, emphasizing the wide range of tributary topics covered, as well as the range of languages of contributions, reflecting the many areas where the Professor's work impacted the language sciences. Then we focus on one of the most controversial claims advocated by the Festschriffee, which has spawned a lot research and findings, namely, the importance of the frequency of occurrence of a given linguistic item. We argue that this claim should be considered against the wider background of the Natural Linguistics paradigm. Finally, we review and synopsize the content, which we proposed to group into the following thematic realms: (i) Etymology / language contact; (ii) Language change, theory and history of language; (iii) Syntax/ semantics; (iv) Contemporary language usage / sociolinguistics; (v) Lexicography / translation studies. The article ends with the general recommendation of the monograph to a broad readership.

*Keywords:* Festschrift, etymology, linguistics, frequency of occurrence, lexicography.

## 1. General remarks<sup>1</sup>

180

The *Festschrift* we have the honor of reviewing celebrates the work of Professor Witold Mańczak as well as his abiding influence on several generations of linguists. It comprises a collection of papers whose topic is either inspired by, stems from, or constitutes a response to the multifaceted research the professor conducted. The occasion of holding this *Festschrift* for the prominent Slavist, Indogermanist and Romanist from Kraków is unparalleled, as the date of the publication corresponds to the professor's ninetieth birthday.

This wide-ranging volume reflects both the wide thematic span of the honoree's oeuvre, his linguistic versatility and the international reach of his influence – 38 scholars from Poland and abroad pay tribute to the distinguished professor by contributing linguistic work written in seven languages: Polish, English, Spanish, German, Italian, Russian and French. The *tabula gratulatoria*, listing the researchers and colleagues who expressed their congratulations and well-wishes to the honoree, is six pages long.

The book opens with an introduction to the formative influences on the honoree's career and recalls two of the guiding motifs in his research, namely the veracity condition in linguistics and the importance of statistical data. It also portrays the professor as an uncompromising scholar who boldly challenged accepted views and authorities. The introduction is followed by a bibliography of the honoree's impressive scholarly output, featuring books, edited books, commentaries, book contributions, articles, rejoinders, reports and reviews – altogether over 950 items which were written in seven languages. The volume comprises, altogether, 38 papers written by both Polish and foreign leading theorists in their respective fields. The breadth of the contributions reflects the honoree's comprehensive approach to linguistics and bears witness to the importance of his oeuvre.

Notwithstanding the immense scholarly merit of the book, several shortcomings could be flagged. The foremost is related precisely to the wide scope of the languages in which the research is presented to the reader. The monograph includes nine articles in Polish, three in English, fifteen in French, two in Spanish, two in Russian, three in Italian and two in German. Even assuming a large worldwide readership of the publication, it is certain that no average reader can fluently read texts in all seven languages. Thus providing all of the articles with both Polish and English (or French) abstracts of the main points and research results would largely help – both in terms of supplying a unifying linguistic framework and giving all readers who acquire the book access to the totality of its contents.

This reservation in turn relates to another point, this time at the level of the authors' contributions: in fact, none of the papers features an abstract in any language, and most of them even lack a conclusions section. Providing these would make the book much more reader-friendly and would ensure that due attention would be drawn to the publication. Finally, the monograph would benefit from a division into chapters reflecting particular thematic realms – both relating to the honoree's scientific pursuits and also helping the reader find his or her way through this 490-page book.

---

<sup>1</sup> All translations from Russian, Polish, Italian, French and Spanish are ours [S. W. and M. H.-G.]. For the help with translations from German we are grateful to Dr Agnieszka Kossowska.

## 2. The importance of the high frequency of occurrence of a linguistic item

Professor Mańczak's seminal theories and hypotheses have been challenging scholars for over 50 years: both when linguists followed them in their research and when they set out to refute them. In both cases, in compliance with the professor's scientific credo, his ideas contributed to plurivocity in science and fostered open discussion. One such controversial theory, which has long been advocated by the honoree, is the theory of irregular phonetic development due to a high rate of occurrence. This theory's prominent place in the honoree's scholarly output is also corroborated by the fact that most of the contributions contained in this volume, more or less explicitly, relate to the criterion of the frequency of occurrence.

In discussing this theory we must not lose sight of an important corollary: the frequency aspect in phonology relates directly to the cognitive and communicative aspects of speech and to the mental nature of phonological substitutions. A "high frequency of occurrence" directly reflects the fact that a given form (lexeme or phrase) occurs often in speech interaction, *i.e.* it involves frequent communicative interactions (an issue that was touched upon also in Piechnik's paper in the reviewed volume, *cf.* Piechnik 2014: 389). Different phonological processes that apply to items frequently used by interlocutors encompass the balance between the strategies serving both the speaker (lenitions) and the hearer (fortitions) (see, *e.g.* Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2002; Dressler 2009; Dziubalska-Kołaczyk & Dressler 2006). Concomitantly, by admitting some anomalies in the development of frequently used words we are in fact corroborating not only the validity of the statistical approach but also the psychological aspect of phonology and the primacy of the communicative function.

High frequency of usage usually prompts higher incidence of natural and regular lenitions, which in frequently uttered phrases operate in a more extensive way than in a rare expression; for example, in his book presenting the tenets of Natural Phonology, Stampe gives the following example:

These substitutions [phonological changes] often apply to words which are readily recognizable due to their grammatical or semantic status or their commonness in conversation. In my speech the verb *think* is optionally pronounced with [h] instead of [θ] but only in its commonplace parenthetical use, as in *I think it's raining, isn't it?* – not in its use as a main verb, as in *I think, therefore I am*. The common phrase *I don't know* can be reduced to [ãõrõõ] or less, but the phonologically similar but uncommon phrase *I dent noses* tolerates no such reduction. (1979: 7–8)<sup>2</sup>

Still, Martinet admits that some frequently used forms, such as, *e.g.* *yes* and *no* in some languages, "although today adapted to the phonology of the languages in which we encounter them, must have presented, in the past, evident anomalies in relation to the system" ([1964] 1974: 40).<sup>3</sup> Martinet calls such anomalies "expressive reinforcement," which implies unexpected fortitive processes. This dichotomy relates directly to the topic of the economy of changes, and even to Zipf's law – a perspective that is actually also recognized by the honoree, as pointed out in Sosnowski's paper (Sosnowski, the reviewed volume, p. 401, footnote 8).

---

<sup>2</sup> There is also a question of lexical vs. corpus and paradigm frequency discussed, *e.g.* in the latest publications on morphonotactics and phonotactics (see, *e.g.* Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2012; Dziubalska-Kołaczyk *et al.* 2014).

<sup>3</sup> "Aunque hoy adaptadas a la fonología de las lenguas en las que nos las encontramos, debieron de presentar, en el pasado, evidentes anomalías con relación al sistema." André Martinet's book from 1937 is also cited by Floricic, p. 197. See also a retrospective on the principle of least effort and its application as "effort management" in Kul (2007).

