

e-ISSN 2353–3218

ISSN 2299–7164

Vol. 22 (2024)

Academic Journal of Modern Philology



POLSKA AKADEMIA NAUK
ODDZIAŁ WE WROCŁAWIU

KOMISJA
NAUK
FILOLOGICZNYCH



Uniwersytet
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MIĘDZYDZIEDZINOWYCH
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Published by / adres wydawcy:

Committee for Philology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław Branch

Komisja Nauk Filologicznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Oddział we Wrocławiu

ul. Podwale 75, 50-449 Wrocław

<http://www.pan.wroc.pl>

College for Interdisciplinary Studies, University of Wrocław

Kolegium Międzydziedzinowych Studiów Indywidualnych, Uniwersytet Wrocławski

ul. Kręta 1, 50-237 Wrocław

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ISSN 2299–7164 (PRINT EDITION)

ISSN 2353–3218 (ON-LINE EDITION)

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LIDIA BANOWSKA

Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Faculty of Polish and Classical Philology

banowska@amu.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0003-3753-1406

Prophet of the Six Senses? On the Sensuality of Czesław Miłosz's Christian Imaginarium¹

Abstract

This article discusses the sensual dimension of Czesław Miłosz's work, the hidden unity of which lies in the Christian character of the poetic imaginarium, encompassing the vision of the world, man and God in their entirety. This imaginarium, based on the concreteness of sensual imagery, remains an important aid for Miłosz in approaching the mysteries of faith, enabling him to transcend the abstractness of rational inquiry. Sensuality is both an expression of Miłosz's writing personality and the rationale for his worldview. For the poet, the sensuality of the world is an expression of both the reality of being and the beauty of creation, and thus a trace of the hand of God. With the passage of time, from an interest in the sensual beauty of the temporal world, treated as a sign of the eternal world, the poet arrives at a concentration of attention on the perception of man, who through divinisation can become a sign of God and an embodied foreshadowing of heaven. Images of a reality that "eye hath not seen nor ear has heard", defined by sensual visions of a "second space", images of light or moments of epiphany, become in the works of Miłosz, this "prophet of the six senses", an expression of another sense, the "sense of faith", enabling humans to experience a "sense of eternity".

Keywords: Czesław Miłosz, Polish literature, Christianity, sensuality senses, imaginarium

The deepest, hidden strand to Czesław Miłosz's body of work, and one which at the same time integrates it as a whole is its religious dimension (Błoński 2001: 7). It was not until the poet's late works that this fact was fully revealed, since it was in these works that fundamental questions about the spiritual foundations of contemporary culture were brought to the fore more strongly than in his earlier texts. It should be noted at this point that Christian themes appear throughout Miłosz's poetic output, especially in such volumes as: *Trzy zimy* [*Three Winters*] 1936, *Ocalenie* [*Survival*] (1945, here especially the poem *Świat*

¹ Translated into English by Aleksandra Oszmiańska-Pagett and Rob Pagett.

[*The World*] of 1943), *Miasto bez imienia* [*City Without a Name*] 1969, *Gdzie wschodzi słońce i kędy zapada* [*Where the Sun Rises and Whence it Sets*] 1974, *Hymn o Perle* [*Hymn of the Pearl*] 1982, *Nieobjęta ziemia* [*Unattainable Earth*] 1984, *To* [*This*] (2000), *Druga przestrzeń* [*The Second Space*] 2002. So is the case in Miłosz's essays published in such volumes as: *Widzenia nad Zatoką San Francisco* [*Visions from San Francisco Bay*] 1969, *Ziemia Ulro* [*The Land of Ulro*] 1977, *Ogród nauk* [*The Garden of Science*] 1979 and *Metafizyczna pauza* [*Metaphysical Pause*] 1989. Nevertheless, the end of the 1960s and 1970s should be pointed out as the moment at which Miłosz's interest in religious issues intensified and as a kind of breakthrough in his work in this respect, marked by the publication of the collection of poems such as *Miasto bez imienia* [*A City without a Name*] 1969 and *Gdzie wschodzi słońce i kędy zapada* [*Where the Sun Rises and Whence it Sets*] 1974, and the essay *Ziemia Ulro* [*The Land of Ulro*] 1977. The culmination of this interest came in his late works, especially the volumes *To* [*This*] 2000 and *Druga przestrzeń* [*Second Space*] 2002. For this reason, it is precisely the works from this period that are the focus of my attention. Moreover, these are the works which make it possible to observe more clearly than in the earlier Miłosz's pieces the positioning of Christian themes in relation to sensual issues. It is worth emphasising that the references to the Christian *universum* in his writings encompassed many problem areas and had the character of multi-level references (Szymik 1996; Jarzyńska 2018; Kaźmierczyk, Wojan: 2020). It should also be added that Miłosz's inspirations are heterodox in nature, for instance, in his references to Manichaeism, gnosis or hermetic reflection. What is crucial for the sensual character of this *universum* is that it not only takes up topics in general terms, but reaches much deeper, far beyond the area of strictly intellectual inquiry, thus encompassing the sphere of imagination, which is fundamental for poetic work and grounded in biographical experiences (Miłosz [1968] 2002; Miłosz [1975] 1983a; Miłosz [1975] 1983b). As Jan Błoński aptly observed, "this is what proved interesting and what distinguished Miłosz among the poets of his time: the fact that this imagination was Christian" (Błoński 2001: 7).

Following the path of William Blake, a figure of importance for Miłosz, this imagination is perceived by the poet as animated and guided by love (Eros), and expressing a sensual image in concrete terms. On the one hand, its Christian character is not limited to the sphere of explicitly religious issues, but rather encompasses the entirety of the vision of the world, man and God; on the other hand, it is an imagination that provides important help to the poet in approaching the mysteries of faith, making it possible to transcend the abstractness of rational inquiries. The sensuality of Miłosz's poetic imaginarium is both an expression of his writing personality and his worldview. For him, the sensuality of the world is one of the ways in which the beauty of creation manifests itself, and as such bears the traces of the hand of God. This sensual beauty, fragile and subject to the power of time, remains a sign of the indisputable reality of being, the reality constantly affirmed by the poetry of this author of *The Second Space* (Dybczak 1985: 415–420; Stala 1992: 89–97). Art is thus treated here as a hymn in praise of what is, and as a creative, albeit sometimes helpless, reflection of the Creator's creative power. Miłosz's significantly titled short prose poem *Esse* pulsates with a desire to put an epiphanic experience of being in words (Błoński 1985: 205–228; Fiut ([1987] 1990: 21–28; Nycz 2001: 167–171; August-Zarębska: 2006), with Miłosz treating epiphany, among other things, as "the opening of the senses to reality" (Miłosz [1990] 2001a: 384). At the same time, it should be added that this attempt ends by stating how fulfilment is unattainable:

[...] but why isn't the power of sight absolute? – And so it befell me that after so many attempts at naming the world, I am able only to repeat, harping on one string, the highest, the unique avowal beyond which no power can attain: *I am, she is*.

(*Esse*, Miłosz [2001] 2005: 249)

Art that celebrates the beauty of being remains for Miłosz a voice of protest against “the stony order of the world”, as well as against the reduction of humans to the exclusively temporal and biological order of Nature, whose extreme expression is Darwin’s theory of natural selection, a theory which proclaims – as Miłosz wrote in his poem *In vain*:

[...] By proclaiming the triumph of the strong and the defeat of the weak which is and has always been the devil’s program which is why he is called the Prince of This World.

Everything that creeps, runs, flies, and dies is an argument against the divinity of man.

I turned to anti-nature, *i.e.*, to art, in order to build our home, along with others, out of the sounds of music and paint on canvas and the rhythms of speech.

(*In vain*; Miłosz 2005: 51)

From the perspective presented here, art turns out to be a position in the dispute, a counterargument advocating the divinity of man, who, imitating the Creator, is capable of creative activity and who, thus belonging to the order of nature, at the same time transcends it. It is important to note that the discussion does not cover the area of purely intellectual dispute, but touches upon the existential concreteness of selecting a life’s vocation. Significantly, art is viewed here as a sensual cultural universe, whose sensual character has a dual dimension: on the one hand, it is to be a reflection of the sensuality of the subject it depicts; on the other, it remains the nature of the means of expression. It is worth emphasising that the order prevailing in this “anti-nature” world not only has an aesthetic for Miłosz but also a theological dimension.

As the poet of the celebrated “*esse*”, Miłosz wishes to express and consolidate what turns out to be of primary importance, in all its complexity, in the midst of which the sensual character of being, and linked to its physical dimension. By no means does this imply reducing being to the purely material sphere, but merely proposes reaching the spiritual through the physical – without cutting oneself off from one’s own sensuality:

To renounce, to close, to mortify sight, hearing, and touch, to break free that way and not have to face anymore that something will be taken away from us – no, I did not know how to do that.

(Miłosz [2011] 2017: 438)

The antithesis of an ascetic renunciation of utilising the sensual pleasures of temporality is one of Miłosz’s poetic confessions, containing a personal affirmation of the sweetness and fragrances of the world:

A Confession

My Lord, I loved strawberry jam

And the dark sweetness of a woman’s body.

Also well-chilled vodka, herring in olive oil,

Scents, of cinnamon, of cloves.

So what kind of prophet am I? Why should the spirit

Have visited such a man?

[...]

(*A Confession*; Miłosz [2001] 2005: 461)

In this poem, with the telling title *A Confession*, Miłosz ironically distances himself both from the prophetic nature of his 1930s work and from reader expectations conditioned by the Polish Romantic tradition.

Significantly, the light-hearted argument undermining the prophetic solemnity would be precisely the poet's "sensual nature" (Miłosz [2011] 2018: 865). The very appearance of a field of reference delineated by the image of a "spiritual visitation" should be considered significant. The substantial tension in this work stems precisely from the opposition between the spiritual, the eternal and the corporeal, that is, the sensual and the transient. And yet in spite of the reservations expressed, and in line with the shimmering irony of the work, Miłosz might be regarded as a "prophet of the six senses" (six senses, not five, taking into account the sense of movement, which also takes on an extremely important function in his how he perceives the world and thinks about poetry). From this perspective, the poet would be a seer who proclaims the sign-like character of the created world, consigning it to another dimension – as he wrote *expressis verbis* in his poem *Meaning* (Miłosz [2001] 2005: 569) – and the unique, irreplicable value of each individual being.

In contrast to both the suggestion expressed in *A Confession* and the Manichaeic inclinations present in his work (Tischner 2001), the two dimensions of being – the corporeal/sensual and the spiritual – were frequently (though not always) understood by Miłosz as not only antagonistic but also as complementary (Przymuszała 2006: 217–228; Bill 2021: 73–107). He associated the hope of finding a form capable of expressing this duality with a poetry of the future where "The rhythm of the body will be in it [...] together with the sublime needs of the spirit and our duality will find its form in it without renouncing one zone or the other" (Miłosz [2011] 2018: 816). Miłosz saw the direction of his path, as poetic as it was spiritual, as running from and through the sensual, the ephemeral, towards the eternal.

It is hardly surprising, then, that this was also the perspective in which this author of *Unattainable Earth* viewed his poetic vocation. As he wrote in *Wherever*:

Wherever I am, at whatever place on earth, I hide from people the conviction that I am not from here. It's as if I'd been sent, to extract as many colors, tastes, smells, to experience everything that is a man's share, to transpose what is felt into a magical register and carry it there, from whence I came.

(*Wherever*; Miłosz ([2001] 2005: 687)

Having jokingly denied a prophetic function in *Confession*, here Miłosz defines himself in the most serious tone as "called", and considers it his mission to be experience the fullness of being in all its rich sensual diversity, and to transfer this experience – through artistic transposition – into the "space of eternal works" (Kubiak 1993). The "other dimension", captured in this work as the "space" of origin and return ("carry there from whence I came"), is also defined in the poem *Dante* by the formula of returning to "home", but the perspective of desire and aspiration resonates even more strongly:

And only, as once for you, this remains real: [...]

The inborn and the perpetual desire

Del deiformo regno — for a God-like domain,

A realm or a kingdom. There is my home.

(*Dante*; Miłosz [2001] 2005: 567–568)

In one of his late autobiographical poems, *Capri*, Miłosz, as the poet of "esse, a pilgrim towards the "God-like domain", defines his poetic vocation, previously encapsulated in the formula of "chasing Reality", as follows:

If I accomplished anything, it was only when I, a pious boy, chased after the disguises of the lost Reality.

After the real presence of divinity in our flesh and blood which are at the same time bread and wine.

(*Capri*, Miłosz [2001] 2005: 588)

From the perspective presented here, the source, the horizon and, above all, the basis of the poet's creative activity turns out to be "Reality", the "Real Presence of the Deity", "lost" and "chased" all his life, and by recalling the first Holy Communion mentioned in the poem, seen as the reality of the transubstantiation of bread and wine, which, without losing their material, sensual character, are transformed into the Body and Blood of the Lord, leading man towards Deification.

In contrast to the poet's description of himself in the poem *Father Ch., Many Years Later*: "I was not a spiritual man but flesh-enraptured" (*Father Ch., Many Years Later*; Miłosz [2001] 2005: 437), in Miłosz's poetry one can also discern a strong tendency to affirm the integration of the spiritual and the corporeal, for which the deepest basis is the mystery of the incarnation (Bill 2021:75, 83–86, 102–106), conjugated into one with the mystery of Man's creation in the image and likeness of the Creator. In the poem *To Mrs. Professor in Defense of My Cat's Honor and Not Only*, Miłosz included an image of Christ as a "human God":

Who cannot but feel and think,
Who is kindred to us by his warmth and movement,
For we are, as he told us, similar to Him.

(*To Mrs. Professor in Defense of My Cat's Honor and Not Only*; Miłosz [2001] 2005: 632)

A merciful "God with us", what he shares with humans (with the exception of sin) is his fragile, wounded condition, whose physical limitations are determined largely to a great extent by the weaknesses of a body prone to pain and subject to death. And it is precisely the agony of the crucified body together with the blood of the wounds that remain a sign of the reality of the accomplished work of redemption, as in the poem *Caravels* (Miłosz 2005: 39–40). It is a vision as distant as possible from the abstract and distant "God of the philosophers", an image of a flesh-and-blood Person possessing the "breath of life" (of which breath is a sign), a Person whose presence can be experienced almost tangibly, through the sensation of His breath, as happened to the protagonist of one of Miłosz's late poems: "On my neck and back I felt Your warm breath" (*Presence*; Miłosz 2005: 40). The communion of experience through the bodily senses, between humans and the 'human God', marked by sensuality, can also be perceived through the detail of the sensation of warm breath on the nape of my neck and back recalled here. In the poem *Presence*, this is sensually experienced by the human being, a soothing indication of God's presence. In the poem *Dread*, on the other hand, by means of reversal, Christ's sensation of "the cold sweat of dread" (*Dread*; Miłosz 2005: 42) is a sensual marker, whether it be imagined or perceived by him in a prophetic vision, of the presence in the church of the people-to-be – semi-believers who remain spiritually absent during the Eucharistic sacrifice:

To tell the truth, they believe and disbelieve.
They go to church lest someone think they are godless.
During the sermon they think of Julia's tits, of an elephant,

Of the price of butter, and of New Guinea.
 He dared to think they might be like that
 That night when He knelt in the Garden of Olives
 And felt on His back the cold sweat of dread.

(*Dread*; Miłosz 2005: 42)

God's thinking, which is shown in the example above as forward-looking but *de facto* encompassing all time, is often represented through the metaphor of sight. God, as the one who looks at the world, seeing all persons and creatures and events of all ages, and preserving them in an all-encompassing memory, is for Miłosz the guarantor of objective truth, the basis of being (Kris Van Heuckelom 2004: 168–179), and thus also the foundation of hoping for apokatastasis. Moreover, the human gaze, flawed, limited and yet preserving vision in memories, directs the poet to the gaze of God, treating the redeeming power of the human gaze from annihilation as a sign of the all-surpassing "gaze of God" (Miłosz 2018: 746).

God's sight, "new eyesight, able to look into the Sun", can be granted to people "turning their faces to Him", the "blind, lame, paralytic, twisted", who then experience an inner renewal and an epiphany of the "eternal moment", as in the poem on incipit [*Turning our faces to Him*] (Miłosz ([2006] 2014): 322). This is one of the most recent (*i.e.* the penultimate) of Miłosz's poems. The leaning towards the "second space" is poignantly present in it; nevertheless, it is not new in this poetry; on the contrary, it has been evident in Miłosz's work since the very beginning, and has been present in a profound way at least since the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Miłosz's imaginings of the "second space" find their poetic expression in images of heaven, hell and purgatory, as well as in theologically indeterminate spheres. Interestingly, sensuality remains an important reference for this space even when it manifests itself through negation, as in the poem *Border*, where the characteristic feature of the world "on the other side", viewed in a dream, should be its asensual character:

On the other side nothing.
 Nothing to be touched, seen, heard, tasted.

(*Border*; Miłosz 2005: 62)

Such a shaping of "the other side", however, remains an exception in Miłosz's work.

Among the images of the "second space", the most numerous and, above all, the most meaningful and sensual are images of the sky. More often than not, images of the "God-like domain" are characterised by a strong saturation of sensuality. In the poem *How It Should Be in Heaven*, the titular sky is described through the topos of a garden, "aboveground" and yet, paradoxically, familiar from the autopsy:

How it should be in Heaven I know, for I was there.
 By its river. Listening to its birds.
 In its season: in summer, shortly after sunrise.

(*How It Should Be in Heaven*; Miłosz [2001] 2005: 465)

This description is based on the metaphorical concreteness of place (by the river) and time (summer, sunrise), and of what is accessible to the senses: what can be heard (birdsong) and seen (which remains underdetermined. Nevertheless, one can guess that these are riverside landscapes viewed at dawn). It transpires that this garden is "given to the imagination" and associated, as the next lines indicate, with a poetic work described as arranging "rhythmic spells", "striving" or chasing "a name and a form" to

represent its essence. The “superterrestrial” garden, in which one can “be there” already on Earth through creative activity thus proves to be accessible to some extent through the sphere of art, conceived, in the words of Oscar Miłosz, as “a passionate pursuit of the Real” (O. Miłosz, cited by: Miłosz 1983:25). However, it is – as the iterative nature of the verb “to be” attests – a discontinuous state, whose key feature is the experience of movement as a striving “towards”, an effort, as well as a sign of life and love. Art as movement of the imagination thus turns out to be, to a certain extent, one in which it pursues Reality and renders it through “name and form” – an analogue of the eschatological garden. These two partly overlapping images of “gardens” are subtly separated by the position of the speaker, who shifts from obligation-based thinking based on autopsied knowledge (“I know, because I was there”) to a position of obligation-based thinking as imagination (“I think...”):

[...] I think the movement of blood
Should continue there to be a triumphant one,
Of a higher, I would say, degree.
(*How It Should Be in Heaven*; Miłosz [2001] 2005: 465)

This heightened, condensed sensuality is meant to be a sign of the essentiality of another world, of the “fullness of being” prevailing in it, beseeching us to explore it through the movement of the mind, in the manner of the Infinite:

That the smell of gillyflower,
That a nasturtium and a bee and a ladybug
Or their very essence, stronger than here,
Must summon us just the same to a core, to a center
Beyond the labyrinth of things. For how could the mind
Stop its hunt, if from the Infinite
It takes enchantment, avidity, promise?
(*How It Should Be in Heaven*; Miłosz [2001] 2005: 465)

As a commentary on this vision, one can consider the prose passage Miłosz included in *Unattainable Earth*:

Bezustanne dążenie umysłu do objęcia świata w nieskończonej wielości jego form przy pomocy nauki albo sztuki jest tym samym co pogoń za przedmiotem naszych miłosnych pożądań. Eros jest siłą poruszającą zarówno fizyków, jak poetów. Jeżeli, jak chcą Swedenborg i Blake, śmierć nie przerywa tego dążenia i niebo wypełnia bezustanna działalność umysłów odkrywczych, Eros trwa mocniej niż życie i śmierć.

(Miłosz [2011] 2018: 909)

[Transl. by A.O-P&R.P: The mind’s relentless pursuit of encompassing the world in the infinite multiplicity of its forms by means of science or art is quite the same as the pursuit of the object of our amorous desires. Eros is the moving force of physicists and poets alike. If, as Swedenborg and Blake wish, death does not interrupt this quest, and heaven is filled with the ceaseless activity of exploratory minds, Eros endures more strongly than life and death].

Yet this vision of a realm of the essence, of infinite movement and life, shows itself to be free of questions. The image of a world in which “death will be no more” paradoxically reveals the value of mortality as “dear

to us”, defining – through transience – the human condition; eternity also appears to be stripped of the beauty marked by the passing of time:

But where is our, dear to us, mortality?
Where is time that both destroys and saves us?
This is too difficult for me. Peace eternal
Could have no mornings and no evenings,
Such a deficiency speaks against it.
And that’s too hard a nut for a theologian to crack.

(*How It Should Be in Heaven*; Miłosz [2001] 2005: 465)

In this clash between longing – as a sign of closeness and desire, and doubt – as a sign of remoteness – an important interpretative clue can be found in the tone of the utterance. While the middle section of the poem, devoted to essentiality and movement as fundamental features of the world to come, maintains a serious tone, both the beginning of the poem, containing a confession characterised by the subject’s self-confidence, and the end of the poem, marked by uncertainty, are tinged with irony, which introduces distance towards both attitudes.

With the passage of time, Miłosz’s reflections take on an ever more distinct, strictly religious character. The longing, one expression of which was the formula of “pursuing Reality” through art or science, also begins to be shown through the prism of the search for and cry of prayer – as in the poem *On Prayer*:

[...] prayer constructs a velvet bridge
And walking it we are aloft, as on a springboard,
Above landscapes the color of ripe gold
Transformed by a magic stopping of the sun.
That bridge leads to the shore of Reversal.
Where everything is just the opposite and the word “is”
Unveils a meaning we hardly envisioned. [...]

(*On Prayer* Miłosz 1996: 297; Miłosz [2001] 2005: 435)

Prayer is framed here in terms of movement, action, creation: as the building and, at the same time, crossing of a bridge, one leading towards the space of “esse”. This wandering is accompanied by a vision of a mystical landscape, in which one can discern echoes of the landscapes from Adam Mickiewicz’s *Pan Tadeusz*, landscapes that both poets have in common. In the poem *After Enduring*, Miłosz invokes – as an example of a “possible alliance of religion and science” (and, let us add, art) – the hypothesis of resurrection derived from quantum mechanics and understood as “a return to familiar places and people”, and juxtaposes it with Peter the Apostle’s formula “*Apokatastasis panton*,/ Renewal of all things” (*After Enduring*; Miłosz [2001] 2005: 638). For the poet, however, apokatastasis does not remain merely an abstract idea, part of the “‘equation’”, but is transformed into a poetic image of the resurrection of bodies” (Opacka-Walasek 2005: 176–197):

Yet it is helpful: to be able to imagine
That every person has a code instead of life
In an internal storage room, a supercomputer of the universe.
We disintegrate into rot, dust, microfertilizers,
But that code or essence remains

And waits, till at last it takes flesh.
And also, as the new corporeality
Should be cleansed of evil and afflictions,
The notion of Purgatory enters the equation.

(*After Enduring*; Miłosz [2001] 2005: 638)

In another prose passage (from earlier than the quoted poem) reflecting on the Resurrection, Miłosz puts it in the context of apokatastasis and the restoration of everything in its essential form, with light as an element of the world “out there”:

Resurrection. All tangible, material things, it is said, change into light and their shape is stored there. At the end of our time, in meta-time, they return as concentrated light, though not concentrated to the state of previous matter. By an incomprehensible power, they are then themselves essences. And the essence of every human being without what has accrued on it, without age, illness, lipstick, disguises, pretence.

(Miłosz [2011] 2018: 888)

In Miłosz, depictions of the post-Resurrection world, the senses of sight and touch, as well as of movement, seem crucial, although of course they are thought of as transformed. The importance of touch appears to derive from the tradition of the Gospel accounts of encounters with the risen Christ as the sense which most emphatically affirmed the reality of the living, bodily Person of the Messiah. In the poem *Heavenly*, recalling Blake’s vision, Miłosz recollects the moment when Thomas touched Jesus’ wounds, taking this fact to illustrate the possibility of experiencing a real, material body and, above all, of experiencing just such a transfiguration of the body in a realm “invisible to the eyes of mortals” ([2006] 2014): 317). From the description of the realm as “invisible to the eyes of mortals”, one should infer that it remains accessible to another, suprasensory vision. At the same time, it is a land of movement and creation, whereby what for Blake was an object of joyful certainty, for the voice in Miłosz’s poem remains a desire for faith.

As can be seen, Miłosz’s desire to restore to contemporary culture the Christian imagery of the “second space” is accompanied by existential themes, often of a personal nature. Alongside moments of epiphany, enabling the experience of “feeling eternity” in temporal reality/ “here and now”, Miłosz also evokes imagery at whose roots is the emphasis on the boundary of death, separating the temporal and eternal worlds. The intensification of movement, sight and hearing as an expression of the perfection of the “other world” and its essentiality so captured in the poem *Winter* (Miłosz [2001] 2005: 420–421), for example, is also sometimes shown in opposition to the poet’s senses, which are subject to the power of time, as in the poem *An Honest Description of Myself with a Glass of Whiskey at an Airport, Let Us Say, in Minneapolis*:

If I should accede one day to Heaven, it must be there as it is here,
except that I will be rid of my dull senses and my heavy bones.
Changed into pure seeing, I will absorb, as before, the proportions of human bodies, the color of
irises, a Paris street in June at dawn, all of it incomprehensible, incomprehensible the multitude of
visible things.

(*An Honest Description of Myself with a Glass of Whiskey at an Airport, Let Us Say, in Minneapolis*; Miłosz [2001] 2005: 679)

In contrast to the fading of earthly sight, heaven will therefore be the gift of renewed sight, of looking itself, of absorbing the manifold beauty of “visible things”. In the passage quoted above, the fact

of the ageing of the body, the death of the senses, is expressed in ironic diction; in the context of “crossing the threshold”, however, poignant descriptions expressed in a serious tone are not uncommon, as in the poem *Prayer*:

Now You are closing down my five senses, slowly,
And I am an old man lying in darkness.
(*Prayer*; Miłosz [2001] 2005: 742)

Faced with the vision of the impending transition, the sense of sight as being able to perceive light (Van Heuckelom 2004: 186–195) takes on significance, although this is sight “without eyes”:

My most honorable eyes, you are not in the best of shape.
I receive from you an image less than sharp, [...]
Now what you have seen is hidden inside me [...]
Without eyes, my gaze is fixed on one bright point,
That grows large and takes me in.
(*Eyes*; Miłosz 2005: 31)

In Miłosz’s work, it is not difficult to perceive “the light that shines through earthly forms”, which he wrote about as illuminating the day of death in his poem *On Old Women* (Miłosz 2005:12). The imaginative basis for the imagery of “rays of dazzling light” (Miłosz [2001] 2005: 745) as a sign of God’s transforming, renewing power, and thus – for the “other space” as overexposed – is the tradition of symbolically defining God through the imagery of light, present in Miłosz’s work, for example, in the vision of the “King”, “All-Radiant” (from the poet’s translation of *A Hassidic Tale* by Baal Shem-Tov’s (Miłosz [2001] 2005: 488). In one of his final poems (*Heaven*), the titular heaven is defined explicitly as the domain of God in reference to the author’s motto invoking the Lord’s Prayer: “Our Father, Who art in heaven”, with an accompanying commentary, a quotation from the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, explaining that:

The expression: “Who art in heaven” does not denote a place, but the majesty of
God and His presence in the hearts of righteous people. Heaven, the Father’s house,
is the true homeland to which we aspire and to which we already belong.
(*Catholic catechism* cited by Miłosz [2006] 2014: 298)

In this poem, heaven – “the Father’s house” – is presented as a celestial homeland, desired by the poet for all time, posthumous and final, although his belief in its existence was not free from doubt. Death, signifying the crossing of a boundary, appears here as a return to the “Father’s house”. This time, the titular heaven is not described as an essential counterpart to the temporal world, whose heightened sensuality is a sign of the “fullness of being”, but, following the theological reflection in the motto, by the “majesty of God and His presence in the hearts of just men”, through freedom and creativity expressing “*our likeness/ To the Unspeakable our Father in heaven*”, and as symbols of this likeness appear later in the poem, visible signs of man’s civilisational achievements in such forms as “aqueducts, waterfalls, and the earthly city”.

In addition to a different take on sensuality, the relationship to time also changes: “the true homeland”, although still seen from the perspective of the future (as the one “to which we are going”), proves to be one in which, paradoxically, it is also possible to live to a certain degree – on the basis of primordality – in temporality (“to which we already belong”). Thus, Miłosz defines the “God-likeness” of this zone not by perceiving it as an essentialised, perfect model of the sensual, created world, but by seeing God himself as a human model for shaping Man, through the very act of creation already created in

the image and likeness of the Creator, and yet at the same time subject to the further formation of a “just heart”. “Heaven, the Father’s house” is thus seen here not as “another space”, filled with the “forms of individual grains” of sensual, earthly, created entities restored by apokatastasis, but a *state* towards which humans “tend” and to which they already “belong”, to the extent that they remain “deified” and thus united with “our Father, who art in heaven”.

In this way, Miłosz, as the prophet of the six senses, thus emerges as a eulogist of reality and of the beauty of the temporal and the eternal world alike. With the passage of time, a change of focus can be observed in his work: from an interest in the reality of forms, manifested in treating the sensual beauty of the temporal world as a harbinger of another world, whose condensed sensuality will be an expression of its essential fullness, the poet’s attention shifts to perceiving the human being, who – as created in the image and likeness of the Creator – through deification can become a sign of God and an incarnate augury of heaven. From this perspective, sensuality recedes into the background, remains outside the field of vision or is expressed through images of illumination as a sign of transfiguration. Thus, images of reality, defined in the biblical tradition by the formula referring to the transcendence of sensual imagery – “eye hath not seen, nor ear heard [...] how great things God hath prepared for them that love him” (1 Corinthians 2:9) – are determined in the poetry of the “prophet of the six senses” by sensual visions of the “other space”, as well as images of light or moments of epiphany. In this way, in Miłosz’s work, they become the expression of a sense of another nature, *i.e.* the “sense of faith”, enabling a human being to experience a “sense of eternity”.

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LUCA BARUFFA

Sapienza University of Rome/Charles University in Prague

luca.baruffa@uniroma1.it

ORCID: 0000-0003-0828-2092

Literary Mythscapes in the Brothers Grimm's *Deutsche Sagen*: A Comparative Study of Frau Holle's Myth and Friulian "Benandantism"

Abstract

This paper aims to investigate the significance of the Brothers Grimm's *Deutsche Sagen* as a valuable analytical tool for studying issues related to literature, history, and customs across different cultures and epochs. The paper focuses on nineteenth-century German nationalism, examined through the lens of anthropological and literary genre studies. Building on a methodological framework that stems from André Jolles' considerations on the *Sage* as a literary genre, as well as from Duncan Bell's concept of "mythscape," the discussion will juxtapose the Germanic figure of Frau Holle, as depicted in the Grimmian collection of "legends," with the phenomenon here defined as "Benandantism." As for the research material, in addition to the outlined methodological tools and the Grimms' *Sagen*, the corpus includes studies on the inquisitorial reports concerning the "benandanti" as first collected by Carlo Ginzburg. Ultimately, the purpose of this comparison is to highlight similarities that could indicate the perpetuation, in both myths, of specific memetic processes inherent to their respective cultures, thereby laying the groundwork for further research in this area.

Keywords: Brothers Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, Frau Holle, Benandantism, literary mythscapes, folklore

Introduction or Digging Up a Hidden Common Treasure

The thirtieth volume of Joep Leerssen's book series *National Cultivation of Culture*, published in 2022 and edited by Terry Gunnell, presents a thorough examination of the literary and cultural consequences which spread throughout Northern Europe after the publication of the Brothers Grimm's *Deutsche Sagen*

(“German Legends,” 1816–1818).¹ The volume, titled *Grimm Ripples: The Legacy of the Grimms’ Deutsche Sagen in Northern Europe*, can be credited with shedding new light on, as well as doing justice to, the Grimms’ collection of “legends.”² In fact, when it was first published, the collection was more successful, at least among folklore scholars (Gunnell 2022: 1), than the now better-known *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (“Children’s and Household Tales,” first ed. 1812–1815), whose «enchanted and morally edifying material for children» (Gunnell 2022: 2) won an increasingly large audience over time, even though at the beginning they were «intended primarily for learned adults» (Zipes 2012: 111). Thus, from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, the fairy tales began to gain popularity at the expense of the legends, which have eventually «come to be [...] neglected by folklorists» (Gunnell 2022: 10).

Nevertheless, the *Deutsche Sagen* left an indelible mark and an invaluable legacy in Europe, especially but not limited to the North, and the reason lies in the historical, political, and cultural implications of the collection. In fact, behind the idea of collecting and then publishing the material for the *Deutsche Sagen*, as well as for their collection of *Märchen* – «an idea that the Grimms had first formed in 1808 around the time that they were beginning to collect fairy tales» (Schmiesing 2012: 357) – was Jacob and Wilhelm’s desire to offer the German people something that would stand out for its own national values during a time in history in which Germany was yet to become a modern nation and needed to secure its own national identity. In Donald Haase’s words, «Grimms’ collection of folktales [*Kinder- und Hausmärchen*] was conscripted into nationalistic service and became a political weapon in the Grimms’ intellectual resistance to the Napoleonic occupation of their beloved Hessian homeland» (Haase 1993: 386), which is something that can also be said about their collection of legends, as it is clear from reading through its 1816 preface:

We recommend our book to devotees of German poeise, history, and language and hope that it will be welcome to all as purely German fare. For it is our firm belief that nothing is as edifying or as likely to bring more joy than the products of the Fatherland. Indeed, an apparently insignificant, self-occasioning discovery and endeavor in the study of our own indigenous culture can in the end bring more fruit than the most brilliant discovery and cultivation of foreign fields. (DS 23)

This being the case, the circulation of the *Deutsche Sagen*, along with the «continual publication of the [...] *Children’s and Household Tales*, which grew larger with each new edition up through 1857» (Zipes 2012: 111), created a «Romantic Nationalistic cultural tsunami» (Gunnell 2022: 4) that prompted

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- 1 Henceforth, when cited, *Deutsche Sagen* will be referred to as DS, followed by the page number to which the quoted text belongs. The edition of the collection used as bibliographical reference is the one edited and annotated by Heinz Rölleke for *Deutscher Klassiker Verlag* in 1994. On the other hand, the translation of the texts into English is credited to Donald Ward, the first and only editor of an English edition of the Grimms’ *Sagen* (1981). The decision to refrain from solely relying on Ward’s translation for the entire referencing apparatus stems from the fact that the German edition translated by Ward is not the original, but the third one, edited by Herman Grimm. With the latter’s alterations, mostly of a structural and quantitative nature, the collection deviated from its original state, which instead is the focus of this paper for reasons that will be discussed shortly. Moreover, when necessary, the translator’s commentary will be cited in the following format: last name, year of publication, and the respective page number. Both references have been included in the bibliography at the end of the paper.
 - 2 *Sage* is a challenging term to translate, as the English word “legend,” while suitable, can be mistaken for the German *Legende* (also translated into English as “legend”), which denotes a different genre (see: *infra* 1.2). Bearing this in mind, the author of this paper has chosen to primarily utilise the word “legend” – and the term “saga” where necessary to distinguish it from *Legende* – in line with the official English translation by Donald Ward. For a broader exploration of the *Sage* as a literary genre, see Röhrich ([1966] 1971).

several European countries to collect and publish any kind of folk tales that constituted the history of their people (Zipes 2012: 112–113). Despite their understandable dissimilarities, which broadly speaking differentiate one cultural tradition from another, the folk collections spawned as a result of this tendency display a substratum of common folk beliefs that often transcends the geographical area to which they belong. This was also clear to Jacob, whose treatise on Germanic mythology titled *Deutsche Mythologie* (“Teutonic Mythology,” 1835)³ «has been seen as taking the place of [a] third volume» of *Deutsche Sagen* that «never came to fruition» (Schmiesing 2012: 354). In order to isolate the Germanic lore from other folkloric traditions, especially from Norse mythology, with the aim of «sharpen[ing] our vision for a criticism of the Old German faith» (DM 10), as well as circumscribing said “purely German fare,” Grimm had to start making the necessary assumption that there were, in fact, similar traditions common to different cultural areas.

This is, among others, the case of Frau Holle,⁴ whose «name has a purely Teutonic meaning, and is firmly grounded in the living traditions of our people to this day» (DM 266), yet most of her core characteristics, albeit with some differences, can also be found in other-than-Germanic folkloric lore, where she is known, or has come to be associated with, different names, the Italic and Roman goddess Diana being one of them. The etymology of the name “Diana,” which means “goddess of light,”⁵ is reminiscent of «[a] being similar to Holda, or the same under another name», namely, «frau Berchte, i.e., in OHG. Perahta, the bright, luminous, glorious (as Holda [herself] produces [a] glittering snow)» (DM 272). She «makes her appearance precisely in those Upper German regions where Holda leaves off, in Swabia, in Alsace, in Switzerland, in Bavaria and Austria» (DM 272). Some of them bordered Italy, where yet another figure similar to those mentioned rose after Christianity had taken over, i.e., the so-called “Befana,” whose similarities with Bertha and Perchta provided the opportunity for Jacob to entertain the possibility of the existence of a pre-Christian, heathen deity as a common denominator of all those mentioned above (see, for instance, DM 281–282).⁶

3 Henceforth, when cited, *Deutsche Mythologie* will be referred to as DM, followed by the page number to which the quoted text belongs. The bibliographical references pertain to the first volume of the 1882 English translation from the fourth edition of the text by James Steven Stallybrass.

4 Also spelled as Holda, Holde, and elsewhere known as Perchta, Berchta, or Bertha, Frau Holle is usually associated with deities such as Diana and Nerthus (DM 250–315).

5 «In Roman mythology, Diana was equated with the Greek Artemis although she had an independent origin in Italy. [...] Varro and Cicero offer the oldest and most commonly accepted etymology of the name of Diana. She was conceived as the female counterpart of Iuppiter Dianus, following this etymological chain: *Deus, dius, *diuius, Diovīs, dies, Diuiana*, Diana. Diana is therefore “the goddess of light” and she is often defined as such in inscriptions of the imperial era, which honor her as *Dea Diana, Deana*, or simply, *Diana*» (Casadio/Johnston 2021: XIII). Jacob Grimm further argues that: «The light of day is a notion that borders on that of heaven, and it was likewise honoured with personification as a god [...]. To begin with, *dies* [...] is itself connected with *deus* and *divus*; Jupiter was called *Diespiter*, i.e., *diei pater*, for the old gen. was *dies*. Then the word in the sing. fluctuates between the masc. and fem. genders; and as the masc. *Ju, Dju* with the suffix *n*, is shaped into the fem. forms *Júno* for *Jovino*, *Djovino*, and *Diana*, just so the Lith. name for day, *diena*, is fem., while the Slav, *den, dzien*, dan, is masc.» (DM 195) Refer to Timm/Beckmann (2003) for additional insights on this topic.

6 Linked to this hypothesis, the discussion regarding the prehistory of a pre-Christian religious agrarian witch-cult could be pertinent. For a brief yet efficient exploration of this topic, which, to this day, continues to be a focal point for research, critique, and debate, see: Murray (1921, [1931] 1960), Ginzburg ([1966] 2011, [1989] 1991), Cohn ([1973, 1993] 2000), Hutton (1999), Feraro/White (2019).

In the analysis of this myth, which Christianity inevitably encountered and intertwined with, it might be of good use to focus on the studies on the Friulian phenomenon here referred to as “Benandantism,” started by Carlo Ginzburg in his 1966 book *The Night Battles*. This is not only because Friuli-Venezia Giulia, the Italian region where this phenomenon was first recorded, happened to be «an area [...] where Germanic and Slavic traditions came together» (Ginzburg [1966] 2011: XX), but also because the very myth of the so-called “benandanti” («people who go out to do good», Zipes 2012: 74) follows in the footsteps of those beliefs concerning the heathen entity to which Frau Holle is also inspired. This double key of interpretation, both divine and human, likely embodies a new memetic declination of what is probably the result of religious syncretism between paganism and Christianity:

On the one hand, this belief is tied to a larger complex of traditions (connected, in turn, with the myth of nocturnal gatherings over which female deities named Perchta, Holda, Diana presided) in an area that extends from Alsace to Hesse and from Bavaria to Switzerland. On the other hand, it is found in an almost identical form in the lands which once comprised Livonia (present day Latvia and Estonia). Given this geographic spread it may not be too daring to suggest that in antiquity these beliefs must once have covered much of central Europe. (Ginzburg [1966] 2011: XX)

As such, the aim of this paper is to show how the Brothers Grimm’s *Deutsche Sagen* are a valuable analytical tool for studying issues related to literature, history, and customs across different cultures and epochs. Utilising André Jolles’ considerations on the *Sage* as a literary genre, as well as Duncan Bell’s concept of “mythscape,” a methodological framework will be built, and the discussion will be exemplified by juxtaposing the Germanic figure of Frau Holle with Benandantism. Similarities between the two will ultimately point out the perpetuation, in both myths, of specific memetic processes inherent to their respective cultures, thereby setting the stage for further research on the topic.

1. The Brothers Grimm’s *Deutsche Sagen*...

1.1. ... Between Law, Folklore, and History

Reading through Jacob’s *Deutsche Mythologie*, it becomes clear that alongside oral tradition, ancient law serves as a primary source for documenting the old Germanic religion, which is in fact the most ancient and sacred folkloric heritage of Germanic culture as a whole.⁷ The text suggests an «undeniable intermixture of the old religious doctrine with the system of law», with «the latter, even after the adoption of the new faith, [...] not part[ing] with certain old forms and usages» (DM 11–12).

