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Sourcing Data from Wikipedia for the Study of Language Contact: the csbwiki¹

Abstract

Contact-induced language change is pervasive in contexts involving historically minoritized languages, where social contexts are not particularly conducive to equitable intergroup relations. Empirically driven studies involving these language contexts allow us to more thoroughly understand the social and cognitive processes that lead to language change. Paradoxically, empirical data on minoritized languages is relatively scarce and expensive to generate. But in the digital age we have the ability to look beyond the traditional data types used in language studies, like spoken data gathered under fieldwork conditions, literature, etc. In this paper, I will explore the potential utility of user-created wiki data in investigating Polish influence on the Kashubian language.

Keywords: contact-induced language change, wiki data, Kashubian, corpus linguistics, vowel alternation

1. Introduction

In the field of contact linguistics, it is pragmatic to utilize diverse types of empirical data to observe and understand the processes and results of language contact. Many studies in contact linguistics are based on relatively small samples of spoken data, gathered in interviews, “traditional” linguistic elicitation, or recorded during (participant) observation. Reliance on this data type is justified by the fact that it is perceived to more closely represent natural spoken language, and study results are routinely qualitative. Contrariwise studies that rely on large(r) corpora of written data tend to result in more quantitatively-

1 This paper is a result of research conducted under the auspices of the project *New Speakers of Minority Languages: Proficiency, Variation, and Change* 2021–2023, hosted at the Institute of Slavic Studies: Polish Academy of Sciences, funded by the Polish National Science Centre (NCN) under the “POLS” instrument financed by Norway Grants. Contract #2020/37/K/HS2/02779.

oriented illustrations of the distributions or spread of features of interest. I would argue that integrating these types of data lead to a more holistic picture of the effects of language contact.

In the cases of historically minoritized languages and languages with a small number of speakers, those that lack extensive infrastructure like large corpora and computational / NLP tools, researchers must be creative in generating their own sources of diverse data. In this paper, I will present the methods and explore the potential utility of using data from Wikipedia as a supplementary data source in the study of language contact; specifically, I examine the distribution of feature variants attested in spoken data, characteristic of Polish influence, in the Kashubian-language Wikipedia. In the next section, I introduce the wider research context and motivate the inclusion of a written corpus, specifically Wikipedia data, in the analyses. In Section 3, I introduce Wikis and Wikipedia along with a brief overview of the Kashubian-language Wikipedia. Then in Section 4, I explore the case of a single case of feature variants on order to estimate the utility of using Wiki data as a supplement in this case. Finally, I conclude with a discussion on the utility of the data and methods employed both generally and for this particular case – the study of Kashubian in contact with Polish.

2. Research Context: the New Speakers of Minority Languages Project

Within the project *New Speakers of Minority Languages: Proficiency, Variation and Change*, we seek to explore the relationship between language acquisition and contact-induced language changes. Particularly, we are interested in empirical evidence that not only supports a link between acquisition and change but illustrates the processes synchronically. The idea that the language acquisition process is at the locus of diachronic change has been proposed in a number of publications (*e.g.* Winford 2003; Hróarsdóttir 2004; Lightfoot 2007; Matras 2009; Meisel 2011; Diessel 2012), but empirical evidence that illustrate these processes, however, has been elusive in part due to faulty underlying assumptions, that the acquisition process has an end point and that the target of acquisition is a static variety equated either with “native”-like patterns of language behavior or with a prescriptive notion of some standard language variety. As a theoretical point of departure, we recognize several relevant premises that moderate first and second language acquisition.

- Language acquisition is a lifelong process.

Although there is an undisputed intensely dynamic period of language learning,² thanks to the cognitive and neural plasticity of the human brain (Willis, Schaie, and Martin 2009), communicative knowledge is continuously reorganized and adapted throughout an individual’s life, a process referred to as linguistic entrenchment (Hopper 1987; Schmid 2016a). There is a growing and convincing body of evidence from a variety of linguistic sub-disciplines supporting the existence of entrenchment (see: Schmid 2016b for a detailed overview). Already noted in Langacker’s early proposal (1987) on the subject, entrenchment occurs via frequent and regular repetition and rehearsal of linguistic input. For language acquisition,

2 This occurs in early childhood for L1 acquisition. In L2+ acquisition it occurs during the initial period of exposure; immersion in “naturalistic” acquisition, course work, etc.

entrenchment leads to the emergence and (re)organization of variable schemas, allowing for a high degree of automaticity in language processing. Such automaticity is characteristic of proficient users of a language, resulting from efficient memory consolidation and chunking of lexical and morphosyntactic units.

- Language acquisition is intergenerational *and* lateral.

Due to the assumption that acquisition can be completed, studies often focus on input children / learners receive from primary care givers / teachers in that highly dynamic period of early language acquisition. But given that entrenchment is a lifelong process, all communicative input is received with *potential* to affect change in an individual's repertoire of idiolectal patterns. Thus we could say that at the level of the individual, idiolects are directly shaped by the linguistic input they experience.³

- All users of a language contribute to the *feature pool*⁴ on which other speakers model their behavior.

In this framework, the concept of “language” refers to the set of features that most commonly overlap in the idiolects of its speakers. Features that do not fall within these norms are considered peripheral, and belong to “varieties” or “dialects” of the language when they overlap in regional or social cross sections of the speaker population. All features, whether peripheral, varietal, or normative, are potentially exposed to other speakers and may play a role in the entrenchment process, eventually becoming part of those speakers' repertoires.

These premises are most easily understood with the example of the spread of technology-related neologisms to segments of the population who were already well into their adult years by the time the relevant technology was invented. The fact that, today, elderly people know and use terms like *download*, *to google sth*, *blog / vlog*, or *selfie* illustrates the lifelong continuity of language acquisition. Novel terms that were introduced by relatively few speakers in highly restricted context spread with the increasing prevalence of technology, which widened the contexts in which the terms were used, in turn generating a higher frequency of repetitions, and these novel terms spread on the analogy of an epidemic (Jiang *et al.* 2021). The example clearly illustrates the progression of incipient linguistic features progress to minor patterns and then normative features. Heine and Kuteva (2005) describe a similar progression as a diachronic process, but here we also see it in operation within the minds of individuals.

Synchronic language use has immediate effects on mental representation, that is, the language used by an individual and the language experienced by that individual is reinforced in, or incorporated into, the linguistic knowledge that that individual has at his/her disposal when communicating (Backus 2021). This means that an individual's lexicon, as in the examples above, and grammatical structures are *emergent*, fluid across the lifespan, reflecting experience and partially improvised within contexts of social interaction (Hopper 1987, Bybee 2010). The sheer frequency of form-meaning pairs that we experience

3 Of course the probability that input features are reflected in an individual's idiolect are mitigated by a host of factors including frequency and salience of features in the input, language attitudes and ideologies etc.

4 The terminology is obviously reminiscent of Mufwene's (2001) work. While there are numerous merits to Mufwene's work, I want to distance this account from any analogy between a feature pool in language and a gene pool in evolutionary biology. Mufwene himself presents a caveat in this regard (2001: 30), but I feel it is worth reiterating in consideration of the responses to his work.

has a role to play in entrenchment of our linguistic knowledge. The relatively high string frequency of *old man* in an ADJ-N schema compared to *man* as a verb would cause many users of English to have to reread (1) before realizing the appropriate and fully grammatical meaning of the example (second gloss line). Similarly, due to relatively high occurrence of AGENT-VERB-PATIENT schemas in Polish, without context, (2) will almost always be interpreted in the meaning given in (2a), despite case syncretism, free word order and grammaticality of (2b). Further, the situation of experience within social contexts preempt activation of appropriate linguistic knowledge to some extent, e.g. (3) will almost always get the reading in (3b) when spoken by a cashier in a grocery store.

- (1) *The old man the boat.*
 *DET ADJ N DET N
 DET N V DET N
- (2)a. *Auto uderzył dziecko.*
 car. NOM hit.3SG child.ACC
 ‘The car hit the child.’
- b. *Auto uderzył dziecko.*
 car.ACC hit.3SG child.NOM
 ‘The child hit the car.’
- (3) a. *Do you wanna box for those groceries?*
 Q 2SG AUX V PREP DET N
 Shall we punch each other until only one of us is left uninjured enough to leave with the groceries?’
- b. *Do you wann-a box for those groceries?*
 Q 2SG V-DET N PREP DET N
 ‘Would you like a cube-shaped container in which you can carry your groceries away?’

In multilingual individuals, there is no principled division of linguistic knowledge. Multilinguals who need to interact in a monolingual context need to cognitively suppress co-activation of linguistic knowledge from outside the single language of interaction (cf. Bobb, Wodniecka, and Kroll 2013, Green and Abutalebi 2013). Lexicon and schemas from multiple languages are active in parallel in multilingual individuals (Kroll and Bialystok 2013) and priming across languages has been demonstrated both experimentally (Kootstra, Hell, and Dijkstra 2012; Hell and Tanner 2012; Kroll and Bialystok 2013) and in spontaneous corpus data (Fernández, Souza, and Carando 2016; Gries and Kootstra 2016). The link between individual entrenchment and speech-community conventionalization comes in the form of a feedback loop; entrenched linguistic structures are most easily activated in the individual, which are then in turn utilized by the individual and modeled to other speakers, whose parallel structures are in turn activated. In other words, entrenchment contributes to conventionalization; conventionalization contributes to entrenchment (Bybee 2010, Hopper 2013, Schmid 2020, Backus 2021).

In settings where a community’s speech behavior is stable and there is neutral or high prestige associated with the language variety, linguistic change is usually slow to the point of being unnoticeable among living people. Children —even multilingual children— tend to acquire target language structures

with a high degree of accuracy. The observation that noticeable language changes, especially those involving language structure, occur more readily when a substantial part of the speech community consists of second-language speakers has been made by multiple scholars (*e.g.* Weinreich, Labov, Herzog 1968; Thomason, Kaufmann 1988; Paulston 1994; Barðal 2009; Cognola, Bidese 2016). But in light of the above paragraphs, I would argue that this is the result of conventionalization of emergent multilingual behavior rather than “incomplete” or “imperfect” acquisition, as is often claimed.

Contexts involving endangered and historically minoritized languages, where revitalization activities and / or language activism takes place, create ideal set of circumstances to study the relationship between entrenchment in the individual and conventionalization of features originating from the acquisition and cognitive processes of bi/multilingual individuals. Particularly we consider the role of New Speakers to be of central importance. A New Speaker, following O’Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo (2015), refers to an individual who has learned a language with little or no exposure in the home via educational programs outside the home after a community-level shift. They often made a conscious choice as teenagers or young adults to engage with the language and live life through it and for that reason New Speakers of minority languages tend to be situated in relatively prominent positions within minority language communities. They tend to be engaged and active around issues of language rights and minority language education, many serving as language teachers themselves. Thus they have an increased potential, compared to learners of majority languages, to model language behavior and influence norms at a community level.

One of the case studies addressed in the current project involves New Speakers of Kashubian.⁵ The working hypotheses of the project are: (a) that linguistic entrenchment can be measured together with lexical and morphosyntactic variation in individual speakers, thereby allowing for an understanding of degrees of acquisition without relying on native-speaker patterns or prescriptive notions of language behavior; (b) that differential patterns of linguistic input between New Speakers and native speakers result in different patterns in lexical/structural entrenchment, which in turn result in differential usage patterns; and (c) frequently used lexical/structural patterns, whether produced by native or New Speakers, provide model input for continued adaptation and reorganization of communicative knowledge across the speech community.

We utilize a relatively elaborate set of methodological procedures to address (a) and (b), including a sociolinguistic questionnaire (individuals’ background, language attitudes, and proficiency self-assessment), a video narration task (elicits spontaneous spoken data under semi-controlled circumstances), a Rapid Automatized Picture naming task (measures automaticity in lexical production checks productive proficiency, as in Borges 2019), and a receptive proficiency task. (Thanks to COVID-19, these are administered remotely; see: Borges 2022a.) The methodology has proven adequate in addressing (a) and (b), but it lacks any means of pinpointing whether features observed in New Speaker varieties appear “in the wild” or possibility to observe their spread to other segments of the population. In order to address this, in the case of Kashubian, we turn to the Kashubian-language Wikipedia page for a relatively large corpus of readily available data both generated by and, in theory, used by the target speech community.

5 Kashubian (ISO-code: csb) is a West-Slavic dialect continuum spoken in a discontinuous area within the Polish Pomeranian Voivodeship. Kashubian speakers are considered and autochthonous ethnolinguistic minority group and the language was officially recognized as a regional minority language in Poland in 2005.

3. Wikis and Wikipedia

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The term *wiki* refers to “a hypertext publication collaboratively edited and managed by its own audience directly.”⁶ Wikis can be public or private, hosted on the public internet or within a private network. Wikipedia, which is perhaps the most popular and well-known wiki is a freely available online multilingual encyclopedia. At the time of this writing, Wikipedia hosts encyclopedia wikis in 316 languages,⁷ all of which consist of articles contributed by the wiki’s users themselves. Article pages are typically created from the bottom up, that is, users contribute content they deem to be relevant; there is no centralized content management and pages are largely *not* translated from some other language.

While highly convenient for the trivia buffs and information connoisseurs, Wikipedia pages also have a role to play in science. Since its inception in 2001, the site has published 55.89 million pages if all language wikis are considered,⁸ making it an enormous source of decentralized language data. In addition to free access to individual pages on Wikipedia’s website, the foundation regularly “dumps”⁹ content of its wikis into structured files with various levels of detail – from simple meta information on the currently published revision, containing a list of pages by title, date of latest revision, and contributor, to complete history of the wiki.¹⁰ Dumps are downloadable in compressed XML format, a which lends itself well to scripted processing and analyses; indeed the majority of the analyses presented here were conducted with Python. Since the intent of this paper is mainly to address methodological issues, data, scripts, and output of scripts are included in an open-access supplement (Borges 2022b).¹¹

There is some precedence for using Wikipedia as a source in a variety of linguistics research (and related disciplines). Even a cursory exploration of the literature reveals papers addressing questions within variationist / corpus linguistics (Hiltunen 2014; Margaretha, Lungen 2014; Hiltunen, Tyrkkö 2019), training computational / NLP models (Yano, Kang 2008; Nelken, Yamangil 2011), and utilizing wiki data in ESL and “applied” purposes (King 2015; Shi 2015). Few address any issue related to minority language Wikipedia pages (Tomás *et al.* 2008; Arkhangelskiy, Medvedeva 2016), but none that I could find directed attention to variation or (contact-induced) change in a minority or low-resource language.

3.1. The Kashubian Wikipedia: csb.wikipedia.org

The oldest articles in the Kashubian Wikipedia date from April 2004. The dump referenced in this paper (2022-05-01) consists of 8,705 pages including 168,225 revisions.¹² The most recent revisions in the dump contain 1,529,977 words, or 140,169,706 words if text from all revisions is considered. Pages and revisions have been contributed to by 1,576 registered users; additionally contributions have been made

6 [At:] <https://en.wikipedia.org> [date of access: 22 June 2022].

7 [At:] https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/List_of_Wikipedias [date of access: 22 June 2022].

8 [At:] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Size_of_Wikipedia [date of access: 22 June 2022].

9 “Dump” here refers to the creation a single file consisting of a structured record of all the pages at a the time of the dump.

10 Visit: <https://dumps.wikimedia.org/backup-index-bydb.html> to explore wikis that have dumps available to download.

11 In order to preserve readability for readers who are not enticed by such a level of detail, references to individual supplement files are given in footnotes.

12 Note that this figure differs from the number of articles reported on the csbwiki’s landing page at the time of the dump, which was 5,428.

by non-registered users referenced by 6,409 IP addresses.¹³ To summarize, the Kashubian Wikipedia is a relatively large resource in which we can examine the whole history of contributions, edits and “discussion sections” by page and user.¹⁴

As we specifically set out to explore whether learner-associated variants found in our New Speaker data are modeled to the wider speech community population, the prominent warning on the Kashubian Wikipedia landing page (Figure 1)...

PROSBA: Szkólnégò, chtèren zadówò pisanie artiklów dlô kaszëbsczi Wikipedie, serto prosymë ò jednoczasné sprôwdzanié lëcznëch felów w tekstach ùczniów.

‘REQUEST: We kindly ask the teacher who uses writing articles on Kashubian Wikipedia as exercise to check simultaneously for multiple errors in pupils’ texts’

... suggests that the Kashubian Wikipedia (*csbwiki* henceforth) data provides a promising avenue for this type of research.

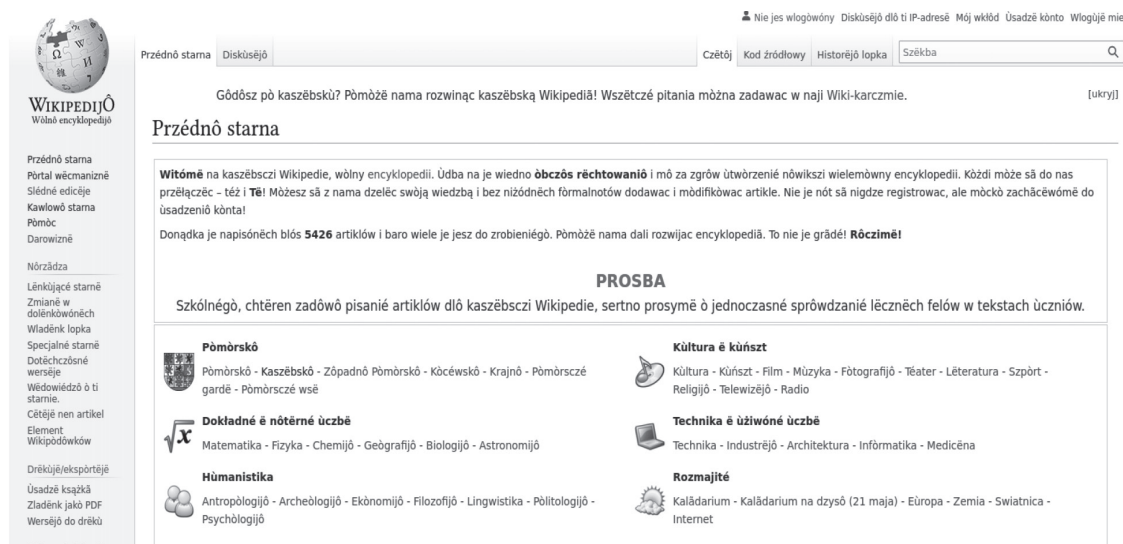


Figure 1. The landing page of Kashubian Wikipedia. Source: <https://csb.wikipedia.com> [date of access: 22 June 2022].

4. One instance of ò – a alternation

In this section, I will present a small case study which originates with Bandur’s (2022) observation, made when working with spoken data gathered in the project, that Kashubian vowel distinctions which are not present in Polish, are often neutralized in New Speakers’ Kashubian. A comparison of the vowel inventories

¹³ Theoretically, this could be a single individual or 6,409 individuals. As far as I can see there is no way to determine this.

¹⁴ Descriptive statistics presented in this paragraph were generated using the script `count-pages.py` and `count-words.py` in the supplement.

of Kashubian and Polish (Figure 2) reveals that Kashubian has an additional height distinction present across the horizontal space. Figure 3 illustrates the phenomenon with several instances of Kashubian vowels rendered with their closest Polish equivalents. This phenomenon has consequence not only for the phonology of Kashubian, but also for morphology, where morphemic forms are distinguished by these “additional” non-Polish vowels.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	y	u
Mid	e ɛ		o ɔ
Low		a	

Polish vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid-closed	e		o ɔ
Mid-open	ɛ	ə ɜ	ɔ
Low		a ǣ	

Kashubian vowels

Figure 2: Polish vowels & Kashubian vowels. Source: Maturzyski 1992:11; Makùròt 2016:18.

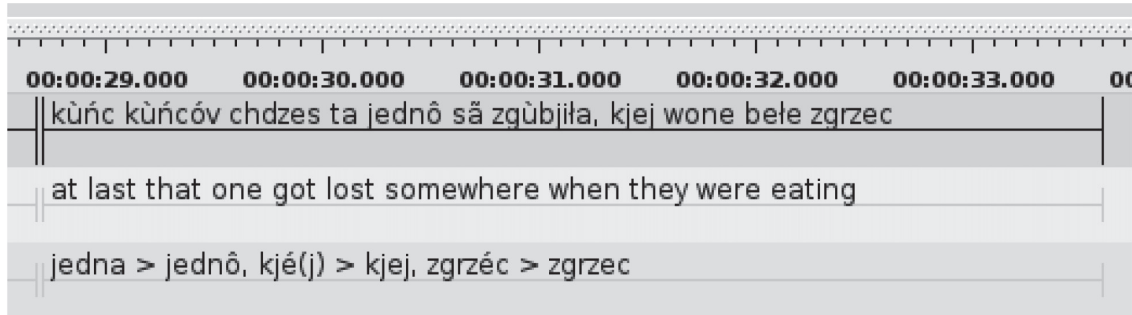


Figure 3: Printscreen of transcription and analyses of spoken Kashubian in Elan (Sloetjes and Wittenburg 2008) by a New Speaker, which exemplifies multiple instances of the type of vowel neutralization in question.

As a first attempt to evaluate the utility of the csbwiki data in relation to our research questions, I began manually searching the data set (ctrl-f with the xml document open in a text editor) for the individual instances that were already attested in our spoken data (such as the examples shown in Figure 3). The process was very tedious and did not result in many instances of interest. As a second attempt, I decided to take a broader, brute-force approach to sifting the data, but with a narrower focus in terms of the category of target variants – that is, precisely one set of variants. I first searched the data for all instances of word tokens containing <ô>, which represents the mid-central vowel /ɜ/ in orthography, and from this list of ô-words, I generated a second list of hypothetical a-words by replacing all instances of <ô> with <a>, which represents the low central vowel /a/ in orthography.¹⁵ I then iterated over the data again and

15 This was done with the script `mk_oe-a_variants.py`, which dumps a list of all ô-words to the file `oe-words.txt`. A list of <ô> and <a> pairs is dumped to the file `oe-a_variants.json`. The strategy doesn't account well for words that have two or more instances of <ô>, e.g. *znônô*, 'known', which has three hypothetical variants: *znana*, *znanô* and

counted all instances of each word on the list of δ - and potential a-variants.¹⁶ This resulted in 2,038 pairs of words where both the δ -variant and a-variant are attested in the data, as in (4), amounting to a total of 610,828 δ -variants and 2,520,170 a-variants from these pairs in all revisions.¹⁷

- (4) a. *encyklopedijô* (N=1,364)
 b. *encyklopedija* (N=191)

In this list of pairs there are lots of correct or potentially correct forms, place names for instance where both variants are accepted. Additionally, menu items, including category names, etc., are not particularly useful in determining whether learner behavior is modeled to the wide speech community. For this reason, I decided to further narrow the focus to a single pair of variants to explore how to work with the data; *mô* and *ma* were selected because there was a large, but manageable, number of examples (5), neither variant is a common place name or a likely menu item, and there are multiple functional meanings to each form in Kashubian, which partially overlap functionally with that of *ma* in Polish. Thus the particular case sits at the intersection of phonological and morphological systems in contact.

- (5) a. *mô* (N=18,965)
 b. *ma* (N=6,413)

Specifically, I examined these forms in the meaning of 3SG.have. The expected form in Kashubian in non-negated contexts is *mô* ‘s/he / it has’, as in (6); no other senses of the form are apparent in the data. Following negation, though, 3SG.have takes the form *ma*, in the negative existential sense ‘there isn’t/aren’t’, but there are also other senses of the form as well.¹⁸ This means that the number of examples presented in (5b) needed further filtering in order to understand the distributions of 3SG.have forms.

Collocations of *ni ma* in the negative existential sense, as in (7), were filtered from the pool of potential examples featuring the form *ma*; 1,169 such instances were identified.¹⁹ A number of pages and discussion sections were started or otherwise appeared partially or entirely in Polish – *ma* examples were

znôna. There are 885 such words (of 11,693, ca. 7.6%) on the `oe-words.txt` list and 120 (of 2,038, ca. 5.9%) remain after populating a list of non-zero pairs `oe-a_counts.json`.

16 Counting of variants was done with the script `count_oe-a_variants.py`, which first dumps a list of all tokens and the N times they are attested in the data `raw_oe-a_counts.json`, and a second list where δ - and a-word pairs that both have a non-zero value are listed together, `oe-a_counts.json`.

17 It should be noted that not all lexemes in the a-variant list are necessarily versions of the δ -variant. Some a-variant forms are expected Kashubian forms, unrelated to the δ -variant.

18 Actual examples from the data were dumped into a file using the script `re-dump-variants.py`. In this file it is necessary to establish a regular expression pattern and a corresponding file name for the output file. Both *mô* and *ma* variant instances were dumped to the file `moe-ma_variants-dump.json`, *ma* instances to a file `ma_variants-dump.json`, etc. All patterns and dump file names used for this manuscript remain (commented out) in the script file.

19 Filtering data was done with the script `re-filter-dump.py`, which in this case first took the file `ma_variants-dump.json` as an input file and removed fragments matching an established regular expression pattern. Results are written to a file, which becomes the input to subsequent runs of the script with additional regular expression patterns. Like the previous script, patterns and output files used in this manuscript remain in the script file.

subject to another round of scripted filtering where an additional 1,213 instances of *ma* were discounted by searching Polish collocation *nie ma*. The remaining subset of *ma* instances was then manually filtered to remove additional irrelevant or otherwise unwanted examples; there were, for instance, still many wholly Polish fragments, instances of *ma* that are expected Kashubian in a sense other than 3SG.have, a small handful of typos, as well as quite a lot of other “junk” including links to pages in other languages, place names, URLs, and linked file names. During manual filtering, I also noticed instances of unexpected pre-verbal negation, with the forms *nié ma* (N=398) and *nië ma* (N=18), which were likewise filtered from the analysis by script.²⁰

- (6) a. *Elżbiéta Bùgajnô [...] mô stāpién doktora.*
 Elżbieta Bugajna ... 3SG.have degree doctor
 ‘Elizabeth Bugajna has a doctorate.’
- b. *Zarno ówsa mô wāglowaodanë, strzód chtërnëch nôwiācy je skrobi.*
 grain oat 3SG.have carbohydrates among which most be starch
 ‘Oat grains have carbohydrates, mostly starch.’
- (7) a. *Òna žëje w Bòlce, ale terô ni ma ji wiele, a rëbôcë mają jiwer.*
 she live in Baltic but now NEG 3SG.have her many and fishermen 3PL. have worry
 ‘It lives in the Baltic, but now there are few and fishermen are worried.’
- b. *W Pòlsce òd 1958 rokù tegò òbrzëszkù ni ma ...*
 in poland since 1958 year that obligation NEG 3SG.have
 ‘There is no such obligation in Poland since 1958 ...’

After all scripted and manual filtering, I was left with 553 instances of *ma* in 547 revisions on 22 pages if the entire revision history is considered.²¹ In the current revision, 3SG.have *ma* appears on just 17 pages (18 instances), as in (8). Four instances of *ma* as 3SG.have were corrected in the revision history, three to *mô*. and one to *mdze*, 3SG.be. The other two instances were not corrected, per se, but all text was removed completely from the page on which these instances occurred, leaving only a redirect to another page (where there are no instances of *ma* as 3SG.have).

- (8) a. *Rëmiô ma wiéchrzëzna 32,86 km².*
 Rumia 3SG.have area 32,86 km²
 ‘Rumia is 32,86 km².’
- b. *Bôjka ma charakter uniwersalny...*
 tale 3SG.have character universal
 ‘The tale is of universal character.’

20 These forms of negation are unexpected because *nié* should have scope over the whole clause, and *nië* shouldn’t exist at all by prescriptive standards. While potentially interesting examples, probably also having to do with multilingual processing and/or Polish interference, these were filtered because they are negated.

21 Manually filtered data is contained in the supplement file called `ma-dump_he-has.json`. Filtered results are counted with `count-filtered.py`.

- c. *Tu je Kilimanjaro, nówěszô wěszawa Africzi, co ma 5895 m.*
 here 3SG.be Kilimanjaro the highest acclivity Africa which 3SG.have 5895 metres
 ‘Here is Kilimanjaro, the highest mountain in Africa, which has 5895 meters’
- d. *... na karkù ma czôrnô plamě.*
 ... on neck 3SG.have black spot
 ‘... there is a black spot on the neck.’
- e. *Miono Jóna ma dzysô tramwaj gduńsczi nr. 1014 ...*
 name Jón 3SG.have today trolley Gdańsk.ADJ number 1014 ...
 ‘Today the Gdańsk trolley number 1014 has the name Jón ...’

Of the number of *mô* instances attested in all revisions listed in (5a), exactly 600 instances appear in the current revision.²² Non-negated forms of *mô* account for 565 of these instances; assuming these are all well-formed instances in the meaning 3SG.have, this means that *ma* has a very low percentage of representation in all instances of forms with the positive 3SG.have sense — 3.19%. This result confirms that features associated with learners are in fact modeled to the wider population, albeit at a low ratio (ca. 1 in 31 instances) compared to the non-learner variant.

Interestingly, in looking carefully at *ma* and *mô* variation, we also find unexpected forms in contexts of pre-verbal negation; of the 30 instances of *ni mô*, which is the expected in cases of the sense ‘X doesn’t have’ (as opposed to the existential sense ‘there isn’t / aren’t’), three are unexpected in that their reading is existential. There are five additional instances of the collocation *nié mô*, which are unexpected, both because of the form of the negation (see: footnote 20) and the sense in some instances.²³

The second question posed here, about who exactly is using which variants, is more difficult to answer. The instances of *ma* in the meaning 3SG.have were contributed by 15 users (including six users by IP address, see: footnote 13), so it is clear that the majority of these instances are not contributed by a single user. But this is approaching the extent of what we know for this particular set of variants. Wikipedia stores “Babel” data on its contributors, that is proficiency self-assessments on a seven-point Likert scale, where users are rated from completely no knowledge of a language to “Native”-like competence,²⁴ but users themselves are responsible for providing this data and most have not done so. In the case of Kashubian Wikipedia, only 64 users provided Babel data, listing 102 languages total.²⁵ The figure is reduced to 85 languages if those languages with a score of 0,²⁶ are discounted.

22 These figures are generated with `count-moe.py`.

23 See: the file `ni-moe.txt` for these examples.

24 [At:] <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Babel> [date of access: 22 June 2022].

25 Babel data was sorted into “by language” and “by user” forms by the script `jsonify-babel.py`.

26 0 indicates “you cannot understand the language at all”. The Babel documentation recommends “Do not use [0] for every language that you don’t know, but only when there is some reason why you might be expected to know it. For example, one may be of Italian descent, but does not speak the Italian language, or if one is Canadian but does not speak French. Similarly, one may usefully edit a project without speaking the language, such as adding links or images to Japanese Wikipedia without speaking Japanese.” <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Babel> [date of access: 22.06.2022].

These data are of little use in constructing profiles of Kashubian Wikipedia contributors. Only 36 users list Kashubian in their profile, but 33 of them rated their knowledge as 0, two as 1 “basic knowledge”,²⁷ and one as N, “native speaker”.²⁸ Only one user that contributed a *ma* as 3SG.have example to the current revision has registered Babel information, with Kashubian at level 0, however, a look back into that page’s revision history shows that this user did not originally contribute the instance of *ma*. In any case, it is clear that the Babel assessments are wholly insufficient to make any attempt at addressing the distribution of variant in relation to the proficiency of contributors. It may still be possible to evaluate users’ by repeating procedures like outlined here with a number of other hypothesized learner – non-learner variants; where users consistently favor some variants over others, profiles could potentially be constructed, but these must originate in the language data itself. Other metrics may also factor into this type of measurement, such as the sheer amount of text contributed by a user, lexical density (balanced type-token ratios) of a user’s contributions, etc., but this is beyond the scope of what can be done here.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

In this paper, I examined a single set of variants to explore whether the learner-associated variant, observed in New Speaker data, was modeled to the general population in the Kashubian Wikipedia data set. Indeed *ma* as 3SG.have *is* present in the data, however, with a very low relative frequency at just over 3% of all instances. This study provides no indication of when or how exposure to such variants become significant. Is there a tipping point in the ratio of variants present that might be indicative of how acceptable a particular variant is? Or, rather, do we need to examine how many members of the speech community actually “consume” variants; how often is the Kashubian Wikipedia read and by how many readers in this case? Assuming the accuracy of the theoretical framing outlined in Section 2, both the modeling and consumption of variants would be relevant to understanding the processes at hand.

This particular case study did not provide us with any information about the actual spread of apparent learner-modeled behavior to the wider speech community, since none of the relevant examples were contributed by individuals with a Babel profile on the site. Nevertheless, I would like to advocate the utility of the data and the methods presented here. Perhaps the most obvious advantage of utilizing Wikipedia data on low-resource, less-widely spoken languages is that one can begin to work with a fairly large data set in a literal matter of minutes. In comparison to the expense of curating data by more traditional means (travel, field work, transcription, etc, not to mention recent health-related ethical concerns and environmental impact), ready-made, structured, accessible data sets are both convenient and welcome among many linguists. Data is largely written from the bottom up, which should greatly reduce translation effects that are usually apparent in translated parallel corpora. Another consideration is that data contributed to Wikipedia is not done so specifically as a contribution to linguistics research, which largely eliminates the well-known Observer’s Paradox, meaning that studying Wiki data allows us to observe more naturalistic language behavior. However, the anonymity of data contributions makes

27 I indicates “basic ability – enough to understand written material or simple questions in this language.” [At:] <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Babel>.

28 I.e., “native-born speakers who use a language every day and have a thorough grasp of it, including colloquialisms and idioms.” [At:] <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Babel> [date of access: 22.06.2022].

understanding the distributions of variants more difficult. The little background information available on contributors is both suspect in most cases and impossible to verify; any information about contributors must be derived from the language data itself.

Another advantage to utilizing Wikipedia data is that it represents linguistic output, in that text is produced by individual writers, as well as linguistic input, that is, Wikipedia is also consumed by members of the Kashubian speech community. While also true of other media types, this is not necessarily the case with other types of data studied in Linguistics; those features produced by informants under duress of linguistic elicitation are not necessarily the ones that are commonly used or understood in everyday language. Therefore, data from Wikipedia or other forms of media has an important role to play in triangulating elicited or experimental observations “in the wild”. This aspect has been foregrounded in this manuscript, as it is particularly important within the project’s framework to have a relatively balanced picture of both production and reception of linguistic variation. A missing piece of the puzzle in this story, though, is that we actually have no idea how Kashubian Wikipedia is consumed. There appears to be no information available in a given Wikipedia dump about how often or by whom a particular page was accessed or interacted with.

Revision history is also an asset to working with Wikipedia data. When a particular feature is corrected in the revision history, it tells us that that particular feature is salient enough to be considered outside of the norms of the language and / or socially marked (e.g. as a dialect feature, or “not good Language X”). While in the case study presented here, only four variants of interest were corrected in the revision history, the structure of Wikipedia data allows to study the rise and conventionalization of variants by looking at the ratio of frequencies at which they are contributed and corrected over time.

I want to emphasize once again the importance of triangulating research findings across data types. In this case, observations made in semi-experimental spoken data were corroborated in the written wiki data. Further, I hope this paper has made the case, illustrating some of the benefits of studying variation in user-contributed, user-edited data such as the type found on Wikipedia. With a single case study of a single set of variants, one part of a two-part question has been successfully addressed, suggesting that further exploration of variation will provide more insight into the distribution, attitudes toward, and possible spread of such variants.

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Intercultural Communicative Competence: Obstacles Faced by NESTs, NNESTs and Learners

Abstract

This paper looks at three possible actors in the ELT classroom: learners, non-native English speaking teachers (NNEST) and native English speaking teachers (NEST). Each particular group has a need to acquire the skill of intercultural competence. For the learners, it is a necessary element alongside their knowledge of the language to be effective in real-life intercultural communications. For the teachers, it is to be sensitive to their learners from other cultures, to have a neutral bias to whichever of the L1 or L2 cultures is not their own, and also to enable incorporation of intercultural content effectively into the English lesson. The paper examines the obstacles to achieving Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) encountered by each group. Some are unique to that group, such as the comparative disparity of the influence of the globally dominant culture of the NEST, and some are common among two or all three, for example, culture shock whilst abroad. By understanding these obstacles, it is possible to make suggestions on how to overcome them in each particular group. Some examples of recommendations are for ICC building skills to be included in teacher training courses as well as foreign exchange trips for both learners and teacher trainees. Finally, some observations are made as to how L1 and intercultural aspects can be included in the lessons themselves.

Keywords: Intercultural Communicative Competence, NEST, NNEST, ELT, ethnocentricism

1. Introduction

In the context of the increased use of English in L2 to L2 communications (Graddol 2006: 87), the objective of language learners is no longer to communicate with native speakers exclusively, but as a lingua franca between L2 to L2 speakers. The implication of this acknowledgement is that learners should possess intercultural skills in order to be able to communicate effectively with other English L2 speakers who come from different cultures, vary in proficiency of the language, or indeed use different forms of it such as regional variations, accents, *etc.* It is argued that these skills should be incorporated into English lessons (Prodromou 1992, Sárdi 2002). This paper aims to approach the issue from the perspective of

integrating Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) into the English language lesson. If teachers wish to address these skills in class, they need to be prepared to reflect and examine their own levels of ICC. As sources of ethnocentricity may vary according to background, it was decided to examine the obstacles to achieving a higher level of ICC development encountered by native English speaking teachers (NESTs), non-native English speaking teachers (NNESTs) and the learners themselves. Some of the obstacles are unique to each group and others are common. For example, the NNESTs who wish to expose their learners to a culture that is not their own, and the students who may experience barriers to or issues with L2 cultural aspects. Each obstacle has the possibility to cause *noise* in an intercultural communication and may even reduce learning outcomes if the learner does not feel comfortable with aspects of communication with other cultures. The obstacles will be explored and compared; solutions will be proposed on how to overcome them. The result of achieving a higher degree of ICC in all three groups would remove cultural barriers to intercultural communication between both sets of teachers and their learners by promoting understanding, empathy and accommodation; therefore enhancing not only the ELT learning process but learners' eventual intercultural communication outside the classroom too.

2. Intercultural communicative competence

Alvino Fantini illustrates the skills required in order to be a successful intercultural communicator:

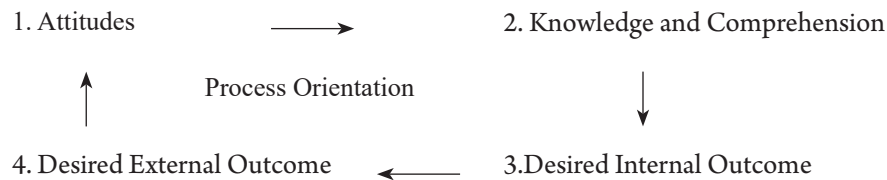
This means not only making themselves understood—in their own tongue, the interlocutor's tongue, or a third language not native to either party—but, perhaps more important, also learning new behaviours and interactional styles that go beyond those of their native systems. (Fantini 2009: 456)

The ELT classroom may be a monocultural one which consists of learners and teacher of the same culture, or a multicultural one which comprises a foreign teacher and local students, or a combination of local/foreign teacher and international mix of students. Some of these variations involve members of the classroom who are also contending with the external challenges of living in a foreign country. Each of these groups may come with their own cultural baggage when it comes to communicating with each other. Then there is the L2 itself, English in this case. It has been accepted that linguistic competence alone is not sufficient to attain successful communication without a good command of sociolinguistic aspects which include cultural norms (Byram 1989: 42). These may run counter to what the learner has experienced in her/his own culture.

Byram (1997: 30) points to the complexity of defining ICC because of the amount of considerations involved. He cites, for example: non-verbal communication, psychological characteristics, even “social and political factors”. Nonetheless, he defines one who possess ICC as an “intercultural speaker” who employs the *Savoirs* (knowledge), *Savoir comprendre* (ability to interpret and relate), *Savoir apprendre/faire* (skills of acquiring and applying new cultural knowledge), *Savoir être* (ability to see one's own culture from different perspectives) and *Savoir s'engager* (critical engagement with the foreign culture with regard to one's own). Byram (1997: 3) also points to the deliberate connection between Intercultural Communicative Competence and Communicative Competence (Hymes 1972). The former effectively ties the intercultural communicative aspect with the latter. Chen and Starosta (2000: 3) suggest misperceptions between the concepts of Cultural Awareness, Cultural Sensitivity and Intercultural Communicative Competence. They refer to the latter as an “umbrella concept” in which

Intercultural Adroitness (skills and cleverness), Intercultural Awareness (the cognitive aspect) and Intercultural Sensitivity (involving open-mindedness, empathy and non-judgement) enable a person to be interculturally competent (Chen and Starosta 1998: 27). They ultimately define ICC as “the ability to get the job done” in terms of a successful intercultural interaction (Chen and Starosta 2000: 3). Byram (1997: 30) however, makes a distinction between the terms Intercultural Communicative Competence which includes the *another* language aspect of interacting with someone from another linguaculture and Intercultural Competence (IC) which is the same interaction in one’s own language. Deardorff (2011: 68) views IC as a continual process in which “individuals need to reflect and assess over time” as seen in the diagram below. Therefore, this paper will alternate between IC and ICC, taking into account Byram’s (*ibid.*) other-language consideration, Deardorff’s (*ibid.*) model that it is acquired over time and Chen and Starosta’s (*ibid.*) description of it as the ability to achieve a successful intercultural exchange.

Process Model of Intercultural Competence.



Deardorff (2006: 256)

3. The obstacles to attaining ICC

3.1. The native English speaking teacher

This paper seeks to differentiate the challenges that are posed to native English speaking teachers (NEST) and non-native English speaking teachers (NNEST) in achieving and utilising ICC in the ELT classroom. From the point of view of the language, the NEST has all the advantages of having acquired natural and intuitive knowledge. He/she has grown up in an Anglophone culture, is familiar with social norms and customs, and has been educated and trained through that culture’s system and methodology. In that sense they are more capable of acting as a model for the language, its pronunciation and culture than the NNEST, as they have the life experience to teach it in context. However, it is exactly those characteristics which can prove disadvantageous when it comes to ICC. The native-speaker model and *ownership* of English has been questioned by scholars (Widdowson 1994, Jenkins 2000, Seidlhofer 2004, Holliday 2006) as to whether it (native proficiency) is ultimately achievable or even desirable for speakers who wish to use it as an International Language. While undoubtedly a cohort of learners may wish to embrace Anglo-American culture, the title of Robert Phillipson’s *ELT: the native speaker’s burden* (1992) with its colonial allusions is an illustration of aspects that have been criticised such as acculturation and neo-colonialism (Phillipson 1992, Pennycook 1994, Canagarajah 1999). Then there is criticism of the methodology used in mainstream ELT emanating from the Anglophone centre. The Communicative Approach has

been found as not always universally applicable when it comes to other cultures (Swan 1985, Hofstede 1986, Ellis 1996, Alptekin 2002, Bax 2003). It is inevitable that the NEST's students will originate from a different culture than theirs, which differentiates them from the NNEST, thus justifying the need for ICC and the intercultural sensitivity not to impose their dominant culture on their learners.

Phillipson (1992) and Fantini (2019) observe that native English speakers have a lower motivation to learn a foreign language. Not learning a foreign language, it could be argued, hinders the ability to gain a deeper knowledge of the culture. In fact, Byram (1997: 70, 71) provides knowledge of a foreign language as a requisite to the attainment of ICC. Neuner (2003: 50–51) points to the beneficial aspects of learners being able to utilise knowledge of their own world as a “reference point” in learning about the “foreign world” (L2). It is therefore important that the teacher has comprehension of and is able to include reference to the learner's L1 world in learning content. This puts the NEST at a disadvantage when she/he is relatively ignorant of their learner's culture, and thus Byram (2021: 125) considers that the native speaker needs additional skills when it comes to interacting with someone for whom the language is an L2. Any ethnocentric bias can cause obstacles in moving past the first stage (Attitudes) of Deardorff's Process Model of Intercultural Competence (2006). The following factors may also have the potential for ethnocentricity in NESTS, distinguishing them from both NNESTs and their learners:

- Anglophone culture is a dominant and omnipresent culture worldwide; evident in music, films, products, corporations, international communication, *etc.*
- Patriotism and pride in the historic political and military power of the ‘Anglosphere’, particularly in the case of Britain and the USA.

Additionally, in a practical context, NESTS may also experience culture shock and difficulties while working in a foreign country which may engender negative attitudes towards the local culture, thus further reinforcing ethnocentric bias and causing obstacles to acceptance of the local behaviour and practices. Kiss and Medgyes (2019: 3–7) list such issues, particular to NESTS, that contrast stereotypical beliefs about the “smooth-sailing and trouble-free lifestyle of expats”. Their findings reported such difficulties as obtaining visa and resident permits, being overcharged for accommodation compared to locals, miscommunication due to language/cultural issues, lack of a social life, lack of opportunity to practise the local language because contacts wish to utilise their English, difficulties in negotiating rules and customs of the local educational system, not being “fully accepted” by local teachers and reduced access to national social security, retirement packages, *etc.*

3.2. The non-native English speaking teacher

The NNEST faces a comparable quantity of intercultural challenges as the NEST, although sometimes different in nature. This teacher is more likely to teach in their home country (Medgyes 2020: 36). Although this is not exclusively the case as the NNEST is accepted as equal in ability to the NEST with different attributes (Medgyes 2001, 2020: 36). Teaching locally implies a higher probability of a monocultural class, hence the teacher speaking the same L1 as their students. Baimuratova and Doganay (2017: 18) point to the advantage of this shared background of teacher and students as it enables a cross-referencing of “English through the eyes of the L1 culture”. Therefore, in this particular combination of

learners and teacher there are not likely to be the issues with the L1 culture that were described in the case of the NEST. In this context though, there may be a stronger emphasis on passing the exams of national curricula than ICC development (Koch and Takashima 2021: 90). Any cultural challenges are with regard to the L2 linguaculture, English, which extends beyond Anglophone culture when considering the wider context of its use as a *lingua franca*. Sercu (2005: 5) refers to the need for teachers to have “adequate knowledge of the target language community”. However, Abayadeera *et al.* (2018: 183) indicate that the literature has more or less exclusively concentrated on the linguistic capabilities of NNESTS, and less on their intercultural communication skills. Furthermore, the NNEST who teaches locally may have knowledge of Anglophone culture that is not experiential. Rather, it may have been learned from books or other media. This may have provided them with a distorted view. (Neuner 2003: 17) in referring to this aspect of authenticity, points to knowledge that is:

- Filtered by media (coursebook content, *etc.*)
- Filtered by selection of information (materials selected by educational authorities, *etc.*)

To provide a further illustration of this aspect, scholars have found that the content contained in many ELT course books does not reflect real life; rather, a filtered, sanitised and glamorous version of it (Gray 2002; Mishan 2021; Branigan 2022). Therefore, a NNEST who has not lived among Anglophone culture may have such an inauthentic perspective, acquired from its particular portrayal in media such as educational content, music, films *etc.* In addition, they may cling to stereotypical views of the L2 culture such as that Anglophone people are over-confident, materialistic, superficial, rich, *etc.*, for example. This lack of authentic experience may reinforce their own ethnocentricity, thus hindering genuine understanding of the L2 culture and therefore acting as an obstacle to ICC. This may also lead to another frame of mind; Reversal, which will be discussed further on. Reversal is the mindset whereby a person wholeheartedly embraces the L2 culture at the expense of their own; it may result in the NNEST’s overenthusiasm or overselling of the L2 linguaculture. The teacher’s attitude has obvious effects on the students.

When it comes to the context of the NNEST teaching abroad, there are other possible challenges in addition to those faced by the NEST, notably, negotiating the local culture and customs, finding accommodation, miscommunications with locals *etc.* Medgyes (2001: 434) points to an “inferiority complex” in NNESTS due to the fact that their proficiency in the language is not that of the NEST. This may even be reflected in the observations of students. For example, Abayadeera *et al.* (2018), in a survey of Australian business students’ opinions, found NNESTS suffered from “intercultural apprehension and linguistic barriers” whilst teaching at an Australian university. Furthermore, Kiss and Medgyes (2019: 2) point to discrimination in the job market, with job advertisements offered only to UK or US passport holders, for example. In an abroad context, the NNEST suffers the comparative disadvantage of neither being a native speaker of the learners’ L1, nor the L2 they are teaching. These aspects of insecurity and culture shock may interfere with the NNEST’s ability to integrate and communicate whilst teaching abroad, hence the need for intercultural skills.

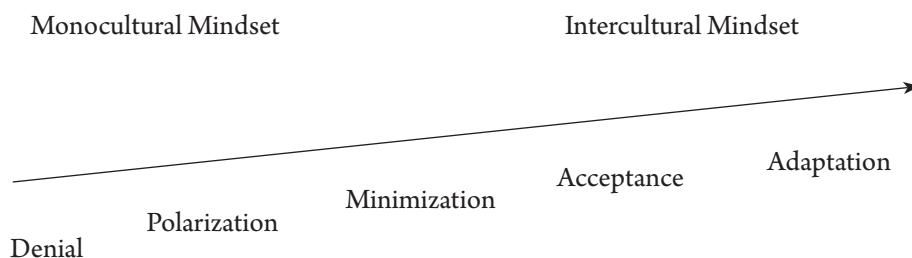
3.3. The learner

28

Zhang and Zhou (2019: 31) point to a general insufficiency of students' "intercultural knowledge, attitudes (and) skills". Hernandez-Bravo *et al.* (2017: 34) in referring to a Spanish context attributed this to schools not offering an "intercultural curriculum". Zhang and Zhou (2019: 32) suggest a lack of IC amongst students leads to prejudice and discrimination. These states of mind could act as obstacles to the intercultural aspect of learning the foreign language. Abayadeera *et al.* (2018: 184) found evidence of the ethnocentric perspectives of students even forming their feedback on NNEST teacher evaluations. When it comes to learners, the challenges with regard to achieving ICC also depend to an extent on whether they are learning in their own country or abroad, either in an Anglophone country or otherwise. When learning abroad they are exposed to intercultural situations. When learning at home, as with the case of the NNEST, it will be more likely than not in a monocultural classroom, *i.e.*, both teacher and learners will be from the L1 linguaculture. This increases the likelihood of L1 ethnocentrism persisting amongst all of the participants in the classroom. Furthermore, there will be the possibility of learning through inauthentic (at least, never truly authentic) cultural content and a need to overcome L2 cultural stereotypes.

In addition to the obstacles of their own attitudes and course materials, the learner is on the receiving end of cultural messages from the two previously described groups, the NNEST and NEST. If either is deficient in terms of ICC, the learner may be subject to receiving elements of their particular cultural bias. When it comes to the local context, there will also be inexperience with actual intercultural contact. Koch and Takashima (2021: 81) argued that not enough focus is given to intercultural communication development in "mainstream EFL practice", to this local, monocultural context where students cannot experience intercultural communication in "authentic intercultural settings". They refer to a lack of "diverse cultural representations in Japanese EFL textbooks", for example. Another factor worth returning to, Hammer (2012: 122) discusses Reversal which can also be an obstacle to ICC and is the converse of ethnocentrism. Learners have bought into and hold the L2 in such high regard that they judge and belittle their own L1 linguaculture. He argues that this may interfere with the attainment of a deeper knowledge of the L2 culture. This is an obstacle because ICC features an acceptance of both cultures, L1 and L2.

Hammer's Intercultural Development Continuum (IDC)

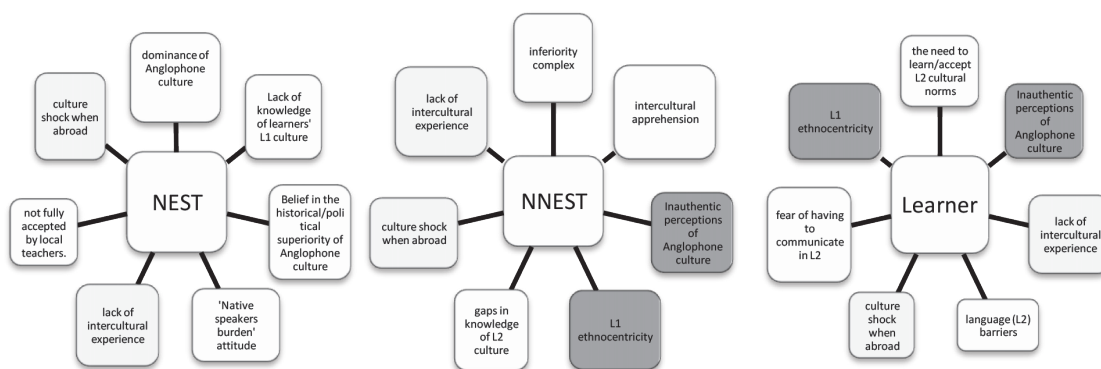


Source: Hammer (2012: 119)

The IDC has links to Bennett's (1993) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) which illustrates a person progressing from an Ethnocentric stage to an Ethnorelative stage. The IDC features a person's growth from a Monocultural mindset to an Intercultural Mindset. When learners are studying English abroad they are inevitably placed in a multicultural environment, either within the L2 culture itself or another. Especially if they have not lived abroad before, they may experience culture shock and the initial stages of Denial and Polarization on the IDC. In addition, lack of previous cultural interactions may lead to intercultural apprehension and fear of failure. They may face the additional challenge of needing to use English outside the classroom for the first time, having to employ sociolinguistic aspects which may be new to them, not to mention negotiate local accents, vernacular, *etc.* Hammer (2012: 119) points to students with a Denial mindset becoming "rapidly overwhelmed" when faced with these obstacles. This may lead to the defensive Polarization phase of *it is done better where I come from*. Development of their ICC skills would lead them further along the curve towards acceptance and adaptation and leave them better prepared for such situations.

4. Commonalities and differences in the three groups

Obstacles to successful intercultural communication



The diagrams show that some factors are common amongst two (orange shading) or all three actors (yellow shading), such as culture shock when abroad. Others are unique to that particular actor (unshaded), such as the NEST coming from the globally dominant culture. Both the NNEST and learner share the possibility of a learned (vs. experienced) and inauthentic version of Anglophone culture. Particularly in a monocultural classroom, they may possess mutually reinforcing ethnocentric perspectives particular to their own shared linguaculture. All this information leads to the conclusion that in the case of both groups of teachers, training courses would benefit from the inclusion of intercultural instruction that deals with their particular obstacles as seen on the diagram. When it comes to learners, it is clear that in the real world they will face often non-verbal, intercultural challenges that are not usually dealt with in the ELT classroom and they need the skills to overcome them.