In what follows, we will briefly synopsize the contributions grouped precisely into sets sharing a common focus: (i) etymology / language contact; (ii) language change / history of language; (iii) lexicography/translation; (iv) syntax/semantics; and (v) studies on contemporary language usage / sociolinguistics. It must be pointed out that the suggested groupings are only tentative – most of the contributions were truly interdisciplinary, hence they would fall under two or more of the thus established groups.

### 3. Content

#### 3.1. Etymology / language contact

An example of an etymological study is **Zbigniew Babik**'s paper on the importance of language contact in the realm of hydronymes in Eastern Europe. In the paper titled “Kilka uwag o nazwach Dniestru i Dniepru” [Several remarks on the names of the Dniester and the Dnieper Rivers], the author shows how these hydronymes retain their genetic identity despite the potential obstacles that occur during borrowing between various languages, which has influenced the present forms of these names.

The paper by **Wiesław Baryś**, “Z etymologii Kajkawskiej (przymiotniki *gorup*, *granek*, *grenek*, *obzjoren*, *rod/rud*, *sluk*, *utel/votel*, *vohek/vuhek*, *zden...*” [Topics on Kajkavian etymology: adjectives: *gorup*, *granek*, *grenek*, *obzjoren*, *rod/rud*, *sluk*, *utel/votel*, *vohek/vuhek*, *zden*], undertakes an etymological analysis of several words derived from Kajkavian, a scarcely analyzed dialect spoken mainly in central and northern Croatia. It is emphasized how this dialect combines elements of Slovene and Balkan language varieties, and what effect historical factors have had on them. The paper also contains a summary of the analyses of dictionaries and previously conducted studies on this dialect.

**Barbara Cynarska-Chomicka**, in her paper titled “Adaptacja fonetyczna i morfologiczna zapożyczeń friulskich w dialekcie rezjańskim” [Phonetic and morphological adaptation of Friulian borrowings in the Resian dialect], presents an overview of a language contact phenomenon in the north-eastern Italian valley of val Resia. In particular, this paper shows the effect of the local dialect on the phonology of lexical borrowings and on the morphological mixture formed by both local and foreign elements. The author stresses that all of these elements fit together well and are not considered to be forms of influence by native speakers.

The work “*Soldatenlatein: rōrārii*” [Soldier slang: *rōrārii*] by **Berhard Forssman** takes up the subject of the jargon that is used by Roman soldiers called *rōrārii*. A historical analysis of this term indicates the way in which it was imported from soldier slang into official Roman military discourse. The paper discusses the term's etymology and use over time.

**Renato Gendre**, in the paper titled “Sul sostrato celtico del provenzale: *alauda*, *alausa*, *bascauda*” [On the Celtic substratum of the Provencal: *alauda*, *alausa*, *bascauda*], investigates controversies besetting the etymology of the ornithonym *alauda* ‘lark’ ichtionym *alausa* ‘shad’ and *bascauda* ‘basin,’ ‘basket.’ Starting from the assumption by Whatmough (1949), namely that names of fish and names of other fauna are often connected, Gendre first reviews the existing scholarship on the topic and then in detail inspects the original Latin sources, taking into account where the classical authors hailed from, where the texts originated and the geographical distribution of the analyzed lexemes. Gendre concludes that, by taking into account their lexicographic profiles, the lexemes *alauda/alausa* and *bascauda/bascausa* are

clear cases of the Celtic substratum, thus contributing, to a certain extent, to the hypothesis according to which the Latin language might be rooted in Celtic.

The premise of the article by **Jean Haudry**, titled “Deux noms mythologiques indiens: *atri, aditi*” [Two mythological Hindu names: *atri, aditi*], is that comparative mythology could benefit from insights from phonology and morphology. Haudry uses resources offered by both phonology (the shortening of the thematic long high vowels *i* and *u* in derivatives) and morphology to shed new light on a form without a common etymology, such as the name of the mythic Indian poet *Atri*, and a form whose interpretation relied on false evidence – the name of the Hindu Goddess *Aditi*. He explores the semantic implications against a wider mythological background (e.g. the lack of a dichotomist divide between the black Earth and the luminous Earth – *Aditi* – *Kālī Durga*).

Etymology is also the focus of **Zhivka Koleva-Zlateva**’s article [Живка Колева-Златева] “К этимологии лат. *cancer*, др.гр. *καρκίνος*, др.инд. *kark(at)a* ‘рак, краб, омар’” [Towards the etymology of Lat. *cancer*, Old Greek *καρκίνος*, Old Indic *kark(at)a* ‘crayfish, crab, lobster’<sup>4</sup>]. Koleva-Zlateva starts by providing an exposé of the existing scholarship on the etymological relations between Lat. *cancer*, Old Greek *καρκίνος* and Old Indic *kark(at)a*, pointing out that semantic nests have sometimes been extended to include Slavic forms (*rak*),<sup>5</sup> but also narrowed by positing that the Indic word could have been borrowed from a non-Indic language. The theory of the Indo-European etymon of the Latin, Old Indic and Old Greek forms relies on two processes: the reduplication of the root \**kar* and, with that, the Latin form would concomitantly involve the dissimilation of the first rhotic liquid into the nasal stop. Having sketched the current state of knowledge regarding the existing analyses, the author proceeds to point out their inadequacies and a lack of independent motivation for the reviewed claims, being either cognitive or morphological; for example, she undermines the claim of the primary semiotic saliency of the “hardness” of the crayfish carapace or the “roundness” of its chelipeds. Also, in the current etymological interpretation the phonological process of reduplication is semantically vacuous. Koleva-Zlateva proposes to amend the indicated shortcomings by incorporating cognitive evidence (e.g. idioms in various languages) and arrives at a semantic path which assumes reduplication grounded in sound symbolism. Her analysis accounts both for the name of the creature itself and for the metaphorical transfer of the name to denote malicious tumors.

The topic of **Boris Oguibénine**’s paper, “Un paradoxe lexicographique védique et quelques faits indo-européens” [A lexicographic Vedic paradox and some Indo-European facts], are the etymological inconsistencies involving Vedic names for ‘eye’ (*ákṣi-, ákṣí-, ákṣá, neut.*) and the hub of a chariot or of a wheel (*ákṣa-, masc.*). The starting point of the investigation is the almost complete identity of the phonetic forms of the two lexemes (except the tone, grammatical genre and varying final vowel), as observed by Benfey (1848) and taken up by Grassmann (1964). Pointing out the shortcomings of previous approaches, and taking into account data from Slavic and other languages as well as the material aspect of ancient Indian vehicles, Oguibénine proposes several alternative etymological scenarios. The first scenario posits

<sup>4</sup> Translating note: there is a terminological split in English regarding this form. In the language of the original (Russian), just as e.g. in Polish, the same word denotes both the malicious tumor and the small freshwater crustacean. In English, the name for the latter was in all probability borrowed in the 14th century from Old French *crevis*, while the Latin form is used only to denote the illness.