Before they were collectors of folk tales, the Grimms were law students. Following in their father’s footsteps, they both attended the University of Marburg, where they found a guide in the historian and jurist Friedrich Carl von Savigny, whose pamphlet *Vom Beruf unserer Zeit für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft* (“Of the Vocation of Our Age for Legislation and Jurisprudence,” 1814) was particularly inspiring to Jacob and Wilhelm. In one of the letters addressed to their mentor, Wilhelm wrote that he had especially enjoyed the chapter on the origin of the law, and that it was his brother and his own intention to collect fairy tales and legends in order to represent the origin of poetry in the

⁷ Refer to Cohn ([1973, 1993] 2000: 164–165) for additional insights on this topic.

same way, that is, as a “shared property of the people” («Gemeingut des Volks», *Briefe* 1953: 183). In fact, speaking of origins, Jacob further argued that law is, like language and customs, essentially popular, and that law and folk poetry, being similar in their growth, development, and death, can exemplify each other (*ivi*: 172). In this regard, Maria Carolina Foi suggests that law and poetry share a supra-individual and collective nature that embodies the voices of the communities they serve; similar to that of a judge, the poet's role does not entail creation, for both law and poetry are grounded in the shared experiences and values of their people (Foi 2016: 59-60). Therefore, what Jacob and Wilhelm had intended to do by putting together their first collection of fairy tales and their collection of legends had nothing to do with the creation of new narrations, but was rather aimed at the rediscovery and treasuring of an old Germanic past during its “downfall” («Untergang», *Briefe* 1953: 174), which would have probably been lost without their mediation.

This is true especially for the *Deutsche Sagen*, because whereas «[t]he fairy tale is more poetic, the legend is more historical; the former exists securely almost in and of itself in its innate blossoming and consummation. The legend, by contrast, [...] represents something special in that it adheres always to that which we are conscious of and know well, such as a locale or a name that has been secured through history» (DS 11). After all, «for the most part, history and legend flow together» (DS 14).

1.2. ... As Literary Mythscapes: Considerations on the *Sage* as a Literary Genre

In his 1930 study titled *Einfache Formen* (“Simple Forms”),⁸ André Jolles examined «nine elementary narrative structures underlying, as [he] thought, all literary production: legend, saga, myth, riddle, saying, case, *memorable*, fairy tale, and joke» (Schwartz 2017: *Translator's Introduction*). Specifically, the scholar⁹ «viewed these ‘simple forms’ as structuring principles operative in language before their ‘actualization’ in specific legends, sagas, fairy tales, and so on, or as components of more complex narrative types» (*ibidem*). Among these forms, the fairy tale (*Märchen*), the legend (*Legende*), and the saga (*Sage*) are the ones that might be relevant to discuss briefly before further delving into the specifics of Frau Holle's presence in the *Deutsche Sagen*. The construction of these forms is best summarised by Jolles' idea that «each simple form [is] the reflection in language of a particular mode of human engagement with the world» (*ibidem*), namely, what he calls *Geistbeschäftigung* (“mental disposition”). For instance, the legend is considered by the scholar «a response to the human need for ideals of conduct», and thus stems from *imitatio*, while the

8 Henceforth, when cited, *Einfache Formen* will be referred to as EF, followed by the number of the chapter and the paragraph it refers to, as the bibliographical references are based on the Kindle edition of the 2017 English translation from the second edition of the original text by Peter J. Schwartz. As per footnote No. 1, to differentiate between Jolles' text and the translator's commentary, quotations from the latter will be identified with the translator's last name, the year of publication, and the corresponding section title.

9 André Jolles (1874–1946) was a literary critic and art historian. Despite *Simple Forms* being «recognized as a classic of genre theory [...] [t]he question of the work's value is complicated by Jolles's enthusiastic and principled decision to join the National Socialist German Workers' Party in May 1933, which was followed by years of active commitment to the reorganization of scholarship at Leipzig University along Nazi lines» (Schwartz 2017: *Translator's Introduction*). While keeping this in mind, Hans Robert Jauss, as quoted by Schwartz, still finds value in Jolles' study of “simple forms” especially in its heuristic proposition that these forms allow «the researcher to infer ‘the particularity of a period's and literature's cultural code from the particular historical constellation of the forms’» (*ibidem*).

fairy tale is «an image of a just world unlike the real one» (*ibidem*) and captures our «naive morality» (EF 8.VI), rather than the human «predilection for the marvellous» (EF 8.III) to which the genre, to some extent appropriately, has mostly been associated to. The saga, however, constitutes a peculiar case.

According to Jolles, the saga is ultimately the representative of «an approach to problems of family, blood ties, and inheritance» (Schwartz 2017: *Translator's Introduction*). Nevertheless, what has been translated into English as “saga” is indeed a concept¹⁰ hardly translatable from the German word *Sage*, and the reason lies specifically in its connection to «a specific school [...] that sees the *Sage* exclusively in its relation to another concept, which it calls history [*Historie*]» (EF 2.I).

Indeed, the emphasis on historical familial connections, characteristic of the Icelandic saga (EF 2.II), represents just one facet of a genre that encompasses a wide range of texts with distinct characteristics. In this regard, drawing from the Grimms' *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Jolles highlights a significant definition of the term “Sage”: «[A]n orally disseminated report of something, news of something» (EF 2.I). The *Sage*, as the scholar points out, not only serves as a report detailing a family's history and lineage, but it also encompasses the verisimilar retelling of an event. While contemporary readers may find such narratives “wondrous” due to their incorporation of supernatural elements seemingly detached from concrete historical realities, they were deemed credible within the belief systems of the time and by the local communities that originated and transmitted them in the first place. In fact, «in more archaic usage, the notion of non-historicity was not yet insolubly linked with the concept *Sage*» (EF 2.I). If it holds true, as Marcel Mauss asserts, that magic, the marvellous by extension, can only truly be perceived as such when an entire society actively engages with it, acknowledging and embracing its own standing reality (Mauss [1950] 1972: 22–23), it follows that only a work that authentically captures the historical context of that society, including its beliefs and customs, can successfully embody its essence. The *Deutsche Sagen* were collected by Jacob and Wilhelm exactly with this understanding in mind:

History does not [...] tolerate the incredible in its presentations; but it is able, in its own way and in its observance of the totality, to seek it out and to honor it. While it is the children alone who believe in the reality of fairy tales, the folk have not yet stopped believing in their legends; and the collective understanding does not attempt to differentiate between the real and the unreal. The reality of the wondrous is established sufficiently for the folk by the details that accompany narration, that is, the undeniable familiarity with the nearby events and the visible existence of the site together outweigh any doubts about the wondrous events associated with the location. (DS 12–13)

This double meaning of the term *Sage* can be observed precisely in the structure of the collection. On the one hand, akin to the saga as understood within the Icelandic literary tradition, the second volume of the *Deutsche Sagen* is comprised of a series of texts described as *Sagen* «that derive directly from actual history [*wirkliche Geschichte*]» (DS 387), for they recount historical events of Germanic peoples and families.¹¹ On the other hand, the *Sagen* of the first volume are called *Ortssagen* (“local legends”) because they display a strong connection to specific geographic locations and reflect a spatial perspective tied to the

10 «It is very dangerous to confuse words and concepts [...]. Here, the consequence of the confusion is that it could seem to a foreigner [...] that in the German language the word *Sage* actually has a negative connotation, and that we use it to designate something that ‘lacks historical authentication.’ This is simply wrong. When we use the word *Sage*, we mean something positive – provided we do not use it in express contrast to history» (EF 2.I).

11 It is noteworthy that Jacob and Wilhelm specify in their preface to the second volume that this group of legends could also be labelled as “Legends of Teutonic Tribes and of Royal Families,” thus highlighting their fidelity to the historical events being narrated.

geocultural memory of the communities inhabiting those places. Lutz Röhrich argues that the distinction made by the Grimms between “local” and “historical” legends is not entirely precise, as the latter could, in many cases, be subsumed under the former category (Röhrich [1966] 1971: 2). Nevertheless, it can be contended that such a distinction, albeit simplistic, is necessary for analytical purposes, particularly when examining the varying degrees of geographical and historical specificity in the transmission and adaptation of the *Sagen*.

Because of their inherently cultural, geographical, wondrous, and literary nature, the “local legends” of the Brothers Grimm can ultimately be regarded as vessels containing literary “mythscape,” or “mythoscape.” The former term was proposed by Duncan Bell to define a «discursive realm, constituted by and through temporal and spatial dimensions, in which the myths of the nation are forged, transmitted, reconstructed and negotiated constantly» (Bell 2003: 75); the latter term has been occasionally circulating in contemporary art and fashion for a few years, conceptualising the “mythoscape” as a new type of landscape determined not merely by physical features and historical events but also by myths and legends.¹² In this regard, Bell expands on the importance of his selected term as follows:

[M]yths [...] subsume all of the various events, personalities, traditions, artefacts and social practices that (self) define the nation and its relation to the past, present and future. [...] The temporal dimension denotes a historical span, a narrative of the passing of years, and it is a narrative that is most likely to include *inter alia* a story of the origins of the nation and of subsequent momentous events and heroic figures. [...] The spatial dimension tends to be rooted in particular constructions of an often-idealized bounded territory, for example a romanticized national landscape: in pastoral English villages, rugged American frontiers or bucolic German forests. As such it includes a powerful narrative of place, embodying the topophilic power of a “here-feeling” [...]. (*Ivi*: 75–76)

Referring to the Brothers Grimm’s “local legends” as “literary mythscape,” favouring the Bellian terminology in order to denote the texts’ strong association with nationalism and the evolving significance of the myth linked to a particular geographic area, not only validates Bell’s intuition that «[m]yths [...] are shaped [...] perhaps through the particular resonance of works of literature and art» (Bell 2003: 75), but also reinforces Jolles’ insight that the concept of “Sage” and its significance have fluid boundaries.¹³ This encompasses Jacob Grimm’s idea that «[t]he ground of all *Sage* is *mythos* [...] with all its infinite variety of nuance from people to people: a much more common, unsteady element than history, but gaining in scope what it lacks in fixity» (EF 3.I). In this regard, the scholar further argues that «*Sage* cannot be grasped independently of such a mythical substratum, any more than history can be grasped independently of things that have happened» (EF 3.I).

Among the characters featured in the Brothers Grimm’s collection of *Sagen*, Frau Holle and her numerous iterations emerge as the most compelling illustration of how a myth evolves into a driving

12 For instance, consider the series of artworks by artist J. P. Aleksander titled “Mythoscape” and showcased at Studio 23 from 18 May to 8 July 2023, in Bay City, Michigan.

13 Regarding this subject, Filippo Fonio (2016) contends that «the “actualised simple form” of the saga is characterised by openness and [...] indefiniteness» [la «forma semplice attualizzata» della Saga presenta un carattere aperto e [...] indefinito] (Fonio 2016: 173). Translations from Italian into English are provided by the author of this paper. See also footnote No. 20.

force behind a collective narrative that is both “national” and “culturally specific” (Fonio 2016: 173), yet geographically decentralised and therefore “deterritorialisable.”¹⁴

2. The Divine and The Human in the Myth of Frau Holle

One of the most well-known and recognisable characters in German mythology, Frau Holle «is a familiar figure in both legends and fairy tales» (Ward [1891] 1981: 317). Although «legends and fairy tales share many of the same figures, [...] there is frequently a pronounced difference in their treatment in each genre. The witch of the legend, for example, is a member of a village community who engages in sorcery. In the fairy tale, by contrast, she is a demonic creature who lives alone in the forest and likes to eat children» (*ibidem*).

In this concise comment by Donald Ward regarding the fourth *Sage* of the collection, the first to be dedicated to Frau Holle and titled *Frau Hollen Teich* (“Mother Holla’s Pond”), the editor introduces two noteworthy aspects concerning the myth. First of all, Frau Holle is not referred to as a goddess but is depicted as a “witch,” namely, a woman possessing magical abilities yet ultimately of mortal nature. Secondly, she is a member of the local village community, thus ultimately emphasising the human aspect of the figure in contrast with the established notion of Frau Holle having mythical origins, *i.e.*, religious, and therefore divine.

In fact, according to Jacob Grimm, «[i]n popular legends and nursery-tales, *frau Holda* [...] appears as a superior being, who manifests a kind and helpful disposition towards men, and is never cross except when she notices disorder in household affairs» (DM 267). The scholar further argues that

Frau Holle is represented as a being of *the sky*, begirdling the earth: when it snows, she is making her bed, and the feathers of it fly. [...] *Holda* comes before us as a goddess of no mean rank. [...] She loves to haunt the *lake* and *fountain*; at the hour of noon she may be seen, a fair white lady, *bathing* in the flood and *disappearing* [...]. Mortals, to reach her dwelling, pass through the well [...]. She [...] brings *fertility* to the land. [...] At the same time *Holda* [...] can also ride on the winds, clothed in terror, and she [...] belongs to the ‘wütende heer’ [raging host]. From this arose the fancy, that *witches* ride in *Holla’s* company. (DM 267–268)

This set of characteristics can also be found in the *Deutsche Sagen*, where, however, other attributes of a less divine nature promptly situate Holle’s myth within a well-defined geocultural and historically contextualised framework. Here follow some excerpts from the fourth *Sage*:

The people tell many things about Mother Holla, both good and bad. Women who visit her by climbing into the spring have been made healthy and fertile. [...] Mother Holla is very tidy and keeps a neat household. When it snows in man’s world then everyone knows that Mother Holla is shaking out her feather beds until the flakes drift around in the wind. [...] Each year, Mother Holla wanders around the countryside bestowing fertility on the fields. However, she can also strike terror into the hearts of the people when she roars through the forests, leading raging hordes. Sometimes she appears as the beautiful White Woman, floating or hovering above the surface of her pond. (DS 39–40)

14 What is being suggested here is that the myth of Frau Holle could potentially be analysed within the framework of “deterritorialisation” as conceived by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari ([1972] 2000).

Jacob and Wilhelm's acknowledgment of the potential human facet of Frau Holle, who is in fact referred to as "White Woman" (*weiße Frau* in German), is a clear example of Christianity's «dislodgement of the gods» (DM 264), which eventually led to the transformation of many pagan gods «into hostile malignant powers, into demons, sorcerers, and giants, who had to be put down» (DM 5), ultimately meaning that «the same old heathen idea [...] could only maintain itself in [...] [the] customs of the people» (DM 264). Just as it appears in the quoted text, the adjective "white" primarily denotes the attire typically associated with these entities;¹⁵ it is not by chance that white garments were donned both by baptismal candidates (DM 5) and by pagan priestesses – also known as "wise women" (*weise Frauen* in German) due to their prophetic and clairvoyant abilities¹⁶ – who «trespass on the superhuman» (DM 98) even though «[t]heir own being itself [...] rests on human nature» (DM 400). In this regard, Jacob maintains that the «[m]aidens clothed in white, who [...] show themselves in clefts of the rock and on mountains, are suggestive of the ancient goddess» (DM 291). Indeed, these figures are designated as *halbgöttinnen* ("demigoddesses") by the philologist, who further elaborates on their role in ancient times as follows: «The mission and functions of half-goddesses [...] may be roughly defined thus: to the upper gods they are *handmaids*, to men *revealers*» (DM 397), suggesting the coexistence of their divine status with their inherent human nature.

Bearing this in mind, it can be argued that especially within the first volume of the *Deutsche Sagen*, numerous discernible texts, in addition to those that explicitly mention her (DS 39–42), contribute to the formation of Frau Holle's mythscape by expanding her set of attributes beyond her divine status; these include, for example, *Die weiße Frau* ("The White Woman," Sage No. 122; DS 174), *Frau Berta oder die weiße Frau* ("Mother Bertha or the White Woman," Sage No. 267; DS 302–303), *Die Heidenjungfrau zu Glatz* ("The Heathen Maiden of Glatz," Sage No. 317; DS 341–343), and *Die weiße Jungfrau zu Schwanau* ("The White Virgin of Schwanau," Sage No. 330; DS 355). In these texts, among many others,¹⁷ tales about *weiße* and *weise Frauen* create hybrid mythical landscapes in which mortality and divinity blend to mirror syncretic images and figures that were, and still are, widely spread throughout Europe.¹⁸

Such is also the case of the *benandanti*, inheritors of a pagan agricultural cult born itself out of a fusion of ancient mythical-religious beliefs. As their members were being gradually transformed into supernatural beings, cults like those of the *benandanti* seemed to represent a declension of Frau Holle's transfiguration from goddess to mortal being, ultimately resulting in her demonisation (Zipes 2012: 56–61). Thus, they provide a testimony of Christianity's intention to eradicate all remnants of paganism, for, whereas a god-like entity is impervious to mortality, a mortal being is susceptible to such fate.

3. The Peculiar Case of Friulian Benandantism

Benandantism can be mainly framed in the juridical and religious events of Friuli-Venezia Giulia, states Margherita Hack in the introduction to Adriano Del Fabro's study on the subject (Hack 2016: 5). Franco

15 For additional information, see, for instance, DM 271, 280, 288, 412, 414, 430, 432.

16 In Jewish tradition, these characteristics have even bestowed upon Holle an educational role (Hammer 2005: 74–75).

17 Others encompass, but are not limited to: *Fräulein von Boyneburg* ("The Maiden of Boyne Castle," Sage No. 10; DS 44–45), *Die Schloß-Jungfrau* ("The Maiden of the Castle," Sage No. 12; DS 46), *Die Wiesenjungfrau* ("The Woman of the Meadow," Sage No. 223; DS 263–264), and *Die wilde Berta kommt* ("Wild Bertha Will Come," Sage No. 268; DS 303).

18 See, for example, Map 3 in Ginzburg ([1989] 1991: 98–99).

Nardon further argues that beliefs about benandanti were widespread in the area surrounding Cividale del Friuli and in the middle and lower Friulian plain, especially in the diocese of Aquileia, with appendices in the territory of Monfalcone and in the diocese of Concordia (Nardon 1999: 45). However, as far as the “prehistory” of this phenomenon is concerned, one can only speculate. According to Nardon,

assuming [...] hypothetically that the data from such distribution constitute a sort of ethnographic map, this same data may provide useful clues for defining the original substratum of the myths and rituals associated with the night battles [carried out by the benandanti]. From such a «map» one can deduce and venture into guessing that these myths and rituals emerge from a Slavic substratum rather than a Celtic or Germanic one, considering the absence of mountain testimonies concerning the benandanti’s activities.¹⁹ (*Ibidem*)

Even so, the myth cannot be completely separated from Germanic tradition, for Friulian (especially Carnia’s) documentation of the time presents many analogies with its contemporary German records regarding women who, similarly to the benandanti, wondered at night during the Ember Days; the theme of the ecstatic journey of women following a female deity like Diana or Frau Holle also appears in written German legends such as Heinrich Kornmann’s 1614 *Mons Veneris* and in the collection of sermons by Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg, *Die Emeis*, published in Strasbourg in 1516 (*ivi*: 47).

The benandanti, according to Hack, were people “born with a shirt on.” In common parlance, to be born with a shirt on meant that one was born particularly fortunate (“born with a silver spoon in their mouth,” the English would say). However, the benandanti were almost literally born with a white shirt on, for they were among those rare cases in which the newborn baby remains wrapped in the amniotic sac (*ivi*: 5). Given this unique circumstance, they were thought to be special and were assigned a distinct social role within their community, that is, to safeguard the cultivated fields from witches and sorcerers. Del Fabro further argues:

These people were essentially folksy peasants. The benandanti did not have any prospect of social career, nor did they occupy traditional positions of power. They seemed to bear witness to atavistic attributes of “simplicity, reliability, and commitment to their community.” Thus, they did not think themselves powerful, nor did they seek compromises with the civil and religious powers of their time. They professed themselves Christians and their faith committed them to the defence of the crops and the fight against evil.²⁰ (Del Fabro 2016: 17)

The fight with witches and warlocks that the benandanti were believed to engage in had specific connotations, including the weapons used and the time in which the battle would take place. Their weapons consisted of fennel or viburnum stalks, while the witches defended themselves by wielding and

19 «Assumendo [...] in via ipotetica che i dati di questa distribuzione costituiscano una sorta di mappa etnografica, essi possono fornire indizi utili alla definizione del sostrato originario dei miti e dei riti legati alle battaglie notturne. Dalla “mappa” si può desumere e azzardare che tali miti e tali riti emergano da un sostrato slavo piuttosto che celtico o germanico, considerata l’assenza di testimonianze montane sui benandanti.» The translations of Fabio Nardon (1999) and Adriano del Fabro’s (2016) works from Italian into English are provided by the author of this paper, as they have not yet been officially translated into English.

20 «Si trattava, essenzialmente, di gente del popolo, *rustica*. I benandanti [...] non facevano carriera sociale, non occupavano tradizionali ruoli di potere. Parevano testimoniare caratteristiche ataviche di “semplicità, fedeltà e coerenza” e, perciò, non si inventavano potenti e non cercavano compromessi con i poteri della loro epoca, né civili né religiosi. Si professavano cristiani e la loro fede li impegnava nella difesa dei raccolti e nella lotta contro il male.»

beating around sorghum rods, bamboo canes, or oven shovels (*ivi*: 18). The spiritual journeys allegedly took place only four times a year, on the Thursdays of the Ember Days, the same days when the “white” and “wise” women from the *Sagen* were often reported to appear (see, for instance, *Die Jungfrau im Oselberg*, “The Maiden of Osel Mountain,” *Sage* No. 221; DS 261). During those nights, the benandanti would fall asleep, their spirit would leave their body, fight, and return before dawn. If they won the battle, it meant that the seasonal harvests would be good. If, on the other hand, it was the witches who won, the crops would be ruined in the upcoming season (*ibidem*).

Nonetheless, despite their alleged commendable deeds in combatting evil, the benandanti eventually found themselves condemned by the Holy Inquisition due to their perceived association with witchcraft. It was probably the sectarian nature of the cult²¹ and the belief in its use of magic that led to persecution by the inquisitors of the time, whose trials of the benandanti, for this reason, were immediately traced back to those concerning rituals associated with the Sabbath, even though Carnia remained essentially unaffected by the spread of such gatherings (Nardon 1999: 47). From this perspective, the fact that «according to Ginzburg, the ecstatic experience of these women and men had nothing to do with a belief in demons and devils» (Zipes 2012: 75) fits perfectly with Pietro Ellero's observation that, in Friuli, those whom Ginzburg later referred to as “benandanti” were not initially considered witches but rather “mysterious beings,” reminiscent of the «*dame bianche*» (“women dressed in white”) found in Germanic and Celtic traditions (Ellero 1881: 34, 36, 41). In Zipes's words, «[i]n essence, the benandanti participated in some kind of shamanistic fertility ritual that involved a voyage to the world of the dead or another world. There were numerous other shamanistic cults in Europe that celebrated the Sabbath in similar ways. They were associated with witches and fairies», subsequently «demonized by the church during the European Inquisition and witch hunts» (Zipes 2012: 74).

Conclusion or Setting Up the Groundwork for Future Research Perspectives

The social, religious, and folk-related changes concerning the myths of Frau Holle and Friulian Benandantism undeniably mirror certain aspects of the cultural evolution observed not only in witchcraft but also in overall religious beliefs across Europe, through the course of many centuries and in diverse regions; a phenomenon arguably sustained by ongoing memetic processes.

In his brief account of memetics, intended as the branch of studies that analyses the meme as «a cultural analogue to the gene» (Graham [2002] 2005: 83) and therefore as a «unit of cultural transmission» (Zipes 2012: 17), Jack Zipes points out that «numerous serious scholars [...] have endeavored [...] to explain the role that memetics plays in different cultural and scientific fields» (*ivi*: 18), illustrating «why the term can be helpful in understanding cultural evolution» (*ibidem*). Moreover, given that «[t]he crucial elements in the evolution of the memetic process are repetition and memory» (*ivi*: 19), Melvin Konner contributes to the conversation by saying that

the meme has proved useful in understanding cultural stability and change [...]. As with genes, the faithfulness of replication and its associated repair mechanisms can ensure stability over time. And also as with genes, the replication process is imperfect and errors have a creative function, serving

21 See, for instance, Nardon (1999: 69–83).

as grist for the mill of cultural change, much as mutations offer the genetic variation that natural selection acts upon. (Konner 2010: 689)

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From this point of view, the depiction of Frau Holle in the *Deutsche Sagen* and Friulian Benandantism emerge as two sides of the same coin. While both myths likely originated from ancient pre-Christian traditions, perpetuated by memetic processes passed on through rituals and storytelling, they also diverge following specific temporal, spatial, and cultural axes. Positioned at different points along the historical continuum, they arguably represent two deviations (*i.e.*, “errors” that have a “creative function”) from the stable memetic process that sustained them in the first place, influenced notably by the rise and dissemination of Christianity (due to the reconfiguration of values this religion entailed and in accordance with the doctrine it professed).

Considering Drout’s (2006) insights regarding the suitability of a meme-centred approach to oral tradition theory, along with Dawkins’ ([1976] 2006: 192) classification of memes, what is argued here is that the Grimms’ *Deutsche Sagen*, more than their fairy tales, could have evolved into memetic repositories of such deviations. Especially because of the historical nature of the collection, imbued with culturally specific, rather than universal, significance. Thus, the collection of *Sagen* offers new perspectives on the cultural and the historical trajectory of the myths, originally stemming from oral tradition, documented within the collection itself. Additionally, as Lotte Motz underlines in her 1984 essay *The Winter Goddess*, the study of folk beliefs, customs, and legends – often overlooked by scholars – yields valuable insights into historical, cultural, and religious phenomena (Motz 1984: 151) such as those discussed in this paper. According to Zipes, who writes specifically about fairy tales, though his observation could very well be extended to any type of folk tale,

[w]itch is memetically loaded. [...] Witches are replicated in our minds through all modes of communication, and we employ the concept of witch in various ways, often changing the witch’s meaning, in information or stories [...]. We do this without realizing that the memetic staying power of the word and concept “witch” are rooted in pagan cultural traditions that hark back to the Neolithic period, if not before. Witch is a word/concept/image that has undergone a process of “demonization” that is still potent today. [...] Witches as ancient divinities are intriguing because the pagan goddesses in the Western world eventually gave birth to the Greco-Roman goddesses and fates, who [...] engendered fairies, nymphs, mermaids, sirens, pixies, and other supernatural creatures. That is, not only were the goddesses transformed into witches, they were also precursors of the fairies and their kin. All this means that the irresistible and inexplicable fairy tale cannot even be partially explained unless we endeavor to draw connections to ancient rituals and customs pertaining to magical transformation, witches, and fairies. (Zipes 2012: 56–57)

To conclude, the Brothers Grimm’s *Deutsche Sagen* not only serve as a repository of old Germanic folk narratives, but are also themselves representative, for this very same reason, of an invaluable and indisputable methodological resource for the analysis of ancient traditions, customs, and beliefs, for they pertain to phenomena that may appear distant in both space and time but, like Benandantism, exhibit shared traits and cultural and historical connections. Following Motz’s lesson, the aspiration accompanying this preliminary research, with the prospect of further development, is therefore to highlight the significance of primary literary folk material in order to explore phenomena that go beyond the literary realm and the exegetical analysis of texts.

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ALICJA BETKA

Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Instytut Studiów Klasycznych, Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych, Zakład Filologii Indyjskiej

alicja.betka@uwr.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0001-7036-2777

***Bhāyasi maṃ samaṇā* – „Boisz się mnie, asceto?”¹. O rozmowach jakszów (demonów) z Buddą i ich nawróceniach w kanonie palijskim**

***Bhāyasi maṃ samaṇā* – „Are You Afraid of Me, Ascetic?”. Conversations
between Yakshas (Demons) and Buddha in the Pali Canon**

Abstract

Yakshas are mythical beings connected to the powers of nature, present not only in Hinduism, but also in Buddhism. In the early Buddhist literature of the Theravada school (Pali Canon) there are some fragments, in which yakshas meet Buddha or his disciples and are converted to Buddhism. The suttas with yakshas as main characters appear chiefly in *Samyutta Nikāya* 10.1–12 and *Sutta Nipāta* 1.9–10, 2.5 which are the research material for this paper. A close reading of these texts proposed in this article as well as examination of historical background are aimed at analyzing the relation between demons and Buddha, the motivations of yakshas and their conversion to Buddhism. The investigation leads to an understanding of the role of the yakshas' conversions in the Pali Canon by answering these questions: Why and under what circumstances do yakshas meet Buddha? Why do yakshas ask Buddha questions? What is his reaction after meeting yakshas, and how do yakshas react when they see Buddha? How does yaksha transform after conversion?

Keywords: Buddhist literature, Pali Canon, Buddha, yakshas

Słowa kluczowe: literatura buddyjska, kanon palijski, Budda, jakszowie

1 Pierwsze słowa jakszy Sucilomy skierowane do Buddy, *Sūcilomasutta*, *Samyutta Nikāya* 10.3.

Jakszowie (pal. *yakkha*, skr. *yakṣa*) oraz jakszinie (pal. *yakkhini*, skr. *yakṣi*) to postacie przewijające się często w literaturze, mitologii i sztuce indyjskiej. Są to istoty określane jako demoniczne lub półboskie, związane z przyrodą i posiadające nadnaturalne moce. Najprawdopodobniej są pozostałością lokalnych przed-aryjskich kultów. Ich ambiwalentna natura ewoluowała przez wielki, bywali przedstawiani zarówno jako łaskawi, jak i złowrodzy (Misra 1981: 9).

Jakszowie od dawna budzili zainteresowanie wśród badaczy, monografię poświęcił im już na początku XX wieku Ananda Coomaraswamy (t. 1 – 1928; t. 2 – 1931), następnie Ram Nath Misra (1981), który podkreślał, że łączą oni w sobie pierwiastki sakralne i świeckie, Gail Hinich Sutherland (1992) również przekonana o ich ambiwalentnym charakterze, oraz Robert DeCaroli (2004), który pisał o rzeczywistej wierze w ich istnienie wśród świeckich wyznawców buddyzmu i w samej wspólnocie mnichów.

W kanonie palijskim² można znaleźć opowieści o jakszach, którzy prowadzą dyskusje z Buddą i nawracają się na buddyzm, stykają się też z jego uczniami i członkami wspólnoty mnichów. Szczególnie interesujący w tym kontekście jest rozdział dziesiąty w *Sanjutta Nikaji* (*Samyutta Nikāya* 10.1–12) zatytułowany *Jakkha* (*Yakkha*), w którym pytania Buddzie zadają jakszowie: Indaka, Suciloma (*Sūciloma*) i Alawaka (*Ālavaka*)³. Inni jakszowie z tego rozdziału – Manibhadda (*Maṇibhadda*) i Sakka – nie zadają wprost pytania, lecz recytują strofę w obecności Buddy, którą ten komentuje (*Sakkanamasutta*, *Samyutta Nikāya* 10.2; *Maṇibhaddasutta*, *Samyutta Nikāya* 10.4). W *Sutta Nipacie* z *Khuddaka Nikaji* (*Sutta Nipāta*, *Khuddaka Nikāya*) pojawia się jeszcze rozmawiający z Buddą jaksza Hemawata (*Hemavata*), towarzyszy mu jaksza Satagira (*Sātāgira*), który opowiada o zaletach Buddy (*Sutta Nipāta* 1.9)⁴. W tym zbiorze znajdują się również (tak samo brzmiące jak w *Sanjutta Nikaji*) sutty o Sucilomie (*Sutta Nipāta* 2.5) oraz Alawace (*Sutta Nipāta* 1.10).

Poza dyskusjami z samym Buddą jakszowie są opisywani we wspomnianym rozdziale z *Sanjutta Nikaji* też w innych kontekstach: w sutcie piątej (*Sānūsutta*, *Samyutta Nikāya* 10.5) pewien chłopiec imieniem Sanu (*Sānu*) zostaje opętany przez jakszę, który nakłania go, by wrócił do wspólnoty buddyjskiej. W sutcie szóstej pojawia się natomiast jakszini, uspokajająca swojego syna, Pijankarę (*Piyaṅkara*), aby jego płacz nie zagłuszył nauki dhammy (wypowiadanej niedaleko przez ucznia Buddy, Anuruddhę), której zrozumienie ma – jak przekonuje jakkhini – pozwolić im prowadzić lepsze życie (*Piyaṅkarasutta*, *Samyutta Nikāya* 10.6). W podobnym tonie wypowiada się w kolejnej sutcie matka Punabbasu (*Punabbasutta*, *Samyutta Nikāya* 10.7). Sutta ósma zawiera opowieść o tym, jak kupiec Anathapindika (*Anāthapiṇḍika*) dowiedziawszy się, że na świecie pojawił się Budda, pragnie go odwiedzić. Gdy wychodzi z miasta, zapada jednak straszna ciemność i kupiec chce zawrócić, wtedy powstrzymuje go przed tym jaksza Siwaka (*Sivaka*), zachęcając go kilka razy do zrobienia kolejnego kroku naprzód. Ostatecznie dzięki pomocy jakszy Anathapindika spotyka się z Buddą (*Sudattasuttaṃ*, *Samyutta Nikāya* 10.8). W sutcie dziewiątej

2 Jest to kanon szkoły therawady (*theravāda*), zwany też *Tipitaką* (*Tipiṭaka*) – dosł. Trzema koszami, składający się z trzech części: kosza dyscypliny (*Vinayaṭṭakā*), kosza kazań (*Suttaṭṭakā*), kosza abhidhammy (dosł. wyższej doktryny) (*Abhidhammaṭṭakā*), na ten temat zob. np. Hinüber 1996.

3 Indaka pyta Buddę, jak powstaje ciało, skoro forma według buddystów nie ma duszy; Sakka zauważa, że dla Buddy jako ascety, który porzucił wszelkie przywiązania, nie jest dobre nauczanie innych [co może powodować powstanie przywiązań]; Suciloma pyta, skąd powstaje pożądanie, nienawiść, niezadowolenie, radość, przestrach; Alawaka – co jest największym skarbem człowieka, jak człowiek przekracza powódź, niespokojne morze, cierpienie, jak zdobywa mądrość, dobytek, szacunek, przyjaciół, jak przechodzi do następnego świata i nie rozpacza.

4 Hemawata pyta, co powstaje wraz ze światem, czym jest lgnięcie, jak można się wyzwolić z cierpienia.

pewien jaksza namawia mieszkańców miasta Radżagahy, by udali się po nauki do mniszki Sukki (*Sukkāsutta*, *Samyutta Nikāya* 10.9). O tym samym opowiada sutta dziesiąta (*Dutiyasukkāsutta*, *Samyutta Nikāya* 10.10). W sutcie jedenastej natomiast jaksza chwali czyn ofiarowania szat przez świeckiego wyznawcę mniszce Cirze (*Cirasutta*, *Samyutta Nikāya* 10.11).

Jakszowie sporadycznie pojawiają się też w innych miejscach kanonu palijskiego (np. *Dīgha Nikāya* 3.1.2) oraz warstwach literatury buddyjskiej: szczególnie w półkanonicznych dzatakach (*jātaka*), sanskryckiej *Winaji* mulasarwastiwady (skr. *mūlasarvāstivāda*), w kronice *Mahawansa* (*Māhavaṃsa*) i *Dipawansa* (*Dīpavaṃsa*) i niektórych późniejszych utworach (Sutherland 1992: 115). Są to również postacie często przedstawiane we wczesnej sztuce buddyjskiej (zwłaszcza w tzw. okresie aikonicznym, gdy Budda nie był ukazywany w sztuce w ludzkiej postaci, np. w zdobieniach stup z Bharhut czy Sañci, zob. DeCaroli 2015: 29), co dodatkowo świadczy o ich dużej popularności w tym okresie (zob. Commaraswamy 1931; Misra 1981: 104–129; Despande 2010).

Często przyjmuje się pogląd, że spotkania Buddy z jakszami są tylko ciekawym wprowadzeniem narracyjnym, przyciągającym uwagę i dającym możliwość wyjaśnienia jakiegoś elementu doktryny (DeCaroli 2004: 35); badacze koncentrują się przede wszystkim na fakcie zwyciężenia, przechrzta jakszy przez Buddę lub samej nauce, przekazanej w danym utworze.

Warto jednak przyjrzeć się uważnie również warstwie narracyjnej tych utworów w poszukiwaniu jakichś elementów, pozwalających lepiej opisać relację jakszów z Buddą, ich motywacje i ewentualną przemianę. Ten artykuł ma na celu prześledzenie właśnie pod takim kątem tych historii, szczególnie bezpośrednich rozmów jakszów z Buddą, by odpowiedzieć na pytanie, jaką rolę pełniły nawrócenia jakszów w kanonie palijskim. Aby przedstawić szczegółowo tę kwestię, zajmę się w dalszej części pytaniami: 1. Dlaczego i jak jakszowie spotykają Buddę?; 2. Dlaczego jakszowie zadają pytania Buddzie?; 3. Jaka jest reakcja Buddy na spotkanie jakszy, a jak reaguje jaksza?; 4. Jak wygląda przemiana jakszy?

1. Dlaczego i jak jakszowie spotykają Buddę?

Na początku warto zadać pytanie o okoliczności spotkania Buddy z jakszami. Dlaczego w ogóle do niego dochodzi? Czy dzieje się to przypadkiem, czy jaksza przychodzi do Buddy, czy też Budda wkracza na teren jakszy?

Aby odpowiedzieć na to pytanie, trzeba przyjrzeć się nurtom religijnym rozwijającym się w Indiach w pierwszym tysiącleciu p.n.e. Najogólniej można wyróżnić nurt związany z tradycją braminów (pal. *brāhmaṇa*, skr. *brahman*) oraz z tradycją samanów (pal. *samaṇa*, skr. *śramaṇa*). Palijski wyraz *samaṇa* oznacza wędrowca, ascetę, samotnika. Samanowie opuszczali społeczeństwo, nie zajmowali się wytwarzaniem dóbr, nie zakładali rodzin, lecz udawali się do lasu, gdyż wierzyli, że takie wyrzeczenia zapewnią im wyzwolenie z bolesnego kołowrotu wcieleń (*sansary*). Nie oznaczało to jednak, jak zauważa Gail Omvedt, że wszyscy byli ascetami lub samotnikami, niektórzy z nich żyli niekiedy w grupach, żywiąc się tym, co znaleźli w lesie lub co otrzymali od ludzi mieszkających w pobliżu (Omvedt 2003: 30). Sami mnisi buddyjscy nie nazywali siebie samanami (choć gmina buddyjska wywodziła się z tego ruchu), lecz nie-buddyści często określali tak Buddę lub tak się do niego zwracali (Rhys Davids, Stede 1921: 682). Bramini mogli stanowić integralną część społeczeństwa (zajmowali się studiami religijnymi, sprawowaniem licznych rytuałów, ofiar, które miały zapewniać pomyślność; gromadzili przy tym

bogactwa i zakładali rodziny) albo prowadzić ascetyczne życie w lesie (wielu takich braminów opisuje np. *Mahābhārata*, zob. Bronkhorst 1998: 76–80). Jak zauważa Johannes Bronkhorst, bramiński ascetyzm był zakorzeniony w tradycji wedyjskiej i wiązał się z określonymi zasadami, dotyczącymi składania ofiar, podczas gdy samanowie mieli inne motywacje: odrzucając wedyjską wizję świata, chcieli poprzez swoje działania wyzwolić się z kręgu powtórnych narodzin (Bronkhorst 1998: 82).

Wspólnota buddyjska – sangha (pal. *sangha*) – miała podążać wskazywaną przez Buddę śródkową ścieżką: mnisi nie mogli zakładać rodziny czy wykonywać pracy w celu zapewnienia sobie środków do życia, jednocześnie jednak odrzucali również skrajną ascezę i samotnictwo. Mieli zachowywać kontakt ze społecznością poprzez codzienne zebranie o posiłek i nauczanie dhammy. Aby zapewnić trwanie wspólnoty, ta więź ze świeckimi wyznawcami musiała być wciąż podtrzymywana, zwłaszcza że mnisi buddyjscy – inaczej niż bramini – nie mieli ustalonego miejsca w społeczeństwie i nie byli z nim związani poprzez rytuały (DeCaroli 2000: 278–279).

Miejsca zamieszkania mnichów znajdowały się często w bliskiej odległości od osad, ale jednak poza ich granicami: w gajach, lasach, jaskiniach; czasami mnisi przejmowali też grunty cmentarne (DeCaroli 2004: 55). Były to obszary tradycyjnie kojarzone z jakszami jako duchami przyrody i lokalnymi bóstwami związanymi z danym wzgórzem, jeziorem czy drzewem. Dlatego – w świetle tych zakorzenionych wierzeń – możliwość spotkania jakszów na tych właśnie terenach wydawała się bardzo prawdopodobna.

Budda wraz z uczniami dużo podróżował, odwiedzając wiele miejscowości i nauczając, przechodząc też przez terytoria, związane z kultem jakszów. Suttę z *Jakkhasanġuttę* rozpoczynają się najczęściej od określenia miejsca, w którym przebywa Budda; opisy te są często bardzo podobne: pojawia się w nich nazwa miasta (lub rejonu), czasami jeszcze inna bardziej szczegółowa nazwa i określenie danego miejsca mianem bhawany (pal. *bhavana* – siedziba, królestwo, sfera) danego jakszy. Na początku *Indakasuttę* jest mowa o tym, że Budda przebywa w miejscowości Radżagaha „na górze Indakuta w siedzibie (królestwie) jakszy Indaki” (pal. *indakuṭe pabbate indakassa yakkhassa bhavane*). Imię jakszy i nazwa góry mają ten sam człon: *inda* może oznaczać wedyjskiego boga Indrę, ale też w ogólnym znaczeniu króla, wodza, władcę; *indakuṭa* to zatem wierzchołek [góry] króla/Indry, a Indaka to deminutiwum od *inda*. Połączenie tych nazw wskazuje na ścisły związek jakszy z tym terenem. Podobnie rozpoczyna się *Alawakasutta*: Budda „przebywa w Alawi, w siedzibie (królestwie) jakszy Alawaki” (pal. *ālaviyaṃ viharati ālavakassa yakkhassa bhavane*) i tutaj również w nazwie miejscowości i imieniu jakszy występuje ten sam człon (Alawaka to mieszkaniec Alawi). W *Manibhaddasuttie* Budda „przebywa w kraju Magadhy, w czajtji Manimalace (świątyni, ozdobnym ogrodzeniu, ogrodzeniu z klejnotów), w siedzibie (królestwie) jakszy Manibhaddy” (pal. *magadhesu viharati maṇimālake cetiye maṇibhaddassa yakkhassa bhavane*). W tym wypadku w imieniu jakszy i nazwie jego siedziby również występuje ten sam człon (*maṇi* – klejnot). Podobna etymologia tych nazw potwierdza charakter jakszów jako istot powiązanych z danym terenem, lokalnych bożków. *Sucilomasutta* rozpoczyna się według tego samego schematu, choć nie znajdujemy w niej tego etymologicznego związku: Budda „przebywa w Gaji, w Tankitamānci (platformie, łożu, tronie, siedzeniu Tankita; na temat tego obiektu zob. Perera 1976), w siedzibie (królestwie) jakszy Sucilomy” (pal. *gayāyaṃ viharati taṅkitamaṇce sūcīlomassa yakkhassa bhavane*).