5. Overcoming obstacles to intercultural communication

5.1. Teacher training

Sercu (2005: 5) states that “foreign language teachers need additional knowledge, attitudes, competencies and skills”. That is in consideration of the fact that once the language is learnt in class, its actual use will occur in the *real world* where intercultural skills in addition to knowledge of the language will be required for effective communication. Zhang (2017: 230–232) referred to the need for emotional qualities involved in facing the challenge of integrating ICC in the classroom, as well as respecting students and being non-judgemental on the side of the teacher. Georgidis and Zisimos (2012: 50) in referring to a Greek context of working with Roma and socially disadvantaged children observed that “teachers are often poorly prepared and trained for working with diverse groups of children” and teachers do not receive this additional knowledge and skills in their training. A teacher who has attained a degree of Intercultural Competence in their education and experience would see their role from a different perspective than the traditional teacher model. Byram (2009: 326) suggests that the teacher would take the role of “cultural mediator”, Fantini (2019: 24) calls this a “linguaculture teacher”. These labels imply the teacher moving beyond the traditional role as model of the L2 to one who empowers learners with knowledge and awareness of cultures and their differences. Mediation here implies comparing and contrasting, exploring the similarities and differences between the cultures, critically evaluating both towards discovery, accommodation and appreciation of both L1 and L2 cultures. In the case of English as an international language that means other cultures too. One such example of mediation would be what Sercu (2005: 5) describes as having the ability to search for understanding with their learners when instances of intercultural conflict arise.

Baker (2015: 133) when referring to Intercultural Awareness, stated that there is “little indication of these ideas appearing in L2 teacher training materials or curricula”. When it comes to the training of the NEST in particular, the most popular international ELT qualifications are Cambridge’s CELTA and TrinityTESOL (12,000 candidates per year take the CELTA alone {Cambridgeenglish.org}). These courses have been widely criticised for their monocultural slant (Holliday 1994; Ellis 1996; Jenkins 2017; Gallagher and Geraghty 2021) and lack of course components which develop the ICC skills of their trainees. In these centre-method, Western, monolingual courses, appropriate instruction would bring awareness to the possible implications arising from the cultural imbalance that exists wherever the globally dominant Anglophone culture is concerned. The content of these courses should also take into consideration the specific needs of L2 to L2 communications. It is logical to conclude that the inclusion of ICC components in the instruction of both NNEST’s and NEST’s training would have the effect of both of these actors being able to effectively integrate elements of these skills alongside the language elements of their EFL courses.

5.2. Experience abroad

Scholarly advice recommends experience abroad as the ultimate enabler of intercultural skills for both learners and teachers. Fantini (2007: 5) describes intercultural experiences by learners as “life-altering”. Cushner (2007: 29) reports on foreign experiences by preservice teachers as having “challenged their perceptions of themselves as well as others”. Hismanoglu (2011: 814) in a study of students from

the University of Lefke, found that those who had experience abroad demonstrated a higher level of intercultural communication skills. Zhang (2017: 232) pointed to the fact that teachers with overseas experience are more competent than those who have not. The ERASMUS student exchange programme in the EU is such an example. In the case of preservice teachers spending some of their training abroad, Cushner (2007: 29) points to the additional benefit of trainees who are exposed to “new pedagogical approaches and educational philosophies”. Further to providing them with more options with regard to their approach to teaching, it can also be assumed a period abroad will leave them better equipped to relate to their future students’ differing cultural and educational backgrounds, in addition to the challenges centre, Western pedagogical practices might present to those from a different culture.

The citations in the previous paragraph illustrate the impact of the experiential aspect of a sojourn abroad over classroom instruction in aspects of intercultural communication. Hofstede (2009: 85) explains the rationale for this in that Intercultural Competence requires “the ability to participate in the social life of people who live according to different unwritten rules”. Of course, immersion in a foreign culture represents an active participation. While stressful and cognitively taxing on the learning curve, it certainly leads to self-development and the acquisition of a new set of skills: intercultural skills. Yet, ICC is not a given ability that is automatically acquired during a period abroad. Yarosh *et al.* (2018: 68) signal the importance of students realising that Intercultural Competence is a skill that needs to be consciously developed. Hammer (2012: 116–132), in referring to the Immersion Assumption, reveals through the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), a 50 item questionnaire, that although immersion in a foreign culture does lead to improvements in intercultural communication, it is not enough in itself. He finds a dichotomy between the qualitative reports of students describing transformational experiences abroad as cited above (Cushner 2007:29; Fantini 2007:5), and the quantitative data of the IDI research which reveals, in fact, insignificant improvements in intercultural skills after a period abroad if those skills have not been cultivated in a conscious way. If consequential improvement is to be achieved, his findings advocated that cultural mentoring be part of the foreign placement. This is a guided developmental programme which involves students reflecting on their experiences abroad in order to construct new attitudes and build Intercultural Awareness. In referring to this conscious act of building on the experiential aspect, Fantini (2009) uses the KASA framework (knowledge, attitudes, skills, awareness) when it comes to reflecting on and assessing IC after such a sojourn. This is straightforward to apply in reflection activities. For example, what new things have I learnt from my experience abroad? (knowledge), I have learnt to overcome my fear of speaking English (skills), *etc.*

5.3. Lesson content

The importance of experiential learning over books has been established as it is difficult for the latter to be ever truly authentic. Intercultural training in class can be of benefit though, either when experience in a foreign country is not possible, or as a complementary activity to immersion abroad. In addition, as Hammer (2012: 116-132) illustrated, it is important as immersion alone may not develop the required intercultural skills. Furthermore, intercultural aspects can be integrated relatively easily into the day-to-day content of the English language lesson.

Hernandez-Bravo *et al.* (2017: 34), in a study of Spanish elementary school pupils, found that before any intercultural training, learners showed a “lack of intercultural knowledge and skills to interact with others”. This is an issue as once students make the progression from learners of the language to

users of the language they are going to need to employ their ICC skills. These are often non-verbal and attitudinal in aspect, as opposed to language skills learned in class, which ensure a successful intercultural communication in the real world. Xiao and Petraki (2007) illustrate what can happen when this is not achieved over the learner's period of English language study, with the example of Chinese students who obtain a high grade in examinations; however, are not able to interact with foreign people.

When it comes to including ICC content in the classroom, Sercu (2005: 11) reported a cohort of teachers who believed that it is not possible to include culture teaching with language learning. Reasons cited were reinforcement of cultural stereotypes and a belief that IC skills cannot be learned in class. To counter those arguments, she points to the commonalities between language educators and "intercultural educators" and states that "foreign language is by definition intercultural". It can thus be logically deduced that the culture element is a common denominator in both fields. Therefore, it can be argued that language teachers are well placed to incorporate ICC skills into ELT. Indeed, Zhang and Zhou (2019: 42) point to the positive relationship between language proficiency and IC; indicating the link between both once again. Popular international ELT coursebooks do not consider this by largely neglecting inclusion of aspects of the students' L1 culture, and not accommodating the fact they might need to interact with cultures other than Anglophone (Mishan 2021). That is why teachers may need to use their ICC skills and experience to integrate such content into the lesson content where it is absent.

As to activities for developing intercultural skills in the English language classroom, the scope of this paper limits their description to a brief outline. Zhang and Zhou (2019: 42) found that classroom activities had a positive effect on learners' intercultural skills. They suggested working with authentic materials from the target culture and "hands on experiential activities" such as roleplay, groupwork, *etc.* Hismanoglu (2011: 816) in suggesting similar activities, listed cultural assimilators, cultoons, games, discussion, ethnographic tasks, projects, *etc.*, and also made the important suggestion that learners' ICC education should begin once they commence learning a foreign language. Byram (1997: 7) in advocating raising cultural awareness in the classroom, recommends activities such as: examining the local culture, critically evaluating descriptions of cultures within course materials, making use of electronic media and interaction with "cultural informants", *i.e.*, local and non-local people with intercultural experiences who may visit the classroom in an informative role. Starkey (2003: 76–78) refers to two general methodologies for the critical study of such authentic materials. The first is Critical Discourse Analysis whereby issues such as social power, dominance, inequality, stereotypes *etc.* are explored and interpreted. Any points of concern can be discussed in class and comparisons made with the L1 culture. The second is a Cultural Studies approach in which students learn about other cultures through the analysis of materials which often contain contrasting views. That way, learners, rather than simply receive information provided, are able to construct their own knowledge and awareness from examining the culture from different perspectives.

6. Conclusion

Intercultural Communicative Competence goes beyond the mere language skills of the learner and extends communicative competence in English to the ability to interact successfully with people of multiple cultures. This involves overcoming cultural barriers such as stereotypes and ethnocentric biases

which may act as obstacles to communication. The ELT classroom is a good context in which to learn such intercultural skills as they are so closely linked and interdependent with language. Such skills need to be employed from the outset in the ELT classroom as by nature it is a place where two or more cultures are to meet. The actors in such a multicultural context may be take the form of a NEST who comes from a foreign culture, a NNEST who needs to inform of a culture foreign to their own and learners whose ethnocentric perspectives may act as obstacles to the achievement of Intercultural Competence, or a multicultural mix of variations of all three. While each of the stated actors encounters common obstacles to achieving Intercultural Competence such as lack of intercultural experience, there are others which are unique to that particular group, for example, the implications arising from the fact that the NEST comes from the globally dominant culture. Solutions to overcoming such barriers may be tailored to the obstacles encountered by that particular group. These include the incorporation intercultural components into teacher training courses which are often neglected. Experience abroad is vital for all and may be part of teacher training or student exchange programmes such as ERASMUS. However, it is essential that a dimension of building intercultural skills is incorporated into the programme if a genuine strengthening of such competences is to be achieved. Finally, lesson content should include activities that encourage critical analysis of possible ethnocentric biases that occur in content relating to both the students' L1 and the L2, including exploration of other cultures. The result should be that learners arrive at an appreciation of the commonalities and differences between cultures that eliminates obstacles to intercultural communication and provides them with the tools to function in various cultural perspectives through the medium English.

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Polish Rural Dialect and Culture of the Dobrzyń Region in Jerzy Pietrkiewicz's Novel *The Knotted Cord*¹

Abstract

During the first decades of the XX century the myth of idyllic pre-war countryside was strong in Poland and such reminiscences of the abandoned homeland were especially important for Polish exiles after The World War II. One of them was Jerzy Pietrkiewicz who described the Dobrzyń Land in his novel in English *The Knotted Cord*, published in Great Britain in 1953. A particularly interesting aspect of the book is the way the author incorporated the elements of the Polish rural dialect and culture into the book addressed to the British recipient. The aim of the article is to analyse the author's literary experiment based on the insertion of many Polish words into the English text. The main objective of the analysis is to view how Pietrkiewicz represented his homeland and identify the reasons why the book appeared to be successful.

Keywords: Jerzy Pietrkiewicz, *The Knotted Cord*, rural, folklore, dialect

The aim of the article is to present the elements of rural dialect and culture of the Dobrzyń Region in pre-war Poland in Jerzy Pietrkiewicz's novel *The Knotted Cord*. The author depicted the atmosphere of the village of Fabianki in an experimental way by inserting many Polish words into the English text. The main objective of the analysis is to view how Pietrkiewicz represented his homeland and identify the reasons why the book appeared to be successful.

In the post-war reality of many European countries, where food shortages were common (Tracy 1989, Millward 1992), the role of agriculture and its performance started growing rapidly (Williams

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1987). Although in Britain the rural traditions were different than in Europe and the British peasantry diminished 'under the wave of early agrarian capitalism' (Hoggart *et al.* 1995: 186), nostalgic visions of the countryside remained strong (Abrahams 1991). Such sentiments were true of Austria and Switzerland, where 'national policy has long sought to integrate human activities within a broad rural-environmental framework' (Hoggart *et al.* 1995: 107). In France, Ireland or parts of western Germany rural traditions that exist derived from the peasantist past were cultivated (Hoggart *et al.* 1995: 188). Strong and stable rural communities lived according to principles of kinship, rights and obligations, mutual help, independence from the market economy, respecting the traditions, patriarchy and primogeniture. Such image of stability, strength and harmony dominated both popular and academic visions of the rural past (Arsenberg 1937), even though the idyllic picture was in reality often destroyed by harsh conditions, hunger and starvation (Shiel 1988: 15).

Such arcadian, pastoral myths remained the sources of rural nostalgia that in Britain functioned as the basis of "the role that the countryside played in national identity" (Short 1991: 34, Marsden *et al.* 1993) and constituted the very core of "definitions of Englishness" (Jeans 1990, Daniels 1993). The typical English countryside meant a mythological place where the unchanged values and national sentiments survived (Lowenthal 1991, Daniels 1993). Despite the fact that the English peasantry was gradually destroyed by commercial capitalism (Short 1991: 67), the countryside remained an important part of the nation's heritage.

Strongly connected with the individual characters of rural communities are local dialects, remaining the integral parts of "the commonality myth" (Wolfram, Friday 1997: 143). They might be perceived as vital elements creating the group uniqueness. Yet, such linguistic diversities could be the source of severe difficulties for literary translators (Bonaffini 1997, Szymańska 2017, Al-Khanji 2020), often containing untranslatable elements (Sánchez 1991, Sánchez 1996, Floros 2016).

The myth of idyllic countryside was also strong in Poland and the reminiscences of the abandoned homeland were especially important for Polish exiles after World War II. One of them was Jerzy Pietrkiewicz, who described the Dobrzyń Land in his novel written in English *The Knotted Cord*. The folklore – songs, dances, customs, as well as the landscape of the region recalled in detail – form the colorful background of the novel's action. The life of the village, although apparently realistic (this is the impression on the reader achieved by the accumulation of names and vivid descriptions of the hamlets), is saturated with magic and the narrator's faith in the wisdom and strength of Polish peasants. A particularly interesting aspect of the book is the way the author incorporated the elements of the local rural dialect into the text.

Jerzy Pietrkiewicz (since 1958 Peterkiewicz) was born in 1916 in Fabianki, a small village in the region of Dobrzyń. After the beginning of the Second World War, he fled to Great Britain where he lived ever since until his death in 2007. Pietrkiewicz, as a young man, wrote poetry in Polish – mainly introducing such themes as peasant life, nature, patriotism and religion (Catholic connotations), all inspired by the so-called authentic movement in poetry created by Stanisław Czernik. With the outbreak of the World War II, he left Poland and in 1940 arrived in Great Britain knowing no English at all. Later he wrote in his autobiography: "How was I to cope with this demonic language which attacked my ears from every side in different lilts of accent and intonation?" (Peterkiewicz 1993: 168). Having studied at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland, Pietrkiewicz soon became bilingual and bicultural. He continued studies in London where he wrote his thesis for doctorate in English literature and obtained the degree

as the first Pole in the history of King's College. Trying to assimilate to the new culture was a difficult process, but Pietrkiewicz appreciated how much knowing the English literary tradition broadened his horizons and accelerated the pace of his acculturation.

He believed that exile was more painful for a poet or a writer than for people of other professions, as "the native language which was previously the tool for him, through which he could create a bond with his audience and taste a kind of fame" was no longer needed and so the writer felt his "limitations whenever [...] denuded of language" (Peterkiewicz 1993: 161).

Writing in English seemed tempting, but also challenging. Slowly, but surely, the growing awareness made Pietrkiewicz believe that if he wanted to achieve success, he needed to shift into the adopted language. He wrote about it in his autobiography: "My own process of transformation continued with, and partly because of, the necessity to adapt to a new environment. I was shedding illusions" (Peterkiewicz 1993: 182). The work at university diminished his "sense of Not-belonging" (Peterkiewicz 1993: 220) and gave him academic experience.

The person who encouraged Jerzy to write the novel in English was his friend, Rosamond Bachelor. She was a Catholic born in India, knew Polish and Russian, and worked for a publishing house. She liked listening to Pietrkiewicz's stories of his childhood in Poland and, as they spoke English, he was proud of "being able to make [his] listener laugh, or to strike a note of tragedy to increase the tension" (Peterkiewicz 1993: 222). Finally she persuaded him to write a book, convincing him that since he had told it to her, it actually already existed. Looking for inspiration and trying to escape the depressing English climate, Pietrkiewicz went for a long holiday in Spain, where he finished writing the novel in 1951.

Rosamond arranged a meeting with the publisher, yet he did not accept the book for publication. In a letter to his wife, Christine Brooke-Rose, in January 1952, Pietrkiewicz wrote:

A few days ago Mr. Sheed² decided against publishing my novel, despite his wife's enthusiasm. I think he is simply frightened of the novel's implications (both in its religious and national background). He apparently suggested that I should make it a direct autobiography (of all unearthly and loathsome things!). (Pietrkiewicz 1952)

In 1953, the book appeared to be interesting for Alexander Stuart Frere, chairman of the board of William Heinemann Ltd., who agreed to publish it under one condition – the original title *Told from the Vernacular* had to be changed into *The Knotted Cord*.

Jerzy Pietrkiewicz wanted to re-create the atmosphere of pre-war village, the mythical place of his childhood. To somehow transfer the elements of rural dialect of the Dobrzyń region, the author wove Polish words, phrases and names into the text, mainly using language calques.

The characters in the book address each other with Polish "Pan" or "Pani", for example: "Keep on following pan Kowalski" or, in case of poor, landless peasantry: "Baba", "mother Ptak". The main hero, Bronek refers to his parents with Polish "mamo" and "tato". Numerous phrases are language calques, for example: "by Jesus and His Holy Mother", "cholera take you all" or "dog-blooded".

Many names and surnames occur, such as: Bronek, Antonina, Onufry, Florian, Suski, Galiski, Pniewski. In some names even the characteristic Polish clusters of consonants "sz" or "cz" are left unchanged, definitely unclear to the British reader in terms of pronunciation: in the diminutive

2 Francis Joseph Sheed – an Australian by origin, together with his wife, Maisie Ward who was British, in 1926 opened their own publishing house in London called „Sheed&Ward”. Currently, it is one of the most famous Catholic publishing houses in the world. It has published books by many recognized Catholic authors such as Gilbert K. Chesterton.

“Broneczek”, the surname “Oborowicz” or the horse’s name “Kasztan”. Only some names are changed into a version more familiar to the English reader: “Casimir” and “Stanislas”. Similarly, the geographical names of the region remain in their original spelling: Fabianki, Lipno, Rypin, Izbica, Kulin, Bogucin. Yet, Polish letters like “ń” do not appear and some names are slightly changed: New Helmica (Nowa Chelmica), Dobrin (Dobrzyń), Groden (Grodzień) or Torun.

As Catholic religion plays a vital role in the peasants’ lives, this is also reflected in the dialogues. The villagers often greet their neighbours saying “Jesus Christ be praised” or comment various situations with emotional exclamations like “By five wounds of Christ”, “Jesus and Mary!”, “Saint Joseph and Holy Mother of Skempe”. Catholic sanctuaries are mentioned, including “where Our Lady of the Sharp Gate dwells”.

What is typical of the pre-war rural areas, also in Fabianki, religion co-exists with magic, thus old pagan beliefs are strongly cultivated and respected. The people believe in special knowledge of healers and quacks who are more available and cheaper to visit than town doctors, so they are commonly asked for help in case of illness, more often than professional medicals. Simultaneously, the villagers are afraid of unnatural phenomena and supernatural abilities, some women are believed to be mischievous and powerful witches. It is commonly regarded to be true that such occultists may ruin other people’s lives by cursing or poisoning them with herbal mixtures: “She tried to leave a zmora Curse on you, poor girl”, “Ptak is an upior”, “szalej is a mad plant”.

Swearing is another characteristic element of the peasants’ everyday language. They easily get emotional and outwardly express their negative feelings (especially anger) in speech: “Cholera swallow all landlords and their brats”, “stupid old hag”, “you wry-mouthed, fat, braying donkey”. The dialogues are often arrogant in style, but it is obvious that some of the characters, especially those of the lowest social status in the village, are used to humiliating treatment, like in the conversation between pan Oborowicz and Baba:

Hey, Baba, has the devil’s horn pierced your bottom?

Oh, pan can joke, but pan’s little son saw the very foul person of a witch, this very day

The most offending language appears in the scene when a group of pilgrims called Mariawici³ walks through the village of Fabianki. The local peasants consider them to be heretics and express their hatred openly, abusing the sectarians: “They really pray to the Devil’s mother whore”, “you vile ungodly infidels”, “shameless offenders of the Holy Church” “the mother Whore’s and the Devil’s, her farting bastard fanatics”.

Other Polish elements in *The Knotted Cord* refer to national symbols and historical reminiscences. King Sigismund is mentioned as the monarch who established religious tolerance in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The bolsheviks are referred to as the enemies and uncultured barbarians whom the Poles bravely fought with during the war. Mother tells Bronek about her eldest son,

3 In the monograph *The Third Adam* Jerzy Pietrkiewicz, using source documents, thoroughly described the rules of the Mariavite Church. He came to Poland in 1963 and interviewed many members of the sect. The church leaders were the excommunicated priest Jan Kowalski and the founder of the sect, mother Maria Kozłowska. The innovations introduced by Kowalski included, among other things, the creation of „mystical marriages” between priests and nuns. The children born of these unions were brought up in the Order. Another innovation by Kowalski was the priesthood of women, and then the possibility of obtaining priestly ordination by all of Mary’s followers.

Henryk, who “gave his life for the white eagle, fought the Bolsheviks and didn’t come back”. She also sings a song – a “popular tune from the Bolshevik war” (Pietrkiewicz’s own translation):

White roses are in bloom.
Return Jasienku, from the war, return,
Return and kiss me
As in years passed by...

Yet another aspect of Polishness in the book are references to Polish literature, for example, to *Pan Tadeusz* (the title appears in the original Polish version) in the scene when little Bronek is trying to read one of his first books: “Pan Ta-de-usz ... By A-dam Mic-kie-wicz”⁴.

The language of *The Knotted Cord* is Pietrkiewicz’s unique experiment. The elements of the Polish rural dialect and the peasants’ culture in the region of Dobrzyń are transmitted into the English text. There are no footnotes or the author’s foreword introducing the reader to the distant and exotic world of the Polish countryside. Even though the novel is inevitably unclear at moments to someone brought up in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, the reviews were numerous and very positive. Both the plot and the language were highly praised by critics (Cieplińska 2012), for example:

A good novel, like a good painting, is international; but it gains rather than loses in richness by being clearly marked with national flavor. (Jones 1953)

The reviewer (the surname not given) of the Liverpool Evening Express wrote:

There are features about *The Knotted Cord* [...], which in themselves, would make it an outstanding novel on English. But it is in the nature of a double feat for the young Polish poet who wrote it, for when he arrived in Britain in 1940 for the first time in his life, he didn’t know any English. [...] The folklore and religious beliefs of a village people in a corner of Europe little known to the bulk of travellers, provide a colourful and absorbing background. (“Liverpool Evening Express” 1953)

Alexander J. Brown pointed out the author’s nationality and referred to Joseph Conrad:

To re-create such remote, early years so vividly is a notable feat of itself, but to do so in a strange language is astonishing, but after Conrad’s Polish novels, nothing should surprise us from a Pole. (Brown 1953)

Why was the book successful? Mainly, due to the fact that the plot, though distant for the English reader in terms of culture and geographical location of Poland, refers to such universal values like a nation’s connection with land, the core importance of religion and child psychology. In Britain, the pastoral myth, characteristic to pastoral literature which focuses on the genre’s typical imagery – portraying the idyllic rural life, presented as simple and orderly, remains a vital part of literary heritage. The picture of the Polish village community, functioning in harmonious order, accepting humbly the laws of nature, referred to the myth that was relevant for British recipients at the time.

Moreover, the religious implications strongly exposed in *The Knotted Cord* were in accordance with one of the trends characteristic of British literature in the 1950s, namely the trend of the Catholic

4 The first English translation of *Pan Tadeusz* appeared in Great Britain in 1885 under the title *Master Thaddeus; or, The Last Foray in Lithuania. A Historical Epic Poem in Twelve Books* translated by Maude Ashurst Biggs in collaboration with professor George Rapall Noyes who later founded School of Slavonic Literatures in Berkley (1917). Biggs’ translation was thoroughly discussed by Aleksandra Budrewicz in *Spory wokół wydania i przekładu*.

novel (Cieplińska 2013). Furthermore, words and expressions of Polish rural dialect interwoven into the text in their original spelling created the effect of authenticity and appeared to be an attractive element of the book.

Pietrkiewicz was well aware of the fact that the local dialect of the rural area and both overt and covert cultural implications which he presented in his book played a vital role in creating the exotic atmosphere of the Polish village depicted in *The Knotted Cord*. First of all, if he had written the novel in Polish, the risk of mediocre translation would have appeared, as the field of Polish-English literary translation was not developed in Britain in 1950s. Furthermore, the elements of the folklore – dialect and rites were particularly difficult parts for a potential translator. Secondly, though bilingual, the author was against self-translation. Pietrkiewicz decided to choose the third way – to write directly in English and cope with the transition of elements of Polish rural dialect of the Dobrzyń region and its vivid culture into the narrative. Finally, the idea of creating the unique “concoction” of Polish dialect incorporated into the English text, though challenging, appeared to be a very successful experiment.

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Influence of the English Language on Librarianship Terminology on Polish University Sites

Abstract

The following article discusses theoretical and practical aspects concerning terminology in the field of librarianship by showing how new terms are coined or incorporated from other languages. It presents key librarian terminology used on the websites of leading Polish academic libraries aiming to assess the extent of the influence of the English language on the Polish librarianship jargon. The analysis draws on fundamental terms selected from five websites and discusses their etymology. Three main trends – neologisms, borrowings and semanticisms – are shown and illustrated with appropriate examples.

Keywords: LIS terminology, librarianship, specialist terms, neologisms, borrowings, semanticisms

1. Introduction

The importance of nomenclature in scientific practice began to be widely recognised as early as in the 18th century. The development of science, intensified by technical inventions and scientific discoveries, contributed to the emergence of scientific concepts and, subsequently, to the formation of terms. However, concepts and terms relating to particular scientific activities arose much earlier. For instance, in the field of library science, they go back to ancient times, when libraries were first created. Along with the foundation of ancient institutions, there emerged concepts relating to particular activities, their categorisations and names. However, the modern development of librarianship and technology, the turn towards information technology (IT) and online communication, as well as the activities of the Library

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of Congress in Washington towards the creation of a universal cataloguing format changed the trend. Together with an expansion of knowledge into new subfields such as bibliometrics or scientometry they have resulted in new terminology being brought over into the domain mostly from the English language. In consonance with these trends, this article presents selected key terms from the field of librarianship and argues about their etymology, present-day use, and function.

2. Terms vs concepts

Until the mid-twentieth century, neither linguists nor researchers in the fields of humanities and social sciences dealt with terminology, which arose simultaneously with practical activities in particular domains. In the literature on the subject, one can find dozens of definitions of the word “term,” which predominantly point to it being “a name of a scientific or technical concept” (Tomaszczyk 2014: 27). This general definition though serves as a good starting point for deliberations on the subject of naming and distinguishing “concept” – an abstract, multi-layered, dynamic structure, with its content and scope, form “term” – a concrete name of an entity. Accordingly, the use of “terms,” which are practical and multifunctional, allowed for categorisation and systematisation of knowledge in an unambiguous way. It facilitated the use of numerous functions in human activity, out of which cognitive and communicative seem to stand out.

3. Terminology in theoretical considerations

Since the issue of terms was put into foreground due to their role they play in every scientific and practical activity and description of its outcomes in research and development, in specialist texts creation, as well as in knowledge transfer and translation, there have evolved different theories and perspectives on terminology. In the 1930s, Eugen Wüster, representing the so-called Vienna school, declared terminology to be an interdisciplinary and autonomous discipline. Basing on his experience in organizing technical terminology, he was mainly concerned with the standardization of terms. His work led to the formulation of the General Terminology Theory (GTT), which was however later refuted. Its main weaknesses were a reliance on single-meaning relationships of concepts and terms, lack of terminological variation, as well as disregard of syntactic and diachronic relationships of terms (Faber 2009: 111–112).

With time, there appeared new proposals attempting to integrate terminology into wider contexts. And so, Gaudin (1993: 225) proposed the so-called a socioterminological approach to scientific lexicon, which takes a linguistic sign at its starting point but respects polysemy of terms, and adopts descriptive functions. Thus, the standardization of terminology seemed unrealistic and harmful in further development of specialised languages, where synonymy and polysemy are inevitable due to social and professional developments (Faber 2009: 113).

Then came the Communicative Theory of Terminology (CTT), proposed mainly by Cabré (1999: 87), an extension of socioterminologists’ findings as it took into account the multidimensionality of terminological units. It stressed the complexity of specialised language items by putting them into social, linguistic and cognitive perspective. In a way, the theory discussed terms through “sets of conditions”

(Cabr  1999: 184) deriving from a particular field, conceptual structure, meaning, significance, syntax and communicative context. In short, terms are to be approached through language doors, but they must be seen in the general context of specialised communication.

The last decades shifted linguists' focus towards cognition and the conceptual networks underlying language. Temmerman (2000: 16) criticised General Terminology Theory as unrealistic and incapable of explaining specialised language. In her view, items could not have clear-cut boundaries, monosemic reference and be perceived only synchronically. She proposed analysing terms embedded in community discourse. The sociocognitive approach that she fostered took into account the relationships between language and thought, thought and reality, and reality and language. None of the elements in the triangle could be neglected as it is humans who involve language in understanding the world, and it is man who formulates opinions. Likewise, terms cannot function as elements of an isolated system, but as elements of specialist knowledge – entities that help preserve and disseminate human expertise as it is man who creates terms in the research area. Finally, a vital feature of the sociocognitive approach is its acceptance of the diachronic dimension of terminological units. The last tenet allows for changes in the terminological use of items, their variation in cultural and social groups, as well as their presence both in general and specialized language.

What makes the sociocognitive theory stand out from the rest is its emphasis on conceptual organisation of terminology, where category structure is prototypical and “the representations of relations between concepts in this framework are in the form of idealised cognitive models (ICMs)” (Faber 2009: 117). Also, the already mentioned diacritic perspective on vocabulary, its meaning and use in different contexts and by different social groups seem to indicate that the issue of terminology is not rigidly restricted to a set of principles and premises of compiling terminological data as was the case in the GTT. Instead, concepts and terms turned out to be multidimensional in their nature.

The recent theory of terms and their use in text frames, propounded by Frame-based terminology theory (Faber *et al* 2005) goes further in its analysis of specialised terms. It stresses their behaviour in texts and not the mere distinction between terms and general vocabulary. Consequently, understanding of any terminology-laden text compels understanding of a given domain.

In short, a variety of theoretical approaches to terminology and its categorisation, as well as lexicalisation processes in corpus research on different domains resulted in a rejection of traditional terminology theory that impedes a pragmatic and realistic description of a large number of categories and terms. The main principles of modern procedures understanding in terminology forwarded by the sociocognitive theory combine semasiological and onomasiological perspectives, the usage of synonymy and polysemy in special languages or diachronic influence on accepted solutions. Also, borrowings that relate to the source language domains, involving creations of terms based on the source domains models or the ones inspired by them, give rise to explicit lexicalisations (Temmerman 2000: 187). As H rland (2005: 18) stresses, culturally produced signs and symbols are increasingly internationalised. Consequently, any domain analysis sees its users as belonging to different cultures, social structures and domains of knowledge who share specific communication practices. Accordingly, it might be assumed that many terms that are continually introduced to the existing systems are utilised by them on a pragmatic basis.

On the basis of the genetic criterion, items incorporated from other languages can be divided into neologisms, neosemanticisms, and borrowings (Tomaszczyk 2014: 64). In case of neologisms, newly

coined items are formed from native word-formation elements. Neosemanticisms, in turn, use words and expressions deriving from general language in new terminological senses, which undermines the principle of monosemic use of professional items. Finally, new entries in specialised language come in the form of borrowings, especially in the areas of IT, business and economics. Increasingly, the tendency to internationalize terminology lets any language introduce significant numbers of needed items. Most often such terms are adapted to the target language in their spelling, phonological and grammatical structure but there are also those which come intact.

The fact that much specialised vocabulary enters professional domains as borrowings seems worrying to language purists, but the phenomenon is not a new one. There has always existed a language with a strong influence on other, less dominant ones. In ancient times, it was Latin and Greek that took over all civilised spheres – education, legal provisions or church. Later their role was fulfilled by Norman languages and presently it is the English language that dominates (Scarpa 2020: 254–258). Still, a constant influx of foreign terms has its benefits. It fills in gaps in the terminological systems and eliminates less known or ambiguous items.

4. Librarianship as a domain of scientific terminology

One of the areas where a specialised language is employed, namely for informing customers or communicating and cooperating within and between alike institutions, including academies, are libraries. Functioning as portals to culture and knowledge, libraries play a significant role in any society. Databases, services and other resources create opportunities for learning, support literacy and education and help shape new ideas and perspectives that are essential to a creative and innovative society (Roberts 2012: 52–52). Accordingly, librarianship is understood as a field related to the principle and practice of selecting, acquiring, organising, disseminating and providing access to information in accordance with the specific needs of groups of people or individuals (Cheong 2008: 1–3). The profession itself has existed since ancient times and has undergone many changes influenced by political, religious, educational, intellectual and cultural events, encompassing a number of countries and people.

Over years, the field has become a largely interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary domain that influences practices, perspectives and tools for the management of information technology and their relationships to education and other areas. One of such tools that librarianship, as a professional discipline, has developed is its specialist language with own specific terminology. Because libraries were already known in the ancient world, many librarianship terms derive from ancient Greek or Latin, which in turn entered the western languages as borrowings. Simultaneously, the discipline's intense development specially after the Enlightenment period resulted in the introduction of numerous new terms, mostly from the English language, the modern lingua franca (Bordonaro 2017: 169–170).

Furthermore, a significant role in popularising English in librarianship was played by the Library of Congress (the United States), responsible for the creation of the MARC format in the 1960s, adopted by all libraries of the world. The English dominance was also reinforced by ISO/TC 37 Technical Committee – Terminology and other language and content resources, whose primary aims was standardisation of scientific descriptions, resources, technologies and services relating to any domain terminology

(Tomaszczyk 2014: 61–62). Accordingly, items enriching library jargon represent numerous fields, first of all, computer sciences, information technology, economy or marketing.

Enriching the terminology of librarianship follows two dominant trends. One concerns borrowing in its three distinct cases; that is direct borrowing of items and phrases in the form of loanwords compatible with original words at the spelling and phonological level (*tablet, ranking*), adjusted terms with adapted spelling and pronunciation (*lider, menadżer*), and calques like *sprzęg* or *powierzchnia międzyfazowa* (interface), whose Polish equivalents seem impractical. Out of the three options offered by borrowing, the greatest cognitive and communicative value for the user are the loanwords compatible with original spelling and pronunciation (Tomaszczyk 2014: 68). The other trend pertains to semanticisms, *i.e.* an extension of the already existing items that have broadened their meanings. Such a phenomenon is visible in subsidiary items relating, for example, to words and expressions in information technology (IT), *i.e.* Polish verbs like *ściągać* (download) used in a new sense to transfer (software, data) from a distant to local computer or many other such semanticisms, such as *aplikacja* (application), *mysz* (mouse), *wirus* (virus) or *sieć* (web). They are primarily connected with computer science domain but ultimately find their way into librarianship jargon due to the field's interdisciplinarity (Zabawa 2014: 75).

However, as any other specialised field, librarianship employs both the English language for international contacts, research and knowledge dissemination and its own indigenous tongue for domestic purposes like communicating with library users, providing information on websites and presenting specific instructions. These two language spheres function side by side complementing each other. Increasingly, the mutual contacts result in either direct borrowing from the English language or linguistic transfer. Hence, the solution to linguistic problems and barriers in the area of librarianship that emerge in connection with the internationalisation of various aspects of library services can be found in consistent and transparent use of librarianship terminology.

5. Polish librarian terminology: A case study

The Polish librarian terminology seems to reflect the above discussed trends as its key items tend to derive from the original sources, including Greek, Latin, and English although the amount of vocabulary coming from particular sources varies. To illustrate the trends, 50 commonly used terms were selected and the frequency of their use was checked in iWeb: The 14 Billion Word Web Corpus. Furthermore, to obtain etymological evidence on the items, we consulted *The Oxford English Dictionary*.

In order to investigate how the studied terminology is used in practice, we had analysed the websites of leading academic institutions in Poland and chose five from the top ten in the country. These include university libraries in Poznań, Cracow, Warsaw, Katowice, and one of University of Technology in Warsaw. All were distinguished by the *Perspektywy* journal in its annual ranking as the best academic institutions in Poland. Further, two of them - The University of Warsaw, and the Jagiellonian University - are also in the Shanghai Academic Ranking of World Universities ranking placing in between 301–400. Besides, what is noteworthy, the selected websites provide professional English–language equivalents on their English–version sites, and not translations made by machines of the Google translate type, which is indicated by a marker on the website.

6. Results of the research

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The first significant group of terms used in the field of librarianship, assigned to issues in the field of science, have been borrowed in their unchanged form from English. Their Polish counterparts do exist, as in *open access* – *otwarty dostęp* or *Impact Factor* – *współczynnik wpływu*, but they are not popular. In common understanding they are loanwords of meanings attributed to entities used in the field of librarianship. Still, some of their roots may have come from other languages that functions as lingua franca centuries earlier (Millward 1996: 50).

The scrutinised vocabulary allowed for making several remarks concerning the use of key librarianship terms on the English versions of leading Polish academic libraries. Foremost, the most often encountered key terms on the sites are borrowings, which is well reflected in key librarian terminology presented in Table 1.

Tab. 1) Key borrowings in librarianship terminology

No.	Source language – English	Target language – Polish	Frequency of use in iWeb	Origin of the words forming the term
1.	leader	leader	1075861	Old English – <i>lædere</i> Old Frisian <i>ledera</i> , Dutch <i>leider</i> , Old High German <i>leitari</i> , German <i>Leiter</i>
2.	Impact Factor	Impact Factor	1946	<u>Impact</u> – Latin <i>impactus</i> <u>Factor</u> – Old French <i>factor</i> , <i>faitor</i> , Latin <i>factor</i>
3.	open access	open access	19581	<u>Open</u> – Old English <i>Open</i> <u>Access</u> – Old French <i>acces</i>
4.	Creative Commons	Creative Commons	17880	<u>Create</u> – from Latin <i>creates</i> , – <i>ive</i> – directly from Latin adjectival suffix – <i>ivus</i> <u>Common</u> – Old French <i>commune</i> and Medieval Latin <i>communia</i>

The first term, *leader*, marks the first field of a MARC record (Machine Readable Cataloguing record). *Leader* is fixed in length of 24 characters (00–23). It consists of data elements that provide information about a descriptive position of an item. The term is strictly connected with the phrase *MARC record*, and both are widely-accepted borrowings in the librarianship domain. It functions as an element of the internal bibliographic description; the term *leader* does not appear directly on library websites (see Table 5). The next one, *Impact Factor*, a measure used for academic journals reflects the average number of citations in most recent articles, can be translated into Polish as *współczynnik wpływu* although the Polish equivalent is not commonly used. The phrase was coined by Eugene Garfield, the founder of the Institute for Scientific Information in 1955, and from 1975 used to indicated Impact Factors calculated yearly for

all journals listed in the Journal Citation Reports (Reitz 2004–2014). In the analysed websites, the phrase appears as a borrowing in the form of *Impact Factor* in the Polish site version.

Another commonly used borrowing is the English expression *Open Access* (OA), which refers to online research outputs that are free of any restrictions on access (e.g., access tolls) and free of many restrictions on use (e.g., certain copyright and license restrictions). Similarly to *Impact Factor*, the term *Open Access* appears in its original form in the Polish-version website although, as was the case with *Impact Factor*, it has its Polish counterpart, i.e. *otwarty dostęp*. Still, the term *Open Access* in its English version is so popular that it is used even in Polish government regulations. Also, the term *Creative Commons* has been borrowed directly from English. It is one of several public copyright licenses that enable free distribution of an otherwise copyrighted “work”. A CC license is used when an author wants to give other people the right to share, use, and build upon a work that the author has created, providing the author flexibility (for example, only non-commercial uses of a given work), as well as protecting people who use or redistribute an author’s work from concerns of copyright infringement (Shergill 2017).

These are just a few examples that indicate a strong tendency of relying on borrowings in the librarianship jargon. When borrowed, the words and phrases preserve the original non-integrated forms, i.e., they are spelt and pronounced as in original (*Leader*, *Impact Factor*, *Open Access*), or the integrated ones that adapt features of the target language orthography or pronunciation as in *repositorium*. On the analysed websites, the four key terms can be found in the original forms of *Leader*, *Impact Factor*, *Open Access* or *Creative Commons* both on the English and Polish-version sites.

Another relatively large group of borrowings in the field of librarianship constitute abbreviations, which tend to be adopted without any changes, although Polish versions of the terms do exist. Full phrases are usually transferred into Polish in the form of calques that show morphemic substitution, which, according to Haguen (1950: 214), puts them in the category of loanshifts. Table 3 presents five well-known examples of abbreviations from the field of librarianship borrowed and transferred into Polish.

Tab. 2) Abbreviations in the field of librarianship

No.	Abbreviations	Full name and the Polish translation	Frequency of use in iWeb	Origin of the words forming the term
1.	MARC (format)	Machine Readable Cataloguing Katalogowanie do odczytu maszynowego	90	<u>Machine</u> – middle French machine, Latin machina <u>Read</u> – Old English rædan <u>able</u> – from Latin –abilis <u>Catalogue</u> – Greek katalogos, Late Latin catalogus, from Old French catalogue
2.	ILS	Integrated Library System Zintegrowany system biblioteczny	ILS – 4501 Integrated Library System – 239	<u>Integrate</u> – Latin integrates <u>Library</u> – from Latin librarium <u>System</u> – Late Latin systema

No.	Abbreviations	Full name and the Polish translation	Frequency of use in iWeb	Origin of the words forming the term
3.	ISSN	International Standard Serial Number Międzynarodowy znormalizowany numer wydawnictw ciągłych	796	<u>Inter</u> – from Latin inter <u>National</u> Old French nacion <u>Standard</u> Old French estandart <u>Serial</u> English series + –al. <u>Number</u> Anglo–French noumbre, Old French nombre Latin numerus
4.	ISBN	International Standard Book Number Międzynarodowy znormalizowany numer książki	25230	<u>International</u> – as above <u>Standard</u> – as above <u>Book</u> – Old English boc <u>Number</u> – as above
5.	OPAC	Online Public Access Catalogue Katalog dostępny online	896	<u>Online</u> – On + line <u>On</u> – Old English on, Proto–Germanic *ana “on <u>Line</u> – Old English line <u>Public</u> – Latin publicus <u>Access</u> – Old French acces <u>Catalogue</u> – Greek katalogos, Late Latin catalogus, Old French catalogue

Abbreviations are commonly used in any specialist language including the field of librarianship. The heavy use of such forms is currently gaining a particular importance due to the dominant trends of simplifying and economising on language use in effective communication (Patil, 2020). Most frequently, abbreviations are neologisms formed from full, predominantly English names, and due to their convenient forms gain international character. The wide application of well-known acronyms is also conditioned by their functioning as single words, without the need of providing full equivalents.

The term *MARC* (Machine Readable Cataloguing), a well-known acronym, was developed in the 1960s and, by 1971, its formats became a national standard for dissemination of bibliographic data in the United States and, subsequently, an international standard in 1973. The *MARC* phrase itself is an example of terminological internationalisation, popular and known in the library environment around the world (Arnold 1986: 260). The same can be said about the phrase *Machine Readable Cataloguing*, rendered into Polish as *katalogowanie do odczytu maszynowego*. As the application of the Polish counterpart might lead to information noise in communication, again its internationally recognised shortcut seems desirable. Also the abbreviations *ISSN* and *ISBN*, are acronyms better known in this form than by their full names. *ISSN* stands for *International Standard Serial Number* (Międzynarodowy Znormalizowany Numer Wydawnictwa Ciągłego), first drafted by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) in 1971 and published as ISO 3297 in 1975 (Tripathy P. and Tripathy K., 2017: 199). The *ISBN*, in turn, introduced in 1967, denotes an *International Standard Book Number* (Międzynarodowy Znormalizowany

Numer Książki) and is a unique numeric commercial book identifier (Bradley 1992: 25). Academic institutions in Poland use these acronyms in the public access information and do not take advantage of the Polish equivalents of the terms. Finally, the term *OPAC*, which stands for *Online Public Access Catalogue* (Katalog Dostępny Online) functions as a gateway to the library's collection (OPAC 2021). Similarly to *ISSN* and *ISBN*, it is the abbreviated form of the term that appears on the institutional sites.

All the examples given in Table 2 are widely known and used among librarians around the world, hence they are employed exclusively in the form of acronyms and not as their full names or translations. Such practice facilitates communication and allows for overcoming language barriers in the library community.

The next popular trend in incorporating specialised terms is borrowing in which expressions from the source language are translated via literal, word-for-word, or root-for-root translation (Miller 2010: 45). Table 3 lists 28 examples of common calques in the librarianship field.

Tab. 3) Calques/Loans in librarianship terminology

No.	Source language – English	Target language – Polish	Frequency of use in iWeb	Origin of the words forming the term
1.	catalogue	katalog	86551	from Greek katalogos, Late Latin catalogus, from Old French catalogue
2.	repository	repozytorium	118461	French repositoryre Late Latin repositorium
3.	bibliographic description	opis bibliograficzny	73	<u>Bibliography</u> from Greek bibliographia biblion book+ graphos <u>description</u> Old French Description (12c.) Latin descriptionem
4.	alphabetical order	układ alfabetyczny	14137	<u>Alphabet</u> Late Latin alphabetum, Greek alphabetos, alpha + beta. <u>Order</u> Old French ordre Latin ordinem
5.	place of publishing	miejsce wydania	3	<u>Publish</u> Old French publier from Latin publicare

No.	Source language – English	Target language – Polish	Frequency of use in iWeb	Origin of the words forming the term
6.	subject cataloguing	katalogowanie rzeczowe	6	<u>Subject</u> from Old French sogit, suget, subget Latin subiectus <u>Cataloguing</u> – catalogue – as above
7.	designation of edition	oznaczenie wydania	1	<u>Designation</u> Latin designationem <u>Edition</u> Latin editionem
8.	Title–page	strona tytułowa	726	<u>Title</u> Old French title <u>Page</u> French page, from Old French pagene Latin pagina
9.	retrieval system	system wyszukiwawczy	1455	<u>Retrieve</u> Old French Retreuver <u>System</u> Late Latin systema
10.	Universal Decimal Classification	Uniwersalna Klasyfikacja Dziesiętna	31	<u>Universal</u> Old French universel, Latin universalis <u>Decimal</u> Latin decimalis Latin decimus <u>Classification</u> Latin stem of classify, or from French classification.
11.	information retrieval language	język informacyjno–wyszukiwawczy	–	<u>Information</u> from Old French informacion, enformacion, Latin informationem <u>Retrieval</u> – as above. <u>Language</u> Old French langage Latin linguaticum, Latin lingua
12.	database	baza danych	840219	<u>Data</u> Latin datum <u>Base</u> Old French bas Latin basis

No.	Source language – English	Target language – Polish	Frequency of use in iWeb	Origin of the words forming the term
13.	key word	słowo kluczowe	11410	<u>Keyword</u> Key+word Key Old English cæg Word Old English word
14.	electronic book	książka elektroniczna	1136	<u>Electric</u> Latin electrum “amber,” Greek ēlektron <u>Electronic</u> 1901, pertaining to electrons; electron + -ic; <u>Book</u> Old English boc
15.	library card	karta biblioteczna	13145	<u>Library</u> Old French librairie, Latin librarium <u>Card</u> Old French carte, Medieval Latin carta/ charta
16.	collections	zbiory	283967	Old French collection Latin collectionem
17.	library account	konto biblioteczne	1383	<u>Account</u> Old French acont Late Latin computes, Latin computare
18.	open stacks	wolny dostęp	115	<u>Open</u> Old English open <u>Stack</u> Old Norse stakkr Proto- Germanic *stakon, Russian stog
19.	user	użytkownik	2359345	<u>User</u> use Old French us, Latin usus
20.	selection	selekcja	1064775	from Latin selectionem
21.	inventory	inwentarz	433978	Old French inventoire Medieval Latin inventorium,
22.	conservation	konserwacja	328170	Latin conservationem

No.	Source language – English	Target language – Polish	Frequency of use in iWeb	Origin of the words forming the term
23.	E-resources electronic resources	źródła elektroniczne	799	<u>Electronic</u> electron + -ic; electron <u>Resource</u> from French resourse Old French resourdre Latin resurgere
24.	library training	szkolenie biblioteczne	73	<u>Training</u> Old French train Vulgar Latin trahinare, Latin trahere <u>Library</u> – as above
25.	registration	rejestracja	756756	<u>Registration</u> French registration Medieval Latin registrationem
26.	interlibrary loan	wypożyczalnia międzybiblioteczna	5551	<u>Loan</u> Old Norse lan Proto- Germanic laikhwniz, Old High German lehan, German Lehn Old English læn <u>Inter</u> – as above <u>Library</u> – as above
27.	bibliometric analysis	analiza bibliometryczna	41	<u>Analysis</u> Medieval Latin analysis, Greek analysis <u>Bibliometrics</u> biblio+metrics Biblio French bibliologie Metrics French métrique
28.	scientific production	dorobek naukowy	90	<u>Scientific</u> French scientifique, Medieval Latin scientificus, Latin scientia <u>Production</u> Old French production Medieval Latin productionem, Latin producere

Different trends are visible in the way calques are incorporated into Polish. Some are adjusted in the spelling and pronunciation, others – select less popular equivalents. For example, the term *repository* is rendered into Polish as *repozytorium*. The item stands for “an online archive for collecting, preserving, and disseminating digital copies of the intellectual output of an institution” (Bhardwaj 2014: 5) and, due to its usage, is significant in librarian specifications. Originally, it stems from Latin, where it assumes the form of *repositorium* (Gove 1961: 1926). Polish academic libraries use the Polish equivalent of the term.

In case of phrases such as *place of publishing* or *designation of an edition*, the Polish counterparts lose prepositions as the target language is inflectional and passes information about cases via word endings. Otherwise, the remaining phrases consist of the same respective numbers of words, except for *front-page* (a compound noun) and *strona tytułowa* (a phrase) or database (a compound noun) and *baza danych* (a phrase). What is different is that some items change their grammatical forms from nouns into adjectives as in *retrieval* (*wyszukiwawczy*) or *information* (*informacyjny*) and the word order becomes adjusted to the target language, i.e. *alphabetical order* is altered into *układ alfabetyczny*.

Besides, some presented above phrases deserve a particular interest due to their etymology or application resulting from specific meanings confined to the language of librarianship. For example *bibliographic description* was coined in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1927 at an international conference during which a bibliographic description (set of rules) was agreed on. It was to form a standard human-readable format especially meant for use in bibliography or a library catalogue. The Polish literal translation of the phrase is *opis bibliograficzny*. Another etymologically intriguing item is *subject cataloguing*, in which the first word *subject* might refer both to *przedmiot* or *temat* but in some rarer contexts it is synonymous with the item *rzecz* (eng. “thing”). It seems that in the term’s translation as *katalogowanie rzeczowe* it seems that this rare equivalent was selected in the term’s translation as *katalogowanie rzeczowe*. The same is true of *retrieval system*. The literal counterpart of the term into Polish would be a *system wyszukiwania* (a searching system). Both differ in their application. If one does a web search, then they apply *Information Retrieval* (IR) techniques. Otherwise, IR has a broader meaning as it “encompasses a range of techniques that help with web search, but also other related topics, such as information detection, extraction and summarization” (Weir 2011).

Similar processes took place when other Polish equivalents from Table 3 were borrowed. Individual words (roots) that make up the terms of librarianship come from Latin, Greek, Old French or Old English. Still, in the sense used in the field of librarianship today, they have been adopted from English. This situation, for example, applies to the terminology labelling new phenomena as *scientific production*, *bibliometric analysis*, *electronic resource* or *user*. In the case of older terms known since antiquity such as *catalogue* or *collection*, direct influence from Latin or Greek is preserved.

All the above examples represent popular concepts in librarianship and have their respective counterparts in Polish. This is in contra to the key items such as *Impact Factor* or *Open Access* that are widely used in Polish.

The next category of terms feeding the existing system of terms are semanticisms, arising from the already existing items in new broadened meanings. As indicated above, they are predominantly visible in subsidiary items relating, for example, to words and expressions in information technology. Table 4. lists some common examples of semanticisms in the field of librarianship.

Tab. 4) Semanticisms in the librarianship jargon

	Source language – English	Target language – Polish	Frequency of use in iWeb	Origin of the words forming the term
1.	subject heading	hasło przedmiotowe	1398	<u>Subject</u> Old French suget, subject Latin subiectus <u>Heading</u> Old English heafod
2.	qualifier	dopowiedzenie	36042	<u>Qualify</u> French Medieval, Latin qualificare, Latin qualis
3.	copyright (legal) deposit	egzemplarz obowiązkowy	73	<u>Copyright</u> copy (v.) + right (n.) copy Old French, Medieval Latin copiare, Latin copia <u>Right</u> Old English riht <u>Deposit</u> Latin depositum,
4.	descriptive cataloguing	katalogowanie formalne	8	<u>Descriptive</u> Late Latin descriptivus,
5.	monograph	wydawnictwo zwarte	10712	<u>Monograph</u> Mono– “single” + –graph Mono– Greek monos –graph Greek –graphos
6.	subdivision	określnik	67245	<u>Subdivision</u> subdivide Late Latin subdividere, Latin dividere
7.	serial	wydawnictwo ciągle	227037	<u>Serial</u> series + –al Serial number, indicating position in a series, first recorded 1866, originally of papers, packages
8.	reference	odsyłacz	948576	<u>Reference</u> Medieval Latin referentia, Latin referentem
9.	circulation department	wypożyczalnia	343	<u>Circulation</u> Latin circulationem department Old French departement Late Latin departire

	Source language – English	Target language – Polish	Frequency of use in iWeb	Origin of the words forming the term
10.	reading room	czytelnia	7147	<u>Reading</u> Middle English reding, Old English ræding, <u>Room</u> Middle English roum, from Old English rum
11.	periodical	czasopismo	13125	French périodique (14c.), Late Latin periodicus, Latin periodus
12.	services	usługi	5050162	Old French servise, Latin servitium
13.	closed stacks	magazyn	98	<u>Close</u> from Latin clausus <u>Stack</u> Old Norse stakkr Proto- Germanic *stakon, Russian stog

When analysed carefully, the items exhibit several different trends. For example, the term *subject heading* consists of two words. The first one – *subject*, has several meanings in English, including *theme*, *topic*, *subject matter* or *point*, whereas in Polish, above all, it denotes *temat* (topic). Similarly, the word *heading* can have its own set of polysemic denotations, e.g. *title*, *degree*, *rubric* or *claim*, which in Polish would denote *tytuł* or *nagłówek*. A literal or a word-for-word translation in this case would be *temat tytułowy/nagłówkowy*. However, the phrase is adapted into Polish as *hasło przedmiotowe* (Tomaszczyk 2009: 195), implying that it points to the most specific word or phrase that expresses a subject, or one of the subjects of a work, selected from a list of preferred terms (controlled vocabulary). Accordingly, it is assigned as an added entry in the bibliographic record and serves as an access point in the library catalogue (Reitz 2004–2014). The word *heading* in turn comes from the word item *head*, denoting the most important part of a body and, together with brain, a principal organ. In librarianship, the *subject heading* describes the most important theme in a text, the main subject and the library sites use the term in their respective language versions as *hasło przedmiotowe* or *subject heading*.