<sup>5</sup> Which, from a phonological point of view, would have been quite an unusual and unnatural process – the word-initial voiceless stop in the *muta cum liquida* cluster is generally assumed to be very stable in all phonological perspectives.

metonymic reduction by taking into account the semantic structure (roundness/oblong shape) and an element that so far has been overlooked in the scholarship on the topic: the orifice in the structure of the wheel where the hub is placed. Oguibénine does not exclude an alternative explanation, relies on relevant facts in the history of technology and stresses the importance of semantic criteria in accounting for the similarities of the Vedic words for ‘hub’ and ‘eye’.

**Roman Sosnowski**’s work, “Frequenza e oltre. Alcune forze in gioco nell’etimologia e nella morfologia del verbo *andare*” [Frequency and beyond. Some forces involved in the etymology and morphology of the verb *to go*], investigates irregularities in the phonetic development of Latin *ambulāre* (E) ‘to walk’ into (It.) *andare* and (Fr.) *aller* on the basis of a corpus of 16th-century Italian texts (OVI - Opera del Vocabolario Italiano, *Corpus OVI dell’italiano antico*). Sosnowski observes that in the 16th century we come across a situation where the paradigm of *andare* (the result of suppletivism of (Lat.) *vadēre/ambulāre*) attaches to *ire/gire*, thus gradually gaining preponderance and eradicating the latter. The results of the study confirm Mańczak’s hypothesis of the correlation between frequency of occurrence and shortening of the forms of *andare* (*va, vanno, vai*).

### 3.2. Language change, theory and history of language

The next large thematic set to be singled out consists of works devoted to studies on language change and issues on the history/theory of language. **Xaveiro Ballester**, in the paper titled “Protoroman, la lengua de Nunca Jamás” [Protoroman, the language of Never More], revisits with critical intent the debate on the origin of the Romance languages while at the same time relating to Mańczak’s theories on the issue. As Ballester points out, there are two main strands of theorizing the rise of Romance languages, both of which agree that Romance comes from Vulgar Latin; the “sister” theory, wherein Vulgar Latin is a sister language to Classical Latin, and the “daughter” theory, wherein Vulgar Latin is a daughter language of Classical Latin (the option that is advocated, among others, by the honoree). Ballester points out that Mańczak’s option has three advantages over the sister theory option: (i) it is not exclusive, *i.e.* it allows the natural incorporation of Classical Latin into the vein of Romance languages, (ii) it entails the concept of several Vulgar Latins rather than a unique one, and, most importantly, (iii) it precludes the option which the rival theory allows: namely, the positing of an abstract Proto-Roman language laden with asterisks. The stance taken by Ballester himself stipulates that in studying language development one should go beyond arboreal structures and, the more so, beyond abstract pre-languages, and instead, the research should take into account the genuine speakers of bygone languages and language contact.

The paper by **Alfred Bammesberger**, “Der Ausgang \*-ō in der 1. Person Singular des Aktivs in der thematischen Konjugation des Indogermanischen” [The resulting \*-ō in the first person singular active in the thematic conjugation in Indo-Germanic], focuses on an analysis of the form using \*-ō in the first person singular. The author states that this form can be reconstructed from the thematic vowel in combination with the laryngeal theory. This reconstruction applies the method of comparing similar sounds.

The contribution of **Leszek Bednarczuk** (“Roman occidental et britonique celtique” [Occidental Romance and the Brittonic branch of Celtic]) addresses the topic of similarities in the structure and evolution of Occidental Romance languages and the Brittonic branch of Celtic languages. The analysis starts from the end of Antiquity (4th and 5th centuries), *i.e.* when Vulgar Latin clearly broke off from

Classical Latin. Bednarczuk also takes into account the stage that took place around the 6th–7th centuries, *i.e.* when other changes occurred, and also when the earliest written sources are testified. The *terminus ad quem* of the analysis is the 13th century, the epoch when Middle Gaulish emerged, which is compared to the system of Late Old French. Bednarczuk offers a holistic analysis of linguistic change taking place on the phonological (segmental and suprasegmental), morphological and syntactic levels. In determining the direction of the influence in the region under investigation, he points to the source of innovation as having either a Celtic origin (*e.g.* consonantal lenition, vigesimal numerical system) or coming from a local variety of Vulgar Latin (*e.g.* the loss of phonemic length distinction in vowels, the development of a prothetic vowel in word-initial /s/-consonant clusters).

**Pierre Flobert** refers to the topic of the influence of frequency of usage in the paper titled “Un rescapé indo-européen: le présent du verbe *être* en latin et en français” [The Indo-European survivor: the present of the verb *être* in Latin and in French]. Invoking new phonetic hypotheses and epigraphic contributions, and incorporating them with classical scholarship related to phonetic and morphological changes in an analysis of the present tense forms of the verb *to be*, Flobert discusses each grammatical person one by one, starting with the posited \*PIE forms. Romance reflexes constitute a separate phase, marking the renovation of the system and new suppletivisms. In conclusion, the author emphasizes that the morphological and phonological trajectories of the verb *to be* throughout the ages entail irregularities caused by the frequency of usage, but these must be contextualized by parameters such as, *e.g.* the rate of weakening (*e.g.* syncope, apocope of the law of the least effort).

The communicative and “natural” dimension of phonological changes has been indicated above by means of references to Dziubalska-Kołaczyk’s and Stampe’s work. It has also been pointed out that the direction of investigation, placing in this context the frequency of occurrence, is interwoven in quite a few contributions in this volume. Such an example par excellence is provided by the research reported in the paper by **Frank Floricic** titled “Castilian *dejar*, gascon *dichà*, catalan/ portugais *deixar*, sarde *dassare*: un cas de fortition?” [Castilian *dejar*, Gascon *dichà*, Catalan/Portuguese *deixar*, Sardinian *dassare*: a case of fortition?]. Floricic’s work interrogates various research objectives, the paramount one being that of providing an explanation for the occurrence of the dental voiced occlusive in word-initial position in a number of Romance languages and dialects, such as, *e.g.* Castilian *dejar*, Gascon *dichà*, Catalan/Portuguese *deixar*, and Sardinian *dassare*, where etymologically we would expect a continuation of the Latin lamino-alveolar liquid – Lat. *laxare* ‘to slacken.’ The presence of /d/, as Floricic observes, has inspired a vast array of etymological explanatory scenarios and inflamed discussions. His own contribution aims to point out the role that the frequency of occurrence might have played in the outcome of *laxare* as well as to bring to light the role that the imperative form might have played in the process.