Wiele innych fragmentów z kanonu palijskiego rozpoczyna się od formuły, informującej o miejscu wydarzeń, lecz zwykle nie ma to wielkiego znaczenia dla tematyki danego utworu. W przypadku analizowanych sutt jest to jednak szczególnie ważne, ponieważ od razu jest mowa o związku jakszy z danym miejscem. Budda wkracza zatem na jego teren: to jaksza wcześniej go zajmował i był obiektem

czci – a skoro tak, to pewnie Budda jest tego świadomy. Nie znajdujemy jednak w analizowanych tekstach żadnej refleksji na ten temat ze strony Buddy czy jego uczniów (nie przejawiają oni strachu, dodatkowej uważności ani szczególnego respektu dla jakszy).

Jedynie w późniejszym komentarzu – *Paramatthadziotice* (*Paramatthajotikā*), przypisywanej Buddhaghosy – jest mowa o tym, że Budda celowo przybył do siedziby Sucilomy, ponieważ zauważył możliwość nawrócenia jakszów. Spotkanie z nimi nie było więc – według komentatora – przypadkowe, lecz był to celowy plan Buddy, który tego dnia rano powodowany wielką życzliwością, “badając szczegółowo świat, zobaczył możliwość wstąpienia na szlachetną ścieżkę (czyli nawrócenia na buddyzm) dwóch jakszów, Sucilomy i Khary, dlatego [...] przybywszy do [tego] rejonu [...] usiadł w siedzibie Sucilomy” (Smith 1916: 300; przeł. z pal. A.B.). Komentator niczego nie zostawia przypadkowi, od razu sugeruje też, że obaj jakszowie mieli predyspozycje do nawrócenia i Budda był tego świadomy. Jest to oczywiście znacznie późniejsza interpretacja⁵, jednak można z niej wyczytać przypuszczenie, że przybycie dokładnie do siedziby Sucilomy było ze strony Buddy jawną prowokacją, pewnym wyzwaniem rzuconym jakszy, czy też przynajmniej mogło być tak interpretowane.

W świetle tych rozważań można zatem uznać spotkania Buddy z jakszami za prawdopodobne, a może nawet spodziewane, oczekiwane i nieuniknione. Jak dokładnie do takich spotkań dochodzi w analizowanych utworach?

W *Sucilomasutcie* jaksza Suciloma wraz z Kharą przechodzą blisko Buddy i zauważając go, rozmawiają o tym, czy jest on prawdziwym samaną. A następnie Suciloma podchodzi do niego, by to sprawdzić. W przypadku jakszy Indaki i Manibhaddy dowiadujemy się jedynie o tym, że podeszli do Buddy (ale nie znamy wprost wypowiedzianej ich motywacji). Jaksza Alawaka również sam zbliża się do Buddy i każe mu wyjść (zapewne z jego siedziby), następnie do niej wejść – powtarza się to trzy razy zanim zada Buddzie pytania. Wygląda na to, że Alawaka próbuje w ten sposób pokazać swoją dominację, oczekuje spełniania rozkazów i czuje się na tym terenie jak u siebie, a Budda do pewnego stopnia to akceptuje. Postawa tych jakszów jest więc konfrontacyjna, nie boją się Buddy i sami chcą go zastraszyć albo przetestować. W *Hemawatasutcie* jaksza Satagira namawia swego towarzysza, Hemawatę, by – skoro jest dzień uposathy (cyklicznej uroczystości buddyjskiej, zob. Bodhi 2000: 463) – poszli zobaczyć Buddę. Hemawata w serii pytań wyraża jednak wątpliwości, czy rzeczywiście ów nauczyciel ma uspokojony umysł, czy zachowuje się właściwie, czy nie kłamie, nie poddaje się namiętnościom itd., Satagira przekonuje go jednak i ostatecznie obaj przychodzą po nauki do Buddy.

W innych suttach jakszinie wraz z synami przysłuchują się naukom uczniów Buddy z ukrycia. Matka Pijankary uspokaja syna, mówiąc: *Mā saddaṃ kari piyaṅkara bhikkhu dhammapadāni bhāsati* – „Nie wydawaj dźwięku, Pijankaro, mnich recytuje strofy dhammy”. Podobnie zwraca się do synka matka Punabbasu: *Tuṇhī uttarike hohi tuṇhī hohi punabbasu, / Yāvāhaṃ buddhasettḥassa dhammaṃ sossāmi satthano* – „Bądź cicho, o najlepszy, bądź cicho, Punabbaso, kiedy będę słuchać nauki doskonale oświeconego”.

Jeszcze inny obraz znajdujemy w *Sukkasutcie* i *Cirasutcie*. Przedstawieni w nich jakszowie są – jak się wydaje – już zupełnie nawróceni i wręcz sami zachęcają do wspierania mniszek Sukki i Ciry. Kiedy Budda naucza w Gaju Bambusowym (*Veḷuvana*) w Radżagasze, oni spacerują po ulicach tego miasta, recytując strofy wychwalające mniszki. Jakszowie działają zatem na korzyść wspólnoty buddyjskiej, przyczyniają się do szerzenia dhammy, wykorzystując zapewne do tego swój status. Podobną funkcję –

5 Komentarz Buddhaghosy jest datowany na V w. n.e. (Bodhi 2000: 15–16).

jawnego sprzyjania i wspierania nauczania Buddy pełnią jakszowie z *Sudattasutty* i *Sanusutty*: prowadzą oni wyznawców z powrotem na właściwą ścieżkę, korzystając ze swoich nadnaturalnych mocy.

2. Dlaczego jakszowie zadają pytania Buddzie?

Kolejna kwestia to sam fakt zadawania pytań Buddzie. Czy jakszowie chcą go sprawdzić (tj. sami znają dobrą odpowiedź), czy też faktycznie pytają o coś, czego nie wiedzą?

Dyskusje jakszów z Buddą, zadawanie mu pytań, należy umieścić w dość szerokiej tradycji prowadzenia filozoficznych i religijnych dysput tak w środowisku braminów, jak i samanów (Omvedt 2003: 33). Ale jeszcze głębiej w kulturze zakorzeniony jest archetyp fantastycznego, potężnego stworzenia zadającego bohaterowi zagadkę. W starożytnych kulturach rejonu Eurazji zagadka była sposobem nawiązania kontaktu z sacrum i narzędziem poznawania świata. Karolina Rakowiecka (autorka monografii na ten temat) pisała: „Już w najstarszych tekstach zachodzi ścisły związek zagadki z *sacrum*: albo wręcz zadaje ją bóstwo, albo nasuwa się ona człowiekowi przez kontakt z transcendencją” (Rakowiecka 2011: 18; zob. też Sutherland 1992: 117).

Często – nie tylko w literaturze indyjskiej – bohater musi właściwie odpowiedzieć na zagadkę i od tego zależy jego los, w przypadku złej odpowiedzi może nawet stracić życie. W kulturze zachodniej szczególne miejsce zajmuje zagadka Sfinksa z greckiego mitu o Edypie. Sfinks – stworzenie tajemnicze i posiadające wielkie moce – testuje ludzi, zadając im zagadkę. Jest więc ona rodzajem starcia, współzawodnictwa, ale też kontaktu z jakąś potężniejszą, boską siłą.

Poważne konsekwencje nieodpowiedzenia na pytanie czekały również uczestników dyskusji pomiędzy braminami, tzw. brahmodji (skr. *brahmodya*), jakie znamy z upaniszadów. Brian Black, analizujący te fragmenty, podawał przykład często powracającego ostrzeżenia, że jeśli przeciwnik nie odpowie na pytanie, to „jego głowa się roztrzaska” (Black 2007: 80), pytanie bywa też porównywane do strzały, która może ugodzić śmiertelnie przeciwnika (Black 2007: 86). W tych przypadkach trudno jednak stwierdzić, czy chodzi o faktyczne zagrożenie śmiercią czy o pewną metaforę, oznaczającą utratę twarzy (głowy), a więc szacunku, poważania, pozycji społecznej (Black 2007: 81).

W trzeciej księdze *Mahabharaty* (*Mahābhārata* 3.311–312) jaksza zadaje pytania Judhiszthirze i grozi, że w razie błędnej odpowiedzi zabije go jak wcześniej jego braci (możemy mieć więc pewność, że ta groźba jest realna). Ostatecznie Judhiszthira odpowiada poprawnie na pytania, jego bracia zostają wskrzeszeni, a jaksza okazuje się bogiem Dharmą w przebraniu, który testuje go w kwestiach prawości (Shulman 1996: 152).

Groźby jakszy Sucilomy i Alawaki o tym, co zrobią z Buddą, jeśli ten nie odpowie na ich pytania, wpisują się w tę tradycję. Brzmiały one zresztą identycznie: *pañhaṃ taṃ samaṇa pucchissāmi sace me na vyākariṣṣasi cittaṃ vā te khipissāmi hadayaṃ vā te chālessāmi pādesu vā gahetvā pāragaṅgāya khipissāmi* – „Zadam ci pytanie, asceto. Jeśli nie odpowiesz poprawnie, zmączę twój umysł, rozerwę twoje serce albo chwyciwszy cię za nogę, przerzucę przez Ganges”. Być może były one rodzajem skonwencjonalizowanych pogroźek kojarzonych z jakszami. Zadanie pytania przez jakszę, istotę półboską, jest rodzajem testu, którego niezdanie może skutkować utratą życia. Taka sytuacja jako realizacja częstego w literaturze indyjskiej schematu wydawała się zapewne oryginalnemu czytelnikowi/słuchaczowi tych opowieści zupełnie naturalna. A o tym, że jakszowie byli rzeczywiście zdolni do bardzo agresywnych czynów,

świadczy wiele opowieści (np. w dzatace *Sutano* pojawia się przerażający jaksza żywiący się ludzkim mięsem, jaksza z dzataki *Gagga* również ma to w zwyczaju, zob. Sutherland 1992: 118–120; Appleton 2010: 24). Budda ma jednak wyjątkowy status, jest przekonany, że jaksza nie będzie w stanie go skrzywdzić, odpowiada: „Nie widzę, przyjacielu, nikogo w świecie wraz z bogami, Marą, Brahmą, ascetami i braminami, bogami i ludźmi, kto mógłby zmącić mój umysł, rozerwać moje serce albo chwyciwszy mnie za nogę przerzucić przez Ganges” (pal. *na khvāham tam āvuso passāmi, sadevāka loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiṇā pajāya sadevamanussāya yo me cittaṃ vā khipeyya hadayaṃ vā phāleyya pādesu vā gahetvā pāragaṅgāya khipeyya*).

Skoro zatem jest to rodzaj testu, to wydaje się, że jakszowie nie pytają o coś, czego nie wiedzą, nie przychodzą do Buddy, żeby się czegoś nauczyć, lecz chcą sprawdzić wiarygodność Buddy jako nauczyciela, dowiedzieć się, czy warto go słuchać i czy jest w stanie przekonać pytającego. Suciloma mówi wprost: „jeśli nie odpowiesz poprawnie (...)”, musi więc być w stanie zweryfikować odpowiedź. Zakłada się, że jakszowie posiadają szeroką wiedzę o rzeczywistości i duchowości. Z samych *sutt* nie dowiadujemy się, jak ją zdobyli, ale w komentarzu *Buddhaghosy do Alawakasutty* jest mowa o tym, że rodzice Alawaki nauczili go pytań i odpowiedzi, które sami słyszeli od buddy Kassapy (Bodhi 2000: 484–485). Według *Buddhaghosy* również Suciloma i Khara byli w poprzednich wcieleniach słuchaczami tego buddy (Helmer 1916: 302). Wiara w wielką inteligencję jakszów była ważnym elementem ich teologii (Misra 1981: 24). Konieczność dodania takiego wyjaśnienia może jednak świadczyć o tym, że w późniejszych czasach fakt posiadania przez jakszę tak dużej wiedzy, dzięki której testuje samego Buddę, mógł być niepokojący dla wyznawców.

W zakończeniu *Alawakasutty* Budda zachęca jakszę, żeby zadał te same pytania innym samanom i braminom. Alawaka odpowiada jednak, że nie ma sensu tego robić, ponieważ dzięki Buddzie już poznał, co jest największą wartością. Czy istnieją zatem odpowiedzi, które można by uznać za adekwatne, choć nie tak doskonale jak słowa Buddy? Rakowiecka pisała, że zagadka może mieć wiele odpowiedzi, zależy to m.in. od doświadczenia tego, kto ją rozwikłuje (Rakowiecka 2011: 21–22), być może jest tak również w tym przypadku. Czy to, że jaksza znał treść odpowiedzi na pytania oznacza, że właściwie je zrozumiał? Czy dopiero sposób przedstawienia mu tego przez Buddę spowodował, że pojął faktyczny sens pytań i odpowiedzi? W takim wypadku pozorny test, w którym jaksza – jak się początkowo wydawało – był nauczycielem (czyli znającym odpowiedzi), staje się uczniem, jest w gruncie rzeczy okazją dla Buddy do przedstawienia swojej nauki.

Interesujący jest też sam sposób prowadzenia dyskusji. Mogłoby się wydawać, że ten kto podchodzi i rozpoczyna dysputę, zadaje pierwsze pytanie może być postrzegany jako poszukujący, posiadający mniejszą wiedzę. Jednak inaczej wyglądało to w literaturze wedyjskiej: w brahmanach i upanisadach, kiedy uczeń zgłaszał się do jakiejś znamienitej postaci (bramina, króla, Pradžapatiego) po naukę, często to nauczyciel zadawał pierwsze pytanie (o to, kim jest uczeń lub co już wie) (Black 2007: 54). Black uważa, że „zadanie pierwszego pytania jest często kojarzone z pozycją siły. W tych dialogach zadanie pierwszego pytania utożsamiane jest z wyższym statusem nauczyciela” (Black 2007: 45). Być może więc jakszowie, zadając jako pierwsi pytania Buddzie, podkreślają swoją pozycję.

Jednak równie ważne jest to, kto wypowiada ostatnią kwestię. W upanisadach często jest to równoznaczne z wygraną w dyspucie. *Sucilomasutta*, *Sakkanamasutta*, *Indakasutta* i *Manibhaddasutta* kończą się odpowiedzią Buddy, a w końcowych partiach *Alawakasutty* i *Hemawatasutty* do głosu dochodzą jakszowie, ale tylko po to, by przyznać mu rację i potwierdzić swoje nawrócenie.

3. Jaka jest reakcja Buddy na spotkanie jakszy, a jak reaguje jaksza?

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Następne pytanie dotyczy relacji Buddy z jakszą. Za kogo jaksza uważa Buddę? Czy Budda traktuje jakszę z dystansem? Jak się do niego zwraca? A jak jaksza zwraca się do Buddy?

Sucilomasutta przedstawia w najbardziej rozbudowany sposób relację Buddy i jakszy oraz okoliczności ich spotkania, na początku pokazuje wręcz Buddę oczami jakszy. Suciloma wraz z innym jakszą, Kharą, przechodzą w niedalekiej odległości od Buddy. Khara, zobaczywszy go, mówi: „to samana” (*eso samaṇo*), jednak Suciloma odpowiada: „to nie samana, to samanaka”, czyli niegodny miana prawdziwego ascety, jedynie udający ascetę (*neso samaṇo samanako eso*). Wydaje się, że żaden z jakszów nie znał wcześniej Buddy, na podstawie jego wyglądu i samego faktu, że przebywa w lesie, mogli oni wyciągnąć wniosek, że jest samaną albo udaje samanę. Ta wątpliwość czy różnica zdań między towarzyszami popycha Sucilomę do tego, by poddać Buddę testowi. Podchodzi zatem i przysuwa się do niego (może siada w pobliżu), Budda jednak się odsuwa. Wtedy jaksza sugeruje: *bhāyasi maṃ samaṇā* – „boisz się mnie, samano?”. To dla Sucilomy oczywiste wyjaśnienie, jest zapewne przyzwyczajony do tego, że budzi respekt i strach ze względu na swoje cudowne moce i agresywną naturę. Jednak Budda odpowiada: *nakhvāhantaṃ āvuso bhāyāmi, api ca te samphasso pāpako* – „Nie boję się ciebie, przyjacielu, ale twój dotyk jest grzeszny”. Budda zwraca się więc do jakszy w przyjazny sposób, ale jednocześnie zachowuje wobec niego dystans. W tej i innych narracjach często jest podkreślane, że Budda nie czuje strachu: świadczą o tym jego słowa i zachowanie.

Jakszowie Sakka, Suciloma i Alawaka zwracając się do Buddy, używają wyrazu „samana”, o którym była już mowa. Budda zwraca się natomiast do Sakki jego imieniem, a do Sucilomy i Alawaki *āvuso* (wołacz l.mn.). Jest to skrócona forma od *āyusmanto* (w mianowniku l. poj. *āyusman*) i oznacza uprzejmy zwrot, częsty w rozmowach pomiędzy mnichami, który można tłumaczyć jako „przyjacielu”, „bracie” lub „panie/ szanowny panie” (Rhys Davids, Stede 1921: 113). Budda zwraca się więc do jakszy w życzliwy, przyjacielski sposób tak, jakby rozmawiał z mnichem. To określenie ustawia więc obu rozmówców na równi, Budda nie lekceważy jakszy, ale też nie uważa go za kogoś potężniejszego od siebie, zasługującego na większy szacunek czy szczególne względy. Z punktu widzenia jakszy, który z pewnością uważa siebie za kogoś potężniejszego, może to być jednak umniejszające i prowokujące.

Sakka podchodzi do Buddy i mówi, że nie jest dobrze, by jako samana wyzwolony od wszelkich przywiązań nauczał innych. Występuje więc w roli autorytetu w sprawach duchowości i poucza Buddę, daje mu dobre rady, jak powinien postępować jako doskonały samana. Z jednej strony docenia zatem jego brak przywiązań, z drugiej jednak – nie pochwała podtrzymywania kontaktów z ludźmi, co może prowadzić do ponownego uwikłania. Budda odpowiada, że nauczając z czystym umysłem i kierując się współczuciem, nie wpada się w sidła świata.

Jakszowie mogą przyjmować groźną, konfrontacyjną postawę – jak Suciloma i Alawaka, ale też obojętną, jak Khara (który stwierdza jedynie, widząc Buddę, że to samana), lub protekcyjną jak Sakka. Satagira oraz jakszowie z *Sukkasutty* i *Cirasutty* są już natomiast ukazani w mniejszym lub większym stopniu jak wyznawcy buddyzmu, wychwalający zalety Buddy lub mniszek. Hemawata również – jak się wydaje – zostaje przekonany przez Satagirę o tym, jak znakomitym nauczycielem jest Budda, a rozmowa z nim jeszcze go w tym utwierdza.

4. Jak wygląda przemiana jakszy? Czy jego nawrócenie jest rzeczywiste i trwałe?

Sutherland zauważa, że ciągły konflikt obecny szczególnie w braminizmie i hinduizmie pomiędzy dobrymi, a złymi bohaterami (a więc np. dewami a asurami) w buddyzmie zostaje zastąpiony przez nawrócenie, które „w trwały sposób zmienia zachowanie, jeśli nie samą naturę, jakszy” (Sutherland 1992: 110). Budda ujarzmił zatem demony, ale ich nie unicestwił, pragnąc, aby świadczyły w przyszłości o buddyjskiej nauce. W hinduistycznych mitach natomiast raz pokonane demony po pewnym czasie znów się buntują i występują przeciwko dewom (Sutherland 1992: 110).

Sutherland szukała też analogii pomiędzy nawróceniami jakszów (odnosząc się głównie do džatak) a założycielskim mitem buddyzmu o transformacji samego Buddy. Nawrócenie demona następuje – według niej – w wyniku argumentacji bodhisattwy, który zdaje sobie sprawę, że stan jakszy czy innego demona wynika z jego „choroby moralnej”, jaka doprowadziła do narodzin w tej klasie stworzeń (Sutherland 1992: 109).

Hemawatasutta i *Alawakasutta* kończą się podaną wprost informacją o nawróceniu jakszy w wyniku rozmowy z Buddą, co więcej Hemawata obiecuje nawracać innych jakszów. *Sucilomasutta*, *Indakasutta*, *Manibaddasutta*, *Sakkanamasutta* nie zawierają takiego podsumowania, lecz kończą się odpowiedzią Buddy. Można przypuszczać, że dla słuchacza tych utworów było oczywiste, że Budda zwyciężył w dyskusji, a jaksza nie zrealizował swoich gróźb.

W literaturze indyjskiej często przemiana wewnętrzna pociąga za sobą również zmianę w wyglądzie, np. Satjakama z upaniśady *Āchāndogya* (*Chāndogya* 4.9.2) po zrozumieniu prawdy o brahmanie zaczyna jaśnieć (Black 2007: 55). Czy podobną zmianę można zaobserwować w przypadku jakszów? W samych *suttach* nie jest to bezpośrednio opisane, ale w komentarzu Buddhaghosy do *Sucilomasutty* możemy znaleźć informację, że dwaj jakszowie po nawróceniu stali się przyjemni (*pāsādika*), piękni (dosł. o złotym kolorze, *suvaṇṇavaṇṇa*) i ozdobieni boskimi ornamentami (*dibbālāṅkārahūsita*).

Konsekwencją nawrócenia może być włączenie jakszy do społeczności: w *Cirasutcie* i *Sukkasutcie* jakszowie spacerują po mieście, recytując pochwałę mniszek. Hemawata również zapowiada, że będzie podróżował po wioskach i miastach, zachwalając buddyjską naukę. Możemy z tego wywnioskować, że po nawróceniu jaksza nie budzi już grozy, strachu, przerażenia czy obrzydzenia. Być może zmiana zachowania, przejście na buddyjską dhammę powoduje, że jest inaczej postrzegany, nawet jeśli nie przechodzi fizycznej przemiany.

5. Podsumowanie

Wydaje się, że w buddyzmie, w którym dużą rolę odgrywa ahinsa (niekrzywdzenie) oraz wewnętrzna transformacja, ukazanie demonów jako nawracających się na naukę Buddy było najlepszym sposobem ustosunkowania się do tych istot. Wspólnota buddyjska była związana z terenami leśnymi, kojarzonymi z jakszami, dlatego spotkania z nimi mogły się wydawać prawdopodobne. Ich siłowe zwalczanie nie mieściło się w ramach filozofii buddyjskiej, a zupełne ignorowanie mogło budzić opór ich licznych wyznawców.

Inaczej podchodzono do jakszów w hinduizmie: wyrzuceni poza nawias obowiązującej religii jako istoty agresywne, groźne demony zamieszkujące lasy byli przeciwnikami bohaterskich kszatrijów, wrogami, których trzeba było unicestwić (Omvedt 2003: 72). Zdarzało się, że podkreślano ich inteligencję, jednak nie dążono do ich nawracania. Bardzo znamienne jest włączenie Buddy do hinduistycznego panteonu jako dziewiątego awatary Wisznu, który miał nawrócić jakszów na błędną świętokradczą religię, by uwolnić od nich hinduizm (Sutherland 1992: 115). W ten sposób – z punktu widzenia hinduizmu – można było wyjaśnić popularność buddyzmu, uderzając jednocześnie w kult jakszów.

Obecność opowieści o nawracaniu jakszów w tekstach buddyjskich miała też zapewne aspekty praktyczne. Wspólnota buddyjska zajmowała bowiem często tereny związane wcześniej z kultem jakszów (DeCaroli 2004: 55). Tego typu historie mogły spełniać więc i w tym kontekście bardzo ważną funkcję: symbolicznego przejęcia wcześniejszego miejsca kultu przy jednoczesnym zachowaniu pewnej ciągłości w postrzeganiu jego sakralnego charakteru.

Spotkania jakszów z Buddą mogą przypominać typowy schemat testowania bohatera przez jakąś potężną fantastyczną istotę. Ale ta typowa sytuacja podlega transformacji: Budda podkreśla, że nie jest możliwe, by jaksza spełnił swoje groźby, lecz zgadza się po prostu odpowiedzieć na jego pytania. Obaj rozmówcy postrzegają więc tę dyskusję inaczej: według jakszy Budda przyjął jego wyzwanie i odpowiadając na pytania, bierze udział w teście, którego niezdanie może skończyć się jego śmiercią, Budda jednak nie uważa, że jest to sytuacja w jakikolwiek sposób mu zagrażająca – odpowiada na pytania nie ze strachu, lecz z uprzejmości względem jakszy. Ostatecznie rozmowa prowadzi do nawrócenia jakszy; wbrew jego początkowym intencjom czy oczekiwaniom zostaje on przekonany argumentacją Buddy, która powoduje zmianę jego spojrzenia na świat. Przemianie ulega zatem nie osoba testowana, ale ta, która ten test przeprowadza. Stan Buddy pozostaje niezmienny, a dodatkowo w łagodny, pokojowy i bezinwazyjny sposób pozyskuje on nowych wyznawców nawet wśród tak agresywnych i potężnych stworzeń jak jakszowie.

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BOLESŁAW CIEŚLIK

University of the National Education Commission in Kraków,

Department of German Linguistics

boleslaw.cieslik@up.krakow.pl

ORCID: 0000-0001-9791-2994

BOŻENA IWANOWSKA

University of Economics and Human Sciences in Warsaw, School of Social Sciences

b.iwanowska@vizja.pl

ORCID: 0000-0003-1331-2866

YAN KAPRANOV

University of Economics and Human Sciences in Warsaw, School of Humanities and Fine Arts

y.kapranov@vizja.pl

ORCID: 0000-0003-2915-038X

ŁUKASZ KARPIŃSKI

University of Warsaw, Faculty of Applied Linguistics

pogoluka@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0002-9305-7641

DAWID STADNICZENKO

University of Economics and Human Sciences in Warsaw, School of Humanities and Fine Arts

d.stadniczenko@vizja.pl

ORCID: 0000-0001-6826-3366

Multidisciplinary Assessment of Crisis Resilience in English and Polish Populations: Linguistic, Philosophical, and Economic Perspectives Using WAR, PANDEMIC / WOJNA, PANDEMIA Stimuli

Abstract

This study examines the resilience of English and Polish populations to crises using a pair-by-association methodology, employing questionnaires with stimuli words of “WAR” and “PANDEMIC” in both languages, facilitated by the digital platform STIMULUS. The research focuses on participants’ emotional responses to these stimuli, aiming

to identify patterns of resilience. This investigation stands out due to its innovative use of linguistically matched stimuli to explore cultural variations in crisis response dynamics. The analysis of responses from 800 participants (400 Polish, 400 English) reveals marked differences in emotional reactions between the two groups, indicative of varying resilience levels. Specifically, the dominant response among the English to “WAR” was “concern” (response rate of 0.1023), while for the Polish, it was “śmierć” (death) with a response rate of 0.3172. For the “PANDEMIC” stimulus, the most prevalent response among the English was “adaptation” (response rate of 0.1078), compared to “strach” (fear) among the Polish (response rate of 0.2018). These findings suggest that the English demonstrate greater resilience, adapting quickly and developing effective strategies to manage crises. In contrast, the Polish responses indicate a lower resilience, characterized by more fearful and fatalistic reactions. This research provides insights into cultural differences in crisis resilience, essential for designing targeted interventions.

Keywords: experimental diagnostics, resilience, crises, emotional responses, cultural differences, linguistic stimuli

Introduction

Amidst natural disasters, geopolitical upheavals, and related occurrences, there has been a heightened interdisciplinary focus on the study of human resilience, as evidenced by recent scholarly work (Jung *et al.* 2023; Nesbitt *et al.* 2023). This increased academic and practical engagement underscores the urgency of understanding this concept. A multi-level approach to its study enriches systems theory, which primarily examines humans as living systems that have undergone evolutionary stages of development, from genetic and neurobiological to social and cultural. The systems of adaptation (immune, self-regulation, stress management) develop in an individual as much as they interact with other systems and adapt to external conditions. These dynamic interactions contribute to the formation of various adaptation methods, which become behavioural stereotypes among representatives of different social groups and cultures and are pretty stable.

In confronting stressful scenarios, individuals engage both consciously and unconsciously in a quest to circumvent such situations by identifying and adopting behavioral models that are conducive to adapting to crisis phenomena. Over time, these adaptive behaviors solidify into stereotypical patterns embedded within their consciousness. These foundational assumptions have been rigorously tested and substantiated through empirical research. Recent studies (Beukeboom *et al.* 2019; Polusny *et al.* 2023) have demonstrated that complex societal issues serve as crucial bases for modeling resilience as a psycho-emotional construct. This category is closely linked with affective responses and behavioral inclinations toward particular groups, which can give rise to prejudice, discrimination, and societal tensions. However, resilience is predominantly viewed through three lenses:

- 1) intrapersonal phenomena,
- 2) belief systems
- 3) mental processes schematically reflected in each individual's mind.

Resilience, as Bonanno (2004) describes, “represents a distinct trajectory from the process of recovery, that resilience in the face of loss or potential trauma is more common than is often believed, and that there are multiple and sometimes unexpected pathways to resilience” (Bonanno 2004: 20). The American Psychological Association (2015) defines resilience as “the process and outcome of successfully

adapting to difficult or challenging life experiences, especially through mental, emotional, and behavioral flexibility and adjustment to external and internal demands” (Resilience 2015).

To determine the extent to which adaptive behavior serves as a factor of resilience, it is crucial to experimentally assess the cognitive capacities of individuals from diverse linguistic backgrounds to adapt to stressful conditions. This process entails identifying and implementing positive environmental models within each language culture, which are instrumental in preventing conflicts and alleviating the adverse effects of stress. In cognitive psychology, scholars like Fitzpatrick and Thwaites (2020) continue to seek practical tools for conducting high-level experiments and processing their results. One such tool is the computer service STIMULUS (CS STIMULUS) (URL: <http://stimulus.tools/uk/>) developed by Ukrainian scholars Zagorodnia and Zagorodnyi. This service has demonstrated efficacy and has become increasingly popular among Ukrainian researchers, as evidenced by Kapranov *et al.* (2021). The objective of this article is to assess the level of resilience (high or low) among English and Polish individuals through a pair-by-association experiment utilizing two stimuli: “WAR” and “PANDEMIC” in English, and their Polish equivalents, “WOJNA” and “PANDEMIA”. In the context of increasing scientific and practical interest in the concept of human resilience, intensified by events such as natural disasters and geopolitical conflicts, this study focuses on assessing resilience among English and Polish-speaking populations. Employing a pair-by-association experiment with the stimuli “WAR” and “PANDEMIC” in English and their Polish equivalents, “WOJNA” and “PANDEMIA,” the following hypothesis is proposed: Individuals from English and Polish linguistic cultures will exhibit distinctly different patterns of resilience when exposed to the stimuli “WAR” and “PANDEMIC,” reflecting the adaptive behavioral models that are entrenched within their respective cultural and linguistic contexts. These differences may manifest in varying emotional and cognitive responses, potentially contributing to the development of stereotypical behaviors associated with each group’s approach to crisis management.

Method

Questionnaires

Two electronic questionnaires were uploaded to CS STIMULUS: (1) an English questionnaire (English Questionnaire) for respondents in Great Britain, and (2) a Polish questionnaire (Polish Ankieta) for respondents in Poland. Each questionnaire comprises two sections: Section I. “General Information about the Respondent”: This section collects data on the respondents’ age (categories: 17–23, 24–30, 31–39, 40–49, 50 and over) and education level (categories: secondary, primary higher (BA), higher (MA), scientific degree (Ph.D., *etc.*)). Section II. “Reactions to Stimuli”: This section presents two stimuli for response – English: WAR, PANDEMIC; Polish: WOJNA (literally, WAR), PANDEMIA (literally, PANDEMIC).

Participants

Participants from Great Britain (hereafter referred to as “the English”) and the Republic of Poland (hereafter referred to as “the Poles”) were recruited for this free-associative experiment. They were tasked with responding to the previously mentioned stimuli by providing words, phrases, or sentences

for subsequent analysis. The study sample comprised 50 English and 50 Polish participants, stratified into two age groups: 17–23 and 31–39 years. These participants were predominantly undergraduate and graduate students enrolled in a variety of academic programs at higher education institutions in Great Britain and Poland. *Computer Tools for Data Processing*

The data was processed using CS STIMULUS. As outlined by Olha Zahorodnia, the primary objectives of developing CS STIMULUS included “creating a practical, multifunctional tool for the statistical data processing of associative experiments, enabling the derivation of constant and variable indicators, functions, dependencies, and graphs in coordinate planes” (Zahorodnia 2020: 80). She also envisioned CS STIMULUS as evolving into “a large-scale database for associative surveys to study the dynamics of language awareness indicators” (Zahorodnia 2020: 80).

CS STIMULUS comprises two modules: (1) the database module, which includes data input, viewing, and communication components; and (2) the data analysis module, which features components for filtering, analyzing linguistic worldviews, and analyzing stimuli (Zahorodnia 2020: 80). It is built on the Delphi 7 programming language and can handle large-scale research involving approximately 500 stimuli, 1,000 respondents, and over 100,000 associative links (“stimulus-reaction”). Installing this software in computer labs will significantly enhance its usage capacity.

Results

The Ontological Essence of Resilience as a Way of Human Adaptation to Modern Stressful Life

Amid the mounting global challenges to stability and security that impact every aspect of human life, contemporary scientific research is progressively concentrating on the issues concerning how individuals from diverse societies adapt during crises and stress-inducing situations. To characterize the contemporary world and its new realities, James Cascio, a lead researcher at the Institute for the Future, introduced the term “BANI-world” in his work “Facing the Age of Chaos” (Cascio 2020), which stands for Brittle, Anxious, Nonlinear, Incomprehensible.

According to the “Online Etymology Dictionary”, the ontological essence of resilience is defined as the “act of rebounding or springing back”, often in the context of immaterial things. This term is derived from the Latin *resiliens*, the present participle of *resilire* (“to rebound, recoil”, from re- “back” + *salire* “to jump, leap”). In the physical sciences, by 1824, resilience also came to mean “elasticity, or the power of returning to an original shape after compression, etc.” (OED). This definition emphasizes resilience as the capacity of a system or organism to rebound from stressors, difficulties, or changes while preserving its core functionality and structural integrity. This scientific framing encourages a more intensive utilization and deeper exploration of the term “resilience” within the cognitive-oriented sciences. The American Psychological Association (2015) defines resilience as the process and outcome of successful adaptation to complex life experiences towards personal growth, facilitated by forming emotional and behavioral flexibility under external and internal conditions of the BANI world.

Broadly defined, resilience encapsulates the ability of a system or organism to rebound from stressors, difficulties, or changes while preserving its functionality and structural integrity. This characteristic of enduring and swiftly recovering from impacts has garnered significant interest among professionals in

the humanities and social sciences, especially psychologists. It is valued both as a theoretical concept and as a promising domain for practical psychological engagement. The focus then shifted to factors that, in the context of contemporary stressful existence, would enable a person to adapt to changes and new conditions and restore psychological balance. Resilience involves persisting, adapting, or transforming in the “face of change” to maintain the system’s essential identity (Knuth 2019). Ann Masten interprets resilience as the cognitive ability of a representative of a linguaculture to successfully adapt to obstacles and stressful phenomena that can even threaten human life (Masten 2014). According to other researchers, resilience is defined as a stable trajectory of healthy functioning after experiencing extremely adverse events (Bonanno 2004); reintegration of the “self,” involving conscious efforts aimed at moving forward in an integrated positive manner, gained through insight as a result of learning from traumatic experiences (R. Yehuda), constructing life meanings (C. Panter-Brick) (Southwick *et al.* 2014); the ability to buffer against stress (Maddi 2013), the outcome of processing psycho-traumatic experiences, manifesting in psychological resilience (Luthans *et al.* 2006); positive adaptation to traumatic events, i.e., realizing new opportunities that arise due to psychotrauma (Richardson 2002).

Resilient individuals are distinguished by their perception of stress as a developmental resource, an awareness of the boundaries of their responsibility (Kobasa 1979), and proficiency in fostering trusting interpersonal relationships, guided by both personal and collective objectives. Additional characteristics include self-efficacy, extraversion, a history of past successes, a sense of humor (Rutter 1985), tolerance for change, optimism, and faith (Lyons 1991). These traits collectively contribute to an individual’s resilience in facing life’s challenges. The concept of resilience is also rooted in philosophical discourse, particularly among existentialist thinkers (Khamitov 2002), who examine the nuanced interplay between free will and responsibility, the constraints on or determinism of choices, and the assertion of self in the face of crisis to preserve one’s essence while undergoing personal transformation. Practically all metaphysical theories developed throughout the history of human thought inherently involve the notion of surmounting challenges that threaten or potentially negate an individual’s “self.” Since the 1970s, the concept of resilience has been actively used in other sciences, particularly ecology and sociology, to describe the ability of an individual, group, or system to withstand stressful situations, adapt to changes, and successfully function after that.

In ecological research, which began to unfold in the 1970s, the critical concept is ecological resilience. It defines the degree of impact a system can withstand before transitioning to a qualitatively different, stable alternative state. The main goal of resilience is to adapt ecosystems and organisms to environmental changes, such as natural disasters or climatic and anthropogenic influences, to ensure ecosystem stability (Suding and Hobbs 2009).

Global shifts in ecological systems have direct implications on diverse facets of social, technological, and economic processes. In this context, Ivanyuk (2022) distinguishes three main approaches to assessing the resilience of the socio-economic system: “technical” (also known as “physical” or “engineering”), “ecological,” and “adaptive.” The “technical” approach focuses on assessing “technical” resilience, defined as the system’s ability to recover and return to the growth trajectory observed before the crisis. In the “ecological” approach, the role of crises in stimulating the socio-economic system to transition to a new state of stability or configuration towards which the system is moving is analyzed (Burlutska 2016). The degree of resilience is measured by the impact the system can withstand or absorb for further change in its form, function, or position. The “adaptive” approach paradigm in assessing resilience allows

determining the socio-economic system's potential for changes (adaptation, reorganization) before, during, or in response to a crisis, aiming to minimize the negative impact of the crisis on the system's further development (Ivanyuk 2022).

Resilience gained particular relevance in socio-economic research after the global economic crisis of 2007 and 2008 (Doran and Fingleton 2016; Simmie and Martin 2010). During this period, European regional economies showed varying recovery rates after the crisis (Hadjimichalis and Hudson 2014), prompting socio-economic scientists to explore factors that could facilitate rapid recovery after crises and ensure the stability of economic systems. In economic science, regional economic resilience emerged, defined as the ability of a regional economy to withstand and quickly recover from shocks, sometimes improving its situation compared to the pre-crisis state (Bristow and Healy 2014).

Economist Ron Martin delineated four dimensions of regional economic resilience: resistance, recovery, reorientation, and renewal. Resistance refers to the degree of sensitivity or the depth of the regional economy's response to a recessionary shock. Recovery encompasses the speed and extent of the economy's rebound. Reorientation involves the degree of adaptation in response to the impact. Lastly, renewal pertains to the extent to which the regional economy either resumes its pre-recession growth trajectory or shifts towards a new growth trend (Mayor and Ramos 2020). An essential aspect of researching the concept of resilience is considering the economic environment as a whole and individual economic entities in particular. In the modern competitive environment, economic entities are perceived as living organisms, which, in a particular interpretation, have the properties of a physical person. In his research, Arie de Geus concluded that "like all organisms, a company exists primarily for its survival and perfection: to realize its potential and grow as large as possible" (De Geus 1999). In the modern economic space, with its constant economic crises, natural disasters, political crises, wars, and other risk and uncertainty situations, it is impossible not to pay attention to the problem of business resilience and the need to reduce its vulnerability and increase safety, resilience, and flexibility.

The resilience of global systems often surpasses established scientific paradigms and manifests at the geopolitical level. Particularly in scenarios of external aggression and internal instability, the significance of investigating the phenomenon of resilience intensifies among scholars within the Ukrainian linguistic culture. The National Institute for Strategic Studies implemented Ukraine's national resilience strategy to hybrid threats. In this context, national resilience is considered the ability of the state to interact with society to preserve stability in the face of external and internal aggressive influences, to respond promptly and effectively to asymmetric threats through the implementation of changes and adaptation without violating the fundamental values and institutions of society, to ensure continuous functioning during crises, and recover after the destructive effects of phenomena or actions of any nature (Reznikova 2022).

The interdisciplinary and multi-branch use of the concept of resilience indicates that the conceptual understanding of the essence of resilience as a means of adapting the personality, economic entity, and system (regional, national, global) to the contemporary stressful existence presupposes expanding the categorical framework through defining differences between it and other related concepts (willpower, stress resistance, vitality, viability).

As a result of analyzing the essence of the concept of resilience, preliminary assumptions can be made that its value-conceptual core is the essential feature associated with the cognitive ability of a person to adapt to a stressful existence, from a high degree of ability to zero. The around-core features include:

(a) overcoming difficulties (the ability to effectively mobilize resources, overcome crises, resist stressors without reducing the success of activities, maintain psychological well-being, and ensure stability); (b) adaptation to changes (the ability to quickly restore balance after stressful impact); (c) facilitating personal growth (identifying growth points and growth trajectories and ensuring reorientation and renewal towards preserving the previous stable system or transitioning to a new growth trend).