In turn, the item *qualifier*, which in Polish takes the form of *dopowiedzenie*, should literally be rendered as *wyraz określający*. The item denotes a content word that qualifies the meaning of a noun or verb. Hence, *dopowiedzenie* implies some sort of supplementary information, while *wyraz określający* appears too precise. The wider term refers to information defining the scope of the word's use or a character usually in the form of a shortcut. Accordingly, the counterpart *dopowiedzenie* seems to be a better choice in Polish for the English *qualifier*. Similarly, the term, *copyright (legal) deposit*, denotes a book or periodical that a publishing house submits to a library. The Polish counterpart is *egzemplarz obowiązkowy*. A literal counterpart in Polish would read *prawny depozyt*, which implies some sort of obligation on the part of the publisher. Again, the use of a different equivalent renders the semantic context properly.

Also the English expression *descriptive cataloguing* has a modified Polish counterpart *katalogowanie formalne* and is connected with a library's procedure by which a book or other item is identified and described by recording such features as author, title, imprint, pages or size (Gove 1961: 610). A literal

translation into Polish would be *katalogowanie opisowe*. The word *formalne* draws on the English *formal*, which in Polish comes from the item *forma* but in the particular phrase assumes the adjectival form *formalne*. Perhaps the word *formalne* and not *opisowe* is used in the Polish counterpart as it describes elements connected with the form of publication, for example, pages or size. The same elements are described in the English descriptive cataloguing.

The next term, the English *monograph*, might cause some confusion, because the Polish counterpart is *wydawnictwo zwarte*. *Monografia*, unlike its English counterpart, stands for a research paper that discusses an issue in a comprehensive manner, whereas the English *monograph* has a broader meaning, as it points to a non-serial publication completed in one volume (book) or a finite number of volume (Arms 2001: 40). Thus, it differs from a serial publication such as a magazine, journal or newspaper, which might explain why the Polish equivalent of the English *monograph* is *wydawnictwo zwarte*, a publication assembled in one volume – a book. In turn, the English word *serial* is expressed in Polish as *wydawnictwo ciągłe*. The term is applied to a publication in “any medium issued under the same title in a succession of discrete parts, usually numbered (or dated) and appearing at regular or irregular intervals with no predetermined conclusion” (Reitz 2004–2014). Respectively, the Polish adjective *ciągłe* produces associations linked with successive appearance.

The last example to discuss is the English word *reference*, rendered in Polish as *odsyłacz*. It refers to a relation between objects in which one object designates or acts to connect or link to another object. Thus, the object to which something refers to is called a referent. The Polish *odsyłacz* implies the use of some note referring to another text; bibliography, encyclopaedia, etc., or entry referring to another entry. The exact translation of the English *reference* would be too confusing or elusive, as the term has numerous counterparts in Polish, i.e. *referencje*, *odniesienie*, *wzmianka*, *nawiązanie*, *odwołanie się*, etc. The selected counterpart, *odsyłacz*, seems univocal and precise.

All in all, the use of semanticisms helps in introducing numerous items into the field in newly created applications or entities, which aims at achieving situational appropriateness of specialised meanings. As shown above, particular terms (words and phrases) do not blindly render the English items. Broader or narrower counterparts of the original words are chosen, or other items are selected which in the Polish context make more sense.

All the analysed above terms in their respective language versions, i.e. English as the source language and Polish as the target one, are compiled in Table 5. As the compilation shows, the Polish terms denoting new phrases such as *Impact Factor* or *Open Access* are incorporated into the Polish language and used on both Polish and English-language websites in an identical form. The same refers to acronyms, e.g. *ISBN*, *MARC*, etc., the names originating from English and then successively adopted into other languages. These appear in identical forms in both versions of the library web pages. Many other terms such as *databases* or *keywords* become loans and are increasingly popular in the target language. As for semanticisms, several items such as *descriptive cataloguing* (*katalogowanie formalne*), *serial* (*wydawnictwo ciągłe*) or *monograph* (*wydawnictwo zwarte*) employ the existing words and their combinations in newly devised meanings. Such usage facilitates precision and communication.

Among the 50 analysed terms, the dominant category were loans, which accounted for 9 originally adopted items (borrowings and abbreviations), 28 calques accepted in the form of direct translations, as well as 13 semanticisms. Most have been adopted from English in the present-day meanings although some derive from antiquity, as for example *catalogue*, *collection*, *selection*, *inventory* or *conservation*, which

are Latin or Greek loans. In case of phrases, individual elements that make up the terms derived from Greek, Latin and Old French, or are of mixed origin – Latin, Old French and Old English origin (OED 2022). Thus, conducting the etymological research turned out to be the more problematic than initially assumed as there are several popular librarianship phrases with two or more items whose elements come from different languages and periods. A good illustration of the case would be the term *reference*, originally a Latin item *referentia*, brought to French in the 16th c., and incorporated into the English language in the 19th c.

As the analysis shows, it is the English language, the modern lingua franca, that exerts the greatest influence on the Polish librarianship domain. Even in the case of items of mixed etymology, it seems safe to say that they enriched the Polish librarianship lexicon getting there from English, after having been accommodated in the language in the 19th or 20th centuries.

Tab. 5) Librarianship terminology used on Polish and English-language websites

Word/phrase	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie/ University of Warsaw Library https://www.buw.uw.edu.pl/en/	Biblioteka Główna Politechniki Warszawskiej/ Library of Warsaw University of Technology https://bg.pw.edu.pl/index.php/en/	Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego https://bj.uj.edu.pl/	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Poznaniu http://lib.amu.edu.pl/?lang=en	Biblioteka Akademii Górnictwo- Hutniczej/The Main Library of AGH University of Science and Technology http://bg.agh.edu.pl/en
Impact Factor	Impact Factor	Impact factor	Impact Factor	Impact Factor	Impact Factor
open access	open access	open access	open access	open access	open access
mikroforma	microform	–	microform	microform	–
katalog	catalogue	catalogue	catalogue	catalogue	catalogue
repozytorium	repository	repository	repository	repository	repository
MARC	MARC	–	–	MARC	–
ISSN	ISSN	ISSN	ISSN	ISSN	ISSN
ISBN	ISBN	ISBN	ISBN	ISBN	ISBN
OPAC	OPAC	OPAC	–	–	OPAC
bazy danych	databases	databases	databases	databases	databases
słowo kluczowe	keyword	keyword	–	keyword	keyword
układ alfabetyczny	alphabetical order		alphabetical order	alphabetical order	alphabetical order
opis bibliograficzny	bibliographic description	bibliographic description	bibliographic description	bibliographic description	–
miejsce wydania	place of publication	–	–	–	–

Word/phrase	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie/ University of Warsaw Library https://www.buw.uw.edu.pl/en/	Biblioteka Główna Politechniki Warszawskiej/ Library of Warsaw University of Technology https://bg.pw.edu.pl/index.php/en/	Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego https://bj.uj.edu.pl/	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Poznaniu http://lib.amu.edu.pl/?lang=en	Biblioteka Akademii Górnictwo– Hutniczej/The Main Library of AGH University of Science and Technology http://bg.agh.edu.pl/en
katalogowanie rzeczowe	–	–	–	–	–
oznaczenie wydania	–	–	–	–	–
strona tytułowa	–	title page	–	–	–
hasło przedmiotowe	subject heading	–	–	subject heading	–
katalogowanie formalne	–	–	–	–	–
wydawnictwo zwarte	–	–	monograph	monograph	monograph
karta biblioteczna	library card	library card	library card	library card	library card
zbiory	collections	collections	collections	collections	collections
konto biblioteczne	library account	library account	library account	library account	library account
otwarty dostęp	open stacks	open stacks	open stacks	–	open stacks
magazyn	closed stacks	–	closed stacks	–	–
wypożyczalnia	circulation department	circulation department	circulation department	circulation department	circulation department
użytkownik	user	user	user	user	user
czytelnia	reading room	reading room	reading room	reading room	reading room
czasopismo	periodical	periodical	periodical	periodical	–
selekcja	selecton	selection	–	selection	selection
inwentarz	inventory	–	–	inventory	inventory
konserwacja	conservation	conservation	conservation	conservation	conservation
usługi	services	services	services	services	services
źródła elektroniczne	E-resources	E-resources	–	electronic resources	electronic resources
szkolenie biblioteczne	library training	library training	library training	library training	library training
rejestracja	registration	registration	registration	registration	registration
wypożyczalnia międzybiblioteczna	interlibrary loan	–	–	interlibrary loan	interlibrary loan

Word/phrase	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie/ University of Warsaw Library https://www.buw.uw.edu.pl/en/	Biblioteka Główna Politechniki Warszawskiej/ Library of Warsaw University of Technology https://bg.pw.edu.pl/index.php/en/	Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego https://bj.uj.edu.pl/	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Poznaniu http://lib.amu.edu.pl/?lang=en	Biblioteka Akademii Górniczo-Hutniczej/The Main Library of AGH University of Science and Technology http://bg.agh.edu.pl/en
analiza bibliometryczna	bibliometric analysis	bibliometric analysis	–	bibliometric analysis	bibliometric analyses
dorobek naukowy	scientific production	scientific production	–	–	–
prawo autorskie	copyright	copyright	–	copyright	copyright
licencje Creative Commons	CC – Creative Commons	–	–	Creative Commons	Creative Commons

7. Conclusions

The Polish librarianship terminology, as many other scientific domains, has been considerably influenced by the English language. It is due to the fact that the contemporary world is no longer divided into self-contained territories or social domains. It seems impossible to imagine the development of any branch of science without international relationships and common means of communication. Consequently, many terms from librarianship and information technology come from English, some of which being difficult or even impossible to render into Polish. This results in numerous borrowings that appear significantly more convenient to use because of their international character. The examples presented in the study seem to confirm this observation as they demonstrate frequent use of borrowings, authentic abbreviations and calques/loans in the resource of librarianship terminology. An extensive reliance on such items is related to the internationalisation of the terminology and the need for precise communication.

Another conclusion concerning linguistic choices in specialised terminology is an influx of semanticisms, whose numbers are constantly growing. Although they can be labelled as insidious, since most of them are noticed only by the people trained in linguistics, their application seems inevitable. They are willingly employed as they provide the same references to the librarianship elements and activities as the original expressions in other parts of the world. Accordingly, the most significant factor that seems to determine the use of such terms is their pragmatic adequacy.

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Piekielne laboratorium, niepodległy duch. Wizja Islandii w relacjach z podróży Samuela Kneelanda i Bayarda Taylora

Infernal Laboratory, Independent Spirit. The Image of Iceland in the Travelogues by Samuel Kneeland and Bayard Taylor

Abstract

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Iceland had become quite a popular destination for American travelers. Among this group were Samuel Kneeland, a physician and naturalist, and Bayard Taylor, a poet, translator and reporter for the *New York Tribune*, who came to Iceland in the summer of 1874 to attend the millennial celebration of the first settlement of that island. They visited Þingvellir, a site that many Icelanders considered and still consider “holy ground”, the Haukadalur valley, or the valley of geysers, and Reykjavík, the main and at the time the only Icelandic city. Two travelogues, entitled *Egypt and Iceland in the Year 1874* and *An American in Iceland*, published in 1874 and 1876, respectively, were the fruit of their visit to Iceland. The present paper offers a reading of these accounts in order to trace the strategies employed by American authors to describe nineteenth-century Iceland and Icelanders.

Keywords: Iceland, Samuel Kneeland, Bayard Taylor, American travel writing

1. Dzieci Winlandii

Amerykanie „odkryli” Islandię stosunkowo późno – w porównaniu chociażby z nacjami europejskimi, na czele z Brytyjczykami, Francuzami i Niemcami¹ – bo w drugiej połowie XIX stulecia. Amerykańscy podróżnicy chętnie wyprawiali się w owym czasie na Islandię, a w tym gronie znaleźli się między

1 Na ten temat zob. Aho, 1993; Jakubczyk, 2022; Holterman, 2020.

innymi Bayard Taylor (ur. 1825, zm. 1878), poeta i tłumacz, oraz Samuel Kneeland (ur. 1821, zm. 1888), lekarz z zawodu, przyrodnik z zamiłowania, którzy spędzili na wyspie kilka dni w sierpniu 1874 roku². Taylor udał się tam z ramienia „New York Tribune”, natomiast Kneelanda skłoniło do podróży na Islandię zainteresowanie wulkanami i trzęsieniami ziemi. Obaj podróżnicy połączyli na miejscu siły, wspólnie pokonując niełatwą kilkusetkilometrową trasę. Owocem ich wojaży były książki zatytułowane odpowiednio *Egypt and Iceland in the Year 1874* oraz *An American in Iceland*, opublikowane w latach 1874 i 1876³. W skład tej pierwszej weszły relacje z podróży Taylora do dwóch krajów, dlatego też praca Kneelanda, złożona z kilkunastu rozdziałów na temat historii Islandii, literatury staroislandzkiej, geologii i sytuacji ekonomiczno-politycznej wyspy, jest siłą rzeczy opracowaniem pełniejszym i bardziej kompleksowym.

W trakcie pobytu na Islandii Taylor i Kneeland zwiedzili Reykjavík, Þingvellir, czyli – jak trafnie ujął to jeden z nich – „świętą ziemię”⁴ Islandczyków, gdzie przez ponad 860 lat odbywało się zgromadzenie ogólne (*Alþingi*), a także słynącą z gejzerów dolinę Haukadalur. Nie zdecydowali się oni natomiast na wejście – wzorem swojego rodaka Pliny’ego Milesa – na szczyt osławionego wulkanu Hekla, który był swoistym wabikiem dla wielu dziewiętnastowiecznych podróżników⁵. Asumptem do wyprawy były obchody tysiąclecia osadnictwa na Islandii, które zaszczyli swoją obecnością przedstawiciele kilku krajów, głównie europejskich, oraz duński król Christian IX ze swiatą. Gwoli przypomnienia: jak precyzują źródła staroislandzkie, a mianowicie *Księga Islandczyków* (*Íslendingabók*) Ariego Þorgilssona i *Księga osadnictwa* (*Landnámabók*), pierwszym stałym osadnikiem na Islandii był Ingólfr Arnarson, który w 874 roku osiedlił się na terenie dzisiejszego Reykjavíku (Benediktsson 1986: 5, 45). Istotnym elementem uroczystości z okazji tysięcznej rocznicy tego wydarzenia była prezentacja *Hymnu pochwalnego* (*Lofsöngur*) pióra Matthíasa Jochumssona (z muzyką autorstwa Sveinbjörna Sveinbjörnssona), czyli późniejszego hymnu państwowego, zaś ich punktem kulminacyjnym było przekazanie Islandczykom konstytucji przez króla Christiana IX, które to wydarzenie zakończyło *de facto* erę duńskiego absolutyzmu na Islandii, trwającą od czerwca 1662 roku (Jakobsson, Hálfðanarson 2016: 11).

Cociekawe, na okoliczność milenijnych obchodów Taylor ułożył kilkustrofowy wiersz zatytułowany *America to Iceland* (zob. T 221–222), w którym określił mieszkańców Ameryki Północnej mianem „dzieci (...) Winlandii”, zaś w swoim sprawozdaniu z podróży dodał z dumą: „jestem Winlandczykiem”⁶. Warto wspomnieć, że pierwsza wzmianka o Winlandii – jako lądzie porośniętym winoroślami – pojawiła się w *Czynach biskupów hamburskich* (*Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*), dziele napisanym około 1075 roku przez Adama z Bremy, jednak kluczowych informacji dostarczają w tej materii trzynastowieczne sagi winlandzkie – *Saga o Grenlandczykach* (*Grænlandinga saga*) i *Saga o Eryku Rudym* (*Eiríks saga rauða*) –

2 Ruch odbywał się również w przeciwnym kierunku, z Islandii do Ameryki. Islandczycy zaczęli regularnie emigrować do Ameryki Północnej od 1870 roku, osiedlając się głównie w Kanadzie i Środkowo-Zachodnich Stanach Zjednoczonych (Wisconsin, Minnesota, Północna Dakota). Według szacunków do Ameryki Północnej wyemigrowało w latach 1870–1914 około 14 tysięcy Islandczyków (Karlsson 2000: 236). Szerzej pisze o tym zjawisku Thor 2002.

3 Dalsze odwołania do tych książek będą oznaczać w następujący sposób: T = Taylor 1874; K = Kneeland 1876. Wartość liczbowa po skrócie wskazywać będzie numer strony.

4 „Holy ground” (K 101). O Þingvellir jako islandzkim *lieu de mémoire* pisze Hálfðanarson 2000.

5 Zob. Jakubczyk, 2021. Miles wszedł na szczyt Hekli w 1852 roku (zob. Miles 1854: 132–146).

6 Kolejne cytaty: „the children of (...) Vinland”; „I am a Vinlander” (T 221, 249).

traktujące o nordyckich wyprawach do Ameryki Północnej na przełomie X i XI stulecia⁷. Według przekazu tej pierwszej sagi uczestnikami owych wypraw byli między innymi Bjarni Herjólfsson, Leifr Eiríksson, który podążył jego śladem około 1000 roku i założył niewielką osadę w Winlandii, czy Þorfinnr Karlsefni. Z kolei *Saga o Eryku Rudym* wprawdzie uznaje Leifra za odkrywcę owego lądu, lecz na plan pierwszy wysuwa Þorfinnra i jego bezskuteczne próby osiedlenia się w Winlandii. Poetyckie nawiązanie Taylora do Winlandii, Leifra i Þorfinnra jest nieprzypadkowe; oto bowiem od 1837 roku, gdy ukazała się praca *Antiquitates Americanae* Carla Christiana Rafna, coraz śmielej zaczęto podawać w wątpliwość tezę, jakoby pierwszym europejskim odkrywcą Ameryki był Krzysztof Kolumb, a pokłosiem owej dyskusji były liczne publikacje, by wymienić książkę Rasmusa Andersona pod znamienym tytułem *America Not Discovered by Columbus*, wydaną w roku podróży Taylora i Kneelanda na Islandię (ten drugi aprobatywnie komentuje zawarte w niej tezy). Wzmiankowani autorzy wychodzili z założenia, że Europejczycy dotarli do Ameryki kilka wieków przed Kolumbem, którą to intuicję, opartą w przeważającej mierze na sagach winlandzkich, potwierdziły niedawne odkrycia archeologiczne⁸. Toteż zabieg Taylora, zasadzający się na czytelnej aluzji do przekazów sagowych i utożsamieniu – niejako na zasadzie *pars pro toto* – Winlandii z całą Ameryką Północną jest z jednej strony pochwałą nordyckich podróżników sprzed wieków poprzez zaakcentowanie ich niebagatelnej roli w eksploracji macierzystego kontynentu autora, zaś z drugiej, jak chce Emily Lethbridge (2020: 147–148), stanowi on próbę poszukiwania powinowactw między Ameryką i Islandią.

2. Dzieło Lucyfera

Po tym niezbędnym wstępie można przejść do omówienia zawartości relacji podróżniczych Taylora i Kneelanda, z góry uprzedzając, że główny akcent rozważań spocznie na opisach islandzkiej natury i charakterystyce Islandczyków. Gdy mowa o pierwszej kwestii, trzeba nadmienić, że niezwykłą faunę, florę i geologię wyspy objęto szczególnym zainteresowaniem w XVIII wieku; opublikowano wówczas kilka prac o fundamentalnej wartości naukowej z zakresu historii naturalnej, takich jak – poprzestając na jednym tytule – *Reise igiennem Island* Bjarniego Pálssona i Eggerta Ólafssona z 1772 roku. Opracowania te miały przede wszystkim za zadanie wyrugować skrajnie zafałszowany obraz islandzkiej natury, wykreowany przez autorów średniowiecznych i renesansowych, a pokutujący jeszcze w wiekach późniejszych (Oslund 2011: 75). Błędne wyobrażenie o tamtejszej przyrodzie wiązało się z wiarą w bytowanie na Islandii fantastycznych gatunków zwierząt i monstrów, z przeświadczeniem o ustawicznym chłódzie panującym na wyspie, a nadto z poszukiwaniem współzależności między wybuchami wulkanów a działaniem mocy piekielnych. Co za tym idzie, Islandię naznaczono stygmatem wyspy nieprzyjaznej, uznając ją za arenę walki żywiołów i przestrzeń demoniczną. W sposób szczególny demonizowano wulkan Hekla, który z racji gwałtownych erupcji przyrównywano do przedsionka piekła i ukazywano jako miejsce kaźni grzeszników skazanych na wieczne potępienie (Jakubczyk 2021: 300–303).

7 Zob. Adam von Bremen 1917: 275; Sveinsson, Þórðarson 1935: 241–270, 195–237. Nie podejmuję się tutaj referowania stanowisk badawczych — ze względu na ich mnogość — odnośnie do lokalizacji Winlandii i etymologii tej nazwy.

8 W latach sześćdziesiątych XX wieku odkryto w miejscowości L'Anse aux Meadows na Nowej Fundlandii pozostałości nordyckiej osady, które to znalezisko ostatecznie potwierdziło tezę o europejskiej eksploracji Ameryki, na długo przed tym, zanim dotarł tam Kolumb. Domniemywa się, że tereny te mogą być odpowiednikiem Winlandii, o której mowa w średniowiecznych tekstach (zob. Ingstad, Ingstad 2001).

Dalekie echa owych przekonań odzywają się raz po raz u Taylora i Kneelanda, z tym zastrzeżeniem że w roli głównej nie występują w ich sprawozdaniach wulkany, lecz historyczne miejsca położone na obszarze Þingvellir, czyli Lögberg (dosł. „Skała Prawa”) i uskok Almannagjá⁹. Amerykanie nie szczędzą zarówno określeń podkreślających upiorny (a wręcz: diabelski) charakter tych miejsc, jak i opisów wrażeń odczuwanych w związku z kontemplacją niepokojącego skalnego krajobrazu. Tego typu asocjacje nie są zaskakujące, szczególnie że islandzka natura zdaje się być – jak anegdotycznie obrazuje to Kneeland – dziełem Lucyfera, swoistym poligonem doświadczalnym do testowania jego potencjału kreacyjnego:

Na początku świata Lucyfer poprosił o zezwolenie na spróbowanie swoich sił w tworzeniu; (...) z kawałków powstałych z antagonizmu ognia i wody, z niewykorzystanych i bezużytecznych pozostałości po wulkanie i trzęsieniu ziemi uformował Islandię, a ze swego dzieła był całkiem rad¹⁰.

Islandia jest przeto – w myśl jego wyводу – „piekielnym laboratorium”¹¹, ćwiczebnym terenem ukształtowanym z odpadków, ładem pominiętym przez boski akt kreacji i pozostawionym na pastwę przyuczającego się twórcy o niedoskonałym warsztacie. Krajobraz wyspy, na który składają się wybuchające wulkany, lodowce, niejednolite formacje skalne czy bezkresne pustkowia, jest wytworem nieuporządkowanym i niegotowym, „niedokończonym zakątkiem wszechświata”¹², gdzie manifestuje się pierwotny chaos. Stąd też obcowanie z tamtejszą przyrodą w pewnym sensie pozwala przenieść się „w czasie geologicznym” do prapoczątku świata i dojrzeć w niej namiastkę „posępnego chaosu”¹³. Zwracając uwagę na nieregularną rzeźbę terenu i liczne pęknięcia tektoniczne, przedstawia on Islandię jako wyspę ścierających się żywiołów, gdzie potężne siły natury zderzają się w nieokiełznanej gwałtowności „niczym demony” i przeistaczają wszystko w „ognisty chaos”¹⁴. Obrazowanie Kneelanda jest rzecz jasna mocno przejawione, niemniej jego przekaz zdaje się aż nadto czytelny, idzie mu mianowicie o uwydatnienie pierwotnego i demonicznego rysu islandzkiej natury.

Aby jeszcze mocniej podkreślić infernalny charakter środowiska naturalnego Islandii, podróżnicy chętnie odwołują się do dzieł literackich, malarskich i muzycznych: Almannagjá przywołuje Taylorowi na myśl epizody z *Fausta* Johanna Wolfganga Goethego, a stożki wulkaniczne przypominają mu ilustracje Gustave’a Dorégo do *Boskiej komedii* Dantego (T 230, 237), natomiast Kneeland zestawia krajobraz wyspy z operami Carla von Webera i mrocznymi obrazami Salvatora Rosy (K 94). Co więcej, podziwiając poszarpane, nieregularne skaliste brzegi uskoku Hrafnagjá, Kneeland zwraca uwagę – poprzez nawiązanie do mitologicznej Tytanomachii – na małość człowieka wobec natury. Jak powiada z nutą goryczy, obserwator może poczuć się w tym miejscu „niczym karzeł odwiedzający pole bitwy Tytanów”¹⁵.

9 W okresie samostanowienia Islandii (w latach 930–1262) Lögberg pełniła funkcję naturalnej mównicy, z której głosiciel prawa (*lögsögumaðr*) przemawiał do zgromadzonych na wiecu i obwieszczał powzięte uchwały. Jego głos był dobrze słyszalny wśród zebranych dzięki ścianie Almannagjá, od której odbijało się echo.

10 „Lucifer, at the beginning of the world, requested permission to try his hand at creation; (...) from the fragments left by the antagonism of fire and water, the unused and useless remnants of the volcano and the earthquake, he made Iceland, and was well satisfied with his work” (K 94).

11 „An infernal laboratory” (K 272).

12 „An unfinished corner of the universe” (K 94).

13 Kolejne przytoczenia: „in geological time”; „the dismal chaos” (K 111).

14 „Like demons”; „a fiery chaos” (K 137).

15 „Like a pygmy visiting a battle-field of the Titans” (K 137).

Podobnych wypowiedzi, wskazujących na silne oddziaływanie tamtejszej przyrody na ludzką psychikę, jest zresztą znacznie więcej. Krajobraz Islandii, niekiedy bardziej przypominający wyglądem powierzchnię Księżyca aniżeli Ziemi (K 94, 130), przytłacza swoim ogromem, napęnia melancholią, wywołuje trwogę, a zarazem nęci swoim niezrównanym pięknem.

3. Wyspa kontrastów

Przechodząc do tej ostatniej kwestii, związanej ze sferą doznań estetycznych, należy naprzód przypomnieć, że w średniowieczu i we wczesnej nowożytności uparcie doszukiwano się w islandzkiej naturze znamion niezwykłości poprzez eksponowanie jej osobliwego, niespotykanego i nietypowego charakteru¹⁶. I choć w XVIII wieku ostatecznie zadano kłam tym domniemaniom, przekonując dowodnie, że tamtejsza przyroda jest w gruncie rzeczy podobna do innych (Oslund 2011: 78), to ślady owego myślenia można odnaleźć w omawianych relacjach. O ile jednak uwagi na temat odrębności natury Islandii, będącej niejako pochodną zawieszenia wyspy między dwoma kontynentami (T 206, K 60), stanowią raczej wątek poboczny, o tyle jej koloryt jest przedmiotem szczególnego zainteresowania Amerykanów. Jak zgodnie twierdzą, występując z kontrą przeciwko relacjom niektórych podróżników europejskich, Islandia jest wyspą wielobarwną, przy czym wiele zależy w tym względzie od kaprysów pogody, która bądź to uwydatnia jej żywe kolory, bądź też pogrąża ją w mroku. Słowem, gdy chodzi o krajobraz Islandii, „jego piękno jest po prostu względne”¹⁷, a głównym czynnikiem determinującym określone impresje są warunki pogodowe.

Nie będzie przesadą stwierdzenie, że w relacjach amerykańskich podróżników aż roi się od malarskich zgoła opisów przyrody i określeń kierujących uwagę czytelnika na bogactwo barw wyspy. Oto jedna z takich obserwacji:

Srebrne piramidy lodowców – notuje urzeczony Kneeland – z błyszczącymi pokrywami śnieżnymi, czerni lawy, wzgórza złocące się w świetle słonecznym, purpurowe cienie urwisk, zieleń przybrzeży, (...) błękit odległego oceanu (...) ukazały mym oczom najbardziej imponujące i najpiękniejsze kontrasty¹⁸.

Islandia raz poraża swoimi lucyferycznymi kształtami, raz zachwyca harmonijnym połączeniem kontrastowych, łagodnych i intensywnych barw, a ową dwoistość – tak natury, jak jej percepcji – wyjątkowo dobrze obrazują opisy niejednorodnego krajobrazu Þingvellir. Z jednej strony jest to, jak wspomniano powyżej, miejsce budzące lęk, innym razem poszczególne elementy tego obszaru (Almannagjá, Lögberg, wodospad Öxarárfoss, jezioro Þingvallavatn), zastygłe w bezruchu, spokojne i jaśniejące barwami, składają się na „jeden z najwspanialszych pejzaży na Islandii”¹⁹. Podobnie oddziałują na podróżników islandzkie wulkany i lodowce, obserwowane o różnych porach dnia i w różnych warunkach atmosferycznych. Wedle

¹⁶ W sprawie postrzegania Islandii oraz jej natury przez autorów średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych zob. Ísleifsson 2018.

¹⁷ „Its beauty is simply relative” (K 131).

¹⁸ „The silver pyramids of the jokuls with their glittering mantles of snow, the blackness of the lava, the golden-hued hills in the sunlight, the purple shadows of the precipices, the green of the fields near the shore, (...) the blue of the distant ocean (...) showed to my eyes the most striking and beautiful contrasts” (K 97–98).

¹⁹ „One of the finest landscapes in Iceland” (K 131).

Taylora tamtejsze wulkany (z Heklą na czele), na ogół ponure i „czarne jak węgiel”, jarzą się w wieczornej zorzy, tworząc efektowny spektakl kolorystyczny, zaś przy bezchmurnej pogodzie stanowią „zaskakująco spokojny i sielankowy krajobraz”²⁰. W analogiczny sposób wypowiada się Kneeland w kontekście lodowców; *jökla*r położone w centralnej części wyspy są „niczym groźni wartownicy”, którzy strzegą przed przybyszami dostępu do pustynnych terenów Hálendið, podczas gdy majestatyczny Snæfellsjökull i „jego śnieżnobiała bryła na tle ciemnoniebieskiego nieba jest jednym z najpiękniejszych obiektów”²¹. Innymi słowy, w obliczu antagonistycznych elementów kolorystycznych i geologicznych krajobrazu wyspy (bieli i czerni, lodu i lawy, lodowców i wulkanów) doświadcza się równie przeciwstawnych wrażeń: sielskiego piękna i grozy, wywoływanej majestatycznością, posępnością i niszczycielskim potencjałem islandzkiej natury.

4. Głód wolności

W swoich relacjach Taylor i Kneeland poświęcają wiele uwagi Islandczykom, szczegółowo opisując ich wygląd, ubiór, pomieszczenia mieszkalne, nawyki żywieniowe i charakter. Przed przystąpieniem do sedna zagadnienia konieczne wydaje się wszelako poczynienie małej dygresji o społeczno-politycznych realiach dziewiętnastowiecznej Islandii. Otóż na początku lat siedemdziesiątych XIX wieku na wyspie zamieszkiwało około 70 tysięcy ludzi (Thor 2002: 8), a rolę centrum administracyjnego, religijnego i edukacyjnego pełnił Reykjavík. Islandia znajdowała się wówczas pod rządami króla duńskiego, acz w Islandczykach coraz mocniej wzbierały nastroje niepodległościowe. Efektem działań na rzecz odzyskania prawa do samostanowienia (utraconego przez Islandię w drugiej połowie XIII wieku²²), które podejmowano systematycznie od lat trzydziestych, było między innymi przywrócenie do życia Althingu (w 1843/1845 roku), definitywne zniesienie duńskiego monopolu handlowego (w 1855) i nadanie konstytucji (w 1874). Ten ostatni akt, chociaż przełomowy, nie gwarantował Islandii niepodległości, a jedynie dawał jej ograniczoną autonomię w kwestiach legislacyjnych oraz określał podstawowe wolności obywatelskie (Karlsson 2000: 223).

Rekapitułując poszczególne punkty konstytucji, amerykańscy podróżnicy poddają ją ostrej krytyce, lecz zarazem dostrzegają pewne pozytywy całego przedsięwzięcia. Co prawda ów dokument nakłada „nieliberalne, a wręcz despotyczne ograniczenia”²³, ale jednocześnie – jak przewiduje Taylor – spowoduje on otrząśnięcie się Islandczyków z apatii, wynikającej z wielowiekowej zależności od norweskiego i duńskiego tronu, oraz pozwoli im dokształcić się politycznie, tak aby w przyszłości jeszcze skuteczniej realizować swoje dążenia niepodległościowe. Tę nader trafną (a oceniając *ex post*: proroczą) uwagę dopełnia memento Kneelanda dla Amerykanów; pomny zarówno przyczyn, które doprowadziły Islandię do utraty niezależności, jak i skutków tego stanu rzeczy, podróżnik przestrzega własny naród przed zachłynięciem się wolnością i wewnętrznymi waśniami (K 131–132).

20 Kolejne cytaty: „as black as coal”; „a surprisingly peaceful and pastoral landscape” (T 237). Zob. też T 250–251.

21 „Like grim sentinels”; „its snowy white mass against the deep blue sky, is one of the most beautiful of objects” (K 145, 90).

22 Islandia utraciła niezależność w wyniku waśni między wpływowymi klanami w tzw. epoce Sturlungów (lata 1220–1262). Ten burzliwy okres zakończył się zawarciem paktu z królem Hakonem IV (w 1262/1264 roku), skutkiem czego Islandia znalazła się pod panowaniem norweskim. Zob. Karlsson 2000: 79–86.

23 „Illiberal and even despotic restrictions” (T 272).

Utrata prawa do stanowienia o swoim losie, ucisk z zewnątrz oraz brak wsparcia materialnego to czynniki, które złamały ducha Islandczyków, przywiodły ich do nędzy i pogrążyły w długotrwałym letargu. Aby ukazać rozdźwięk między dawną chwałą wypiarzy a beznadziejnością ich obecnego położenia, Amerykanie, a zwłaszcza Kneeland, operują chwytem typowym dla dziewiętnastowiecznych relacji z podróży na Islandię (Ísleifsson 2018: 186), polegającym na idealizacji okresu islandzkiej niezależności (przed rokiem 1262). Podróżnik zestawia heroiczną przeszłość z nędzną teraźniejszością Islandczyków, przy czym dostrzega, że nadal tli się w nich dawny duch męstwa, wytrwałości i niezależności (K 119–120, 124). Jak podkreśla, pomimo trwającej wiele wieków zależności od monarchów norweskich i duńskich, w Islandczykach nie obumarł „niezlomny, demokratyczny, niepodległy duch”, przeciwnie: potęguje się „ich żarliwe pragnienie autonomii”²⁴, a ich działania w kierunku odzyskania wolności nigdy jeszcze – w jego ocenie – nie były tak zdecydowane.

Innym uczuciem, które żywią Islandczycy napotkani przez Taylora i Kneelanda, jest głód wiedzy. Ze względu na znaczne odległości między poszczególnymi skupiskami ludzkimi (gęstość zaludnienia wynosiła niespełna półtorej osoby na kilometr kwadratowy) oraz trudności w przemieszczaniu się w okresie zimowym, zinstytucjonalizowana edukacja nie była jeszcze zjawiskiem powszechnym w ówczesnej Islandii. Co prawda na wyspie istniały dwie szkoły łacińskie (w Bessastaðir – od 1805 do 1846; w Reykjavíku – od 1846) i kolegium teologiczne (w Reykjavíku – od 1847), lecz obowiązek kształcenia dzieci, między innymi w zakresie nauki pisania, spoczywał w głównej mierze na rodzicach, a pieczę nad całym procesem sprawowali duchowni (Magnússon 2010: 85). Bodaj najistotniejszym elementem tego procesu edukacyjnego była literatura; zgodnie z uświęconym zwyczajem cała rodzina gromadziła się zimowymi wieczorami w największym pomieszczeniu na tak zwanym „wieczornym czuwaniu” (*kvöldvaka*), podczas którego opowiadano lub czytano na głos – zarówno w celach edukacyjnych, jak i rozrywkowych – baśnie ludowe czy średniowieczne sagi. Te ostatnie były największym umiłowaniem Islandczyków, „ucieczką wszystkich klas społecznych”²⁵, albowiem podnosiły ich na duchu i dawały możliwość oderwania się od rzeczywistości.

Taylor zauważa, że Islandczycy, utrudzeni pracą, skazani na łaskę i niełaskę surowego klimatu, rozweselają się na samo wspomnienie o sagach, które znają niemal na pamięć. Zadziwia go ich gruntowna znajomość dawnej literatury islandzkiej, zwraca nadto uwagę, pozostając pod wielkim wrażeniem ich erudycji, na obeznanie Islandczyków z literaturą angielską i niemiecką, poczynawszy od Williama Szekspira i Lorda Byrona, a skończywszy na Friedrichu Schillerze (T 235–236)²⁶. Sagi są, jak natomiast dopowiada Kneeland, wskazując na ich narodotwórczy charakter, dobrem wspólnym konsolidującym naród, „własnością wszystkich ludzi”²⁷ mieszkających na Islandii, bez względu na status społeczny i wykształcenie. Owe dzieła są istotnym komponentem tożsamości narodowej Islandczyków, a zarazem świadectwami minionej świetności, swoistymi reminiscencjami złotego wieku Islandii i okresu największego rozkwitu rodzimej twórczości literackiej. Nawiasem mówiąc, Taylor odnosi się do sag incydentalnie,

24 „The sturdy, democratic, independent spirit”; „their ardent desire for self-government” (K 125, 122).

25 „The delight of all classes” (K 94).

26 W XIX wieku na Islandii seryjnie wydawano przekłady dzieł twórców anglojęzycznych i niemieckich, takich jak: Szekspir, Robert Burns, Schiller, Washington Irving, Byron, Heinrich Heine. Tłumaczenia autorstwa czołowych islandzkich poetów (przede wszystkim: Matthíasa Jochumssona i Steingrímura Thorsteinssona) ukazywały się głównie w proniepodległościowym piśmie „Fjölur”. Zob. Óskarsson 2006: 300–304.

27 „The property of the whole people” (K 233).

trudno oprzeć się wrażeniu, że jego znajomość piśmiennictwa staroislandzkiego jest raczej pobieżna, z kolei Kneeland wykazuje się rozległą wiedzą na ten temat, swobodnie i ze znanstwem poruszając się w przekazach sagowych, przy czym nie zna ich w oryginale. Bazuje on na streszczeniach i fragmentach źródeł zamieszczonych w anglojęzycznej literaturze przedmiotu lub w dziewiętnastowiecznych relacjach z podróży na Islandię, a także na angielskich przekładach sag, które ukazywały się na brytyjskim rynku wydawniczym²⁸.

5. Puste więzienie

Opisując drobiazgowo wygląd zewnętrzny Islandczyków, Amerykanie doszukują się w nich sagowego typu urody, ich spostrzeżenia są wszakże z gruntu różne. Według Kneelanda cechuje on w dużej mierze mężczyzn, a objawia się jasnymi włosami i błękitnymi oczami (K 181), natomiast Taylor nie podziela tej opinii, dostrzegając w rysach twarzy pewnej mieszkanki Reykjavíku podobieństwo do Brynhildr, bohaterki legendarnej *Sagi o Völsungach* (*Völsunga saga*): „widziałem dziewczę, której wspaniała bladożółta grzywa wskazywała na pochodzenie od Brynhildy”²⁹. Obaj podróżnicy formułują przy okazji sądy wartościujące na temat urody tamtejszych kobiet i mężczyzn; życzliwszy jest w tym względzie Taylor, który spostrzega wśród Islandczyków kilku mężczyzn o przyjemnej powierzchowności, podczas gdy Kneeland stwierdza, co następuje: „choć widziałem kilka miłych twarzy, to o żadnej z nich nie mógłbym powiedzieć, że była ładna”³⁰. Jak doprecyzowuje, tamtejsi mężczyźni są dobrze zbudowani, mają

dostojny a dobrotliwy wyraz twarzy, rozmarzone, poważne spojrzenie, częściowo za sprawą bardzo wydatnych gałek ocznych. Tutejsze kobiety są blade i ziemiste od mgieł oraz braku światła słonecznego³¹.

W dalszym ciągu wywodu zwraca on uwagę na włosy, zęby, a nawet nogi Islandczyków, ten ostatni szczególnie ich wyglądu tłumacząc w duchu Darwinowskim. Wyspiarze mają gęste włosy, białe i zdrowe zęby, ich nogi są krótkie, dzięki czemu nie zaczepiają nimi o podłoże podczas jazdy na małych islandzkich koniach: „aby wybawić ich od kłopotu ustawicznego podkulania nóg, dobór naturalny łaskawie je skrócił”³² – argumentuje z całą powagą.

O ile Amerykanie nie są jednomyślni w ocenie wyglądu Islandczyków, o tyle w kwestii ich charakteru mówią jednym głosem. Podróżnicy zasadniczo przedstawiają mieszkańców wyspy w korzystnym świetle, wychwalając ich liczne cnoty, takie jak serdeczność, szczerłość, gościnność, uczciwość, acz zauważają również ich złe przyzwyczajenia, w szczególności zażywanie tabaki (K 190). Islandczycy odznaczają się spokojem wewnętrznym, znoszą trudy egzystencji ze stoicyzmem, w czym są podobni do Indian: „nigdy nie widziałem tak stoickich, obojętnych twarzy, wyjąwszy u naszych indiańskich plemion”³³ – konstatuje

28 Na temat angielskich przekładów sag w XIX wieku zob. Wawn 2000.

29 „I saw one maiden whose magnificent pale yellow mane suggested a descent from Brynhilde” (T 203).

30 „Though I saw many pleasing faces, I met with none that I could call handsome” (K 181).

31 „A dignified but good-natured expression, with a dreamy serious look, in part due to the very prominent eye-balls. The women in the country are pale and sallow, from the fogs and the absence of sun-light” (K 181–182).

32 „In order to save them the trouble of incessantly raising their legs, natural selection has kindly shortened them” (K 182).

33 „Except among our Indian tribes, I never saw such stoical, indifferent faces” (T 210).

Taylor, a jak echo wtóruje mu Kneeland (zob. K 182). Wyspiarze są spokojni, niegroźni, nieuzbrojeni, pokojowo usposobieni, a symbolem ich praworządnego nastawienia jest puste więzienie w Reykjavíku (K 81)³⁴. Jak ironizuje Kneeland, Islandczycy są „zbyt flegmatyczni i niemrawi, by być wielkimi przestępcami”³⁵, reykiawickie więzienie bez więźniów jest egzemplifikacją takiej postawy, opartej na poszanowaniu prawa i przestrzeganiu zasad współżycia społecznego. Podróżnik przekonuje, że istnieje ścisła korelacja pomiędzy charakterem Islandczyków a środowiskiem naturalnym wyspy; jego zdaniem ponure otoczenie odciska się na melancholijnym temperamencie wyspiarzy, a ich dwoiste usposobienie (chłód i bezkonfliktowość w stosunkach społecznych *versus* żarliwość w dążeniach wolnościowych) jest wypadkową kontrastowego, lodowo-wulkanicznego, krajobrazu Islandii (K 182). Jak konkluduje, obecny charakter mieszkańców wyspy wynika z wielu zniechęcających czynników otoczenia – takich jak izolacja geograficzna, surowy klimat, jałowa ziemia – i jest „zdumiewającą mieszaniną obojętności i energii”³⁶.

Spotkanie z tamtejszą ludnością stanowi dla Amerykanów, metaforycznie rzecz ujmując, swoistą podróż w czasie do średniowiecza; współcześni im Islandczycy wyglądają niczym ludzie z XII lub XIII wieku (T 249, K 183), są zanurzeni w przeszłości, traktują z pietyzmem dawną literaturę i porozumiewają się językiem, który na przestrzeni dziejów nie uległ właściwie większym transformacjom. W pewnym sensie Islandia jest przeto miejscem, gdzie zatrzymał się czas. Nie od rzeczy będzie napomknąć, że kwestia odmierzenia czasu przez Islandczyków wzbudza zaciekawienie Kneelanda, który powołuje się w tej kwestii na teorię Jóna Árnasona, biskupa diecezji w Skálholt w latach 1722–1743, wyłożoną w dziele *Dactylismus ecclesiasticus* z 1739 roku. Metoda Jóna, określona przez niego samym mianem *Fingra-Rím*, a polegająca na kalendarzowej rachubie czasu za pomocą palców dłoni (Bjarnadóttir 2010: 31), wiedzie Kneelanda do wniosku, że czas płynie na Islandii inaczej, a życie mieszkańców jest zorganizowane według zgoła odmiennych reguł (K 188).

6. Szkoła cierpliwości

Warto zwrócić uwagę, że przybysze z Ameryki częstokroć przemycają w swoich relacjach praktyczne wskazówki dotyczące podróżowania po wyspie, co niejako zbliża ich prace do przewodników, cieszących się niezwykłą popularnością począwszy od lat trzydziestych XIX wieku (Kinsley 2016: 238). Kneeland i Taylor udzielają porad podróżnikom, którzy pragnęliby wyruszyć ich śladami, przestrzegając przed niewygodami w podróży, trudnymi warunkami atmosferycznymi, brakiem środków transportu, a niekiedy także dróg. Drugi z wymienionych poświęca dłuższy ustęp tym kwestiom, zauważając między innymi, że

nie jest to miejsce dla inwalidy ni dla tych, którzy wymagają komfortowych hoteli i salonek; należy się przygotować na chłód, deszcz, głód i wszystkie nieledwie osobiste niewygody; nie ma hoteli, a gościnność kraju, chociaż wielka, nie zadowoli wybrednych lub delikatnych³⁷.

34 Wziesienie wybudowano około 1770 roku. Był to pierwszy kamienny budynek w Reykjavíku (i jeden z pierwszych na Islandii). W drugiej dekadzie XIX wieku więzienie zlikwidowano i oddano do użytku gubernatora (Karlsson 2000: 176). Obecnie budynek ten (Stjórnarráðshúsið) jest siedzibą premiera.

35 „Too phlegmatic and indolent to be great criminals” (K 183).

36 „A strange compound of indifference and energy” (K 63).

37 „It is no place for an invalid, or those who require the comforts of hotels and palace cars; one must be prepared to undergo exposure to cold, rain, hunger, and almost every personal discomfort; there are no hotels, and the hospitality of the country,

Taylor uzupełnia te wskazówki informacjami na temat noclegu i ekwipunku podróżnego, zwracając uwagę, podobnie jak Kneeland, na brak hoteli i gospód, co czyni ich zależnymi od mocno ograniczonych zasobów pokarmowych wyspiarzy (T 211). Wzmianka o braku hoteli, pojawiająca się u obu, wprawdzie podkreśla, że są oni przybyszami z innego – cywilizacyjnie, infrastrukturalnie – świata, lecz z ich słów nie przebija poczucie wyższości. Wręcz przeciwnie: podróżnicy ani nie utyskują na zastaną rzeczywistość, ani nie akcentują swojej przewagi, cierpliwie znosząc trudy pobytu na Islandii. Przemierzanie wyspy wymaga wysiłku oraz cierpliwości, wszelkie niedogodności rekompensuje wszelako „zwiedzanie starych i nieuczęszczanych miejsc”³⁸. Eksponując różnice charakterów Islandczyków i Amerykanów, szczególnie w kwestii energiczności, Kneeland w dość specyficzny sposób zachęca rodaków do wizyty na wyspie: „impulsywnemu, zabieganemu Jankesowi poleciłbym, jako szkołę cierpliwości, kilkutygodniową podróż po Islandii”³⁹. Poprzez antytezę Północ – Południe zastrzega jednocześnie, że potencjalny turysta nie ujrzy tam „wyrafinowania artystycznej Grecji i wykuintności Rzymu”⁴⁰.

7. Uwagi końcowe

W ramach podsumowania niniejszych rozważań, mających charakter przyczynkowski, co przełożyło się na rezygnację z podjęcia niektórych wątków, wypada skonstatować, że przemyslenia Taylora i Kneelanda na temat Islandii oraz Islandczyków są w wielu punktach zbieżne, jeśli nie identyczne. Nie może to zbytnio dziwić, szczególnie że byli oni współuczestnikami wyprawy, a zatem wspólnie podróżowali po wyspie, zwiedzali te same miejsca, spotkali na swojej drodze tych samych ludzi, ten sam był również motyw ich wizyty. Zasadnicze różnice uwidaczniają się na poziomie argumentacji; po pierwsze, relacja Kneelanda obudowana jest bezpośrednimi odniesieniami do prac innych podróżników i uczonych, podczas gdy Taylor całkowicie uchyla się, poza jednostkowymi wyjątkami, od dialogu czy polemiki z wcześniejszymi autorami. Po wtóre, o ile relacji Taylora nie sposób określić mianem naukowej, o tyle publikacja Kneelanda tu i ówdzie – nade wszystko w kwestii podejścia do islandzkiej natury – zdradza takie ambicje, acz daleko jej w tym względzie do prac osiemnastowiecznych. Po trzecie, Kneeland niejednokrotnie przemycza do swojej narracji, zwłaszcza w kontekście wyglądu zewnętrznego Islandczyków, spostrzeżenia spod znaku ówczesnej antropologii fizycznej, natomiast tekst Taylora jest wolny od tego rodzaju wpływów. Po czwarte wreszcie, zdecydowanie częściej aniżeli Taylor, Kneeland przeprowadza paralele między Amerykanami a Islandczykami, spoglądając na swój własny kraj i naród przez pryzmat realiów historycznych, kulturowych i społecznych Islandii.

though great, is not suited to the dainty or the thin-skinned” (K 102).

38 „Visiting old and out-of-the-way places” (K 102).

39 „As a school for patience, I would recommend to the impetuous, hurrying Yankee, a few weeks of travel in Iceland” (K 112).

40 „The refinements of artistic Greece and luxurious Rome” (K 100).

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Revue des recherches universitaires sur Toastmasters International

Review of Academic Research on Toastmasters International

Abstract

Since 1905, Toastmasters International has been the world's best-known organization for the practice of voluntary speaking. At Toastmasters, members learn by studying their manual, doing hands-on exercises, and helping each other. This manual offers ten projects: each of them aims to develop an aspect of oral communication following a well-defined progression. Since there is little academic research regarding the use of the Toastmasters method, we want to present in this article a review of the existing research. The studies described below constitute the most important academic literature as far as Toastmasters International is concerned. The authors' research on Toastmasters encompasses three main themes: (1) Toastmasters International as an educational program, (2) social ease among members, or (3) public speaking anxiety. We will present them in chronological order.

Keywords: Toastmasters International, public speaking, anxiety, academic research

1. Introduction

Toastmasters International a été créée par le Dr. Ralph Smedley en 1924 et près de 14 700 clubs ont été fondés dans 144 pays à travers le monde pour apprendre à parler en public¹.

Toastmasters International (ci-après TI) est une organisation internationale à but non lucratif dédiée à la promotion des compétences en communication, en expression orale et en leadership.

TI est divisé en clubs locaux d'environ 20 à 30 personnes qui se réunissent régulièrement (généralement une fois par semaine) pour des réunions d'environ une heure et demie. Lors des réunions,

1 [Sur:] <https://www.toastmasters.org/abouts> [consulté le 21/12/2022].

les « invités » et les « membres du club (Toastmasters) » sont distingués. N'importe qui peut venir aux réunions, mais seulement après avoir payé la cotisation, on obtient le statut de « Toastmaster », qui donne le droit de faire des discours, d'évaluer les discours d'autres personnes et d'accéder à du matériel pédagogique. Au cours de chaque réunion, il y a plusieurs minutes de discours des membres, l'évaluation des discours et le soi-disant discours improvisés².

Ce qui importe, Toastmasters (ci-après TM) n'est ni une université, ni une école de commerce, ni un cours de prise de parole en public et de leadership. On n'y trouve ni instructeurs, ni professeurs, ni salles de cours. Le travail n'est pas noté, les participants ne passent pas d'examens. Chez TM, les membres, apprennent en étudiant le manuel³, en faisant des exercices pratiques et en s'entraînant.

Ce manuel propose dix projets : chacun d'eux a pour but de développer un aspect de la communication orale en suivant une progression bien définie. Chaque projet part de ce que les membres ont appris dans le précédent. Les « TM » commencent par le « Briser la glace » dont l'objectif est de se présenter. Dans les projets suivants, ils prennent conscience de l'importance de la structure d'un discours, de son objectif, de l'usage d'un vocabulaire adéquat, du langage corporel et de la variété vocale. Ils apprennent également comment faire des recherches documentaires, comment utiliser des supports visuels, comment parler avec persuasion et comment motiver les autres. Avant de préparer chaque discours, il est préconisé de lire attentivement le texte introduisant le projet concerné et le « Guide d'évaluation ».

Le membre du club fait une évaluation orale et écrite de chacun des discours qu'une autre personne prononce. Dans son évaluation, il dit ce qu'il pense de sa prestation, mettant en lumière ses points forts en lui offrant des suggestions pour améliorer son prochain discours. Les évaluations n'ont qu'un but : aider l'orateur à faire des discours encore plus efficaces. Par la suite, l'orateur lui-même, lorsqu'il acquiert un peu d'expérience, évalue les discours des autres.

2. Pourquoi la méthode Toastmasters

Les résultats (Kalińska 2009) ont montré que certains étudiants ne prennent pas la parole soit pour des raisons linguistiques (peur de faire des fautes) ou plus personnelles (timidité). Une des premières nécessités était donc d'amener les étudiants à participer d'eux-mêmes.

Le projet que nous avons fait (Łuszczynska 2018) visait donc à faire travailler les compétences de l'oral grâce à l'utilisation de la méthode TM. Cet atelier a été réalisé en deux semestres et concernait entre autre l'identification et l'appropriation des stratégies de persuasion, l'analyse et la conception de divers genres de discours et l'évaluation critique de ses propres productions orales.

Il est certain que l'ambiance de la classe joue un rôle non négligeable : l'ambiance propice à la communication a plus de chances de faire surmonter aux étudiants leurs petits blocages et leur timidité, et à les faire s'exprimer plus librement sans crainte du jugement d'autrui. Les résultats de nos recherches (Łuszczynska 2018) ont confirmé l'utilité de la méthode inspirée de l'approche TM dans l'augmentation

2 La description plus détaillée de la méthode TM se trouve dans l'article : Kalińska, S. (2013). TM – une approche novatrice d'entraînement à la communication chez les étudiants du FLE. *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska, sec. FF Philologiae*, Vol. XXIX (2); 45-58.

3 TM International, Inc. (2008) *Savoir communiquer. Un guide pratique pour devenir meilleur orateur*. Santa Ana, Calif. : T.I., Inc.

de la participation de tous les étudiants en diminuant le stress lié à la prise de parole en public et ceci grâce à l'exposition constante aux situations anxiogènes et l'habitude progressive à s'adresser à un groupe.