Based on data from the online diachronic corpora of Romance varieties, the author reviews existing explanations for phonetic change, positing both lenition and fortition, and pointing out that the phenomenon was most commonly explained by a syntactically based process of dissimilation (*El lo lexia*). His own line of research stems from the assumption (*e.g.* by Dixon) that the imperative is affected by a larger amount of reduction simply due to its intrinsic focus and pragmatic role. Floricic motivates the imperative as the “bare” and basic form of the verb from the communicative perspective. The frequently attested passage of /l/ > /d/ and even to [d] ([d]) – the retroflex variant – would serve the function of maximizing (phonetics- and information-wise) the beginning of the word to make the imperative more salient.

The work “Kształtowanie się form polskich partykuł” [The formation of forms of Polish particles] by **Krystyna Kleszczowa** undertakes the topic of the historical development of Polish grammatical particles in history and the changes in their forms throughout the centuries. On the basis of extensive dictionary analysis, the author argues that the original statement regarding the formation of particles in conformity with the law of irregular phonetic development needs to be replaced in this case with a more tentative principle which accounts for norms involving more varied particle form creation.

The paper by **Iwona Kraska-Szlenk**, titled “Analogy in Language Use and Change,” focuses on a review of the position of analogy in linguistic studies with a particular emphasis on phonology and morphology. The author gives an overview of the approaches to the origin of analogical changes in studies throughout the past half century. However, the statement which is most prominent in this study seems to be the one that analogical changes are predictable based on a balance of frequency and semantic criteria.

Language change is also considered in the paper by **Moreno Morani** titled “Vicende di /l/ indoeuropeo fra armeno e lingue romanze” [Vicissitudes of Indo-European /l/ between Armenian and Romance languages]. The author points out that for scholars working on the reconstruction of a common phase of languages, the Romance languages are of particular interest because of the well-documented passage from a relatively common phase into an array of multiform varieties. The series of lateral liquids, reconstructed for Indo-European, features only one phoneme, *i.e.* /l/. Its Latin continuation, as Morani points out after Priscian, yielded three allophones: *exilis* (palatal - [ʎ]), *pinguis* (velar - [ɫ]) and *media* (dental - [l]). The subsequent story of /l/ in the particular languages and dialects is, however, intricate. The distinction between the lateral and dental variant becomes less pronounced already in the imperial era. Morani provides a synopsis of a particular series of processes of palatalization and velarization, concluding that the original situation developed in a complex manner, thus resulting in fluid and variegated scenarios. In no Romance area does phonologization of all three Latin allophones take place. What is more important is that if there is an opposition between the palatal and the dental variety, it is due to relatively recent and secondary processes. Hence the Latin situation does not re-emerge from the Romance data. Morani turns to Armenian data, where, as he points out, there intervene additional grapheme complications due to the presence of the voiced velar fricative. Yet in the course of the analysis, Morani is able to trace a clear evolution of the three allophones in question.

**Iwona Piechnik's** contribution, titled “Tempo des changements dans les langues par le biais de facteurs externes: exemples indo-européens et finno-ougriens” [The rate of language change via external factors: Indo-European and Finno-Ugric examples], addresses the topic of language change from the typological perspective. The author passes selected languages and dialects spoken in Europe through an analysis of various (system-external) sociolinguistic, cultural, historical and pragmatic factors, such as, *e.g.* national conscience, oral tradition, national temper, language policies, silence and the frequency of usage, in order to shed light on the rate of change. Piechnik concludes that an explanation in terms of geographical and mathematical factors is insufficient to measure the degree of conservatism of a given language. The “conservatism” inherent in a given language variety seems to depend rather on the amount of ethnic and linguistic homogeneity of a given linguistic community as well as on a conflux of factors such as its cultural habits, language policy, *etc.* The rate of changes appears to be ruled by either low or high frequency of usage, not only in the narrow sense (particular lexemes) but in general, encompassing the entire system of language.

The article “Protolanguage Models, Reconstruction Methodology, Khakas, Oghuz and English” by **Marek Stachowski** takes up the topic of the foundations of protolanguage models in order to apply it to a discussion of the origins of three languages: one in the Caucasus region, one in Siberia and that of Middle English. The author reports how various assumptions brought up in the discussion of these languages (genetic kinship, areal protolanguage, creole) were manifested in their known developments. However, the conclusion is that the result must be a common effect of language contact in the *Sprachbund*, with some effect of genetic similarity.

**Rémy Viredaz** undertakes a study of a topic that is well recognized in Slavonic scholarship, namely that of the three palatalizations in Common Slavonic (“Sur la palatalisation progressive du slave (et les finales françaises *-ons*, *-ier*)” [On palatalization in Slavic (and the French desinences *-ons*, *-ier*)]. His study concentrates on the third palatalization<sup>6</sup> of velars, *i.e.* the progressive one, which was triggered by the highest front vowels – \*i, \*ī and \*in (CS b, i, ē).<sup>7</sup> Pointing out several problematic issues regarding this process, Viredaz offers a novel explanation by drawing on data from the Old Novgorodian dialect (OND) and other languages (*e.g.* French, Yiddish, Ukrainian). A scrutiny of the attested progressive palatalization data in, *e.g.* French or Yiddish, shows that this process takes place and is usually limited to frequently used words. The hypothesis that Viredaz motivates, based on the archaisms of OND, posits that the process called “third palatalization” appeared first in the frequently used suffixes (*e.g.* \*-ika) as an irregular phonetic assimilation due to the frequency. This scenario, incorporating several consecutive stages, accounts for both the tantalizing facts about OND (*e.g.* the restricted scope of the palatalization) and other enigmatic cross-linguistic facts.

As was indicated before, the views of Professor Mańczak, which were often controversial and often running against mainstream linguistic theories, provoked a large array of critical voices. The contribution of **Bogdan Walczak**, titled “La langue est-elle “tout ce que l'on parle ou écrit?”” [Is *la langue* all that is spoken or written?], is an example of a sustained critique and a report of a long-lasting polemic with the honoree. Walczak admits that the honoree of the Festschrift has always treasured occasions in which it would be possible to freely exchange and challenge one another’s views. As an example of such a polemic he gives the diverging views he and the honoree held on a number of issues. One of these concerns the genesis of articles in Romance languages, and another regards the essence of the historical relatedness of languages. The present paper is devoted to another “iconoclastic” view of the honoree, namely his notorious critique of Saussure’s *Course in General Linguistics* and the terms contained therein,

---

6 As Viredaz emphasizes, the term ‘palatalization’ covers several different processes, *i.e.* partial (surface or phonetic) palatalization, phonologized palatalization, whereupon the palatal order came into being (*e.g.* t – t’), the process involving alternation of the place of articulation and, finally, eventual depalatalization.