Accordingly, resilience is defined as the ability of any dynamic system to adapt to challenges that threaten its functioning or development successfully. According to Ann Masten (2014), resilience can be applied to various types of systems at different levels of interaction, both living and non-living, such as a security system, economy, economic entities, ecology, nation, family, person, and microorganism. Thus, the essence of resilience as an interdisciplinary concept lies in adapting to the changing conditions of the BANI world and the complex experience of enduring a crisis toward post-crisis recovery through the system's internal and external protective factors.

Multidisciplinary studies allow for a deeper consideration of resilience as a systemic characteristic from psychological and linguacognitive aspects.

The Results of Pair-by-Association with the English and Poles

In cognitive psychology, researchers frequently utilize associative experiments (AE) as a method to validate hypotheses and gain deeper insights into human cognition and the brain's mechanisms for organizing higher nervous activity (Rabeyron *et al.* 2020). These experiments are pivotal in understanding how thoughts and behaviors are structured and influenced by neural processes. AE has been pivotal in analyzing and constructing associative fields tailored to specific scientific objectives, such as understanding knowledge organization in human thought. In psychology and psychodiagnosis, the initial focus was on exploring human consciousness structures, including the diversity of associative ideas, response times for associations, classification of associations, and introducing the concept of "association stability" to determine normative patterns for both regular and pathological states of consciousness.

Pair-by-association, which involves associating a stimulus with an arbitrary idea or object and typically eliciting an emotional response, has become among the most popular AEs. It is conducted by repeatedly pairing the stimulus with the arbitrary object. Cabana *et al.* (2023) note that "since the late 1970s, large-scale word association studies have contributed to behavioural research in at least two distinct ways: first, as a normative tool for measuring lexical properties of interest in psycholinguistic experimental designs (e.g., association strength, set size), and second, as a tool to explore and model the structure of semantic representations stored in memory" (Nelson *et al.* 2004; Dubossarsky *et al.* 2017; Wulff *et al.* 2019).

Using CS STIMULUS, we recorded over 800 responses with varying brightness indices to the English WAR, PANDEMIC / Polish WOJNA (lit. WAR), PANDEMIA (lit. PANDEMIC) stimuli: English WAR (236 reactions), PANDEMIC (184 reactions); Polish WOJNA (lit. WAR) (204 reactions), PANDEMIA (lit. PANDEMIC) (176 reactions), with some participants providing multiple reactions to a single stimulus. We selected three reactions for each stimulus with the highest brightness index for further analysis (see: Table 1).

Table 1. The Highest Brightness Indices of Reactions Provided by the English and Poles to English WAR, PANDEMIC / Polish WOJNA, PANDEMIA Stimuli

Reactions of the English				Reactions of the Poles			
WAR	Brightness index	PANDEMIC	Brightness index	WOJNA (lit. WAR)	Brightness index	PANDEMIA (lit. PANDEMIC)	Brightness index
<i>death</i>	0.3423	<i>isolation</i>	0.2001	<i>śmierć</i> (lit. death)	0.3172	<i>izolacja</i> (lit. isolation)	0.3182
<i>different</i>	0.1023	<i>adaptation</i>	0.1078	<i>strach</i> (lit. fear)	0.2603	<i>strach</i> (lit. fear)	0.2018
<i>peace</i>	0.0823	<i>covid</i>	0.1053	<i>konflikt</i> (lit. conflict)	0.1309	<i>choroba</i> (lit. disease)	0.0526

Coincidences and Discrepancies in Reactions: A Comparative Analysis of English and Polish Participants

The table displays the similarities and differences in the responses of English and Polish participants, each characterized by varying degrees of brightness indices. These reactions and indices are considered natural manifestations of their psycho-emotional perceptions of reality within a contemporary globalized context marked by frequent occurrences of wars and pandemics. For instance, a typical response to both the English WAR and Polish WOJNA (literally, WAR) stimuli was English *death* (0.3423) and Polish *śmierć* (literally, death) (0.3172), respectively. Similarly, for the English PANDEMIC and Polish PANDEMIA (literally, PANDEMIC), the shared reaction was English *isolation* (0.2001) and Polish *izolacja* (literally, isolation) (0.3182). Notably, the Polish respondents used the same reaction, *strach* (literally, fear), for both Polish WOJNA and PANDEMIA, albeit with different brightness indices: WOJNA (0.2603) and PANDEMIA (0.2018).

Semantic Identification of Stimuli and Reactions

The subsequent phase involves determining the semantic weight of each stimulus and response, capturing the initial associative norms of respondents based on their previous experiences. This analysis will be detailed in Table 2 and Table 3. This involves identifying the primary seme, or archiseme, and a secondary seme, or integral seme, to evaluate implicit components. The term “implicit” here implies that past experiences unconsciously influence judgments. The pair-by-association method revealed that stereotypes and prejudices, traditionally considered conscious, have an implicit dimension. These do not necessarily correlate with direct responses to questions about specific stereotypical judgments (Joffe and Elsey 2014: 173).

Table 2. A) Semantic Identification of the English WAR, PANDEMIC Stimuli and Reactions with the Highest Brightness Indices

	Reaction	Brightness Index	Semes	Reaction	Brightness Index	Semes
Stimulus	WAR	–	“state”, “state of enmity between someone”	PANDEMIC	–	“state”, “degree of development of the epidemic”
Reactions	<i>death</i>	0.3423	“result”, “cessation of vital activity of the body”	<i>isolation</i>	0.2001	“state of emotion”, “state of loneliness”
	<i>different</i>	0.1023	“characteristic”, “deprived of similarity, sameness”	<i>adaptation</i>	0.1078	“process” “process of changing something”
	<i>peace</i>	0.0823	“state”, “state of quietness”	<i>covid</i>	0.1053	“disease”, “type of disease”

The analysis of the English responses to the WAR and PANDEMIC stimuli, using the brightness indices from CS STIMULUS, presents a nuanced understanding of their cognitive processing of these concepts.

In the case of the WAR stimulus, the English responses form a cognitive triad consisting of *death* (0.3423), *different* (0.1023), and *peace* (0.0823). These reactions, corresponding to the archisemes of “result”, “characteristic”, and “state” offer a layered insight into the English perception of war. Initially, war is associated with the dire “result” of death, suggesting a recognition of its grave consequences. However, this leads to a conceptual shift to *different*, indicating a view of war as a transformative, possibly renewing force. Ultimately, the triad concludes with *peace*, a “state of tranquility”, signifying a hopeful end or resolution. This progression from the grim reality of death through a transformative phase to a peaceful resolution encapsulates a journey from negative to positive, reflecting a complex and ultimately optimistic view of war.

Similarly, the English responses to the PANDEMIC stimulus form a cognitive triad of *isolation* (0.2001), *adaptation* (0.1078), and *covid* (0.1053). The archisemes here are “state of emotion”, “process”, and “disease”. The pandemic is initially perceived as a “state of emotion” – isolation, highlighting the emotional and social impact of the pandemic. This leads to *adaptation*, a “process of change”, indicating a response to the challenges posed by the pandemic. The final element of the triad, *covid*, categorized under “disease”, underscores the specific health-related fears and concerns associated with the pandemic. This triad suggests a journey through the emotional and practical challenges of the pandemic, culminating in a focus on the disease itself.

These cognitive triads reveal how the English process and perceive the concepts of war and pandemic. While the WAR triad moves from a grim reality to a hopeful resolution, the PANDEMIC triad navigates through emotional and adaptive responses to the specific health crisis, illustrating a dynamic and multi-layered cognitive engagement with these complex and challenging stimuli.

Table 2. B) Semantic Identification of the Polish WOJNA (lit. WAR), PANDEMIA (lit. PANDEMIC) Stimuli and Reactions with the Highest Brightness Indices

	Reaction	Brightness Index	Semes	Reaction	Brightness Index	Semes
Stimulus	WOJNA (lit. WAR)	–	“state”, “state of enmity between someone”	PANDEMIA (lit. PANDEMIC)	–	“state”, “degree of development of the epidemic”
Reactions	<i>śmierć</i> (lit. death) –	0.3172	“result”, “cessation of vital activity of the body”	<i>izolacja</i> (lit. isolation) –	0.3182	“state”, “state of loneliness”
	<i>strach</i> (lit. fear) –	0.2603	“state of emotion”, “state of dangerous, painful, or threatening emotion”	<i>strach</i> (lit. fear) –	0.2018	“state of emotion”, “state of dangerous, painful, or threatening emotion”
	<i>konflikt</i> (lit. conflict) –	0.1309	“state”, “state of disagreement or argument between people, groups, countries”	<i>choroba</i> (lit. disease) –	0.0526	“disease”, “violation of the normal vital activity of the body”

Exploring cognitive responses to the Polish WOJNA (WAR) and PANDEMIA (PANDEMIC) stimuli reveals insightful triads of reactions, each shedding light on the emotional and psychological processing of these concepts in Polish culture.

For WOJNA, the triad comprises *śmierć* (death) with a brightness index of 0.3172, *strach* (fear) at 0.2603, and *konflikt* at 0.1309. The progression from *śmierć*, seen as the inevitable “result” of war, to *strach*, a profound “state of emotion” characterized by fear, and finally to conflict, a broader societal “state”, reflects a predominantly negative perception. War is thus perceived as a phenomenon that not only leads to the tragic end of life but also instigates a chain of emotional and social turmoil, ending in conflict. This sequence underlines a view where war, rooted in enmity, culminates in a cascade of adverse outcomes, from personal loss to collective discord.

In response to PANDEMIA, the cognitive triad is marked by *izolacja* (isolation) with a brightness index of 0.3182, *strach* (fear) at 0.2018, and *choroba* (disease) at 0.0526. Here, the pandemic is initially perceived as a “state” of isolation, a profound emotional experience that triggers fear, defined as a “state of dangerous, painful, or threatening emotion”. This fear, in turn, leads to *choroba*, a “disease” representing a disruption of normal bodily functions. The pandemic, therefore, is not just a medical or epidemiological event but a profoundly personal experience that encompasses loneliness, fear, and its physical manifestations.

These cognitive triads demonstrate how the Polish people emotionally navigate the concepts of war and pandemic. In both cases, there is a clear progression from an initial state or event to an emotional response and a broader implication or consequence. This insight into the Polish psyche offers a nuanced understanding of how these global crises are perceived and processed on a personal and societal level.

Discussion

The analysis of responses to the English WAR, PANDEMIC and the Polish WOJNA (WAR), PANDEMIA (PANDEMIC) stimuli reveals commonalities and differences in the associative perceptions of these two linguistic cultures.

A notable common reaction between the English and Polish responses to WAR/WOJNA is the concept of death, which both cultures associate with the cessation of human vital activity. This reaction reflects a universal understanding that war, regardless of duration or scale, inevitably leads to loss of life and destruction. The similarity in the brightness indices for this reaction indicates a shared perception of the gravitas of war across both cultures.

However, the reactions to isolation, represented by the English *isolation* (0.2001) and the Polish *izolacja* (0.3182), diverge slightly in their brightness indices. While both groups associate the term with separation from society or a loss of connection, the higher index among Poles suggests a more significant challenge in coping with isolation. This difference may indicate that Poles have a more vital need for social interaction and may be more susceptible to adverse psychological effects, such as depression or stress, in the face of prolonged isolation. In contrast, the lower brightness index for the English suggests a higher degree of resilience and a better ability to cope with adversities related to isolation.

Another typical response is observed in reactions to the PANDEMIC/PANDEMIA stimuli. The English *covid* (0.1053) and Polish *choroba* (0.0526) align with the archiseme “disease”. However, while the English predominantly associate the pandemic with COVID-19, reflecting the significant impact of the virus in Britain, the Polish response is broader, encompassing various diseases caused by disruptions to normal bodily functions due to adverse environmental factors.

These differences in associative perceptions highlight how cultural contexts and experiences shape the cognitive processing of similar stimuli. While there are overarching common themes in understanding war and pandemic, the nuances in reactions speak to the unique psychological, social, and cultural landscapes of the English and Polish people.

The reactions to the stimuli of WAR and PANDEMIC in English and Polish contexts reveal significant differences in the associative perceptions and emotional responses of these two cultures.

Regarding the topic of WAR, the English respond with *different* at a low brightness index of 0.1023, whereas the Polish response is *strach* (fear) at a higher average brightness index of 0.2603. The term *different* may encompass negative and positive connotations for the English. On the one hand, it could signify the unfortunate aspects of military events, such as destruction and death. Conversely, it might represent a positive shift or a new beginning for the country and society. In contrast, for Poles, *strach* embodies excitement, anxiety, and restlessness, driven by the anticipation of unpleasant and undesirable events. This reaction is likely influenced by Poland’s proximity to Ukraine, contributing to a constant fear among the Polish people. The average brightness index calculated by CS STIMULUS suggests a moderate level of anxiety in the Polish response.

In the context of the PANDEMIC, there is also a notable difference in reactions. The English responded with *adaptation* at a low brightness index of 0.1078, indicating a quick adjustment to the changing living conditions brought about by the pandemic. In contrast, the Polish response is again *strach* (fear), with a higher average brightness index of 0.2018. This implies that, for Poles, the pandemic is primarily associated with fear and anxiety as the highest degree of epidemic development.

Interestingly, Poles exhibit a similar level of fear in response to WOJNA (WAR) and PANDEMIA (PANDEMIC), although with varying brightness indices: 0.2603 for WOJNA and 0.2018 for PANDEMIA. This suggests that the “state of excitement, anxiety, and restlessness” is a predominant emotional state in the Polish psyche in response to these stimuli.

Regarding reactions to WAR/WOJNA, the English and Poles show distinct differences. The English reaction of *peace* at a brightness index of 0.0823 indicates a belief in the cessation of conflict and the establishment of harmony. Despite its relatively low brightness index, it suggests an optimistic outlook. Conversely, the Polish reaction to *conflict* at a brightness index of 0.1309 reflects a perception of war as a sharp dispute, likely between countries or peoples. This difference in responses and brightness indices underscores a contrast in outlooks: the English lean towards optimism and peace, while the Poles are more inclined to view military events as sources of profound disagreement and conflict.

Conclusions

The thorough examination of the concept of resilience, especially in the context of escalating global challenges, underscores its interdisciplinary importance and widespread applicability. This analysis illuminates how resilience operates across various domains, affirming its role as a critical factor in confronting and adapting to the complex dynamics of the modern world. Resilience, as understood across various disciplines, encompasses a broad spectrum of meanings and applications, reflecting the complexity and multifaceted nature of the concept. Firstly, resilience is crucial in understanding how individuals and systems adapt and respond to stress, crisis, and change. This is particularly evident in socio-economic systems, where resilience is critical to navigating and recovering from crises, such as the 2007–2008 global economic downturn. The capacity of regions and economies to withstand, recover, and potentially enhance their conditions post-crisis underlines the critical role of resilience in ensuring economic stability and fostering growth. Moreover, resilience transcends simple adaptation or recovery. In the realms of psychological and social sciences, resilience is understood as a dynamic process that encompasses the ability to endure adversity and pursue positive development in response to challenges. This concept is exemplified by how individuals mobilize resources, sustain psychological well-being, and cultivate personal growth amidst stressors. Similarly, in ecological and environmental studies, resilience is crucial for comprehending how ecosystems adapt to, and recuperate from, environmental changes and disturbances, thereby maintaining their functionality and integrity. The concept of resilience is paramount, particularly in the context of global environmental challenges such as climate change, where the ability of ecosystems to adapt and maintain stability is crucial. As highlighted by Mazur and others, the interdisciplinary nature of resilience research emphasizes the need for a comprehensive approach that simultaneously considers ecological, social, and economic systems. This transdisciplinary perspective is indispensable for devising effective sustainability and growth strategies in response to global challenges.

At the geopolitical level, the relevance of resilience is accentuated as it becomes central to understanding and strategizing national and regional responses to external threats and internal instabilities. This is exemplified by the development of national resilience strategies to hybrid threats, such as those implemented by the National Institute for Strategic Studies in Ukraine. Such strategies demonstrate how resilience extends beyond environmental and economic contexts to include significant political and geopolitical dimensions, where it informs policy-making and strategic planning.

Furthermore, at the psychological level, resilience involves not merely the capacity to recover from adversity but also the ability to engage in positive growth as a result of challenges faced. This aspect underscores the importance of resilience across various disciplines, revealing its broad applicability and influence in shaping responses at individual, community, and national levels.

Thus, resilience is a multifaceted concept with broad implications across various disciplines. Its study offers invaluable insights into how individuals, societies, economies, and ecosystems can survive and thrive in the face of adversity and change. A comprehensive understanding of resilience is crucial for developing strategies that ensure stability, growth, and sustainable development in an increasingly complex and challenging global environment.

The experimental diagnostics conducted using CS STIMULUS on the responses of English and Polish speakers to WAR, PANDEMIC, WOJNA (WAR), and PANDEMIA (PANDEMIC) stimuli have yielded insightful results about the most relevant reactions from these two linguistic cultures. The study uncovered that the English reaction to the WAR stimulus was predominantly *different* with a brightness index of 0.1023. At the same time, the Polish response to WOJNA was *śmierć* (death) with a significantly higher index of 0.3172. Similarly, for the PANDEMIC stimulus, the most relevant English response was *adaptation* (0.1078), contrasting with the Polish response of *strach* (fear) (0.2018). These findings suggest a higher resilience among the English than the Poles in crises.

The concept of resilience varies across linguistic cultures, with its degree influencing how societies respond to crisis and stress. Cultures with lower resilience often exhibit societal disorganization in challenging times, whereas those with higher resilience tend to quickly adapt and develop effective behavioural models to confront and overcome crises. In societies with excessive resilience, there is often a tendency to downplay the state's role in ensuring a successful life, emphasizing the importance of democratic rights and freedoms in such contexts. The study reinforces the idea that an individual's country of residence significantly impacts their worldview, mental reactions, and behaviours in situations that demand resilience to cope with psycho-traumatic events.

This study successfully achieved its objective of assessing the levels of resilience (high or low) among English and Polish individuals by utilizing a pair-by-association experiment with the stimuli WAR and PANDEMIC, and their respective Polish equivalents, WOJNA and PANDEMIA. The findings of this research confirm the proposed hypothesis: individuals from English and Polish linguistic cultures exhibit distinctly different patterns of resilience when confronted with these stimuli. These differences, reflective of the entrenched adaptive behavioral models within their cultural and linguistic frameworks, manifested through varied emotional and cognitive responses. This not only substantiates the hypothesis but also contributes valuable insights into the development of stereotypical behaviors associated with each group's approach to crisis management. Thus, the study underscores the significant role of cultural and linguistic contexts in shaping resilience, offering a deeper understanding of how diverse populations respond to global crises.

Future research prospects include using the CS STIMULUS platform to investigate social groups from various linguistic cultures. This approach is designed to identify both commonalities and distinctions in how different cultural backgrounds perceive various challenging phenomena. By exploring these perceptions across diverse groups, we aim to enhance our understanding of global psychological and emotional responses. This broader perspective will contribute to a more comprehensive grasp of how resilience manifests in varied cultural contexts, potentially informing more effective cross-cultural interventions and support mechanisms.

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BEATA DUDA

University of Silesia in Katowice, Institute of Linguistics

beata.duda@us.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-1995-6489

EWA FICEK

University of Silesia in Katowice, Institute of Linguistics

ewa.ficek@us.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-0976-1944

The Memory of Emotions in View of Linguistics (Based on the Reminiscent Narratives from the Archive of Oral History of the Warsaw Uprising)

Abstract

The article presents a research project devoted to the linguistic/discursive description of the affective dimension of oral history narratives, and more precisely – reminiscent accounts of history witnesses from the Archive of Oral History of the Warsaw Uprising. The authors of the text demonstrate: 1. the reasons for interest in the topic; 2. the subject and purpose of the inquiry; 3. the inquiry's theoretical and methodological background – mainly memory linguistics and corpus-aided discourse analysis (CADS); 4. the source material; 5. the conclusions from the exemplary analytical procedure related to the project; 6. the cognitive, application and pro-social value of the project, including new/important aspects of the results that can be obtained thanks to the project compared to the results obtained by other authors. Detailed research (quantitative and qualitative research) of lexical updates of reflective emotions referring to the past and present in authentic statements of the Warsaw Uprising participants (active and passive ones), as well as of the emotional overtones of the insurgents' statements will allow to determine the role of affective phenomena in shaping the image(s) of this event in collective memory/memory discourses. The research will also contribute to the recognition of the emotional history of the events of 1944.

Keywords: Warsaw Uprising, emotional memories, reflective emotions, memory linguistics, corpus-assisted discourse analysis

1. Introduction

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Memory and emotions play a key role in the process of creating memories. It is not surprising, therefore, that research on them is constantly conducted by representatives of the exact sciences, social sciences and human sciences. The affective dimension of individual narratives about the past is particularly interesting in the light of a relatively new method of conducting historical research (initiated in the 1960s¹) – the so-called oral history. The method mainly focuses on the need to reconstruct past events by reaching people who were direct participants thereof, interviewing them, and then archiving these resources in the form of transcription and/or digitization. Research of this type is often placed in opposition to the mainstream of history, especially when overlooked or marginalized individuals and/or groups are asked to speak (*cf.* Rowbotham 1973). In the light of considerations on the memory of emotions and the memories' linguistic dimension, such sources, in the form of interviews' recordings or transcripts, seem worth a detailed review².

As regards Polish history, one of the events that have been overlooked or marginalized for almost 50 years since the end of World War II is the Warsaw Uprising. Under communist rule, not only was the memory of this historical fact falsified, but the insurgents were also treated with hostility (they were often forgotten or even persecuted). The memory of the Warsaw Uprising began to be restored slowly in the 1980s. However, it was only in 2004 that a permanent place of remembrance practices linked to this event was established in Warsaw – the Warsaw Uprising Museum. A year earlier, in 2003, on the initiative of museologists and volunteers, work began on the creation of the Oral History Archive. Giving voice to the Warsaw insurgents became both a chance to save their memories from oblivion and an opportunity to revise the image of the events of 1944, which had previously functioned in the mainstream of history, as well as an attempt to build a new image of the uprising in collective memory (*cf.* Szacka 2006: 180).

The Warsaw Uprising therefore aroused (and still arouses) strong emotions – both among its participants and subsequent generations whose interpretations of the event varied. One cannot ignore the fact that emotions surrounding the uprising clearly evolved (*e.g.* different feelings accompanied the insurgents and Warsaw residents at the beginning of the uprising, and different ones at the end, when disappointment, hopelessness or desperation appeared). That is why, the idea discussed below deserves, in our opinion, to be implemented.

2. Subject and Purpose of the Research Project

The research project is subordinated to the linguistic/discursive description of the affective dimension of *oral history* narratives. It mainly focuses on manifestations of emotions (mainly lexical manifestations³) present in reminiscent accounts of witnesses from the Archive of Oral History of the Warsaw Uprising,

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- 1 One of the pioneers in the field of *oral history* was George Ewart Evans who published reminiscences about the life and work of an English village inhabitants (*cf.* Evans 1956).
 - 2 Undeniably, research planned in this way carries a certain risk as the memories of historical witnesses may be embellished or even false/erroneous (*cf.* Wieviorka 2006).
 - 3 Limiting the view to situations where the sender uses the names of specific emotional states (*cf.* Stanisław Grabias' term: "communicating experiences" – [in:] Kosacka 2019: 67) results from the nature of the source material. Transcription of

more precisely: active or passive participants of the uprising, including civilians – residents of Warsaw. At further stages of the analysis, the authors have also planned to examine the emotional overtones of the insurgents' statements, which is possible thanks to the innovative digital tools available today, such as Sentemo⁴. The use of digital tools at the stage of quantitative analysis results from the assumptions of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS). The project is meant to determine the role that emotional updates play in collective memory/discourses of memory in shaping the image(s) of the events of 1944.

We are of the opinion that emotions (*i.e.* materialized feelings, *cf.* Szczepaniak 2017; Damasio 2000⁵) help to tell the story, and sometimes strongly influence the course thereof (Pawlina 2019). Therefore they deserve attention. Our considerations focus on two categories: reflective emotions and emotional memories. Reflective emotions are formed under the influence of evaluation and are dependent on previous experiences and views (Pawlina 2019). Affective phenomena referring to the past – both positive and negative emotions, one's own or someone else's (these are slightly less important) emotions, are of key importance to the research project (*cf.* Laskowska 2009). Putting it simply, let's say that an event causing positive emotions is assessed as good, *i.e.* valued positively, while an event causing negative emotions shall be assessed as bad/valued negatively (*cf.* Nowakowska-Kempna 1986: 54–55). On the other hand, the role of emotional memories is emphasized in psychology (*e.g.* Fijałkowska, Gruszczyński 2009) and as part of memory-related reflection which is close to us. Let's compare the opinion of Kaja Kaźmierska:

Living memory is emotionally involved and [...] relatively undominated by the collective memory, which was also developing *in statu nascendi* at that time, which solidifies over time and begins to set the framework for public discourse. (Kaźmierska 2008: 93)

The project also stems from the following assumptions:

1. An important function in recognizing, strengthening and categorizing emotional states is played by language (Gasiul 2015; *cf.* also the therapeutic qualities of a narrative interview:

the interviews deprived them of many traces of emotions, including paraverbal and non-verbal signs that can reinforce the meaning of words.

- 4 See the overtone analyser provided by the CLARIN_PL consortium which is used “to process and analyse text data in Polish for the purpose of emotional annotation due to the basic types of emotions and universal values assigned to words.” It is helpful “in determining the nature of the analysed text by indicating to the positive or negative aspect of the statement” [at:] (<https://clarin-pl.eu/index.php/wydzwiek/>; <https://ws.clarin-pl.eu/sentiment> – date of access: 22.03.2023).
- 5 According to Antonio R. Damasio (2000; [in:] Tymiak 2017: 205–206), “the term ‘feeling’ [should - the authors’ note] be reserved for the personal, mental experience of emotions, whereas the term ‘emotions’ be used to define a set of reactions many of which are externalized and can be observed by outside observers”. At other times, emotions are perceived as phenomena that are the opposite of more complex circumstances (Siuta, ed. 2009: 84–85, 300), including moods: emotions are considered to be short-lived, while mood lasts relatively long, it is also the result of events taking place at a slower pace (Tymiak 2017: 206–207). See also the categorical position of Anna Wierzbicka: “A feeling is something that is felt – not something that is experienced in words. Thoughts can be put into words – feelings cannot be put into words. A thought is something having a structure that can be reproduced in words. A feeling is inherently unstructured and therefore inexpressible” (1971: 30). Let us also note here that in order not to complicate the nomenclature, we deliberately do not use the term *affect* in the sense in which it appears in the literature on the subject (*e.g.* Nowakowska-Kempna 1995: 120–122, 145), and we use the affective adjective in its general/dictionary sense (“concerning feelings, emotions”).

- Karkowska 2018). Linguistic signs consolidate emotions, not feelings⁶ (see: e.g. Tymiakin 2017: 205–206).
2. Social reality is reflected in the discourse, and on the other hand, it is constructed thereby (Jaszczyk-Grzyb 2021: 16). Knowledge about social, cultural and political contexts in the process of memories' creation and verbalization allows for a better understanding of the mechanisms of selected discourses' shaping and their impact on the memory of the subjects participating in them.
 3. By revealing the emotional attitude towards specific objects or events (in this case this event is the Warsaw Uprising), we get to know the subjective point of view of the author of the memoirs along with his or her axiological preferences (Tymiakin 2017). The subject constructs (and perhaps sometimes simply reproduces) a specific picture of the events of 1944, thus shaping and/or consolidating the knowledge about this event in the collective memory.
 4. The verbalization of such and no other emotions of the Warsaw Uprising witnesses is influenced by the social framework of memory (Halbwachs 2008; cf. the clearly affirmative nature of the memory of this event we deal with today), as well as by its aspirations to a specific discursive community for which the uprising is most often a key and important biographical episode, although it is significantly far away in time from the narrative here and now (as a consequence, positive values are attributed thereto). Those recalling memories also do so under the auspices of the institutional initiator of the memories, *i.e.* the Warsaw Uprising Museum⁷.

3. Source Material and its Characteristics

Source material in the form of approximately 3,400 interviews comes from the aforementioned sources collected, digitized and made public by the Warsaw Uprising Museum as part of the Archive of Oral History project implemented by this public institution. From among the rich collection of interviews recorded as transcripts of conversations held in the years 2003–2022, interviews diversified in terms of sociological parameters conducted until the end of 2018 have been analysed using tools for processing large text collections.

It is worth mentioning that the analysed interviews were conducted at a considerable time interval from the events described/ remembered in them – on average about 70 years elapsed from the outbreak of the uprising to the moment of the interview. This is not the only type of distance that can influence the shape of the reminiscent narrative – it was not uncommon for insurgents to live far away from Warsaw after the war, often also out of the country. Another equally valuable cognitive distance may be the distance related to the loss of identity/connection with the insurgent group, which is related to the repressions

6 However, both the notions, *i.e.* emotions and feelings, are used interchangeably in Polish and in the source literature.

7 Let us note that this institution prefers the vision of the uprising “as a fundamental event for Polishness and a foundation for patriotism, [...] as an exceptionally attractive fragment of recent history. [...]”. Thus the uprising “[becomes] [...] – phantasmically – an event that attracts others, that it would be worth taking part in” (Kobielska 2014: 342).

imposed on the uprising active participants immediately after the war⁸. When characterizing the study set, one should also mention its biolectal diversity (we find both women's and men's accounts therein), or the diversity resulting from a different perception of events depending on the role/function played by a given individual in the uprising. Among the people who remember the events of 1944, there are – as we have already signalled – both active participants of the uprising (cadets, riflemen, liaison officers, nurses), as well as civilians not directly involved in the warfare. The aforementioned type of texts that will be analysed includes (due to the dominance of the genre model – interview) also questions (and often also statements or answers in the form of appositions) of the interviewer who, in the light of the observations previously conducted by our research team (*cf. e.g.* Ciesek-Ślizowska, Duda, Sujkowska-Sobisz: 2020a), may have had a significant impact on the affective image of the uprising.

The source material characterized above has been developed using the CLARIN_PL infrastructure and the KonText tool⁹ in the form of a searchable, closed corpus and is deposited in the DeSpace repository only for the purposes of scientific research conducted by our team¹⁰. Thanks to the use of applications for automatic text processing, also those offered by CLARIN_PL, such as *e.g.* Sentemo¹¹, it will be possible to perform an automatic, initial analysis of the emotional overtone of the Warsaw Uprising participants' memories, which constitutes, *inter alia*, support for qualitative analyses.

4. Theoretical and Methodological Background of the Project

The detailed analyses undertaken will fit into the paradigm of the linguistics of memory the theoreticians of which claim, among others, that “memory is of a linguistic nature (because it is created in the process of nominalization and predication/statement about specific experiences, persons and events) as well as of communicative and cultural nature, because it is passed on in the process of social interaction [...]” (Czachur 2018: 29; *cf.* also Chlebda 2012: 110–111). They also emphasize the importance of linguistic profiling of knowledge in the form of discursive images of the world (Czachur 2018: 26). Assumptions and methods close to corpus-assisted discourse studies will also prove useful in the research procedure; see: *e.g.* Ancarno 2020; Jaworska 2016: 7–10. Elements of corpus linguistics will be treated not only as an aid in the analysis of the collected material, but also as a source of inspiration (Czachur 2020: 102, 133, 193–194, 239; see also Kamasa 2014). This will allow for conducting reliable quantitative and qualitative research, will ensure the empirical relevance and certainty of the results, and will enable the combination of linguistic analyses with a broader approach to the issues under consideration. It should be added that both the corpus-based approach (using the corpus to verify the theses or to exemplify the theories developed) and the corpus-driven approach (starting from corpus data that suggest the existence

8 After the war, insurgents were often treated as criminals, they were tracked down by the NKVD and put in prison; many insurgents paid their lives for participating in the events of 1944. Therefore, in the biographies the uprising episodes were hidden for years, which can also be associated with the blurring of the identity of the memory community we are interested in.

9 KonText: <https://kontext.clarin-pl.eu/> [date of access: 15.02.2023]; see also: Machálek 2014.

10 Research on social archiving, oral history and linguistics is conducted by a research team operating at the Institute of Linguistics of the University of Silesia in Katowice.

11 See: <https://ws.clarin-pl.eu/sentemo> [date of access: 15.02.2023].

of certain categories) may be attractive for inquiries related to the project (Czachur 2020: 196; see also Storjohann 2005). The sequence of steps taken in connection with the project may therefore be different:

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analysis according to the *corpus-based* approach

formulating research questions and making hypotheses regarding the affective dimension of reminiscent narratives



extracting material from the corpus to support the hypotheses made



quantitative and qualitative analysis of the corpus data as auxiliary material using corpus methods and tools, including the KonText and AntCont tools



analysis according to the *corpus-driven* approach

quantitative analysis of data from the corpus - observations using methods and tools for corpus analyses (e.g. KonText, Sentemo), including collocation analyses and/or sentiment analyses



qualitative analysis - interpretations based on quantitative analyses



making hypotheses regarding the affective dimension of reminiscent narratives



drawing conclusions on the affective dimension of the Warsaw Uprising memories

Diagram 1. The authors' own elaboration

Here one should note that the point of reference for the planned research will, inevitably, also be the work on affective phenomena undertaken in psychology, philosophy, sociology, and linguistics. However, due to the size of the article we are going to deal with this topic briefly, pointing to the great wealth of linguistic studies alone, focused on issues such as e.g. naming or expressing feelings, and still serving other cognitive purposes (cf. overviews in: Kosacka 2019: 66–67; Sieradzka-Mruk 2016: 23–26; Rejter 2010: 78–82; Data 2000: 245). In the case of the first of the above-mentioned circles of interest special attention should be given to the works of Iwona Nowakowska-Kempna (1986, 1995) who classified the names of feelings and conceptualization thereof. However, in this field it is difficult to indicate an approach directly related to the subject of our research and based on similar source material (the project will fill the gap in research in this respect).

5. Preliminary Results of Research Related to the Project

Based on the preliminary research, we have managed to confirm the expediency of the project assumptions presented above. The subject of the first material analysis constituted some lexical determinants of positive emotions from the joy group (division after Agnieszka Mikołajczuk [2009], with only nouns being considered), and the specific objective was to determine their role in creating the image of the Uprising in collective memory. The research was limited to those fragments of reminiscent narratives from the Warsaw Uprising that constituted a direct account of a witness (1st person singular past tense) and concerned a description of the events of 1944. After the frequency lists had been created, it turned out that the most numerous determinant of positive emotions is the *joy* lexeme which appeared 1335 times in the analysed material. At the next stage, an analysis of collocations with this lexeme was carried out, then those collocations were ordered into groups based on the observed tendency to intensity – from neutral units to units indicating a very high degree of intensity. The next step involved the characterization of objects evoking joy in people recalling the events of 1944. The same collocations that had been studied at the earlier stage of the work were taken into consideration, but the observations were extended to include their right- and left-sided contexts. As a result of qualitative analyses, 5 domains were identified that were accompanied by this feeling. They included: the beginning of the uprising, insurgent activities, meetings with loved ones, as well as everyday life on a micro scale, and others (unclassified units). The first two domains were most filled with examples containing collocations with the highest degree of intensity. The conclusions drawn from the preliminary analyses are particularly interesting in the context of research on collective memory and discourses of memory – as they prove that the Warsaw Uprising participants are the closest to the model of sacrificial and reactive joy.

6. The Importance of Research on the Affective Dimension of Memories, Results Applications and Final Conclusions

As it has already been mentioned, the project will fill the gap in linguistically/discursive profiled analyses. The research results obtained as part of the project will also allow to deepen the observations on the therapeutic values of the narrative interview. Magda Karkowska is of the opinion that a narrative interview assumes self-reflection, stimulates insight into one's own experiences and enables release from difficult burdensome emotions (2018: 110, 113–116; see also Truong *et al.* 2013). “In order for a biographical story to constitute a valuable research material” – the author claims – “it should make it possible to find out how the surrounding reality has influenced the awareness, attitudes, aspirations or opinions of people who took part in specific events” (Karkowska 2018: 109)¹². It is therefore about reconstructing the meanings given to reality at the cognitive or emotional level (Karkowska 2018: 110).

Whereas Michał Tomasz Wójciuk (2013b: 231), a historian, proves that the feelings and social behaviour of Warsaw residents and the insurgent army soldiers have not been the subject of a separate study so far, although this issue has been present in historiography. The planned research will bring many new and important findings also to this cognitive area. Let us recall the observations made *e.g.* in relation to the insurgents' private letter communication (*e.g.* Wójciuk 2011; 2013a; 2013b). In their

12 The project will allow for a better understanding of the insurgents' attitudes and motivation.

letters – Wójciuk claims – the senders informed “on the spot” (although not without difficulty and not always directly) about the emotional processes experienced by themselves, but also about those that were noticed as a result of various feelings’ manifestations in the behaviour, words, *etc.* of other people (2013b: 235). Here we find – as in the case of a reminiscence narrative – traces of various feelings, which is related to the intensification of life in extreme situations. As the abovementioned researcher has established, they tried not to overload the correspondence with negative thoughts, which is interesting (and somehow convergent with our initial conclusions) is that the senders also often expressed excitement or joy resulting from the opportunity to participate in some extraordinary and groundbreaking events (Wójciuk 2013a: 355–356; 2013b: 242).

Finally, the research should be confronted with these findings in the field of the linguistics of memory which were devoted to the authority over the discourse in the reminiscence narrative from the Archive of Oral History, as well as to the (in)visibility of the leader of the meeting with a witness of history (*cf.* Ciesiek-Ślizowska, Duda, Sujkowska-Sobisz 2020a; 2020b). As it used to be believed, unlike historical research, oral history stems from the desire to show individual/ single, often marginalized or overlooked, points of view on events from the past. Bernadetta Ciesiek-Ślizowska, Beata Duda and Katarzyna Sujkowska-Sobisz state at the same time:

A significant role in the process of constructing images of the past is played not only by the holder of memories/witness, who undoubtedly plays the main role in the process of meanings’ transmission, but important tasks also lie with the person conducting the meeting – the researcher/archivist/documentalist. [...] Through his or her verbal behaviour, this person co-creates the image of the past in the minds of the interview recipients, shapes the image of the Warsaw Uprising. (Ciesiek-Ślizowska, Duda, Sujkowska-Sobisz 2020b: 66–67; see also: Ciesiek-Ślizowska, Duda, Sujkowska-Sobisz 2020a: 57)

Let’s compare this observation to such an extreme example taken from our material corpus:

Prowadząca wywiad: Jak pani wspomina 1 sierpień, pierwszy dzień Powstania Warszawskiego?

Świadek historii: Nie potrafię opisać...

Prowadząca wywiad: Może towarzyszyła temu wielka radość?

Świadek historii: Po prostu zameldowałam się na punkcie, zostałam wciągnięta na listę członków Batalionu jako dowódca plutonu sanitarnego. Tak się zaczął pierwszy dzień.

Prowadząca wywiad: Tak, ale czy z radością czekaliście państwo na to Powstanie?

Świadek historii: Ja myślę! To było wyzwolenie.

Prowadząca wywiad: O to mi właśnie chodzi.

Interviewer: How do you remember August 1, the first day of the Warsaw Uprising?

Witness of history: I can’t describe it...

Interviewer: Maybe there was great joy in it?

Witness of history: I just checked in at the point, I was included in the list of the Battalion members as the commander of the medical platoon. That’s how the first day started.

Interviewer: Yes, but did you wait for this Uprising with joy?

Witness of history: You bet! It was a liberation.

Interviewer: That’s what I mean.

<https://www.1944.pl/archiwum-historii-mowionej/hanna-barbara-szczepkowska-mickiewicz,788.html> [date of access: 29.11.2022].

Although this type of speech behaviour, which could be called emotional tips (Fijałkowska, Gruszczyński 2009), is not very common (according to the guidelines on the methods of conducting an interview, one should avoid directing and suggesting questions, cf. Ciesek-Ślizowska, Duda, Sujkowska-Sobisz 2020b), they show a certain horizon of expectations (Koselleck 2001: 365) that the witnesses of history have to face. They also show that the interviewers are interested in the emotional story of the uprising. More attention should be paid to the indicated aspect of the affective dimension of memories.

In the future, one should also take a closer look at the communal and individual dimensions of insurgent emotions; the indicated categories are updated on different levels of discourse and are related to the processes of narrative identity shaping. Therefore, the subject project has both a cognitive value as well as an application and pro-social value, since it can become a starting point for further (interdisciplinary) studies, for various reasons focused on the processes of constructing images of the past – both in the memory of individuals and entire discursive communities. These, in turn, can be used in social reality and ultimately help to understand the mechanisms that social reality is governed by.

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ALI DUR

Akdeniz University, Antalya
ali.dur@antalya.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0001-7554-0480

H. SEZGI SARAÇ DURGUN

Akdeniz University, Antalya
sezgisarac@akdeniz.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0002-6261-6527

The Narrator's Self-Justifying Rhetoric in Melville's *Bartleby, the Scrivener: A Story of Wall Street*

Abstract

This study explores “Bartleby the Scrivener: A Story of Wall Street” by Herman Melville (1853), employing the lens of defamiliarization to accentuate the narrator's self-justifying rhetoric aimed at shaping the reader's perception of events and deflecting blame in Bartleby's tragic tale. By focusing on the rhetorical devices in the narrative, this research aims to elaborate on their manipulative function in diminishing the emotional impact of Bartleby's eccentric attitude, ultimately leading to his tragic demise in prison. Despite the narrator's apparent internal conflict between conscience and prudence, a close examination of specific instances where he disrupts the standard syntax, constructs a modest image of himself with litotes, and fosters disdain for the scrivener through epithets, reveals the narrator's underlying anxiety about how the reader perceives his image. Through defamiliarization, Melville crafts a narrative where the familiar—such as the narrator's supposed sincerity—is rendered strange, prompting readers to question the motives and reliability of the storyteller in portraying the tragedy of Bartleby.