La méthode offre donc les conditions interactives susceptibles de favoriser le déblocage de certains étudiants qui prennent rarement la parole pendant les cours de conversation en langue étrangère. Il ne s'agit pas d'éviter les obstacles mais de chercher des moyens pour les gérer interactivement (par les stratégies de réalisation de différents objectifs). Le développement des compétences langagières dépendrait donc de la prise de responsabilité, de la part de l'apprenant, dans la gestion du discours (grâce au développement de la métacognition).

Puisqu'il existe peu de recherches universitaires concernant l'utilisation de la méthode TM, nous voulons présenter dans cet article une revue des recherches existantes.

3. Revue des recherches universitaires sur TI

Les études décrites ci-dessous constituent la littérature académique la plus importante en ce qui concerne TI. La recherche des auteurs sur TI englobe trois thèmes principaux : (1) TI comme programme didactique, (2) l'aisance sociale entre les membres, ou (3) l'anxiété de prise de parole en public. Nous allons les présenter dans l'ordre chronologique, des plus anciennes au plus récentes.

En général, très peu de recherches ont été réalisées sur les organisations bénévoles par des personnes n'appartenant pas à ces organisations. Il y a quelques exceptions; plusieurs mémoires et articles ont été écrits en utilisant TI soit comme sujet de l'étude soit comme composante essentielle de l'étude (Levine-Bremen 2000 , Chen 2001 , Chiang 2001 , Chiang 2005 , Chou 2003 , Guberman 2006 , Han 2011 , Kuo 2010 , Nordin et Shaari 2005 , Sun 2008).

En 1949, Porter réalise une étude sur TI pour son mémoire. Dans son étude, dont l'objectif est de déterminer comment les TM ont-ils bénéficié du club, on a demandé aux répondants au questionnaire d'évaluer leur performance sur une échelle de 0 (n'avoir rien appris) à 5 (avoir beaucoup appris). Des informations ont été recueillies auprès de 24 répondants, qui ont été TM entre trois mois et trois ans et demi.

Les scores moyens les plus élevés étaient pour le « courage de parler en public » (4,7) et l'« amitié » (4,3). Les résultats indiquent que de nombreux membres continuant (puisque les répondants sont tous des membres qui ont continué à appartenir au club) sentent avoir acquis de la confiance dans la prise de parole en public et se réjouissent des amitiés nouées aux réunions du club TM. En outre, ils ont appris la communication, le leadership et les compétences de prise de parole en anglais, mais il y a encore de la place pour l'amélioration.

Un an plus tard, en 1950, Porter publie un résumé de sa thèse dans « Western Speech ». Dans son mémoire, il présente l'histoire de TI et une courte biographie de Ralph C. Smedley, fondateur de TI. Il analyse également en détail une réunion d'un club TI type. L'objectif principal de l'enquête (1950 : 3) est de déterminer

comment le club TM répond aux besoins de ses membres par la formation au discours, à la présidence aux réunions et au leadership et comment (ou si) cela diffère du point de vue des autres individus dans le domaine de la prise de parole⁴. (Porter 1950 : 3) [traduction – S.K.]

L'enquête se limite aux clubs TM dans la région de Los Angeles. Environ 240 membres sont soit interviewés par Porter soit invités à répondre à un questionnaire. Les résultats principaux que Porter signale sont :

1. 55% des membres sont dans le groupe d'âge de 26 à 35 ans.
2. 49% des membres ont des professions libérales, de gestion, de bureau ou dans le domaine de la vente.
3. Il y a une baisse marquée de l'appartenance après 18 mois ou lorsque le premier manuel est achevé.
4. 60% des membres a peu de ou aucune formation précédente de prise de parole.
5. Les membres qui ont eu une formation de prise de parole auparavant estiment que ce n'est pas suffisant pour leurs besoins actuels.
6. 45% des membres indiquent que le fait qu'ils ont acquis plus de confiance, plus de calme et de meilleures habitudes d'écoute est plus important que les aspects comme parler de façon concise et une meilleure organisation.
7. Tous les clubs visités ont une ambiance sympathique et informelle.
8. La majorité des clubs n'a pas d'orateurs professionnels agissant comme critiques, mais utilisent à cette fin leurs propres membres.
9. 67% des membres estiment que prononcer un discours de 5 à 10 minutes et les improvisations sont plus importants que la possibilité d'occuper un poste de leader.

Porter (1950 : 30) conclut que :

L'avis des TM sur la prise de parole en public ne semble pas consister à apprendre une série de règles, ni à faire des discours pour s'adapter au goût d'un enseignant; il s'agit plutôt d'apprendre par la pratique comment organiser ses pensées et puis les présenter à d'autres personnes de la façon qui aura les meilleurs résultats. Les TM estiment que l'ambiance amicale informelle d'une réunion sociale est plus favorable à la prise de parole et à la liberté de la parole que l'atmosphère plus formelle de la majorité des salles de classe d'aujourd'hui. Enfin, la formation TM est un projet réalisé tout au long de la vie d'un individu⁵. (Porter 1950 : 3) [traduction – S.K.]

En 1957, Ted Blanding, à l'époque secrétaire exécutif de TI, écrit un article pour « Today's Speech » dans lequel il décrit « une nouvelle approche pour un vieux problème ». Son article présente une description et une courte histoire de TI. En plus de mentionner les avantages que les membres reçoivent

4 how the Toastmasters club meets the needs of its members through training in speech, chairmanship, and leadership, and how or if it differs from the point of view of other people in the field of speech.

5 The Toastmasters' view on public speaking seems to be not learning a set of rules, nor making speeches to suit the taste of a teacher, but, rather, a matter of learning by practice how to arrange one's thoughts and then present them to other people in the way that will get the best results. Toastmasters feel that a friendly, informal atmosphere of a social affair appears to be more conducive to ease and freedom in speech than the more formal atmosphere which the majority of classrooms present. Lastly, Toastmaster training is a life-long project.

de TI, Blanding souligne la croissance des clubs TI parrainés par l'armée et par de grandes entreprises comme Bell Telephone, Douglas Aircraft, Kwikset Locks, Remington Rand, United Air Lines et Western Electric.

Blanding note que (1957 : 18):

Bien que l'objectif original et principal de TI soit de créer un laboratoire pour la formation et la pratique d'une prise de parole efficace, les membres ont trouvé que les bénéfices de l'adhésion dépassent de loin leurs attentes initiales. L'adhésion au Club est l'ouverture aux progrès dans les affaires, à de meilleures possibilités d'emploi, d'avancement et de reconnaissance dans les services communautaires⁶. (Blanding 1957 : 18) [traduction – S.K.]

Blanding conclut son article en soulignant que TI représente une « approche adulte et viable au vieux problème de la communication » (Blanding 1957 : 18).

La suivante mention de TI dans les journaux date de 1965, quand Paul enquête sur une « activité de parole florissante appelée Speakeasy » qui se développe à l'Université d'Omaha. Selon Paul, l'idée de Speakeasy commence en 1959 « lorsque TI fait un vibrant plaidoyer pour le soutien de l'université » (1965 : 126). En raison du coût impliqué, les liens formels avec TI n'ont pas été établis ; cependant, le format et les principes de TI ont été adoptés et une organisation basée sur l'activité des étudiants s'est développée.

Paul conclut que l'organisation Speakeasy est un succès en raison de ses mérites. Selon lui, les deux avantages principaux sont que (1) un étudiant débutant en prise de parole a beaucoup d'occasions d'acquérir une expérience en prise de parole, et que (2) l'organisation est centrée sur les étudiants : elle est organisée, gérée et développée par les étudiants.

Paul estime que l'organisation Speakeasy est « supérieure à TI en raison de la présence d'un observateur critique » (1965 : 128) (c'est-à-dire, un professeur de communication orale). Cependant, il est intéressant de noter que l'idée d'un critique professionnel a été rejetée à plusieurs reprises par les membres de TI. L'inconvénient majeur que Paul trouve dans la conception de Speakeasy est la difficulté à enseigner aux membres l'organisation du contenu et du discours. Toutefois, il estime que les avantages pour les apprenants peuvent l'emporter sur les inconvénients, d'autant plus que ses expériences avec le groupe indiquent que beaucoup de membres de Speakeasy se sont ensuite inscrits à des cours réguliers de communication orale avancés. Paul conclut que (1965 : 128) :

En pensant et en parlant d'une activité de prise de parole de cette nature, il ne faut pas être pédagogue. En fait, il faut considérer que c'est une activité centrée sur les apprenants, agréable, réaliste et pertinente⁷. (Paul 1965 : 128) [traduction – S.K.]

Dans la thèse de doctorat de Knapp (1966), l'association TI est mentionnée à plusieurs reprises en relation avec la formation en prise de parole pour les salariés des grandes entreprises commerciales.

6 Although the original and primary purpose of Toastmasters International is to provide a laboratory for training and practice in effective speech, men have found that the rewards from membership far exceed their original expectations. Club membership has been the opening to advances in business, better job opportunities, advancement and recognition in community services.

7 In thinking and talking about a speech activity of this nature, one must not be a pedagogue. In fact, he must think of it as a student-centered activity, pleasant, realistic, and relevant.

Par exemple, Knapp note que les clubs TM sont la méthode la plus populaire pour les employés d'obtenir une formation de prise de parole en public dans une entreprise sans programme de formation formelle. Knapp souligne que United Air Lines, par exemple, « dépend principalement des clubs TM pour former ses employés à la prise de parole » (1966 : 180).

Dans son étude, TI est mentionné à plusieurs reprises, en relation avec des sujets comme la façon dont les employés suivent une formation en art oratoire, l'endroit où les employés sont plus susceptibles de demander de l'aide pour acquérir des compétences de prise de parole en public, et quels matériels didactiques sont utilisés dans les cours de prise de parole parrainés par les entreprises. TI est également inclus dans les listes de ressources auxquelles les hommes d'affaires peuvent recourir pour améliorer leurs compétences en prise de parole.

En 1973, Preng réalise pour son mémoire une « enquête sur l'effet de la participation à une organisation et de la prise de décision participative aux yeux d'un groupe TM ». Sa thèse porte principalement sur la prise de décision dans une organisation et elle n'est qu'incidemment concernée par TI. Néanmoins, dans la construction de son questionnaire, et en recueillant des données pour son objectif principal, Preng recueille également des données relatives à TI.

Preng limite son étude à 24 membres d'un club TM dont il est lui-même membre et établit deux tendances en ce qui concerne le programme didactique de TI :

1. 83% des répondants disent qu'ils participent aux activités TM pour améliorer leurs compétences en prise de parole.
2. 79,2% des membres déclarent qu'ils ont soit un contrôle complet soit « beaucoup » de contrôle sur leur progression dans le programme didactique en ce qui concerne le type de discours officiel présenté et le temps de présentation du discours. Tous les autres estiment avoir « au moins un certain contrôle ».

En outre, Preng cherche aussi à établir les syllogismes suivants :

1. Plus un membre a avancé dans le Programme de communication et de leadership, plus cette expérience est bénéfique et sa capacité de prise de parole meilleure.
2. En outre, plus on a d'expérience, plus on peut percevoir l'utilité du programme.

Preng constate que ses données ne prouvent pas définitivement que les membres estiment que la participation au Programme de communication et de leadership améliore l'excellence du discours ; mais il observe également que (1973 : 34) :

Il est vrai dans au moins 95% des cas que plus une personne a avancé dans le programme, plus elle estime avoir obtenu d'avantages⁸. (Preng 1973 : 34) [traduction – S.K.]

En 1975, McCanna réalise une étude de TI dans laquelle il démontre que la formation TM est « un moyen efficace grâce auquel il est possible de satisfaire les besoins d'auto-actualisation des individus » (McCanna 1975: 8). L'objectif secondaire de la recherche de McCanna est de « fournir au

8 It is true at least 95% of the time that the more of the program one has completed, the more benefit he (the member) perceives he has received.

gouvernement et à l'industrie des informations supplémentaires sur les multiples facettes de la science du comportement » (McCanna 1975 : 8).

McCanna constate que « la théorie que la formation TM peut être un moyen efficace pour favoriser la croissance personnelle et l'autoréalisation est confirmée » (McCanna 1975: 68). Plus précisément, McCanna dit que (McCanna 1975: 65):

Les répondants ayant une formation TM semblent plus capables de lier le passé et l'avenir au présent dans une continuité significative ; ils sont plus disposés à vivre selon les valeurs de personnes s'auto-actualisant, et s'aiment plus à cause de leurs atouts personnels que les personnes recevant une formation de sensibilisation pendant neuf séances hebdomadaires de quatre heures chacune, les personnes qui reçoivent une formation de sensibilisation marathon pendant 30 heures le week-end, et les personnes recevant douze heures de formation de sensibilisation dans le cadre de leur programme de classe⁹. (McCanna 1975 : 65) [traduction – S.K.]

Dans un article dans « The Speech Teacher » (1975), Boyd discute des méthodes d'évaluation utilisées par TI et Dale Carnegie. Il souligne que TI préconise l'évaluation constructive (contenant une critique à la fois positive et négative) des discours prononcés par les membres du club, tandis que l'approche Dale Carnegie met en relief la critique positive (la critique négative n'est pas autorisée) proposée par les enseignants.

Boyd explique comment chaque groupe opère lors d'une réunion / classe « typique » et souligne les avantages et les désavantages qu'il remarque pour chaque approche. Il conclut que (1975 : 381) :

Comprendre ces approches peut aider les enseignants à clarifier leurs règles respectives d'évaluation et à fournir des commentaires plus bénéfiques aux apprenants prononçant des discours¹⁰. (Boyd 1975 : 381) [traduction – S.K.]

Frischknecht (1977, cité aussi dans Buquiran 2014 : 25) analyse également la façon dont la participation à TI améliore la compétence en production orale et la performance de ses membres. L'auteure analyse la méthode didactique, l'histoire, la croissance et la structure organisationnelle de TI.

Elle conclut que la méthode d'apprentissage par la pratique et le processus d'évaluation par les autres membres est le facteur décisif de la réussite du programme. Les répondants signalent également qu'ils apprécient la nature autonome et la pertinence de TI, le climat d'apprentissage des clubs et les possibilités de participation individuelle aux activités du club. Toutefois, les participants perçoivent certaines faiblesses du programme, notamment une adhésion peu élevée, le manque de formation en leadership et de formation en procédure parlementaire. En ce qui concerne les manuels, les participants signalent également leur désir de projets TM avancés et un besoin de réécriture des manuels élémentaires.

Frischknecht constate que 56% des membres sont « un peu d'accord » avec la constatation que leur appartenance à TI a contribué à leur travail. Plus de la moitié des participants (55%) sont très d'accord qu'ils se sont sentis les bienvenus dans l'organisation. En ce qui concerne la partie du programme

9 Subjects having experienced Toastmasters training seemed better able to tie the past and the future to the present in meaningful continuity ; were more willing to live by the values of self-actualizing people ; and liked themselves better because of their inner strenghts, than did persons receiving sensitivity training for nine weekly sessions of four hours each ; persons receiving marathon sensitivity training for 30 hours over a weekend ; and persons receiving twelve hours of sensitivity training as part of their classroom curriculum.

10 Understanding these approaches may help instructors to clarify their perspective philosophies of evaluation and provide more beneficial feedback to student speakers.

TI trouvée la plus utile, les répondants donnent les trois premières réponses suivantes : prononcer des discours préparés (67%) ; faire des improvisations (46%), et recevoir des évaluations (27%). Les membres comparent aussi le programme didactique TI à un cours formel scolaire. Près de la moitié des participants (47%) déclarent que le programme TI didactique est « beaucoup plus bénéfique » qu'un cours formel à l'école, tandis que d'autres déclarent qu'il est « meilleur » (27%) (1977 : 362).

Les trois raisons principales pour lesquelles les participants ont adhéré à TM sont : (1) surmonter la peur (28%), (2) développer des compétences générales de prise de parole en public (20%), et (3) développer leur compétence en production orale improvisée (19%). Frischknecht conclut que les membres considèrent que le programme TI est un succès et que tous les facteurs importants de ce programme pourraient être incorporés dans les programmes à tous les niveaux universitaires, notamment dans un environnement de laboratoire avec la méthode « apprendre par la pratique ». Elle soutient que, si les enseignants reçoivent une formation adéquate, les classes dans les écoles élémentaires et secondaires pourraient également bénéficier de ces expériences.

Les enseignants de discours académique devraient envisager les « facteurs identifiés comme contribuant à la réussite de TM en planifiant certains aspects de leurs cours ». Cependant, bien que les opinions des membres de TM témoignent des avantages de leurs expériences, les différences entre les apprenants adultes et les enfants doivent être soigneusement analysées avant d'envisager une adaptation des méthodes et des matériels pour une utilisation dans les écoles élémentaires ou secondaires, comme le suggère Frischknecht.

Boland (1981, cité dans Buquiran 2014 : 28) n'inclut aucune analyse de TI. Il préfère créer un projet de doctorat à la place d'une dissertation traditionnelle ; il conçoit des programmes de médias pour des ateliers professionnels d'écoute et de langue. Il cite « 24 années de formation en communication et en leadership en tant que membre de TI » (1981 : iii) qui lui donnent des bases solides pour concevoir ces programmes. Bien que Boland n'ait pas étudié la littérature TI, ses programmes sur les cassettes vidéo, « Techniques of Public Speaking » (« Techniques pour parler en public ») et « The Use of Humor in Public Speaking » (« L'utilisation de l'humour en parlant en public »), ainsi que son programme audiovisuel, « Listening With a Purpose » (« Écouter avec un objectif ») pourra fournir des supports alternatifs et actuels en matière d'enseignement de la communication, similaires à la série de cassettes vidéo TI « Be Prepared » (« Sois prêt »).

Bien que la plupart des travaux présentés ici donnent des informations concernant TI, leurs contenus semblent isolés. Par exemple, l'étude de Frischknecht de 1977 constitue le rapport le plus récent sur l'adhésion au sein de TI. L'étude de Leone-Rundell de 1993 peut offrir une perspective plus actuelle sur les aspects didactiques de TI, elle cite une grande partie du travail de Frischknecht pour présenter une perspective historique.

L'étude de Leone-Rundell (1993, voir Buquiran 2014 : 24) compare les programmes didactiques du Cours Dale Carnegie et de TI pour voir si les participants assimilent ce que les programmes ont à enseigner et si les participants considèrent l'enseignement de ces deux programmes comme efficace ou important pour leur vie.

L'auteur constate que les participants ont assimilé ce que leurs programmes respectifs ont tenté d'enseigner. Le groupe de l'échantillon Dale Carnegie se classe au premier rang en ce qui concerne la précision et la valeur personnelle, par opposition aux autres groupes d'échantillons. L'auteur signale également que les participants ont un « sentiment positif de soi grâce à la participation dans les programmes », et que « 100% des membres des deux groupes recommanderaient les programmes à

d'autres personnes » (Leone-Rundell 1993 : 117). Les participants aux cours de prise de parole répondent également positivement aux questions sur l'effet du cours Carnegie sur leur vie et sur leur confiance en eux pour parler. L'auteur conclut que les participants aux cours de Dale Carnegie et les membres de TI « considèrent que ces programmes ont changé leur vie et les ont rendus des personnes meilleures et plus confiantes en elles-mêmes » et « le sentiment positif de soi, vécu comme le résultat de la participation à ces activités, ne peut être négligé » (Leone-Rundell 1993 : 118). Les deux organisations fournissent une opportunité d'améliorer les compétences en communication et la confiance en soi grâce à des procédures d'enseignement similaires.

L'étude de Baucom (1995, voir Buquiran 2014 : 28) aborde un des aspects de l'aisance sociale : l'anxiété de prise de parole en public en relation avec la familiarité de l'auditoire. Baucom conclut qu'un sous-groupe important d'individus ressent plus d'anxiété en prononçant un discours devant un public familial que devant un public d'étrangers. Les résultats indiquent également que les membres qui ont des sentiments négatifs envers leur public ressentent une anxiété plus élevée que ceux qui se sentent neutres ou positifs à l'égard de leur public. L'auteur ne trouve pas de corrélation entre les répondants dont les antécédents de famille révèlent des sentiments d'anxiété de prise de parole en public élevés ou faibles.

Les autres études en matière d'aisance sociale et d'anxiété de prise de parole en public ne donnent pas beaucoup d'informations sur l'association. Il semble que les auteurs aient utilisé les membres de TI comme un échantillon de population, plutôt que comme un mécanisme à l'aide duquel ils pourraient populariser TI.

Kime (1998, cité dans Buquiran 2014 : 26) analyse le degré d'aisance ou de sécurité ressenti par les membres dans différents types de situations sociales depuis qu'ils ont adhéré à l'organisation.

L'auteur constate que les membres TM déclarent que leur niveau d'aisance de parole en public a augmenté de plus de 34% depuis leur adhésion à l'association, et que leur aisance de parole dans des situations sociales et professionnelles a augmenté de plus de 18%. L'auteur signale aussi que la satisfaction des répondants concernant leur vie sociale a augmenté de plus de 12% depuis leur adhésion à l'association. En plus, les analyses révèlent que l'aisance d'écoute des commentaires positifs a augmenté de plus de 15% et celle d'écoute des commentaires négatifs a augmenté de plus de 19%.

Kime conclut que les résultats d'estime de soi chez les répondants de sexe masculin sont en moyenne de cinq points plus élevés que ceux des femmes, et que plus un individu a participé souvent aux réunions, plus il est devenu compétent et à l'aise socialement.

Afin de combler un vide dans la recherche actuelle, ainsi que de fournir un profil actualisé des membres du TI et leurs raisons d'adhérer, Levine-Bremen (2000) a mené une enquête explicative qui a répondu aux questions de recherche suivantes :

- (1). Qui est le membre typique de TI, en fonction de son niveau d'études, de sa profession et de son âge?
- (2) Pourquoi les gens adhèrent-ils et restent-ils membres de TI ? Cela comprend la moyenne de la durée de l'adhésion et les principaux avantages dont bénéficient les membres en raison de l'adhésion.
- (3) Quel type de formation / expérience en communication les membres ont-ils à l'adhésion à TI, le cas échéant ? Comment les membres de TI évaluent leurs compétences orales avant et depuis qu'ils ont rejoint TI, et quelles recommandations ils ont pour améliorer l'organisation.

La revue de la littérature de la thèse comprend la nature et l'étendue de l'enseignement de la communication au niveau postsecondaire, ainsi que les théories d'affiliation et de loisirs.

L'étude indique que les participants rejoignent TI principalement à des fins professionnelles ou d'épanouissement. Ils restent dans l'organisation pour leur développement personnel et pour les amis. L'auteur conclut que TI reste un domaine de recherche fertile pour les chercheurs en communication, en particulier en ce qui concerne les opinions des enseignants en communication sur l'organisation et les études longitudinales de l'adhésion.

L'étude de Chen, réalisée en 2001, vise à comprendre la façon dont un groupe d'étudiants de premier cycle à Taiwan apprenant l'anglais langue étrangère utilise les ressources disponibles à l'université, c'est-à-dire un club TI, pour travailler sur l'apprentissage autonome et pour développer des compétences en anglais en dehors des cours. Les résultats de cette étude indiquent que ce club fonctionne comme un environnement utile où les membres bénéficient des ressources et des relations sociales pour réaliser un apprentissage autonome de l'anglais. Les participants du groupe focal de cette étude sont conscients de l'accordance de ce club et apprécient la possibilité de participer à ses activités, mais leur degré de participation est influencé par l'engagement individuel et la longueur de l'appartenance au club. Selon les résultats, les membres ayant plus d'ancienneté, étant plus impliqués, ont tendance à participer plus souvent aux activités du club et manifestent des comportements plus autonomes dans le développement de leurs compétences linguistiques. Dans leur participation aux activités du club, les participants rencontrent divers problèmes et conflits. En outre, les membres de la communauté d'apprentissage exercent une influence sur l'apprentissage des autres membres en termes de comportements autonomes et de degré de participation. Les contacts sociaux sont également d'une importance vitale pour le renforcement de la cohésion de la communauté d'apprentissage, qui influence la participation des membres et l'apprentissage futur.

On suggère tout d'abord que les enseignants et les professeurs pourraient encourager la création d'une communauté d'apprentissage, car le soutien social et le support interactif des membres de la communauté est d'une importance vitale pour le développement des compétences linguistiques et de l'autonomie des apprenants. Deuxièmement, les enseignants et les membres expérimentés de la communauté pourraient encourager la recherche d'aide dans la communauté d'apprentissage autonome et accorder plus d'attention au souci des apprenants de ne pas se rendre ridicules. On espère que cette étude pourra démontrer qu'une communauté d'apprentissage autonome des langues pourrait être une structure utile dans l'avenir de l'enseignement de l'anglais à Taïwan.

Chiang (2001) réalise une étude sur la mise en œuvre d'une réunion TM dans ses classes d'anglais (de premier cycle) à l'Université nationale Yang-Ming (ci-après YMU). Les résultats indiquent une réaction positive de ses étudiants. Les étudiants ont eu la possibilité d'interagir et de parler entre eux, améliorant ainsi leurs compétences en communication. De même, cette publication se concentre sur le format d'une réunion type TM réalisée dans une classe de compétences en communication professionnelle à l'Universiti Teknologi Petronas pour évaluer la réceptivité des apprenants et leur opinion sur l'utilité de ces méthodes dans l'acquisition de la compétence en production orale.

En outre, certaines recherches (Chou 2003 ; Chiang 2005 ; Sun 2008 ; Kuo 2010) intègrent l'approche TM dans les classes de langue pour étudier les effets de l'apprentissage. Elles adoptent le calendrier des réunions régulières des clubs TM dans les classes pour former la compétence en production orale en anglais. Les études montrent des résultats bénéfiques de l'application de l'approche TM dans

l'apprentissage en classe et les élèves apprécient ces expériences d'apprentissage tout à fait différentes par rapport à l'apprentissage dans les classes traditionnelles où l'enseignant joue le rôle principal.

Une autre étude, réalisée par Chiang, intitulée « TM clubs in Taiwanese Universities » (date non fournie), décrit comment les clubs universitaires TM sont gérés à Taiwan et analyse comment les enseignants peuvent soutenir ces clubs.

D'après Chiang (p. 9) un club TM efficace n'a pas seulement besoin de nouveaux membres, mais aussi d'un solide bassin de membres avec une ancienneté qui continuent à acquérir des compétences de communication et de leadership et peuvent également guider les nouveaux membres. Les répondants au questionnaire sont des membres permanents ; ils restent dans le club pour deux raisons principales :

1. Ils ont des relations enrichissantes avec les autres membres. Ils aiment leurs clubs qui sont des lieux chaleureux, pleins de vie, conviviaux et positifs. L'un d'entre eux dit, « Mon club est comme une famille. Nous nous soucions les uns des autres ». Un autre dit qu'il veut transmettre son expérience à ses pupilles.
2. Ils sentent qu'ils ont appris quelque chose et veulent apprendre encore plus. Certains ont été invités à agir comme leaders et veulent acquérir plus de compétences en leadership.

Pourquoi de nombreux membres restent pour un seul semestre et pas plus ? Par exemple, le club TM à l'YMU a généralement moins de huit membres qui continuent chaque semestre, bien que le nombre total des membres soit souvent de plus de 20. Les répondants au questionnaire ont énuméré les raisons suivantes qu'ils ont observées :

1. Ils sont trop occupés. Certains sont inscrits à des cours universitaires intensifs ou ont besoin de temps pour se préparer aux examens importants. D'autres appartiennent à plusieurs autres clubs ou sont sous pression pour trouver un emploi.
2. Ils perdent l'intérêt. La nouveauté se fane ou ils n'apprennent pas beaucoup au club.
3. Certains ont terminé leurs études.

L'étude montre aussi comment l'université soutient le club TM. Ainsi, le soutien de l'université est de quatre types :

1. Les enseignants aident à créer un club et assistent aux réunions pour apporter un soutien linguistique.
2. Les membres obtiennent des crédits universitaires en fréquentant le club car en prononçant des discours etc., ils remplissent les exigences du cours d'anglais. YMU a testé cette solution entre 2003 et 2010.
3. Presque toutes les universités permettent aux clubs TM d'utiliser gratuitement les salles de classe.
4. Les universités soutiennent financièrement les activités spéciales.

La question la plus populaire à chaque formation de leaders et d'union universitaire est de savoir comment maintenir la qualité des réunions des clubs TM. Voici quelques suggestions que les répondants ont données dans le questionnaire :

1. Être bien préparé. L'ordre du jour doit être bien organisé et chaque réunion doit avoir un thème principal. Tous les leaders et les membres jouant un rôle doivent savoir ce qu'ils ont à faire et ils doivent bien se préparer à l'avance (par exemple, un chronométrateur doit savoir quand lever le drapeau et il doit assurer un bon contrôle du temps).
2. S'amuser. Faire de l'humour. Créer une ambiance amusante et inciter les membres à être créatifs. Encourager tous les membres à montrer leurs talents. Utiliser des activités intéressantes pour que les membres puissent se détendre. Il peut y avoir de la danse, du chant ou des courts métrages dans la session de variété. Les thèmes de réunion ou les questions pour les improvisations peuvent se rapporter à des événements actuels et aux intérêts communs. Tenir des réunions spéciales de temps en temps, comme des réunions conjointes, des jours d'uniforme, de costume, de Noël, d'Halloween, des anniversaires, des dîners etc.
3. Apprendre efficacement. Inviter des orateurs connus et exceptionnels d'autres clubs pour qu'ils parlent comme orateurs invités ou évaluateurs. Un évaluateur individuel parle à l'orateur avant et après que celui-ci prononce son discours. Les autres membres peuvent également faire des commentaires à un orateur (par exemple, en écrivant sur le bulletin de vote).
4. Avoir un système de mentorat efficace. Par exemple, NCCU (National Chengchi University - Université nationale de Chengchi) a un système de groupe, appelé Système de Famille. Les « parents » de chaque famille encouragent les membres de leur famille à assister aux réunions, à prononcer des discours, à amener des amis et à participer à d'autres activités.
5. Montrer fréquemment son appréciation aux membres et aux leaders.

La thèse de Chou (2003) explore la possibilité de combiner les cours généraux de conversation avec une formation de prise de parole formelle en public par la modification du programme de formation de prise de parole TI, entreprise dans des classes avancées d'anglais langue étrangère. Ce programme propose des activités de conversation peu menaçantes, suivies par un programme de formation avec la conception d'activités à rôles multiples dans lesquels chaque participant est tenu de parler et d'interagir avec les autres. Chaque rôle a sa fonction spécifique pendant la réunion et un objectif de formation qui peuvent contribuer au développement des compétences en leadership et à une communication plus efficace.

Du point de vue des sujets, les activités diversifiées d'interaction intensives, basées sur des tâches, ont activé leur connaissance de la langue et ont renforcé leur compétence en communication à travers une formation stratégique de cette compétence. La forme de la réunion (jeu de rôles) leur a permis de s'immerger dans des rôles-fonctions variés. Ces relations de rôles ont élargi leur connaissance des différents aspects de l'utilisation de la langue en ce que la relation que les individus ont les uns avec les autres dans un acte de communication influence généralement la façon dont on se parle.

Les conclusions tirées des journaux des sujets et de deux observateurs indiquent également que grâce à l'auto-évaluation et à l'auto-réflexion, ces sujets sont devenus des apprenants autonomes et

autogérés, ce qui leur a permis d'être les co-constructeurs de leur contexte d'apprentissage à côté et en plus de l'enseignement donné par leur enseignant. Avec l'aide de l'interaction intensive pendant les sessions de conversation et des jeux de rôles pendant la formation de prise de parole sous forme de réunion, les classes se sont transformées en un groupe cohérent où les sujets se sentaient suffisamment en sécurité pour utiliser leur langue seconde, se soutenant et s'inspirant les uns les autres dans l'apprentissage. Avec l'enseignant à la fois comme enseignant, facilitateur et chef de groupe et avec les sujets comme participants actifs, ces deux cours de langue ont été transformés en groupes avec des liens forts entre leurs membres. Cet esprit d'équipe et la dynamique de groupe ont soutenu la motivation des sujets et les a aidés à demeurer actifs tout au long du semestre (à long terme). Grâce à la tenue de rôles, à l'observation et à la participation, en étant immergés dans ce programme de formation de prise de parole modifié, les sujets ont découvert de nouveaux rôles qu'ils pouvaient bien tenir et ont modifié leur perception d'eux-mêmes en plus d'accroître leur compétence en communication, grâce à quoi leurs présentations en public sont devenues plus réussies et agréables.

L'étude suivante (Nordin et Shaari 2005) a été réalisée dans les classes de compétences en communication professionnelle à l'Universiti Teknologi Petronas sur une base hebdomadaire, tout au long du semestre juillet-décembre 2004. L'étude analyse les questions suivantes :

1. À quel degré les apprenants sont-ils réceptifs à l'égard des réunions TM ?
2. Quelles sont les opinions des apprenants sur les réunions TM ?

Plus de 90% des apprenants estiment que les réunions étaient utiles et intéressantes. Selon eux, les réunions leur ont permis de prendre la parole, d'augmenter leur courage, de se sentir bien et de connaître les expériences fascinantes des autres. Krashen (1985), dans son hypothèse du filtre affectif, prétend qu'un apprenant qui est démotivé, tendu ou qui s'ennuie aura un faible niveau d'acquisition de la langue. Ainsi, l'opinion positive des apprenants sur les réunions TM les aiderait à acquérir des compétences de production orale et à améliorer leur capacité d'utiliser la langue.

Les réunions TM sont considérées comme amusantes et plus de 90% des apprenants reconnaissent qu'ils ont réussi à mieux connaître leurs amis. Les activités mettent l'accent sur la communication significative comme écouter des blagues, en apprendre plus sur les camarades de classe, exprimer ses propres opinions et partager les expériences. Ce qui nous conduit à l'idée que si l'on donne un sens à l'enseignement des langues aux yeux des apprenants, cela aide le processus d'apprentissage.

La réaction positive des apprenants à la question de savoir s'ils voudraient essayer des rôles différents si on leur donne plus de temps est en effet une bonne indication. Comme l'activité était réalisée seulement une heure par semaine pendant le semestre, tout le monde ne pouvait pas jouer tous les rôles. Cependant, l'enseignant a fait en sorte que tout le monde ait pu être orateur. 86 % des apprenants espèrent avoir une autre occasion de participer à des activités similaires. Cela montre clairement que les apprenants se sont amusés pendant ces activités.

71% des répondants observent que tout le monde a participé et a fait de son mieux pendant les réunions. Environ 69% d'entre eux pensent que tout le monde dans la classe se conformait à l'esprit de la participation. Une telle réponse indique que l'activité attire l'attention et l'intérêt des apprenants, ce qui signifie un environnement d'apprentissage plus stimulant.

Selon l'étude, 80% des apprenants estiment que les réunions auraient pu être améliorées en permettant aux participants de faire plus de commentaires et en veillant à ce que tout le monde participe activement aux réunions. Cependant, cela nécessite des classes plus petites en nombre. Dans le même temps, 46% des apprenants pensent que les plaisanteries devraient être améliorées, car ils estiment que certaines blagues n'étaient pas drôles. Cela pourrait être amélioré grâce à un ensemble de lignes directrices données par l'enseignant et grâce à un temps plus long pour la préparation.

Les données montrent également que plus de 70% des participants estiment que les réunions TM les ont aidés à apprendre comment parler anglais à voix haute, leur permettant d'écouter de bonnes opinions et des relations fascinantes. Cette réaction est une indication claire que les réunions TM sont une expérience intéressante et aident à développer des compétences en présentation orale.

Une autre étude, réalisée en 2006 par Chernrungruanghiran, examine l'importance de la prise de parole en public et les facteurs que le club TM utilise pour inciter les gens à rejoindre le club et à développer leur confiance en eux lors de la prise de parole en public. L'objectif de l'étude était de savoir comment les membres maîtrisent la prise de parole en public et développent la confiance en soi.

Les résultats de l'étude embrassent trois sections qui présentent: 1) des informations générales sur les répondants, 2) une analyse des facteurs motivant les membres à rejoindre le club, et 3) une analyse des facteurs développant la confiance en soi des membres du club et leur maîtrise de la prise de parole en public. Nous allons les présenter ci-dessous.

Quant à la première section, selon les questions générales, il a été montré que la plupart des membres, hommes et femmes d'âges et de formations différents, considéraient la prise de parole en public comme importante, en particulier les hommes d'affaires. La plupart d'entre eux sont des employés. On peut sous-entendre que parler en public est un outil essentiel qui améliore leurs performances professionnelles et leur croissance personnelle.

S'il s'agit des facteurs qui motivent les membres à rejoindre le club, ceux-ci sont présentés comme suit.

La plupart des membres étaient fortement d'accord pour dire que les facteurs les motivant à rejoindre le club étaient le développement de la confiance en soi à 56,25 %, la formation aux compétences de communication à 50 %, un emplacement pratique à 43,75 %, une atmosphère conviviale et le développement de la personnalité à 37,50 %, une arène de parole unique et formation en leadership à 34,38 %, amélioration des personnes qui ont rejoint le club à 31,25 %, incitation d'un ami à 25 %, réputation du club et coût bon marché à 18,75 %, méthode d'enseignement/atelier sous forme de réunion de club à 12,50 %, récompenses de prise de parole/ certificats à 9,38 %, magazine mensuel et concours de discours avec les autres branches du club à 6,25 %.

Les réponses de la dernière section indiquaient les éléments offerts par le club TM pour aider ses membres à développer leur confiance en soi et à améliorer leurs compétences de prise de parole en public. C'étaient des sujets de table ou une séance de réflexion rapide, une évaluation de la parole, des rôles dans la conduite de la réunion du club, une séance de discours préparée et un environnement d'apprentissage positif.

L'étude de Sun (2008) rend compte de l'intégration de l'approche TM à la production orale dans une classe d'anglais langue étrangère.

Les résultats de cette étude indiquent que les apprenants voient la prise de parole en public comme une compétence qui s'apprend. Les résultats qui soutiennent cette généralisation sont multiples : après un

semestre d'utilisation de l'approche TM de la prise de parole en public, les apprenants dans cette étude présentent une réaction tout à fait positive à cette approche. Comme elle consiste à réaliser différentes tâches à chaque réunion, les apprenants signalent une amélioration non seulement de leurs compétences de prise de parole en public, mais aussi de leur maîtrise de l'anglais et de leur compétence affective et sociale. Les résultats en ce qui concerne l'amélioration des compétences linguistiques (écouter, parler, lire, écrire, vocabulaire, prononciation et communication) indiquent que les apprenants considèrent l'approche TM comme un facteur facilitant leurs compétences en anglais. Ils rapportent également une amélioration de différentes questions relatives à la prise de parole en public (c'est-à-dire le langage du corps, le trac, l'expression, le développement d'idées, l'organisation et la variété vocale). L'approche TM a également permis aux étudiants de renforcer leur confiance en eux et d'augmenter leur motivation pour la prise de parole en public, en cultivant des relations interpersonnelles amicales et de soutien. Les étudiants ont également développé de meilleures compétences en leadership en agissant comme présidents de réunions ou évaluateurs. Des résultats similaires sont également évidents dans les données qualitatives en ce qui concerne l'attitude des apprenants envers l'approche TM en classe de communication.

A Taiwan, les élèves des écoles élémentaires commencent à apprendre l'anglais en troisième classe depuis 2005. Après avoir appris l'anglais pendant quatre ans, ils entrent à l'école secondaire. Mais beaucoup d'entre eux ne parlent toujours pas anglais, ni en classe ni hors de l'école. Selon le plus récent rapport sur les compétences en anglais langue étrangère, en 2006 et 2007, Taiwan était 18^e sur 30 pays asiatiques au test TOEFL et 13^e sur 14 pays au test IELTS. Les résultats indiquent une baisse d'efficacité de l'apprentissage de l'anglais, parce que le nouveau système de test comprend des sections d'écoute et de prise de parole, tandis que les tests traditionnels consistaient uniquement en examens de lecture et d'écriture. Les parents et les autorités éducatives font de nombreux efforts dans le domaine de l'enseignement de l'anglais à Taiwan ; malgré cela, les compétences d'expression orale et d'écoute des apprenants taïwanais sont, pour la plupart, faibles.

Ainsi l'objet de l'étude de Kuo (2010) était d'aider les élèves de premier cycle du secondaire à prendre l'habitude d'utiliser l'anglais comme un outil d'expression au moyen du Modified Toastmasters Program, en classe, une fois par semaine.

Les principales conclusions sont les suivantes : (1) il est possible de développer un modèle idéal d'enseignement en utilisant le MTP pour améliorer les compétences en langue anglaise au premier cycle de l'école secondaire, s'il est soigneusement planifié à l'avance ; (2) ce programme peut réduire l'anxiété de parler et améliorer la motivation dans les classes d'anglais langue étrangère ; (3) il peut améliorer la différenciation dans les épreuves écrites ; (4) il aide à apprendre l'autonomie.

L'étude de Han (2011) se concentre aussi sur une communauté d'apprentissage du club TM. Afin d'étudier les raisons qui amènent les Taïwanais à participer régulièrement à l'activité d'un club, quatre orientations (la connaissance, l'outil, le voyage et l'amitié) de Kruidenier et Clément (1986) ont été utilisés pour comprendre la motivation des membres de TM. Ceux-ci ont également évalué leurs progrès après les réunions de TM ; les zones d'améliorations ont été classées selon les composants de compétence de production orale (Shumin 2002 : 207) et les objectifs fixés par TI. Finalement, l'opinion générale des membres à l'égard de la valeur du club TM a été analysée en ce qui concerne la confiance en soi, l'apprentissage de l'autonomie, le sentiment d'appartenance et les avantages d'apprentissage perçus.

Les résultats révèlent que les membres de TM se sont inscrits au club essentiellement pour apprendre l'anglais et la prise de parole en public ; l'amitié était le deuxième facteur important pour

le développement des relations interpersonnelles. En outre, une appartenance plus longue à TM est considérée comme bénéfique aux progrès des membres (tels qu'ils les perçoivent). Les membres qui consacrent leur temps à participer régulièrement aux réunions TM estiment qu'ils font de plus grands progrès en anglais. Enfin, les membres pensent que le club TM est un environnement d'apprentissage agréable et ont un sentiment d'appartenance à TM, ce qui montre qu'un club TM est une communauté d'apprentissage avec de nombreux avantages. En outre, il s'avère qu'une appartenance à long terme à TM contribue à la confiance en soi et à l'autonomie d'apprentissage ; cependant, il n'existe aucune garantie.

L'objectif principal de l'étude suivante (Hsu 2012) est d'analyser les effets de 20 clubs TM d'université à Taiwan, menant à l'amélioration de la conscience générale de ses membres. Dans le concept d'apprentissage coopératif, on utilise des stratégies comme la promotion des opinions globales en partageant différents concepts culturels au sein du programme de réunions TM, des ateliers de groupe comme une interaction structurée, des activités de communication et des activités individuelles d'expression orale, sans se soucier des erreurs grammaticales. En utilisant le paradigme de la recherche qualitative en termes de groupe de discussion et des entretiens individuels, la présente étude recueille les opinions générales des étudiants de premier cycle ainsi que leurs observations perspicaces pour comprendre les implications de ces stratégies coopératives. Les résultats indiquent que les programmes parascolaires dans le cadre des activités universitaires existantes, comme les clubs universitaires TM, sont capables de développer les opinions générales des étudiants et / ou peuvent aider à diminuer le choc culturel au sein d'une éducation supérieure compétitive avec des membres très divers.

Compte tenu de la croissance rapide et des contributions perçues des clubs TM dans les écoles, une autre étude de Hsu (2013) cherche à fournir une analyse empirique des divers facteurs qui sous-tendent les contributions et l'influence des clubs de langues en milieu scolaire à Taiwan. Les résultats indiquent que les apprenants sont aidés par les méthodes de ces clubs, consistant à *combler le fossé* entre les connaissances acquises et l'application effective des compétences en communication. Enfin, l'adaptation des clubs de langues dans les écoles révèle de nouvelles idées intéressantes dans la didactique des langues.

Le but de l'étude de Buquiran (2014) était d'explorer les facteurs de rétention parmi les membres inscrits à TI et d'enquêter sur les caractéristiques ou les tendances liées à la rétention et à l'attrition des membres de TI.

Les résultats ont révélé que les membres rejoignent TI pour l'auto-amélioration et le développement de l'expression orale : le but du programme de TI. Les sondages ont révélé que 45 % des membres rejoignent TI pour améliorer leurs compétences en communication et faire progresser leur carrière. 56% ont indiqué que la participation et l'assiduité constantes aux réunions de TI les avaient aidés à surmonter leur peur de parler en public. 57 % des membres ont déclaré qu'ils restaient membres de TI pour diminuer leur peur de parler en public, améliorer leur communication et participer à des concours de discours.

Le sondage a indiqué que 64 % des membres ont apprécié les activités qui leur ont permis de prendre la parole lors des réunions du club. 39% des membres interrogés ont pu obtenir leurs prix de communicateur compétent et de leader compétent.

La commodité et l'emplacement du club étaient importants pour les membres en termes de fréquentation. Les membres assistaient aux réunions lorsqu'il y avait suffisamment de places de stationnement, le club était situé au centre et accessible aux transports en commun, et le club était confortable et propice aux réunions de club.

L'étude la plus récente, réalisée en 2020 par Suryani, visait à déterminer si TM peut améliorer les compétences orales des étudiants et sa contribution au score d'expression orale et la différence significative entre le groupe expérimental et le groupe témoin. La recherche a impliqué 20 étudiants de l'école secondaire à Palembang en Indonésie en tant que groupe expérimental. Ils ont reçu des cours d'anglais via TM.

D'après les résultats, on peut conclure qu'il existe une différence significative dans les compétences d'expression orale des élèves entre le groupe expérimental et le groupe témoin dans toutes les variables de la parole après le traitement.

De plus, la session d'évaluation lors de la réunion TM a aidé les étudiants à évaluer leur grammaire et leur vocabulaire. « La meilleure façon d'améliorer vos compétences en expression orale est par l'évaluation » (Slutsky et Aun 1997 : 153, cité dans Suryani 2020 : 55). À son tour, cela pourrait améliorer leur grammaire et enrichir leur vocabulaire. TM offre de nombreux avantages et impacts sur l'amélioration des compétences en anglais, y compris ses variables telles que la compréhensibilité, la prononciation, la grammaire, le vocabulaire et le rythme. Le chercheur propose d'appliquer cette méthode dans une classe de 20 à 30 élèves.

Conclusions

Dans cet article nous avons présenté une revue des recherches universitaires sur l'utilisation de la méthode TM dans les cours de LE.

Les réunions TM sont des activités d'« apprentissage par la pratique » pendant lesquelles chaque apprenant doit parler. En prenant des rôles spécifiques, le processus d'apprentissage montre l'apprentissage actif comme une attitude opposée à l'approche centrée sur l'enseignant. En s'appuyant sur l'hypothèse d'input compréhensible de Krashen (1985) et l'hypothèse d'output de Swain (1985), cette activité favorise le développement de toutes les compétences : parler, écouter, écrire et lire. Les apprenants doivent lire attentivement les documents pour comprendre les règles et les rôles qui leur sont assignés. Ils doivent également faire des lectures et planifier les détails avant de parler. Les apprenants doivent écouter attentivement les présentations quel que soit leur rôle : celui du public, des évaluateurs ou de l'orateur. Par conséquent, les quatre compétences prennent part à cette activité.

Les clubs TM universitaires deviennent de plus en plus populaires car de nombreux étudiants trouvent que ces clubs sont de bons endroits pour améliorer leur langue étrangère. Le succès de ces clubs peut être attribué en partie au fait qu'au moins deux importantes approches d'enseignement des langues sont utilisées pendant les réunions : l'approche communicative et l'apprentissage centré sur l'apprenant.

Lors d'une réunion typique d'un club TM, la langue est utilisée pour la communication réelle et il y a beaucoup d'interactions entre les membres. Par exemple, le maître de cérémonie présente ses assistants et les orateurs ; ensuite, le meneur de session de loisirs raconte des blagues ou introduit un jeu pour divertir les membres. Ensuite, les orateurs prononcent les discours préparés pour informer, divertir, convaincre ou inspirer le public, illustrant souvent leurs arguments d'anecdotes personnelles. Lors des improvisations, le meneur pose des questions qui intéressent les membres et les improvisateurs répondent immédiatement avec leurs propres opinions ou idées. Ensuite, les évaluateurs individuels et

l'évaluateur général commentent les discours des orateurs et font des suggestions constructives. Enfin, l'évaluateur de la langue suggère comment les orateurs pourraient améliorer la précision de leur langue.

Le programme TM accorde une très grande importance aux évaluations (toujours objectives et encourageantes), car c'est grâce à elles que les étudiants progressent. Une fois l'évaluation orale présentée, le rôle de l'évaluateur n'est pas encore fini. Le formulaire du manuel servira non seulement à exprimer de manière plus détaillée les idées de l'évaluation orale, et d'y noter d'autres points non mentionnés oralement, qui peuvent néanmoins être utiles à l'orateur, mais il sera également utilisé comme base à l'évaluation des projets.

Les évaluations sont riches d'enseignement. Chaque évaluateur apporte des suggestions précises en ayant à sa disposition de nombreux formulaires telles que : les rapports de chronométrage, les bulletins d'évaluation des discours préparés et les cartables des évaluateurs. Si un évaluateur n'est pas satisfait de la performance d'un membre, il peut demander que le membre réalise cette tâche (un discours sur un sujet donné) encore une fois. Les membres n'ont pas de délai spécifique dans lequel ils doivent prononcer les discours qui leur sont assignés.

Certes, un club TM offre un environnement d'apprentissage centré sur l'apprenant. Le contenu de la plupart des discours correspond aux expériences, origines, intérêts, besoins etc. de l'orateur. En outre, l'apprenant apprend par la pratique (c'est-à-dire, en parlant pendant chaque réunion) et fait des choix relatifs au sujet qu'il veut apprendre, quand il veut l'apprendre etc. Quand il termine les dix discours de base, il peut choisir deux des 16 manuels avancés pour se préparer à ses dix discours suivants. Ces manuels avancés couvrent les sujets suivants : les discours de persuasion, savoir divertir, la présentation technique, parler pour informer, parler avec humour, le leader de discussion etc. L'orateur peut choisir ce qu'il préfère pour améliorer les compétences qu'il a le plus besoin de développer. Par exemple, s'il veut parler pour présenter des informations, il a la liberté complète de choisir un sujet et de le rechercher. En outre, un membre de TM peut imposer son propre rythme d'apprentissage. Certains membres terminent leur dix premiers discours en trois mois, d'autres en trois ans.

Qui plus est, dans une classe de prise de parole basée sur les méthodes TI, les apprenants travaillent ensemble en tenant des rôles différents pendant une réunion. Cette coopération conduit à la création d'un environnement d'apprentissage qui est plus positif et facilite l'apprentissage plus que l'environnement d'apprentissage dans les classes traditionnelles de prise de parole. Dans une classe de prise de parole basée sur les méthodes TM, cette coopération favorise des relations sociales qui sont plus positives que celles qui sont caractéristiques des classes traditionnelles de prise de parole.

Finalement, pendant une réunion TM, les apprenants doivent réfléchir tous seuls comment tenir leur rôle et doivent même réaliser des recherches qui renforcent le contenu de leurs discours. L'apprentissage autogéré renforce la motivation des apprenants, mais cet apprentissage n'est pas caractéristique des classes traditionnelles de prise de parole. L'enseignement basé sur les méthodes TM permet aux apprenants de devenir des apprenants indépendants alors que les classes traditionnelles de prise de parole transforment l'apprentissage en un résultat qui dépend principalement de l'enseignant ou d'un texte unique. En effet, par des vidéos de discours enregistrés en classe, l'approche TM peut transformer les apprenants en leurs propres enseignants en leur permettant d'évaluer leurs propres forces et faiblesses. Ces transformations sont absentes de la plupart des classes traditionnelles de prise de parole.

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The Translator of Picturebooks and Multimodality. Between Postulates and Reality

Abstract

This study presents some of the results stemming from my research on picturebook translations for children and young adults in the context of multimodality, and in particular, the strategies used by translators of this specific type of multimodal message. The aim of the study is to determine whether translation scholars' postulates on picturebook's translation are reflected in reality. In order to determine this, I will investigate the choices of translators of this medium and their awareness of multimodality. I intend to conduct a series of individual in-depth interviews with picturebook translators. The first interview has already been conducted and analysed, and in this paper I present the results of this analysis. In the examples cited from the supporting material, it can be observed that the translator took into account the relationship between the textual and visual layers, changing the original text in accordance with the visual layer.

Keywords: multimodality, children's literature translators, picturebook, literary translation

1. Introduction

1.1. Context of the study

The picturebook¹ as a medium is a form of communication, which involves the intentional use of two codes (modes²): verbal and visual. In the case of books for young children, a third code (mode), aural, is used as well since picturebooks are traditionally read aloud by adult intermediaries, such as parents

1 '[...] a picturebook is a multimodal entity formed by the verbal, the visual, and the aural. You cannot exclude any part of it without losing the general idea. That is why we spell picturebook as one word.' (Oittinen *et al.* 2018: 1).

2 For definition of "mode," see: e.g. Maćkiewicz 2017.

(see: e.g. Oittinen *et al.* 2018: 43). As Michał Borodo explains, non-textual modes “[...] should not be viewed as merely an embellishment or illustration of the textual, but as separate modes that in concrete circumstances possess equal meaning-making potential” (Borodo 2015: 23). The relationship between the meaning of individual modes may be different: “sometimes the meaning of two messages can be aligned, other times they can complement each other, and still other times each of the messages can be used to refer to other aspects of the meaning” (Jewitt 2009: 25).

Multimodality can be manifested by multisensory perception, i.e. the reception of a message using multiple senses simultaneously, as in the case of an audiovisual message. Through these different modalities, the reader experiences a combined verbal, visual, and auditory narrative. This process makes “the reader believe the characters and understand their position” (Oittinen, Pitkäsalo 2020: 101). For Riitta Oittinen (2008: 5) a picturebook is a “polyphonic form of art” in which many voices, above all the voice of the author and the illustrator, interact.

Translating picturebooks is demanding for many reasons, and translators of this medium have a great responsibility, as their impact on the mind and imagination will influence the young reader (Oittinen, Ketola, Garavini, 2018: 4). Oittinen (2008: 5) describes the translation of picturebooks as a semiotic process in which the translator interprets the text and the illustrations simultaneously. Indeed, since a picturebook is an iconotext, its translation is on the border between interlingual and intersemiotic translation (see: Jakobson 1959). As highlighted by many translation scholars (see: e.g. Oittinen, Ketola, Garavini 2017; Ippolito, 2014), the translation of a picturebook should therefore take into account its multimodal nature, and the translator should not focus herself solely on words, but should also be able to decipher possible interactions between verbal, visual, and aural codes. Oittinen (2000: 114) even mentions that one of the requirements for a translator should be to specialise in the arts.

The multimodal approach to translation also assumes that the reader must be able to activate his or her own imagination to interpret the text independently (Ippolito 2014, Borodo 2015, Nieres-Chevrel 2003). The reader simultaneously reads verbal and visual signs in order to establish basic connections between them. The reading experience becomes an immersive and creative activity, with the reader playing an active role in the sequence of word-image relationships. It is the reader who establishes this contact between the textual and visual layers and it is the reader who discerns hidden meanings (Ippolito 2014: 78).