7 Konieczna observes that this particular process used to be called after Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (“palatalizacja Baudouinowska”) since it was he who first pointed to its existence. Sketching the general characteristics of the third palatalization, she observes that this process did not encompass /x/ and is restricted only to cases when the velar stop is not followed by former ū or ī or any other consonant. In other realms of word formation it affected the suffixes -īca, -īcb, -īca, with the suffix -ikb having arisen later. She also admits that it is difficult to reach a consensus on the relative chronology of the second and third palatalizations, *i.e.* whether the progressive (“Baudouinian”) one was prior to the second Common Slavonic palatalization or whether it followed it. Konieczna emphasizes that, whatever the case, one aspect can be established for certain: both must have occurred during closer contacts of the Slavs with the Goths, *i.e.* around the third century A.D., since quite a large number of Gothic loan words show the effects of both (1965: 29).

in particular the arbitrariness of sign, the novelty of contained thoughts and, in particular, the legitimacy of the very distinctions: *la langage – langue: parole*.<sup>8</sup>

### 3.3. Syntax/semantics

The section which we have labeled “syntax/semantics” is quite heterogeneous and collects articles devoted to a formal analysis of linguistic systems. **Jerzy Bańcerowski**’s paper, “The coding of syntactic structure of sentences in retrospect,” concentrates on two modes of theorizing syntax which were devised in the first half of the 20th century, *i.e.* constituent structure grammar, grounded in the work of Leonard Bloomfield, and categorical grammar (as elaborated by Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz).<sup>9</sup> Setting out from the assumption that graphical representations for the same sentence in the respective grammars are mirror images of each other, the scholar advocates the need to search for an underlying basis for both solutions. Qualification (determinative) grammar is proposed as such a meta-descriptive framework. The reformulation of CsG and CtG in terms of QfG reveals two aspects of syntax which, as Bańcerowski points out, are inseparable: the syntactic synthesis and syntactic analysis of a sentence. Having defined all of the primitive terms used in his analysis (*e.g.* *Tgn* – the set of tagmons), Bańcerowski exposes the possibilities of syntactization of sentences, also by using Ludwik Zabrocki’s codematics.

The frequency factor also plays a key role in the study by **Frédérique Biville** titled “La distribution du système des conjonctions de subordination dans le Latin de Priscien” [A distribution of the system of subordination conjunctions in the Latin of Priscian].<sup>10</sup> The author investigates an ensemble of 18 books,

<sup>8</sup> We could add at this point that the reservations and criticisms towards the *Course* have been openly voiced practically since its first publication. An in-depth study on the topic is provided in, *e.g.* Percival (1981); Bouissac (2010); Jakobson (1973). For example, Percival (1981: 41) cites Trubetzkoy’s letter to Jakobson from 1932, in which the prince bluntly states that “for inspiration I have re-read de Saussure, but I must say that on a second reading it has made much less of an impression on me. In general there is relatively little of value in it; most of it is old rubbish (*staryj xlam*), and what is valuable in it is terribly abstract, not very concrete.” The key to the problem is captured by Bouissac, who indicates that Bally and Sechehaye, although they did attend some of Saussure’s courses on comparative grammar, nonetheless “had not been present at any of the three courses in general linguistics that Saussure gave between 1906 and 1911” (Bouissac 2010: 117). What is more, both “editors” had drastically differing views on the linguistic architecture from those they attributed to de Saussure in the *Course*. Percival provides an extended quote from Bally’s inaugural address on succeeding to Saussure’s professorial chair in 1913, pointing out that although Bally began by dutifully and deferentially expounding Saussure’s framework of ideas, he swiftly “proceeded to state quite openly that he himself had reached different conclusions from those of his master” (Percival 1981: 42). As far as the novelty of Saussurean ideas, Jakobson writes: “A travers le *Cours de Genève*, c’est l’idée fondamentale du *Profil de Kruszewski* sur les deux axes linguistiques, l’axe syntagmatique et l’autre, qu’on appellée aujourd’hui paradigmatic, qui a profondément pénétré dans la linguistique internationale contemporaine. Baudouin se servit lui aussi de cette dichotomie comme de différentes autres idées de Kruszewski dans ses travaux tardifs [...]. Mais il faut dire qu’en réalité la conception des problèmes en question chez Kruszewski est beaucoup plus systématique, plus cohérente et plus vaste que celle de Baudouin et de Saussure” (1973: 256). Finally, Bouquet *et al.* (eds.) (2002), in the preface to the first edition of Saussure’s own notes (*Écrits de linguistique générale*), observe that from the notes it appears that his view of the discipline is less categorical than in the 1916 rendering. Moreover, “[t]he meticulous foundations – epistemological and philosophical of the Swiss linguist’s thought correspond exactly to the two components somewhat neglected by his ‘editors’ (this is how, curiously, Bally and Sechehaye refer to themselves in the preface to the book which they drafted from the beginning to the end)” (Bouquet *et al.* 2002: xiii).

<sup>9</sup> We can recall here that Bańcerowski argues elsewhere (Bańcerowski 2004) that Chomsky must have been familiar with the work of Ajdukiewicz; however, he has meticulously avoided citing this scholar.

<sup>10</sup> *Priscianus Caesariensis*, Latin grammarian, born in 470 AD in Caesarea (today Cherchell in Algeria) and active in the first half of the 6th century.

*LArs Prisciani* (published between 526–527), together with two volumes of *Partitiones* (comments on the initial verses of the *Aeneid*). As Biville observes, Priscian's oeuvre is dedicated to an analysis of Latin by contrasting usages of that language in the works of ancient writers (*antiqui*) with those of his contemporaries (*iuniores*). As follows, the evaluative and comparative dimension is inherent in Priscian's work. Biville conducts an analysis of Priscian's meta-language, focusing on the usage of subordination conjunctions (e.g. declarative completives, indirect interrogatives) by combining numerical preponderance with functional recoil. The pedagogical discourse shows that the system tends to reorganize itself around conjunctions that are clearly identifiable by a common form derived from the base *qu-*.

The paper by **Maciej Grochowski**, “W poszukiwaniu różnic znaczeń (na przykładzie opozycji *co najmniej – przynajmniej*)” [Looking for differences in meanings (based on the example of the opposition between *at least – not less*)], undertakes an analysis of the two synonymous expressions. On the basis of a semantic and contextual analysis of several examples and dictionaries, the author takes the view that these two should be classified as unequivocal, yet not equal. The author expresses the view that this conclusion needs further studies into similar expressions and justification by applying other methodologies.

The paper “O partykułach inaczej. Kilka uwag o problemach terminologicznych” [Another approach to particles: a few remarks on terminology problems] by **Marcela Świątkowska** undertakes a comparison of theories regarding grammatical particles in both French and Polish linguistics. The text indicates that it is not sufficient to consider old formal theories defining parts of speech but that it is necessary to perform an analysis of the function of particles at the level of discourse and their role in communication.

The paper “O wpływie frekwencji na rozwój semantyczny” [On the influence of frequency on semantic development] by **Mariola Jakubowicz** covers the interesting topic of how the frequency of expressive lexemes (such as exclamations, adverbs and slang words) can influence the development of new words and expressions. The author makes the point that new forms are derived on the basis of greater use of existing ones, while the latter lose their sharpness. The author derived this view from an extension of Professor Mańczak's idea of irregular development as caused by frequency.