Keywords: Bartleby, stylistics, discourse, hyperbatons, litotes, epithets

Introduction

Style is distinctive and, in essence, the sum or the set of linguistic features that embody certain characteristics, such as genre, period, or register. Burke (2014) divides style into three main categories:

the high, the middle, and the low¹. The high style is related to literature, one that influences thinking patterns, whereas the low is mainly used for more mundane uses of discourse. The middle, as can be guessed, is an invariable mix of both to be used in intermediate cases. Gibbons and Whiteley (2018) take style to be “fundamentally concerned with the relationship between linguistic form and literary meaning and interpretation” (Gibbons, Whiteley 2018: 3). This relationship has come into existence as stylistics today. Stylistics, also called “literary stylistics” by many, is “the study and analysis of texts; it is in particular, although not exclusively, the study and analysis of literary texts” (Burke 2014: 1). Nørgaard *et al.* (2010) define stylistics as “the study of the ways in which meaning is created through language in literature as well as in other types of text” (Nørgaard *et al.* 2010: 1). Therefore, using many analytical tools, such as theories and language models, stylistics can, for that matter, be regarded as the study of *style* in a literary work. While analyzing a text in question, an analyst might prefer not only qualitative but also quantitative research with the assistance of many fields like phonology, lexicology, semantics, grammar or other technical features of the text. Reed (1949) defines qualitative analysis as “the nature and variety of a given phenomena” and a quantitative one as “the magnitude and frequency of such phenomena” (Reed 1949: 235). Therefore, while doing stylistic analysis, the qualitative argument is supported by quantitative data. Chatman (1967) writes, “the computer is not going to tell us, at this stage at least, what the interesting questions are” (Chatman 1967: 29). Therefore, it depends on the analyst’s competence to throw the right questions at a literary text to conduct a stylistic analysis. As the exploration of style and stylistics delves into the intricate relationship between linguistic form and literary meaning, it becomes evident that this field employs a myriad of analytical tools. Analyzing texts involves qualitative scrutiny and integrates quantitative research methods, drawing from diverse linguistic disciplines. This multifaceted approach is crucial for a comprehensive understanding of the nuances embedded in literary works. Beyond the methodologies, the evolution of stylistics has been influenced by historical and intellectual developments.

Originating from the structuralist tradition, particularly shaped by Saussurean principles, stylistics found its early champion in Charles Bally. A student of the structuralist Ferdinand de Saussure, Bally published a two-volume treatise on French *stylistique* in 1909, and more attention followed across Europe. However, it wasn’t until the 1960s that stylistics gained substantial attention, with significant contributions from Russian Formalism, particularly the principles of defamiliarization elucidated by figures like Shklovsky. This concept of defamiliarization, as we shall explore, plays a pivotal role in understanding the aesthetic impact of literary texts on readers’ perceptions. At the heart of Formalism is the notion that “all art was to defamiliarize the familiar to generate for the viewer or reader a new perspective on the topic of the piece of work under consideration” (Jeffries and McIntyre 2010: 2). This is Sklovsky’s principle of defamiliarization. He argues that the more things become familiar, the less attention we pay them. We even stop noticing entirely. This is usually the case in everyday language; it somehow gets automatized. Therefore, it is the power of literary texts to enable people to perceive the world from a different perspective in a way to “de-automize”. This deautomatization process directs one reader to have a distinct reading experience, and one might focus on or notice certain elements that come to the fore. “The purpose of defamiliarization is the desire to increase both the effort and the duration of a perceiver’s experience of a text” (Emmott and Alexander, 2016: 290). In so doing, a text in question has

1 In addition to Burke’s classification, such types of style as biblical, the baroque, the Ciceronian (high, grand, ornate), the Attic, the Rhodian, the Asiatic, the Euphuistic, the Gorgianic, the Senecan, the Elizabethan, the Restoration, the modifying, nominal, passive and verbal have also been concocted by scholars.

an aesthetic effect on the reader as the defamiliarization process is often entwined with a literary work as a form of art.

This artistic effect is achieved through the textual and linguistic content, which is often translated as the concept of *foregrounding*. First used by Jan Mukarovsky in 1964, the term highlights “the poetic function of language, in particular, its ability to deviate from the linguistic norm and to create textual patterns based on either parallelism, repetition or deviation from a norm” (Burke 2014: 41). In our daily routine, foregrounding something is to focus particular attention to it or to highlight it, whereas in stylistics, it “refers to the ways in which certain aspects of a text can be made to stand out or appear prominent through forms of textual patterning” (Gibbons and Whiteley 2018: 15). For example, if a narrator in a story or a character has a peculiar way of using language, that peculiarity, whatever its content may be, can give hints about such things as his/her characteristics, mind style, psychological traits, interests, intellectual capacity. The defamiliarization process then allows foregrounded patterns to surface, which enables readers to make versatile interpretations of the material rather than just understanding its context.

Written by Herman Melville in 1853, *Bartleby the Scrivener* is a text in point because of the distinctive linguistic patterns it includes, specifically its narrator's use of language. It is about the strange case of Bartleby and the narrator's difficulty in handling his employee's peculiar nature of passive resistance. One day, Bartleby tells his employer (also the narrator) that he “would prefer not to” (Melville [1853] 1996: 32). Therefore, the story continues with Bartleby's reluctance to reveal the reason for his rebellious act of non-conformity and the narrator's inability to understand this resistance. The story has been viewed by many as an example of social criticism that deals with the effects of capitalism as it was during the 1850s. It provides insight into universal matters of humanity, such as passivity, alienation, and even psychological imprisonment. It is a highly appraised work for its ability to embody multiple interpretations. However, apart from its thematic content and possible lessons for humanity in terms of literary economics or marketplace realities accommodated in it, the story has certain stylistic features that allow for a more comprehensive interpretation of the narrative style of the narrator-employer. The narrator, as argued in this study, manipulates the reader and diminishes the emotional effect of Bartleby's case and eventually death and keeps himself as the focal point, in a way, to justify his guilty responsibility for the tragic end of the scrivener's, whom he calls “Poor fellow!” (Melville [1853] 1996: 36). This study aims to focus on the selected rhetorical devices, such as hyperbaton, litotes, and epithets that the narrator adopts in his acquitting himself of his guilty conscience in the story of Bartleby.

Literature Review

Throughout the story, the narrator, upon Bartleby's passive resistance, is waiving between his conscience and his prudence, and we are provided with a very detailed insight into the narrator's feelings about the goings-on. He is yet consistent and tries to remain intact in his handling of Bartleby and persists in pushing Bartleby into compliance. However, the narrator cannot neglect or leave Bartleby behind because of his guilty conscience. Even after resorting to changing offices with his inability to remove Bartleby from his premises, or when he ends up in the Tombs (the prison), the narrator feels responsible for Bartleby because he is the only character in the story that Bartleby “haunts” for real. As McCall (1989) writes, “ghosts do not waste their time on people who cannot see them; ghosts haunt only the people who deserve them”

(McCall 1989: 152). Bartleby's passive resistance is provocative for the other two scriveners in the office, and he manages to pull the two into fury, yet the narrator, though frustrated at Bartleby's non-conformity, cannot help but get engrossed in Bartleby. Miller (1975) holds that it is about the "familial bond between them" and "the antagonism of father and son" (Miller 1975: 264), and Matsumoto (2010) even implies "a true blood relationship between the two" (Matsumoto 2010: 145). Zlogar (1999) argues that Bartleby is schizophrenic; Kuebrich (1996) sees Bartleby's unwillingness to obey and work as his response to the inequality in the capitalist world and exploitation of workers; Foley (2000) explains Bartleby as a picture of the alienation of labor in the capitalist economy that is rationalized in its way and Fiene (1970) sees Bartleby as an "incarnation of Christ" (Fiene 1970: 21).

Smith (1988), on the other hand, considers Bartleby "as a victim to the law of entropy" (Smith 1988: 155) and asserts that the character uses his life and death to show the inevitability of entropy and to make the narrator aware of "the pointlessness of the activities with which we delude ourselves into believing that our lives have purpose or meaning" (Smith 1988: 156). After all, all Bartleby does is the dull, repetitive task of copying legal documents. As we learn from the story, the character was once a dead letter clerk, and in his new job as a scrivener, he only perpetuates the legal system that is itself futile. In the Dead Letter Office, he was processing letters that were not meant to be communicated. Similarly, copying legal documents that do not even serve human needs or proofreading them with another person is a useless and painful parody of the obstruction and the futility of human communication.

As for Bartleby's physical surroundings, the Master in Chancery (the narrator) gives him a spot in the corner and places a screen to provide him with some privacy. The narrator is of the belief that "privacy and society were conjoined" (Melville [1853] 1996: 31). Yet, all the "society" Bartleby receives from the narrator is asking for extra labor of proofreading, which is always rejected. By depriving Bartleby of contact with other scriveners, the narrator believes he does Bartleby a favor by leaving him in his "hermitage" surrounded by walls and a window that looks at a "dead" brick wall ten feet away. No light is admitted into the room, which indicates there is no reality but the microcosm of that office. Springer (1965) observes that such wall images dominate the story, so Bartleby becomes "wall-like," just like the inanimate articles around him. He thinks that the "wall-likeness touches all those things which have the characteristics of solids, the inanimate, the immobile, the death-like, and these things become representations of what it is that drives Bartleby" (Springer 1965: 414). Bartleby is not exposed to any human activity but his dull copying, thus seeing no meaning in human activity. This, in return, triggers a self-imprisoning impulse in him, and he not only refuses to copy but also never leaves the confines of the office. Not surprisingly, when he is forcibly taken to prison at the end, turning his back to the other prisoners, he "prefers" to stand "all alone in the quietest of the yards, his face towards a high wall" (Melville: 64).

Newman (1986) points out that "formalists of all kind, whether their concerns are structural, linguistic, or stylistic, have found much to say about 'Bartleby'" (Newman 1986: 61). Fogle (1960) is the first to express an opinion in Melville's "blending meaning with structure" (Fogle 1960: 26). Bigelow (1970) and Bickley (1975) commented on the forms in the story, elaborating on the author's manipulation of perspective in narration, with the narrator being "a sentimental anecdotist" and "the ironic protagonist" (26). From a structuralist point of view, both Marx (1953) and Felheim (1962) make a triadic division of the story with their analyses. At the same time, Marx (1953) sets up "three consecutive movements," which follow Bartleby's resistance to the routine, the narrator's attempts to force Bartleby to conformity, and finally, "society's punishment of the recalcitrant writer" (Marx 1953: 608). Felheim (1962) focuses

on the office and the narrator, happenings at the office, and the entering of society with the narrator's lawyer friends (Felheim 1962: 117–120).

Formalists, on the other hand, have categorized the story as a comedy. Stone (1949) finds Meville's comic style fundamental to the story (215). Rosenberry (1955) holds that the story includes the "full range of Melville's comic genius" (Rosenberry 1955: 6) and that "a substantial comic frame for his [Melville's] weird nihilistic drama" is constructed (Rosenberry 1955: 145). Guido (1957) assesses *Bartleby* as a stereotypical tragic clown who is exhausted when introduced to the story; even the scrivener's white face could be compared to a traditional clown (Guido 1957: 101). Melville's story has its share of deconstruction as well. Joswick (1978), for example, equates *Bartleby's* strange case with how a deconstructionist might reject the established values that are historically constructed. He believes the scrivener's bleak attitude is a direct answer to "the empty masquerade of Western metaphysics that would assure us of origin, purpose, and end for our history" (Joswick 1978: 80). Rowe (1982) introduces a poststructuralist examination of Melville's *Bartleby*. He asserts that Derrida's *différance* is embodied in the character, that is, "the uncanny and vagrant property in language that motivates expression" (Rowe 1982: 112). Rowe indicates that *Bartleby* is a "defamiliarizing" agent, playing a similar role to the literary language that destroys historically implanted meanings and establishes a feasible present (Rowe 1982: 128).

As for the stylistic perspective, Kemp (2001) writes that "while the lawyer-narrator dominates the speech acts in the story, *Bartleby* offers linguistic minimalism" (Kemp 2001: 68). Yet, despite this distinction, the lawyer is chained to *Bartleby* because they are, even though they appear to be two distinct characters on the surface, very closely linked. Kissane (1961), for instance, takes the grammatical ambiguity into consideration and holds that it connects the narrator to *Bartleby* (Kissane 1961: 199). She summarizes the emotional adventure of the narrator as "ignoring, adjudging, insane, questioning, escaping from and returning to, caring for, and finally identifying himself with" *Bartleby* (200). Her argument is based on "the speciousness of the rationalizing, [...] out of place in a legal practitioner," of the narrator, who is "frantically dashing about excuses to justify putting up with his charge" (Kissane 1961: 198). However, as argued in this study, the narrator structures his narration rhetorically such that we, as the readers, are summoned to sympathize less with the story of "the wasted *Bartleby*" (Melville [1853] 1996: 6). The rhetoric shifts the reader's interpretation of what happened and deflects responsibility in *Bartleby's* tragic story. This study aims to dissect the rhetorical devices used in the story to understand their manipulative role in lessening the emotional impact of *Bartleby's* eccentric behavior and ultimately contributing to his tragic demise in prison.

Findings and Discussion

Despite the narrator's ostensible internal conflict between morality and conscience, the study argues that an in-depth examination of particular instances in which the standard syntax is broken, a modest self-image is constructed through litotes, and contempt for the scrivener is nurtured through epithets, reveals an underlying anxiety in the narrator. His primary source of worry is how the reader will perceive his image. Melville creates a story in which seemingly familiar elements – like the narrator's professed sincerity – are made strange using defamiliarization. As he narrates the tragedy of *Bartleby*, the storyteller's intentions

and dependability are called into question by this purposeful estrangement. Therefore, the study seeks to highlight the nuanced details of the narrative structure, encouraging readers to interact critically with the narrator's persuasive devices and reconsider how they perceive the characters and events in this timeless work.

First, the narrator does not have a general habit of inverting his sentences throughout the story. Strangely enough, only when he contemplates Bartleby does the narrator resort to inversion, which he does with only the verb *think*. As a rhetorical device, hyperbaton is "a figure of speech in which "normal" word order is transposed by inversion or fronting" (Wales 2011: 202). George Puttenham calls hyperbaton "the trespasser" (Whigham and Rebhorn 2007: 252). That a narrator or a speaker deliberately changes word order could be a common observation in many literary texts, yet in Melville's story, the narrator frequently inverts the sentence structure with the verb *thought* and the subject *I*, which seems to create a sense of unintentionality, and thus unaccountability in the fate of his employee, Bartleby. It could be a way for Melville to convey a sense of introspection or contemplation on the narrator's part. By deviating from the usual word order, the author draws attention to these moments and suggests a more nuanced or reflective state of mind. It might indicate moments of uncertainty, introspection, or a deeper engagement with the character's thoughts and feelings.

The word *thought* appears thirty times in the story, yet the strange case is that when the verb is related to another employee like Turkey, or when he is in an attempt to justify his doings, the narrator tends to use it in the regular word order. When he says, for instance, "I thought Turkey would appreciate the favor" (Melville [1853] 1996: 28), or "[...] which I thought might operate beneficially upon the flighty temper of Turkey" (Melville [1853] 1996: 30), the reader does not feel any suspense in the stream of thoughts. However, after Bartleby utters "I would prefer not to" (Melville [1853] 1996: 32) for the first time upon the narrator's request from him on the very following page, the narrator says, "This is very strange, thought I" (*ibidem*). Another example is when the narrator contemplates what Bartleby feeds on; he says, "He lives, then, on ginger-nuts, thought I" (Melville [1853] 1996: 36). When he seems to show sympathy for Bartleby and his eccentricities, the narrator goes, "Poor fellow! Thought I" (*ibidem*). While speaking his emotions about Bartleby, it is as if the narrator seems to create a daydreaming effect and alienate himself from the responsibility of whom he later calls "the strange creature I kept in my office" (Melville [1853] 1996: 57).

After that section in the story, the narrator has eight more uses of the verb *thought*. It is almost as if the usages were mathematically planned and placed to create a specific effect. This is because the first two uses are in regular word order. Strangely, the next two include hyperbatons. The following two are again in regular word order, yet finally, the last two are hyperbatons. The narrator tends to adhere to the conventional word order when he is more self-centered and has a decided attitude. In contrast, when the thought is directly about Bartleby, *I thought* becomes *thought I* such that the function is a perception that the idea in his mind is created inadvertently.

The first example in the standard word order is when the narrator cannot receive any response from Bartleby upon his request. He says, "I thought it best to put on my hat and walk home for the day" (Melville [1853] 1996: 39). The narrator responds to the situation and prefers to leave. This is when the narrator has already been exposed to Bartleby's infamous "I would prefer not to" expression one after the other about seven times. "As the days passed on, [the narrator] became considerably reconciled to Bartleby. His steadiness, his freedom from all dissipation, his incessant industry, [...] his great stillness,

his unalterableness of demeanor, [...] made him a valuable acquisition" (Melville [1853] 1996: 40). The narrator is surprised and trying to make sense of the situation, yet does not challenge Bartleby in any manner. Following this section, the second use of *thought* in regular word order is after visiting Church on a Sunday morning: "I thought I would walk to my chambers for a while" (*ibidem*). However, on that Sunday morning, upon finding out that Bartleby has been sleeping in his chambers all this time, he goes, with a hyperbaton, "Yes, thought I, it is evident enough that Bartleby has been making his home here" (Melville [1853] 1996: 42). The narrator pities Bartleby, and in solid feelings of surprise and sadness, yet within seconds, he admits, "These sad fancyings – chimeras, doubtless, of a sick and silly brain – led on to other and more special thoughts, concerning the eccentricities of Bartleby" (Melville [1853] 1996: 43). This is like a breaking point when he decides to go to Bartleby's desk to find information about him. The narrator says, "I mean no mischief, seek the gratification of no heartless curiosity, thought I; besides, the desk is mine" (*ibidem*). This final utterance makes it clear that the narrator is now in an intentional state of justification before the readers. However, the use of *thought I* is intended to create the effect of inadvertence; that is, he gives in to an uncontrolled feeling of curiosity.

On the other hand, the following two uses of *thought* are in regular word order. Therefore, the narrator's use of the verb *thought* has a dangling bivalency; that is, when there is a hyperbaton, the narrator is not entirely in control of his thoughts, therefore, not accountable, and the other is, when the narrator uses the regular word order, he is the focalized point. He seems to consolidate himself as a man who can make wise decisions with sanity; yet again, he is not accountable in his attempt to send Bartleby away. As he admits, Bartleby "not only disarmed me, but in a wonderful manner touched and disconcerted me" (Melville [1853] 1996: 34). "Disarmed" and "disconcerted;" there is no other way he could keep the scrivener in his business, but he has to do it "as decently as I could" (Melville [1853] 1996: 49). As a result, the hyperbatons make us think the narrator is doing what he must without harming the scrivener. With this, Bartleby's tragic condition is deflected, and the narrator's rhetorical employment of hyperbatons is meant to diminish the readers' sympathy for the scrivener. As Post-Lauria (1993) also writes, "by extracting sentimental rhetoric," the narrator "maintains narrative control and superiority over his subject" Post-Lauria (1993: 201). Hence, it is not only Bartleby but also the readers of his accounts of events that the narrator intends to keep his superiority over. With that, the readers of his narration turn into the narrator's controlled "subjects" together with Bartleby. He intends to reshape Bartleby's way of thinking, the readers' overall interpretation of the story, and how they see him as a character.

On the other hand, the narrator seems especially concerned about crafting a persona starting from the beginning of the story. The rhetorical device of litotes appears to be strategically employed to shape and delicately present a modest self-image throughout the narrative. Litotes, a figure of speech rooted in understatement, allows the narrator to utilize negative expressions to emphasize positive qualities. Through subtle linguistic nuances, the narrator navigates the delicate balance between self-deprecation and assertion, developing an image that is both unassuming and quietly self-assured. The placing of litotes in his speech contributes to the complexity of the narrator's character, revealing a strategic manipulation of language to influence the reader's perception of events and characters within the tragic tale of Bartleby. From the beginning of the story, starting with "I am a rather elderly man" (Melville [1853] 1996: 21), the narrator creates an image that he is a man of age, and by fortifying the meaning with the adverb "rather," he seems to be asking for some sympathy. It is almost as if the narrator wants the reader to side with him from the beginning, thus not leaving so much space for an alternative interpretation of him. Aiding this

perception, the rhetorical device *litotes*, “ironical understatement; denial of the contrary often using *no* and *not*” are at work (Zimmerman, 2003: 56).

One example is when the narrator is talking about his former employer, saying, “but simply record the fact, that I was not unemployed in my profession by the late John Jacob Astor [...]” and that “I will freely add, that I was not insensible to the late John Jacob Astor’s good opinion” (Melville [1853] 1996: 22). Zimmerman thinks the narrator uses these *litotes* to suggest “modesty” (Zimmerman, 2003: 56), a relatively positive impression of him. The narrator uses *litotes* at the story’s beginning while giving background information about himself, reinforcing his image as a humble man before the readers. It further contributes to the narrator’s image when he speaks highly of his employees, such as Nippers. The narrator says Nippers “was not unknown on the steps of the Tombs” and that “when he [Nippers] chose, he was not deficient in gentlemanly sort of deportment” (Melville [1853] 1996: 27). Notably, such an introduction of an employee before readers by the narrator is significant as we are made to believe he is the sort of man who gives credit to his employees. Therefore, *litotes* function as a catalyst for an image of the narrator as a man of modesty, which creates a more positive image of him from the beginning.

The narrator’s manipulative tone is observed in his use of epithets for the scrivener. The narrator’s shift from what Zimmerman calls “*dyslogistic*” (negative) to “*eulogistic*” (positive) epithets (2005: 208) is significant as it signals a transition from an attacking attitude to a more compassionate one towards Bartleby. When Bartleby starts with his non-conformist passive-resistant attitude, the narrator shouts out such epithets like “lean, penniless wight” (Melville [1853] 1996: 38), “pale young scrivener” (Melville [1853] 1996: 39), “inscrutable scrivener” (Melville [1853] 1996: 53), “strange creature” (Melville [1853] 1996: 57), “intolerable incubus” (*ibidem*), and even “a vagrant, is he?” (Melville [1853] 1996: 58). This bombardment of *dyslogistic* epithets is meant to create a lessening, degrading effect, which seems to celebrate disdain and scorn for the scrivener and his eccentric nature. However, when Bartleby ends up in prison, the narrator, probably attempting to regain his reputation before the reader, compensates with a switch to *eulogistic* epithets and calls Bartleby “a perfectly honest man, and greatly to be compassionated” (Melville [1853] 1996: 64). In the final passage, when the narrator sees Bartleby’s dead body on the prison ground, he says, “I saw the wasted Bartleby” (Melville [1853] 1996: 67), which is the climax of his endeavor to keep his reputation and credibility. The preference of the adjective “wasted” instead of a blunt “dead” suggests that he perceives the scrivener’s passing as a loss for the world and acknowledges it before the reader. Even further, when the grub-man thinks the dead Bartleby is asleep lying on the ground and asks, “He’s asleep, aint he?” the passage follows with the narrator saying, “With kings and councillors, murmured I” (*ibidem*), suggesting that he places Bartleby on a royal platform, perhaps charitably acknowledging his ultimate nobility. It is worth noticing that the narrator’s reference to kings and councillors is followed by yet another hyperbaton.

Finally, the narrator keeps the actual past of Bartleby till the very last paragraph of the story, which creates an even stronger manipulative image of him while he could easily have given this crucial information about Bartleby’s past to the reader at the beginning of the story. Instead, the narrator prefers to give a lengthy account of himself in the introductory part. However, at the end of the story, we sadly find out that Bartleby “had been a subordinate clerk in the Dead Letter Office at Washington” (Melville [1853] 1996: 68). Holding such critical information about the scrivener and revealing it to the reader only after Bartleby is tragically dead at the end can be considered intentional and meant to affect the reader’s interpretation and perception. The narrator closes the story with the exclamation, “Ah Bartleby!

Ah humanity!" which lays the blame on everybody cumulatively, which, in effect, includes the readers having our own share in Bartleby's tragedy. This could be an instance of apodixis; it is not the narrator's fault but the common fate of all the people, thus lessening the narrator's role even further.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this exploration of Herman Melville's "Bartleby the Scrivener: A Story of Wall Street" has delved into the intricate dynamics of the narrator's self-justifying rhetoric through the lens of defamiliarization. The examination of rhetorical devices employed in the narrative has unveiled a subtle manipulation aimed at shaping the reader's perception of events and deflecting blame in Bartleby's tragic tale. The focus on disruptions in syntax, the construction of a modest self-image through litotes, and the fostering of disdain for Bartleby through epithets reveal the narrator's deep-seated anxiety concerning the audience's interpretation of his character.

Despite the apparent internal conflict between conscience and prudence, the defamiliarization process orchestrated by Melville serves to render the familiar aspects of the narrator's sincerity and moral struggle strange, prompting a critical reevaluation by the readers. The narrative's emotional impact is strategically diminished through these manipulative devices, contributing to Bartleby's tragic demise in prison. Melville's masterful use of defamiliarization invites readers to question not only the story's events but also the storyteller's motives and reliability. In essence, "Bartleby the Scrivener" is a profound exploration of the intricate relationship between narrative manipulation and reader perception. Melville's strategic use of defamiliarization transcends the confines of the story, challenging readers to scrutinize the layers of meaning beneath the surface and reinforcing the enduring power of literature to provoke critical reflection on human nature and societal norms.

Future studies could delve deeper into various layers of defamiliarization in Melville's works, exploring how these techniques resonate with contemporary literary theory. In addition, a comparative analysis with other literary works of the same period or a focus on the reception of "Bartleby the Scrivener" in different cultural contexts could offer valuable insights into the universality of defamiliarization as a literary device. Exploring the influence of Melville's defamiliarization on subsequent literary movements or its echoes in modern literature could open new avenues for scholarship, emphasizing the enduring impact of this seminal work on the evolution of literary techniques and narrative strategies.

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KATARZYNA DZIEKAN

University of Silesia in Katowice, Faculty of Humanities, Institute of Linguistics

katarzyna.dziekan@us.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0003-1079-7757

Neutralisation of Non-Standard Language in Literary Translation and Its Influence on the Character's Image: a Cognitive Perspective

Abstract

Neutralisation is a recurrent translation strategy. When applied to a literary translation, neutralisation poses a threat to a literary character's authenticity. The subject of the research is the influence of the literary character's idiolect on the character's image created in the text, as well as the consequences of neutralisation of non-standard language spoken by the character in translation. The problem is approached from the point of view of cognitive linguistics and cognitive poetics. The applied methodology draws on the dimensions of construal, differentiated within cognitive grammar. The paper is based on the analysis of the Polish novel *Wojna-polsko ruska pod flagą biało-czerwoną* by Dorota Masłowska and its Spanish and English translations. It has been found that non-standard language spoken by the protagonist concerns different dimensions of construal, and neutralisation of the language has an impact on them. The research indicates the utility of cognitive methodology in the study of language variation in literary translation.

Keywords: literary translation, non-standard, language variation, neutralisation, cognitive linguistics, idiolect, characterisation

Introduction

One of the translation strategies differentiated and discussed in translation studies is *neutralisation* (e.g. Berezowski 1997; Tello Fons 2011; Hejwowski 2015), which consists of the replacement of non-standard, marked language that characterises the original text with its standard equivalents in translation¹. This

1 To be precise, Hejwowski (2015: 226) speaks of "linguistic allusions translation techniques" (orig. "techniki tłumaczenia aluzji językowych"), Berezowski (1997: 47) proposes "dialect translation strategies", and Tello Fons (2011: 134) uses the

particular translation strategy is frequently used in practice. As Dębska noticed, translation of language variation is commonly considered to be difficult and translators are reluctant to reconstruct it in the target text (Dębska 2012: 67). Toury postulated the existence of *the law of standardisation*, as one of the few discovered indisputable laws of translation, according to which linguistic innovations present in the original text are often replaced with more conventional linguistic means in the target text (Toury 1995: 267–268). In this sense, standardisation is synonymous with neutralisation. When applied in a literary translation, neutralisation poses a threat to a literary character's authenticity, since language with its social, geographical, historical, and situational diversity is a powerful characterisation tool. The language used by literary characters influences the way we perceive them while reading a novel, it contributes to the image of the character created in our mind in the process of reading. As explained by Sánchez Alonso (1998: 99–101), information about a character is provided not only by means of direct descriptions by the narrator and through the presentation of the conduct of the character, but also through the interventions of the character in different communicative situations. Estébanez Calderón ([1996] 2016: 185) also includes dialogue as one of the means of characterisation. Authors of novels make use of the implicit information hidden in a language as they stylise characters' language in different ways. Readers grasp information about the character; with neutralisation, part of this information is lost. As Coupland notices (2007: 149), stylisation is a concept identified with the literary criticism of Bakhtin who described it as "an artistic image of another's language". Now, how does the stylised language of a literary character transform into an "image" and how does the grip of the hidden information about the character occur on the part of the reader? These are the issues that are going to be approached in this paper.

The purpose of this paper is twofold. Firstly, to explain how the language, which could be generally classified as *non-standard*, used by a literary character influences the image of this character created in the novel, in other words, why readers picture a literary character in a certain way based on how the character speaks. The second is to show how the translation strategy of neutralisation of linguistic variety affects the image of the character created in the translation, in comparison to the original.

The problem is addressed from the cognitive point of view; the theoretical framework is based on cognitive linguistics, partly also on cognitive poetics and works that represent a cognitive approach to translation. The methodology of the analysis draws on the dimensions of construal differentiated within cognitive grammar, adapted for the purposes of the research. The first sections of the paper describe the theoretical framework and methodology, whereas section 3 illustrates the problem with examples selected from the novel *Wojna polsko-ruska pod flagą biało-czerwoną* by Dorota Masłowska. In the analysis, the original novel written in Polish was compared with two translations, in Spanish and English.

1. Conceptualisation of Standard and Non-Standard Varieties

As we get to know the world, our human experience is conceptualised in our minds, creating mental representations of the way the world is organised. These mental representations of the world are called

term "dialect translation techniques" (orig. "técnicas de traducción del 'dialecto'"). Regardless of the label, though, all the classifications in essence refer to practical solutions used in translation to deal with non-standard variants of a language.

cognitive domains, frames, or cognitive idealised models (Croft, Cruse 2004: 28–29)². Throughout this paper, though, I will adhere to the term *domain*. The cognitive domains might include a variety of information, from facts proven empirically to superstitions (Cuenca, Hilferty [1999] 2007: 70), and they involve our knowledge of various relations, actions, processes, states, *etc.* The processes of categorisation enable us to understand and mentally organise the information obtained (Cuenca, Hilferty [1999] 2007: 32). As Kristiansen (2003: 73) notices, we categorise our social and natural environments. These natural and social environments are linked to different language variants since there is a close relation between different social groups and the language used by their members.³ Through experience we might get to know the language of the youth or other specific social groups, professional jargons, we might encounter regional dialects or come across texts written in an outdated language, which is subjected to the processes of categorisation and conceptualisation in our minds. Our social and linguistic experience is cognitively organised into domains that also include *scripts* of typical situations characterised by typical phrases said in given circumstances, for example, during a visit to a doctor, buying an ice cream at a kiosk, making a reservation, *etc.* As pointed out by Croft and Cruse (2004: 17), the term *script* is used by some scholars in reference to a *frame / domain* “with a canonical sequence of events presupposed by a social activity such as going to a restaurant”. Croft and Cruse (2004) themselves do not opt for a purposeful differentiation of scripts from domains but rather subscribe scripts into domains / frames. The present paper refers to scripts in order to emphasise the sequential character of events, and script is understood as a subtype of domain.

1.1. Basic Attitudes Towards Language Variation

Categorisation and conceptualisation, being cognitive processes, occur individually in each person’s mind. However, since we share some social experiences as humans, we also happen to categorise certain phenomena in the same way that other people do, and conversely, there might be some differences in the ways we perceive them. As pointed out by Stockwell (2002: 33), cognitive models that are shared become cultural models. Taking the distinction between standard language and non-standard variations into account, some general underlying patterns of thought that shape our conception of language as a social phenomenon have been differentiated, which we would rather discuss in this paper, instead of imposing any prescriptive definitions of standard and non-standard variants. Geeraerts (2003: 26) describes two basic cultural models that summarise basic attitudes towards language variation, that is to say, indicate how the users of language commonly perceive it. The first of the described models, the “rationalist” one, emphasises the generality of standard languages. Standard languages, in contrast to *lects*, are perceived to be geographically, socially, and thematically general. That is to say, they are seen as a common language in broader areas, available to all social groups, and “equipped to deal with any semantic domain” Geeraerts (2003: 29). Because of their generality, they are also perceived to be neutral (*ibidem*). The second of the described models, the “romantic” one, points out the fact that standard language is actually a dialect of

2 As Langacker explains, the concepts are often interchangeable but not exactly equivalent. In his own words: “*Domain* has the greatest generality since neither *frame* nor *ICM* applies very well to basic domains (e.g. time or color space). A *frame* may be roughly comparable to a *nonbasic domain*. If the words *idealized* and *model* are taken seriously, *idealized cognitive model* has the narrowest range of application” (Langacker 2013: 46–47).

3 This has been the object of interest of sociolinguistics and is described in several sociolinguistic studies, see, for example: Hudson ([1981] 2001); Alvarez González (2006); Penny (2000).

a certain, economically or politically dominant region, that was chosen as the standard, which presupposes domination of a certain language variant over another one. What is more, standard languages are typically used in cultural, educational, scientific, administrative, and political contexts. By contrast, non-standard variants 'acquire contrastive overtones' and are seen as the language of intimacy, familiarity, emotions, and naturalness. The first of the described models emphasises the accessibility and universality of the linguistic standard, and the second concentrates on the expressive role of language, which is perceived as a manifestation of identity Geeraerts (2003: 35). Taking the two models into account, we might conclude that standard language is perceived as neutral, whereas non-standard variants of a language are seen as natural forms of expression. We are considering here the characteristics attributed to the standard language and the totality of non-standard variants. On an individual level, there might be differences in our perception of particular lects, depending on our individual experience.

1.2. Variants of a Language as a Source of Information

As has been indicated by Kristiansen (2003), linguistic variation is socially diagnostic⁴ and, from a semiotic point of view, the association between a linguistic form and its social meaning is not direct, but there is an intermediate structure of cognitive constructions in between, which enables the speaker and hearer to "locate each other and position themselves" (Kristiansen 2003: 69). In other words, when meeting new people, we draw conclusions about them based on the way they speak. The social meaning ascribed to other people is drawn from our own linguistic experience, stored in our minds in the form of domains and scripts, and might refer to the speaker's geographical and social provenance, level of education, professional background, *etc.* The knowledge of certain domains and linguistic scripts is indicative of the person's experience, for example, somebody who uses legal terminology appropriately is thought to possess adequate education. Conversely, if somebody's way of speaking does not match the circumstances in some way and diverges from the expected script, it provides information about the speaker's lack of knowledge of an appropriate register, lack of certain experience, or indifference to the "rules" and "proper" behaviour. This way, non-standard language is determined by circumstances and divergence from the expected script which includes the expected register. This informative linguistic potential is exploited actively by language users, which finds its confirmation in modern sociolinguistic research. As Schilling-Estes indicates, linguistic variation is seen as "a resource in the active creation, presentation, and recreation of speaker identity" (Schilling-Estes 2002: 388). Coupland (2003) speaks of the projection of identity through language style (2007: 109) and Kristiansen discusses the active use of stereotypes related to language variation (Coupland 2003: 110). In other words, speakers make intentional use of language variation in order to convey social meaning. Authors of novels create characters and provide them with a social identity manifested through their way of speaking. Communicative situations in a literary work are fictional; however, they have a social character since they refer to social models of speaking and therefore they enable the reader to situate them in the linguistic practice of the real world (Głowiński [1979] 1997: 235). Hence, readers tend to perceive literary characters in the same way they perceive real people; they judge them by the same values, relying on their own linguistic experience.

4 Kristiansen concentrated on accents; however, her remarks apply not only to the phonological level but to all manifestations of linguistic variation.

2. Construal of a Literary Character – Methodology

A cognitive approach to translation requires attention to conceptualisation. Conceptualisation is one of the most important mental capacities that we humans possess and it pertains to the creation of mental representations, that is, mental images (Cuenca, Hilferty [1999] 2007: 79). The psychological process of mental image creation is related to language and language use (Tabakowska [1993] 2001: 47). To put things simply, we express our thoughts using language and understand the ideas of others expressed by means of language. An author expresses their ideas through language, readers create mental representations of the described world and people they read about, and the language the author uses to describe the character determines the way in which the implied reader “sees” the character.⁵ Authors construe literary characters by describing them directly, by presenting their behaviour in different situations, and also by providing them with their own particular voice. The way a literary character speaks affects their image, but the relationship between the two goes beyond simple connotations with certain social groups or specific regions. The character’s way of speaking, as one of the elements of characterisation, relates to the rest of the information provided about the character in the text, and that relationship is complex. Let us now describe a tool that might be useful in understanding the complexity of this relationship.

Langacker, in his conception of cognitive grammar, likens conceptual content to an image, that is, a scene, and construal to a way of viewing it (2013: 55). The key idea here is that speakers select linguistic means to symbolise particular semantic content (Tabakowska [1993] 2001: 42) and that language choices directly impose a certain construal (Langacker 2013: 43). In other words, as Tabakowska explains it, construal is “a specific linguistic organization of a scene” (Tabakowska 2014: 134). The choice of a particular form of expression reflects the speaker’s subjective choice of a given conceptualisation from the repertoire of possibilities offered by a given language’s conventions (Tabakowska [1993] 2001: 30) and imposes a certain construal. Langacker (1987, 2013, 2017) differentiates several parameters that determine all conceptualised images, that is to say, conceptualised content, and calls them *focal adjustments* or *dimensions of construal*, depending on the year of the publication we look at. As Tabakowska explains, a scene construal results from the speaker’s choice regarding different dimensions (2001 [1993]: 105). We propose to apply these parameters in order to study the role of the non-standard language spoken by a literary character in the character’s image. The dimensions of construal offer the possibility of a more complex insight into the relationship between the language spoken by a character and the other elements that make up the image of the character.

Tabakowska postulates that adopting a cognitive approach towards translation requires seeking equivalence between the author’s, the translator’s, and the reader’s conceptualisations, that is the mental images (Tabakowska 2014: 135), and seeking translation equivalence involves comparing construal (Tabakowska 2014: 134). When applied to literary characters, the image of the character created in translation should correspond to the image created in the original novel. The methodology of the present paper draws on Tabakowska ([1993] 2001) who first postulated the application of Langacker’s cognitive grammar in poetic imagery and literary translation, updated in certain aspects in view of more recent

⁵ While talking about an “implied reader”, I refer to studies that see prose fiction as a complex act of communication where entities involved, among others, are those of the implied and real reader and the implied and real author (see: Stoppel 2022). As Stoppel puts it: “Readers routinely identify or take up a role that is implied by the text, which suggests how to properly respond to it” (Stoppel 2022: 399).

Langacker's works (2013, 2017). The paper also utilises ideas presented by Wilk-Racińska (2023), Harrison (2016), and Stockwell (2002). However, none of these scholars focused specifically on literary characters; therefore, their methods cannot be implemented in the study of a literary character's language and its influence on the character's image without being complemented and modified first.

Tabakowska's work ([1993] 2001) concentrates on static images, the so-called "scenes", she repeatedly uses the metaphor of "painting an image" in a translation. Let us think of how an image of a literary character is created in our mind while reading. We realise that we picture the character in action, we picture what they do, how they interact with others. The reader witnesses how the characters interact in communicative situations. The very notions of scene and image have to be specified because, in our case, the overall image of the character will be the result of many scenes in which the character participates; simultaneously the character forms an element of each scene. Therefore, for the purposes of our study, 'image' is not synonymous with 'scene' as it was in Tabakowska's work (*ibid*). As Harrison points out, the model of cognitive grammar is scalable and can be applied as a framework to the analysis of the discourse as a whole and not be limited to the clausal level of language (Harrison 2016: 25). Let us now present the dimensions of construal and explain how they relate to the question of literary characterisation and translation.

2.1. Selection

As has already been said, our social and linguistic experience is cognitively organised into domains in our human minds. *Selection* is the basic dimension of construal and refers to the choice of cognitive domains that compose a given image, made by the conceptualiser (Tabakowska [1993] 2001: 53). As Langacker puts it in his work from 2013:

One facet of selection is the access an expression affords to a particular set of cognitive domains [...]. A second facet is the extent of an expression's "coverage" in the domains accessed: which portions of these domains it actually evokes and utilizes as the basis for its meaning. For each domain in its matrix, an expression has a scope consisting of its coverage in that domain. (Langacker 2013: 62)

The second facet of selection described here refers to the distinction between *profile* and *base* described in more detail in Langacker's earlier works (e.g. 1987) as well as by Tabakowska ([1993] 2001). Profile, in this distinction, is the referent of a term, and base is the context necessary to understand the profile (Tabakowska [1993] 2001: 54).

Cognitive linguistics insists on the encyclopaedic nature of the meaning equated to conceptualisation. As pointed out by Wilk-Racińska (2023), words not only denote their referents but also open access to a series of connotations and associations (Wilk-Racińska 2023: 22), and the connotations of a given word can be personal or shared by a community. In the latter case, they become part of the evocative meaning (Wilk-Racińska 2023: 21). A conceptualisation consists of various domains, including the ones concerning social, geographical, and historical uses of expressions, as well as other typical contexts of their use. Take the Spanish word "chamba", for example, which denotes the same thing as "work" but its meaning evokes the domain of MEXICO, as it is where the word is used; the expression "OMG" has the domain of YOUTH inscribed in its meaning, whereas "thee" evokes the domains of HISTORY and LITERATURE. Non-standard language used as an element of characterisation evokes different domains that influence the construal of the character, adding more elements to the image of the character.