The study presented here fulfils the call made by Anthony Pym in 2009 for the humanisation of translation studies (“Study translators, then texts,” 30). In response to this demand, translation studies have placed the figure of the translator, the previously overlooked “human factor,” at the centre of attention, and I would like to place the translators of picturebooks in the spotlight as well.

1.2. Purpose and methodology

In the context of such translation scholars’ postulates, the aim of my study is to find out whether they are reflected in reality. To determine this, I intend to investigate the choices of translators of picturebooks and their awareness of multimodality. In the current paper I would like to present the analysis of the first interview which I have already conducted with the translator Jacek Mulczyk-Skarżyński. He graduated in Romance Studies from the University of Warsaw, specialising in Canadian theatre, and is a well-known

French language teacher celebrity on social media³, as well as a translator from French to Polish (mainly of children's picturebooks and the play *Five Times Albertine* by Michel Tremblay). Mulczyk-Skarżyński was called a translator-cannibal by Aleksandra Chrupała and Joanna Warmuzińska-Rogóż (2011) because when translating a text, he wants to be its co-author and make the target text better than the source text.

Before the interview, I had analysed in detail three picturebooks by Mélanie Rutten: *L'Ombre de chacun*, *La source des jours* and *La forêt entre les deux*, published by Éditions MeMo, and their Polish translations by Mulczyk-Skarżyński: *Mój Cień*, *Źródło* and *Mój las*, published by Wytwórnia. These three books tell one story, but backwards. It is a lyrical and philosophical story about growing up, the journey of life, coping with one's emotions, and friendship. Rutten is a photographer, author, and illustrator of literature for children and young adults. The book *L'Ombre de chacun* received an honourable mention in the international 2014 Ragazzi Awards at the Bologna Children's Book Fair. The analysis of this material consisted of verification of how the text co-creates a message with images and sounds and how these relations are treated in translation.

An individual in-depth interview (IDI, see: Kvale 2021, Babbie 2005, Miński 2017) conducted on the basis of this material allowed me to check whether the translator was aware of the multimodal nature of picturebooks and whether he utilised that knowledge in the translation process. The interview was non-standardised and partly structured, I asked ten open and closed questions, but their order was modified depending on the replies, and I also returned to some questions for clarification. The interview was conducted online via the Zoom platform, lasted about one hour, and was recorded. I then conducted a 1.5 hour follow-up interview. I asked the following questions, focusing on the approach the translator had to the multimodality of picturebooks before, during, and after the translation process:

Before translation:

1. [image] Did you pay attention to the illustrations before translation, did you analyse them, and why? Were you interested in the person of the illustrator/author? Did you search for information about her?
2. [sound] Was the sound of the original text important to you? Did you read the original text aloud to yourself or to someone else, e.g. a child?
3. Were you aware of the multimodal nature of picturebooks?
4. Did you know what multimodality and the picturebook were?

In the process of translation:

1. Did you receive instructions from the publisher on how to translate a multimodal picturebook, if yes what were they? Did you have complete freedom or were you given guidelines?
2. Describe the process of translation. What strategies did you use in these particular translations?
3. Did you encounter difficulties and/or challenges with the illustrations or the wording of the text?

3 [At:] <https://www.panodfrancuskiego.pl/o-mnie/> [date of access 5 July 2022].

4. Was the translation of the picturebooks different from other translations of other types of texts you have done before?

After the translation process was completed:

1. Did you check whether the text of the translation fits with the illustrations?
2. What was the process like after your translation was finished? What is the role of the publisher and the corrector?

2. Interview analysis

2.1. Before translation (questions 1–4)

Mulczyk-Skarżyński admits that he didn't take the illustrator's biography into account, concentrating solely on the book he was given to translate; instead, he focused on the relationship between the illustrations and the text. He stresses that it is always important for him when translating to match what is seen in the illustrations with what is read in the text, but it is the illustration as a rather⁴ unchangeable element that determines the final wording of the text in the target language.

When asked about the sound layer of the books, Mulczyk-Skarżyński said that he read the books aloud, the originals as well as his own translations, but he "did not test the texts on children", using for this purpose his "inner child", i.e. his own sensitivity, without evaluating them as "good" or "bad". Interestingly, this concept of inner child can be found in translation studies, for example by Riitta Oittinen (2000: 7).

The translator did not know what multimodality or picturebook was; he was not familiar with these concepts and was not invested in the theoretical perspective, nor did he compare his work on translating picturebooks with his work on the previously translated play. He just translated the commissioned text as best as he could.

2.2. In the process of translation (questions 6–8)

When asked to describe his process of translation, and what strategies he used in these particular translations, Mulczyk-Skarżyński replied that his translation process consists of reading the whole book first and then translating it page by page. He often takes notes, as he emphasises that he reads the book differently in order to translate, and then he reflects on the translation suggestions. He translates short books, so that in one day he produces the first version of the translation, and then verifies the overall text, comparing it with the original. Like many other translators, he takes note of the small number of synonyms in children's books and "corrects" them, for example by replacing the constantly repeated "il a dit" (he

4 In the case of translating picturebooks, as well as comic books, both modes (verbal and visual) can undergo a transformation. The translation includes not only the text itself, graphic elements may also be subject to change. In comics, sometimes even heroes are redrawn, and even entire panels, elements of illustrations can be removed or replaced by others (Kaindl, 1999; Ippolito, 2014; D'Arcangelo, Zanettin, 2004).

said) with “szepnął” (he whispered), “wykrzyknął” (he shouted), “uspokaja” (he soothes), “oznajmia” (he states), “pyta” (he asks), “odpowiada” (he replies), etc., thus enriching the text in his opinion.

Mulczyk-Skarżyński looks at the illustration, imagining the situation and the emotions associated with it, which helps him choose the right verb. In the studied material, there is much evidence that the translator was inspired by illustrations in the translation process. One example is an excerpt from the beginning of the story *My Shadow*, introducing how main characters Bunny and Deer met (see Fig. 1 A and 1 B below):



Figure 1. A

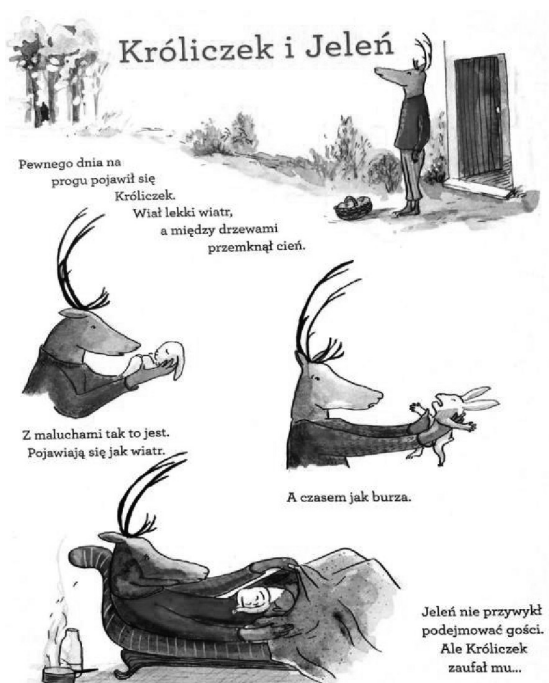


Figure 1. B

A: The original text: Rutten, Mélanie (2013) *L'Ombre de chacun*. Éditions MeMo: Nantes; 3.

B: The translation: Rutten, Mélanie ([2013] 2015) [*L'Ombre de chacun*. Éditions MeMo: Nantes]. *Mój Cień*. Translated into Polish by Jacek Mulczyk-Skarżyński. Wytwórnia: Warszawa; 3.

In this example, the sequence “(...) le petit Lapin est arrivé” (the little Bunny has arrived) is translated as: “na progu pojawił się Króliczek” (the little Bunny appeared on the doorstep). Thus, the translator decided to make two changes: firstly, he changed the verb *arriver* (in Polish “przybyć, przyjść,” in English “to arrive”) to *pojawić się* (“apparaître” in French, “appear” in English); secondly, he added a placeholder “na progu” (on the doorstep). It can be noticed that the translator used the multimodal character of the book because in the picture one can see the doorstep of a house, probably the house of the Deer, and in front of it a basket lying with, as it may be assumed, the Bunny inside.

This is followed by the original description of the setting in which the event took place: “Il y avait un peu de vent. Et une ombre peut-être” (There was a light wind. And maybe a shadow). In Polish, the translator treated this sentence more poetically and modified it considerably: “Wiał lekki wiatr, a między drzewami przemknął cień” (A light wind blew, and a shadow flitted between the trees). This is again a clear reference to the illustration, which shows the black figure “Shadow” (depicted as a character on the first page of the book), hiding among the trees, barely visible, hence probably the verb *przemknąć* (“to flit”: to move somewhere, next to something, someone quickly, quietly and imperceptibly⁵). In the original, one can read that perhaps there was a shadow that day, but the translation makes it quite certain.

According to the translator, the text does not have to be identical in meaning to the original. He does not translate literally but makes use of the strategy of adaptation and localisation, which he understands as transferring the text to the field of the target language so as to lose as little as possible from the source language, while also making it “as tasty as possible for the recipient and at the same time for the original text,” and “not what the author had in mind.” The text passes through the translator’s sieve, his sensitivity, and interpretation — it is a literary translation, where emotions also come into play, and many passages may be ambiguous. It helps that the stories in the picturebooks are universal to humans, so young people can relate to the emotions displayed in, for example, a game of hide-and-seek.

The translator was given a fairly free hand because the publishing director of Wytwórnia, Magdalena Kłos-Podsiadło, knows his work and the way he translates. However, the translator indicated that in some cases it was not him who decided on the final wording of the text. I chose the two most noteworthy examples. In the first example, the illustration presents a bed on which lies the Deer and on the Deer’s belly lies the Bunny (see: Fig. 1 A and 1 B above).

In the original text one can read: “Le Cerf a dû tout apprendre. Mais le petit lui faisait confiance.” (The Deer had to learn everything. But the little one trusted him.). And in the translation: “Jeleń nie przywykł podejmować gości. Ale Króliczek zaufał mu...” (The Deer was not used to receiving visitors. But the Bunny trusted him...).

Two differences can be noticed; the first one is a change in the sense of the sentence (in the original “The Deer had to learn everything,” in the translation “The Deer was not used to having guests”) — probably the proofreader (and writer) Joanna Olech changed it, but the translator wanted to leave it as it was in the original version.

The second change was a use of an ellipsis at the end of the sentence in the translation. As Mirosław Bańko writes: “[the three-pointed colon has] a rather unambiguous function: it highlights the surprise of an unexpected meaning appearing in a certain context for the reader. But in order for a colon to have such a function, the meaning must indeed be unexpected.”⁶ In this fragment of the book, the appearance of an ellipsis does not seem justified because there is no surprise, unexpected situation or meaning; it only leaves a strange suspense in the context of a book for young children, which can be read as a certain ambiguity that does not appear in the original. The ambiguity is additionally reinforced by the illustration with the Bunny lying on the Deer’s stomach, and even the change of the verb tense in the second sentence

5 *Przenieść się*: “przenieść się gdzieś, obok czegoś, kogoś szybko, cicho i niepostrzeżenie” [at:] <https://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/przemknac;2510665.html> [date of access: 5 July, 2022].

6 “[trzykropek ma] funkcję dość jednoznaczną: uwydatnia niespodziankę, jaką jest dla czytelnika pojawienie się w pewnym kontekście nieoczekiwanego znaczenia. Ale żeby taką funkcję *trzykropek* mógł pełnić, znaczenie to musi być istotnie nieoczekiwane” [at:] <https://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/trzykropek;6378.html> [date of access: 5 July, 2022].

(the original uses the Past Continuous (*le Temps Imparfait* in French) — he was trusting him — while the translation uses the Past Simple (*Czas Przeszły Dokonany* in Polish) — he trusted him). Seems to intensify this effect (he trusted.... — or maybe he shouldn't trust, maybe something will happen?). It is worth stressing that in the original text, the Deer is a parental figure, caring, baking cakes, watching over the Bunny, comforting him when he is afraid, etc. (which can be seen also in the translation). However, the ellipsis may also function here as a bit of a reflective commentary, inviting the reader to ponder on this rather than making it final and definitive, which would be the case if a full stop was used as end punctuation. Through punctuation, the translator guides the aloud-reader how to read, when to stop, and when to make haste (see: Oittinen 2000: 32–37, 2003: 132).

The second example shows the scene on the volcano, which was the goal of the heroes' journey to overcome fear (see: Fig. 2 A and B below).



Figure 2 A

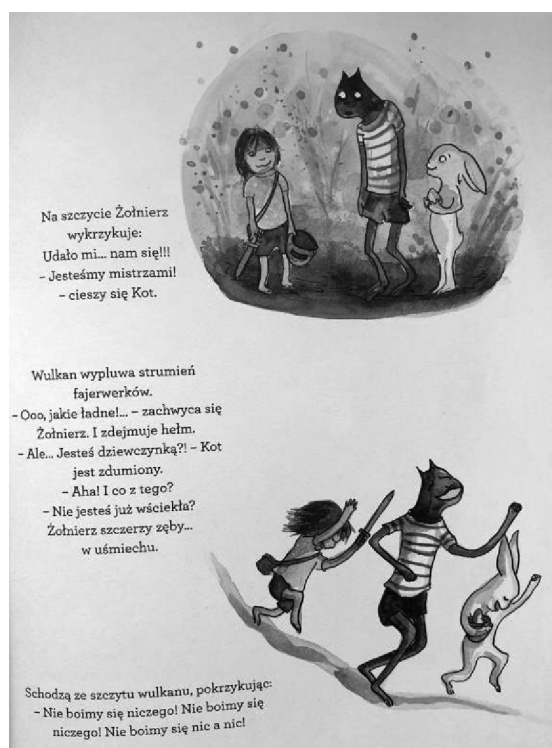


Figure 2 B

A: The original text: Rutten, Mélanie (2013) *L'Ombre de chacun*. Éditions MeMo: Nantes; 36.

B: The translation: Rutten, Mélanie ([2013] 2015) [*L'Ombre de chacun*. Éditions MeMo: Nantes]. *Mój Cień*. Translated into Polish by Jacek Mulczyk-Skarżyński. Wytwórnia: Warszawa; 36.

In the original text, the Cat merely asks the Soldier the question: “Are you a girl?”, while in the translation the effect of surprise and astonishment on the part of the Cat is clearly marked in three places: first with

an ellipsis, then with a question mark followed by an exclamation mark (“an exclamation mark placed after a question mark increases the emphases,”⁷ i.e. the exaggerated emotionality of the utterance), and finally with the adjective “zdzumiony” (astonished) describing the Cat. The Polish reader was not given the opportunity to confront this situation with his or her own thoughts. The emotions they should feel were imposed on them; they should be shocked, surprised. In the original, the reader/listener reads or hears an ordinary question, which can be interpreted freely because it is not emotionally charged, and it appeared because the soldier was wearing a helmet and only her eyes were visible. There is a certain amount of stereotyping in both versions; the reader of both versions probably thought up to that point that the Soldier was a boy. However, the difference in the presentation of this information is significant; for the French reader the information that the Soldier was a girl was not that shocking, while the Polish reader remains in consternation. It is possible that the publisher or proofreader modified the sentence uttered by Cat; however, the translator does not remember if this change was his decision.

When asked if the translation of picturebooks differed from other kinds of translations he had done before, Mulczyk-Skarżyński replied that, of course, one translates a text intended to be read aloud to children differently from a text intended to be spoken onstage in the theatre. Although a picturebook is read aloud by an adult to a child, this is not – in his opinion – comparable to reading onstage by an actor, where breathing is important, and the actor must be able to pronounce the text well. There are also differences between a written text and a spoken text; a written text has a more developed poetic layer and uses full sentences, while a spoken text makes use of repetitions and sentences are suspended, undeveloped, and natural, which is expected onstage. In contrast to Mulczyk-Skarżyński, the Swedish scholar Ulla Rhedin compares reading a picture book and attending a theater show: “the aloud-reader ‘acts’ the text for the child and the illustration in a book is close to set design in the theater.” (Oittinen 2003: 132).

2.3. After the translation process was completed (question 9–10)

The translator was aware of the importance of illustrations in a picturebook. The illustrations helped, did not cause problems, and created the mood as Mulczyk-Skarżyński emphasized, but as he himself admitted in the interview, he had no theoretical knowledge; he translated spontaneously, guided by his emotions, in order to best render the emotions contained in the moving story (as the translator himself said, he was moved while creating the translation, but he also received letters from parents saying that they cried while reading the books to their children).

Finally, after Mulczyk-Skarżyński compares the translation with the original version, he sends it to the publisher. At the end the text goes through proofreading and then “negotiations,” as the translator calls the conversations between him, the publisher, and the proofreader. According to the translator, it is difficult to reconcile all the relationships between the translator, the publisher and the proofreader, and in the end, it is the translator’s name that appears on the book cover, even though it is not the translator who makes all the decisions. As we can read in the conclusion of the article by Natalia Paprocka and Paweł Łapiński (2017) “La traduction comme négociation entre traducteur et éditeur. Sur l'exemple de la trilogie dystopique Méto et sa traduction polonaise”: “in literary translation, the final version of the text is

7 “Wykrzyknik umieszczony po pytajniku zwiększa emfazę” [at:] <https://sjp.pwn.pl/zasady/415-94-6-Laczenie-pytajnika-z-wykrzyknikiem;629840.html> [date of access: 5 July, 2022].

the result of cooperation between several entities of the translation process. The translator undoubtedly plays an important role, but he is not alone [...]. The final version of the translation appears as a kind of compromise between sometimes divergent visions, resulting from more or less long and difficult negotiations between the translator and representatives of the editorial world" (my translations from French).⁸ When asked about the role of the publisher in his work, he emphasised that at the beginning he was not given any specific guidelines on the methods or strategies he should use when translating a given book, but later during negotiations there were discussions on where a given word would "fit better," or what the publisher suggested would be different. It is worth noting at this point that *L'ombre de chacun* was his first translated book (2015), so he was not yet experienced and unable to defend his translation decisions. He admits that he would now translate many passages differently, or disagree with changes suggested by a proofreader or publisher.

3. Conclusion

With this study, I wanted to place the translators of picturebooks in the spotlight, like Anthony Pym's call for action suggests (2009). As I mentioned in the beginning of this study, the translation of a picturebook should take its multimodal nature into consideration, and the translator should not focus solely on words, but should also decipher interactions between verbal, visual, and aural codes. In the examples cited above, it can be seen that the translator took the relationship between the textual and visual layers into account, changing the original text in the process of translation and adding new meanings to the text based on what is seen in the illustration. However, the multimodal approach to translation also assumes that the reader must be able to activate his or her own imagination and to interpret the text independently, and as we saw in the third example (see: Fig. 2), Mulczyk-Skarżyński did not give the Polish reader the opportunity to confront the given situation with his or her own thoughts; the emotions they should feel were imposed. Therefore, the translation scholars' postulates regarding the translation of multimodal texts were only partially realised. As the translator stressed during the interview, he wanted to improve the book, even sometimes adding meanings of which the author herself was not aware. What mattered to the translator was not "what the author had in mind," but the story itself, and how it could be rendered in Polish.

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The Two Victorias – From Constraint to Liberation As Presented in History, Literature and on Screen

Abstract

The life of the most depicted and written about monarch, Queen Victoria, was full of twists that set her life on a path that was never to be walked by herself. She was always accompanied by shadow figures such as her mother, Sir Conroy or even her own husband, in the game of power, dominance and even love. Her life could be divided into two parts that depict a disturbing portrayal of her as the most powerful woman of her times who was also controlled by the aforementioned figures, and as one finally liberated from all of the ties constraining her freedom. This article traces and analyses events in Victoria's life that shaped her character and constituted the feeling of constraint, and those that inevitably led her to being liberated from them.

Keywords: Queen Victoria, the Kensington System, Prince Albert, children

The role of a monarch is not an easy one and requires much strength and a well-balanced mind that will be able to hold the responsibilities of the tasks which lie ahead. Within royal families when the succession is set and the next in line is determined, there is no surprise as to what to expect and which way the royal education should be carried out. However, when looking back to times of Queen Victoria and her predecessor, William IV, this was not such an obvious state matter as one might expect. The legacy of the British monarchy was not so easily decided and the next in line was yet to be appointed. Such was the air of Victoria's birth. From the very moment of her birth, her life was to be decided by others. This article aims to analyse different moments from Queen Victoria's life that had influenced her as a person, as well as to show how the conditions she had been raised in and which were also predominant during her marriage shaped her and led Victoria to being more dominant and strong-willed in her later years.

Only by understanding the constraints that were prevalent in Victoria's life are we able to understand how important it was for her to feel liberated and no longer controlled or even manipulated later on.

Depending upon which aspect the historians focus, one can reach for works referring to Victoria's political achievements and struggles, relationship with Prince Albert, her children, John Brown or Abdul Karim. The published works, both modern findings and those contemporary to Victoria, provide the reader with various angles from which her life is being analysed. There are indeed some works which tend to evade particular aspects of Victoria's life by merely mentioning in passing certain uncomfortable moments or even omitting them. This approach, so common in earlier years just after Victoria's death, was simply to glorify the persona in order to depict her as a perfect monarch. When reading Longford's *Victoria R.I.*, one receives a detailed description of almost every single day in Victoria's life. However, it seems that the character of Munshi is portrayed in a rather subjective manner, without any defence of him. A similar approach is taken when John Brown appears a few pages earlier. Victoria's journals give us a strong and full account of both her happy and sorrowful moments. Nevertheless, it is difficult to remain impartial and not to sympathize to some extent with certain characters. The more modern book by Lucy Worsley, *Queen Victoria, daughter, wife, mother, widow* has a very approachable style, making it easy to take in the history without being overshadowed by the excessive number of facts and data that at times do not bring much to the general understanding of the discussed topic. Yet, it is the reader who, in the end, must draw the conclusion rather than be presented with the findings of the author. Solely for this reason, this article focuses not on what one commonly understands as biography but rather on certain aspects, moments, events from Victoria's life that shaped her character. The many widely available accounts describing the Queen's life and addressing numerous events allow the close analysis of factors which turned a young, vivacious, yet controlled girl, into a monarch who had to find her own way to liberate herself from various frames that were either set by the morals of the times or her own family. The aim of this article is to present select moments that allow the understanding of how dominated the life of young Victoria was and on top of that how this controlled environment affected her later decisions.

The very first, and perhaps the most important, event that led to irreversible change in Victoria's character was the death of Prince Edward, her father. This unfortunate circumstance created a situation that left a mother and a less than a year-old child in a very perplexing setting. This left them prone to influence and the ill ambitions of others such as John Conroy - an ambitious man who sought social advancement all his life. The Duchess, a German, remained quite unpopular in Britain and grew very close with Conroy. She depended on him in all aspects concerning her life - from being her private secretary, counsellor, political agent, confidant, even to, as some rumoured, being her lover. Together they designed a rather adverse way of raising Victoria called "the Kensington System" or simply "the System" (Vallone 2001: 47). It was a vast, refined and quite hostile set of rules that were to oppress and control the life of Princess Victoria in every possible manner. The System assumed a complete isolation from her surroundings, even the family. It allowed only a select few to be around the young Victoria. The aim was to mould the Princess into a person utterly weak and dependent upon her mother and subsequently on Conroy himself (Vallone 2001: 59). Victoria's every step was closely monitored, her every action controlled. If it were possible, her thoughts would have been subjected to strict scrutiny as well. Once it became apparent that she would eventually inherit the throne, Conroy implemented an even more vile approach trying to force his appointment as her personal secretary and treasurer. The System introduced a rigorous regime consisting of day-long studies in decorum, reading, writing, as well as learning languages such as Greek,

Latin, Italian, French and German. It also aimed to create a specific public image of Victoria. Conroy, being aware of the unpopularity of previous kings, wanted young Victoria to be perceived as pure, devoted and modest (Vallone 2001: 61–62). Thus, together with the Duchess, they would set out on so called tours around Britain whose main goal was to make the nation grow fond of their future Queen – the Nation’s Hope (Worsley 2018: 58). The outside observer might perceive the System as a clever strategy. However, Victoria, unlike any other girl of her age, was subdued to public scrutiny, especially during her social debut. She spent the summer of 1835 on one of such perfectly staged tours meant to introduce the Princess to the affection of the English people. Meanwhile, behind closed doors, Victoria suffered great physical and mental pain. She found it difficult to cope with the hormonal changes, as well as the constant observation of her person and manner. She suffered from migraines and exhaustion; always on display, on duty, never left alone (Worsley 2018: 60).

When holidaying at Ramsgate, Victoria felt too sick and unable to leave her bedroom for two days. Nonetheless, the illness was not the worst that could have happened to Victoria. The most dramatic and poisonous blow fell upon her from the sight of her mother and Conroy himself who wanted to use this situation and have her agree to make him Private Secretary and chief advisor. Conroy even threatened to lock up Victoria if she did not agree to follow his instructions (Worsley 2018: 65). Yet, she resisted. With the support of the devoted Baroness Lehzen, Victoria did not succumb to the bullying and eventually, after a long three weeks, managed to overcome the illness. The historians do not agree whether Victoria suffered from typhoid fever which was common at that time or perhaps it was salmonella bacteria. Nevertheless, the ultimate treatment of quinine gave the anticipated results and Victoria finally resumed writing her journal. The disastrous holidays in Ramsgate not only showed how malignant the System was but also made Victoria completely change her view of her mother. She had always despised Conroy, but now, seeing how he has poisoned her mother, Victoria turned against the Duchess and never regained trust in her. She could not understand how her own mother “did nothing without Conroy’s advice & whatever was told him”. (RA VIC/ADDA/12, part three 8–13 June 1837, as quoted in Worsley 2018: 69). Through the above description of Victoria’s early to teenage years, it is easy to observe how manipulative and controlling her surrounding was. Even people who were supposed to be loved ones, closest to her, had an underlying agenda in their actions that were to create a future queen that would be dependent on them so they could, in time, profit from having a marionette sitting on the throne. Indeed, the constrained environment did not allow any space for a healthy development of the young girl. Sadly, such a limited space continued to be existent later through Victoria’s life, even within the marriage to Prince Albert, which was in Victoria’s eyes the ultimate expression of love and devotion.

Nonetheless, when reading Victoria’s diaries she had kept throughout her whole life, we see a woman completely submissive, reliant to her Angel as she called her husband. The quote below perfectly depicts the emotions the two shared and how Victoria herself described the love she had for him which also indicates the blinding affection the Queen had.

we embraced each other over and over again, and he was so kind,
So affectionate; oh! To feel I was, and am, loved by such an Angel
As Albert, was too great delight to describe! He is perfection; perfection
In every way, - in beauty - in everything! I told him I was
Quite unworthy of him and kissed his dear hand.
(Weintraub 1997: 25)

The above passage that was recorded before the wedding depicts young love, but it is already visible how Victoria had seen herself – as unworthy. This belief and attitude will be perceived till the very end. Even in her marriage vows, contrary to suggestions, when “the Archbishop asked Victoria if she promised to ‘obey’ her husband, he got a strong, loud, positive response” (Worsley 2018: 145).

Albert was Victoria’s Angel, however, as a man of knowledge and strong character, it was difficult for Albert to find himself a position within the household that would not be diminutive. In his letter to William von Lowenstein, Albert wrote that indeed he was “very happy and contented; but the difficulty in filling my place with the proper dignity is that I am only the husband, not the master in the house” (Albert to William von Lowenstein May 1840, quoted in Hobhouse 1983: 26). With this dissatisfaction of his position held, Prince Albert tried to overtake some of Victoria’s duties as he felt himself to be better acquainted with matters concerning ruling. This was a predominant case as two months into their marriage, Victoria became pregnant. She found this new state extremely difficult to bear as she did not have quite the appeal towards raising children. For her, having offspring was a burden, an unwelcome consequence of the passionate moments she had with her husband. It is during her first pregnancy when Victoria fell dependent on Albert and allowed him to share the heaviness of daily dealing with the boxes, ministerial visits and many other issues connected with governing the country. Albert found this new position welcoming and slowly began overpowering his wife in her duties. He made Victoria completely dependent on him. When he was away, she could hardly bear it. Quite often she noted in her memoirs: “I feel lonely without my dear Master”, “I pray God never let me to survive him” (Martin 1880: 276). “He is King to all intents and purposes... while she has the title, he is really discharging the function of the Sovereign”; “Formerly the Queen received the Ministers alone, but now husband and wife did it together, and both of them always said We – We think, or wish, to do so and so” (Greville 1885: 323). Politically and domestically she leant on him completely. This only proves how deeply the control was engraved in her. She moved from one source of constraint, which was her mother and Conroy, to another one – her husband. With time, he managed to gain such a great impact on the Queen that he was referred to as a “king-in-all-but-name” (Worsley 2018: 167). Under his guidance “the crown constantly desired to be furnished with accurate and detailed information about all important matters” (Weintraub 1997: 352). He wanted to make sure he can hold the ministers to account in every aspect. It was he who devised a complicated system of filing all notes. Albert believed he could not delegate his work to anyone else and he fully devoted himself to running the country apart from running his family and participating in many duties he was chosen to or he himself had undertaken. With this vision in mind, he also found a role for his wife – a role that was far from being what Victoria was – a mother rather than a queen. Even though Victoria detested being pregnant and simply could not bear looking after the children, he felt that they did keep her occupied enough for him to assume more duties (Worsley 2018: 171). During a decade of pregnancies, Victoria’s mental state underwent dreadful changes with instances of postnatal depression. Yet, even though it was visible that the Queen’s condition is deteriorating, Prince Albert made sure that the children were coming. Seeing the state of disintegration that Victoria was in, the surrounding people treated her with a mixture of toxic concern and control. This was especially visible in Albert’s attempts to control her emotions when commenting on her behaviour “You have again lost your self-control quite unnecessarily”, “I do my duty towards you even though it means that life is embittered by scenes” (RA VIC/MAIN/Z/140/60–3 as quoted in Worsley 2018: 172). Such situations led to Victoria slowly checking her feelings to avoid any further clashes with Albert. In times when the arguments between Victoria and

Albert were over their children, he could be extremely bitter, unfair and devastating commenting that he “shall have nothing more to do with it; take the child away and do as you like and if she dies you will have it on your conscience” (RA VIC/ADD/U2/4 18 January 1842 as quoted in Worsley 2018: 173). These are obviously not words of a loving, devoted, kind man that Victoria described in her journals. It is obvious that Victoria was seeing only what she wanted to see and thus, she pictures a life of love, devotion and generosity. She did not see that her personal desires at one point became subordinate to his. “My chief and great anxiety is – peace in the House...” (RA VIC/ADD/U2/4 19 January 1842 as quoted in Worsley 2018: 174) – she wrote after one of Albert’s outbursts. One can easily claim that Victoria submitted herself to her husband in the very same way her mother submitted herself to Conroy thus continuing the life of constraint and control.

Another example showing the conflicted and quite restrained environment Victoria was in relates to her beloved governess, Baroness Lehzen, who was the only person that Victoria could relate to in her young times. She took care of her, literally raised her and was the only counterweight to the System. However, she was highly detested by Prince Albert as he had always perceived Lehzen as a rival for Victoria’s love, as the one who took away all the attention. According to Hibbert, there could be no question of Lehzen’s devotion and love to the Queen. Nonetheless, with time, this admiration grew to extreme jealousy and conviction that “no one but she could take proper care of the Queen as she had done in the past” (Hibbert 2001: 151). The constant disagreement over the person of Baroness Lehzen caused many arguments between Prince Albert and the Queen. As Albert noted, “All the disagreeableness I suffer comes from one and the same person and that is precisely the person whom Victoria chooses for her friend and confidante... Victoria is too hasty and passionate for me to be able often to speak of my difficulties. She will not hear me out but flies into a rage and overwhelms me with reproaches and suspiciousness, want of trust, ambition, envy etc. There are therefore, two open ways to me: (1) to keep silence and go away... (2) I can be still more violent (and then we have scenes...)” (RA VIC/ADD/U2/4 19 January 1842 as quoted in Worsley 2018: 62). Thus, at the end of 1842 he designed Lehzen’s departure from Windsor and albeit very sad and broken, Victoria had to again bend her character to the dominant’s will (Hibbert 2001: 155).

In all this, Victoria always declared herself grateful to Albert for all his work and relieving her from the tiresome duties. For this reason, it felt easy for Victoria to succumb to the many changes that Albert introduced in the royal household. The manner of Albert’s behaviour stemmed from his German upbringing, his love for order and sense in every single thing that was done. He did not enjoy being close to the household, thus, he distanced himself and his family from those who surrounded them as much as possible. He was claimed to be cold, stiff, even unpleasant. He introduced self-control and regime, not only in regard to himself, but also to Victoria and the children. He made Victoria keep a notebook where she recorded her tempers and other behaviours he deemed as unwelcomed and which he would later read and issue comments. He dealt with Victoria the very same way he would deal with his children in terms of behavioural correctness. Even though the constant adoration toward her husband is visible in Victoria’s journals, it is certain he made her feel inferior to him in terms of intellect and morals. It was far from a marriage of equals. Indeed, Victoria was the Queen, however, in all other aspects, she was made to feel inadequate and subordinate. In moments of ill-temper, Albert would punish Victoria with withdrawal to his rooms where he would devote himself to even more work (Ridley 2017). Despite being treated by him in such a harsh way, in her own words to her daughter, Vicky, Victoria stated “no one could be as blessed

as she with such a husband: he was her father, protector, guide, adviser in all and everything; she might even say her mother as well as her husband.”; “no-one was ever so completely altered in every way as she had been by her dearest husband’s blessed influence” (Fulford 1968: 44).

Taking into consideration all of the above presented facts, one receives quite an unusual portrayal of Victoria. On one hand, the Queen of a vast empire, successful in many fields and on the other hand, a woman completely overpowered and governed, initially by her own mother and her accomplice, and later cast into a blind submission by her controlling and authoritative husband. Astonishingly enough, even after Albert’s death, Victoria remained, in the eyes of the nation, devoted and loyal to the memory of her late husband who died December 14, 1961 to typhoid fever. Albert died in the Blue Room, in the presence of the Queen and five of their nine children. This death left Victoria extremely devastated and made her close herself off. She wore black for the rest of her life becoming known as “the Widow of Windsor” (Hobhouse 1983: 150–151) During the time after Albert’s death, her weight increased significantly as the result of comfort eating which she turned to once there were no watching and controlling eyes from her husband. This secluded her even more from the public eye (Ridley 2017).

It is widely acknowledged and agreed upon by many historians such as Hibbert, Longford, or even Worsley, that the Queen, even though she gave birth to nine children, was not a fond and dotting mother, as she considered pregnancy as an unwanted, sad result of an intimate relationship with Prince Albert. She very much enjoyed this relationship as she often proved herself to be passionate and ultimately devoted to her Angel. As a result of this great affection, she conceived distressingly soon after the wedding. Once Victoria realised this she remarked “I was in for it at once & furious I was”; “the greatest horror of having children and would rather have none” (Pakula 1997: 104). She described herself when pregnant as “ugly & enormously fat, more like a barrel than anything else” (RA VIC/MAIN/QVLB/ 10 November 1840 as quoted in Worsley 2018: 151).

Within seventeen years, Victoria gave birth to nine children – five girls: Victoria (1840), Alice (1843), Helena (1846), Louise (1848), and Beatrice (1857); and four boys: Albert (1841), Alfred (1844), Arthur (1850), and Leopold (1853). When Vicky was born, Victoria was greatly disappointed for the child to be a girl as she knew that now she would have to get pregnant again in order to produce a male heir to the throne. According to her “it would have been better politics to have produced a male heir straight away, as she and Albert had so hoped and wished for. We were, I am afraid, sadly disappointed” (Woodham-Smith 1972: 216–217).

For Victoria, her children were those who kept her dear Albert away from her. At one point she stated, “all the numerous children are as nothing to me when he is away; it seems as if the whole life of the house and home were gone” (Benson, Esher 1908: 240). “I find no special pleasure or compensation in the company of children, I only feel properly a mon aise & quite happy when Albert is with me” as she carried on expressing her feelings (Ponsonby 1951: 85). After each pregnancy, Victoria retreated from the politics more and more becoming more dependent on her husband. When she gave birth to Vicky, she did return to her state quite swiftly. However, after giving birth to Bertie, she suffered rather severe postnatal depression, “my poor nerves were so battered... I suffered a whole year from it” (Weintraub 1997: 137). The Queen experienced vision impairment “spots on people, which turned into worms”, “coffins floated before her eyes” (Worsley 2018: 172). Victoria understood that her mental state was an illness that came and went but was distinctly connected with pregnancies. She clearly addressed the discomfort of being pregnant so quickly, however, Albert persisted on having more children. He also hoped that they would

occupy the Queen to such an extent that they would allow him to assume more power and responsibility moving the Queen away from these duties at the same time (Worsley 2018: 171).

All of the above paints Victoria in a completely different light to what the readers of common works or commercial film viewers are accustomed to. In a more recent ITV Series *Victoria*, the Queen is presented in a more approachable way. This created a vision of a lost girl controlled in every step by her mother and her accomplice, and later on by Albert, who albeit was quiet was able to make Victoria more compliant with his opinions and wishes. Nevertheless, with time, she emerges as a woman driven by physical passion towards her husband, willing of her own accord, to become submissive and agreeing to ascend to an inferior role to that of her husband's. Still a Queen in name, but more often a Hausfrau to her Albert. Throughout the years of their marriage, she showed herself to be extremely emotional and vivacious which had to be trimmed down by her husband. She enjoyed his company. However, she did not so much enjoy the company of their children. The constant control she had been subjected to as a child, in later years turned into resentment of her own children and after Albert's death, an obsessive control of them that lasted till Victoria's death in 1901. She made sure that her children always remembered she was not only their mother but also their Sovereign, so while they could rebel against their mother they could not do so against their Queen. It might even be dared to state that the later relationship Victoria had with her children was rather pathological due to her compulsiveness in their regard. For instance, reading the many letters she exchanged over the years with her daughters, one can see a woman that at times showed an unreasonable amount of feelings or emotions, being none, that would be expected of a mother. This was even more visible in the strange relationship she had with her younger daughters, especially Princess Louise and Princess Beatrice, both of whom were to devote their lives to being unwilling companions of their mother's life. The constraints, if no longer having a human face, were still there and were never to fully cease.

It is quite visible to even the unread person, or to those who share a keener eye into the life of the glorified Queen that her life up to the death of her husband was subjected to different forms of control - her mother and sir Conroy, Lehzen, Prince Albert, and even Lord M. Thus, it is not a surprise that once Victoria was left without the guidance of her beloved husband, to whom she submitted so willingly, she was lost, she was as if a small child without parental guidance. However, being faced with this new, solitary situation, the Queen had to accept it in some way. She no longer felt the need to be told what to do, reminded what is right or should be done. As always, headstrong, she was more eager now to express her own will and whims, her passions and wants, her acceptance or disapprovals. She did remain faithful to the memory of her beloved husband, adorning herself in black. However, as the words below will show, she became liberated, free, more expressive of herself. Her constraining knots were no longer there - only the memory of the past people looming in her head were able to limit her, but that too was to fade away.

With time passing and the sorrow overwhelming her after Albert's death diminished, Victoria set her mind onto one thing vital for her - to continue in an unchanged way the life's work of her husband. In her work, she continued to idolise Albert and remain obedient to the idea that her husband had represented. She would be restless, even furious at the sole thought of any kind of intrusion to her plan, strongly expressing herself - "I am anxious to repeat one thing and that one is my firm resolve, my irrevocable decision, that his wishes - his plans - about everything, his views about everything are to be my law! And no human power will make me swerve from what he decided and wished" (Benson, Esher 1908: 474-475). Thus, she became restless and unbreakable, once she set her mind upon something, she

was unwilling to change. Nevertheless, this glorified devotion separated her immensely from her nation - a nation that was undergoing changes and needed their Queen.

With time, and with all her children somehow settled in somewhat convenient marriages, Victoria regained her balance and optimism. The devastating loss of her husband dwindled down to a permanent ache. She was now ready to enter, what would later be known as the golden age, a new stage in her life; a stage which was accompanied by new companions and new emotions. One such new companion who assisted the Queen with her everyday life in more of a behind the scenes way rather than an openly public way, was one of Albert's ghillies, John Brown, who accompanied the couple on the many visits to Balmoral, Scotland. They were simply charmed by the marvellous and magical scenery of the woods and hills, and Victoria developed a strong emotional connection with the Scottish people (Ashdown 1975: 76-77). For the Queen, John Brown became more than just a servant, but more of a confidant or a partner to the prosaic life, someone who shared her passions and was truly devoted to her. With time, Brown's name began dominating Victoria's journals and he became known as the Queen's Highland Servant. He was to take orders only from the Queen herself and no one else could interfere (Ashdown 1975: 130). His appearance and character were domineering as he was quite direct and confident in his manners. He often addressed the Queen with the word *woman*, ordering her to sit still while he was fastening her in her saddle (Longford 1966: 406). On one occasion, a passer-by heard Brown shouting at the Queen while pinning her cloak to hold her head up. However, Victoria did not seem to mind. On the contrary, she felt admired and cherished, protected, and comforted by this honest and open man. He was sympathising, understanding and unselfish. He was a friend that Victoria needed at that time (Ashdown 1975: 130). It is noticeable that Brown's presence helped to improve Victoria's wellbeing. She did feel a bit uncomfortable in the beginning, but she came to terms with the fact that she needed a man to lean on, not to marry; a man, not a machine; someone who would share her worries and could take care of her (Longford 1966: 409). It was more than just obvious that the Queen was perhaps infatuated with Brown. There was gossip circulating that stated Victoria had secretly married her servant and was referred to in elegant drawing-rooms as Mrs Brown (Longford 1966: 409). Even though the public was widely commenting on the character of Brown, Victoria remained naïve and oblivious to all the gossip and even kept providing fresh evidence supporting the stories. Many scholars would agree that she did share some warm feelings towards him in her own way, however, it is difficult to state whether she loved him or not. He treated her as a woman whereas everyone else treated her as a queen. All this kept her further away from her family. The closer she was with John Brown the more distant she became from her children. The fact that he had such an immense impact on the Queen was quite disturbing for the family and the closest circle. In her letter to the Queen, Mrs M.A. Murray writes asking her 'dear Queen' to step down and let her beloved son act as a regent as long as Victoria is alive. The criticism was vast and seemed to not end. It was unthinkable that a servant would come before any member of the family - whether in a royal household or otherwise. The Queen's advisers were desperate. No one could force her to change her mind. No one could force her to sacrifice Brown in order to put an end to the rumours and the storm within her family (Longford 1966: 413). Indeed, Brown spoke freely to Victoria's children and oftentimes ordered them in the very same way he ordered the Queen to keep her composure. He quarrelled with Prince Alfred, ministers and Private Secretaries, however, he was never the one to apologize the first. Victoria knew of all this, but she preferred to turn a blind eye (Hibbert 2001: 326). She was finally free from the conveniences created by her controlling mother and her husband. Victoria no longer had to abide by the opinions and wishes of

those who surrounded her. Finally, no one was trying to manipulate her into acting in a certain way or take over the power in her hands. She had someone by her side who did not wish any of the power or influence. It is true that John Brown helped Victoria to go through the unhappy years after Albert's death. However, he rooted himself quite deeply within the Queen's life. On the rare occasions when she would drive out in London, the people could see the same man constantly occupying the driver's seat. He would even attend the more important public outings. On one occasion, when the ministers asked the Queen to be present at a review in Hyde Park, she insisted much to the ministers' dismay, to be accompanied by Brown. The Queen declared that she would not be dictated or made to alter any of her plans (Hibbert 2001: 326). This perfectly depicts the change that happened in the character of the Queen. She no longer blindly agreed to the decisions made by others, but finally, freely made her own choices whether liked by others or not. Brown was seen by others as a coarse animal behaving quite roughly towards the Queen. However, she felt perfectly comforted around him. In the book written by the Queen herself, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, she depicts Brown quite prominently. She states at one point that "his attention, care and faithfulness cannot be exceeded, and the state of my health, which of late years has been sorely tried and weakened, renders such qualifications most valuable and indeed most needful" (Queen Victoria 1868: 87). The book met with some criticism and Victoria was accused of naivety, banalities and unintentional humour. It was even a subject of parodies to mention only the most famous one *John Brown's Legs or Leaves from a Journal in the Lowlands*.

In March 1883 John Brown got infected with erysipelas which made him unable to attend to the Queen for the first time in eighteen years. Two days later he died leaving Victoria heart broken and which she described in her journal "The comfort of my daily life is gone – the void is terrible – the loss is irreparable" (Baird 2016: 406). Upon his death, Victoria ordered private memorials and a statue to be erected. Later, they were destroyed at the order of King Edward VII who often clashed with Brown. This shows that only after Victoria's death, were her children able to oppose her. She was stern in her choices and no longer willing to subdue to any form of control enjoying the freedom she found in her later years.

Victoria, with her strong character, unwilling to bend or follow someone's expectations had the extraordinary gift of enjoying unique relationships with her servants. Victoria's journals, later transcribed by her daughter Beatrice, bear many names of servants such as dressers and maids Singer, Peneyvre, Skerret, and Dehler (Worsley 2018: 278) who became more than just regular servants, but rather enjoyed the position of confidants. That is why it was only natural for the Queen that a few years after the death of her John Brown another servant appeared next to her. This time, however, it was even more difficult for the family to stomach their mother's choice for she found closeness and understanding, or even shared maternal feelings towards an Indian male servant, Abdul Karim. With time they grew quite close, and Karim was bestowed the title of 'Munshi'. She showered him with trinkets, gifts and even land. Her zest for life was again awoken by this new figure in her life and she was unwilling to give in to the constant allusions of her family regarding the conduct of Munshi. Victoria felt free again and was willing to pursue new passions especially when she became known as the Empress of India in 1876. In August 1887, Karim started teaching Hindustani to the Queen – "I am learning a few words in Hindustani. It is a great interest to me for both the language and the people, I have naturally never come into real contact with before" (Hibbert 2001: 446). Indian curries cooked for the Queen by Munshi expanded her interest in the culture and people of India in a most delightful way. In the craze of the coming Golden Jubilee, this slim and clever character again stirred the imagination of the royal environment with the same if

not a bigger magnitude than John Brown had done years earlier. It needs a bow towards the Queen for bringing dark-skinned people to the court, hence banishing any racial prejudice. However, Karim's person became more than just an example of racial equality. Victoria arranged for him to have a seat among her ladies-in-waiting, entrusted him with private correspondence and even some confidential papers which raised serious concerns among the ministers and the family. Her behaviour again showed more of her character rather than the suggested approach of such a conservative family. She was no longer willing to stand the insinuations or even open attacks on her servant and reacted with fierce anger thus expressing her emotions and unbreakable character even more sternly (Hibbert 2001: 451). The war against her Munshi lasted for months. However, he took no notice of what was happening around him and caused more and more public offence. One of such strong opponents was Dr Reid. He started asking questions in order to confront Karim. He found out that Munshi, contrary to what he had claimed, was not the son of a doctor nor did he work as an office clerk. With all that, he ventured to inform the Queen of his findings. However, Dr Reid made one major mistake. He forgot that Victoria did not care much for the social status of her servants. She desperately needed someone to love and, in Karim, she found a substitution of a son that would love her no matter what, unlike her real children (Worsley 2018: 313). The Queen was determined, however, to do whatever was in her power to make her dear friend feel comfortable and save him from any potential humiliation. She dismissed Dr Reid's accusations with violent passion and opposed threats from people in high places. She even signed off her letters addressed to Karim with the words "Your Loving Mother". The extent of her generosity was so wide that she even put Munshi in her will. Nevertheless, upon her death, all was annulled and any correspondence that was found between the Queen and Abdul Karim was burnt at Frogmore Cottage, which was Karim's residence at that time. However, some diaries were smuggled out to India by Karim and thanks to them we now know of the devoted relationship these two had.

In 2017, Stephen Frears tried to present the story of Victoria and Abdul from a different angle. In the movie, *Victoria & Abdul*, starring Judy Dench as Victoria and Ali Fazal as Karim, the focus is rather on the uniqueness of their bond than on the mischiefs and treachery of Karim as it was suggested by his contemporaries. One might actually sense that he was truthful in his devotion to the Queen. The movie, contrary to many published works on the subject, portrays Victoria's love for her people and her need to honestly be loved and understood instead of being constantly ordered and subjected to the power struggles around her.

The life of Queen Victoria presents a variety of fields upon which one could focus their research. Her life was full of dominating people, submission and strong willingness. Victoria managed to survive in many different conditions. She understood the importance of her role as the Sovereign and was not afraid to put it before her husband and children. However, she was not willing to fully give up herself and let herself be controlled, especially in her later life. Once she realized her life can indeed still be filled with love and feelings she learnt when married to Albert, she was unwilling to resign even though her children tried very hard for certain events not to see the light. The turbulence of Victoria's life, both political, as well as private, gives food for more than just a short analysis. Studying different aspects of her life, the attitude towards her ministers, the intricate and difficult relations she had with her own children, the intimacy of her relationship with Albert and even the ill mother-daughter relationship she shared with the Duchess of Kent can be the source of many more academic and even non-academic publications. The available works of such major names as Hibbert, Longford, Worsley, Strachey and many more, create

a world that allows the reader to learn and meet Victoria not only as a Queen but also as a passionate woman, educated female opposing the feministic movements yet giving grounds to the same movements by her own work and strength.

As the Grandmother of Europe, even in her final hours she was surrounded by her family, children, grandchildren. She outlived her beloved Albert, she outlived two of her nine children, Alice and Affie and even some of her grandchildren. But she had the numerous Houses of Europe surrounding her, the Kaiser was resting her in his arms. Victoria died on January 22, 1901. As her final wish she was dressed in a white dress and her wedding veil. Before passing, she ordered a few mementos to be put alongside her in the coffin. These included one of Albert's dressing gowns, a plaster cast of his hand, a lock of John Brown's hair together with a picture of him which were placed in her left hand concealed with the veil. This little secret of hers was the final act of her personal freedom she enjoyed so much. A strong sovereign, she tried to remain in charge of her private life as much as possible and openly opposed her children who wanted to subject her to control again.

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Language and Stylistic Aspects of Karel Čapek's Journalistic Writing: An Analysis of *Hovory s T. G. Masarykem* through the Method of Textual Linguistics

Abstract

The present contribution focuses on Karel Čapek's *Hovory s T.G. Masarykem* to analyse its intrinsic structure by applying František Daneš' model of thematic progressions (TP), ie. the choice and ordering of utterance themes, their mutual concatenation and hierarchy, as well as their relation to the hyperthemes of the superior text unit (such as paragraph, chapter, etc.), to the whole text, and to the situation. Thematic progression might be viewed as the skeleton of the plot. This contribution aims to identify the thematic progression patterns (simple linear, constant, with derived themes), in particular in the third part, focused on Masaryk's thinking. Thanks to the identification of the thematic progressions, it is possible to ascertain the communicative intention of the author and to point out some formal aspects. Differently from the first two parts, in which the style is mainly narrative, in the third one the intention of Čapek is to reproduce the style of the president's speeches. Putting in writing Masaryk's thoughts, Čapek preserves the oral dimension and the stylistic originality of the speaker. Moreover, Masaryk himself contributed to the editing of the *Hovory*.

Keywords: Czechoslovakia, Karel Čapek, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, *Hovory s T.G. Masarykem*, textual linguistics, biography

1. Introduction

This article is focused on Karel Čapek's *Hovory s T.G. Masarykem* ("Talks with T. G. Masaryk"), an interesting text from a structural and a communicative point of view. The aim is to develop an analysis of the work based on the methodology elaborated in text linguistics, an approach that searches to identify the intrinsic structure of different kinds of texts (not only literary but also scientific ones). The case of the *Hovory* is particularly interesting because in this work, based on conversations that took place between

the author and Masaryk, the attempt to eliminate that gap between the oral and the written dimension emerges as the chief tendency. The article develops an idea already partially exposed by František Daneš. In his study dedicated to the *Hovory* he concentrates the analysis on its *textuality* (Daneš 1994b), ie. the intrinsic structure. Focusing especially on the third section of the work, examples will be given, in which the analysis of the thematic progressions reveals Čapek's primary communicative intention. First, a definition of the model of thematic progressions developed by Daneš will be explained using examples. Thereafter, Čapek's work *Hovory s T. G. Masarykem* will be presented, focusing on what he wrote in the fourth part, in which it is possible to comprehend the genesis of the text and the author's communicative intention. At the end, some clue examples of analysis, also from Daneš' article, will be shown. The final part will be significant to put in evidence how Čapek's intentions are elaborated while writing the text.

2. Methodology

František Daneš (1919-2015) was a scholar of Czech Structuralism, who dealt with syntax, sociolinguistics, and text linguistics. He was the first one who theorized the model of thematic progressions (TP) (Daneš 1974, Daneš 1994b), and employed this approach to analyse the thematic-referential dimension of texts. His most important studies were published on *Slovo a slovesnost*, the periodical of Prague Linguistic School, while a summary consideration of this model can be found in *Věta a text (Sentence and text)*, published in 1985. The main starting point of reference of his theories are the assumptions elaborated by Vilém Mathesius (Mathesius 1947) in his work *Čeština a obecný jazykozpyt (Czech language and general linguistics)*. Mathesius individuated two fundamental elements, *východisko* and *jádro*, which correspond to the concepts of *theme* and *rheme*. Also considering Mathesius' concept of *aktuální členění* (the division of the sentence), Daneš noticed the possibility to identify different distributions of thematic progressions (*tématické posloupnosti*) and rhematic ones (*rematické posloupnosti*), which constitute the intrinsic textual structure. The combination of these progressions organizes the thematic-referential level of a text and the links between them allow it to move forward. Daneš had a deep interest in determining the possible combinations of these two elements (Daneš 1968) and identified five types of TP. Knowing the huge number of possible combinations involving theme and rheme, he considered these to be the most frequent ones. Concerning the analysis led in this article, the main interesting are the following ones:

- (1) Simple linear TP, in which the *theme* of the following (T2) sentence corresponds to the *rheme* of the previous one (R1):
Karel Čapek (T1) wrote *Hovory s T. G. Masarykem* (R1). It (T2=R1) was included in Masaryk's recollecting works.
- (2) TP with constant T, in which the *theme* of the following sentence is the same of the previous one:
Karel Čapek (T1) wrote *Hovory s T. G. Masarykem* (R1). He (T1) was one of the most important writers of his era and (T1) published many books
- (3) TP with derived T, in which different themes derive from an *hypertheme*. This is the case, for example, of a definition or an argumentation about a precise theme. Daneš explains (Daneš 1968) this TP through an example, where "diphtheria" is the main theme (T):

Diphtheria (T) is an infectious disease. It is caused by corynebacterium diphtheriae. It is spread by droplet infection by direct contact with the patient, but more often by a carrier, or indirectly by objects stained with mucus. The incubation period is 2 to 5 days...