### 3.4. Contemporary language usage / sociolinguistics

The volume also contains a group of papers dealing with contemporary language usage, which we have grouped together with the sociolinguistic perspective. “Contemporary” is understood here in a somewhat wider sense as being in a ‘non-historical/diachronic’ perspective.

**Anna Bochnakowa**, in her article “La question de l'attribut ethnique (vingt ans après)” [The question of the ethnic attribute (twenty years later)], revisits the topic she first introduced in 1995 on the 70th birthday Festschrift offered to the present honoree: the nature of the ethnic attribute in French, as in, e.g. *Mon père est F/français*. In brief, as Bochnakowa points out, there is cross-linguistic variation as to the orthographic convention of denoting the nature of an attribute (a noun or an adjective). In English, both the noun ('A French citizen, a person who has French nationality') and the adjective ('related to France') are written with a majuscule. In Spanish and in Italian, both are indiscriminately annotated with a minuscule. In Polish, the noun is written with a capital letter while the adjective is not, but the Polish language clearly distinguishes between the two as separate words (*Polak* vs. *polski*). The situation in French, however, is far from unanimous. Theoretically, the ethnonym should be written with a capital letter and the adjectival ethnic attribute should not. Bochnakowa's longitudinal studies reveal a series

of inconsistencies, both regarding FFL textbooks and scholarly elaborations. The real question is of a cognitive nature, *i.e.* the choice that the speakers make to fill the predicate position. Bochnakowa concludes that today the adjectival option is beginning to prevail.

**Hans Goebel**, in the paper titled “L’impact de la polynymie des cartes d’atlas sur le résultat de calculus dialectométriques” [The impact of the polynymy of atlas cards on the result of dialectometrical calculus] focuses on the dialectometric methods in the analysis of cards of the ALF.<sup>11</sup> The adopted term, *polynymie* ‘polynymy’, allows for a fine-grained terminological ladder, *e.g.* *mononyme* ‘mononym’ (without variations) or *mésonyme* ‘mesonym’ (having a medium-sized number of types [*taxats*] ). The analyzed corpus consisted of 1681 working cards (*CT/WC*) implying the content of an original atlas card after having undergone the process of typization) belonging to the categories of phonetics, morpho-syntax and lexis. The reported research has a multilayered dimension, thus allowing for a multitude of conclusions; for example, the first stage of the study revealed that dialectometrical deep structures are impregnated with a high internal redundancy, as compared to the redundancy, as the author points out, of all communicative signing systems. Goebel directly links the exposed redundancy with a pragmatic communicative background. The article also provides an overview of basic methods used by the Salzburg School of Dialectometry, and discusses, explains, and compares three pairs of choropleth cards obtained by means of the Visual DialectoMetry program.

Aleksandra Valsilyevna Superanskaya (Александра Васильевна Суперанская), in the paper titled “Имятворчество 20-30 гг. XX века” [Creating proper names in the 1920s and 1930s], describes the outburst of the creation of proper names in Russia after the October Revolution. She presents the process against the wider system of customs connected with declarations in a state of atheism (*e.g.* *oktyabrienne* instead of christening). The prohibition against giving children traditional names, such as *Ivan* or *Varvara*, was accompanied by a stipulation to choose from a set of names connected with the revolution and having a strong and immediate ideological load, *e.g.* *Oktyabrina*, *Marksina*. The invention of names for children also veered in the direction of the glorification of technology, *e.g.* *Traktor*, *Elektrostancja*, or being abundant in acronyms, *e.g.* *Virakl* (the acronym of the Russian phrase ‘faithful to the ideals of the working class’). The same process of eradication of identity took place as an elimination of particular names for cities or villages and in naming them on a massive scale after the Revolution’s leaders. Superanskaya concludes that these names soon disappeared because they were not in fact names but sets of ideologically-loaded words.

**Henriette Walter**, in the article “Les hauts et les bas des suffixes français” [The ups and downs of French suffixes], traces the vicissitudes of some suffixes in contemporary French. The study shows that, except for scientific vocabulary, suffixation in French undergoes productivity and frequency fluctuation. Walter traces various, often opposite, dimensions of the dynamic movement of suffixes within the lexicon; for example, there are numerous forms which used to involve morphological concatenation but have become lexicalized, *e.g.* (Fr.) *croissance* ‘growth’ or *nuisance* ‘nuisance’, where *-ance* is actually a cranberry morpheme. Other suffixes which used to be very productive while retaining their suffixal status are abandoned; for example, *-esse* served to feminize the names of jobs/occupations. There are still others which ‘skyrocket’ within the lexicon for a short period of time and then suddenly vanish, such as *-os*

<sup>11</sup> ALF – *L’Atlas linguistique de la France* (The Linguistic Atlas of France), compiled by Jules Gilliéron and Edmond Edmont in 1897–1900 and published in the early 1900s. It consists of a series of cards capturing the linguistic and dialectal variation in France at the turn of the century.

(e.g. *coolos*). There are also traditional suffixes which regain productivity, especially in colloquial speech, e.g. *-erie* (*kitscherie* ‘all that is kitsch’).

### 3.5. Lexicography / translation studies

The final body of papers could be proposed to fall into a category related to lexicographic/translation studies. The article by Urszula Dąmbska-Prokop, “O *translatio studi* kilka uwag” [A few remarks on *translatio studi*], gives a comprehensive account of the process of *translatio studi* on French ground – which refers to knowledge transferred and spread by means of a native language. This process occurred in France in the 15th and 16th centuries in circumstances where the native language started to be used in conditions in which it had not been used before, *i.e.* for science, law and religion. The author stresses the difficulties encountered in this process due to the poor vocabulary and reluctance regarding this language change in some circles.

The text by Przemysław Dębowiak, “Les diminutives dans les traductions francaises de textes littéraires polonais” [Diminutives in the French translations of literary Polish texts], tackles the topic of the frequency of concurrence in a contrastive Polish-French study of diminutives in literary works. The starting point of the research is the view held by many scholars (apart from the cited works by Witold Mańczak and Jan Miodek we could also mention here research by Anna Wierzbicka and Jolanta Szpyra-Kozłowska) that Polish, in particular in the casual register, abuses diminutives. French, in turn, is generally thought of as being reluctant to using this type of word formation, and is considered “thrifty” with diminutives even among Romance family languages. Moreover, synthetic diminutives are used only sparingly. The database for Dębowiak’s research consists of two parallel pairs of texts: Ryszard Kapuściński’s Polish novel *Cesarz* (English translation: *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat*) contrasted with its French translation *Le Néguis* [transl. by Véronique Patte] and Witold Gombrowicz’s novel *Kosmos* contrasted with its French translation *Cosmos* by Georges Sédir. The author conducts exhaustive frequency calculations by breaking the extracted data into synthetic, analytic and mixed diminutives while taking into account all sorts of criteria (e.g. the mean number of typographic units per page). The numerical data obtained show the absolute number of diminutives in the respective literary works and their French translations. The results show the preponderance of diminutives in the Polish texts. Moreover, synthetic forms take the lead in the Polish originals, while the analytic ones take lead in the French translations.<sup>12</sup>