2.2. Focus

This relates to the *figure* and *ground* alignment which is derived from perceptual psychology and means that people always perceive certain elements of a scene as more salient and visible than others. The element given special prominence is called the *figure*, while the less prominent elements form the *ground*. The cognitive ability of the human mind to differentiate between figures and ground is reflected in the language in the scene construal (Tabakowska [1993] 2001: 69–70). Psychology differentiates a principle according to which strong and clear-cut stimuli (such as bright light or shrill sounds) are perceived as figures. People tend to treat the well-known environment as a background against which new elements are perceived as figures (Tabakowska [1993] 2001: 70). Langacker in his work from 2013 applies the terms “foreground” and “background” to discuss the dimension of focus and, as he himself notices while referring to his own previous work: “Foreground and background have numerous manifestations in discourse” (Langacker 2013: 58). One of the manifestations of focus directing in literature is attention to language. As Stockwell points out in his conception of cognitive poetics, creative use of language and “all deviations from the expected and ordinary use of language” draw the reader’s attention and are linguistic means of foregrounding within a text (Stockwell 2002: 14). Non-standard language used by a literary character might play the role of the figure in the characterisation in general and in individual scenes in particular, and if that is the case it definitely requires the translator’s attention.

2.3. Specificity

This dimension pertains to the level of precision and detail by which something is depicted; it is also often described as “granularity” or “resolution”.⁶ A “specific” expression provides a fine-grained description, whereas a less specific expression provides a coarse-grained description. A low resolution, that is, a low specificity level, reveals only general features and no detail. The opposite of specificity is schematicity (Langacker 2013: 55). In the context of a literary character’s construal, specificity refers to the detail of the description of the character, that is, the pieces of information about the character that the reader obtains from the text. Bearing in mind that the language of a literary character provides information about the character and is one of the elements of characterisation, the translation strategy of neutralisation of the character’s language deprives the description of the character of some details, it narrows the number of attributes in the description of the character, that is, the pieces of information and qualities ascribed to the character. As a result, the image of the character becomes less specific, more coarse-grained, general, and simplified.

2.4. Perspective

As Langacker explains, perspective means the viewing arrangement and, in particular, it refers to the vantage point assumed in viewing a certain scene (Langacker 2013: 73), in other words, it is the position of the viewer with respect to the scene that is being observed. In the context of non-standard language as an element of the characterisation and the translation of such language in a novel, perspective has some interesting implications.

⁶ This, not without reason, brings to mind the number of pixels that exist within a digital image and the level of detail contained in such an image.

First of all, it concerns the viewpoint of the reader with respect to the literary character presented in a given novel and the idea that the perspective of the translation's reader is different from that of the original work's reader. The reader of the translation's default perspective is different because they might have different knowledge and experience, in other words, they might have a distinct set of cognitive domains stored in their minds. In particular, L2⁷ might not have an "equivalent" language variant and readers of the translation might not have an "equivalent" experience. This difference in the context and "lack of equivalent" is what some scholars interested in the translation of non-standard language point out, sometimes drawing a conclusion about the untranslatability of non-standard language (*e.g.* Wojtasiewicz [1957] 1992). Nevertheless, the first step is to determine how the language affects the image of the character in question in each case and what information it conveys, only then to seek ways of conveying this information. Translation of the character's idiolect and its role in the characterisation is not about the pursuit of the exact denotative equivalent of a variant of a language, which in many cases is unlikely to be found, but about the qualities and information implied by the character's language that influence the characterisation.

Readers are capable of adopting the perspective of others, they do it in the very process of reading. As Langacker puts it: "we can recognize alternative vantage points and even adopt them by mental simulation" (Langacker 2017: 22), which means that we can adopt the perspective of others and follow the events from their perspective. While reading, depending on the structure of the narration, we may get to know the events from the perspective of one of the characters. We simulate the described world, we perceive the events from a somewhat internal perspective, as if we were witnessing them directly. Taking into account that capability of adopting the perspective of others on the part of readers, we should consider the possibility of the readers of the translation being capable of adopting the perspective of the implied reader, that is to say, understanding the context of the original work without adaptation to the reality of L2⁸.

Another important aspect of perspective worth mentioning here is the individual perspective adopted by the reader regarding the character described. Readers might identify with the character, view the character as a member of the same regional or social group they belong to, based on their way of speaking, or they might not. And it is true for both the original work's readers and the translation's readers. In the process of reading, we also "assess" the attitude of literary characters according to the scripts of typical situations and ways of speaking related to them that readers have; they might, for example, think that a character spoke rudely to an old lady and not like him or her because of that for the rest of the novel. If a reader identifies with the character and their way of speaking, they approach them mentally in a way. Obviously, the translator cannot influence the individual perspective of a reader but they can provide the reader with the opportunity to get to know the literary character without any simplification and decide for themselves the perspective they adopt towards the character.

7 The second language, the language the novel is translated to.

8 This would correspond to Venuti's concept of "domestication", as opposed to "foreignisation" (Venuti [1995] 2008). A methodology of cognitive approach joined with Venuti's concept of the translator's visibility is proposed by Wilk-Racieńska (2023).

2.5. Axiological Commitment

Axiological commitment is not included as a dimension of construal proposed by Langacker; however, Tabakowska ([1993] 2001) discusses it in her work on imagery and the poetics of translation as a factor that affects construal. A speaker reveals their axiological views by their choice of particular linguistic means from the gamut of possibilities offered by their languages (Tabakowska [1993] 2001: 83). Natural languages offer their users linguistic units that might contain elements of axiological and epistemic judgement (Tabakowska [1993] 2001: 84). In the context of the language of a literary character that we are dealing with in this paper, one aspect of axiological commitment refers to the question of perspective that individual readers adopt towards the characters they read about, as discussed in the previous paragraph. The second aspect of axiological commitment is the judgement reflected in the language that describes the literary character. A third-person narrator might express a view on the literary character while describing them directly, for example, by adjectives such as “crass” and influence the image of the character by suggesting a certain view. This aspect does not strictly concern the language of a character; however, it affects the overall image of the character; therefore, it should not be neglected.

2.6. Imagination

Imagination was differentiated as a dimension of construal in 2017 (Langacker 2017: 34). This common rubric includes metaphor and conceptual blending, two concepts that aim to explain a mechanism for the creation of mental images.

Cognitive linguistics argues that metaphor is not only a rhetorical figure in poetry but rather a basic cognitive mechanism that permeates our language and everyday thinking. It is a mechanism used to explain more complicated situations by means of more basic and known concepts (Cuenca, Hilferty [1999] 2007: 98). In other words, metaphor is a projection of certain concepts from one cognitive domain into another (Cuenca, Hilferty [1999] 2007: 101). We use metaphors every day, sometimes even without noticing. Some of the metaphors we use are conventionalised in the language, they function as fixed expressions or idioms (Cuenca, Hilferty [1999] 2007: 116) or simply extended meanings of words. Some are “creative”, which means they have not gained the status of conventional linguistic means (Tabakowska [1993] 2001: 94).

Conceptual blending, apart from the source and target domains,⁹ draws attention to a *generic space*, which includes the properties that the source and target share. Moreover, it accentuates the *blended space*, in which the selected content from the source and target mental spaces is blended into a new structure (Croft, Cruse 2004: 207). As Croft and Cruse explain:

The blended space does not only contain a selection of properties drawn from the two input domains: it also contains new conceptual material that arises from an elaboration of the conceptual blend on the basis of encyclopedic knowledge. (Croft, Cruse 2004: 208)

In the context of literary character’s idiolect which we are concentrating on, non-standard language used by a character might include expressions based on metaphors and conceptual blends that are not conventionalised in the general language. Non-conventional expressions used by a character will result in mental images in the reader’s mind that might be helpful in understanding a more complicated concept,

⁹ That is to say, “mental spaces”, if we want to adhere to the original terminology proposed in the blending theory.

but they might as well be surprising, puzzling, or amusing. The novelty of the character's language might be indicative of the character's way of thinking, and as a consequence affect the reader's perception of the character.

2.7. Dynamicity

Dynamicity is an aspect of construal that was added by Langacker to the inventory only in 2017. In the words of Langacker, dynamicity refers to the fact that "things develop over time" and, as he continues to explain, "conception develops over time" (Langacker 2017: 26). Now, how conceptualisation develops over time is an essential part of linguistic meaning (Langacker 2017: 31), in other words, the level of dynamicity influences the mental images. The dimension of dynamicity seems crucial in consideration of the image of a literary character, which we are dealing with here, since the overall image of a character that we read about develops over time, over the course of the story that progresses. While reading, we piece together information about the character that composes the image of the character, as we get to know how he or she interacts with other people in different communicative situations or scenes.

Wilk-Racińska (2023) discusses yet another aspect of the dimension of dynamicity with relation to mental images. She points out that a conceptualiser can choose to represent a scene as dynamic or static (Wilk-Racińska 2023: 46) and the dynamicity of a given conceptualisation, apart from more typical resources such as dynamic verbs, might be achieved by means of surprising visual effects (Wilk-Racińska 2023: 47). Surprising and heterogeneous language of a literary character evokes surprising mental images which in turn affect the overall image of the character and make it more dynamic. We are going to see an example of such a case in the following section.

3. Example of the Construal of a Literary Character

The following examples come from a Polish novel published in 2002 entitled *Wojna polsko-ruska pod flagą biało-czerwoną* by Dorota Masłowska, its Spanish translation by Joanna Orzechowska, and its English translation by Benjamin Paloff. The novel is known in English as *Snow White and Russian Red*, whereas its Spanish title is *Blanco nieve, rojo Rusia*. The choice of this particular text is due to the complexity and innovation of the language of the novel. The language was precisely the reason why the novel became a literary scandal in its time; some praised the *creative use of colloquial language*, and others felt outraged by its vulgarity.¹⁰ In any case, the language of the novel is the key to its understanding.

The reader gets to know the story through a monologue by the protagonist that goes by the nickname "Silny", which translates literally as "Strong". The nickname itself is meaningful as the character appears to be a "tough guy"; however, his characterisation is much more complex. As has been said before, characterisation is achieved in a novel by means of what a character does, what the narrator says about the character, and what the character says. In this particular case, there is no third-person narrator to describe the character for us. Silny is the narrator, he tells the story through his subjective monologue with the occasional citing of the words of his interlocutors. What we learn about Silny, based on his actions, is that he does not work nor study and he lives with his mother. He spends his days going to a bar, the seaside

¹⁰ Many of these opposing opinions can be read on the cover of the Polish edition of the novel.

or a town fair and meeting various girls. He steals from one of the girls he meets, gets arrested, all the while being under the influence of drugs or looking for them. This part of the characterisation does not constitute a translation problem; however, the creation of Silny is dominated by his language which is very peculiar and does constitute a translation challenge. In what follows, we will see a few fragments extracted from the novel and we will refer to the particular dimensions of construal in order to discuss the consequences of neutralisation which is a recurring strategy in one of the analysed translations.

3.1. Selection and Focus

The scope of the domains evoked by Silny's way of speaking is very broad. The idiolect of Silny is full of phrases from teenage slang, colloquial expressions, vocabulary typical for groups of drug users, as well as swear words. However, alongside all this, the character also uses sophisticated expressions, formal vocabulary and verbal forms, as well as archaisms nowadays only encountered in fiction. On the one hand, his language is stylised for a spoken account by means of phonetic simplifications, repetitions, and ellipsis, on the other hand, he uses conjunctions typical for written communication. Let us consider a few examples that illustrate the range of domains evoked by the character's language.

1. *Idziemy do dworca, choć byśmy mogli wziąć takse. Ale raczej jest to niemożliwe, **gdyż** istnieje możliwość **pawia** ze strony Magdy, **rzygania** ziemią ogrodową być może, gdyż tak ona w tej chwili wygląda* (Masłowska 2003: 33).
- 1a. *Seguimos andando hasta la estación, aunque podríamos coger un taxi. Pero esto más bien es imposible, **porque** existe la posibilidad de que Magda **vomite**, puede que **vomite** al mantillo, porque ahora tiene precisamente esta pinta* (Masłowska [2003] 2005: 38)¹¹.
- 1b. *We walk to the station, though we could have taken a taxi. But that's rather impossible, **since** there's the possibility of **throwing up** on Magda's end, maybe of **spewing** garden soil, because that's how she looks at that moment* (Masłowska [2003] 2005: 40)¹².
2. *Dupa mu odżyła, mówi, **wskazywawszy** na mnie, po czym szybko mówi: idziemy stąd do tamtych ich oczywiście* (Masłowska 2003: 22).
- 2a. *Le ha resucitado el culo, dice **señalándome**, y luego añade deprisa: Vámonos de aquí, por supuesto, a ver a esos de allí* (Masłowska [2003] 2005: 26).
- 2b. *His ass's come back to life, he says, **pointing** at me, then he says quickly: So then let's go over to them* (Masłowska [2003] 2005: 25).
3. *Andżela była dziewczcą. Okazało się to później. Gdy już **zbrukała** tapczan mych rodziców* (Masłowska 2003: 56).
- 3a. *Andżela era virgen. Me di cuenta después. Después de que **manchara** la cama de mis padres.* (Masłowska [2003] 2005: 64).
- 3b. *Angela was a virgin. That came out later. When she'd already **soiled** my parents' pullout* (Masłowska [2003] 2005: 72).

Fragment 1 is a description of Silny's girlfriend who is suffering from the effects of drug withdrawal. A Polish reader uses their encyclopaedic knowledge; understanding of this utterance requires the domains

¹¹ Translation of the novel to Spanish by Joanna Orzechowska.

¹² Translation of the novel to English by Benjamin Paloff.

of FORMALITY, WRITTEN LANGUAGE, as well as those of YOUTH and COLLOQUIALISM. The Polish text contains the conjunction typical for formal register and written texts “gdyż” (“since”, “given that”), classified as “literary” by Zok-Smoła (2015), juxtaposed with the colloquial verb “rzygać”¹³ (“to puke”) and “puszczać pawia” (“to rolf”, “to woof”), characteristic of juvenile slang (Czeszewski 2001). In this case, the atypical mix of registers catches the reader’s attention and functions as the figure against the background of what the character says. The Spanish translation in fragment 1a neutralises the non-standard tone of the utterance and modifies the figure and ground alignment since the neutral equivalents “porque” and “vomitar” are used. The utterance is stylistically homogeneous and does not evoke the domains of FORMALITY, WRITTEN LANGUAGE and COLLOQUIALISM, whereas the English translation in fragment 1b manages this by means of the conjunction “since”,¹⁴ the verb “spew” and the phrasal verb “throw up”¹⁵.

The character eagerly reaches for the anterior adverbial participle on numerous occasions, which evokes the domain of FORMALITY as it is used almost exclusively in formal written style and, as Swan remarks, “even there it is encountered less and less frequently” (Swan, 2002: 301). In fragment 2 the character uses the form “wskazywawszy” which is incorrect because anterior adverbial participles can only be formed from perfective verbs, as explained by Bańko (2002), and here the character has attempted to form it based on the imperfective form of the verb (“wskazywać”, “to point”). The perfective form of the verb is “wskazać”; therefore, the correct form of the anterior adverbial participle is “wskazawszy”. The participle catches the reader’s attention as the figure because of its formality that stands out against the informal style of the rest of the utterance and because of its unusual (incorrect) form. Neither of the translations has managed to convey this attempted formalism.

The protagonist of the novel often reaches for sophisticated vocabulary, not typical in everyday communication. In fragment 3, he opts for the verb “zbrukać” which means “to make something dirty” or “dishonour somebody or something”¹⁶. The verb evokes the domains of LITERATURE, HISTORY, and SOPHISTICATED LANGUAGE which is confirmed in dictionaries since the verb is labelled as an outdated form in *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN* [the PWN Dictionary of the Polish Language] and as a “literary” form in *Wielki Słownik Języka Polskiego PAN* [Polish Academy of Sciences’ Great Dictionary of Polish]. The Spanish translation in fragment 3a neutralises the original archaism as the verb “manchar” is used instead. The English translation in 3b manages it better as the verb “to soil” elicits the domain of FORMALITY that stands out against the informal style of the whole utterance, even though the original domain of ARCHAISM is not conveyed. Interestingly, the English translation conveys also the meaning of “dishonour”, whereas the Spanish one ignores it.

The selection of different domains evoked in the utterances cited above indicates some literary experience on the part of the main character and his confusion, as the character reaches for formal grammatical resources and in some cases uses them incorrectly. The mix of linguistic elements

13 Classified as colloquial, common, and vulgar by *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN* [the PWN Dictionary of the Polish Language] <https://sjp.pwn.pl/slowniki/rzyga%C4%87.html> [date of access: 10 Jan. 2023].

14 As indicated in the *Cambridge Dictionary*, “since” used as a causal conjunction is characterised by a higher level of formality than the conjunction “because” <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/pl/grammar/british-grammar/as-because-or-since> [date of access: 10 Jan. 2023].

15 Both “spew” and “throw up” are labelled as “informal” in the *Collins Dictionary*.

16 As indicated in *Wielki Słownik Języka Polskiego PAN* [Polish Academy of Sciences’ Great Dictionary of Polish].

characteristic for different registers, whose small sample is presented in the above examples, is recurrent and characteristic for the protagonist's idiolect. We would expect him to speak differently when talking to his peers, his girlfriend or a cashier at McDonald's. Meanwhile, Silny keeps mixing different registers in his utterances, regardless of whom he is talking to, which produces a surprising effect since it disagrees with the scripts of communicative situations a reader probably has. The peculiar mix of registers is characteristic of Silny throughout the whole novel, and constitutes the focus of his utterances. Neutralisation narrows the scope of the domains evoked in Silny's utterances, deprives the image of the character of associations with "literariness" and the manifestation of his attempts at formal language, as well as modifying the general focus of the characterisation.

3.2. Specificity

Neutralisation as a recurrent translation strategy affects the level of specificity in the character's image since part of the information about the character is lost in translation. In the original version of the novel, the language of the analysed character strongly affects his characterisation. His language is atypical, rife with juxtaposed elements of different registers and neologisms. Neutralisation of these characteristics of the character's idiolect results in a less specific image of the character. The information about the character that the reader pieces together is less detailed, and consequently, the image of the character created in the translation is less accurate and less specific. Now, a less specific image of the character might become a non-equivalent image, in other words, the authenticity of the image of the character created in the translation is questionable.

3.3. Imagination

The character manifests his creativity by forming neologisms and metaphors that are not conventionalised in the Polish language.

4. *Ja tego nie powiedziałam - mówi szybko, zasłaniając rękami swą pustą do ostatniej nitki głowę – to Lewy powiedział* (Masłowska 2003: 29).
- 4a. *Yo no lo dije, dice rápidamente, cubriéndose con las manos su cabeza sin una sola neurona, fue el Zurdo quien lo dijo* (Masłowska [2003] 2005: 33).
- 4b. *I didn't say that – she says quickly, shielding her empty-to-the-last-drop head with her hands – Lefty said it* (Masłowska [2003] 2005: 34).

It is customary for the protagonist to modify the forms of idioms and phrases that have a fixed structure in the Polish language. In fragment 4 he creates a conceptual blend based on the idiom conventionalised in the Polish language "zmoknąć do suchej nitki", which means "to get wet to the bone" and translates literally as "to get wet to the (last) dry thread". The part "do suchej nitki" (to the dry thread) means "completely" and this is the sense the character makes use of. The original conventional expression evokes a picture of a person who has got completely wet, their clothes, made of threads, are all wet till the last thread. In the case of Silny's new metaphor, he pictures his girlfriend's head as made of thread and tries to emphasise its complete emptiness; he pictures emptiness as a liquid that permeates and soaks the girl's head. In this case, the effect is surprising as we receive an expression that is not conventionalised in the language that creates a grotesque image and catches the reader's attention as the figure. The Spanish translation uses standard linguistic means and does not opt for any metaphor, instead, the picture is

described directly as “cabeza sin una sola neurona”, which means a “head without any single neuron”; therefore, the non-standard property of the utterance is neutralised. The English translation creates a new metaphor in place of the original one based on a popular coffee commercial slogan “good to the last drop”, which emphasises that the coffee is so good it makes one want to drink it *completely* (the key word here), to the last drop that is left in the cup and that every drop of it is equally good. The metaphor used in the translation pictures emptiness as coffee (ergo a liquid) and the girl’s head as a container (a cup). In this case, the figure and ground alignment has been maintained in the translation. The dimension of imagination and the mechanisms of metaphor and conceptual blending function as an auxiliary tool in this case that indicate the character’s creativity. Neutralisation of a non-standard expression in this case conveys the gist of the image, that is the emptiness of the referred person’s head; however, it nullifies the unconventional blend that was responsible for its creation and the surprising effect in the original text.

3.4. Perspective and Axiological Commitment

In *Wojna polsko-ruska pod flagą biało-czerwoną* we get to know about the events from the perspective of the main character, we have insight into his reflections, we can evaluate the language of his thoughts and compare it with the kind of language that he uses in direct dialogues. In the case of Silny, there is no particular difference between the language spoken in different situations and the language of his reflections. The direct utterances of the character, cited in the dialogues, contain the atypical mix of registers as well, the focus remaining the same. This can be observed in the fragment below which is an extract from a direct dialogue in the novel. The character mixes vulgarisms “kurwa” and “szmata” with the verb “wyrzec” (to say) which is qualified as an archaism in *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN* [The PWN Dictionary of the Polish Language]. The mix of vulgarisms and an archaism in this fragment is neutralised in both translations.

5. Co Lewy, co **kurwa** Lewy, skoroś ty to powiedziała, **szmato**, tu i teraz i ja jestem świadkiem koronnym, żeś to **wyrzekła** prosto z twoich ust? (Masłowska 2002: 29).
- 5a. ¿El Zurdo? ¿Qué **coño** quieres decir con el Zurdo, **hija de puta**? Si lo has dicho tú misma, guarra, aquí y ahora, y yo soy el testigo principal de que estas palabras **han salido** directamente de tu boca (Masłowska [2003] 2005: 34).
- 5b. What Lefty, what the **fuck** Lefty, you just said it, you **slut**, here and now, and I am the key witness that you just **said** it right out of your mouth? (Masłowska [2003] 2005: 34).

The character’s idiolect is based on different registers and sociolects processed in his own, unique way. The protagonist does not use any linguistic variant exclusive for L1¹⁷ which would prevent understanding from the perspective of the reader of the translation. What is needed in the translation is the courage to draw away from the linguistic norm. The reader of the translation can adopt the perspective of the implied reader, that is, understand the context of the original work without adaptation to the reality of L2, as has been said in the previous section.

As far as the individual perspective of a reader is concerned, it is not possible for the translator to predict it. However, the image of the character created in the translation should remain the same as it is in the original work; in this way the readers of the translation would be given the chance to adopt their own perspective towards the character, the same way a reader of the original work does. Any reader evaluates

17 The first language, the language of the original novel.

the characters they read about according to their values and experience. Another aspect of axiological commitment, that is, the judgement reflected in the language that describes the literary character does not apply in the case of the analysed text, as there is no third-person narrator whose language could contain elements of judgement aimed at the character.

3.5. Dynamicity

The overall image of a literary character develops over time, over the course of the story, which was linked to the dimension of dynamicity in the previous sections. The dynamicity of the character's image might be viewed as a chance for a translator to compensate the qualities of the original idiolect that the translator found untranslatable in one fragment and render them in other fragments of the text. In other words, if L2 does not have an equivalent word that would evoke similar domains of social or historical use and the translation uses neutralisation, then the domains of historical use or certain social groups could be evoked in a different fragment of the text, whenever possible, in order to add information to the overall image of the character. In the case of the analysed text, we have not studied cases of compensation strategy, as it goes beyond the limits of this paper. However, studies in this respect are underway by the present author.

It has been said in the previous sections that a mental scene might be represented as dynamic due to surprising visual effects, as discussed by Wilk-Racięska (2023: 47). The idiolect of Silny is uneven, surprising and innovative. It creates unexpected images, in particular by metaphors and conceptual blends that are not conventionalised in the language, but also by the syntax of his utterances which does not follow the established rules and the vocabulary that constitutes a mix of registers and styles. All this influences the overall image of the character and makes it more dynamic and heterogeneous owing to the fact that the overall image of the character is based on individual scenes in which the character takes part and which he also creates himself by means of his language. On the other hand, the image of the character created by means of the translation strategy of neutralisation becomes more homogeneous and therefore more static.

Conclusions

The main premise of the current paper has been that language and its diversity is an element of characterisation and non-standard language spoken by a literary character must affect the overall image of the character created in the text. The paper has intended, on the one hand, to explore how non-standard language used by a literary character influences the image of the character created in the text and, on the other hand, to discuss how the translation strategy of neutralisation affects the image of the character. The topic has been approached with the methodology of cognitive linguistics. The paper has proposed the application of dimensions of construal to the study of the image of a literary character.

It has been demonstrated that non-standard language spoken by a literary character influences different dimensions of construal, particularly selection, focus, specificity, imagination and dynamicity. The translation strategy of neutralisation of the character's language alters the image of the character with regard to these dimensions. The selection of cognitive domains evoked in L2 becomes narrower, and the focus of the image might change depending on a particular text. Consequently, the image of the character becomes less specific, more simplified and less dynamic; such as in the case of the main character in

Wojna polsko-ruska pod flagą biało-czerwoną. The character's language provides additional information about him. Silny's idiolect indicates some literary experience, as he uses formal expressions and grammar structures, refined vocabulary only used in literature, and creativity manifested through the formation of neologisms and unconventional metaphors. The peculiar mix of elements of different registers and styles, the incorrect use of formal linguistic elements, as well as the innovative use of language resulting in atypical and somewhat grotesque images function as the focus of the characterisation and are indicative of the character's confusion. Neutralisation narrows the scope of the domains evoked in Silny's utterances which makes his image less specific and detailed, and it also modifies the focus in the image of the character created in the Spanish translation. Although the cases of neutralisation strategy in the texts have not been counted precisely, a tendency towards neutralisation is visible in the Spanish translation and as such poses a threat to the authenticity of the character's image. The translation cannot influence the dimension of perspective directly since it is the reader's point of view. However, instead of providing a simplified picture of the character, the translation can try to convey the image of the character in terms of other dimensions and give the translation's readers the same chance that the readers of the original version have, namely the chance to adopt the perspective of the implied reader, to understand who the character is, and then decide for themselves how they feel about the character.

Another conclusion drawn from the study concerns the usefulness of the applied model itself in the analysis of the role of language in the overall image of a literary character. This exploratory study indicates that dimensions of construal might be useful in determining the importance of a character's idiolect in the overall character construal, created as an effect of characterisation, and as a consequence in finding an appropriate translation strategy. However, the model requires more research and further specification in terms of the dimension of dynamicity and the possibilities offered by the strategy of compensation, as well as the axiological commitment that might be an element of characterisation contained in the third-person narrator's descriptions. Studies in these respects are due to be published by the author. This paper illustrates the role of language in character construal and signals how neutralisation may affect the image of the character. Quantitative analysis and corpus methods will be added to the methodology as a development of the model in order to assess the image of the character on a larger scale, in the whole text.

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DOMINIKA FERENS

University of Wrocław, Faculty of Neophilology

dominika.ferens@uw.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0003-4231-1686

How Does It Feel To Be at University. Affect in Contemporary North American Campus Fiction

Abstract

This paper explores the role of affect in academic life, using as case studies three North American campus novels narrated from undergraduate and graduate students' perspectives. While the case studies – Sarah Henstra's *The Red Word* (2018), Brandon Taylor's *Real Life* (2020), and Juliet Lapidus's *Talent* (2019) – include humorous elements, they tend to foreground the student-protagonists' emotional responses to their precarious position in the competitive and hierarchical world of academia. In each novel, the emotional impact of academic life is additionally complicated by the students' gender, class, race, and and/or sexuality. Arguably, out of the many affects young people experience every day, two play a special role in academia: interest and shame. Referring to the affect theories of Silvan S. Tomkins (2008), Paul J. Silvia (2005, 2008), Pierre Bourdieu ([1994] 1998), and Ann Cvetkovich (2012), this paper attempts to show how writers tell emotionally charged stories about campus life, structured by the interplay of interest and shame.

Keywords: campus fiction, academia, student, affect, interest, shame, resistance

*How does it feel to be
One of the beautiful people*

– John Lennon and Paul McCartney¹

This foray into North American campus fiction draws on psychological and cultural theories of affect in an attempt to understand how the hierarchical yet meritocratic, traditionalist yet future oriented academic

- 1 If this paper had a soundtrack, it would be “Baby You’re a Rich Man” (1967) by John Lennon and Paul McCartney, in which an insider from the circle of “beautiful people” seems to be addressing someone who aspires to belong but is insecure about their worth (hence the refrain “baby you’re a rich man”). Though not expressly about the campus experience, the cryptic lyrics of this song are suggestive of the alternating elation and insecurity students and scholars feel in the ostensibly open and democratic space of academia, where their minds *and* bodies are subject to constant stimulation and evaluation.

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environment makes students feel, and how the affects circulating in this environment alternately foster and impede students' intellectual growth. Given its limited scope, this paper merely seeks to open up a discussion about academia as an emotionally charged space where affects – not just ideas – circulate between bodies. In a time when schools and universities worldwide are confronting a mental health crisis, campus fiction set in the highly competitive environment of North American universities provides insights into the discord between individual emotional needs and the affective range and pitch generated by academic institutions. Since the affective turn in the early 2000s, interpreters of campus fiction have occasionally referred to affect – for instance, Wesley Beal discusses shame in Tom Wolfe's *I Am Charlotte Simmons* (Beal 2024: 78–84) – but to my best knowledge this paper is the first attempt to explore campus fiction through cultural theories of affect and psychological theories of interest and shame.

Rather than focus on literature that celebrates university life, this paper examines three contemporary novels that challenge academic culture: Sarah Henstra's *The Red Word* (2018), Brandon Taylor's *Real Life* (2020), and Juliet Lapidus's *Talent* (2019), selected from a heterogeneous body of contemporary campus fiction. What these novels have in common is the perspective of the most vulnerable members of any academic community – students – and a sensitivity to minoritarian identities that may compound students' vulnerability. I use these case studies to reflect on how interest circulates in academic communities, how shame associated with gender, sexual, and class difference is experienced viscerally, and how characters resist shame in order to recover interest in intellectual work and a sense of self-worth.

Most campus novels, also known as college or academic novels, are authored by former students or by academics – former students who continue to observe campus life through their daily work. In 2004, John E. Kramer listed 648 academic novels published since 1828, 319 of which were centered on students and 329 on faculty (Kramer 2004: vii). These numbers grew exponentially in the twenty-first century. Wesley Beal defines the campus novel “as one that takes place primarily on the physical sites of and primarily in dialogue with institutionalized higher learning” (Beal: 2024: 203). Setting and thematic content certainly make academic novels a recognizable if somewhat amorphous genre. Most campus fiction also belongs to one or more of such popular genres as the Bildungsroman, comedy of manners, romance, crime fiction, and gothic horror. In Jeffrey Williams's view, it is precisely the fact that the campus novel “grafts itself onto” other genres that guarantees its survivability (Williams 2012).

That campus fiction registers emotional turmoil is not an original observation. Two decades ago Robert F. Scott pointed out that, in addition to having a shared backdrop, such fiction tends to focus on “the absurdity and despair of university life; the colorful, often neurotic personalities who inhabit academia; and the ideological rivalries which thrive in campus communities [as well as] sexual adventures of all types” (Scott 2004: 82). Furthermore, campus novels “call attention to the antagonistic relationships that exist between mind and flesh, private and public needs, and duty and desire” (Scott 2004: 83). Scott thus suggested that campus novels reflect a critical stance towards academic life that belies the concept of the “ivory tower.” By contrast, Wesley Beal recently argued that the campus novel has failed to reveal how drastically the ideals of “free play” and “personal freedoms” associated with academia “diverge . . . from the stressful, harried lives experienced by many students on American campuses today.” In his view, the campus novel camouflages this rift because “it relies formally on private experience to represent university life.” In fact, the campus novel “navigates the central contradiction of American higher learning—on the one hand, considered Exempt from market pressures as a social good generating knowledge and

nurturing democracy, and on the other, thought to serve the individual's pathway to credentialing and class stability or to provide an idealized site of free play and self-determination" (Beal 2024: 2–3). While Beal's case studies confirm his thesis, mine provide contradictory evidence, for although Henstra, Taylor, and Lapidos focus on individual experience, they reveal enough of the institutional context to undermine the belief that the university enjoys a state of exemption.

In terms of tone, campus novels range from emotional realism to satire. Even when the humorous tone dominates, "campus novels simmer with barely concealed feelings of anger and even despair as protagonists frequently find themselves caught between administrative indifference on one side and student hostility on the other" (Scott 2004: 83). Yet, despite the availability of affect research, most literary criticism has mostly left these feelings unexamined. For over two decades, the humanities have been absorbing knowledge about affect from psychology, cultural studies, and neurochemistry, so that we might better understand the roles affect plays in everyday life, literature, film, and other media. From a psychological perspective, such as that represented by Silvan S. Tomkins, affects are an innate, pre-conscious form of emotions, experienced long before we recognize them and learn their cultural meanings. But although they are innate, affects are constantly modified through our interactions with others (Tomkins I: 168–178). Cultural theorists likewise see affect as relational, but much more radically so. Expanding on Spinoza's philosophical observations, contemporary theorists Brian Massumi, Sara Ahmed, and Theresa Brennan assume that affect neither originates in the individual body nor expresses how an individual feels. It is an electrochemical impulse or a charge of energy that courses between and through human bodies (sometimes transmitted by various media) before it is consciously recognized as an emotion and named (Massumi 1995: 136, 149). Massumi, who is interested in cultural phenomena, usually treats affect as an undifferentiated intensity of feeling (Massumi 2002: 34–35, 61). Sara Ahmed distinguishes several positive and negative affects and suggests they are involved in the negotiation of boundaries between selves and others by "sticking" to certain racially-marked bodies. Tomkins, in turn, distinguishes nine basic affects and explores their variations and mutations.

In order to thrive in academia, individuals need to experience the positive affects interest-excitement and enjoyment-joy as an antidote to fear or shame (Tomkins 2008: I 151–165, 262–266). Counterintuitively, interest is an affect rather than an intellectual attitude, though it is related to cognition. It motivates humans to venture into new territories and take intellectual risks, while enjoyment builds the sense of emotional security and self-worth that make such ventures possible. Moreover, the two positive affects reinforce each other: "one can enjoy excitement, and become excited by enjoyment" (Tomkins 2008: I 201). Yet, as the novels discussed below demonstrate, while academic work requires sustained interest, the constant evaluation that characterizes the university environment may trigger shame which extinguishes interest, leading to disaffection, depression, and a retreat to the realm of the familiar. These novels, I would argue, also bring out a phenomenon that remains undertheorized: the way interest sometimes verges on or fuses with the erotic.² On campuses where students live, fall in love, and have sex as well as study, sexual attractiveness is evaluated as relentlessly as intellectual worth. Consequently, gender, sexual orientation, race, and class – identity categories which theoretically should not matter in the intellectual arena – are shown to interfere in the supposedly free play of intellectual interest-excitement.

2 As far back as 1964, Leslie A. Fiedler noted the proximity of interest and the erotic in the campus fiction. "When students enter at all, they enter briefly to seduce or be seduced by their teachers, thus providing erotic relief from the struggle of faculty and administrative officers at the barricades" (Fiedler 1964: 6).

Given that all three novels discussed below trace a trajectory from interest through shame to depression, I will refer to Ann Cvetkovich's work on depression as a "public feeling." Depression for Cvetkovich is "a way to describe neoliberalism and globalization, or the current state of political economy, in affective terms" and "a category that manages and medicalizes the affects associated with keeping up with corporate culture and the market economy, or with being completely neglected by it" (Cvetkovich 2012: 11–12). These ideas are useful because, although North American university campuses appear to be detached from the market economy, they are nonetheless corporations that replicate what Raymond Williams called the "structure of feeling" of neoliberal culture (Williams 1977: 132).

Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu theorized interest as the motivation to do something that is profitable either in terms of material gain or symbolic capital. Humans never act in a disinterested way, he argued, though their investment in a future benefit may be camouflaged (Bourdieu [1994] 1998). By contrast, Tomkins saw interest as an innate, pre-cognitive affect that plays a less calculated role. Without interest-excitement motivating the infant's cognition there would be neither intellectual development nor creativity (Tomkins 2008: 185–201). By conducting empirical research, Tomkins determined that interest begins to evolve in the infant-caregiver relation. The ability to hold another's interest and gaze affirms both the child's and the caregiver's sense of self-worth. Ideally, this early relation is characterized by two mutual positive affects: interest and enjoyment. Such a blissful state, however, cannot continue uninterrupted. One of the first negative affects experienced by the infant, Tomkins observed, is shame. The caregiver may evoke shame in an infant simply by looking away or walking away, acts which the infant understands as a sign of being unworthy of the caregiver's interest. Under social pressure, we begin to more or less consciously modulate or suppress our affects (Tomkins 2008: 76–77), yet even as an adult "one can be shamed by another in whom one is interested, just as easily by indifference, that is, by a failure to hold attention on one's self and/or on one's face, as by derision" (Tomkins 2008: 361).

Fostering and sustaining emotional insecurity is in the interest of contemporary academia, for it drives students and scholars to maximum exertion. The thrill of discovery and the elation upon completing a project are too rare to motivate steady exertion. Shaming has long been used to motivate students and scholars to exert themselves, strike out into the unknown, and delay gratification.³ Academia alternately makes them feel smart and deserving yet anxious about being seen as impostors; young and beautiful yet insecure about their worth, or old and tenured yet determined to stay youthful so as not to be sidelined. Generating new knowledge requires nonconformism and originality, yet academia exacts conformity to syllabi, deadlines, publication requirements, and countless other norms. These paradoxes often go unacknowledged, as does their affective impact on the academic community. Campus novels in general, and the writings of Henstra, Taylor, and Lapidos in particular, foreground the emotional insecurity peculiar to academia and its devastating consequences.

The Red Word, narrated retrospectively by a former student, a white woman named Karen, is a satirical academic novel about undergraduate student life at a Canadian university. Henstra styled it as a Greek war epic, with each section title alluding to the Trojan War and the campus serving as a battlefield. This stylistic device distances the reader from the emotional world of the main character. An additional

3 For instance, in *Passing for Perfect: College Impostors and Other Model Minorities*, erin Khuê Ninh analyzed cases of Asian Americans college students' going to extreme lengths to avoid experiencing shame. Pressed into the Modern Minority mold, they pretended to be attending university long after dropping out, and some went so far as to commit suicide or murder their parents in order to avoid being shamed (Ninh 2021: 1–9).

distance is created by the mildly ironic tone in which Karen-the-narrator describes the antics of Karen-the-sophomore. To use Tomkins's vocabulary, Karen recalls her college experience as a series of affective scenes, in an effort to revise the affective script that cut short her education. *The Red Word* foregrounds the interplay of interest (in new knowledge and experiences) and shame (at being uninteresting to others), showing in minute detail how a young woman tries to overcome her insecurities and develop her new-found interests, only to find herself trapped in a war of the sexes, depressed, and unable to continue her studies.

Karen-the-sophomore finds university life interesting and exciting in several ways. It allows her and other students to define their identity by attending courses tailored to their individual interests and choosing who they socialize with. The campus itself generates excitement: it allows young people, unconstrained by parental supervision, to study what they want and enjoy sex. Henstra shows how the erotic spills over from the night life into daytime activity in classrooms and other spaces on campus. As a result, that which would otherwise be merely interesting becomes erotically charged.⁴

Early in the novel, the narrator decides to move out of a campus dormitory to a house off-campus run by anarcho-feminists whose quirky dress style and intellectual sophistication she has admired from afar. But her interest is not immediately reciprocated. On arrival, she is grilled by the feminists, who initially think she has come to them as a rape victim. In order to impress them, and to show she is no victim, Karen poses as more experienced and erudite than she is. In this chapter and elsewhere, Karen recalls scene after scene of feeling stupid, being inappropriately dressed, saying the wrong thing, missing the point of an exchange – in other words, falling short of the norm. She describes her brain as “lagging behind the conversation, flailing wrong-footed through its swamp of embarrassment” (Henstra 2008: 16). In one episode she is embarrassed by her “stained white shirt and [her] polyester skirt and [her] odor of kitchen grease and ignorance” (Henstra 2008: 45).

The new housemates encourage Karen to attend a course on Women and Myth, taught by an inspiring female professor, Dr. Esterhazy, who sensitizes Karen to the historical inequality between the sexes and the myths used to justify it. Later, Karen recalls the relations between the professor and her students as verging on the erotic. When she asks Dr. Esterhazy to allow her to join the class, her cheeks turn “lava-hot” and she insists she “would love the challenge.” The feminist idol, “with her wide, pale eyes and her angelic hair, like an aging Rossetti muse. . . . cast an aura, and my roommates bathed in it.” Karen-the-narrator still remembers how it felt to be admitted into Dr. Esterhazy's intellectual circle and the memory is sensuous: “‘Thank you, Dr. Esterhazy,’ I said. Her name folded sweetly in my mouth, and I swallowed it like a secret vow. I would learn what this wise woman knew! I would learn what they all knew, and I would know it as well as they” (Henstra 2008: 45, italics mine). “Loving” both the atmosphere and the “challenge” of novelty, Karen quickly learns to analyze Greek myths through a feminist lens.

Interest and desire become fused in other ways, too. Curiosity leads Karen to explore the world of sex, even though some of the people and practices she witnesses do not turn her on. She attends a fraternity house party, determined to affirm her self-worth through sexual initiation. Since the man she

4 Leslie A. Fiedler observed this phenomenon in campus fiction written before 1964: “the truth is, of course, that the relationship of teacher and taught is a passionate one in essence, though no official theory of education has taken this into account since the collapse of the Greek synthesis of pedagogy, gymnastics, and pederasty expounded in Plato's Symposium” (Fiedler 1964: 8).

finds most desirable is already surrounded by women, Karen becomes involved with a classmate reputed to be an A+ student. Conceited and inept as a lover, he wins Karen by commenting on her intelligence. She willfully ignores the testimony of a young woman raped in the frat house, is herself raped, and faces “slut shaming” (Henstra 2008: 287). In due course, she is caught in a war between the fraternity, which functions as a sex club for the male students, and the anarchist sorority, which serves as a safe space for women.