According to Daneš, the third type can also be confused with second one, and sometimes it is even difficult to properly distinguish them. Daneš tries to individuate some differences. In TP with derived themes the *hypertheme* is not expressed in individual statements, while in TP with constant T it is. Moreover, in TP with constant T every statement has his own topic, while in the third one it always corresponds to the *hypertheme*. Finishing this theoretical introduction it urges to observe that the model elaborated by Daneš is just theoretical. In fact, while approaching to an analysis using these linguistic concepts, it is immediately clear that it is not possible to always individuate a "pure" prototypical situation in which a type of TP is not contaminated by another one.

3. Silence in Karel Čapek's *Hovory s T.G. Masarykem*

Karel Čapek (1890–1936) was one of the most eclectic and multifaceted intellectuals in the first half of XXth century. Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937) was the first president of Czechoslovakia after World War I (1918–1935). He was among the most prominent Czech personalities in many fields, like in philosophy or in literary criticism. Considering Čapek's literary production, it is possible to observe the enormous amount of genres he employed. As stated by the structuralist Jan Mukařovský in his article *Vývoj Čapkovi prózy* (*Development of Čapek's prose*), approaching the production of an author like Čapek implies the necessity to consider a huge variety of subgenres (Mukařovský 1941: 427). In this deep stratification lies the complexity not only of the elaboration of his poetics but also, and above all, of his style. Alongside the literary production, it is essential to recall the importance of his activity in journalism. In fact, his collaboration with various periodicals appears wide and due to his necessity to be constantly informed about the political and social issues of the period. In fact, his literary works always present an observance on reality, even the fantastic element plays a metaphorical function aimed at constructing a critical and social perspective. The author himself admits the importance of journalism in an interview led by Vilém Závada and published on *Rozpravy Aventina* in 1931. To Závada's questions "How do you consider your journalistic profession?" he answers as follows: "I think I'm a journalist. I don't do it as something secondary, I consider it serious as literature". His journalistic production must therefore not be seen as an appendage of the literary one, but the two appear deeply dependent from each other. This forward is essential to introduce *Hovory s T.G. Masarykem* since it can be collocated in the middle between these two genres. Moreover, this work represents a *unicum* in the author's production. There are no other cases in which he abandons (almost) completely the style elaborated before, well described by the Russian scholar Oleg Malevič (Malevič 1968)¹.

As already mentioned, *Hovory s T.G. Masarykem* is interesting in terms of genre and style. The form in which it is written is hybrid. An attempt to determine its nature was made by Jiří Opelík, one of

1 Oleg Malevič's studies regarding Čapek's production are, together with the ones realized by Jiří Opelík, the basis for a critical approach to the author. For a focus on the style in Čapek's early production see the article *Vývoj stylu raných próz Karla Čapka* (*Evolution of the style in Karel Čapek's early prose*), translated to Czech in 1971 and published on the critical periodic *Česká literatura*.

the most important scholars of the author. Before showing Opelík's considerations some more general information are required. The work was written by Čapek between 1928 and 1935. The structure is clearly divided into four sections. The first two parts (*Youth* and *Life and work*) are dedicated to Masaryk's life. The third (*Thinking and life*) retraces his philosophical and political thinking, while in the fourth (*Silence with T. G. Masaryk*) the author reflects on the genesis and the writing of the work. Moreover, the first three parts are written in first-person, which embodies Masaryk, while the third-person of the fourth one can be explained by Čapek's intention to show his own point of view and to reflect on the writing process with an objective attitude. It is interesting to observe how the *Hovory* can be defined. This is anything but a simple definition, as the traditional concept of biography does not correspond to the true nature of the work. Zdeněk Nejedlý said that this can be considered the most well written "autobiography" of Masaryk (Nejedlý 1930: 39). That is significant, because the volume has also been included in Masaryk's completed writings and not only in Čapek's ones². As will be shown after, the author reproduced the speeches of Masaryk, who also intensely contributed to the final editing. In the fourth part Čapek admits that he directly asked Masaryk for a review before publication (Čapek 1990: 350). Then he also jokes when he recalls himself asking the president if he wanted to be paid for his help: "We should at least split them down the middle. Fifty fifty" (Čapek 1990: 351).

As noticed, *Hovory s T. G. Masarykem* is divided in four parts, in which different structures occur. The first two, dedicated to Masaryk's life, are mostly written with a narrative style and follow a chronological perspective. Recollecting memories about the president's early life, Čapek also inserts digressions related to them. For example, when the narrator talks about his childhood, the flow of memory is interrupted by some considerations about the Czech children's education. By recalling those experiences, he takes the opportunity to discuss about the problem of education, connected with the creation of democracy, he admits: "The development of democracy is closely tied to the development of education" (Čapek 1990: 16). Furthermore, private events are always contextualized within the historical framework in which they take place. The third part clearly differs from the first two for several reasons. Firstly, it is no longer a chronological recollection of events but, rather, an elaboration of Masaryk's philosophical and political thinking sorted out by themes. Secondly, a difference occurs in the expressive style as a result. Although the first-person singular is still used, the structural organization of the sentences is profoundly different. This stylistic choice corresponds to the necessity of create a meditative dimension. Analysing the *Hovory*, Opelík points out an interesting fact. The elaboration of the philosophical thinking of Masaryk in this third part of the *Hovory* "brought Karel Čapek back to the question of pure philosophy" (Opelík 2016: 25). Philosophical questions, moreover, are by no means irrelevant in the author's production: reflections of an existential nature and, as mentioned at the beginning, ethical often occur. To understand the intrinsic structure of this third part and the communicative intentions of the author, it is particularly useful to observe what is written in the fourth.

Silence with T. G. Masaryk is characterized, differently from the first three parts, by an essayistic style. In this section Čapek explains the genesis of the *Hovory*. First, the author and the subject of this "biography" shared a deep friendship. In fact, Čapek had already met Masaryk for the first time in 1922. Despite this, the idea of writing the *Hovory* had not been premeditated in advance. Indeed, Čapek

2 As for the diffusion of the work, Miloš Pohorský in his afterword traces the editorial history and the (bad) fortune of *Hovory s T. G. Masarykem* in the communist era. He points out that this was one of Čapek's most famous and most printed books before Communism (Pohorský 1990: 557).

already had several occasions to hear Masaryk's speeches both in private and in public. During his private meetings with the president, the author had never transcribed or recorded anything. On the contrary, the idea of creating this work came from a decision taken by mutual agreement in a rather casual situation. In a bucolic setting, Topolčany's residence, Čapek proposed to write this biography, a project that was immediately defined by Masaryk himself in terms of "těžký úkol", a difficult task (Čapek 1990: 349). Čapek affirms he had a lot of material, that he put together in two different ways. First, he elaborated his own memories of the conversations he conducted with the president. The author discovers himself able to recall many elements thanks to the fact that his interlocutor was often inclined to talk about his life and to share his thinking. Second, Masaryk himself was actively involved. Čapek decided to question, this time with the clear aim of writing this "biography", the president about facts and events unknown or partially unclear to him. After explaining how the *Hovory* originated, the author illustrates some characteristics of Masaryk's speeches. Čapek clearly knew that to each intellectual or writer corresponds a personal style, some expressive modalities. Note what he said in the article *O dnešním jazyce* (*Today's language*), published in 1932 on the periodical *Lidové noviny*:

Do jisté míry každý člověk má svůj vlastní idiom; každá rodina má svou hantýrku, každá skupina, každý stav svůj slovník, svou kadenci, své vyjadřovací zvláštnosti; a zejména každý básník a spisovatel má svůj vlastní jazyk.³

The author briefly reflects on Masaryk's oratory qualities, writing a proper analysis of his style. Two features are taken into consideration by Čapek: the alternation of sound and silence and, subsequently, the order of the words, *ie.* the way of organizing the individual parts of the sentences. As regards the dimension of silence, a fundamental function is attributed to it. According to the author in Masaryk's speeches the moments of *silence* play a fundamental role. Silence embodies, not only metaphorically, the moment of meditation, of reflection. Moments of this kind are given the same importance attributed to the elaboration of the speeches. Words and their absence cannot exist one without the other. When the author begins writing the *Hovory*, he immediately realizes that a drawback of the written dimension compared to the oral one consists in the impossibility of transposing silence as a counterpoint to speech. This aspect implies the absence of a continue flow in the speech. Differently, it is possible to notice the tendency of use brief and delimited sentences, connected through the thematic tissue. Quoting Čapek: "Bylo mnoho mlčeno, aby vznikly Hovory; jen jejich pisatel⁴ ví, jak jsou neúplné; nejvíc jim chybí ten kontrapunkt mlčení."⁵ (Čapek 1990: 352) The second point of Čapek's reflection is still related to the way in which Masaryk organizes his speeches. As he says "u Masaryka je citelné rozpojení mezi myšlením a slovním projevem"⁶ (Čapek 1990: 353). This proximity between the elaboration of thoughts and the way they are expressed produces precise communicative tendencies, individuated by him as follows:

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- 3 "It is certain that every person has his own idiom; every family has his jargon, every group, every state his vocabulary, his cadence, his expressive peculiarities; and especially every poet and writer have their own language" (unless otherwise indicated, translations are those of the author).
 - 4 Regarding the term *pisatel* (writer) a consideration is needed. In this fourth part the author never uses direct references as "Čapek" or "Masaryk" and never expresses himself in the first person. He prefers to take some distance from the situation and use the terms *pisatel* and *Prezident*.
 - 5 "There was much silence in the creation of the *Hovory*; only their writer knows how incomplete they are: furthermore, the counterpoint of silence is lacking."
 - 6 "In Masaryk there is a considerable connection between thinking and verbal expression."

Řekl bych, jeho veškerá řeč má dvě základní polohy: jednak jeho jistoty, nepochybné principy, pravdy, na kterých se ustálil; ty vyjadřuje rozhodně, v brachylogické zkratce, neobyčejně zhuštěně, dává důraz sevřenou pěstí nebo energickým škrtem vztyčeného prstu. Druhá poloha je meditace, hledání, ustavičná cesta za poznáním, ustavičná kritika i autokritika. A já nevím, co ho z toho dvojího charakterizuje hlouběji: zda ta jasná, pevná, spolehlivá jistota člověka vědoucího a věřícího, nebo to nekonečné hledání a zkoušení pravdy.”⁷ (Čapek 1990: 356)

To these two tendencies, that of expressing certain concepts with confidence and that of meditating on these, other characteristics are added. In particular, the meditative passages relate to the tendency to accumulate concepts directly depending on what the discourse focuses on. Čapek uses the expression “tápavost ve slovním výrazu”⁸ (Čapek 1990: 354) to describe this feature in Masaryk’s speeches. Concluding this list of characteristics, there is also the tendency to take up single concepts, almost hesitating while speaking. This hesitation is linked to that function led by the dimension of silence. In other words, the elaboration of thoughts must be always accompanied by moments of meditation, because Čapek’s aim is to reach the truth. To these considerations another important feature is added, namely the author’s (*pisatel*) constant insistence on the necessity for truth. The fourth section opens with the expression “nechtěl jsem lhát...”⁹ (Čapek 1990: 347). This necessity corresponds to the will of reporting facts and thoughts accurately. Furthermore, the dimension of truth is one of the key concepts of the biographical genre. However, this dimension of truth also affects the style and implies other two considerations. First, the fact that by reproducing Masaryk’s style (hence why the author insists on the importance of silence and the way in which Masaryk organizes his sentences) Čapek irremediably contaminates his own. In regard to this, it is interesting to observe how it was affected by external influences. Čapek’s own style was clearly not unfamiliar with external influences. Numerous studies have been devoted to this question, including Malevič’s and Opelík’s ones. In *Zdroje jazyka Karla Čapka* (*Sources of Karel Čapek’s style*) Opelík reflects on the sources of the author’s style and on the stimuli by which it was influenced. As clearly pointed out in this article, the author was aware of these influences (Opelík 2008: 233). This aspect confirms the possibility that in the *Hovory* there is a properly conscious contamination of Masaryk’s style. Secondly, this necessity of fidelity to the oral dimension represents one of the fundamental features of this work: the author’s attempt to delete the distance between the *flatus vocis* and the words printed on paper. Reducing the distance between the two communicative dimensions is anything but simple and obvious. Čapek’s aim is then to write a “biography” (*životopis*) of Masaryk, faithfully reproducing not only the contents concerning his life and his thinking, but also respecting the structure of his speech. In other words, the communicative intention is identified with the goal of being able to reproduce Masaryk’s oratory style. The main question then becomes how Čapek’s communicative aim concretely influenced the writing of the *Hovory*. To find an answer a useful strategy consists in applying Daneš’ TP model.

7 “I would say, all his speech has two basic positions: first, his certainties, the undoubted principles, the truths on which he settled; he expresses them decisively, in brachylogical summary, extraordinarily condensed, emphasizing with a clenched fist or an energetic cut of his erect finger. The second position is meditation, search, the constant path to knowledge, constant criticism, and self-criticism. And I do not know which of the two characterize him more deeply: whether the clear, firm, reliable security of a man who knows and believes, or the endless search and testing of the truth.”

8 “The grouping in words’ expression.”

9 “I didn’t want to lie...”

4. Examples of analysis

In his study *O koherenci textu Hovorů s T.G. Masarykem* (*Textual coherence in Hovory s T. G. Masarykem*) Daneš demonstrates how deeply Čapek knew the strategies employed by Masaryk in his speeches (Daneš 1994: 11). Moreover, he focuses on three main aspects. First, the structure of the text is not regulated by a logical-argumentative setting, but by a thematic-referential one. Second, he notices that these TP occur not only in the argumentative parts, but sometimes also in narrative ones (mostly from the first two parts). The third section of his analysis is dedicated to the use of parts of speech and specific expressions, such as “a vidíte” (and you see). What also emerges from Daneš’ analysis is the evidence that the sentences are not normally connected explicitly, and the thematic-referential dimension prevails. The most recurring TP are predominantly the three described at the beginning of the article, respectively the one with constant T, the one with linear T and, to a lesser degree the one with derived T. Among the examples reported by the scholar, two are particularly interesting:

- (1) “Demokracie (T1) není jen formou státní, (T1) není jen tím, co je napsáno v ústavách; demokracie (T1) je názor na život, (T1) spočívá na důvěře (R1) v lidi, v lidskost a v lidství, a není důvěry (T2=R1) bez lásky (R2), není lásky (T3=R2) bez důvěry. Řekl jsem jednou, že demokracie (T1) je diskuse (R3). Ale pravá diskuse (T4=R3) je možná jen tam, kde si lidé navzájem důvěřují a poctivě hledají pravdu. Demokracie (T1), to je hovor mezi rovnými, přemýšlení svobodných občanů před celou veřejností [...].”¹⁰ (Čapek 1990: 328)
- (2) “Pokud běží o marxismus: marxismus (T1) je hospodářská teorie (R1) a filozofie (R2), zejména filozofie dějin. Hospodářská teorie (T2=R1) je věc vědeckého zkoumání, revize a zlepšování, tak jako se děje v každé vědě; a také ta filozofie (T3=R2), jako každá jiná filozofie (T3), musí být podrobena kritice a volné úvaze (R3). Proto vznikl revizionismus (R4) a vzniká teď opět. Každá revize (T5=R4) víry a programu bolí (R5); ale bez té bolesti (T6=R5) by nebylo vývoje (R6). Já nemám v kapse hotovou sociální doktrínu; řekl bych to tak – už jsem to kdysi tak pověděl: vždycky jsem pro dělníky a lidi pracující vůbec, často pro socialismus a zřídka pro marxismus (T1).”¹¹ (Čapek 1990: 125)

According to what has been stated, these examples clearly reveal the two main tendencies explained by Čapek and show how well he knew Masaryk’s style and reproduced it. In Example (1) there is a TP with a constant theme that reproduces Masaryk’s tendency to insist on a certain concept with a hesitant rhythm. This TP is a pattern also identifiable in many other paragraphs, see: Example (3):

10 “Democracy is not a form of state, it is not only what it is written in the constitutions; democracy is an opinion about life, it consists in trusting people, in humanity among the humans, there is no trust without love, and no love without trust. Once I said that democracy is discussion. But a true discussion is possible only there, where people trust each other and conscientiously search the truth. Democracy is a talk between equals, the thinking of free citizens in front of the whole public [...].”

11 “As for Marxism, it is an economic theory and philosophy, a philosophy of history in particular. Economic theory, like every science, is a matter for investigation, revision, and improvement, and Marxism, like any philosophy, must be open to criticism and free deliberation. That is why revisionism arose and will continue to do so. Every revision of a creed or program is painful, but without the pain there can be no progress. I have no ready-made social doctrine in my pocket. As I have said elsewhere, I am always for the workman and working people in general, often for socialism, and rarely for Marxism.”

- (3) “Náboženství (T1), jak je konkrétně vidíme, je zpravidla kolektivní, lidové, národní; (T1) je kodifikováno v neosobních dogmatech a organizuje se v církve; (T1) mění se, (T1) uchovává v sobě přežitky z minulosti, často až z dob primitivních, (T1) vyvíjí a (T1) zdokonaluje se s rozvojem myšlení a kultury. Náboženství (T1) je útvar nesmírně složitý, rozrostlý mnoha směry; proto je třeba pozorné analýzy jeho prvků, složek, projevů nebo jak bych to řekl. [...] Jak by náboženství (T1) nebylo složité!”¹² (Čapek 1990: 255)

Example (2) shows the other tendency, namely the one to reflect on a concept employing related ones, which allow to deeper understand its meaning. In agreement with that principle of the search for truth, two types of thought elaboration typical of Masaryk are shown here. Moreover, the two structures can also coexist in the same paragraph. This coexistence becomes even more evident in another passage:

- (4) “Každá organizace (T1), zejména tak ohromná jako církev (T1a), je ipso facto skutečnost politická (R1). Církev (T1a) se vyvinula v pohanském státě (R2), proti němu (R3) a částečně i s ním (R4); jako organizovaná společnost [implied subject = (T1a)] musela nutně upravit svůj poměr k státu (R5), který (T1b=R5) byl tehdy jedinou všeobšáhlou společenskou organizací. [...] Církev (T1a) se nepokoušela pohanský stát odstranit (R6) nebo přetvořit politicky (R7), nýbrž obrátit na křesťanství (R8); když se pokřesťanil [implied subject = (T1b =R8)] a církev zestátnil (R9), utvořila se křesťanská teokracie (R10). Stát (T1b) našel v církvi svůj mravní a náboženský základ (R10); monarchové – notabene absolutističtí (T2 – associated with T1b) – byli “z boží milosti”. (R11) [...] Poměr církve (T1a) a státu (T1b) se ustálil povlovně. [...] Církev (T1a) sama sebou je svou podstatou institucí společenskou (R12); vedle učení a kultu (R13) je strážkyní (R14) a vůdkyní mravnosti a celé správy životní (R15).”¹³ (Čapek 1990: 278–279)

In Example (4) there is a hypertheme, *organizace* (organization), from which two themes are derived, the one represented by *církev* (church) and the one by *stát* (state). The two concepts are analysed through a TP which is both linear and constant. This thematic-referential organization of the speech and the absence of explicit connectors, well observed by Daneš, reveal Čapek's attempt to express in the written dimension the one of silence, which corresponds to hesitation. As result, a reduction of the shift between orality and writing emerges. Daneš' analysis can then be expanded mentioning that the intrinsic

12 “Religion, as we specifically see it, is usually collective, popular, national; it is codified in impersonal dogmas and organized in the church; it changes, preserves the relics of the past, often from primitive times, and develops and improves with the development of thinking and culture. Religion is an extremely complex entity, sprawling in many ways; therefore, a careful analysis of its elements, components, manifestations or, as I would say, is needed. [...] How complicated religion would be!”

13 “Every organization, especially as great as the church, is ipso facto a political reality. The Church developed in the pagan state, against it and partly with it; as an organized society, it necessarily had to adjust its relationship with the state, which was then the only comprehensive social organization. [...] The Church did not try to remove or reshape the pagan state politically, but to convert to Christianity; when he was Christianized and the church was nationalized, a Christian theocracy was formed. The state has found its moral and religious basis in the church; the monarchs – notabene absolutist – were “by the grace of God”. [...] The relationship between church and state has stabilized slowly. [...] The Church itself is, by its very nature, a social institution; in addition to teaching and cult, she is the guardian and leader of morality and the whole administration of life.”

structure of the *Hovory* discloses the principal character of Masaryk's reflection on philosophical and political concepts: it is not based on an argumentative process but on a meditative one.

5. Conclusions

It is clear from these four examples how a linguistic analysis of the *Hovory* reveals the presence of precise stylistic structures. Furthermore, this demonstrates how Čapek did not write a classic biography. In fact, renouncing his own style, he succeeds in creating a work that escapes the ordinary classification of this genre. Then, it is possible to confirm what stated by Mukařovský, ie. the tendency of the author to employ different subgenres. Indeed, Mukařovský's consideration quoted at the beginning of the article could be expanded, highlighting how Čapek is even able to create new subgenres from an intrinsic point of view. The traditional model of biography is problematized by the aspects analysed in this article. First, the elaboration of a structure based, as pointed out by Daneš, on the thematic-referential tissue using specific thematic progressions as reflection of his loyal attitude to Masaryk's style. Second, the renounce of the authorial style, which is largely contaminated by the one of Masaryk. Third, the potential elimination of the gap between the oral and the written dimension in which reporting the element of silence against the continuous flow of the speech is the clue feature. This last one point is a direct and intended consequence of the first two. In conclusion, bending an unconventional form of biography to a personal and new communicative intent Čapek creates a text in which the elaboration of Masaryk's thinking is determined by the intention, at the same time, to reproduce the real style of his speeches within this thinking is conveyed.

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„Dalej wzwyż i dalej w głąb”. Średniowieczny rodowód figury raju w narnijskiej septalogii C. S. Lewisa¹

„Further up and Further in”. Medieval Lineage of the Narnian Figure of Paradise in C. S. Lewis’s Septalogy

Abstract

This paper aims to present the possibility of drawing a deeper connection between the medieval imaginarium and selected tropes in twentieth century fantasy literature, based on a case study analysing the concept of paradise in C. S. Lewis’s young adult book series, *The Chronicles of Narnia*. In order to do that, the article introduces some key elements and rules governing medieval geographical concepts and how they tie in with the highly symbolic perspective on the world adopted in that epoch, using examples from cartographic and literary sources. Next, the author takes a look at the model of paradise carefully crafted in Lewis’s novels, to later compare it with its medieval counterpart and demonstrate the analogies between the two, with the goal of providing some clues regarding possible paths for interpretation.

Keywords: Middle Ages, paradise, Narnia, C. S. Lewis, symbolic geography, medieval cartography, fictional lands

Trudno znaleźć w historii kultury epokę obarczoną negatywnym stereotypem w większym stopniu, niż średniowiecze. Będąca jej wytworem wizja świata bywała przez późniejszych autorów wielokrotnie krytykowana i odrzucona, a w skrajnych przypadkach wręcz wyśmiana. Okruchy średniowiecznej wyobraźni przetrwały jednak w różnych formach, niejednokrotnie dostarczając inspiracji artystom i pisarzom tworzącym stulecia później. Gatunkiem literackim, który w szczególny sposób czerpie garściami ze średniowiecznego imaginarium i sztafażu jest fantastyka, entuzjastycznie nastawiona do

1 Niniejszy tekst jest rozbudowaną wersją referatu pod tym samym tytułem wygłoszonego podczas VI Kongresu Mediewistów Polskich we Wrocławiu 2018 r.

wizji świata zaludnionego przez możnych królów, walecznych rycerzy, piękne damy i egzotyczne bestie. Można rzecz jasna kwestionować, na ile prezentowane w niej treści, gruntownie przepuszczone przez tryby popkultury, przypominają jeszcze w ogóle swoje odległe pierwowzory, niekiedy jednak zdarzają się w niej odwołania zdecydowanie intencjonalne.

Jednym z takich przypadków jest twórczość Clive'a Staplesa Lewisa, którego wykształcenie i zainteresowania naukowe nie pozostawiają wątpliwości co do tego, że wspomniane wątki i nawiązania zostały wprowadzone do jego książek świadomie. Mowa tu rzecz jasna o słynnych „Opowieściach z Narnii”, cyklu powieści fantastycznych dla młodych czytelników. W wielu miejscach omówiono już relację między prozą Lewisa a myślą chrześcijańską (vide m. in. Caughey 2009, Zegadlińska 2015 i inni), dla której ta pierwsza staje się niejednokrotnie fabularyzowaną wykładnią (historia Narnii okazuje się wszak w najważniejszych swych punktach analogiczna do *historia sacra*)², dlatego ograniczę się tu do przywołania tylko części spośród wielu możliwych do nakreślenia tropów, a mianowicie tych, które pozostają bezpośrednio związane z właściwym tematem niniejszego artykułu, czyli wyobrażeniami geograficznymi, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem figury raju.

Aby móc prześledzić podobieństwa między średniowiecznym obrazem świata, a geografiami krain Narnii, wypada najpierw tytułem wprowadzenia powiedzieć kilka słów o tym pierwszym. Jednym z niezwykle cennych źródeł informacji w tej dziedzinie są ówczesne *mappae mundi* – obdarzony specyficznymi cechami typ obrazowania świata będący wytworem omawianej tu epoki – zapoznanie się z którym proponuję jako punkt wyjściowy dalszych rozważań. Dla celów niniejszego artykułu szczególnie odpowiednie będzie przyjrzenie się mapom brytyjskim tego okresu, a więc takim artefaktom jak np. mapa z psalterza londyńskiego (tzw. „Psalter Map”), czy też wielkoformatowa mapa z katedry w Hereford.

Po pierwsze, warto podkreślić, że kartografia tego okresu miała charakter głęboko symboliczny, z czego skądinąd zdawał sobie sprawę sam Lewis (vide: Lewis [1964] 2008: 130). Zarówno wygląd mapy, jak i samego świata, odzwierciedlały bowiem pewne fundamentalne prawdy o ukrytym w jego budowie boskim planie. Podobnie jak w przypadku innych przykładów wizualiów średniowiecznych, posługujących się mocno skodyfikowanym systemem znaków, tj. perspektywa hieratyczna i skomplikowana ikonografia, mapy te, w samej zasadzie swojej konstrukcji, wskazują na większe zainteresowanie zilustrowaniem zależności między poszczególnymi elementami przedstawienia niż precyzyjnymi pomiarami; określeniem struktury niż uchwyceniem podobieństwa fizycznego; przekazaniem treści niż wierności formie; odczytywaniem znaczeń symbolicznych niż akumulacją danych ilościowych.

Dlatego też mapa średniowieczna poświęca dużo uwagi nie tyle miejscom, które odgrywały największą rolę w ówczesnym krajobrazie polityczno-ekonomicznym, czy też stanowiły częste cele wypraw podróżników, co tym, które – w oczach kartografa – stanowią ważne elementy konstrukcji świata, oraz brały udział w kluczowych momentach dziejów ludzkości. Bodaj najszerzej znanym przykładem praktyki tego typu jest spopularyzowany między XII a XIII wiekiem³ zwyczaj umieszczania w centrum świata Jerozolimy, której wyróżniona pozycja zdeterminowana jest szczególną rolą, jaką miasto to

2 Lewis, pomimo pewnej niechęci do redukcji jego twórczości wyłącznie do jej aspektu alegorycznego, nie wypierał się zresztą wcale istnienia owych powiązań z myślą chrześcijańską. W jednym z listów pisarz pokusił się nawet o przyporządkowanie poszczególnych tomów serii do właściwych zagadnień z nią związanych bądź wydarzeń biblijnych (Hooper 1996: 426).

3 Za najstarszą znaną mapę umieszczającą Jerozolimę w centrum świata uznaje się umownie tzw. mapę oksfordzką (znaną też niekiedy jako „mapa z Thorney”) datowaną w przybliżeniu na lata 1100–1110 (Krawiec 2010: 91).

odegrało w historii zbawienia⁴ To dzięki tej właśnie logice dla kartografa staje się nie tylko możliwe, a wręcz kluczowe umieszczenie na mapie stanowiącego tu przedmiot naszego zainteresowania Edenu, mimo panującego powszechnie przekonania o jego całkowitej niedostępności dla wędrowców – obecność przedstawienia Raju Ziemskiego u szczytu mapy uznawana jest za jedną z najbardziej charakterystycznych cech kartografii tego okresu. Jego rolę determinował status miejsca początku, kamienia węgielnego historii ludzkości, w której grzech pierworodny, ukrzyżowanie i sąd ostateczny stają się etapami tej samej opowieści o upadku i odkupieniu.

Jednocześnie jednak warto pamiętać, że w średniowieczu wymiar symboliczny dominuje myślenie nie tylko o przedstawieniach Ziemi, ale i sposób postrzegania samej geografii. Św. Augustyn pisze: „Krań ziemski jest naszą wielką księgą. Odczytuję w niej doskonałość obiecaną w księdze Bożej” (Goldbacher 1898, za: Mittman 2006: 31) przypominając o średniowiecznym przekonaniu o istnieniu powiązania między przesłaniem biblijnym a księgą stworzenia. Sam świat jest tu dla wprawnego oka skarbnicą znaków czekających na odczytanie. Wygląd rzeczy, miejsc i krain nie jest tu więc postrzegany jako przypadkowy, ale jako element boskiego planu, podobnie rzecz ma się z rozmieszczeniem lądów i zamieszkujących je stworzeń – nawet wówczas, gdy sens owego planu pozostaje dla człowieka trudny do pojęcia. Jak bowiem przypomina św. Augustyn „Stwórca wszechrzeczy, wie dobrze, co, gdzie i kiedy ma lub miało być stworzone, bo widzi Bóg, że jedne rzeczy na świecie podobne do siebie, przeplatane być mają odmiennymi, aby piękną uczynić tkaninę wszechstworzenia. Lecz kto całości wzrokiem objąć nie może, temu się brzydka wydaje część stworzenia niezwykła, bo nie wie, z czym się ona zgadza i do czego się stosuje” (św. Augustyn [413–427] 1998: 604).

Augustyn mówi w cytowanym fragmencie o domniemanym istnieniu ras monstrualnych na obrzeżach chrześcijańskiej ekumeny, co z punktu widzenia średniowiecznych mieszkańców Wysp Brytyjskich jest o tyle ciekawe, że ich rodzime tereny sytuowały się wcale nie w centrum znanego świata, a właśnie w obszarze dzikich peryferiów. Izidor z Sewilli – kolejny z wielkich autorytetów średniowiecznych – nazywa wszak Brytanię „wyspą na ocenie oddzieloną od kręgu ziemskiego morzem” (Izidor z Sewilli [612–638] 1911)⁵. Na dwuznaczność pozycji, w jakiej stawia to Brytyjczyków, stających niejako ramię w ramię z rasami monstrualnymi, wskazuje m.in. Asa Mittman (Mittman 2006, zwłaszcza: 11–26), który zauważa dość zaskakujące związki z kategorią monstrualności w legendarnych rodowodach pierwszych mieszkańców tych terenów, oraz istnienie poglądu o konieczności pokonania pierwotnie władającej nimi rasy gigantów przed zasiedleniem przez ludzi. Warto mieć ten fakt w pamięci dokonując porównania średniowiecznego obrazu świata z wizją wykreowaną w prozie Lewisa, gdzie człowiek jest wprawdzie królem Narnii, lecz – przynajmniej do pewnego momentu dziejowego – sama ta kraina zamieszkiwana jest przez mówiące zwierzęta, nymfy, karły, olbrzymy i cały szereg istot hybrydalnych, pasujących jak ulał do

4 Gdyby poszukiwać lokacji pełniącej podobną funkcję w świecie Lewisa, jej najbliższym odpowiednikiem byłby tzw. Kopiec Aslana, usypany dla upamiętnienia dobrowolnej ofiary i zmartwychwstania wielkiego Lwa Aslana. Przeprowadzenie porównania kartograficznego jest tu niestety utrudnione przez fakt, że mapy dołączone do prozy Lewisa nie były wykonane przez pisarza, lecz przez ilustratorów, po drugie zaś przedstawiają zwykle zaledwie wycinek fikcyjnego świata. Być może warto jednak wspomnieć, przynajmniej na jednej z nich Kopiec pojawia się w centralnej części obrazu – mowa tu o wykonanej przez Pauline Bynea mapie dołączonej do powieści „Książę Kaspian”, co jest o tyle istotne, że akurat co do tej mapy wiadomo, że wzorowana była na odręcznym szkicu Lewisa (w zbiorach Bodleian Libraries).

5 Wszystkie tłumaczenia zostały wykonane przez autora, chyba że zaznaczono inaczej.

6 „Brittania Oceani insula interfuso mari toto orbe divisa (...)” (księga XIV, rozdział VI, za pośrednictwem <http://www.the-latinlibrary.com/isidore/14.shtml>, dostęp z dnia 18.02.2020).

kategori *monstra humana*. Nawet wśród egzotycznych plemion można jednak dokonać u Lewisa pewnej gradacji co do stopnia niezwykłości – niektóre stworzenia wydają się osobliwe także przyzwyczajonym do różnorodności form cielesnych mieszkańcom Narnii, co staje się szczególnie widoczne, gdy opuszczają oni swoje rodzinne ziemi i wyruszają na podbój niezbadanych krain, o czym za chwilę.

Nakreśliwszy pokrótce w najogólniejszych zarysach charakter średniowiecznej geografii symbolicznej i wspomniawszy o specyfice sytuacji Brytanii w ramach tejże, wypada wreszcie zająć się bliżej centralnym zagadnieniem niniejszego tekstu, czyli konceptualizacją figury raju w twórczości fantastycznej Lewisa i jej odczytaniem w kontekście omawianego obrazu świata.

Ta zaś pojawia się w „Opowieściach z Narnii” kilkakrotnie. Po raz pierwszy czytelnik spotyka się z nią bliżej w trzeciej powieści z cyklu, „Podróży Wędrowca do Świtu”, której bohaterowie żeglują poza krańce znanego świata w stronę „ostatecznego wschodu”, przeżywając po drodze niebezpieczne i pouczające przygody oraz oglądając dziwy niezbadanych krain. Tak określony kierunek podróży nie jest tu bez znaczenia – przypomnijmy, że w geografii średniowiecznej była to strona świata obdarzona najbardziej pozytywnymi konotacjami symbolicznymi, a także ojczyzna ludzkości, najdalej położonym na wschodzie punktem na średniowiecznej mapie świata był bowiem właśnie Eden. Jeśli dodamy do tej informacji fakt, że niektórzy z uczestników wyprawy *Wędrowca do Świtu* mają nadzieję, że uda im się dotrzeć do legendarnej Krainy Aslana (wielkiego Lwa nazywanego przez mieszkańców Narnii Synem-Władcy-Zza-Morza – postaci stanowiącej w świecie Lewisa odpowiednik Chrystusa), można uznać, że Lewis posługuje się tu pewną grą z motywem poszukiwania Raju. Zdarzenia, zjawiska, postaci i stworzenia, które napotykają na swej trasie bohaterowie, niejednokrotnie przypominają te znane z opowieści średniowiecznych.

I tak na przykład na jednej z wysp załoga *Wędrowca...* znajduje źródło, którego wody mają (w interpretacji Lewisa przeklętą) moc zamieniania wszelkich zanurzonych w nim obiektów w złoto. Historia ta przypomina XIV-wieczną relację Jourdaina de Séveraca w „Mirabiliach” z Cejlonu, który miał ponoć leżeć niedaleko Raju Ziemskiego, i gdzie wedle jego słów miało znajdować się jezioro przemieniające w złoto inne metale (Delumeau [2002] 2017: 128). Co ciekawe, Cejlon jest też lokalizacją, w której na XIII-wiecznej mapie z Hereford oznaczono miejsce występowania smoków – stworzeń, które pojawiają się w jednej z kolejnych przygód narnijskich podróżników. Wędrowcy spotykają także jednonogów, którzy w średniowieczu uznawani byli za jedną z ras monstrualnych zamieszkujących ziemskie peryferia. Lewis powtarza nawet opowieść o rzekomym zwyczaju tego plemienia, którego przedstawiciele mieliby w razie potrzeby używać swej potężnej, pojedynczej stopy niczym parasola przeciwsłonecznego.

Warto zauważyć, że jednonogowie są wspomniani w narnijskim cyklu jeszcze raz, w książce „Ostatnia bitwa”, opisującej finalną, schyłkową fazę historii fikcyjnego świata stworzonego przez brytyjskiego pisarza. W jednej ze scen odmalowana zostaje wizja stanowiąca odpowiednik Sądu Ostatecznego: przed oblicze Aslana wezwane zostają wszystkie świadome istoty z całego świata, wśród nich „Jednonogi i nieziemskie stworzenia z dalekich wysp” (Lewis [1956] 1989: 108). Wyobrażenie to odpowiada również wyrażonemu przez św. Augustyna przekonaniu, jakoby przeznaczeniem monstrów i egzotycznych ludów, z umieszczonych z woli Boga na krańcach Ziemi, miało być wzięcie udziału w Sądzie Ostatecznym (Kline 2003: 178).

Oczywiście z racji gatunku literackiego, w którym porusza się autor, Lewis może sobie pozwolić na sporą dozę dowolności wobec materiału źródłowego i na żonglowanie motywami wplecionymi w oryginalną opowieść raczej niż na wierne ich przytaczanie, dlatego trudno niekiedy dochodzić genealogii

użytych przez niego szerzej znanych tropów literackich, tj. spotkanie z uczonym mężem, śpiący czekający na przebudzenie przy końcu świata, czy bitwa z morskim potworem. Już jednak sama konstrukcja powieści, będąca relacją z morskiej podróży, której etapy wyznaczane są przez wizyty na kolejnych napotkanych na trasie cudownych wyspach, przypomina w wielu miejscach popularny w średniowieczu anonimowy utwór pt. „Żegluga świętego Brendana opata” (Strzelczyk 1992), którego tytułowy bohater wyrusza wraz z załogą mnichów na poszukiwanie Ziemi Obietnic Świętych – wyspy będącej połączeniem figury Raju, Wysp Szczęśliwych i znanego z tradycji celtyckiej Avalonu⁷. Z opowieścią tą łączy zresztą *Wędrowca*... nie tylko struktura dzieła i ogólny cel wyprawy, ale też pewne szczegóły dotyczące przygód spotykających ich bohaterów. Jedną z nich jest opowieść o niezwykłych białych ptakach: mnisi Brendana odnajdują na jednej z wysp (nazywanej dalej w tekście utworu Ptasim Rajem) (Strzelczyk 1992: 133) ptaki śpiewające psalmy na chwałę Pana⁸. Podobne zdarzenie spotyka załogę *Wędrowca* na wyspie Ramandu, „gwiazdy w stanie spoczynku”⁹. Innym punktem zbieżnym jest motyw przejrzystego morza, którego krystalicznie czysta woda umożliwia oglądanie dziwów na dnie wiele sążni pod statkiem (por. Strzelczyk 1992: 144–145 i Lewis [1952] 1985: 149–153).

Legenda o św. Brendanie nie jest zresztą jedynym utworem średniowiecznym, z którego czerpie inspirację Lewis – dość wspomnieć, że przewodzący wyprawie *Wędrowca* król Kaspian bardziej od pobożnego irlandzkiego opata przypomina innego bohatera pielgrzymującego w poszukiwaniu Raju – Aleksandra Wielkiego z „Iter ad paradisum”.

Jakież jednak jest finał wyprawy? Czwórce bohaterów Lewisa udaje się sztuka dotarcia do „samego krańca świata”, gdzie zatrzymują się przed potężną zamarłą stojącą falą, poza którą widzą („poza światem”) (Lewis [1952] 1985: 165) wschodzące słońce i leżący za nim górzysty, zielony ląd – Krainę Aslana. Przez chwilę czują powiew wschodniego wiatru, który przynosi ze sobą cudowną muzykę i zapach. Ostatecznie przekroczenie granicy między światami przypada w udziale tylko jednej postaci – mówiącej myszy, Rycypiskowi, zaś reszta podróżników (ludzkich dzieci) spotyka śnieżnobiałe Jagnię, które gości ich posiłkiem z pieczonej ryby i informuje, że droga, którą widzieli, jest dla nich niedostępna¹⁰.

7 Takie powiązania sprawiają też, że tzw. Wyspy św. Brendana lokowane są w geografii i kartografii średniowiecznej (podobnie jak Wyspy Szczęśliwe w tradycji grecko-rzymskiej i Avalon w tradycji celtyckiej) nie na wschodzie, a na zachodzie.

8 „Nad tym źródłem rosło drzewo o niezwykle wielkim obwodzie i wysokości nie mniej imponującej, na nim zaś siedziały chmary śnieżnobiałego ptactwa. Obsiadło je zaś ono do tego stopnia, że ledwie były widoczne liście i gałęzie. (...) Gdy nadeszła pora nieszpórów, wszystkie ptaki siedzące na drzewie zaczęły jakby jednogłośnie śpiewać, uderzając się [skrzydełkami] po bokach i wypowiadając słowa: <<Tobie, Boże, przystoi hymn na Syjonie i Tobie będą składane śluby w Jeruzalem>>. I wiersz ten stale powtarzały niemalże przez całą godzinę. Ów śpiew i szum skrzydeł zdawały się Bożemu mężowi i jego towarzyszom niby pieśń skargi zamiast radości”. Jak dowiaduje się Brendan, ptaki te były aniołami, które zachowały neutralność i nie opowiedziały się po żadnej ze stron podczas buntu Lucyfera (Strzelczyk 1992: 119–124).

9 „(...) Starzec podszedł do nich bez słowa i stanął po drugiej stronie stołu, naprzeciw swej córki. Potem oboje podnieśli ręce, odwrócili się ku wschodowi i zaczęli śpiewać. Chciałbym zapisać tutaj tę pieśń, lecz nikt z obecnych jej nie zapamiętał. Łucja mówiła później, że była to pieśń wzniosła, prawie przerażająca, lecz bardzo piękna. (...) A potem wydało im się, że coś wylatuje ku nim z samego środka wschodzącego słońca (...). I nagle powietrze wypełniło się głosami – głosami, które podchwyciły tę samą pieśń, lecz w sposób o wiele bardziej dziki, i w języku, którego nikt nie rozumiał. Wkrótce zobaczyli też, skąd te głosy pochodzą. Były to ptaki, wielkie i białe, nadlatujące całymi setkami i tysiącami, i siadające na czym tylko się dało: na trawie, na kamiennej posadzce, na stole, na ich ramionach, rękach, głowach, aż wszystko zaczęło wyglądać tak, jakby na ziemię spadł gruby śnieg” (Lewis [1952] 1985: 140–141).

10 „- Powiedz nam, Jagniątko – zapytała Łucja – czy tedy wiedzie droga do kraju Aslana?/- Nie dla was – odpowiedziało Jagnię. Dla was drzwi do kraju Aslana są w waszym własnym świecie” (Lewis [1952] 1985: 167).

Chrześcijańska symbolika jest tu użyta w sposób niezwykle czytelny, a zakończenie przygód dzieci niesie w sobie echo wielu średniowiecznych opowieści o wyprawach w poszukiwaniu Raju, których bohater dociera wprawdzie do wrót ogrodu, ale tylko po to, by dowiedzieć się, że są one (przynajmniej czasowo) zamknięte¹¹.

„Podróż Wędrowca do Świtu” nie jest jednak jedyną powieścią Lewisa, w której pojawia się motyw Raju. Drugim tytułem, który zdecydowanie zasługuje tu na wzmiankę, jest szósty tom cyklu, „Siostrzeniec czarodzieja”, opowiadający historię stworzenia Narnii. Jak można się spodziewać, u zarania świata, zaledwie kilka godzin po jego kreacji¹², pojawia się w nim zło, wpuszczone przez człowieka. Jeden z bohaterów, Diggory, sprowadza przypadkowo do Narnii Czarownicę Jadis, która jest w opisywanym uniwersum siłą przeciwstawną Aslanowi. Aby odkupić swój błąd, Diggory (nazywany zresztą przez Aslana Synem Adama) podejmuje się misji zerwania i zasadzenia zaczarowanego jabłka, z którego ma wyrosnąć Drzewo Opieki chroniące młody świat przed złem. W tym celu musi się udać do ogrodu, którego opis budzi skojarzenia z Edenem. Oto jak zostało określone jego położenie:

(...) Odwróć się i popatrz na zachód, a potem powiedz, co widzisz.

- Widzę straszliwie wysokie góry, Aslanie. Widzę rzekę, która spada białą kaskadą z krawędzi jakiegoś płaskowyżu. A za tym płaskowyżem są wysokie, zielone wzgórza porośnięte puszcza. Za nimi jeszcze wyższe grzbiety, prawie czarne. A jeszcze dalej, bardzo, bardzo daleko, są ośnieżone szczyty gór, jak na pocztówce z Alp. A za nimi nie ma już nic prócz nieba.

- Masz dobry wzrok – powiedział Aslan. - Wiedz, że granice Narnii sięgają do owego wodospadu. Kiedy wejdiesz na krawędź płaskowyżu, znajdziesz się już na Zachodnim Pustkowiu. Musisz przejść przez góry, aż znajdziesz zieloną dolinę z granatowym jeziorem pośrodku, otoczoną ze wszystkich stron szczytami pokrytymi lodem. Nad brzegiem tego jeziora jest strome, zielone wzgórze. Na szczycie wzgórza jest ogród. A w samym środku tego ogrodu rośnie drzewo. Przynieś mi jabłko z tego drzewa. (Lewis [1955] 2005: 157)

Od razu można zauważyć, że lokalizacja podana tu przez Lewisa nie zgadza się z tą, którą czytelnik zna już z „Podróży Wędrowca do Świtu” - jedna z książek wskazuje na zachód, druga zaś na wschód. Do wątku tego powrócę jeszcze w dalszej części artykułu, tymczasem jednak przyjrzyjmy się samemu narnijskiemu ogrodowi:

został on umieszczony w odległej części świata na wysokiej górze. Z dalszej części tekstu czytelnik dowiaduje się, że jest on otoczony murem, przez który jedyne wejście wiedzie przez zamkniętą, złotą bramę skierowaną dokładnie na wschód. Jest to zatem – zgodnie z biblijną tradycją – miejsce zewsząd otoczone. Nie ulega również wątpliwości niezwykła uroda tego zakątka: już z daleka wędrowcy czują bijący z doliny cudowny zapach, a ich oczy zostają olśnione pięknem i żywością barw. W ogrodzie rosną drzewa o zielonych, niebieskich i srebrnych liściach, pośrodku znajduje się także fontanna (a zatem źródło wody). Jedyną żywą istotą, która zdaje się go zamieszkiwać, jest spostrzeżony przez Diggory’ego egzotyczny ptak siedzący na cudownej jabłoni: „wspaniałą większy od orła, z żółtą piersią, szkarłatnym czubem i długim, purpurowym ogonem” (Lewis [1955] 2005: 173). Nastrój panujący w tym miejscu zostaje określony

11 M. in. opowieści o przywołanym już Aleksandrze Wielkim (Delumeau [2002] 2017: 66).

12 „Bo chociaż ten świat nie ma jeszcze pięciu godzin, już wkroczyło weń zło” (Lewis [1955] 2005: 131).

jako szczęśliwy, lecz równocześnie bardzo uroczysty. Jak pisze Lewis „panował tu niczym nie zmaćony spokój” (Lewis [1955] 2005: 172). Zaczarowane drzewo okazuje się łatwe do rozpoznania:

rosło w samym środku ogrodu, obsypane wielkimi srebrzystymi jabłkami. Jabłka promieniowały swoim własnym światłem, które spływało tam, gdzie nie mogły dotrzeć promienie słońca. [Diggory] podszedł do drzewa, zerwał jedno jabłko, lecz nie mógł się powstrzymać, by go nie obejrzeć i nie powąchać przez schowaniem do kieszeni. Byłoby lepiej, gdyby tego nie zrobił. Natychmiast poczuł straszliwe pragnienie, głód i przemożną chęć skosztowania owocu. (Lewis [1955] 2005: 172)

Choć ogród nigdzie w powieści nie zostaje zidentyfikowany jako Eden, skojarzenia z rajem ziemskim są zatem niezwykle czytelne, tym bardziej, że owoc, po który został wysłany Diggory, nazwany jest Jabłkiem Życia (Lewis [1955] 2005: 176, 196)¹³ (a zatem można się domyślać, że drzewo, z którego pochodzi, jest Drzewem Życia), a nad bramą ogrodu wyryty został zakaz: „Wejdz przez złote wrota albo nie wchodź wcale./Weź mój owoc dla innych albo nie bierz wcale./Bo ci, co kradną dla siebie lub przez mur mój skaczą,/Znajdą to, czego pragną, lecz razem z rozpaczą” (Lewis [1955] 2005: 172).

Jak łatwo się domyślić, zakaz ten zostaje łamany, choć nie przez Diggory’ego, a przez Czarownicę, która włamuje się do ogrodu i zjada jabłko, by zapewnić sobie moc i nieśmiertelność, po czym kusi chłopca, by dopuścił się tego samego czynu. Zlekceważenie przestrogi ma jednak swoją cenę:

Gdy na nią spojrział, odrzuciła ogryzek jabłka, które dopiero co zjadła. Sok owocu, o wiele ciemniejszy, niż się Diggory spodziewał, pozostawił złowrogie, krwawe ślady wokół jej ust. Diggory poczuł od razu, że Czarownica nie dostała się do ogrodu przez bramę, tylko przez mur. Zaczął też dostrzegać pewien sens w ostatniej linijce napisu na drzwiach, mówiącej, że zaspokojenie żądzy zjedzenia zaczarowanego jabłka wiąże się w jakiś sposób z rozpaczą. Z Czarownicy promieniowała bowiem jeszcze większa niż dotąd siła i duma, a nawet pewien triumf, lecz twarz miała upiornie bladą. (Lewis [1955] 2005: 175)

Autor nie tłumaczy dokładnie, na czym polega kara Czarownicy, jej częścią jest jednak z pewnością wygnanie, ponieważ konsekwencją zjedzenia jednego z jabłek okazuje się niemożność pozostania w pobliżu drzewa rodzącego podobne owoce, których zapach, dla innych będący *samą radością, życiem i zdrowiem* jest dla niej odtąd *grozą, rozpaczą i śmiercią* (Lewis [1955] 2005: 190). Owoce są dobre, lecz zostały zerwane i zjedzone w złym czasie i w niewłaściwy sposób. Czarownica ucieka więc na północ, gdzie będzie nabierać mocy i czekać na sposobny moment, na podobieństwo przeklętych apokaliptycznych plemion ze średniowiecznych map świata.

Można rzecz jasna zastanawiać się, na ile wskazane tu zbieżności łączą się konkretnie ze średniowiecznym wyobrażeniem raju, na ile zaś z jego chrześcijańską wizją jako taką. W model budowany przez Lewisa zostaje jednak wpisana pewna właściwość, która wskazuje na to, że podobieństwo do wzorca średniowiecznego nie ogranicza się jedynie do naskórkowych zapożyczeń barwnego sztafażu zaczerpniętego z bestiariuszowych legend w charakterze ozdobników, lecz sięga znacznie głębszego poziomu samej konstrukcji systemu wyłaniającego się z porównania geografii symbolicznej średniowiecznej Ekumeny i Narnii.

Oto bowiem zaczarowany ogród z tomu opowiadającego o stworzeniu świata pojawia się ponownie w części opisującej jego unicestwienie: *Ostatniej Bitwie*, pozwalając historii zatoczyć pełne koło. Tym razem pełni on już jednak zupełnie inną rolę. U krańca dziejów Narnijczycy zostają osądzeni

13 Czarownica nazywa je również jabłkiem młodości. (Lewis [1955] 2005: 176).

przez Aslana – sprawiedliwym, żywym i poległym, dane jest opuścić ginący świat i przejść przez Drzwi Stajni, które okazują się skrywać za progiem krainę, która w pierwszej chwili zdaje im się obca, lecz przy bliższym poznaniu okazuje się być niczym innym, jak wspanialszą i prawdziwszą wersją świata, który znali¹⁴. To właśnie przemierzaniu tej krainy towarzyszy tajemnicza dewiza „Dalej wzwyż, dalej w głąb”, zaś u kresu wędrówki czeka powtórnie odnaleziony ogród. Tym razem jednak jego wrota są otwarte. Co więcej, po wejściu do jego wnętrza bohaterowie przekonują się, że jest on o wiele większy, niż wydawał się z zewnątrz – jest kolejnym światem wewnątrz świata, w szkatułkowy sposób po raz kolejny powtarzającym znajomy wzór rzek, lasów, a nawet mórz, poza którymi majaczy w oddali w łańcuchu opasującym cały świat potężna góra, którą pielgrzymi w *Wędrowcu do świtu* nazywali krajem Aslana.

W tym miejscu okazuje się, że wspomniana wcześniej dwoistość raju nie jest bynajmniej cechą przygodną. Cała figura raju u Lewisa zbudowana jest na serii pozornych sprzeczności: droga do niego wiedzie na wschód, lub na zachód, wzwyż i w głąb; jest jednocześnie szczytem i obrzeżem, centrum i krawędzią okręgu; początkiem i końcem; wewnątrz i na zewnątrz, przy czym „wnętrze jest zawsze większe od tego, co na zewnątrz” (Lewis [1956] 1989: 126). Wymienione paradoksy mają jednak swoje uzasadnienie w średniowiecznej tradycji. I tak na przykład wspomniana wcześniej dwoistość raju może być odbiciem rozróżnienia między rajem ziemskim (Eden – zaczarowany ogród) a niebieskim (miejsce pobytu dusz zmarłych – Kraina Aslana). Z kolei Jean Delumeau pisze w „Historii raju” o koncepcji wywiedzionej od Efrema Syryjczyka, w której Raj pojęty jest „jednocześnie jako szczyt i jako obrzeże Ziemi” (Delumeau [2002] 2017: 59). Sam Lewis rekonstruuje model średniowiecznego kosmosu w „Odrzuconym obrazie” również zauważa analogiczny mechanizm możliwości „przenicowania” tkwiący w samej budowie wszechświata, w którym Boga należy szukać zarówno w środku, jak i na krawędzi okręgu¹⁵. Oto bowiem najbliższa Bogu strefa *Primum Mobile* ulokowana jest w najbardziej oddalonej od Ziemi, najwyższej i najbardziej zewnętrznej sferze koncentrycznego systemu, ale zarazem jest najmniejszym spośród współśrodkowych pierścieni wirujących wokół świetlistego punktu, którym jest Bóg. Jak pisze Lewis, „kiedy nasze umysły są dostatecznie wyzwolone ze zmysłów, wszechświat wywraca się na drugą stronę” (Lewis [1964] 2008: 106). Nie powinno dziwić, że rajski ogród, będący przecież sam w sobie odbiciem modelu świata, podlega podobnym prawom.