12 There could be one possible reservation to be voiced with regard to Dębowiak’s conclusions. While indeed the title of the contribution perfectly reflects the conducted, exhaustive analysis, the conclusions drawn seem to be too strong and too general for this type of case study. There does not seem to be any grounds in the analytic results to jump to generalizations of the type “in French” or “in Polish,” or in positing such a high difference rate (3.2-fold). In particular: “les diminutifs apparaissent plus souvent en polonais qu’en français; leur fréquence est environ 3,2 fois grande dans la première langue” (p. 188f). All that the gathered material allows one to conclude is that in the two analyzed literary texts and their single translations, the two translators did not use as many diminutives as the Polish writers did, which indeed might indirectly support the claim of the preference for diminutives in Polish. Also, there is the additional issue of the idiosyncrasy of the artistic style of Gombrowicz, mentioned in fact by the author himself (cf. footnote 1, p. 182) as well as the figures – the total (absolute) number of diminutives in the text of *Kosmos* amounts to 489 (93%). This is, in fact, a text in which diminutives are the protagonist, not a mere linguistic fact, hence the choice of this particular text is not analytically neutral. So how does the 93% compare with a neutral source, such as National Corpus data? For example, the words *zaświniowatowanko*, *naukowczuniu* [vocative] or the phrase *panius kochanieńki* can hardly be considered typical, Polish diminutive word formation strategies. The vastly lower rate of French correspondents in the case of this text could simply reflect nothing but

The issue of the importance of frequency of occurrence as well as the importance of lexicography is taken up by **Maria Iliescu** in her paper “Une aventure du mot Fr. *défausser*” [An adventure of the French word *défausser*]. Having reviewed lexicographic descriptions for the (Rom.) adjective *deșăntat*, the author identifies two separate lexemes in contemporary Romanian under the common phonetic form of *deșăntat*: one with reduced frequency and independently explained by *șant*, and the other, the adjective, with pejorative connotations, e.g. (E.) ‘displaced’, ‘exaggerated.’ Taking into account the French lexicographic descriptions of (Fr.) *défausser* and the pragmatic background for French borrowings in Romanian, especially related to *jeux de société*, Iliescu motivates the claim that the second meaning of *deșăntat* comes from the French adjective *défaussé*, a borrowing from the lexical field of card playing.

**Leena Löfsfeld**, in the paper “La Magna Carta, un document bilingue” [The Magna Carta, a bilingual document], offers a comparative analysis of two versions of the document from the early 13th century – The Magna Carta – the version in Latin and the version in French that was found in Normandy. First, Löfsfeld addresses Holt’s hypothesis that the French version originated in England and that there could be at least one intermediate version. Examining in detail the orthographic inconsistencies and morphological errors, Löfsfeld concludes that the French version is an Anglo-Norman text and that an intermediate document must have existed. She also analyzes the Latin version which, as she points out, is written in a Latin modeled on French. Moreover, the document must have been written in haste. The author then tackles the “vexed” question of anteriority, *i.e.* which version was the original? A fine-grained analysis leads to her pointing out the numerous interdependencies of the two texts. She concludes that the two texts, both of an insular provenance, reflect the end of the empire of the Plantagenets and show the different functions of the two varieties: the documentary and preserving function of the Latin version vs. the dynamic and creative nature of the French version.

The article “O polonizmach w języku włoskim” [Polish elements in Italian] by **Stanisław Sidlak** discusses the language contact situations which led to borrowing from Polish to Italian. It is indicated that throughout the centuries, few Polish words have entered common Italian and the ones which have managed to penetrate Italian texts are mostly terms which describe a culture and religion common to the two countries. The fact that borrowing in the reverse direction has been popular is connected with the superiority of Italian and of its Latin origin.

The aim of **Ewa Stala**’s paper, “El material español en el diccionario de M. Amszejewicz” [The Spanish material in the dictionary of M. Amszejewicz (1859)], is to present an analysis of the lexicographic material contained in the dictionary by Michał Amszejewicz (published in Warsaw in 1859). The author undertakes the study with the view that scholarly elaborations regarding this dictionary are scarce. As far as the statistics for contemporary Polish are concerned, Stala points out that studies on the borrowings show that Spanish as a donor language is a negligible source (*e.g.* 2627 items from Latin vs. 52 items from Spanish).<sup>13</sup> Stala subjects to analysis not only lexemes possessing the qualification *hiszp.* (“Sp.”) in that dictionary, but also those which overtly lack this qualification yet their form clearly indicates Spanish

---

the trouble a given translator had when dealing with the artistic world which Gombrowicz had created by means of Leon’s style of speaking; there might not be anything systemic in this (see also, *e.g.* Kania & Tokarski 1984: 136 on neologisms in the artistic style of Stanisław Grochowiak). Dębowiak’s research could also potentially be extended in the reverse direction, which might give a more objective picture, *i.e.* embarking on a study of an original artistic text in French and comparing how a Polish translator copes with that French literary text or, the second option, tracing perhaps a literary work of art having several different translations and working statistically from there.

13 Data from Kania and Tokarski (1984: 211), after Stala, p. 427.

provenance. Hence there are three types of loan words: direct (Spanish – Polish), loans only vehiculed by Spanish (Arabic/indigenous languages of South America – Spanish – Polish) and lexemes which are of Spanish origin but entered the Polish lexicon through other languages, e.g. Italian (Spanish – Italian – Polish). The author discusses both the orthographic and morphological adaptations.

#### 4. Evaluation

Summarizing, the importance of a volume such as the present *Festschrift* cannot be overstated. Its strongest feature is that it pulls together various facets of the study of language, bound together by the compelling scholarly personality of the honoree. It presents a high level of versatile linguistic expertise and can be readily recommended to a wide readership, i.e. to students of various branches of linguistics and to scholars wanting to learn more about language sciences, and language usage in particular.