Henstra describes how negative affect sweeps through the campus community like a contagious disease to which no student is immune. To use Ahmed’s vocabulary, affect “sticks” (Ahmed 2004: 11–14) to gendered bodies, splitting the coeducational student body into two rival camps. Consumed by this affect, Karen-the-sophomore fails to see that in the campus war of the sexes not only the men but also the women break ethical codes. In one episode, a female mob publicly shames all the fraternity members as rapists, without waiting for due process. Finally, the feminists’ compulsion to call out the group they perceive as oppressors leads to the accidental death of an innocent male student. *The Red Word* is not antifeminist – some of the fictional fraternity members do treat the female students as easy prey – but it reflects on the blind spots of identity politics and exposes Dr. Esterhazy as an instructor who exploits the erotic to interest students in herself and her course but denies responsibility for the consequences of her teaching.

Years later, Karen-the-college-dropout is home alone, photoshopping for a magazine, while secretly creating graphic art that speaks of violation. Her experience has left her disaffected and depressed. “It is customary, within our therapeutic culture,” Cvetkovich argues, to attribute depressive feelings “to bad things that happened to us when we were children, to primal scenes that have not yet been fully remembered or articulated or worked through,” or else genetic or biochemical disorders. She rejects such “master narratives” but she finds equally unproductive narratives of depression as socially produced, for instance by capitalism, because they “frequently admit[] of no solution” (Cvetkovich 2012: 14–15). I would suggest that *The Red Word* meets Cvetkovich’s criteria for a form of “testimony that can mediate between the personal and the social, that can explain why we live in a culture whose violence takes the form of systematically making us feel bad” (Cvetkovich 2012: 15). Karen’s telling of the story may thus be read as a belated act of resistance, for it shows the workings of affect both as an impersonal force and as individually felt discrete emotions that modulate each other. Both Karen and the reader are given a chance to think about how academia generates affect, and how the feeling of being unworthy of interest and “lagging behind” makes a student seek attention regardless of the cost.

The corrosive feeling of being unworthy of interest is also the central problem of Brandon Taylor’s *Real Life*. Where does this feeling originate, the novel asks: in the protagonist’s past or in academia? The plot of *Real Life*, a novel about graduate students at a Midwestern university, is limited to a single weekend and a few flashbacks. Wallace, the protagonist and focalizer of this third-person narrative, is a reclusive gay Black microbiology student from Alabama, who breeds and studies nematodes in a lab. The plot consists of several minor events: on Friday someone contaminates Wallace’s nematode culture, wasting weeks of painstaking labor, he reluctantly joins his friends at the lakeside, attends a house party on Saturday, has sex, and fries fish on Sunday. The novel is sparse yet rich in psychological observation. Each interaction is reported in minute detail from Wallace’s perspective, including his interlocutors’ every facial twitch and gesture, his construal of what is happening, and how it makes him feel. Many, though not all, scenes suggest that white people read Wallace primarily through his race, assuming it defines his character and

potential. Those who claim to have his best interest at heart – friends, fellow-researchers, and teachers – act in ways that can be read as callous, patronizing, or openly hostile. At the lab, Wallace’s intellectual capacity and diligence are repeatedly called into question. Friends who witness such microaggressions fail to stand up for him because they want to preserve a semblance of group harmony, which, according to Wallace, really means harmony among white people.

Real Life begins with Wallace overpowered by a sense of shame which builds up over the course of the weekend and makes him want to drop out of graduate school. At one point, he ruminates on a scene that took place in the lab some days earlier, recalling the way his white supervisor “watches him over her shoulder in an act of indifferent surveillance” and has him perform certain experiments for her own project because, “like a savant or a trained circus seal,” he has the ability to make “perfect seven hundred dissections in under eight minutes.” Wallace believes he is appreciated not for his observation skills and intelligence but because he “has the time to burn, time for the idle stupidity it takes to sit in front of a scope and wait for hours” for the nematodes to develop (Taylor 2020: 67–68). What stands out from this dense stream-of-consciousness passage is Wallace’s tendency to read the behavior of others as motivated by contempt for him as a black man. He resents being assigned tasks involving manual dexterity rather than writing up the experiments, and though no-one actually speaks of him as a “savant or circus seal,” that is how he imagines his role at the lab.

Whereas Henstra’s Karen has no past prior to her junior year in college, Taylor introduces several scenes from Wallace childhood through flashbacks, not to undercut the emerging narrative of systemic racial discrimination but to draw attention to the ways in which academia reinforces (and perhaps even exploits) students’ low sense of self-worth. From a Tomkinsian perspective Wallace, who has a history of childhood sexual abuse, interprets each event of that long weekend through an affective script pervaded by shame – a script that casts him as invisible to others, unworthy of their respect, interest, and love. He clings to this script until a confrontation with an equally conflicted white gay man at the end of the novel forces him to reevaluate it. Once it becomes apparent that Wallace’s relations with others are guided by a shame script, it becomes possible to re-read some of his friends’ and supervisors’ behavior as innocuous or genuinely caring, though certain scenes continue to reek of unacknowledged racism. The most interesting aspect of the novel is that – due to the subjectivity of the narrative structure and the ambiguity of the textual evidence – each reader must decide what they feel to be discriminatory speech or behavior.

Sigmund Freud believed humans are motivated by the drives, including the sex drive. Contrary to Freud, Tomkins saw the affect system as our primary motivational system, more powerful than the drives. “One’s sexual drive and one’s hunger drive can be no stronger than one’s [interest-]excitement about sexuality and about eating,” Tomkins pointed out, turning Freud’s hierarchy upside down (Tomkins 2007: 188). *Real Life* is, on one level, a story of same-sex desire that is suppressed for years by both Wallace and his white friend Miller, until it erupts in a scene of physical violence. Wallace is openly gay but is prevented from acting on his desire by shame about his fat black body, while the closeted Miller violently denies his homosexual desire and gets into fights with the men he is attracted to. That the two men come to understand what motivates them and awkwardly make love towards the end of the novel is quite unexpected. Tomkins’s observation about affects and drives is borne out by scenes in which Wallace is prevented by the shame from responding to Miller’s advances. Secretly Wallace watches “the muscles in [Miller’s] forearm” (Taylor 2020: 11), “the pale interior of Miller’s thighs” (Taylor 2020: 20), “the flex of his throat, the swallowing action” (Taylor 2020: 57), but his body does not respond in the expected

way. He “tries to will himself erect, tries to find some spark or ember of desire buried deep inside him, but nothing will come, nothing will move within him. Something necessary has died, or is unwilling to engage” (Taylor 2020: 178). The conviction that he is unworthy of interest, both as a lover and as a researcher, leads to a paralyzing shame and disaffection.

The last chapter of *Real Life* is, in fact, the displaced first chapter, depicting the moment of Wallace’s arrival at the Midwestern campus several years prior to the fateful weekend. What he observes on that first day are “tall, attractive people with shining skin walking all around him, talking to each other as if they belonged to a world beyond his grasp” (Taylor 2020: 322). It is a world to which hopes to belong, for “he had considered himself a Midwesterner at heart” while living in Alabama (Taylor 2020: 322–323). The peculiar structure of the novel suggests that if Wallace were to start over knowing what he knows about the way shame distorts his relations with others, he would feel at home among the beautiful people and he would resume his disrupted study of nematodes with renewed interest. No less importantly, the displaced last chapter encourages the reader to reflect on the systemic failure of the university to support minority students like Wallace by curbing the exploitation of graduate students by their supervisors and recognizing the existence of racism and homophobia on campus.

Like the two novels discussed above, Juliet Lapidos’s *Talent* serves as a seismograph of the way academic hierarchy makes one feel. The narrator of this suspenseful satirical novel, a white doctoral student named Anna, is neither victim nor predator (but perhaps both). In terms of inherited wealth Anna is privileged, for she owns the apartment she lives in near the campus, but on the campus she seems to be overshadowed by men – the arbiters of quality research and winners of tenure-track jobs. A morally ambiguous figure, Anna risks her reputation and career by committing a series of crimes in order to sustain her flagging interest in literary studies. The central conflict in *Talent* stems from the clash of two kinds of interest: the disinterested, pre-conscious, innate kind that scholars are supposedly driven by, and vested interest, which is generally seen as suspect. While Tomkins has little to say about the latter, sociologist Pierre Bourdieu argues that no disinterested act is possible. “Like a good tennis player, one positions oneself not where the ball is but where it will be; one invests oneself not where the profit is, but where it will be” (Bourdieu 1998: 79). “In games where it is necessary to be ‘disinterested’ in order to succeed” people “can undertake, in a spontaneously disinterested manner, actions in accordance with their interests” (Bourdieu 1998: 83).

The depth of Anna’s humiliation at being unable to write is proportionate to her high expectations of what she would accomplish as an academic. Once ranked the most promising students in her seminar, by the seventh year of graduate school she has written a bloated literature review on the nature of literary creativity and developed a provocative thesis, but she cannot finish writing for lack of a case study. Anna’s advisor, Professor Carl Davidoff, whose framed Williams, Cambridge, and Princeton diplomas hang on “the wall above his desk” (Lapidos 2019: 21), has the power to make her feel small and he exercises this power freely. “It’s a little thin,” he says about Anna’s dissertation, and his opinion makes Anna “paralyzed by the prospect of making a decision,” even one as insignificant as whether to eat oatmeal or a Pop-Tart for breakfast (Lapidos 2019: 15). Faced with competition and evaluation, she recalls feeling a debilitating shame: “‘What, still in school?’ my aunts and uncles asked at family gatherings” (Lapidos 2019: 26).

At the beginning of the novel Anna languishes in her apartment, eating Pop-Tarts, prevented by shame from venturing intellectually and physically outside her current position. “I could not account for what I did all day. . . . Next to nothing. I had nothing to distract me from nothing” (Lapidos 2019: 30).

Paul J. Silvia elaborated on the basic fact that interest, a “knowledge emotion,” is triggered by novelty and change (Silvia 2008: 57–60). “Once people understand a [novel] thing, it is not interesting anymore. The new knowledge, in turn, enables more things to be interesting . . . [because focusing on something intensely enables us] to see subtle differences” (Silvia 2008: 59). It is unclear whether Anna’s condition has something to do with her position as a woman in patriarchal academia or with the fact that working on the same project for seven years she sees no way forward that would sustain her interest. Then an extraordinary chain of events triggers Anna’s interest. At a supermarket checkout counter she meets a woman who cannot pay for her groceries, so Anna pays for them. When the woman fails to repay the debt, Anna trails her home one day, like a private detective. The woman, Helen Langley, turns out to be a close relative of a deceased author, Freddie Langley, whose life and work promise to be a perfect illustration for Anna’s theories on the sources of creativity. Thus, paying for Helen’s groceries turns out to have been an investment which Anna hopes to get back with interest. What Anna doesn’t realize is that Helen’s interest in her is also far from disinterested. Though Helen has received no formal education and inherited no money, she has intimate knowledge of her famous uncle that she hopes to trade for a favor.

Aided by Helen, Anna excitedly ventures on a treasure hunt for biographical details, marginalia, and Freddie Langley’s manuscripts themselves, which are locked up in the university archives. She visits the Langley family home and persuades the current owner not only to let her in but to leave her alone in the attic supposedly to absorb the aura but really to hunt for memorabilia and steal a document. Thus it is clear that while theories stifled Anna’s desire to do research, the prospect of learning about the contrary and brilliant Freddie motivates Anna to exert herself. No warning signal is loud enough to deter her from her pursuit motivated by interest whose power is proportionate to the boredom that kept her housebound. At Helen’s request, she eventually steals Freddie’s manuscripts from the university archive and does this so ineptly that she ends up being the only suspect. Helen absconds with the manuscripts, clearly with the intent of selling them for a profit. In the end, Anna is left without primary material for analysis and a ruined reputation. Despite there being only circumstantial evidence of her guilt, she is forced to leave academia. Lapidos’s satirical portrayal of her makes it impossible to decide whether she fails as an academic because she is entrapped in a misogynist institution that stifles her creativity, or because she is unprincipled and simply not cut out to be a graduate student.

Embedded in Anna’s account is the parallel story of Freddie’s transition from a critically acclaimed author to an ostensibly lazy has-been who lives off his brother and dies in a car crash. It is no coincidence that Anna responds with avid interest to the story of Freddie Langley’s unfulfilled potential: “In Langley I had discovered precisely what Professor Davidoff had commanded me to seek: A subject for an inspirational case study. [Freddie] was prolific, then silent. Inspired, then—there was no antonym for *inspired*. *Blocked*. *Dried up*. *De-inspired*” (Lapidos 2019: 38–39). Reading Freddie’s notebooks, Anna finds a biographical explanation for his loss of interest in writing. As children, he and his brother were subjected by their father to a regime of labor, competition, and shaming (Lapidos 2019: 120) not unlike that which Anna is subjected to in academia. By choosing a literary career, Freddie defied his father, but paradoxically it was the father’s training that allowed him to succeed. On achieving fame, Freddie apparently lost interest in writing and refused to publish another word – once again, as an act of resistance to paternal expectations.

On the surface, *Talent* seems to contrast two types of interest: on the one hand, Anna’s and Freddie’s supposedly pure interest in knowledge/art for its own sake, and, on the other, Helen’s mercenary interest. Yet this simple dichotomy is undercut by the fact that Helen, unlike Anna and Freddie, cannot

afford to be disinterested. She has been swindled by relatives of her inheritance and intends to claim a share. Moreover, the novel makes it difficult to believe in the purity of Anna's academic interest since she is writing a dissertation to secure a lifelong career. To use Bourdieu's words, "in a spontaneously disinterested manner" she undertakes "actions in accordance with [her vested] interests" (Bourdieu 1998: 83). Arguably, then, *Talent* comments on yet another dimension of interest – self-interest – which Tomkins and Silvia passed over.

Each of the novels discussed above explores the interplay of interest and shame through a series of emotionally-charged episodes which, in light of Tomkins theories, might be read as affective scenes. Immersed in academic life, students and scholars rarely achieve the distance necessary to think about why they feel interested or ashamed. But when reading campus fiction, they may observe the way affective scripts inform the characters' behavior. Henstra, Taylor, and Lapidos suggest that for students who are not white, male, heterosexual, and well-off, being subjected to evaluation and competition with others who reinforce scripts involving shame. As an empirical researcher and practicing therapist, Tomkins observed that some scripts are hard to change, particularly those acquired early in life. "Most scripts are more self-validating than self-fulfilling. Thus, a [...] nuclear script which attempts to reduce shame validates the self as appropriately shameworthy more than it succeeds in freeing the individual of his burden" (669). But he also speculated that every new experience – and reading novels constitutes a form of vicarious experience – is an opportunity to revise an affective script. If that is so, then the way university makes readers feel may change over time. Exposure to campus fiction may not only spur readers to rethink their own scripts involving shame and interest, but also to seek ways of changing those aspects of academic culture that trigger shame and stifle interest.

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MARTA FILIPOWSKA

Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Instytut Filologii Germańskiej

marta.filipowska@uwr.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0001-9699-1272

**Żydowska pisarka z Breslau i jej kontrowersyjny mistrz:
Else Croner i Eduard Spranger – życie i twórczość
w czasach narodowego socjalizmu z perspektywy badań
biograficznych**

**The Jewish Woman Writer from Breslau and her Controversial Master:
Else Croner and Eduard Spranger – Life and Work in the Era of National
Socialism from the Perspective of Biographical Research**

Abstract

The following article presents a summary of Polish and German scientific research on the life and work of a German writer of Jewish origin associated with Berlin and Breslau, Else Croner, and her mentor and guide in the field of pedagogical sciences, Eduard Spranger. The paper investigates the direct influence of National Socialism on Else Croner and Eduard Spranger's works, and reveals previously unknown facts, shedding new light on the figure of Eduard Spranger and his views.

Keywords: Else Croner, Eduard Spranger, National Socialism, Jewish Woman Writer, Breslau, literature of the 20th century

Słowa kluczowe: Else Croner, Eduard Spranger, narodowy socjalizm, żydowskie pisarki, Breslau, literatura XX wieku

„Fräulein Doktor” Else Croner

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Informacje biograficzne o Else Croner, dość lakoniczne i od pewnego momentu jej życia również niekompletne, można odnaleźć przede wszystkim w niemieckojęzycznej literaturze fachowej: w leksykonie poświęconym twórczości pisarek niemieckojęzycznych (Brinker-Gabler, Ludwig, Wöffen 1986), a także w leksykonie obejmującym życiorysy oraz twórczość kobiet żydowskiego pochodzenia w XIX i XX wieku (Dick, Sassenberg 1993). Krótka nota biograficzna przybliżająca postać pisarki znajduje się także w napisanej przez Stefana Szumana – wybitnego profesora pedagogiki, psychologa i lekarza – przedmowie do polskiego przekładu jednego z najważniejszych i najbardziej rozpoznawalnych dzieł Else Croner: *Die Psyche der weiblichen Jugend* (1932). Publikacji naukowych poświęconych życiu i twórczości wspomnianej autorki jest niewiele, jednakże w wyczerpujący sposób przedstawiają analizę jej dzieł. Autorką najbardziej wnikliwych badań dotyczących Else Croner jest Godela Weiss-Sussex z King's College w Cambridge; ich rezultaty dostępne są w publikacji *Jüdin und Moderne* (Weiss-Sussex 2016) oraz w artykule *Else Croner und 'die moderne Jüdin'* (Weiss-Sussex 2009). Z kolei Barbara Hahn, badaczka literatury niemieckiej i żydowskiej, w pracy *Die Jüdin Pallas Athene. Auch eine Theorie der Moderne* analizuje tekst Else Croner *Die moderne Jüdin*, ukazując autorkę, a także inne niemieckie pisarki i filozofki żydowskiego pochodzenia, takie jak Rahel Levin Varnhagen, Else Lasker-Schüler, Hannah Arendt czy Edyta Stein, na tle XIX-wiecznego berlińskiego salonu kulturalnego (Hahn 2005). W polskiej literaturze fachowej nie ukazała się dotychczas żadna publikacja naukowa przybliżająca polskiemu odbiorcy życie i twórczość tej żydowskiej pisarki związanej z dawnym Breslau.

Else Croner, z d. Wollstein, przyszła na świat 4 maja 1878 roku w Beuthen jako córka sędziego okręgowego, Jakuba Wollsteina. Na Śląsku ukończyła szkołę średnią i zdała egzamin uprawniający do wykonywania zawodu nauczyciela. Z Breslau związana była od czasów studiów na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim, gdzie ukończyła filologię germańską, filozofię i psychologię. W 1901 roku poślubiła radcę archiwalnego, Johanna Cronera, z którym postanowiła wyjechać do Berlina. Wspólnie z mężem prowadziła dwa domy: w berlińskim Grunewaldzie oraz w Nikolassee – części miasta, która dopiero od 1 października 1920 roku stała się pełnoprawną dzielnicą stolicy Rzeszy. Dom państwa Croner był popularnym w ówczesnym Berlinie salonem kulturalnym, zarówno otwartym na świat sztuki, jak i chętnie goszczącym wybitnych badaczy i myślicieli. Jedną z tych znakomitych osobistości był Eduard Spranger, urodzony w 1882 roku w Lichterfelde pod Berlinem niemiecki filozof, psycholog i pedagog, uczeń Wilhelma Diltheya, Ottona Hintzego, Ericha Schmidta oraz Friedricha Paulsena, pod którego okiem napisał dysertację *Die Grundlagen der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Spranger 1905). W 1909 roku Spranger habilitował się na podstawie pracy naukowej poświęconej idei humanizmu Wilhelma von Humboldta – myśli kształtującej XIX-wieczne szkolnictwo (Spranger 1909). Dwa lata później rozpoczął pracę jako profesor filozofii i pedagogiki w Lipsku, a następnie w latach 1920–1946 w Berlinie. W roku 1925 został członkiem Pruskiej Akademii Nauk. Posada nauczyciela w 1906 roku w prywatnej żeńskiej szkole w Berlinie zdeterminowała zainteresowania pedagogiczne Sprangera, by parę lat później skierować je w stronę badań poświęconych psychice młodzieży. W okresie Republiki Weimarskiej powstały dwa jego najbardziej rozpoznawalne dzieła: *Lebensformen* (1914 ew. 1921) oraz *Psychologie des Jugendalters* (1924), które, podobnie jak funkcja autora i wydawcy czasopisma *Die Erziehung*, zagwarantowały mu pozycję wybitnego znawcy i teoretyka w dziedzinie pedagogiki wychowawczej.

Eduard Spranger: wątpliwy autorytet?

Lakoniczne informacje biograficzne na temat Sprangera w można odnaleźć w Encyklopedii PWN¹, a jedyna publikacja naukowa w języku polskim przedstawiająca obszerniejszy rys biograficzny niemieckiego pedagoga i filozofa (Jopek 2001: 145–168) opiera się w dużej mierze na autoprezentacji samego Sprangera, która jest częścią wydanej rok po jego śmierci monografii (Bähr, Wenke 1964: 13). W rodzimej przestrzeni naukowej Spranger figuruje przede wszystkim jako niemiecki pedagog, filozof, psycholog, działacz oświatowy oraz twórca pojęcia *pedagogika kultury* (Żuk 2016: 17). Wśród polskich publikacji dotyczących Sprangera, głównie z dziedziny pedagogiki, psychologii czy filozofii, można odnaleźć sporo wzmianek odwołujących się do jego poglądów i teorii filozoficznych, co świadczy o świadomości ogromnego wpływu Sprangera na ukształtowanie europejskiego nurtu humanistycznego XX wieku. Spranger przedstawiany jest ponadto jako zwolennik ugruntowania pedagogiki jako autonomicznej dyscypliny akademickiej (Śliwowski 2015: 20), a także autor typologii osobowości, opracowanej z uwzględnieniem wartości ważnych dla danej jednostki. Wyodrębnia ona następujące typy: ekonomiczny, polityczny, społeczny, religijny, estetyczny i teoretyczny (Muchacka-Cymerman 2016: 131). Odwołań do teorii Sprangera nie brak również w rozważaniach dotyczących tożsamości narodowej społeczeństwa polskiego po okresie zaborów. Autor publikacji przywołuje stworzoną przez Sprangera definicję *krajoznawstwa*, która z czasem stała się podwaliną niemieckiego pojęcia *Heimat* (Jędrzejczyk 2013: 28). Pomimo licznych nawiązań do teoretycznych rozważań Sprangera, próżno szukać w polskiej literaturze przedmiotu gruntownej i krytycznej analizy jego dzieła.

Wśród licznych publikacji niemieckich, badających życie i twórczość Sprangera, najobszerniejszą pozycją analizującą jego biografię są *Biografische Studien zu Eduard Spranger* (Schraut 2007). Monografia ta obejmuje nie tylko materiały archiwalne dokumentujące życie niemieckiego pedagoga – jej autor sięga również po historię przodków Sprangera, przybliża relacje między nim a innymi członkami rodziny i przyjaciółmi, opisuje jego konflikt z ojcem, a nawet podejmuje się interpretacji korespondencji listownej między Sprangerem a jego bliskimi, opatrując ją komentarzem.

Wobec działalności naukowej i publicystycznej niemieckiego pedagoga badania literaturoznawcze i filozoficzne w Niemczech prezentują skrajne stanowiska. Z jednej strony wśród naukowych tekstów nie brak pozycji upamiętniających dzieło Sprangera, pozbawionych jednak krytycznego spojrzenia na cały jego dorobek (Hinrichs, Porsche-Ludwig, Bellers 2013). Z drugiej zaś – wnikliwa analiza tekstów Sprangera autorstwa Benjamin Ortmeyera² – profesora pedagogiki wychowawczej Uniwersytetu im. J.W. Goethego we Frankfurcie nad Menem, zajmującego się głównie pedagogiką w czasach narodowego socjalizmu – pozwoliła z dystansem spojrzeć na osiągnięcia Sprangera i stwierdzić, że publikacje wydawane przez niego w okresie narodowego socjalizmu wzbudzają wiele wątpliwości na tle ideologicznym, pomimo faktu, że nigdy nie należał on do NSDAP. Frankfurcki badacz w swojej habilitacji przyjrzał się postaciom czterech wiodących pedagogów tamtego okresu oraz ich publikacjom, a także recepcji wydanych przez nich dzieł (Ortmeyer 2009). Efektem jego pracy – opierającej się na solidnej analizie materiałów

1 <https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/szukaj/eduard%20spranger.html> [data dostępu: 7.05.2024 r., godz. 10:45].

2 Ze względu na obszerny materiał badawczy, jaki stanowią publikacje Sprangera, w niniejszym artykule przytaczam jedynie wybrane teksty, których analizy dokonał Ortmeyer. Celem niniejszej pracy jest synteza najważniejszych ustaleń niemieckiego badacza, która za pomocą konkretnych przykładów uzasadni kontrowersje wokół działalności Sprangera i wskaże na propagowanie ideologii narodowego socjalizmu w jego dziełach i wystąpieniach.

źródłowych i dostarczającej tym samym niezbitych dowodów potwierdzających związki Eduarda Sprangera, Hermana Nohla, Ericha Wenigera oraz Petera Petersena z nazistowską ideologią rasy – było poddanie pod publiczną dyskusję kwestii zmiany nazw szkół oraz ulic, upamiętniających wspomnianych pedagogów. Przykładem placówki, która zdecydowała się zmienić patrona, jest Eduard-Spranger-Schule we Frankfurcie nad Menem³, a także szkoła średnia w położonym niedaleko Stuttgartu Filderstadt⁴. W osobnej publikacji poświęconej wyłącznie Sprangerowi Ortmeyer dokonał analizy wszystkich dostępnych tekstów naukowych niemieckiego pedagoga, poczynając od jego pracy doktorskiej, przez publikacje w czasie narodowego socjalizmu, a na dziełach wydanych po 1945 roku kończąc, ukazując wysoko cenionego w powojennych Niemczech Zachodnich Sprangera jako kolaboranta o wyraźnie antysemickich poglądach i stawiając mu zarzut zdrady idei greckiego humanizmu oraz niemieckiego idealizmu, na których oparł głoszone w swej działalności edukacyjnej psychologiczne podstawy nauk pedagogicznych (Ortmeyer 2008: 12).

W swoim pierwszym znaczącym dziele, *Lebensformen* (1914/1921), Spranger stworzył wspomnianą już typologię osobowości, ponadto podjął próbę zdefiniowania „niemieckiej duszy”. Kontynuację tego dzieła stanowi *Psychologie des Jugendalters* (1924), w którym jako młodych odbiorców swoich rozważań i wskazówek Spranger definiuje wyłącznie wykształconą młodzież płci męskiej, „poczuciem wstydu” tłumacząc celowe pominięcie płci żeńskiej (Ortmeyer 2008: 20, 21). W roku 1932 ukazał się tom zbiorowy *Volk, Staat, Erziehung* o wyraźnie politycznym charakterze. Spranger w swoim przynależącym do tomu tekście *Über Erziehung zum deutschen Volksbewusstsein* podkreśla takie pojęcia jak niemieckość i narodowość, a także rozkaz, posłuszeństwo i autorytet (Ortmeyer 2008: 22): „Nie będzie to zbyt wiele powiedziane, gdy stwierdzimy, że niemiecki duch i tylko niemiecki duch oznacza najpewniejszą ochronę przed imperializacją świata” (Spranger 1932: 69). Publikacje niemieckiego pedagoga wydane w latach 1933–1945 Ortmeyer podzielił na okresy: 1933–1935, 1936–1938 oraz 1939–1944, wyróżniając wśród powstałych wówczas tekstów te teoretyczne i polityczne. Ukazał tym samym kierunek ideologiczny, w stronę którego zmierzały rozważania Sprangera, od 1933 roku stopniowo, ale systematycznie nabierając narodowosocjalistycznego charakteru.

Publikacje z lat 30. związane z teorią pedagogiki i psychologii mają ambiwalentny charakter: z jednej strony wspierają reżim, z drugiej jednak odwołują się do „niemieckiego ducha” oraz filozofii Immanuela Kanta, a także stawiają w centrum humanizm Wilhelma von Humboldta, (Ortmeyer 2008: 31). Ponadto na przestrzeni lat nie widać w nich spektakularnej zmiany poglądów autora; w jego tekstach widoczna jest nawet krytyka konkretnych punktów ustroju, takich jak lekceważenie religii, człowieka jako jednostki, praworządności czy nauki (Ortmeyer 2008: 44). Jedynie w czterech spośród trzydziestu czterech publikacji z lat 1933–1935 odnaleźć można stanowisko Sprangera wobec aktualnej sytuacji politycznej w kraju (Ortmeyer 2008: 31). Znamienny stał się rok 1937, w którym Spranger odwiedził Japonię, występując z przemówieniem w imieniu III Rzeszy. Dokumentację z tego czasu stanowi nie tylko jego opublikowane wystąpienie *Über Land und Volk Deutschlands*, ale także fotografie ukazujące Sprangera na tle flag ze swastykami, unoszącego rękę w geście hitlerowskiego pozdrowienia (Ortmeyer 2009). We wspomnianym wykładzie Spranger wygłosił słowa, które oficjalnie uczyniły go reprezentantem nazistowskiej ideologii:

3 <https://www.fr.de/frankfurt/abschied-einem-nationalisten-11079223.html> [data dostępu: 8.05.2024 r., godz. 18:35].

4 <https://www.stuttgarter-zeitung.de/inhalt.gymnasium-in-filderstadt-eine-schule-will-anders-heissen.3ec0c536-bf1d-4245-91b9-5e5f7332d245.html> [data dostępu: 8.05.2024 r., godz. 18:40].

Fryderyk Wielki jest dla nas symbolem tego etosu, tej służby i tejże dyscypliny. A wielki myśliciel Kant jest filozoficznym propagatorem kategorycznego imperatywu obowiązku. Od czasu do czasu jesteśmy narażani na niebezpieczeństwo utraty i niedoceny tych cnót. Po Wojnie doświadczaliśmy znów pewnej epoki uśpienia i jednostkowego rozbicia. Narodowy socjalizm, ruch Adolfa Hitlera, przywołuje nas z powrotem do starych pruskich wartości służby całemu społeczeństwu. (Spranger 1937: 32)

Wśród publikacji Sprangera w latach 1939–1944, obok kilkunastu recenzji i nowych wydań kilku jego dotychczasowych artykułów, znalazł się również przepełniony terminologią nazistowską tekst *Wege und Ziele der Völkercharakterologie*, w którym na pierwszy plan wysuwają się takie pojęcia jak *Rasse* i *Volk* (por. Ortmeier 2008: 67). W recenzji monografii Herberta Theodora Beckera, generała policji SS oraz komendanta policji porządkowej, pt. *Die Kolonialpädagogik der großen Mächte* (1939) Spranger wprost neguje mieszanie ras i określa kolonizację jako jedną z form wychowania (Ortmeier 2008: 70). Ortmeier wskazuje również na istotny fakt z życia Sprangera: nigdy nie wstąpił on w struktury NSDAP, uzasadniając tę świadomą decyzję ideą opierającą się na umyślnym zachowaniu dystansu politycznego przez urzędnika, jakim jest nauczyciel akademicki, by dzięki oficjalnemu brakowi zaangażowania zachować możliwość wpływu na kształtowanie myśli ogółu (por. Ortmeier 2008: 26).

Nowa Kobieta, nowoczesna Żydówka

W latach 1901–1918 spod pióra mieszkającej w Berlinie Else Croner wychodzą dzieła, które mimo różnorodności gatunkowej, objętościowej i tematycznej łączy jedno: motywem przewodnim są kobiety, a adresatem części utworów dzieci i młode dziewczęta. *Fontanes Frauengestalten* to napisana w 1906 roku synteza literackich figur kobiecych stworzonych na przestrzeni lat przez Theodora Fontanego. W przedmowie do swojej pracy Else Croner zwraca uwagę na podmiotowość kobiety, podejmując temat, o którym coraz częściej słychać w ówczesnych badaniach naukowych, analizach i interpretacjach dzieł literackich:

Cechą dzisiejszego nurtu jest przedstawianie kobiety jako istoty posiadającej płeć. Po tysiącokroć jest ona ukazywana we wszystkich swych odsłonach jako indywiduum społeczne, na najprostszym, strasznym i brutalnym fenomenie poczynając, a na nerwowo-perwersyjnej dekadencie kończąc. Od wszystkich tych pisarzy erotycznych Fontane różni się sposobem postrzegania kobiety. Dla niego jest kobieta, co najważniejsze, w pierwszej kolejności człowiekiem. (Croner 1906: 4)

W roku 1908 powstaje *Das Tagebuch eines Fräulein Doktor*, powieść zawierająca liczne nawiązania i wątki autobiograficzne, której bohaterką jest świeżo upieczona, pracująca w prywatnej szkole i w akademickim czasopiśmie germanistka. Z opowieści Else Croner wyłania się obraz jej samej jako inteligentnej i samodzielnej „nowej kobiety”, żyjącej w wielkim mieście, które z jednej strony daje jej wolność i wiele możliwości w zakresie realizacji własnych pasji, z drugiej jednak przeraża (Weiss-Sussex 2009: 6). Koniec tej historii jest zadziwiająco skrajny w porównaniu z początkiem powieści: Else Croner wyraża swoją dezaprobatę wobec ruchu walczącego o prawa kobiet, określając go jako ten, który działa wbrew prawom natury i ma charakter kastracyjny (Weiss-Sussex 2009: 6). *Das Tagebuch eines Fräulein Doktor* to opowieść o młodej, wykształconej Żydówce, którą trudno przyporządkować do otaczającego

ją świata; Żydówce, która – z jednej strony – intelektualnie jest gotowa na wyzwania stawiane przez duże miasto, z drugiej jednak najpiękniej wzrasta w ciepłe domowego ogniska (Weiss-Sussex 2009: 18).

W 1910 roku zostaje wydana książka dla dzieci *Hille Bobbe*, zawierająca dzieła europejskiego malarstwa klasycznego wraz z objaśnieniami ułatwiającymi interpretację obrazów i w przystępny sposób tłumaczącymi dzieciom wartość sztuki. Rok 1913 przynosi ważny dla twórczości Else Croner tekst *Die moderne Jüdin*, w którym pisarka przedstawia typ współczesnej sobie kobiety żydowskiej, zaznaczając jednocześnie w pierwszym rozdziale pt. *Nowoczesność Żydówki* wzajemne wykluczanie się obu zawartych w tytule dzieła pojęć i ukazując kobietę żydowską jako najstarszy i najbardziej przywiązany do tradycji typ kobiety:

Nowoczesna Żydówka, dziecko fin de siècle, wraz ze swymi duchowymi i intelektualnymi podnietami, ze swymi zaletami i słabościami, w typowej tylko dla niej istocie – niniejszym zostaje tu podjęta próba przedstawienia jej; oczywiście nie w sposób wyczerpujący i gruntowny – nie jako portret olejny, a szkic, nie w postaci symfonii, a impresji (...). Wysyłam tę książkę w świat z życzeniem, by uwagę zwrócić na zjawisko naszego nowoczesnego życia, które bez niej byłoby mniej nowoczesne: dzisiejszej Żydówki. (Croner 1913: 5, 6)

Die moderne Jüdin to studium ambiwalencji, ukazujących zarówno negację, jak i apoteozę kobiety żydowskiej; to też dzieło podkreślające przynależność autorki do nurtu żydowskiego renesansu, propagującego tradycyjne wartości w wychowaniu dziewcząt (Weiss-Sussex 2009: 19). Sprzeczności charakterystyczne dla *Die moderne Jüdin*, nie były obce samej autorce dzieła – prawdopodobnie przed rokiem 1914 Else Croner konwertowała z judaizmu na protestantyzm, co najpewniej, obok względów ekonomicznych, podyktowane było dążeniem do asymilacji, która w konsekwencji w latach 30. XX wieku umożliwiła pisarce rozwój kariery naukowej na berlińskim Uniwersytecie Humboldta, a następnie zbliżyła ją, głównie przez znajomość i zawodową współpracę ze Sprangerem, do wartości propagowanych przez narodowych socjalistów.

Konwertytka wśród nazistów

W latach 1915–1918 powstają trzy powieści autorstwa Else Croner: *Prinzess Irmgard* (1915), *Die Büste* (1916) oraz *Erwachen* (1918). W powieści *Erwachen* autorka oddaje hołd Sprangerowi, w którego cechy wyposaża jedną z głównych postaci literackich – doktora Altena, liberalnego w poglądach dyrektora żeńskiej szkoły w „Berlinie W.” Powieść jest pewnego rodzaju postulatami autorki o rozróżnienie potrzeb psychicznych młodych chłopców i dziewcząt, zrozumienie specyficznych cech charakteru dziewcząt w okresie dojrzewania oraz traktowanie ich jak młodych dorosłych, poprzez obdarzenie zaufaniem, ale z wytyczeniem jasnych granic (Weiss-Sussex 2009: 7). W powieści *Erwachen* pisarka konfrontuje się również z pojęciem nowoczesności, rozumianej przez nią jako kokieteria i brak moralności, co wyraża obrzydzenie wobec jednej z postaci – pewnej powierzchownej i frywolnej „dziewczyny z Berlina W.” (Weiss-Sussex 2009: 19). W 1926 roku Else Croner wydaje książkę pt. *Der Herr Handelskammer-Syndikus*, poświęconą pamięci jej zmarłego w tym samym roku męża. Po tym wydarzeniu autorka oddaje się całkowicie pracy naukowej i społecznej, pisze kolejne książki i współpracuje z kilkoma wydawnictwami, m.in. „Deutsche Blätter für erziehenden Unterricht”. W 1929 roku, w ewangelickim miesięczniku *Furche* ukazuje się zbiór aforyzmów i wierszy pt. *Wege zum Glück: Ein Führer zur Lebensweisheit*, a dwa lata później

broszura pt. *Herz-Trost für Trauernde: ein Brevier für Witwen und Leidtragende, Suchende und Verzweifelte*, która zostaje wydana przez *Johannes Baum Verlag* – wydawnictwo uznawane w latach 20. i 30. XX wieku za wiodące w tematyce okultyzmu i ezoteryki.

W 1931 roku Else Croner zostaje mianowana docentką Uniwersytetu Humboldta w Berlinie i rozpoczyna wykłady na temat psychologii kobiet. W roku 1932 pisze pod skrzydłami swojego mistrza, Sprangera, dedykowane mu *Psychikę młodzieży żeńskiej* oraz *Die Frauenseele in den Übergangsjahren*, będącą uzupełnieniem pierwszej wspomnianej pozycji. Zainspirowana publikacjami naukowymi Sprangera, Else Croner tworzy typologię młodych dziewcząt, wyróżniając i charakteryzując pięć głównych typów: wybitnie macierzyński, erotyczny, romantyczny, trzeźwy i intelektualny. W dalszej części swoich rozważań autorka porusza kwestię indywidualności młodej dziewczyny, analizując jej psychikę przez pryzmat życiowych wartości oraz relacji społecznych jednostki z otoczeniem. Osobny rozdział poświęcony jest charakterystyce dziewcząt z tzw. warstw niższych, tzn. służącym oraz uczennicom szkół zawodowych. W ostatniej części Else Croner poświęca osobne miejsce „dziewczynie psychopatycznej” oraz „dzisiejszej młodej dziewczynie”. W ostatnim akapicie *Psychiki młodzieży żeńskiej* wybrzmiewają słowa autorki:

Dzisiejsza nasza młodzież żeńska, chociaż za tak pewną siebie i samowolną chce uchodzić, jednakże bez kierownictwa obejść się nie będzie mogła. Ale kto pragnie mieć wpływ na młode pokolenie, musi połączyć w sobie młodość ze starością. Przewodnikiem ku wyżynom może być tylko ten, kto zna wszystkie wierzchołki i czeluście, drogi losu i burze życia, tajemnice duszy i prawa ducha. Kto chce wywierać wpływ na młodzież żeńską, ten musi ją sercem rozumieć. (Croner 1932: 105)

W roku 1935 ukazuje się szóste wydanie *Psychiki młodzieży żeńskiej*, w którym widoczne są radykalne zmiany tekstu, podyktowane ideologią i poglądami propagowanymi przez narodowych socjalistów. Rozpowszechniany przez Else Croner w jej dotychczasowej twórczości obraz kobiety nowoczesnej, która koncentruje się głównie na sobie, zauważa i pielęgnuje swoją seksualność i której celem nie jest wyłącznie macierzyństwo, staje się niepopularny z punktu widzenia ówczesnej władzy. Odcięcie się od swoich żydowskich korzeni, prawdopodobnie względy ekonomiczne i trudna sytuacja finansowa po śmierci męża wyjaśniają decyzję Else Croner o współpracy z nazistami i zgodę na wprowadzenie zmian w szóstym wydaniu jej dzieła, polegającą na dopasowaniu terminologii do nazistowskich standardów. Autorka po raz pierwszy w historii swojej działalności pisarskiej zabiera głos w przedmowie do nowego wydania, mówiąc o zmianach, które *musiały zostać podjęte w zgodzie z głębokimi doświadczeniami tych wielkich czasów* (Croner 1935: 99). Losy Else Croner po roku 1935 nie są znane. Według informacji zawartych w Księdze Pamięci Niemieckiego Archiwum Narodowego pisarka popełniła samobójstwo 20 grudnia 1942 roku w Berlinie⁵.

Else Croner do dziś wzbudza zainteresowanie w świecie nauki i kultury. Pamięć o niej jest pielęgnowana w lokalnej przestrzeni publicznej. Obok kobiet, które zasługują na specjalne miejsce na mapie dziejów Breslau, takich jak np. Lina Morgenstern-Bauer, Auguste Schmidt, Edyta Stein czy Toni Neisser, Else Croner stała się bohaterką wystawy pt. *Tożsamości kobiet żydowskich*, przygotowanej przez Synagogę Pod Białym Bocianem w 2018 roku. Z kolei w 2022 roku Dom Pamięci Żydów Górnośląskich w Gliwicach uczcił pamięć o pisarce tworząc cykl spotkań *Nieopowiedziane. Opowieści o Żydach z Górnego Śląska*, w ramach którego Izabella Kühnel wygłosiła wykład pt. *Else Croner – między żydowską tradycją a walką o równouprawnienie dziewcząt i kobiet*.