Podsumowując powyższe rozważania można więc powiedzieć, że dotychczasowa analiza wskazuje na istnienie wielu poszlak świadczących o zakorzenieniu obecnej w narnijskiej septalogii figury raju w motywach znanych z tradycji średniowiecznej. Istnienie owych punktów zbieżnych wydaje się tu tym istotniejsze, że sposób, w jaki używa ich Lewis, wykracza poza czystą pretekstowość, wskazując na wysoką samoświadomość twórcy i jego zrozumienie złożonego kompleksu historyczno-kulturowego, który posłużył mu za źródło inspiracji. Co za tym idzie, gdy decyduje się on na przywołanie tychże elementów w swojej opowieści, ich obecność staje się czymś więcej niż tylko przytoczoną ku ucieście współczesnego czytelnika egzotyczną anegdotą – zostaje obleczone w formę, która pozwala na nowo ożyć oryginalnym treściami. Z pewnością Lewis nie jest jedynym autorem, który wykorzystuje w swej twórczości wyobrażenia o średniowiecznej proveniencji, te bowiem okazały się wyjątkowo atrakcyjne dla pisarzy gatunku *fantasy*.

14 „Nowa Narnia była krajem GŁĘBSZYM: każda skała, kwiat, każde źdźbło trawy wyglądały tak, jakby znaczyły WIĘCEJ” (Lewis [1956] 1989: 120).

15 „Następnie (...) pobiegnijmy myślą w górę, niebo za niebem, do Tego, który jest jest naprawdę środkiem, choć dla naszych zmysłów obwodem wszechrzeczy, zwierzyńną, za którą gonią niezmordowani łowcy, świecą, ku której lecą wszystkie te ćmy, a jednak nie zostają spalone” (Lewis [1964] 2008: 108).

Na uwagę zasługuje jednak fakt, że Lewisowi udaje się tu sztuka znacznie trudniejsza i rzadsza – nie tylko przedstawia XX-wiecznemu odbiorcy elementy średniowiecznego obrazu świata w świeżej odsłonie, ale też zachowuje i tłumaczy ponownie ich sens symboliczny.

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Artistic Conceptualization of Power in William Wordsworth's Poetry

Abstract

This article discusses the specificity of poetic conceptualization of power in the poetry of William Wordsworth. The focus is on the diversity of textual images of a human being in general, such as an individual or collective subject, and on the philosophical concepts of human life and destiny positioned by the authors in the centre of artistic reflection synthesizing the appropriate social pragmatics. The research is based on the cognitive-discursive approach and proceeds from the scientific ideas about the dynamics of correlation between the cultural-historical paradigm and artistic thinking, the cognitive power of artistic image and artistic text as a linguistic sign of national culture. It involves the integration of research tools of linguistic and cognitive stylistics, cultural and literary studies, which builds a vector of analysis from the concept of power as a social phenomenon to its embodiment, explicit and implicit, at different levels of textual matter.

Keywords: William Wordsworth, literary/artistic concept, English Romanticism, artistic conceptualization, English poetry

1. Introduction

Modern discourse studies “draw” into their orbit the scientific fields that a few decades ago were not considered linguistically relevant, thus, updating the view on the traditional problems of history, culture, psychology, society, politics and language and discourse in the symbolic space of ethnicity and civilization. At one time, Michael Halliday expressed the idea of the possibility of “instrumental” linguistics to learn the language and at the same time to understand “something else” (see Fowler 2003: 3). In the unison with Halliday’s ideas, the modern discourse studies are aimed at revealing various forms of social and cultural practice (Dijk 2014: 122) as a complex of concepts embodied in the structures of discourse by explicit or implicit verbal forms.

One of the many discourse concepts associated with the macrosocial structures of society is the phenomenon of power. Thus, the purpose of the research is to reveal the specificity of poetic conceptualization of power in the poetry of William Wordsworth focusing on the system of poetic anthropocentric concepts. Under the term "poetic anthropocentric concepts", we understand mainly the notion of a poetic persona, the character of a poetic work. However, taking into consideration the fact that the majority of textual conceptual information is expressed implicitly, i.e. by the indirect "nominators" of the concept as an interaction of versatile aesthetic elements of the text (Romanyshyn 2021: 45–46), we argue that the system of poetic anthropoconcepts includes a diversity of textual macro and micro images positioned by the author in the center of artistic reflection.

In this research, we understand power in its very general social and political sense as an influence of the state on the human being and human existence, as a social and economic pressure resulted from the dynamics of social and historical processes. We also follow the ideas developed in modern Ukrainian studies of textual semantics about the complexity, high degree of subjectivity of literary/poetic conceptualization, which result in the creation of a unique, author's individual artistic "vision" and interpretation of the phenomenon in question. The artistic conceptualization underlies the ideological and thematic dominants of the work of art / works of art, the selection of objects of aesthetic representation and their introduction into the world of art. Artistic representation of the world is partial, carried out according to the principle "a part for the whole", and is subjectively selective, consistent with the author's worldview. The mechanism of author's individual ideological and axiological choice in conceptualizing the specific aspects of life is determined by the significance of the selected phenomenon, its value for the subject of poetic creativity.

Romanticism is considered as a certain ideological movement caused by the reaction to world and, in particular, to the European history (Bloom 1971: xiii-1, 1–7; Dyakonova 1978; Elistratova 1960; Vanslov 1966; Hartman 2004: 43–48; Mee 2018; Bainbridge 1995, 2018), and as a spiritual impulse to reconsider the aesthetic problems of artistic practice (Janion 1969; Dawson 1993; Curran 1993; Thorslev 1993; Ryan 1997; Zimmerman 1999; Bennett 1999; Jarvis 2004; Jarvis 2008). Romantics understood the essence of creative imagination as an amazing tool for penetrating into the nature of things and phenomena, the realm of spiritual and material worlds. The authors of "English Romanticism. The Grounds of belief", John Clubbe and Ernest J. Lovell (1983) state:

that the life and art of Romantic poets evince the richness of their humanity and they are read today in large part because they thought deeply about significant areas of human endeavor and art. Literature was important to them, but more important than literature was life. (Clubbe, Lovell 1983: 5)

They describe the Romantic poetry as "suffused with imaginative empathy into human emotions and into the human mind" (Clubbe, Lovell: 6–7), which defines the anthropocentric nature of Romantic discourse. The reassessment of the role and place of feelings in both the internal and external human life were organically combined in the aesthetic and theoretical thought of Romanticism with the desire to understand the mysteries of existence, the eternal movement of history, nature and society. Revealing the essence of art in its relation to reality, Romantics create the concept of "man in society" rather than an abstract human being (Romanyshyn 2021: 51–59). Artistically reconsidered ideas about "social man", nation, state, homeland creates the significant semantic layers in an anthropocentric dimension of Romantic poetry. The original and unique individual poetic conceptual worlds of English Romantics in their integrity reflect a holistic and multifaceted objective world of national existence. As an object of

poetic reflection, the latter develops in various guises, aspects, parameters: (in our case) ethnic and social in the poetry of William Wordsworth.

Anglophone literary criticism has generated a number of researches devoted to the different aspects of actualization of political, moral and philosophical doctrines in Romantic poetics, in particular the poetic heritage of Wordsworth (Lerner 1991; Roe 1989; 2002; 2003; Hoagwood 1996; Zimmerman 1999; Keach 2015). Social topics of English Romantic poetry were at the center of soviet literary studies in which they were treated with a definite ideological bias (Dyakonova 1978; Elistratova 1960). Modern Ukrainian studies of English Romanticism are not numerous. Little attention has been paid to the poetic heritage of William Wordsworth. There are no researches devoted to the specifics of textual artistic conceptualization of political phenomena in his poetic discourse, especially the concept of power as a reflection of author's individual cognition and interpretation of different existential notions of the ethnic and national universe.

2. Theoretical and methodological background

In modern Ukrainian linguistics the problem of artistic conceptualization is approached from different perspectives and there exists a polyphony of definitions of an artistic concept and its structure (Vorobyova 2004; Vorobyova 2011). The variety of research perspectives is determined by the intentions to find and develop new methodological vectors, to disclose the discursive dynamics of concepts and conceptual systems, the interaction of concepts in the intersemiotic perspectives, which brings forward the interdisciplinary nature of studies (Tatsenko 2016; Prihodko 2008; Morozova 2017). Modern research on artistic semantics, artistic conceptualization and a wide range of related topics shares a common scientific platform formed by the integration of lingual poetics, cognitive poetics, discourse and cognitive stylistics (Stockwell 2020; Tsur 2008).

The semantics of a literary text is created by cognitive structures, characterized by different degrees of complexity and abstraction, emerged in a continuous process of sense creation in the act of artistic communication. These forms of mental experience are artistic concepts (traditionally widely used term of literary cognitive studies in East Slavic linguistics (Prihodko 2008: 38). Artistic concepts are not necessarily stable but can expand and be enriched depending on the spatial and temporal distance between the author and the recipient, the moral and aesthetic guidelines on which the author's worldview is based, as well as the socio-historical context of reception. Thus, the artistic concept is a dynamic component of the artistic picture of the world, generated by the interaction of author's and recipient's artistic consciousness within the artistic textual world that is characterized by semantic diversity, interpretive infinity, aesthetic significance, culturally and socially determined content (Romanyshyn 2021: 49–51). The artistic concept permeates the entire individual literary heritage (the line of writer's works, the literary trend, the epoch) and goes beyond it into the space of cultural constants of the nation. The content of artistic concept is dynamic, capable of evolving from one work of the author to another and from one period of his creativity to another. The complexity of semantic, semiotic, associative development of the artistic concepts stems from a complex mechanism of explicit and implicit encoding of information. The variety of associative-figurative means of concepts verbalization creates the complexity of text semantics, since different concepts can intersect, interconnect according to the principle of complementation, inclusion,

etc. In poetic texts the term artistic concept is substituted by the term poetic concept or literary concept (Vorobyova 2004: 18–200).

Identification of poetic conceptual models involves the analysis of a concept as a philosophical phenomenon, mental structure, cultural constant, literary dominant and its (concept's) embodiment, explicit and implicit, at different levels of textual matter (Nikonova 2008; Kaganovskaya 2012; Bieliakhova 2002; Romanyshyn 2021: 94–129). Disclosing semantic, emotional, axiological, aesthetic characteristics of artistic and verbal poetic images is a way to determine the cognitive features of artistic concept – notional, associative and axiological – since the semantics of textual images produces artistically significant material for defining author's individual worldview dominants that underlie the dynamics of existential axiology in the structure of the artistic concept. The reconstruction of conceptual, figurative-associative and axiological content of the artistic concept is based on the disclosure of semantic, emotional, axiological, aesthetic characteristics of the image in micro- and macro-contexts, on the analysis of the whole system of aesthetic poetic means of the text, the role of artistic detail, plot and composition, etc. In the process of artistic concept reconstruction, we recognize the need to take into account both textual and extra textual factors of conceptual information emergence, the unity of artistic form and content, their interaction and transition, the integrity of all aspects of poetic language determined by its very nature as a material and instrument of aesthetic activity.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. William Wordsworth. Artistic conceptualization of the phenomenon of power in the system of anthropocentric poetic concepts

Aesthetics and philosophy of the poet's work, the dynamics of his socio-political, religious and moral views, innovation in the field of poetic imagery and stylistics are disclosed in the works on literary studies and history of English literature by an array of scholars (Lockridge 1989; Dyakonova 1978: 42–75; Elistratova 1960: 42–75; Benis 2000; Gill 2003; Pite 2003; Roe 2003; Hamilton 2003; Stuart 2010; Bennett 2007, 2015; Fry 2008; Chandler 2008; Bushell 2009; Cox 2021). Among the dominant themes of W. Wordsworth's poetry, scholars highlight the themes of nature, home and the patriarchal family, human relations, motherhood, the value of land as spiritual and physical property and the concept of "small homeland". His basic philosophical and ethical principles include the faith in the innate goodness of man, his right to happiness, the need for moral education. Wordsworth's poetry reflects the view of the peasant as a bearer of higher moral qualities, ethnic and social traits that best express the spirit of a real England. The poet's goal was to recreate through the prism of an everyday life ("*our lot of mortal days*" (Wordsworth 1858, "*Weak is the will of Man*", p. 23) the drama of breaking the eternal moral connection between the purity of human soul and the purity of nature, revealing in the poetic image the destiny and the inner world of ordinary and poor citizens. The general outlines of his poetic conceptual sphere develops around the Man and the Nature and is based on the dominant principle to create the image of the human world through its inseparable harmonious connection with the world of nature. And, although Wordsworth revealed in the poetic form the general, universal laws of human existence, in the artist's works man and nature do not appear as abstract entities, but as concrete sensual, vitally true images.

Wordsworth's man is endowed with certain features of social, collective, gender identity. The images of nature – landscapes of the native land, the lovely corners of the Lake District incarnate a sense of ethnic / national identity and reflect significant transformations of natural and ethno-domestic space under the influence of political and economic factors.

The analysis of characters' images of W. Wordsworth's poetry allows us to allocate the poetic concepts of "peasant" and "beggar / marginal man" as key anthropoconcepts of his poetic picture:

- *Peasant* (realized through the images of the main characters of the cycle of lyrical ballads *Goody Blake And Harry Gill*, *Simon Lee*, *The Old Huntsman*, *With An Incident In Which He Was Concerned*, *We Are Seven*, *The Thorn*, *The Last of the Flock*, *The Idiot Boy*, *There was a Boy*, *The Brothers*, *Michael (A Pastoral Poem)*, *Ruth*, *George and Sarah Green*, the cycle *Lucy* and poems *Lucy Gray*, *Or Solitude*, poetic sketches inspired by travels around the country *Memorials Of a Tour in Scotland*, 1803, in particular *The Blind Highland Boy* and *The Farmer Of Tilsbury Vale*);
- *Marginal person* (embodied in the images of exiles, travelers, beggars – the heroes of the poems *Guilt and Sorrow*, *The Female Vagrant*, *Old Man Traveling* and many others). (Wordsworth 1858; Wordsworth 2003–2021)

3.2. Artistic poetic concept PEASANT

Regardless of the language spoken by the heroes of Wordsworth's poems (English or Gallic), the place where they live (in the valleys of the Lake District or the Scottish Highlands), they are connected by a common destiny and life circumstances: extreme impoverishment, loss of property, land, families, the slave labor, exile, moral and physical suffering. The poet comprehended the peasantry, which the upper strata of society have turned into marginal, as the core of national identity, embodying in its specific poetically represented features the ideal example of humanity and the harmony of social relations.

The researchers (especially in the school of former soviet literary criticism) blamed Wordsworth for his weakness in depicting the grave socio-political conflicts of that time, concealing the real reasons of peasantry degeneration, its destruction by the industrial machine and urbanization and avoiding any open assessment of the state. His poems were claimed to contain the motives of refuge, oblivion, sleep, solitude, escape to nature from the confrontation with real life problems, the religious dogmatism. Author's evaluation of the depicted events and attitude to the hero are vague and ambivalent and such vagueness and ambivalence reached their extreme expression in the lyricism and plotlessness of poetic sketches (Elistratova 1960: 157–183). In this regard, Elistratova rightly points out that Wordsworth's "Lyrical Ballads", irrespective of their perceptible social topics, prepares the ground for deepening the poet's religious and reconciling moral convictions expressed in his late poetry. Rural stagnation can serve as a replacement for the violent anxieties of revolutionary political struggle and spiritual creativity. The weakness of social and political issues in the poetic legacy of Wordsworth's late poetry provoked a biting criticism for his so-called reactionary romanticism (Elistratova 1960: 157–183).

These statements are partly justified in view of the frequency of poetic images of sleep, forgetfulness, ghost, vision, grave, sadness, pain, lost hope (for example, in the cycle of poems "To Sleep" and "Animal Tranquility and Decay"), the absence of culminating compositional structure in the plot of the poems and, correspondingly, in the lives of the heroes. Wordsworth's poetic personas rarely rely on their own

strength in deciding their fate, instead they accept or give donation or alms, they do not seek to change the situation, do not oppose social inequality hoping only for the grace of the higher powers. Wordsworth's hero: "*Sits by her fire, and builds her hope in heaven*" (Wordsworth 1858. "The Old Cumberland Beggar", p. 425–427).

Such critical remarks are valid only from a limited point of view on the external, as if formal shell of W. Wordsworth's poetry. In fact, W. Wordsworth's poetry is a brilliantly written psychological portrait of the people, its ideological and artistic content is deeply interconnected with cultural, historical and political context of the epoch, it conveys to us the image of England at the turn of 18th–19th centuries. At the center of W. Wordsworth's artistic practice, there is an ordinary peasant, his emotional perception of reality, the surrounding world and the ethnic life. The plots of the most Wordsworth's works represent an everyday empirical, moral, religious and economic experience of peasantry as a definite social and ethnic group. Socially sensitive issues are represented through the image of a man-peasant by depicting his attachment to the "small" native land in its ethnic, social, domestic, ethical, religious and intellectual manifestations. Emotionally and pragmatically loaded anthropocentric images reflect the ways the poet comprehends and poetically constructs the relations between the person and power, the people and power, state, law, society. In Wordsworth's poetic discourse the concept of peasant unfolds in various artistic and semantic planes: morality, law, religion, work and life, house, land and property, social environment and community. The daily work on one's own piece of land is a source of stability, peace, comfort, confidence; it brings moral satisfaction and is a stimulus for vital activity and faith.

The native land became the breadwinner of man. An inseparable connection with nature as the basis of diligence and virtue is the main artistic feature that creates the notional content of the poetic concept Peasant. Lingual-aesthetic objectification of this cognitive dominant – the spiritual kinship of the persona with a "small homeland" – is enhanced by the verbal elements that contain positive emotionally expressive connotations that in the appropriate contextual environment create the effect of intimation, activate the psychological, irrational aspect of perceiving the environment. For the peasant-farmer, the peasant-shepherd the feeling of being rooted in the native land, a deep attachment to the "small homeland", the importance of work on their own land, the traditional family relations are the main factors of identity. It was that stratum of compatriots whom Wordsworth considered the salt of the earth, the basis of Christian and spiritual virtues. The ideas of conservatism, preservation, stability are the key aesthetic and, in general, social concepts of Wordsworth's world outlook. Home, family, field, flock is not just the basis of existence, but also the spiritual value, emotional attachment, sense of life. The enumerated notions acquire their poetic representation in numerous positively connoted images – (1) "*One field, a flock, and what the neighbouring flood / Supplied, to him were more than mines of gold*" (Wordsworth 2003–2021 "The Female Vagrant"); (2) "*a precious flock to me / As dear as my own children be*" (Wordsworth 1858. "The Last of the Flock" pp. 82–83). The poet was fascinated with the inviolability and stability of peasant existence, the ideal peasant life, in which the tradition, psychology of non-resistance, conservation, and humility are the pillars of social health, balance and security.

The following poetic works: "The Female Vagrant", "The Last of the Fock", "The Brothers", "Michael. A Pastoral Poem", "Ruth", "Thorn" tell the reader about the individual tragedy of losing the land and family, loneliness, the death of parents and children, the loss of homeland, the inability to find a place in new conditions, the transformation of a peasant-owner into a homeless beggar, a criminal. Thus, the general lines of artistic conceptualization of power are transferred into the implicit discursive

planes. The motif of conflict of an individual and power is embodied in the symbolic load of recurrent images that imply the notions of loss, sacrifice, destiny, deprivation, physical and spiritual pain, death, etc. For example, the loss of land and property suffered by hundreds of thousands of poet's compatriots is incarnated in the image of the last sheep from the poem "The Last of the Flock". The loss of land and property as a cause of disintegration and death of a peasant family finds in the poem "Michael" its artistic embodiment in a symbolism of the heap of stones – the ruins of an unfinished sheepfold: (1) "*Beside the brook / Appears a straggling heap of unhewn stones!*"; (2) "*the unfinished Sheepfold may be seen / Beside the boisterous brook of Greenhead Ghyll*". The tragedy of human individual destiny and the collective destiny of the peasantry is depicted in the image of a plough that passed through the land where the shepherd Michael's hut once stood ("*The Cottage which was named the Evening Star / Is gone – the ploughshare has been through the ground / On which it stood*"), and an old lone oak ("*the oak is left / That grew beside their door*") (Wordsworth 1858. "Michael", pp. 96–101). The inevitable "great changes ... / In all the neighborhood" (Wordsworth 1858. "Michael", p.101) caused the tragic individual transformation of a peasant into a marginal man, criminal, entailed the changes of values, morality and law. The poetic conceptualization of the negative impact of power on the individual destiny is sustained by dominant textual micro concepts "impoverishment" and "poverty" poetically objectified in the verbal images that foreground:

- the emotional or physical state of the persona – sorrow, grief, affliction, hopelessness, suffering, death, destruction that in most contexts are personified: "*When sad distress reduced the children's meal...*" (Wordsworth 1858. "The Last of the Flock"); "*tears that flowed for ills which patience could not heal*" (Wordsworth 2003–2021. "The Female Vagrant");
- negative physical sensations – cold, emptiness, silence, bitterness, etc. contextually reinforced by figurative attributes which are also symbolically reinterpreted (bitter struggle, evil time, sore distress, dull pain, dark ways; the empty loom, cold hearth, silent wheel); the emotional and evaluative connotation of color names is predominantly negative.

The author seeks the reasons for the impoverishment and extermination of the peasantry as a stratum of society in the

- "man-made" ("What man has made to man" (Wordsworth 1858. "Lines written in real spring", p. 362) factors, as the creation of new orders and economic laws of property redistribution (including debts, dishonesty, negligence, waste), the inevitable attack of urbanization and industrialization, war, emigration;
- and the "transcendent" influence – destiny, providence, evil fate as a higher power, which an ordinary person cannot resist. For example, the fortunes of the heroes from the poem "The Brothers" had been multiplied for decades by several generations of the family, but debts, loans, mortgage led to a constant struggle for survival. Everything that had been saved was knocked down after the death of a relative "... *old Walter was too weak / To strive with such a torrent; when he died, / The estate and house were sold*". Debt obligation and deception of a dishonest relative ("An evil man / That was, and / made an evil choice") (Wordsworth 1858. "The Brothers" pp. 68–72) also become the reasons for the destruction of the family and the fate of the old shepherd Michael and his son in the poem of the same name.

Despite the detailed and partly exaggerated description of the troubles and misfortunes that befall the heroes of the poems, Wordsworth's poetry is not sensitive to their real causes but reflects the ideology of "the wise passivity". The idea of struggle and confrontation with the destiny is alien to the characters of his works. W. Wordsworth condemns rather than supports any "rebellious intrusion" into the foundations of traditional forms of social order promoting the ideology of solitude, humility and non-resistance to evil: "*A morbid pleasure nourished / ... tracing here / An emblem of his own unfruitful life*" (Wordsworth 1858. "Lines left upon the seat in a Yew-tree" p. 14). At the verbal level of the poetic discourse the amorphous image of power as an "offender", as a source of "man-made" causes of poverty and suffering is realized in the high frequency of indefinite personal sentences ("*They said, I was a wealthy man; / My sheep upon the uplands fed, / And it was fit that thence I took / Whereof to buy us bread. / 'Do this: how can we give to you,' / They cried, 'what to the poor is due?'"*) (Wordsworth 1858. "The Last of the Flock" pp. 82–83), passive syntactic constructions ("*All, all was seized, and weeping, side by side; And from all hope I was forever hurled; and thence / Dismissed, again on open day I gazed*" (Wordsworth 2003–2021.) "The Female Vagrant") and syntactic constructions with metaphor-personification of a tool, instrument, fact associated with misfortune. Rich castles grow in the neighborhood, taking away the lands and houses of the poor ("*Then rose a mansion proud our woods among, / And cottage after cottage owned its sway, / No joy to see a neighboring house*") (Wordsworth 2001–2003. "Female vagrant". The hungry and the poor accompanied by the sound of drums are put on ships and sent to the distant lands (*an evil time was come; / We had no hope, and no relief could gain. / But soon, with proud parade, the noisy drum / Beat round, to sweep the streets of want and pain*). Wars bring death and suffering (*And Fire from Hell reared his gigantic shape, / And Murder, by the ghastly gleam, and Rape / Seized their joint prey, the mother and the child!*) (Wordsworth 1858. "Guilt and sorrow", pp. 16–24). The reader can only guess who is behind all these events but does not see their real faces.

Accordingly, the axiological component in artistic conceptualization of power and a human being becomes blurred and amorphous. Its parameterization is created not on a scale of "negative – positive" but is formed through the categories of "compassion", "passivity" and "inevitability".

The concept of peasant is represented in the poetry of Wordsworth by different verbal images (tropes) and a set of nonimagery language units (color names, words denoting movement, sound, smells, emotions and feelings, etc.) which receive additional connotative meanings in the context and reflect the axiological act of the poet based on individual author's beliefs and motives. The concept of peasant also develops through the system of spatial and temporal symbolic images (road, sea, strange land), conceptual symbols (earth, water, sky), abstract concepts (fate, freedom, coercion) as intratextual units aesthetically representing the conceptual system of culture.

The pages of Wordsworth's poems are saturated in the frequent tropes based on the basic image-scheme "Man - Animal" ("*She shall be sportive as the fawn / That wild with glee across the lawn, / Or up the mountain springs*") (Wordsworth 1858, p. 184), whose most productive contextual realizations are the following: "woman/child – bird/lamb": (1) "*Oh! smile on me, my little lamb!*"; (2) "*And then she sang; – she would have been / A very nightingale*" (Wordsworth 1858. "The two spring mornings", p. 408); (3) "*I was your lambkin, and your bird, / Your star, your gem, your flower*" (Wordsworth 1858, p. 449). In the author's artistic world, facts and situations, social or personal life of man, his moral and psychological state a special place belongs to the image-scheme "Man - Lamb". Wrapped in an aura of axiological ambivalence, the source domain of this image irradiates a variety of meanings the interpretation of which

depends on all figurative, compositional, symbolic and linguistic-cultural aspects of the poetic context. The basis of the ideological and artistic content of the poems "The Last of the Flock", "Female Vagrant", "Ruth" is supported by a figurative parallel between the symbolism of the lamb as a victim and the man as a victim of fate, poverty, social inequality, impoverishment (*when he had refused the proffered gold, / To cruel injuries he became a prey*). Impoverishment, loss of property and support are metaphorized in the verbal elements with the meaning of destruction, death, melting, exhaustion: *"My flock it seemed to melt away; It was a vein that never stopped – Like blood drops from my heart they dropped"* (Wordsworth 1858. "The Last of the Flock" pp. 82–83). Moreover, the man himself is too weak a creature to withstand the adversity. Unhappiness and misfortune in the human destiny are actualized in the images of natural elements – a powerful water flow, influx – for example, the frequent metaphor "trouble is a water flow": (1) *"... old Walter was too weak; To strive with such a torrent"* (Wordsworth 1858. "The Brothers", p. 70); (2) *While in this sort the simple household lived/ From day to day, to Michael's ear there came/ Distressful tidings"* (Wordsworth 1858. "Michael. A pastoral Poem", p. 97).

In the artistic space of Wordsworth's poetry there is observed an alternation of vitality and death in the forms of linguistic embodiment of the conceptual symbol of water: water is life, water is death and water is destiny. The figurative model "Water - Life" is one of the key symbols of Wordsworth's poetic system. Retaining its core conceptual meaning it, however, acquires a unique sense. In "The Ruined Cottage" Wordsworth creates the image of a "spring from which there is no one to drink", which is a change in the traditional associative-symbolic perception of the concept of water as a source of human existence. In this poem, the author claims that the man can also become a source of energy and life for water – the death of a human being deprives the spring of its natural purpose to water him and cuts the circle of life and energy exchange. The man and the spring are capable of emotional and energetic exchange (*For them a bond / Of brotherhood is broken*), able to feel kinship, unity (*a bond / Of brotherhood*). The death of a person leads to the drying up of the spring. In the given micro context the result of this process is marked by micro images "spider" and "cobweb" as associations of death and oblivion, the uselessness of the spring, its functional destruction is actualized in the context by the symbolic load of the artifact – the useless fragment of a wooden bowl – since there is nobody whom it can serve.

The analyzed image of a dried-up spring within the anthropocentric and spatial conceptual planes of Wordsworth's artistic world contributes to the creation of a stable axiological dominant of the "people-power" conceptualization. The figurative verbal element "drying of the spring" symbolizes the process of perishing and destruction of the peasantry as a social stratum capable of preserving the true spiritual and ethno cultural values and maintaining the continuity of ethnic identification.

3.3. Artistic poetic concept MARGINAL MAN

In Wordsworth's, humanistic conception the man is a priori associated with the good and, as a rule, its image is opposed to everything that bears an imprint of evil and injustice. However, his poetic world, like the real one, is filled with sin, guilt, sorrow, loss of human dignity. The complex collision of human virtues and dishonor, truth and falsehood, faith and despair, which, in general, almost always correlates with the opposition of native and strange, hostile world, is represented through the duality and reciprocity of the key poetic subjects: the peasant and the beggar-exile. The pages of Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads are replete with images of beggars wandering the beaten paths – the elderly or women with children – in search of a shelter, food, compassion and help. On the one hand, the social and historical realities supplied

these images with their “naturalism”: detailed human behavior, appearance, clothing. On the other – the poetization of beggary rests on axiological priorities and moral principles of the society. And, at the same time, they reflected the phenomenon of “freedom from society” as one of the possible manifestations of “natural” life devoid of any boundaries. The images of beggars (real and imaginary) served as an example of “destroying” the artificial barriers between man and nature, “testing” the society on charity, religious and moral norms.

The poems “The Old Cumberland Beggar”, “Guilt and Sorrow”, “The Female Vagrant” reveal the themes of impoverishment, moral degradation caused by the social upheavals, which the lower strata of English society experienced due to economic and military policy of the then British state. The notional and semantic content of the concept marginal man, similar to the concept peasant, unfolds based on the same conceptual parameters: morality and religion, land and property, homeland; it is outlined by the historical reality and can be understood in the historical perspective. This conceptual content, however, obtains a subjective coloring and reflects the author’s understanding of reality, his ideology and the method of selecting the objects of poetic reflection, which informs the axiological aspects of poetic conceptualization.

At the end of the 18th century, England became one of the most powerful industrial and military states. In the result of urbanization and industrial development the population of London and other large industrial cities was growing, the cultural interaction between the city and the countryside was reviving, and trade between them was increasing. Historians, however, are not unanimous in their assessment concerning the impact of these cultural and economic changes on the society as a whole, as the majority of the population lived in rural areas, preserving economic traditions and ethnic values, especially in the Scottish Highlands, Wales and parts of East Anglia (Louis 1998). The rapid development of capitalism in the countryside contributed to the enrichment of large landowners. However, the landlords did not farm themselves, but handed over the land to the farmers, evicting the small tenants and taking land from the small landowners for debts. The fencing of communal land and the abolition of some ancient traditional rights accelerated the loss of peasants’ property, turned them into hired laborers, forced them to leave the family lands or even to beg (Erofeiev 1959: 6).

The “reflection” of these historical events and circumstances determines the content of artistic conceptualization of power by foregrounding the cognitive conceptual feature “land and property” in the notional content of Wordsworth’s artistic concept “marginal”. It is the loss of land and property that turns a peasant into a marginal, a beggar. The locus of the lost native land, the small homeland becomes the starting point of wandering without purpose and hope, the road becomes the living environment of a man. The poems “The Old Cumberland Beggar”, “Guilt and Sorrow”, “The Female Vagrant” are saturated in poetic images that actualize the cognitive features “doom”, “inaction”, “obedience” in the structure of the artistic concept “marginal man”: (1) “His sense, in sudden vacancy quite lost, / Left his mind still as a deep evening stream”; (2) “a helpless prey”; (3) “chill night shower / And the sharp wind his head he oft hath bared”; (4) “From that day forth no place to him could be / So lonely”). Metaphors, epithets, metonymies, attributive constructions, involved in the development of the concept, are created by words that mean movement, its character and direction, reproduce the absence of purpose and destination: the endless road and wild forest become the habitat of the beggar, the outsider.

The idea of social alienation of a human being doomed to exile, mental and physical sufferings is sustained by the accumulation of the eloquent artistic details. The exhausted heroine of the poem “The

Female Vagrant" finds her refuge for the night in a landfill where among the thrown things there was a carved rooster from the window frame – a symbol of home and comfort that she had lost forever. She hears the striking of the city tower clock – the center of socially inhabited space. She perceives these sounds as depressing and sad, as a reminder that this space is already alien and distant to her: "*How dismal tolled, that night, the city clock!*" (Wordsworth 2003–2021. "The Female Vagrant"). Different loci on the heroine's way acquire a symbolic meaning in micro- and macro poetic contexts: a ruined fort symbolizes the ruins of life, and the seaside becomes the boundary beyond which there opens the path to the unknown. The image of a wild forest is a key point in the composition of the poem, as it marks the final turn of the heroine's fate. After passing the stage of "closed doors" and "soulless space" of the hospital, where the heroine allegedly found salvation, she returns to life ("*Recovery came with food*") and finds her shelter with the gang of beggars: "*The wild brood saw me weep, my fate enquired, / And gave me food, and rest, more welcome, more desired*" (Wordsworth 2003–2021. "The Female Vagrant"). The end of the poem leaves the question of axiological perspective of "man and power of state relation" open: is begging and marginalization an escape, a salvation from the social restriction and the coercion of power, a form of "natural life" and freedom, the only form of existence of a redundant social elements? Or, is it a conscious choice of life the symbolic attributes of which are: "*The gloomy lantern, and the dim blue match, / The black disguise, the warning whistle shrill, / And ear still busy on its nightly watch...*" (Wordsworth 2003–2021. "The Female Vagrant"). Wordsworth's marginal beggar, as a redundant person in society, thrown out of the inhabited, social circle into the environment with specific laws and morals guidelines, is a poetic generalization of both the collective social stereotypes and author's subjective "profiling" of the image of a social subject that incarnates the ideas of freedom as a lack of responsibility, carefreeness, equality, unity with nature; and freedom as lawlessness, conscious choice to violate moral norms.

A special place in the poetic actualization of the concept of power belongs to the poems "Guilt and Sorrow" and "The Old Cumberland Bagger". In "Guilt and Sorrow", in addition to socio-economic reasons for the marginalization of certain segments of the population, the factors of alienation of an individual from the society are moral and ethical – crime and guilt – a crime committed by a man who is essentially noble but robbed and humiliated. The habitat of a poor soldier who turned into a murderer is a hostile space filled with symbolic attributes of punishment and death – the ringing of iron shackles, gallows, a raven soaring in the dark sky as a symbol of fear. Inner guilt, moral suffering and awareness of the imminent punishment caused a distorted perception of reality. The poet believes that people whose fates resemble the fates of the heroes of "Guilt and Sorrow" are the victims of an unjust social system: "Bad is the world, and hard is the world's law" (Wordsworth 1858. "Guilt and Sorrow", p. 22), concludes the poet.

In the poem "The Old Cumberland Bagger" the image of the beggar is created by a detailed reflection of the subtle psychological nuances of the protagonist's behaviour and ethical aspect of the attitude of the society to the phenomenon of begging: a beggar, being a humiliated social outcast, remains an integral part of the society and displays social sins and social passivity. Thus, objectively negative social phenomenon escapes a definite author's evaluation, moreover its causes and factors as well as the consequences are hidden behind the prolonged poetic reflection on the essence of fate, injustice, hardships and misfortune as unavoidable companions of a human existence.

In the poetic conceptualization of anthropic concepts "peasant" and "beggar/marginal" a special position belongs to the poetic comprehension of the spatial parameters of individual and social existence.

The artistic representation of the space is based on its comprehension as physical and spiritual support of human existence, of the peasant-owner for whom the land and his small homeland are the main values; and as the causes of spiritual and psychological transformations of an individual. In the content of poetic discourse these ideas are reflected in the conceptual reciprocity of anthropic concepts “peasant <=> marginal” and spatial concepts “native land <=> strange land”, their axiological ambivalence. The cognitive features of these concepts are based on author’s understanding of the fundamental categories of ethno-national existence and emerge as a result of interrelation of different artistic-semantic planes: ethical, ideological, behavioral and spiritual plane and socio-historical and political one.

Poetically reconstructing the dynamics of dramatic social and ethnical changes of England through the prism of the key anthropic poetic concepts “peasant” and “marginal man”, W. Wordsworth addresses the phenomenon of power as a crucial factor of an inevitable marginalization of peasantry, the transformation of the peasant into a marginal beggar. The negative dynamics of “people-power” and “man-power” relations distorts the perception of the social environment and space of the native land, negatively affects the individual and social identification due to the loss of the native land or its converting into a strange hostile world.

4. Conclusions

The poetic actualization of power in Wordsworth’s poetry is carried out by the two interrelated poetic concepts – peasant and marginal man – that poetically embody the relationship between an individual, people and the state. The defined anthropocentric concepts, are created by the images of man as a an individual whose tragic fate is closely connected with the collective destiny of a definite social stratum, is determined by the values and moral guidelines of the national community, is a subject of interaction with the natural and social environment and an object affected by the environment. Human existence is displayed within the social and political context of country, state, homeland.

The recurrence of poetic motives of the loss of land, the negative impact of environment, the marginalization of the peasant, his transformation into a beggar or criminal, displacement of the person outside the usual, native natural and social environment, social inequality, inability of adapting to changing habitats intensifies the negative axiology of poetic actualization of power as a destructive force. Notional and axiological dimensions of power are foregrounded by poetic images of decay, death, demolition, destruction, ruins that are central components of the imagery-associative plane of the defined anthropocentric concepts. A special role in poetic actualization of power belongs to spatial imagery that incarnates the reciprocity of the notions of homeland and strange land. Native space, native land – the habitual way of life, the importance of work on the land – are favourable factors of personal and collective existence. However, the space from favourable, life giving resource, the factor of stability and protection can change into an antagonistic and hostile one that absorbs a man. These negative conceptual features in the verbal texture of the poetic work are embodied in the accumulation of imagery models of death, exhaustion, drying up, sacrifice as associates of human vulnerability, defenselessness, social and physical alienation.

The poetically conceptualized phenomenon of power manifests poet's individual reconsideration of "human-society" interaction that is a specific variation of the key aspect of Romantic aesthetics – the idea about an essential unity of a human being and the natural environment

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Front-Page Coverage of the First Day of the Russian Invasion on Ukraine in 2022. The Ethnographic Discourse Analysis Based on the Polish Press Reportage

Abstract

This article explores the discursive patterns of communicative events during the Russia-Ukraine war in 2022. Studied through an ethnographic discourse analysis lens (e.g., Hymes 1972b, Saville-Troike [1982] 2003), Polish front-page news articles are shown to be artefact-filled language environment anchored in culture (Duranti [1997] 1999, Hoijer 1953) that can be studied by means of communicational grammar (Chruszczewski 2002) consisting of well-entrenched conceptualisations in the form of keywords and collocations as concomitants of cultural scripts (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2014, Baker 2006, Wierzbicka 1997). It argues that legitimization of patterned representations is based on a three-fold conceptual typology: (1) the axiological (valuational) dimension (Romanyshyn 2020, Pomeroy 2004, Krzeszowski 1997), (2) the metaphorical account of spatial/territorial reference (proximization) (Cap 2013), (3) us vs. them dichotomy (Van Dijk 1992a). It demonstrates how Polish press manufactures and discursively creates ideological attachments which underlie Poland's cultural legacy.

Keywords: anthropolinguistics, ethnographic discourse analysis, Russia-Ukraine war, cultural scripts

1. Introduction

Interest in doing ethnography research as a method of studying communicative events (Saville-Troike [1982] 2003, Duranti [1997] 1999), also named speech events (Hymes 1972b) and their patterns (e.g., Sapir [1927] 2008, Whorf [1940] 1956, Hymes [1977] 2001, Chruszczewski 2002, Basso 1979, Bauman and Sherzer 1974, Gumperz [1968] 1982) has gained momentum since the publication of Dell Hymes' article "Ethnography of Speaking" in the year 1974. As we witness the tragedies of Russia-Ukraine war, it is imperative to develop interesting ways of documenting social events and human communicative behaviour as active forms in the process of constituting culture. It is the more challenging a task since

the burgeoning area of journalism studies has not given enough attention to the domain of linguistic ethnography (Van Hout 2015: 72, Copland and Creese 2015) which emphasises the emerging field that deals with anthropological foundations to understanding language and ethnography that are most notably highlighted and systematised in anthropological linguistics (Chruszczewski 2011, 2022; Danesi 2004; Foley 1997). Specifically, this interface leads to develop understanding of ethnographic discourse analysis as the process of uncovering a way of life, often referred to a socially regulated practice or ways of patterns which comprise cultural practices of a given community (e.g., Rampton 2007: 591, Green and Bloome 1997: 10, Burszta 1998: 41, Duranti 1994: 17, Hymes 1974: 446, Kluckhohn 1949: 17).

Verschueren (1985) rightly observes that whilst conducting discourse analysis in text-based terms is mandatory (Van Dijk 1988, Fairclough 2003), it often offers a purely one-dimensional level of description which ignores the “[s]tructural and functional properties of the news gathering and reporting process” (Verschueren 1985) and highlights the necessity of capturing a sense of going beyond a purely textual level, e.g., by analysing cultural patterns in the form of cultural scripts (Wierzbicka 1997). His critique was the initial flashpoint in creating a new reference in understanding relations between media reporters and the ways of presenting news discourse. The thrust of this critique documented by the work of Verschueren (1985), Bell (1991) and Jacobs (1999), as well as recently mentioned by Cotter (2010), Van Hout *et al.* (2011) and Perrin (2013) presents that the growing network of scholars belonging to a group called *NewsTalk&Text* advocates (Van Hout 2015: 73) highlight “[e]thnographic descriptions and [...] insider perspectives on the actual practices and values of news production, documenting how these often differ from the claims of theorists, while simultaneously exploring new theoretical frameworks to better understand and analyse news production practices” (Catenaccio *et al.* 2011). Ultimately, the ethnographic approach highlights the dynamics of language and culture which are salient categories of communicative phenomena “[c]oncerned with the situations and uses, the patterns and functions, of speaking as an activity in its own right” (Cresse *et al.* 2015: 268).

If the goal of the ethnography of journalism, and by default also ethnography of communication, is to study linguistic forms as building blocks of social life, the integration of ethnography with discourse research for the documentation and analysis of linguistic patterns has been the cornerstone of an integrative study of language in culture (Hoijer 1953: 556). *The patterned mindset* communicated through discourse is easier to recognise if the full extent of representational practices in the form of *communicational grammar* is considered (Chruszczewski 2002, Van Hout 2015). In this respect, ethnographic discourse analysis provides useful analytical frameworks in the form of rules for studying culture, ideology, identity (Spitulnik 1993, Spitulnik 2000) and the ways of inhabiting their representations (Van Leeuwen 2008: 5) specific to a given speech community.

This article presents both the interpretive and the computer-assisted ethnographic discourse analysis as an analytical framework for distinguishing linguistic patterns that primarily capture the discursive practices situated in the socio-cultural milieu of acts of war. The ethnographic experience of being near the events and the native perspective of the emic view, which provides a direct participation in the local events of social life of a Polish community has allowed the description of discourse patterns that are characteristic of the studied community (Foucault 1972: 27, Saville-Troike 1997: 137, Atkinson and Hammersley 1994, Gold 1958, Junker 1960). The author of the article takes the role of an observer similar to the cameraman’s perception (Hymes 1996: 4, Saville-Troike 1997: 134) that acknowledges the observation of discursive practice but also is a legitimate member who participates in the culture of

a group which is immersed in the socio-cultural context of war as an observer. Taking the ethnographic perspective in studying discourse of the first day of Russia-Ukraine war in Polish front-page news articles has been the more interesting since it shows the institutional influences of press in the creation of structural social order which become social facts. In this perspective, one views press as a social institution and a type of a *speech community* that is a working apparatus of events, settings, participants, themes and goals focused on interaction (Fairclough [1995] 2013: 40, Hymes 1972a).

If one considers press as a speech community of constituting repertoire of speech events, it is essential to understand the role of news media discourse which provides for the frame of discourse action as particular ways of viewing reality and its ideological representations (Van Dijk 2008: 94). Evidently, a close analysis of discursive media practices through ethnographic lens is crucial for the understanding of the patterned nature of cultural practices, their context-dependent themes and the selection of elements and relations which underlie texts being core realisations of discourse therefore “[t]he observable product of interaction, a cultural object” (Talbot 2007: 9). That said, this article intertwines the two salient approaches to studying discourse which address the gap in ethnographic discourse research by providing a comprehensive theoretical and analytical account of cultural patterns as evident in the front-page press coverage of Russian invasion on Ukraine in the year 2022, paying special attention to both collocational and keyword patterning (the structural approach) as well as the unconscious patterns of thinking in their specific context of use (the emic or from the inside perspective) (Headland *et al.* 1990). Thereby, it will be shown that, cultural patterns are inflected by events on the one hand, but their meaning also extends beyond the specific situations that underlie socially established roles and identities (Lucy 1992: 16).

Following the initial considerations outlined above, the key questions framing this article specifically involve, first of all, patterned language-culture interrelationships presented in media format, as exemplified in the Polish press. Second, the ethnographic and discourse analytical approach is presented as a methodological interface that allows for situating the analysis of speech events in the participatory mode taking place in everyday social life and their specific contexts (Papen 2018: 285). Taking this perspective on board, the integrative nature of both frames works to the benefit of this research as it consists of an interpretive and systematic analytical assumptions. Third, media (in this study, the Polish press) viewed as a social institution provides clusters of dynamic and context-specific discursal and ideological norms which are alternative representations of various realities (discourses) (Fairclough [1995] 2015: 42) characteristic of a given institution. Therefore, it is of interest to determine how media discourse in Poland provides the social formation of the analysed media event (the outbreak of war) and possibly identify some idiosyncratic, generic features (Duszak 1998) distinguished in this study. Finally, the observations of systematic language patterns in media discourse offer fertile ground for the research of language and society on culture since only within this configuration can ethnographers studying discourse gather information about institutional power, its resources, dynamism but also resistance and constraints.

1.1. Media ethnography and discourse analysis of media events

Media events of the kind explored in this article are regarded as types of communicative events identified in terms of categories of texts serving specific goal-oriented action. With the advent of media ethnography in the mid-1980s, it has significantly contributed to researching culture both as a discursive and a performative phenomenon (Jensen 2002: 164). Adopting the ethnographic approach to this study, this article explores patterns of communication as evident in media events which are indicative of cultural

vital signs recognised in media discourse consisting of texts, *i.e.*, “[m]oments in the material production of and reproduction of social life” (Fairclough and Graham 2002: 188). Furthermore, as Fairclough (2000) notes, texts, apart from being social constructs of reality, also consist of:

[s]emantic relationships between words, argumentative relationships between propositions, temporal relationships between processes, syntactic relationships between and within sentences, relationships between what is asserted and what is presupposed, etc. What it points to is a critical analysis of the whole formal and conceptual architecture and texture of ... [texts] ... as relational work, texts as producing certain relations and not producing others, as foregrounding selected elements of those relations, as well as their being produced from within certain relations and not from within others. (Fairclough [1995] 2010: 328)

As regards to the above, one can envisage media events as prototypical social events fundamentally reshaping media institution itself, hence it is by means of and through texts that social formation of media discourse takes place resulting in a transformation of social life. Therefore, it is necessary to see that a systematic analysis of media texts plays out in a range of various forms of representations that are fundamentally reproduced through context-specific “[p]ractices which systematically form the objects of which they speak.” (Foucault 1972: 54). For this reason, the ethnographic description of discourse is an integral part of studying the ethnography of events which underlie social processes that are practices of communication consisting of a nexus of conceptualisations and categorizations (Wierzbicka 1996: 395) deriving from cultural environment.

The methodological focus preferred in this study emphasizes the patterned structure of media discourse distributed among the Polish society across the context of Russia–Ukraine war. With respect to ethnography, the distinctive generic features distinguished in the corpora allow to work with the situated data which is indicative of language resources, specifically viewed as cultural knowledge that forms cultural patterns. Ethnographic interpretive approach and its analytical procedures have been traditionally used in the ethnographic method, such as participant–observation and documentation of verbal practice of native speakers, but their application to the study of media discourse is also likely to bear significant results. In this perspective, we may regard the traditional print news media as a sort of speech community which can be studied within its dynamically changing speech events realised in texts viewed as a communicative occurrence (De Beaugrande ([1972] 1981). Furthermore, the institutional media frame has its own components of a communicative situation thoroughly described in Dell Hymes’s *Speaking Grid* (see Hymes 1974), *i.e.*, *Setting, Scene, Participants, Ends, Acts of sequence, Key, Instrumentalities, Norms, Genre*. Hence, the ethnographic orientation to discourse analysis facilitates to capture the process of social action and presents it within some tangible frames recognised by members of a society. It seems that the power of media lies in its function to both enable as well as constrain social action by society members (Fairclough [1995] 2015: 41). At this point it is worth mentioning the persistent agency constrained by that frame, which can be recognised through “[i]ts linguistic realisation (performance) and its linguistic representation (grammatical encoding)” (Duranti 2004: 451). For that matter, if agency always takes place through language, one analytical framework which helps to give insights on unconscious reality of patterned practices that are named and organised in a structured domain has been ethnographic semantics (Blount 2009: 33).

It is commonly held that the methods of ethnographic semantics vary considerably (Colby *et al.* 1966: 3), however the descriptive study of lexicographic data involves some preliminary steps which need

to be employed in order to meet some methodological requirements. The interplay of different procedural elements integrated to create a complex ethnographic semantic discourse analysis employed in this study involves: (1) the study of lexical patterns in the form of collocations (Sinclair 1991: 109, Fairclough 1995: 102, Baker 2006: 96) which occurrence triggers and identifies the already existing generic relations, (2) the analysis of specific lexical items (keywords) which provide information for the semantic import of words and their lexical environment, and (3) the identification of cultural keywords which represent core cultural values of the Polish society (Wierzbicka 1997: 16). Sharing the view of pragmatics that when people communicate they not only physically utter words and think about their combinations, but they *do things with words* in a patterned way (Austin [1962] 1975), this study accommodates data that goes beyond the news media texts and describes how language determines the surrounding news media reality traditionally regarded as “reporting events”.

1.2. Culture locked in key words

Cultures, as intangible as they may seem, can be revealingly studied by their key words which reflect cultural core values encapsulated in the key concepts characteristic of a given community (Wierzbicka 1991: 333). If it is widely acknowledged that every language has its key concepts which are central to practices of a community, locating and exploring them is not only a challenging task but also the one which is prone to misconceptions and speculations. However, it is through the descriptive process of semantic analysis that we may indicate the cultural centrality of key words and attempt to make an approximation in the interpretation of cultural patterns and their culture-specific meaning. The pending question is then how can we study lexicon in a nonspeculative and verifiable way so that it truly reflect social practice and agency, *i.e.*, in the reality that is formed by means of the communicative resources created by language (Duranti 2004, Reisigl and Wodak 2016). This implies more than just reference; it entails the construction of reality which is communicated unconsciously and according to certain rules (Eco 1984: 167) which “[e]ncode a socially constructed representation of the world” (Fowler 1991: 37). Similar view endorsed by Wierzbicka (1997) vindicates the importance of studying lexicon as the focal point of the patterning process of every discourse. Additionally, she rightly observes that words’ true content and its meaning can be legitimately studied by establishing their range of use (Wierzbicka 1997: 31). It is then possible to “unlock” cultural patterns if we study lexicon systematically and rigorously, and in its specific context of use. The tools that are at our disposal for performing this task are collocations that fundamentally provide information for the semantic import of words and their lexical environment. Furthermore, collocational patterns allow to distinguish frames of statistically significant co-occurrences that take on meaning in specific contexts of use (Sinclair 1991: 109, Fairclough 1995: 102, Baker 2006: 96), and facilitate the identification of the already existing generic relations.

In this article, one undertakes to distinguish some selected lexical patterns allocated within the specific contextual constraints of systematically formed discourse structure that form internally consistent practices (Berelson 1952: 18, Halliday 1978). Taking the lexical-grammatical approach to analysing news media discourse combined with the ethnographic exploration of discursive practices is a way of capturing the complexities of social practice distributed in the micro-macro levels of cultural patterns (Lemke 1995, Benke 2000). What I mean by saying this is that establishing the most significant word relationships in the form of collocations, preferably consisting of key words, which are one approach to studying culture at the level of particular contexts of use (Wierzbicka 1997: 16), allows to lead us to the

nexus of culture-specific cultural scripts, *i.e.*, “[r]epresentations of cultural norms which are widely held in a given society and are reflected in language” (Wierzbicka 2014: 339). In line with Wierzbicka’s study of culturally shaped *ways of speaking*, this study attempts to focus on three types of cultural manifestations which provide a collection of manageable chunks of patterns within the analysed discursive moment (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 105): (1) the structural including cultural productions in the form of texts (*e.g.*, Geertz 1973: 452) that can form structures upon events and are accessed by means of a “universal code” which could be replicated in other systems (Lévi-Strauss [1958] 1963, Jakobson [1958] 1960), (2) the ideological (pertaining to a system of a system of beliefs, values and symbols communicated in a structured way (*e.g.*, Fairclough 1989: 42, Van Dijk 2006: 117, Irvine 2001: 25, Fiske and Taylor 2008: 20), (3) the topic-based ethnographic approach which studies context-specific events (Rampton 2007: 592) in terms of discursive reality disseminated through the knowledge of society. The point of departure for the current analysis is an assumption that doing ethnographic linguistic research is one useful method for documenting cultural practice which is reflected in linguistic patterns that underlie cultural scripts.

1.3. Methodology

The data of the present study investigated the corpus of Polish front-page newspaper coverage from six national newspapers during the first day of a Russian invasion on Ukraine in the year 2022. The data used for the current study consisted of texts which were found in the following newspapers: *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita*, *Nasz Dziennik*, *Dziennik Gazeta Prawna*, *Super Express*, and *Fakt*. The choice of the articles included in the corpora was dictated by the fact that the characteristics of the front-page news coverage intends to reach a wide audience and allows to attract readers’ immediate attention. As is often the case of any breaking news, especially war-related ones, it is likely that the “newsworthiness” strongly corresponds to the allocation of press content. Common media practice is that front pages include high-profile stories that are of greatest prominence.

While studies abound on news media discourse about war, including their generic patterning (*e.g.*, Götz and Staun 2022, Semykina 2021, Chovanec 2010, Okulska and Cap 2010, Cap 2006, Chilton 2004) there is scarce research into the generic patterns evidenced in the Polish news media domain in this respect. By adopting the ethnographic discourse approach which is one way of studying events as active forms in the process of constituting culture I address them with a view to recognising the operations of media discourse and revealing socio-cultural roots which are exposed in cultural scripts. Therefore, this study aims to fill the gap by investigating Polish core cultural values in the cultural contexts of press reportage on a Russia-Ukraine war. Following a qualitative-quantitative approach of corpus-based content analysis, which allows to find semantic clusters and facilitate the identification of anthropolinguistic concepts, the corpora was coded through keyword and collocational analysis and provided further insight into themes and categorisations that give a broad account of social reality presented by the Polish press media on the first day of Russia-Ukraine military operations.