#### References

- Bańczerowski, Jerzy (2004) "Prady aksjomatyzacyjne w językoznawstwie." [In:] *Scripta Neophilologica Posnaniensis* 6; 15–72.
- Bouissac, Paul (2010) *De Saussure: A Guide for the Perplexed*. London: Continuum Int. Publishing Group.
- Bouquet, Simon, Rudolf Engler, Antoinette Weil (eds.) (2002) *Ferdinand de Saussure: Writings in General Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dressler, Wolfgang (2009) "Natural Phonology as Part of Natural Linguistics." [In:] *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 45 (1); 33–42.
- Dressler, Wolfgang U., Katarzyna Dziubalska-Kołaczyk (2006) "Proposing Morphonotactics." [In:] *Rivista di Linguistica* 18 (2); 249–266.
- Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, Katarzyna (2002) *Beats-and-Binding Phonology*. Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang.
- Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, Katarzyna (2012) "Modern Natural Phonology and Phonetics." [In:] Eugeniusz Cyran, Henryk Kardela, Bogdan Szymanek (eds.) *Sound, Structure and Sense. Studies in Memory of Edmund Gussmann*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego; 199–210.
- Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, Katarzyna, Paulina Zydorowicz, Michał Jankowski (2014) "English Morphonotactics: A Corpus Study." [In:] *The Phonetician. A Publication of ISPhS International Society of Phonetic Sciences* 107–108 (2013); 53–67.
- Jakobson, Roman (1973) *Essais de linguistique générale*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.
- Kania, Stanisław, Jan Tokarski (1984) *Zarys leksykologii i leksykografii polskiej*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne.
- Konieczna, Halina (1965) *Charakterystyka fonetyczna języka polskiego*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.
- Kul, Małgorzata (2007) *The Principle of Least Effort within the Hierarchy of Linguistic Preferences: External Evidence from English*. Ph.D. dissertation. Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz University.
- Martinet, André ([1964] 1974) *Economía de los cambios fonéticos*. Transl. by A. de la Fuente Arranz. Madrid: Editorial Gredos.
- Percival, Keith (1981) "The Saussurean Paradigm: Fact or Fantasy?" [In:] *Semiotica* 36 (1/2); 33–49.
- Stampe, David (1979) *A Dissertation on Natural Phonology*. New York: Garland.

*Academic  
Journal  
of  
Modern  
Philology*

## SUBMISSION GUIDELINES:

To make a submission send an email to ajmp.pan@gmail.com

For further details regarding stylesheet please follow the guidelines and article outline within this volume.

A submission of a paper is taken to mean an original work which has not been published elsewhere.

**All submitted papers undergo a double-blind review**, where neither the author nor the reviewers know each other's names. The procedure itself seeks to answer several questions:

1. How does the article contribute to a field or discipline?
2. Which elements are particularly valuable to readers?
3. How does the author's methodology fit into the study?
4. What is the quality of presented bibliographical entries?
5. Does the article qualify for publishing without any further corrections?
6. Does the article qualify for publishing with minor corrections? If so, what corrections are necessary?
7. Does the article qualify for publishing with major corrections? If so, what corrections are necessary?
8. Does the article not qualify for publishing? Please justify your opinion.
9. Other remarks.

### Notes for the authors:

1. All articles should be submitted as MS Word 97/2003 \*.doc file. The authors should use Times New Roman 12pt type in the main text. Long citations (over 60 words), notes and references should be made using 10pt type. If you are using a different text processor (*i.e.* OpenOffice, LibreOffice, Pages) please make sure that the text retains its formatting in MS Word.
2. Articles should fit between 20 000 and 33 000 characters including spaces and bibliography.
3. Authors are to include a 200–300 word abstract, 12pt type, 1.5 spacing, centred.
4. 1.5 spacing should be used throughout the text, excluding long citations, references and notes (single spacing).
5. The author's name and affiliation should be placed in the top left corner. Typeface Times New Roman 12pt, single spacing.
6. The article title should be made using 16pt type, centred.
7. Notes are to be placed under a regular text page.
8. Please do not use underlining and keep boldface to a minimum. Important terms can be italicized.
9. Tables and diagrams should be numbered sequentially. Their numbering along with table title should be placed under a table or diagram.
10. Diagrams and/or illustrations are to be inserted as images. Please do not use the built-in MS Word diagram drawing function. To reduce publishing costs, please use greyscale for images and diagrams.
11. Authors are obliged to secure in written form any third-party copyright permissions for re-publishing images and/or diagrams.
12. If you are not a native speaker of English, please have your contribution carefully checked by a native speaker.
13. References within the text should include a name, the year of publication and page(s), *i.e.* (Baker 2003: 24–76). For translated works use square brackets: (Stevenson [1975] 2001: 87–90). If you wish to include a newer edition, include the date of the original work: (Brown & Smith [1999] 2004: 12). The same analogies apply when creating bibliography.
14. Please double check whether only the cited works appear in bibliography and vice versa.

**Publishing procedures:**

1. Paper submissions: December 17, by the latest, prior to the year of publication.
2. A preliminary decision about accepting articles is made by the editorial board. The board appoints reviewers.
3. Papers are sent to reviewers. Each article undergoes a double-blind review.
4. Articles reviewed and accepted for publication are sent back to their authors to introduce any necessary changes or improvements.
5. The corrected articles undergo a second review by the editorial board.
6. Final copies are sent back to authors.
7. The volume is printed.
8. An example of selected references:

- Adams, Karen L., Anne Winter (1997) "Gang Graffiti as a Discourse Genre." [In:] *Journal of Sociolinguistics*. Vol. 1/3; 337–360.
- Adamska-Sałaciak, Arleta ([1998] 2001) "Jan Baudouin de Courtenay's Contribution to General Linguistics." [In:] Ernst F. K. Koerner, Aleksander Szwedek (eds.) *Towards a History of Linguistics in Poland*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins; 175–208.
- Adelung, Johann C. (1782) *Versuch einer Geschichte der Cultur des menschlichen Geschlechts*. Leipzig: Christian Gottlieb Hertel.
- Adler, Max K. (1977) *Pidgins, Creoles and Lingua Francas*. Hamburg: H. Buske Verlag.
- Aitchison, Jean (1995) "Tadpoles, Cuckoos, and Multiple Births: Language Contact and Models of Change." [In:] Jacek Fisiak (ed.) *Linguistic Change under Contact Conditions*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter; 1–13.
- Bańczerowski, Jerzy (1980) "Ludwik Zabrocki as a Theorist of Language." [In:] Ludwik Zabrocki. *U podstaw struktury i rozwoju języka*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe; 9–27.
- Boas, Franz (1930) "Anthropology." [In:] *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. New York. Vol. 2; 73–110.
- Bühler, Karl ([1934] 2004) [*Sprachtheorie. Die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache*. Jena.] Translated into Polish by Jan Koźbial. *Teoria języka. O językowej funkcji przedstawiania*. Kraków: Universitas.
- Campbell, Lyle (1997) *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fisiak, Jacek ([1975] 1985) *Wstęp do współczesnych teorii lingwistycznych*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne.
- Gallatin, Albert H. (1836) "Synopsis of North American Indian Languages." [In:] *Archaeologica Americana. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*. Vol. 2; 1–422.

## ADDRESSES OF THE EDITORS:

COMMITTEE FOR PHILOLOGY POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WROCŁAW BRANCH	PHILOLOGICAL SCHOOL OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN WROCŁAW PUBLISHING
Podwale 75 50-449 Wrocław Poland <a href="http://www.wroclaw.pan.pl">www.wroclaw.pan.pl</a>	Sienkiewicza 32 50-335 Wrocław Poland <a href="http://www.wsf.edu.pl">www.wsf.edu.pl</a>