1.4. Analysis

The analysis based on the gathered corpora presents the most salient categories that create the ethnographic account of cultural scripts found in the front-page newspaper coverage on the first day of Russia-Ukraine military operations. Apparatus employed in the concordance-informed discourse

analysis was Korpusomat (<https://korpusomat.pl/>), a freeware concordance programme which allowed to conduct the basic lexical operations of corpus analysis such as looking for keywords and collocates. The data in the form of text files were uploaded to a database and a key word analysis using KeyWord list Tool was conducted. Each category was discussed with reference to collocational patterns that have been distinguished based on the most prominent keywords. In order to explore how the patterned collocational structures are distributed within the analysed corpora, the wordlist frequency of the collected corpus was correlated against another wordlist from the reference corpora (Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego). This part details cultural scripts based on selected collocations derived from dominant keywords. The keyword analysis shows the strongest occurrence of words UKRAINA (FREQ. 47), ROSJA (FREQ. 38), PUTIN (FREQ. 29) AND WOJNA (FREQ. 28) in the analysed corpus. To illustrate the context-specific relations in concordance lines with the strongest keywords in terms of their keyness (Subtirelu and Baker 2017: 113), the following cultural patterns in the form of collocations and their categories have been singled out.

1.4.1. Collocations with UKRAINA

It is to be noted that the lemma UKRAINA has the highest frequency of occurrence of all lexical items in the analysed corpora. The first level of the analysis points to the category of the keyword UKRAINA that is presented as the participant of social practice (Van Leeuwen 2008: 23). Since texts represent social practices, collocations have specific contributions in explaining and legitimating (or criticising/delegitimising) the representations of contextualised practice in question. Therefore, from Figure 1 it becomes apparent that the most frequent collocate with the noun lemma UKRAINA is a preposition [IN] stemming from the base form [NA UKRAINA] and its lexemes, *e.g.*, *na Ukrainę* and *na Ukrainie*.

Pobierz			
Forma bazowa	Liczba wystąpień	P-stwo (bias)	P-stwo
na Ukraina	17	1.76	0.18

Figure 1. Screenshot of a distribution of a collocation frequency of the collocation [*na Ukraina*].

Comparing contexts of the function word [IN] with the keyword UKRAINA the concordance line shows a range of aspects worth noting. First of all, it gives us the patterns of meaning that deal with **role allocation**. Ukraine, being an impersonalized social actor represents a collective status of a Ukrainian nation recognised as objectivation realised by metonymical reference, *i.e.*, spatialization bound by the context it is closely associated with (Van Leeuwen 2008: 46). The abstract noun UKRAINA represents a submissive role of that of a victim– as being attacked and as being invaded. Such a representation strategically delegitimises Russia making it a reference of a negative public self-image and loss of face (Rheindorf and Wodak 2020, Chilton 2004, Brown and Levinson [1978] 1987, Goffman 1967). This script also puts Ukraine in the role of the defender who resists Russian attacks. Table 2. shows selected examples of the concordance lines with some patterns of meaning.

Lewy kontekst	Rezultat	Prawy kontekst
. godz . 4 nad ranem rozpoczęła się rosyjska inwazja	na [na:prep:acc] Ukrainę [Ukraina:subst:sg:acc:f]	. Agresor uderzył z ładu , wody i powietrza .
to jedno ze źródeł oczekiwań ekonomistów , że agresja Rosji	na [na:prep:acc] Ukrainę [Ukraina:subst:sg:acc:f]	podsyli i tak już najwyższą od ponad 20 lat inflację
atak Putin . Bombardowanie było wstępem do kolejnego ataku .	Na [na:prep:loc] Ukrainie [Ukraina:subst:sg:loc:f]	od wschodu , południa i od północy wdarły się pance
kara za agresję . Świat sportu protestuje wobec napaści Rosji	na [na:prep:acc] Ukrainę [Ukraina:subst:sg:acc:f]	. Jakie sankcje wobec tego kraju wyciągną międzynarodowe federacje ?
. Piłka w szponach Putina . Po niebываłej agresji Rosji	na [na:prep:acc] Ukrainę [Ukraina:subst:sg:acc:f]	wyjazd piłkarskiej reprezentacji Polski na mecz z Rosją 24 marca

Figure 2. Screenshot of a concordance line of [na Ukraina] collocation.

The social structure of asymmetrical power relations between Russia and Ukraine has also been one way of establishing the system of relations and social roles (Durkheim 1989, Halliday 1978) that are attributed by the language of media to Russia and Ukraine which become occupants of that roles. It is observed that the selection of these second-order roles dictated by discourse (Halliday 1978: 144) become systematic patterns of relations determined by acts of violence, *i.e.*, invading, being aggressive, attacking. The results show that the combination of collocates in the Table 2 relies on a frequently deployed pattern: news media discourse is constructing *us vs. them* dichotomised ideology (Van Dijk 1998, Okulska and Cap 2010: 3, Chovanec 2010: 63), *i.e.*, “us” referring to a positive representation of Ukraine as being a victim of a negatively represented Russia (“them” camp). This oppositional relation is here treated as an activity of encoding ideological reality (Van Dijk 1998: 4) which served rhetorical ends. Specifically, reporting Russia to be attackers over Ukraine rhetorically dehumanises them, *i.e.*, they are subject to delegitimisation (Chilton 2004: 47) which takes the form of a negative representation that categorises Russians as adversaries devoid of humaneness.

Another recurrent pattern in the given collocation concerns a set of lexical items that impart negative meaning such as *inwazja/napaść/agresja/nalot na Ukrainę*. What emerges from the data is that all these lexical items serve to construe a negative representation of Russia reflected in its dominant role of an attacker and Ukraine being presented as a victim. At this point, it is of use to bring two elements together; the pathetic effect achieved through the reactions invoked by the patterns of actions that carry the emotions and attitudes that belong to these actions and the “informative load” of the type of performed actions (here, invading, attacking, being aggressive) which lie at the centre of a role establishment (*ibid.*). This implies persuading the audience by manoeuvring their emotions and achieving communicative ends. In terms of framing events by media discourse (Ensink and Sauer 2003) and displaying it from a certain perspective, the pathetic effect achieved by this lexical pattern is recognised as one of the cues that build the narration of dominance and establish asymmetrical power relations.

1.4.2. Collocations with ROSJA

Another script that surfaces in the analysis of the collocational patterns has been with lemma ROSJA. The table below shows the frequency of occurrence of this collocate in the analysed corpora.

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Pobierz			
Forma bazowa	Liczba wystąpień	P-stwo (bias)	P-stwo
rosyjska inwazja	5	0.95	0.26

Figure 3. Screenshot of a distribution of a collocation frequency of the collocation [*rosyjska inwazja*].

Lp	Lewy kontekst	Rezultat	Prawy kontekst
1	czwartek ok . godz . 4 nad ranem rozpoczęła się	rosyjska [rosyjski:adj;sg:nom:f:pos] inwazja [inwazja:subst:sg:nom:f]	na Ukrainę . Agresor uderzył z lądu , wody i
2	Różaniec przeciw przemocy	Rosyjska [rosyjski:adj;sg:voc:f:pos] inwazja [inwazja:subst:sg:nom:f]	na Ukrainę . Na różańcu błagajmy o pokój i zakończenie
3	, że wszyscy wielcy przywódcy Zachodu zawiedli i źle ocenili	Rosyjską [rosyjski:adj;sg:acc:f:pos] inwazję [inwazja:subst:sg:acc:f]	na Ukrainę . Na różańcu błagajmy o pokój i zakończenie
4	kilka razy występował z przesłaniem . Dwie godziny po rozpoczęciu	rosyjskiej [rosyjski:adj;sg:gen:f:pos] inwazji [inwazja:subst:sg:gen:f]	na pełnych obrotach pracowali też w stolicy deputowani Rady Najwyższej
5	Euroligi z Zenitem Sankt Petersburg . Protesty gwiazd . Przeciwno	rosyjskiej [rosyjski:adj;sg:dat:f:pos] inwazji [inwazja:subst:sg:dat:f]	protestują oczywiście gwiazdy ukraińskiego sportu . Czasem bardzo ostro .

Figure 4. Screenshot of a concordance line of [*rosyjska inwazja*] collocation.

A common pattern in this collocation is *rosyjska inwazja*, represented statically (Van Leeuwen 2008: 63) and realized by nominalisation. Even though this collocation is not realised dynamically, representing the behaviour of doing, it still represents an action of invading and emphasises a reaction of a negative evaluation thereby delegitimising Russia. In other words, the action of invading becomes objectivated (*ibid.*) so that its realisation is labelled and classified while at the same time a state of ritual disequilibrium becomes established (Goffman 1967: 19). Therefore, this discursive regularity offers an interesting turn towards the framework of ritual that derives its meaning from social situations in which actions are performed (Goffman 1967: 57). There appear to be two ways of a ritualised pattern within the studied collocate. One is about the negative evaluative meaning of invading and another aspect deals with the recipient toward whom the ritual is performed and who is given the conception “[t]hat others are obliged to maintain of him to him” (Goffman 1967: 58). Therefore, the dichotomous construct of an attacker–victim takes place through a ritual relation of delegitimation attributed and imposed by society on its members.

It is also to be noted that the collocation *rosyjska inwazja* alludes to constructing a representation of Russia as an outgroup member and produces at the same time a prejudiced syndrome. At the same

time, this pattern entails negative emotions towards Russia as an out-group which invades Ukraine, hence this representation is associated with the threatening attributes and negative cues (Hart 2010: 50). From the concordance line above it can be seen that the collocational interplay of words *rosyjska inwazja na Ukrainę* reflects the negative evaluative meaning. Looking at how evaluative prosody (Sinclair 1987, Louw 1993, Bublitz 2003) is distributed it emphasizes the collocational relation which builds a rhetorical effect of dehumanising Russia through the negative potential of a binary opposition of a Russia acting as an attacker and Ukraine being a victim.

This pattern also uses identification category of Russia as an initiator of the invasion which essentially involves a negative–other representation of Russia (Van Dijk 2008: 200). Importantly, the derogation of “the enemy” as evidenced in this collocational pattern directly refers to the group characterisation of Russia as invaders who are devoid of humaneness since they occupy the victimised Ukraine.

1.4.3. Semantic relations with PUTIN

Another significantly occurring keyword has been a lemma PUTIN. Since it belongs to the category of the keywords with relatively high keyness its analysis offers an invaluable insight into understanding Polish cultural scripts about the Russia–Ukraine war communicated via press. Even though the word PUTIN does not collocate with other lemmas in the corpus, it still remains a pivotal word that establishes legitimate semantic relations that extend across various cultural domains. Based on the context–specific concordance lines they reveal the following patterns:

demilitaryzacji i denazyfikacji Ukrainy mówił wykrzywiający się z gniewu Władimir	Putin [Putin:subst:sg:nom:m1]	. Ukrainę obudziły rakiety . Jak , , demilitaryzacja "
. politykę ludobójstwa " . Tak jest ! Bandycki napad	Putina [Putin:subst:sg:gen:m1]	przypomina wzory ustanowione przez Hitlera i Stalina . Także po
Także po retorykę największych totalitarnych bandytów XX w .	Putin [Putin:subst:sg:nom:m1]	sięga obszernie i bez zażenowania .
Krwawy podbój	Putina [Putin:subst:sg:gen:m1]	Takiej tragedii Europa nie widziała od drugiej wojny światowej .
Chodorkowski , bo ośmielił się publicznie skrytykować korupcję w reżimie	Putina [Putin:subst:sg:gen:m1]	. Dziś uwięziony jest Aleksiej Nawalny , bo mówi głosem
powtarzają te słowa wbrew nikczemnym , podłym i kłamliwym deklaracjom	Putina [Putin:subst:sg:gen:m1]	. Ten podpułkownik KGB pojmuje świat jako własne , prywatne
Jednak wykluczyć wymierzonych w nas prowokacji i działań hybrydowych .	Putin [Putin:subst:sg:nom:m1]	i jego otoczenie nienawidzą polskiej wolności nie mniej niż ukraińskiej
Obróńca Manchesteru City Ołeksandr Zinzenko zwrócił się bezpośrednio do Władimira	Putina [Putin:subst:sg:gen:m1]	. - Obyś zdecht w najgorszy możliwy sposób napisał
. Decyzja FIFA W najbliższych dniach . Piłka w szponach	Putina [Putin:subst:sg:gen:m1]	. Po niebywalej agresji Rosji na Ukrainę wyjazd piłkarskiej

Figure 5. Selected concordance lines of the lemma PUTIN.

As observed in the analysis, this script uses a pattern which shows a range of evaluational components that imply a moral judgement in constructing Putin's discursive identity. The first essential point which needs considering is (a) genitive case that expresses possession which carries a negative evaluation. Examples like *napad Putina*, *deklaracje Putina*, *korupcja w reżimie Putina*, *podbój Putina*, and *piłka w szponach Putina* can be adduced as evidence. Other evaluative terms which impart immoral behaviour are (b) adjectival formulations that contain a negative emotive tone such as *wykrzywiający się z gniewu*, *bandycki*, *podłym i kłamliwym*, and *krwawy*. Given these patterns, it is to be noted that the context-specific discursive representation of Putin as a dehumanised and immoral invader is a form of social cognition, *i.e.*, the type of discourse that gives "[a] definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge in a given context" (Bouchard 1977: 199). This means that news media texts do not only carry representations of social actors and events but also serve purposeful function of explaining, justifying and evaluating reality. It seems that this axiological framework, which deals with beliefs, creates a script-like structure, with Putin as one of social actors associated with deligitimising attributes. We see how powerful the act of perspective-taking by media becomes. Mainstream Polish press therefore may regulate certain types of social practice and manipulate the public with evaluation-based narratives that emphasise the values that it tries the society to adopt. The obtained patterns demonstrate rather clearly the ideological framework of systems of representations consisting of beliefs shared and agreed on by a social group (*e.g.*, Van Dijk 1998, Charteris-Black 2011).

1.4.4. Semantic relations with WOJNA

An examination of the keyword list also points to a high keyness value of the lemma WOJNA in the analysed corpora. Again, it does not collocate with any lexical items within the gathered corpus, nevertheless, its significance cannot be underestimated since it offers a very good illustration of what the word WOJNA means on the first day of Russian military operations against Ukraine. By no means, it is no accident that this culture-specific keyword is one of the characteristics of the first-day mass media discourse produced in Poland that is situated only miles away from the occupied Ukraine. Clearly, the analysis of the word WOJNA not only reflects ways of thinking about the threatened social order but also about the ways of living and organising the society which directly translates into how language is manifested in the Polish culture (Hoijer and Beals 1918: 210).

The data presented in the concordance analysis of the keyword WOJNA can be considered a representative example of metaphorical patterns in news media discourse. One way of understanding these patterned associations is to consider WOJNA as a word that is used metaphorically to prime people to think in terms of **ideological** attachments underlying the type of a social strain and locate the deep and pervasive mechanisms for the observation, understanding, evaluating and manipulating social reality. Whatever the cultural symbol-system they reveal, they are sources of information, *i.e.*, the ideologies, that "[r]ender incomprehensible situations meaningful, [and M.S.] construe them as to make it possible to act purposefully within them, (...) they are most distinctively, maps of problematic social reality and matrices for the creation of collective conscience" (Geertz 1973: 220). Therefore, closer look at metaphorical patterns with the word WOJNA reveals ways of helping the society not only to address the controversial topic of war but most importantly to deal with the reality on the local and global scale.

After examining the concordance data, the significant concordance lines of metaphorical expressions surrounding the lemma WOJNA have been singled out, which is shown in the table below:

konfesjonałach i wystawienie Pana Jezusa w Najświętszym Sakramencie . Zło	wojny [wojna:subst:sg:gen:f]	i jej skutki zbliżają się coraz bardziej do naszych granic
spadły o świecie . Wczoraj Ukraińcy obudzili się w piekle	wojny [wojna:subst:sg:gen:f]	. Bomby spadły na kilkadziesiąt ukraińskich miast , niszcząc domy
nie ma już wielkiego znaczenia . Mleko się rozlało .	Wojna [wojna:subst:sg:nom:f]	się rozlała , Prawdziwa wojna , w której płynie krew
. Mleko się rozlało . Wojna się rozlała , Prawdziwa	wojna [wojna:subst:sg:nom:f]	, w której płynie krew , giną ludzie . Zachód
mieszkańców 80-tysięcznego miasta nie przypuszczał , że w ciągu sekund	wojna [wojna:subst:sg:nom:f]	na Donbasie dotrze za Dniepr . Rakiety doleciały także do
UE i NATO , trudno więc wyobrazić sobie bezpośrednie zagrożenie	wojną [wojna:subst:sg:inst:f]	. Nie można jednak wykluczyć wymierzonych w nas prowokacji i

Figure 6. Selected concordance lines of the lemma WOJNA.

1.4.5. WOJNA as an axiological construct

If we carry out a search on concordance lines containing the lemma WOJNA they are observed to capture value-negative **axiological (valuational)** concepts (Romanyshyn 2020, Pomeroy 2004, Hartman 2002, Krzeszowski 1997) which are universally recognised in the category of an evil and a threat. The axiological manifestation that become apparent in the analysed corpus include the phrases: *zło wojny, w piekle wojny, prawdziwa wojna, zagrożenie wojną*, and highlight the axiological binary distinctions of good *vs.* evil, heaven *vs.* hell, truth *vs.* lie, safety *vs.* threat which could imply the “emotive” aspects of meaning (*e.g.*, Krzeszowski 1990: 135) and are major factors determining the concepts, *e.g.*, that of legitimization/delegitimization (*e.g.*, Cap 2008, Chilton 2004). As a result, patterns of moral reference echo in the shared discursive space between news media and the readers. Interestingly, they are the indication of the threatened reality and social disequilibrium that is created in people’s minds, therefore axiological underpinnings not only provide public with information about the world, but also make certain assumptions according to social categorizations which “[p]roject meaning and social values on the referents” (Richardson 2007: 50). Thus the cultural script based on dichotomous, ideological load of good/bad, true/false, safe/threatening polarity ascribed to the word WOJNA imparts meaning based on the delegitimation of the temporally existing geopolitical context of war. This all creates a certain static pattern of social time and space inscribed within the spatial proximation strategy (Cap 2013) that reveals a clear, tangible, and real threat, as evidenced in the nominal forms like *zło, piekło, zagrożenie*, which aims at accomplishing specific discourse goals (Cap 2013: 27). Since nominalisations “[o]ffer extensive ideological opportunities” (Fowler 1991: 80) and are potentially mystifactory in terms of agency indication/overtness (*ibid.*), the axiological dimension marks a pattern that conflates with a specific representation of power relations that are presented by means of journalists’ attitudes and evaluations.

On the one hand, the status of things, *i.e.*, WOJNA, goes unexpressed in terms of agency due to the deletion of *who, did what to whom*, but on the other hand, this unexplicit reference involves ideologically powerful concepts of evil, social disequilibrium and threat which metaphorically proximate symbolic

construal integrating the “material danger” with the “abstract values”. This script suggests that the rationale for the war presented in news media press is based on the external physical threat of “geographical closeness of war” as well as the internal, “existential” threat which is an attack on values and beliefs.

1.4.6. WOJNA as a FLUID

Intriguing enough, the discursive representation of WOJNA is also correlated with “doing” and sensory-motor experience attributed to a **FLUID** (Kövecses 2005: 26). At the metaphorical level, the lemma WOJNA points to a considerable value of spreading and approaching which is explicitly manifested in the following expressions: *wojna i jej skutki zbliżają się, wojna się rozlała, wojna w której płynie krew*. The concept of imminent danger, involving the conceptual metaphor of WOJNA as a fluid that encroaches on Ukrainian territory, brings us to considerations of the metaphorical thought as a universal cognitive experience that maps its source (a physical domain) and a target (an abstract domain) (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2005). The correspondences within the conceptual metaphor WOJNA as a fluid prompt contextual observations which serve as transparent linguistic articulations of WOJNA in terms of movement and action. The basic mapping that explains the mechanism underlying this conceptual metaphor includes the following:

SOURCE: fluid	TARGET: wojna
the fluid (blood)–war	
the movement of the fluid–the approaching war	
the active performance of the fluid (it spills out, spreads)–the status of the war–in progress	

These conceptualisations indicate that although threat or danger has not been used lexically in the corpora, they evoke the aura of fear that is recognised in the spatial/territorial reference by means of the embodiment in the form of a fluid. Given that universal metaphors, including the conceptual metaphors deriving from reference to a fluid, “[p]oint to an “overarching,” or “underlying” layer of cultural experience – over and above the metaphors that may be culture-specific” (Kövecses 2005: xiv), this metaphorical concept imparts significant information about the culturally shared understanding of war that characterises Polish people. By stating this, it is observed that news media press in Poland proximates a cultural pattern of being connected with all the war-related concepts based on the World War II experience. But not only that, it also captures the inherent cultural, war-related intangibles such as uncertainty, brutality, negative emotions and broken moral values. These observations allow a claim that the cultural script of WOJNA as a fluid draws on the understanding of war that is deeply inscribed in the Polish culture and provides a retrospective projection of the historical past that has not been forgotten. Since the existence of metaphors in language is determined by their existence in human thought (Kövecses 2005:8), they are notable cultural mirror reflections of social-cultural levels that still reside in a Polish conceptual system.

1.5. Discussion and Conclusions

The objective of this ethnographic study of discourse has been to distinguish linguistic patterns in the form of prevalent cultural scripts which are situated in the socio-cultural immediate context of Russia-Ukraine military conflict. It is believed that linguistic ethnography provides insight on socially regulated practice underlying a given community’s culture, *i.e.*, its communicational grammar. The linguistic

patterns which underlie Polish cultural scripts are observed to not only categorise social experience of here and now but are also intrinsically connected with Poland's past frames. The study has shown that the most prevalent scripts based on selected keywords and their collocations are concerned with three types of categorisations that make an explicit negative reference to Russian violent acts of war.

The first category merges two prevalent contextual co-occurrences which can be funnelled under the category of a role allocation. It specifically denotes a representation of (a) Ukraine in terms of its collective status and a submissive/victimised role. Russia on the other hand, performs as an attacker of Ukraine and therefore this salient role performance is mapping out a framework of *us vs. them* ideology that serves rhetorical ends. Specifically, this symbolic representation reports Russia as dehumanised nation that ideologically maintains negative-other trajectory.

In a similar vein, Polish cultural scripts offer another type of a dichotomy, this time with reference to (2) axiological (valuational) concepts. The corpora invokes scripts that highlight the category of evil and threat which imply the affective/evaluative aspects of meaning. The pattern of moral reference, expressed by means of nominal forms, points to the spatially determined dimension that reveals a tangible and direct threat of war. This mechanism also corroborates findings proposed by other scholars (e.g., Cap 2013: 126) who observe that the enactment of spatial proximization is primarily concerned with the so called ODC makers which denote antagonistic entities (here the words Russia and War).

The concept of explicit threat is also emphasised through (3) a metaphor-based cultural script involving the impact of a metaphorical thought that maps a universal cognitive experience of the war concept in terms of movement and action. This mechanism highlights the supreme role of a spatial framework recognised in the conceptual metaphor of a FLUID. In doing so, it allows for a projection of threat and imminent danger which consequently builds a communicative-*pathos* which thrives on fear of the upcoming war. This metaphorical mechanism would define the Polish society's cultural script as one of the prevalent linguistically oriented culture formation mechanisms (Chruszczewski 2009: 64). However, one more notable outcome that is marking the spatial/territorial reference visible at the metaphorical categorisation stage has been the dynamics underpinning the universal cognitive experience that somehow discloses retrospective patterns confronting the Polish society with its past times of war that cannot be forgotten.

In an attempt to provide an ethnographic discourse analysis of how communicative events of the first day of Russia-Ukraine military conflict have been presented in the form of linguistic patterns, it is to be concluded that the participatory culture of the Polish press discourse highlights the binary status assigned to Ukraine and Russia in terms of their social roles and attributed values. As a result, this outcome carries some implications about the asymmetrical power relations and defines both nations as groups of opposition which meaning goes beyond the system of language. Moreover, the metaphorical pattern observed in the study inherently involves reference to the past events which are still hidden in the collective unconscious of the Polish society embodied in language (Kövecses 2005, Deignan 2003). Given invasions of Poland throughout its history, not surprisingly for Polish society, their national metaphorical conceptual system has been put on a stand-by mode and is focused on the looming danger of war. Therefore, the analysis of cultural patterns has shown that these scripts have a ritual character since they replicate memories which trigger scripted productions projected in advance.

Finally, at the level of interaction between media and the Polish society, what is communicated is the common ground, *i.e.*, shared understanding through assumptions or connotations which are asserted

and accepted. Thus, cultural scripts provide insights not only into what is taken for granted within the Polish culture but also strive for building a high degree of cooperativeness that results in sharing the same goals and expectations. Therefore, there has been a high chance of news media texts being successfully shared, discussed and accepted within the Polish society. Overall, the prevalent scripts and their symbolic construals point to stretches of discourse that have the potential to become social facts which can become functional frameworks of the Polish culture.

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The Intricacies of (Debatable) Humour in Advertising: A Cross-Cultural Standpoint

Abstract

Given the marked presence of humour in many areas of thought and language, as well as in people's social, emotional, and aesthetic experiences, it comes as no surprise that humour studies are considered an interesting interdiscipline worth studying. This paper is, therefore, an attempt at joining three academic fields, namely advertising discourse, Cultural Linguistics, and humour studies. The author will enquire into the operation of (debatable) humour applied in multimodal advertising discourse. She will make the cultural aspect the focus of attention in order to highlight the role of cross-cultural differences in the perception of humour. Based on her previous studies (Stwora 2020a, 2020b) on attitudinal responses to controversial humorous ads in English, she will join in an exploratory discussion with a view to showing the ways in which ad reception may be influenced by the culture-specific force of humour. Working towards a more comprehensive outlook on humour in use in the context of advertising discourse, the present paper will start with a few words on humour in general and on debatable humour in ads. Then, the cultural side of humour will be discussed. Finally, the author will discuss her research from the cultural standpoint.

Keywords: humour studies, Cultural Linguistics, advertising discourse, cross-cultural studies

1. Introduction

There is certain ambivalence about humour, for it has this unique power to connect or divide people, to amuse or hurt them (Boryślawski *et al.* 2016: 7), depending on individual and cultural differences alike, which “may make it impossible for some people to laugh at the same time” (Lewis 2006: 15). This ambivalence should also be taken into account when weaving humour into advertising since it may result in the creation of controversial humorous ads. Funny as they may be, such ads may often be seen as offensive or distasteful too, especially when perceived by people coming from different cultural backgrounds because cultural conceptualisations heavily influence responses to humorous content. That

is why this paper is an attempt at joining three academic fields, namely advertising discourse, Cultural Linguistics, and humour studies. The author will enquire into the operation of (debatable) humour applied in multimodal advertising discourse. She will make the cultural aspect the focus of attention to stress the role of cross-cultural differences in the perception of humour. Based on her previous studies (Stwora 2020a, 2020b) on attitudinal responses to selected controversial humorous ads in English, she will join in an exploratory discussion with a view to showing the ways in which ad reception may be influenced by the culture-specific force of humour.

Drawing on Huizinga [1938] (2007), it can be said that fun is the source of culture, which superbly and incessantly plays with the serious/humorous opposition (Boryślawski *et al.* 2016: 7). At the same time, culture has a dramatic impact on what we deem humorous, as even the most innocent anecdote may seriously offend culturally distant recipients... or even two different people belonging to the same cultural realm, yet differing in terms of psychographics, disposition, mood, taste, worldview, and the like. Thus, working towards a more comprehensive outlook on humour in use in the context of advertising discourse, the present paper will start with a few words on humour in general and on debatable humour in ads. Then, the cultural side of humour will be discussed. Finally, the author will discuss her research from the cultural standpoint.

2. A cognitive approach to humour

As any other type of communication, humour is cognitive, for it involves a host of mental operations and enriching implications and connotations, which make the perceiver interpret, compare, and transfer meanings appurtenant to various patterns of thought. It is said that people may find something funny provided that it “diverts from the cognitive model of reference” (Forabosco 2008: 48). In other words, humour itself rests on “the enjoyment of cognitive shifts, i.e., the enjoyment of sudden changes” (Dyrel 2018: 3) between two (or more) script oppositions, which, in turn, are defined as prototypical knowledge structures and well-established routines of thinking evoked instantaneously by specific chunks of semantic data, both textual and visual (Raskin 1985: 46). Scripts usually involve chains of events, and therein lays their dynamic nature which differentiates them from more fixed cognitive schemata (Yule [1996] 2011: 85–86). On this account, scripts can be likened to narratives, for they are characterised by “a temporal sequence of events linked by a series of actions undertaken by characters” (Chłopicki 2017: 144). They consist of rudimentary mental representations of recurrent, structured plots, cause-and-effect links, prototypical figures, places and objects, and their stock features.

For these typical scripts (or scenarios) to produce humour in the course of shifting to the interpretation other than the most salient one, it is imperative that the said scenarios be *overlapping* and *opposing* at the same time. Overlapping occurs when the meanings retrieved are “compatible with more than one reading” (Attardo 1994: 203); it is therefore based on polysemous senses which match more than one interpretation. The opposing condition, on the other hand, “is satisfied when the two overlapping scripts also oppose each other in a certain way” (Kianbakht 2020: 4). Although they may be seen as belonging to one category, or one continuum, or as sharing certain marked points of resemblance, they are still incongruous, offering contrasting meanings, as in the case of the most basic sets of opposing scripts put forward by Raskin: actual/non-actual, normal/abnormal, and possible/impossible (Raskin

1985: 111). These oppositions collide in the mind of the perceiver, causing tension “between two frames of reference / worlds of discourse / codes / associative contexts” (Krikmann 2009: 17) and thus producing humour. As quickly noticed by Chłopicki (1987), Raskin’s original list of script opposition types should further include necessary/unnecessary, much/little, and absence/presence so that it takes cognisance of full richness and diversity of possible binary oppositions. Note that humour may arise on several planes simultaneously, i.e., embrace more than one pair of oppositions at the same time (Chłopicki 2000, 2006; Krikmann 2006).

Opposition entails duality; consequently, it is imperative that the audience hold two cognitions, one of which represents a violation of expectation, known as an *incongruity*. For humour to emerge, it is vital that the scripts remain distinctly incongruous, that is, upon the activation of the less salient but congruent meaning, the one which was initially more salient must still linger in the mind of the perceiver (Giora 2003). This cognitive transition from one scenario to another is what marks humour and constitutes the bedrock of the incongruous juxtaposition theory.

3. The intricacies of (debatable) humour in advertising

While many humorous cognitions and resultant incongruous oppositions are quite universal across various perceivers and cultures, some topics and ways of picturing things may be considered inappropriate because joke tellers do not always play it safe and thus may upset people’s sensibilities. Advertisers are no exception to the rule. They often reach for shockvertising strategies to attract consumers’ attention, sometimes by means of abusive or insulting concepts, controversial themes, and graphic imagery; they gradually increase the dose of surprise and shock to get noticed, for yesterday’s shock may come to be seen ordinary over time (Halvadia, Patel, Patel 2011: 33; cf. LaTour, Tanner 2006). Nonetheless, they sometimes forget that humorous creativity and freedom of expression do not necessarily mean “they have to be as offensive as possible in the mistaken belief that they are being funny and radical” (Peck 2008). It cannot be denied that “today’s infotainment clutter puts pressure on advertisers to come up with more surprising and more memorable ads. This need for novelty, creativity, and astonishment does set the expectation bar high, steering ads towards various means of eliciting surprise, including humour, shock, and taboo” (Stwora 2020b: 113).

On the plus side, debatable humour in ads may increase attention levels. In general, since ads are parasitic upon emotions, whose impact is of crucial importance in advertising, both positive and negative feelings conveyed in ads can be used to capture the prospects’ attention effectively (Pitrus 1999: 111). Humour in ads, controversial or not, can further contribute to building brand’s image through positive association with something funny, increase ads’ attractiveness, and aid in ad recall, as well as provide entertainment, which may “predispose an individual towards developing liking for a product” (Stwora 2020a: 135) and sometimes even reduce counterarguments to ads’ claims. Nevertheless, a pinch of humour, if too caustic, grim or deprecating, may cause a reverse process and sour the feelings towards a given advertisement. Ads that employ such debatable humour may be interpreted as too shocking or offensive for a variety of reasons, such as “the presence of nudity, violation of societal norms, [the presence of] disgusting images, sexual references, vulgarity or moral offensiveness” (Halvadia, Patel, Patel 2011: 30). Some of these ads are benign, yet some may prompt an upheaval so extreme that they

spark off heated public debate on the appropriateness and limits of humour in certain cases (*e.g.*, famous advertising campaigns for Benetton spiralled into an uproar, as the audience erupted in protest at the impropriety of the images used for mostly commercial purposes). It is an axiom that the juiciest topics sell, yet there are ads which use humour to poke affectionate fun at others and ads which simply offend, and the line between the two varieties is sometimes really thin.

The problem is that humorous ads may not necessarily amuse different people, let alone cultural communities in the same way because, overreaching as it is, humour still presents a difficult conundrum for many researchers due to its interdisciplinarity and multifacetedness. Apart from the formal, linguistic, and paralinguistic markers of humour, there is a host of other aspects conditioning humour in ads, such as the audience, medium, and product factors. But the freedom of humorous expression and reception of humour itself are fundamentally rooted in social and cultural relations too, which makes the issue even more complex. In the case of global ads addressed to international audiences, it seems difficult to produce universal humour that would respect all group tastes and socioculturally-motivated audience circumstances (Milner Davis 2013: 11).

4. The cultural side of humour

While discussing humour, it is impossible not to mention the decisive role of culturally motivated conceptualisations, patterns, and presuppositions in linguistic theories of humour. In fact, it is cultural convention that moulds the approved forms of self-expression, both of humorous and non-humorous nature (Milner Davis 2013: 8). Following Hofstede, the term *culture* will be understood as “the collective programming of the mind distinguishing the members of one group or category of people from another” (Hofstede 2015: 2), which shapes shared thinking patterns, attitudes, behaviours, and emotions alike.

The cultural side of humour seems to be best captured by the multidisciplinary field of research known as Cultural Linguistics (hereinafter CL) proposed by Sharifian (2017a, 2017b), which looks into the relationship between language, cognition, and cultural conceptualisations (Sharifian 2011, 2015). Being the tools of CL, cultural conceptualisations (*i.e.*, cultural categories, cultural metaphors, and cultural schemas) are used “to study aspects of cultural cognition and its instantiation in language” (Peeters 2016: 1) because language communicates and embodies conceptualisations. It is particularly relevant to the topic under discussion since “culturally constructed elements, such as humour, are subject to significant influence from cultural contexts in which they are used” (Kianbakht 2020: 9).

Humour is dynamic and interactive, which means that it ultimately depends on (1) the scripts available and (2) the cultural context, which includes the community of practice in which it occurs (Sinkeviciute, Dynel 2017). As regards the former factor mentioned, incongruous scripts can produce humour only if the specific discursive context allows for the recognition of the scripts intended by the producer of humour; in other words, the incongruity between the scenarios involved needs to be resolved in the mind of the perceiver. And when it comes to the cultural factor of the community of practice, it embeds humour in a specific sociocultural setting, which is far more intricate a network than it appears because it consists of entangled, conventionally acceptable ways of communicating, showing, and saying things (Kecskes 2015: 114). For instance, some jokes, or ads, claimed to be funny in a particular cultural context by one audience may not be easily transferrable to other sociocultural contexts without losing

their humorous value to other recipients; it is a matter of semantics and pragmatics alike, for it is not only the form, but also content which has to be translatable into the target culture. One pertinent example of an English joke using local humour coupled with wordplay is shown below:

My wife asked me if I was having an affair with a woman from Llanfairpwllgwyngyllgogerychwyrndrobwylllantysiliogogoch. I said: "How can you say such a thing?" (Barrie 2016)

The multidimensionality of humour lies in both language and culture. Naturally, the unpronounceable single-word Welsh name denoting a village may seem funny just because of its ridiculous length, yet its jocularity is further enhanced by local sociocultural divisions within the United Kingdom that make Englishmen laugh at the Welsh. People in general are more likely to poke fun at the group they do not belong to because mirth flows from comparison to the other. When they joke about another group, they engage in a form of social bonding as regards in-group relations (Davies 2012), "albeit sometimes at the cost of denigrating other groups" (McKeown 2017). The same "us-versus-them" pattern can be seen all over the world, yet with regard to different groups. "For example, the French tend to enjoy a joke about the Belgians while Swedes make fun of Norwegians. Indeed, most nations have a preferred country that serves as a traditional butt of their jokes" (McKeown 2017) (e.g., popular Polish jokes that subscribe to the Pole-German-and-Russian format). This pattern is traceable not only at the international, but also at the local level since the "us-versus-them" jokes can be found in many regions, cities or even neighbourhoods (e.g., the Polish city Katowice often laughs at the neighbouring city called Sosnowiec).

Reverting to the joke above and its (un)translatability, one could think of replacing the name of the village with another pertinent tongue twister of a name, such as Szczepieszyn, whose difficult pronunciation stressed in the poem by Jan Brzechwa earned it a reputation as a Polish tongue twister. Nonetheless, such a solution would still be insufficient to convey all the humour expressed in the original since the humorous factor is also present in the punch line "How can you say such a thing?" It rests on witty wordplay, referring to several possible interpretations: (1) "How come you can actually pronounce such an unpronounceable name?" and (2) "How dare you say such a thing?" or (3) "Nonsense! Have you lost your mind?" This equivocal meaning would be lost in translation into Polish, for "Jak możesz tak mówić?" ('How can you say such a thing?') is not synonymous with "Jak udało ci się to powiedzieć?" ('How come you can actually pronounce it?').

These and similar constraints involved in the transfer of humour between SL and TL are legion not only in jokes, but also in certain ads whose contextual embeddedness is a necessary condition for humour to emerge and be understood by the target audience. Take, for example, the social media ad for Lidl Polska (2019) published on Lidl's Facebook profile. Its visual layer is rather simple; the bar of chocolate advertised is set against a white-and-green background and the slogan "Czekom" is written in a white font resembling the one used in memes. The body copy of the ad is located in the post that elaborates on the slogan and reads: "To ja, najczęściej kupowana mleczna czekolada z całymi orzechami laskowymi w Polsce! [slightly smiling face emoji] Czekom na Ciebie w Lidlu [red heart emoji]." Rendered into English, the former sentence would sound: "That's me, the most frequently chosen milk chocolate with whole hazelnuts in Poland!" The latter, on the other hand, is far more complex since it contains humour based on culture-specific references to the Silesian dialect whose jocular function is twofold in the ad discussed.

Firstly, the audience is faced with a linguistic (and cultural) clash between "czekać" ('to wait' in standard Polish) and the vernacular Silesian form "czekoć" that contributes to the creation of the pun and results in a comic effect. And secondly, it is a basis for wordplay because the verb "czekoć" ('to wait' in

Silesian) in “Czekom na Ciebie w Lidlu” (‘I’m waiting for you at Lidl’) and the Polish name for chocolate, i.e., “czekolada,” share the same stem. Given the ads’ strong localisation, any attempt to translate such humour would in all likelihood miss the mark. Thus, as the examples adduced above show, reference to foreign languages or language varieties and their speakers (who belong to the category labelled as “the other”) as objects of ridicule seems not uncommon (see Bleichenbacher 2008).

With reference to cultural heritage expressed through visual language, another example of a strongly localised advertisement that would be difficult to transfer across cultures is the ad for LUX MED medical centres (Signs.pl 2006). It features an oil painting by Jan Matejko entitled “Rejtan. The Fall of Poland” (1866) which depicts the protest of Tadeusz Rejtan against the First Partition of Poland. In a desperate attempt to prevent other Polish noblemen from selling the country, Rejtan lies himself down in the doorway and bares his chest. Nonetheless, the ad for LUX MED healthcare providers does not focus on any patriotic symbolism but on Rejtan’s chest, adding the picture of a doctor’s hand holding a stethoscope. This shift of focus from Matejko’s “vision of the events and people responsible (...) for the loss of freedom” (Kępa 2012) to bare chest exposed for medical examination is unexpected and (ridiculously) amusing since the scripts involved (actual/non-actual, possible/impossible, and historical/modern) are too incompatible to be reconciled. Note that it is unclear whether it was the advertiser’s intention to produce humour, though. The slogan reads: “Medycyna jest sztuką” (‘Medicine is art’), thus elevating healthcare provided by LUX MED into an art form, which may serve as an indication that the ad was conceived as a serious message. Notwithstanding, given the presence of formal humour indicators, such as script oppositions and divergence from prototypicality (and thus from the perceiver’s expectations), the ad may be decoded as amusing (see Stwora 2020c). Ultimately, reception depends on the eye of the beholder irrespective of whether the meanings inferred were contained in the original message or not.

What is more, since it is cultural artefacts that determine human cognitive landscape and, hence, what we perceive as amusing, it comes as no surprise that differences in humour perception stem, *inter alia*, from disparities in terms of cultural heritage. Because Matejko’s painting remains largely unknown to the global public outside Poland, the ad’s trans-cultural rendition aimed at foreign audiences would require the abandonment of “Rejtan” and its replacement with another, locally recognised work of art featuring a bare chest. Nonetheless, such an alteration would change the whole message, for reaching sameness across artefacts of different cultures seems impossible a task; it appears unlikely that two works of art could possibly convey exactly the same mixture of meanings and emotions, not to mention the fact that time changes the general perception of artwork too. Therefore, an ad that draws from cultural heritage expressed through visuals would probably require verbal and visual translation, i.e., where the pictorial is changed so as to stay meaningful and appeal to the target culture (on cultural stereotypes in the translation of advertising material see Torresi 2004, 2008). The central question in this context is whether the output can still be considered a translation or already an adaptation, marked by culture-specific themes or their conspicuous absence in the form of taboo topics.

As stated by Prodanović Stankić, “cultural conceptualisations mark not only humorous discourse itself in terms of different levels and units of language (e.g., speech acts, idioms, metaphors, grammar, etc.), but also language use and community practices (e.g., when it is (in)appropriate to joke and which form of humour to use in the given situation)” (Prodanović Stankić 2017: 100). Since culture is an essentially cognitive, “intellectual construct” (Grucza 1992: 41), information retrieved from one’s

cognitive landscape differs across individuals, depending on their cultural background. That is why it is imperative to conduct comparative studies investigating specific instances of language and humour in use, which can help to uncover cross-cultural variation. Such studies allow for more in-depth analyses and may lead to “breaking down cultures and examining their components (Sharifian 2015, 2017a, 2017b)” (Kianbakht 2020: 20).

Sharifian (2011: 5) maintains [that] language is deeply rooted in a group-level cognition that emerges from the interactions between members of a cultural group. Since language and culture are inseparable, intertwined and closely related, it is evident that language is one of the tools for storing and conveying cultural conceptualisations that emerge from the group-level cognition across time and space. (Kianbakht 2020: 10)

Nonetheless, such studies on cross-cultural differences in terms of conceptualisations and humour are still nascent. That is why the present paper places emphasis on the cross-cultural standpoint of humour research with a view to opening up discussion on culturally motivated perceptions of jocular abuse, not only in the context of advertising.

5. Culture and controversial humour in ads – an exploratory discussion

For the purpose of her study, the author decided to choose several random multimodal ads in English she deemed controversial, i.e., the ones that were likely to be seen as abridging the freedom of expression by featuring nudity, sex, violence, blood, etc., thus potentially crossing the limits of what is acceptable to show in ads. The illustrative material was used in her previous studies (Stwora 2020a, 2020b) on attitudinal responses to controversial humorous ads in English and will be referred to herein in order to serve as one of the bedrocks on which an exploratory discussion on culture and controversial humour in ads will be based.

To begin with, the goal of previous studies carried out by the author was (1) to check ad appreciation of Polish and Taiwanese research participants based on a set of press and internet multimodal ads in English which could be perceived as bordering on distaste or controversy, and (2) to draw cross-cultural comparisons so as to trace similarities and differences in terms of ad appreciation. For the purpose of her first research into controversial humour (Stwora 2020a), the author prepared a research instrument in the form of an online questionnaire in Google Docs (Appendix A), in English, which she distributed to the students and graduates of the Institute of English and the Institute of English Cultures and Literatures of the University of Silesia, Poland; she thus gathered answers from 130 informants, 80 per cent of whom were females (18–30 years old). Subsequently, she gathered answers from 51 Taiwanese respondents, mostly from the National Taiwan Normal University (Stwora 2020b); again, female respondents prevailed, as 60 per cent of them were females. Also, it should be noted that 67 per cent of the said informants aged 18–30 while the remainder were in their 30s. The results provided by male and female participants were not that different in spite of unequal gender representation, which is why gender variable was not taken into account in the abovementioned studies. Both groups surveyed were composed of very fluent speakers of English. Their task was to fill in self-reports on rating scales with the aim of checking their liking of each of 15 multimodal ads intended to be humorous. Not only were they asked to choose the

“liking” or “disliking” option, but also to state whether they found the ads in the sample inappropriate, disgusting or offensive. Next, research participants rated each ad on a Likert-type scale so as to gauge the ads’ humour value; the four-point scale ranged from very favourable, positive, and ambivalent, to a negative attitude towards the ads rated. A couple of further open-ended questions followed in order to check ad comprehension.

Having described research participants, objectives, and methodology, the comparative results for both Polish and Taiwanese surveys should be summarised. On the whole, the analysis of trans-cultural similarities and differences “revealed that cultural programming is capable of dominating one’s liking for an ad and perception of its humour value” (Stwora 2020b: 124). Though the unevenness of those relatively small data samples should be borne in mind, the analysis yielded interesting results. Table 1 shows a comparative overview of Polish and Taiwanese taboo topics based on the study. Naturally, the findings herein presented may not generalize to all advertisements and the research sample itself could potentially limit transferability between research contexts. Notwithstanding, the observations made should be treated as indicators of certain marked tendencies.

Table 1. Comparative overview of Polish and Taiwanese taboo topics based on the study

Taboo topic	Poland	Taiwan
Hostility / Superiority		x
Religion	x	
Sexual orientation	x	
Sex (implicit depiction)		x
Sex (explicit depiction)	x	x
Politics		x
Violence		x
Blood		x
Death		x

For instance, it turned out that the humourisation of the controversial as regards religion was not received well by Polish informants, predominantly belonging to the Christian Catholic Church; religious themes were the main axis of humour in the ads for Antonio Federici Ice Cream and United Colours of Benetton (for a more detailed analysis see Stwora 2020a and Stwora 2020b), with the former showing sinful priests and the latter featuring the Pope and the Sheikh of the Al-Azhar Mosque kissing each other. Polish respondents found these ads neither funny nor appropriate, also because of the fact that the ads mentioned featured homosexuality. It turned out that Polish research participants were less tolerant when it came to the topic of homosexuality than their Taiwanese counterparts, which may suggest greater “mechanical inelasticity” (Revi 2014: 112) of the Polish group in terms of controversial humour aimed at religion and playing with the theme of sexual orientation. Conversely, because modern Taiwanese humour is considered a melting pot, as it “greatly overlaps with Chinese humour and is influenced by Hong Kongese and Japanese humour” (Chen 2017: 12), it may be said to display greater elasticity in terms of preference for religion as the butt of the joke. In Taiwan, “there are many religions and while some come from other cultures, many have developed locally” (Chen 2017: 194), making it easier for the local society to joke about the topic due to this plurality. As noted above, poking fun at those who

belong to the category labelled as “the other” is more common than laughing at oneself. At the same time, it should be stressed that the results “could have been reversed if the study had been based on more Eastern ads and jokes about Taiwan and its local cultural taboos” (Stwora 2020b: 124) since Taiwanese participants’ religion was not the butt of the joke.

Parenthetically, it should be added that the ad with kissing religious leaders was deemed unfunny and rude by Polish respondents but the ad showing Merkel and Sarkozy in exactly the same situation was received well and was considered funny. Apart from their aversion to the topic of religion in advertising, one may suspect that laughing at political leaders is seen as not only less inappropriate, but also as more liberating, for “laughter at the expense of authority is a process of disregarding the power, a process of denial of subservience to the authority” (Revi 2014: 105), which does not threaten the spiritual side of the individual, so to speak, and thus the personal aspect of the self. Interestingly, in his book, Chen (2017) says that joking about Taiwanese politics in Taiwan would not win acclaim since such humour could be seen as a face-threatening act. With respect to conflict avoidance and maintenance of social harmony, Jiang, Li, and Hou (2019) observe that “Easterners tend to use more adaptive humour, while Westerners tend to use more maladaptive humour,” which, to some extent, explains Poles’ favourable attitude to political humour.

While Polish research participants were less tolerant when it came to the topic of religion or homosexuality than their Taiwanese counterparts, they had nothing against implicit sexual themes (though both groups surveyed opposed to any explicit depictions thereof). Furthermore, Poles often appreciated non-commercial ads that contained the images of blood or pertained to violence, saying that humorous yet shocking content is sometimes necessary in advertising to stir the audience’s emotions and stimulate their interest. Conversely, any images of violence, blood or even implicit sexual themes were unfunny and distasteful to Taiwanese informants, and so were those which involved the topic of death, which is generally avoided in the Chinese culture as a deep-seated taboo (cf. Jacoby 2018). Moreover, whenever Taiwanese research participants “detected sexual or hostile humour, they did not appreciate it, unlike their Polish counterparts” (Stwora 2020b: 124). These observations bring one’s attention to the culturally imposed sanctity of certain mental territories (Revi 2014: 98). In essence, when moral, ethical, aesthetic, political, religious, or emotional issues, either personally or culturally motivated “and held with unquestionable importance by specific subject(s), are trivialised into crude caricatures or humorous conjectures, this sanctity is threatened and offence is delivered” (Revi 2014: 112). These issues, however, differ across cultures which set different frameworks of good taste, appropriateness, taboo, and (im) politeness, which, collectively, make up the realm of the ethics of mirth (Milner Davis 2013: 4).

It is certainly worth mentioning that the observations made on the basis of the author’s yet unpublished doctoral thesis (Stwora 2020c) suggest that the issue of the intended audience and the place of origin of the ads examined may be vital, especially when humour is one of the parameters analysed. Cultural pre-conceptions may have the potential to change the ways people perceive concepts, and hence discourse, encoded in other languages than their mother tongue. CL and humour studies should therefore look into the possible influence of L1 mappings on the reception of any material expressed in L2 because such mappings may lead to creative, yet not always correct interpretations (Heredia, Cieśllicka 2015). The cultural aspect heavily conditions the way people think; it determines what is laughable and what is not, as well as which topics can be subject to ridicule. That is why there are so many “differences in target themes of jocular behaviours, as well as the issues occasioning negative evaluations thereof” (Sinkeviciute, Dynel

2017), determining whether the audience finds something funny or not, based on “conventions and rules about humour designed to channel its expression and impact” (Milner Davis 2013: 4). It may therefore be argued that, with the help of appropriate cultural knowledge, we can predict the trajectories of humour in discourse and gauge the possible, culture-specific range of “issues related to the disruption of social harmony” (Sinkeviciute, Dynel 2017), *e.g.*, concerned with laughing at taboos and values or exploiting stereotype-based, potentially offensive jokes.

6. Conclusions

In view of this exploratory discussion, it seems evident that the question of extent to which humour is subject to cultural variation should receive consideration in further humour studies viewed through the lens of CL. Such studies on cross-cultural differences in terms of varying conceptualisations of humour in discourse are still nascent, yet necessary to understand the ways in which both humour and ad reception may be influenced by culture-specific forces. Given the cultural embeddedness of humour in the specific context in which it is produced, the pragmatic perspective should not overlook cultural factors while trying to understand the workings of humour. While there are many universally applicable theories of humour, the butts of jokes vary across cultures because of varying knowledge patterns and cognitions distributed across specific cultural groups (Sharifian 2011: 3). Looking into the discursive and cultural side of humour is, in fact, the only way to embrace its polyphonous diversity and universality at the same time.

Comparative studies can shed more light on the issue, for they can answer “the question of how to understand and predict failures better” (Stwora 2020b: 125), and the said failures are threefold. They are concerned with (1) failures to convey the meaning intended, which make the ads unsuccessful from the marketing point of view; (2) failures to produce humour, which can not only leave people unamused, but may also offend certain audiences; and (3) failures to observe culture-specific contexts in which the ads operate. As regards the use of debatable humour in advertising discourse, playing with broadly conceived tabooess, possibly controversial topics or potential elicitors of disgust should be preceded by opening one’s mind to other cultures and their idiosyncrasies so as to avoid setting off controversy by cultural insensitivities.

On the basis of the author’s previous studies cited in this paper, it can be claimed that “the assumption of cultural universalism often becomes less tenable with regard to cultural remoteness” (Stwora 2020d: 147). In order to make sure that the possibility of its falling short of the mark is lessened, humour, not only in ads, should be geared to its target audience since its ability to cross borders (and other broadly-conceived contextual boundaries) may many a time remain sharply limited by the joke teller, the butt of the joke, and the contextual factors (Gulas and Weinberger 2010). The list of factors that condition humour in discourse is very long, making it necessary to go beyond purely one-dimensional research. To the author’s mind, it is imperative to take the cultural aspect into account at all times so as to paint a more holistic picture of humorous ads and their perception across cultures. Though it is tempting to focus solely on the individual level of conceptualisations, on idiosyncratic interpretations of the perceivers, which can lead to insightful generalisations, researchers should not lose sight of the fact that there are important overreaching patterns typical of specific cultures, which result from the

negotiation of meanings across time in a given culture (Kianbakht 2020: 10; see Sharifian 2017a). These complex patterns of collective cultural conceptualisations shape human perception of what is funny or controversial and should definitely receive more scholarly attention in future research because they are the key to understanding human cognition and communication, of humorous and non-humorous nature alike.

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Appendix A

Courageous or rude? A questionnaire on print and internet advertisements

READ THIS INTRODUCTION BEFORE PROCEEDING

Ladies and Gentlemen,

the following anonymous questionnaire is designed with the aim of investigating your responses towards advertising messages intended to be humorous. I would like to ask you about your interpretations of and feelings towards the ads presented, as well as to check ad liking.

DISCLAIMER!

It is not my intention to insult or repulse you by the sort of images you will see. However, some of the ads you will find here may be considered DISTASTEFUL or OBSCENE so if you do not wish to proceed, disregard the questionnaire and leave this site. The following selection of ads does not reflect my taste and will be used solely for the purpose of a scientific experiment concerning ad liking. The questionnaire is anonymous.

All content and images used in this questionnaire are owned or licensed by their rightful creators/owners.

Thank you!

1. Please indicate your gender:

- ☐ Female
☐ Male
☐ Prefer not to say

2. Please indicate your age:

- ☐ 18-30
☐ 30-50
☐ 50-65
☐ 65 +

Section n

Ad n: [title of the ad]

Do you like this ad?

- ☐ yes
☐ no

The ad above is:

- ☐ very funny
☐ funny
☐ I don't know
☐ not funny

Do you find this ad offensive / rude / disgusting / inappropriate?

- ☐ yes
☐ no

If yes, please explain why:

.....

Please try to describe the advertiser's intention behind the ad:

.....