5 <https://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/en1025306> [data dostępu: 9.05.2024 r., godz. 15:50].

Spranger odegrał w życiu zawodowym Else Croner kluczową rolę – mentora i przewodnika po świecie nauk pedagogicznych. To jemu i propagowanej przez niego „pedagogice kultury” w roku 1933 pisarka poświęciła monografię *Eduard Spranger. Persönlichkeit und Werk* (Croner 1933), opatrzoną cytatem z dzieła Friedricha Meinecke *Staat und Persönlichkeit*: „Nic nie działa tak bezpośrednio na przebudzenie osobowości w człowieku jak wzór osobowości drugiego człowieka” (Croner 1933: 7) i ukazującą nieskazitelną portret jej mistrza. Dzisiejszy stan badań pozwala jednak nie tylko na nakreślenie powiązań między Else Croner a Sprangerem i ukazanie wpływu dzieła niemieckiego pedagoga na twórczość pisarki, ale także na ustalenie pozbawiających wszelkiej iluzji faktów dotyczących życia i działalności człowieka mającego znaczący wpływ na tak ważny obszar społeczny, jakim było wówczas wychowanie młodych ludzi.

Przetrwać w czasach zarazy

W patriarchalnym pruskim społeczeństwie odnalezienie swojego miejsca stanowiło dla świadomej i wyemancypowanej kobiety spore wyzwanie. Małżeństwo z Johannesem Cronerem zapewniło wywodzącej się z konserwatywnych i miłujących żydowską tradycję kręgów Else Croner możliwość realizowania pisarskiej pasji. Spośród kreowanych przez nią postaci literackich, posiadających często jej własne cechy charakteru czy doświadczających podobnych zdarzeń, wyłania się dychotomiczny obraz młodej kobiety, być może samej autorki, wahającej się między stabilnym światem tradycji a ekscytującą nowoczesnością. Znajomość ze Sprangerem pozwoliła Else Croner nie tylko na rozwinięcie zainteresowań w obszarze pedagogiki i psychologii, ale także dała zatrudnienie na renomowanej niemieckiej uczelni i otworzyła przed nią kolejne zawodowe możliwości. Naukowa symbioza przyniosła korzyści także Sprangerowi, który doczekał się wzorującej się na nim wychowanki, zarówno ambitnie kontynuującej jego pedagogiczne dzieło, jak i uzupełniającej swoją działalnością te obszary, których on sam ze względów ideologicznych nie mógł zagospodarować.

Przyjęta w niniejszym artykule perspektywa biograficzna pozwala na dogłębną i gruntowną analizę dostępnych informacji o życiu Else Croner i Eduarda Sprangera, umożliwia przyjrzenie się ich dziełom, powstałym na różnych etapach życia tych osób i na zmieniającym się tle niemieckiej historii. Stawia także istotne dla konkluzji pytania:

Co zatem konkretna jednostka chciałaby dla siebie realizować i które społeczne okoliczności utrudniały to albo wzmacniały? Każda bowiem biografia i każdy jej wycinek może objąć zarówno fragment, część cenną dla obrazu stawania się danej jednostki dla społeczeństwa, jak i dla rozwijającej się „indywidualności”. (Szymaniak 2013: 366)

Żydówka, konwertytka i emancypantka pod skrzydłami niemieckiego pedagoga o antysemickich poglądach eksponowanych w dziełach pisanych językiem nazizmu – zestawienie tych powiązań i zależności uwypukla dodatkowo mechanizmy funkcjonowania i przetrwania tych dwojga i ich dzieła w narodowosocjalistycznej wizji świata, w którym mimo wszystko, idąc za myślą Dietricha Baacke, historia życia pozostaje procesem pozbawionym indywidualnego wpływu, jednakże działanie i podjęte decyzje są zawsze efektem intencji jednostki (Szymaniak 2013: 377).

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KATARZYNA FRONCZAK

University of Lodz, Department of Specialized Languages
and Intercultural Communication

katarzyna.fronczak@uni.lodz.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-6634-6835

ALEKSANDRA BEATA MAKOWSKA

University of Lodz, Department of Specialized Languages
and Intercultural Communication

aleksandra.makowska@uni.lodz.pl

ORCID: 0000-0003-2703-9389

Shifting Trends in Business English Assessments: A Comparative Study of Pre- and Post-Pandemic Outcomes

Abstract

This study compares online and onsite final exams for the Business English Course at the University of Lodz during and post-pandemic. It aims to evaluate how testing environments influence exam outcomes. Hypothesising that online testing yields superior results, the study compares exams conducted in the summers of 2020/2021 (online) and 2021/2022 (onsite) for students who completed a three-term online Business English course. Quantitative methods were employed to analyse correlations between testing conditions, supplemented by student surveys. The findings not only shed light on student attitudes but also offer insights crucial for refining future assessment practices in Business English courses and beyond. The research underscores the imperative of meticulously crafted online tests and equitable testing conditions to ensure the integrity and validity of educational evaluations amidst the dynamic landscape of remote learning.

Keywords: Business English, COVID-19, distance learning, final assessment, online testing, onsite testing

1. Introduction

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The declaration of a state of epidemic in Poland in March 2020 brought about movement restrictions that significantly impacted the operational dynamics of the Polish educational system (Męcina, Potocki 2020; Janus 2020). Within a remarkably short span, approximately 93,100 University of Lodz teachers¹ found themselves compelled to adapt their instructional approaches swiftly, transitioning to distance-based teaching and learning modalities or postponing practical sessions necessitating specialised equipment until the epidemiological situation ameliorated. Despite the countermeasures implemented to mitigate virus transmission, concerted efforts were made to sustain uninterrupted educational delivery to the nation's 1.2. million students². Consistent with practices at other Polish institutions, the University of Lodz³ facilitated access to the MS Office suite and MS Teams for both faculty and students, granting instructors the autonomy to select tools aligned with their preferences and to organise classes accordingly (Cicha, *et. al.* 2022: 8; Janus 2020: 17). However, the transition proved arduous, given that the University of Lodz had not previously conducted its classes entirely in the virtual domain (Stradiotova, Nemethova & Stefancik 2021). While the Ministry and the University of Lodz extended specialised training opportunities for educators, these sessions were made available subsequent to the adoption of distance teaching (Cicha, *et. al.* 2022; Janus 2020). Consequently, the faculty and students encountered challenges stemming from inadequate digital literacy or ICT proficiency, as well as equipment shortages, internet accessibility issues, and the provision of conducive teaching and learning environments (Cicha, *et. al.* 2022: 2). The Ministry's directive to conduct courses online subjected the entire educational apparatus to a litmus test, demanding seamless daily delivery of classes (Janus 2020: 17; Stradiotova, *et. al.* 2021). Additionally, instructors grappled with the necessity to recalibrate their pedagogical approaches and instructional materials for remote learning, harbouring hopes that their endeavours would yield effective online teaching experiences reflective of conventional classroom dynamics (Cicha, *et. al.* 2022: 11, Ejdyś 2021; Plebańska 2020; Witkowski 2020; Stradiotova, *et. al.* 2021).

2. Academic Profile of the L4B BA Programme

In response to the evolving demands of the job market, the University of Lodz launched a novel Bachelor of Arts programme in 2013: Linguistics for Business⁴. This programme equips students with foundational knowledge in accounting and finance, project management, selected aspects of running a business, intercultural communication, linguistic pragmatics, and applied linguistics. Furthermore, since the programme's inception, students have had the opportunity to develop proficiency in two

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- 1 <https://naukawpolsce.pap.pl/aktualnosci/news%2C84586%2Cgus-w-ub-roku-akademickim-w-polsce-studiowalo-ponad-82-tys-cudzoziemcow.html>. [date of access: June 28, 2021].
 - 2 <https://naukawpolsce.pap.pl/aktualnosci/news%2C84586%2Cgus-w-ub-roku-akademickim-w-polsce-studiowalo-ponad-82-tys-cudzoziemcow.html>. [date of access: June 28, 2021].
 - 3 Announcement of Rector of University of Lodz of 17 March 2020 concerning the suspension of onsite classes and a shift to distance teaching, Announcement of Rector of University of Lodz of 23 April concerning special forms of assessment in the pandemic situation and Announcement of Rector of University of Lodz of 18 September 2020 concerning a hybrid model of teaching.
 - 4 [https://irk-ects.uni.lodz.pl/en/programmes-foreign/LB/DLLB\(01\)/](https://irk-ects.uni.lodz.pl/en/programmes-foreign/LB/DLLB(01)/) [date of access: June 28, 2021].

foreign languages: English and a chosen European language (French, German, or Russian) (Bednarska, Makowska 2022).

Regarding English proficiency, candidates are expected to demonstrate competence at the B2 (CEFR) level, with results from the secondary school leaving exam serving as a determining factor for admission. Additionally, students enhance their English proficiency through specialised coursework in Business and Legal English (Makowska 2017).

Proficiency in other languages (French, German or Russian) is expected to exceed the B2 level in accordance with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Moreover, students have the option to participate in supplementary language courses, including Spanish or Dutch. Beyond training, students engage in courses exploring the cultures associated with their chosen language areas and delve into the realm of translation studies. Furthermore, students receive instruction in three specialised languages, each comprising 28 teaching hours (Bednarska, Makowska 2022). These courses encompass the language of finance and human resources, logistics, and information technology. This multidimensional curriculum is designed to address the needs of the job market by producing professionals with an interdisciplinary educational background.

3. Challenges of Face-to-Face and Remote Evaluation

In accordance with OECD guidelines pertaining to student assessment,

Evaluation and assessment serve as crucial tools for monitoring the effectiveness of educational delivery to students and for evaluating the performance of educational systems, schools, administrators, educators, and students themselves, among other stakeholders. (OECD 2013: 67)

Such assessment endeavours should transpire within a testee-friendly environment, underpinned by well-defined assessment criteria conducive to student learning (Ziółkowski 2015). These factors collectively foster self-directed learning, instil a sense of security, and engender motivation to engage in academic pursuits. It is essential to highlight that the paramount concern lies not merely in the grade obtained, but rather in the acquisition of knowledge and the experiential learning process. Moreover, providing immediate feedback is critically important, as it offers students insights into their learning methodologies and achieved outcomes, while also serving as a motivator for further knowledge acquisition.

The transition from conventional face-to-face onsite instruction to exclusively online distant teaching, precipitated by the emergence of the Sars-Cov-2 outbreak (Koris, Pal 2021; Peter, Asmawi 2023), presented a formidable challenge (Stradiotova, *et. al.* 2021; Koris, Pal 2021; Peter, Asmawi 2023). Beyond the adaptation of pedagogical approaches and materials, apprehensions surfaced regarding assessment modalities (Cicha, *et. al.* 2022). Key concerns included issues related to student integrity, educators' technological acumen, and pedagogical proficiency (Ejdys 2021). Consequently, universities opted for alternative assessment formats (Stradiotova, *et. al.* 2021). Initially, they rescheduled examination sessions or migrated traditional end-of-semester onsite assessments to virtual platforms. Secondly, in instances where feasible, institutions of higher education pivoted towards formative assessment within classroom settings, given the constraints associated with the applicability of summative assessment methods in distance education (Cicha, *et. al.* 2022). However, the Business English course, designed to augment specialised vocabulary in professional contexts, presents challenges in assessing student progress through formative criteria.

4. Data and Methodology

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The present study encompasses a comprehensive analysis of Business English examination outcomes among second-year students at Linguistic for Business, collected during the academic sessions of June 2021 and 2022 (denoted as Group X1 and X2, respectively). Notably, the course was administered over three semesters via online modalities, with consistent course content and examination duration throughout. The sole discernible variable that could potentially impact the outcomes was the environment in which the summative exams were administered: in 2021, students took the exam in an online Moodle format due to COVID-19 restrictions, whereas in 2022, the exam was conducted traditionally onsite.

The analysis is based on test outcomes derived from a sample of 129 students, consisting of two distinct groups: 69 students who participated in the online testing format and 60 students who undertook the exam in an onsite setting. Remarkably, the final examination administered to both groups was uniform, with a maximum score of 100 points. The assessment procedure adhered strictly to the policies and guidelines prescribed by the esteemed University of Lodz.

In accordance with the established examination protocols within the Faculty of Philology, should a student fail to attain a minimum grade of 51% by the scheduled assessment deadline, they are granted the opportunity to undergo a supplementary examination during the re-sit exam session by the end of the respective semester.

One of the primary objectives of this research is to investigate the influence of the testing environment on the outcomes of the final examination. The underlying hypothesis posits that students who engage in online testing will achieve superior results compared to their counterparts who undergo traditional onsite testing. Consequently, a series of statistical tests were conducted to ascertain the impact of onsite and online examination conditions on the achieved outcomes. Additionally, the results obtained from the statistical analysis are juxtaposed with selected findings from anonymous surveys administered to the testees after each examination. This comparison aims to elucidate the effects of different examination conditions on the results and identify which conditions contribute to more reliable outcomes in summative assessment, while also discerning how these conditions are perceived by the testees.

Given the limited space available in this paper, this report will focus on presenting the most pertinent and captivating results from our comprehensive analysis, accompanied by their relevant interpretations.

5. Results and Discussion

5.1. The Comparison of the Results of Online and Onsite BE Exams

The data presented in the provided graph (see: Figure 1 below) depicts the results of the final examination taken by the second-year students at the end of the summer terms in 2021 and 2022, conducted in both online and onsite environments. The outcomes are represented by blue bars (the group on the left in each pair), indicating performance in online testing, and orange bars (the group on the right in each pair), representing performance in onsite testing. Notably, the online final exams exhibited a higher level of achievement, with 30%, 26%, and 26% of students attaining the top three grades (5, 4+, and

4, respectively) as opposed to 20%, 18%, and 13% of students in the onsite exams. However, the most remarkable discrepancy is evident in the grade 3 category, the minimum passing grade, which was obtained by only 9% of students during online testing, compared to 34% of students in the onsite format. Further analysis of the data shows that for the online exam, 99% of students successfully passed it on their first attempt, with only 1% necessitating a retake. Conversely, in the onsite testing, 93% achieved a passing grade on their initial attempt, while 7% had to undergo a re-examination.

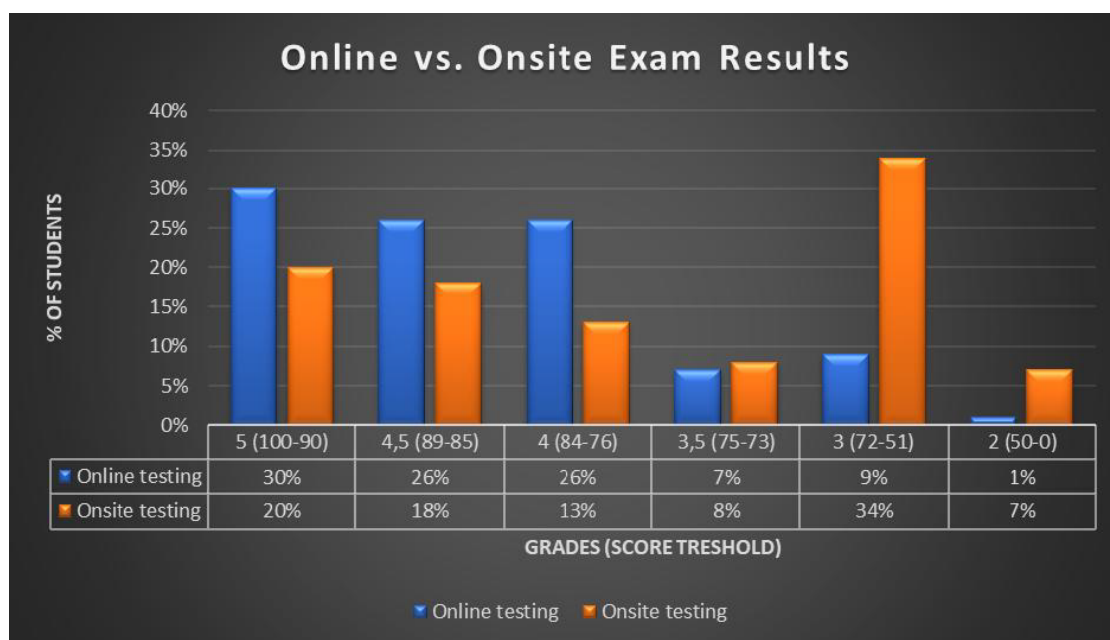


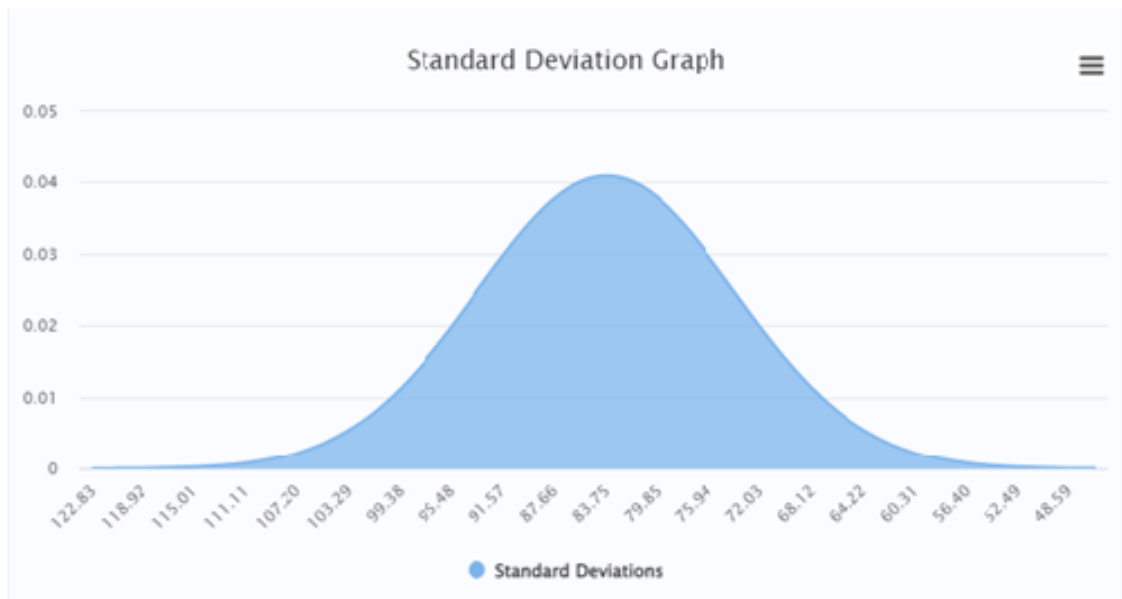
Figure 1. The comparison of online vs. onsite exam results

5.2. The Result of Exam Statistic Tests

It is pertinent to juxtapose the preceding findings with more robust statistical metrics. Notably, a substantial disparity emerges between the means of online and onsite final exam results, with values of 83.75 and 76.08, respectively, signifying a discernible advantage in favour of online testing, as shown in Table 1 below. To gain further precision, a comprehensive examination of the standard deviation is warranted, as it encapsulates the dispersion of data in relation to the mean, elucidating the variability within the dataset. Distinguishing between the population standard deviation, a parameter derived from the entire population, and the sample standard deviation, a statistic calculated from a subset of the population, is crucial. The sample standard deviation, being contingent on a specific subset, inherently exhibits greater variability compared to the population standard deviation. Consequently, the incorporation of the sample standard deviation into the following research allows for a more nuanced perspective, illuminating the inherent variability within the data.

Table 1. Comparison of online vs. onsite data

Comparison of online vs. onsite data		
	Online	Onsite
Count	69	60
Sum	5779	4565
Mean (Average)	83.753623188406	76.083333333333
Median	86	79.5
Mode	87, 86, each appeared 5 times	88, appeared 4 times
Largest	96	97
Smallest	37	34
Range	59	63
Geometric Mean	83.04563887606	74.389681553224
Standard Deviation	9.7689330067258	14.836095248488
Variance	95.432052089897	220.10972222222
Sample Standard Deviation	9.8405012382821	14.961296584194
Sample Variance	96.835464620631	223.84039548023

Figure 2. Standard deviation graph referring to the results of online exam (generated from www.standarddeviationcalc.com [date of access: November 4, 2022])

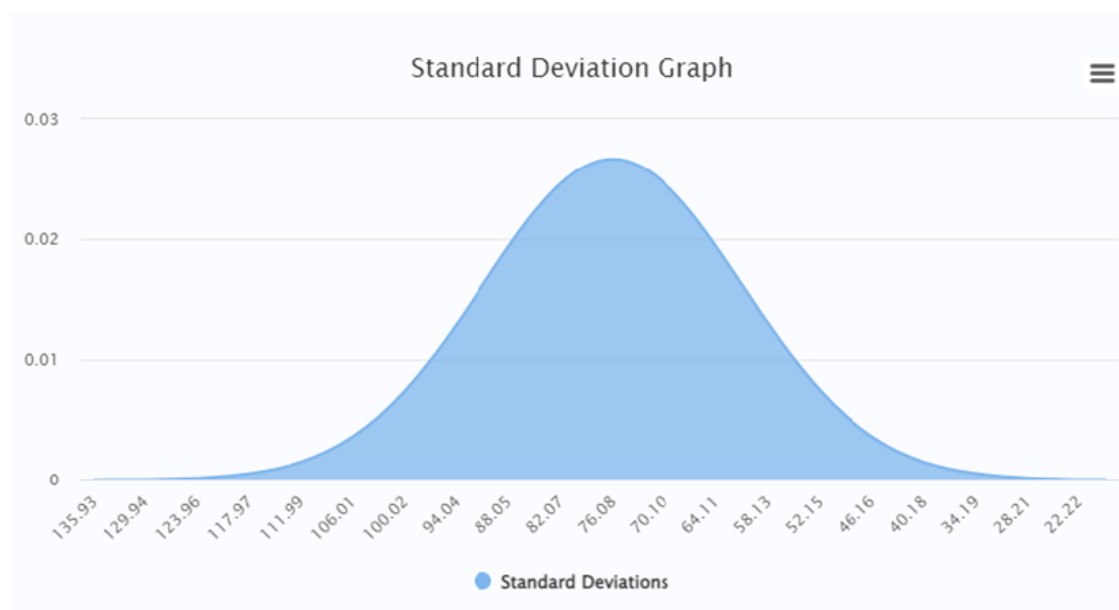


Figure 3. Standard deviation graph referring to the results of onsite exam (generated from www.standarddeviationcalc.com [date of access: November 4, 2022])

Considering the obtained data, it is evident that the standard deviation of the online testing results (see: Figure 2 above) is notably lower than that of the onsite exam results, with values of 9.84 and 14.96, respectively. A lower standard deviation implies that the data points are closely clustered around the mean, indicating a higher level of uniformity. In the case of the results obtained from online final exams (see: Figure 3 above), this clustering phenomenon can be attributed to the majority of students, approximately 82%, achieving considerably high scores, leading to grade consolidation within the 5, 4+, and 4 categories.

On the contrary, the higher standard deviation observed in the onsite final exam results signifies a more substantial spread of data points, either above or below the mean, indicating greater variability in achieved grades. These findings suggest that onsite exams are characterised by a wider range of outcomes and a more diverse distribution of results.

In light of these statistical insights, it can be inferred that onsite exams may offer certain advantages over online exams in terms of reliability, objectivity, and integrity. The higher standard deviation in onsite exams suggests that they exhibit a wider range of outcomes and a more diverse distribution of results, potentially reflecting a more comprehensive assessment of student performance. This characteristic could indicate a reduced likelihood of academic misconduct or cheating compared to the online testing environment.

5.3. Welch's T-Test

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In this study, the decision was made to utilise the Student's t-test to substantiate the findings. This statistical method is commonly employed to ascertain whether the means of two independent groups exhibit statistically significant differences, thereby discerning meaningful variations beyond chance occurrences⁵. The Student's independent-sample t-test is well-suited for comparing two distinct groups based on a quantitative variable. By applying this rigorous analytical approach, valid conclusions can be drawn regarding the significance of differences between the groups under investigation.

In the context of this research, the null hypothesis (H_0) posits that students who participated in online testing achieve results similar to those whose knowledge was tested onsite. In contrast, the alternative hypothesis (H_1) suggests that students who underwent online testing achieved different results from those who were evaluated onsite. These hypotheses play a pivotal role as guiding statements during the statistical testing procedure, allowing for a comprehensive examination of the potential disparities in exam outcomes concerning the testing environment. Their significance lies in their ability to provide valuable insights into the impact of online versus onsite testing on students' performance and overall assessment results. By rigorously evaluating these hypotheses, we gain a deeper understanding of the implications and effects associated with the mode of testing, thereby contributing to the advancement of knowledge in this field of study.

In the event that the result of the Student's t-test achieves significance at $p < 0.05$, as depicted in Figure 4, the null hypothesis is rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis. This outcome indicates a notable difference between students who participated in online testing and those whose knowledge was assessed onsite. By examining the descriptive statistics averages, it becomes evident whether students who engaged in online testing attained superior results compared to their onsite counterparts. The calculated p-value, which amounts to 0.00002305 ($p(x \leq T) = 1$), implies a minimal chance of Type I error (rejecting a correct H_0) at 0.00002305 (0.0023%). As the p-value diminishes, it strengthens the support for H_1 , thereby substantiating the observed effect. The test statistic T , with a value of 4.4417, falls outside the 95% region of acceptance $[-1.9839; 1.9839]$, as does the difference $x_1 - x_2 = 10$, which lies beyond the range $[-4.4666; 4.4666]$. The standard deviation of the difference, S' , calculated at 2.251, is employed to compute the statistic. Furthermore, the large observed effect size d of 0.81 indicates a substantial magnitude of difference between the two group averages. Despite the medium a priori power of 0.7905, the null hypothesis is ultimately rejected based on the aforementioned findings.

5 The following discussion and calculations are based on "Introduction to SAS. UCLA: Statistical Consulting Group" from <https://stats.oarc.ucla.edu/sas/modules/introduction-to-the-features-of-sas/> (accessed October 4, 2022) as well as on https://www.jmp.com/en_is/statistics-knowledge-portal/t-test/two-sample-t-test.html [date of access October 4, 2022].

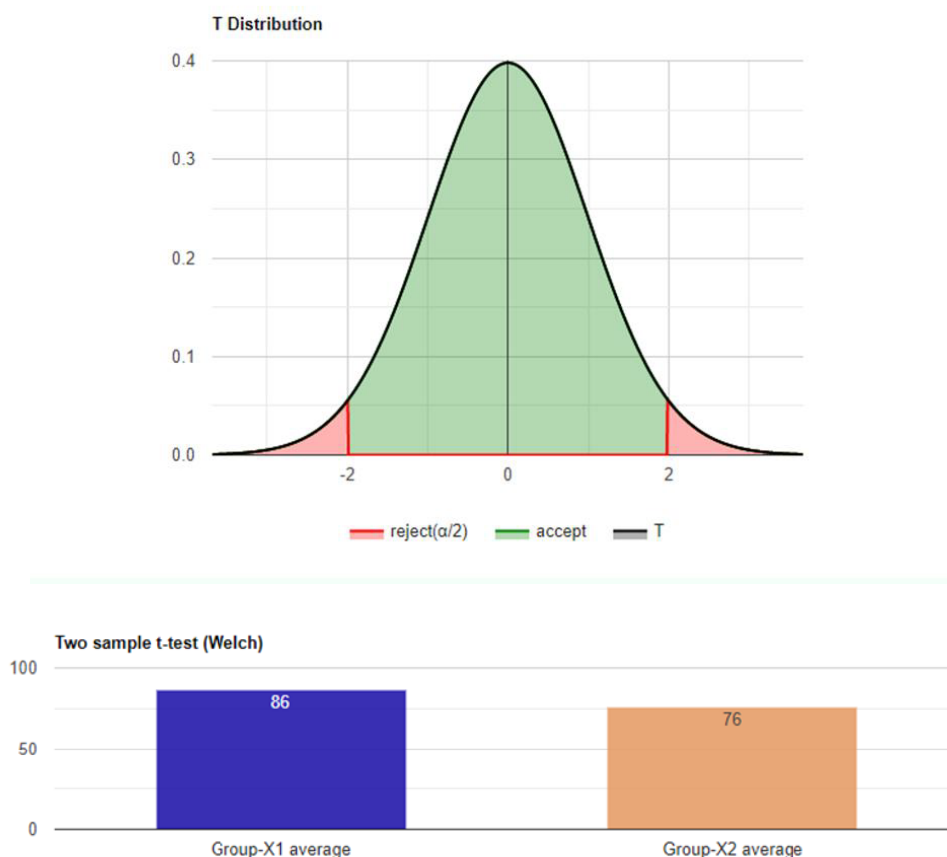


Figure 4. The results of the Student's independent-sample t-test (generated from <https://www.statskingdom.com/140MeanT2eq.html>. [date of access: November 14, 2022])

5.4. The Juxtaposition of Statistics with Survey Results

The outcomes of the statistical analysis have been juxtaposed with the results obtained from anonymous surveys conducted subsequent to each assessment procedure.

The sampling frame for surveys is based on the following criteria: the respondents needed to be current second-year students of Linguistics for Business at the University of Lodz, and had experience learning Business English remotely during the pandemic. Additionally, students needed to have undergone Business English examination procedures, conducted online in 2021 and onsite in 2022. The survey was performed using the voluntary sampling method, *i.e.* students meeting the criteria were encouraged to fill in questionnaires after the examination procedures. The details of statistical calculations for each of the surveys are presented in Table 2 below:

Table 2. The results of statistical calculations performed by authors to test the reliability of survey results.

Ratio	Survey conducted in 2021	Survey conducted in 2022
Sampling unit	69	60
Response rate⁶	42.03%	71.67%
Margin of error⁷ (at the confidence level 95%)	13.96% ⁸	8.02%

The survey data presented in this study make a significant contribution to understanding examination environments. However, it is crucial to acknowledge the limitations of the dataset. Specifically, the sample sizes and their representativeness reveal notable differences between the surveys conducted in 2021 and 2022.

The response rate for the 2021 survey is relatively low compared to the 2022 survey. This disparity can be attributed to the absence of direct teacher contact caused by lockdown restrictions during the pandemic. Consequently, the margin of error for the 2021 survey is considerably higher than that of the 2022 survey, which is within an optimal level of acceptability⁸.

According to the questionnaire findings, a significant proportion of examinees perceive online examinations to be either more challenging (41% of responses) or equally challenging (35% of responses) compared to onsite examinations. Conversely, 56% of examinees find the onsite testing process easier, with 35% considering it equally difficult. These trends may be attributed to the greater familiarity of L4B students with the conventional mode of assessment (see: Figure 5 below).

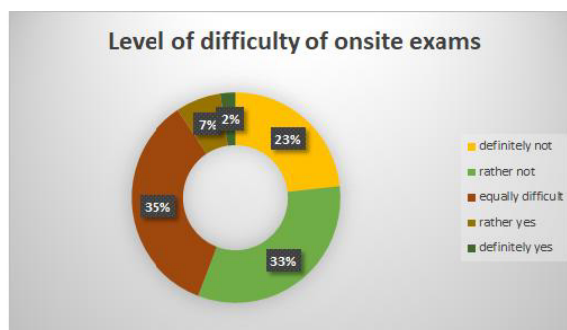


Figure 5. The results of the level of difficulty of online vs. onsite exams

Regarding exam reliability, L4B students exhibit consistent opinions: 72% deem onsite exams to be the most reliable, while 41% prefer the online alternative. However, a consensus is lacking regarding the equivalence of reliability. While 35% of students who undertook the online-proctored test perceive

6 <https://theonlineadvertisingguide.com/ad-calculators/response-rate-calculator/> [date of access October 4, 2022].

7 <https://www.smartsurvey.co.uk/resources/calculators/margin-of-error-calculator> [date of access October 4, 2022].

8 The margin of error ranges from 13.96% at the 95% confidence level for 2021 student cohort to approximately 8% for the 2022 student cohort.

both testing environments to be equal, only 14% of respondents who completed the onsite paper-based exam share this viewpoint.

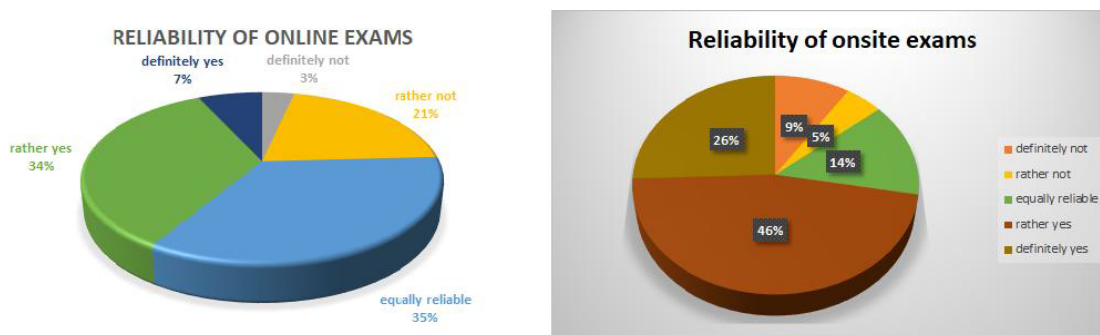


Figure 6. The results of the level of reliability of online vs. onsite exams

These observations are mirrored in responses to open-ended questions. Following the online-proctored procedure, respondents highlighted integrity concerns, as some examinees attempted to deceive examiners and/or the software by using notes or plug-ins to achieve higher scores. Additionally, L4B students noted technical challenges, such as spelling errors and difficulties with rapid typing, along with the constraints of a one-attempt policy. Some respondents emphasised the stress of relying solely on one's knowledge without resorting to dishonest exam practices. Consequently, a suggestion was made for oral examinations as an alternative to written ones.

In contrast, students who underwent the onsite examination identified stress as the primary drawback of the traditional procedure, particularly associated with the logistics of arrival at the faculty building on time, and the altered learning/testing environment following an extended period of remote learning. Other respondents highlighted the exam atmosphere as a factor influencing their performance, aligning with principles of assessment procedures outlined in the literature (Ziółkowski 2015).

5.5. Interpretation of Results and Implications of the Study for the Future

The present study provides compelling evidence that the summative exam procedure conducted onsite at the University of Lodz yields more reliable results, a conclusion substantiated by rigorous statistical analyses and survey responses from the testees. Remarkably, the onsite exam results demonstrate greater diversity, while a substantial 82% of online exam outcomes fall within the 4–5 grade range. The statistical tests effectively validate the initial hypothesis that online exam results would surpass those obtained through onsite testing. This phenomenon was expected, given concerns raised by the respondents regarding the questionable honesty of some students during online exams. The pervasiveness of such dishonest practices may be attributed to cultural factors and social tolerance prevalent in Poland. Notably, the lack of investment in exam proctoring software at the University of Lodz may have contributed to the facilitation of these irregularities.

Interestingly, the research outcomes reveal a contrast with an earlier investigation by Stradiotova *et al.* (2021), wherein they reported a 41% failure rate in online exams, compared to a 16% retake rate

in traditional onsite exams. The intriguing aspect lies in the fact that despite both groups being taught online and achieving comparable progress test outcomes, our study findings differ from Stradiotova *et al.*'s (2021) assertion that the educational process in the online environment lacks parity with the onsite educational process. As in their research, respondents in our study emphasised technical issues and insufficient digital skills, potentially influencing the final evaluation.

Overall, the findings of this study suggest that onsite administration of summative assessment procedures, whether in paper-based or computer-based formats, is preferable. The statistical analyses and the results of the student survey collectively support the notion that onsite tests yield more reliable outcomes, primarily due to the uniform conditions provided to the testees, despite the higher stress level associated with this approach. Despite observing higher results in online exams and students expressing a positive attitude towards distance learning, the testees still exhibit a preference for the traditional onsite form of progress verification. Respondents emphasise the importance of teachers creating a friendly and supportive atmosphere during onsite exams, aligning with the existing literature on this subject (Ziółkowski 2015).

6. Conclusion

The COVID-19 pandemic “caused perhaps the most serious disruption to global education and training systems in history” (Stradiotova, *et. al.* 2021: 80). However, the University of Lodz demonstrated swift adaptability during the crisis by promptly suspending traditional onsite classes and transitioning to distance learning (Janus 2020: 17). Despite the challenging circumstances, the University of Lodz authorities efficiently adjusted the education and assessment processes to the new reality.

This study reveals that there is room for improvement in online testing procedures at the University of Lodz, as the results of online exams are not equally reliable compared to onsite procedures. Respondents perceive onsite exams as easier and more dependable than digital and remote forms of assessment. Interestingly, both computer-based online exams and paper-based onsite exams were identical in content, yet the exam environment significantly impacted the perception of the assessment procedure. Additionally, the absence of exam proctoring software appears to have facilitated dishonest practices during online exams, potentially explaining the higher scores obtained by exam takers. Moreover, the assessment policies only partially fulfil their intended objectives, as students find them inadequate and perceive them as a source of stress. In contrast, the results of onsite exams demonstrate appropriate dispersion, leading to enhanced reliability. Although the onsite exam process is perceived as more stressful, it is considered impartial. As a result, the study successfully confirms the initial hypothesis through both statistical analyses and the results of the student survey.

In light of the existing literature on this subject, the findings may suggest considering a shift from summative to formative assessment in extraordinary circumstances like COVID-19 lockdown restrictions. However, there remains a dilemma concerning the evaluation of students' progress in specialised courses such as Business English, where a final exam is integral to the programme of the L4B studies. Ultimately, this research contributes to the ongoing discussions about the appropriate assessment procedures during exceptional situations, providing valuable insights for educational institutions, including the University of Lodz, in optimising their assessment strategies during challenging times.

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Received:
30.05.2024
Reviewed:
22.07.2024
Accepted:
10.11.2024

PAWEŁ GOLDA

Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach, Instytut Językoznawstwa

pawel.golda@us.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0001-5505-7731

JOANNA RYSZKA

Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach, Instytut Językoznawstwa / Università degli Studi di

Roma „La Sapienza”, Dipartimento di Studi Europei, Americani e Interculturali

joanna.ryszka@us.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-5142-3949

O Marcelim Tarnowskim – tłumaczu, redaktorze, księgarzu

On Marcelli Tarnowski – Translator, Editor, Bookseller

Abstract

The paper presents the biography of Marcelli Tarnowski (1899–1942), a Polish translator of 145 books, bookseller, editor, journalist, creator of the screenplay for the movie “Przybłęda”, and the author of an unfinished book about the Warsaw Ghetto. Tarnowski, who tragically died during World War II, was a member of the Bibliophiles’ Association in Łódź, the Polish Booksellers Association, and a co-founder of the Cooperative Booksellers Bank. The article provides an account of Tarnowski’s life and discusses his creative achievements, focusing on the numerous translations he wrote, including their reception and critique.

Keywords: Marcelli Tarnowski, Andrzej Magórski, translator, editor, biography, literary translation, translator studies

Słowa kluczowe: Marcelli Tarnowski, Andrzej Magórski, tłumacz, redaktor, biografia, przekład literacki, badania nad tłumaczami

Wstęp

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Badania nad sylwetkami tłumaczy, którzy w znaczący sposób przyczynili się do rozwoju literatury, prowadzone są już od wielu lat, często w oparciu o badania z zakresu translatoryki antropologicznej (zob. Chesterman 2009, Płużyczka 2021). Pojawiły się już prace poświęcone takim postaciom jak Zofia Chądzyńska (Gaszyńska-Magiera 2012), Wanda Kragen (Eberharther 2014), Wiktor hr. Baworski (Eberharther 2017), Bolesław Leśmian (Górski 2018) czy Irina Adelgejm (Krajewska 2022). Zainteresowanie autorami przekładów często wynika z tego, iż ich wkład w rozwój literatury długo był pomijany (Gaszyńska-Magiera 2012, Krajewska 2022). Niniejsza praca ma na celu przedstawienie życiorysu postaci wyjątkowej i zasłużonej dla polskiego przekładu, Marcelego Tarnowskiego, który urodził się 19.12.1899 r. w Koninie i zmarł tragicznie w okresie II wojny światowej (Tadeusiewicz, Treichel 1993: 64).

W słowniku Edmunda Jankowskiego (1995: 703) Tarnowski został przedstawiony jako „tłumacz, dziennikarz, księgarz”, a Stanisław Łoza (1938: 746) przypisał mu zawód „literat”. Przedstawiona lista określeń, jakimi można opisać tę postać, jest niewątpliwie obszerna, a dowody na jej słuszność przedstawimy w niniejszej pracy. Należy zauważyć, że faktografia życia Tarnowskiego, pomimo upływu wielu lat i częstego wzmiankowania jego nazwiska (zob. Woźniak 2009, Baluch 2013, Pieciul-Karmińska 2013, Koryga 2014, Staniów 2014, Ziółkowska 2016, Golda i in. 2022), nie została do tej pory szczegółowo opracowana.

Tłumacz najczęściej używał jednego imienia, *Marceli*, jednak w odręcznie wypełnionych kartach wpisowych na Uniwersytet Jagielloński (dalej KWUJ) podał dwa: *Marceli Majer*. Ponadto, ze względu na pochodzenie, otrzymał imię żydowskie: *Calel*. Choć używał go rzadko, figuruje ono w wielu dokumentach¹. Imię to pochodzi od biblijnego antroponimu *Becalel* (Abramowicz 2014), który oznacza „w cieniu Boga”. Starotestamentowy bohater o tym imieniu był zdolnym rzemieślnikiem i artystą, który potrafił doskonale odwzorowywać przedmioty (Maciudzińska-Kamczycka 2016).

Najważniejszą motywacją do stworzenia tego artykułu, jest fakt, iż przekłady Tarnowskiego są nadal przedrukowywane, a jego tłumaczenia były inspiracją dla kolejnych twórców, m.in. Tadeusza Różewicza, który zainspirował się przekładem *Śnieżki* (Bednarczyk 2022). Co więcej, jego tłumaczenia pozostają w zainteresowaniach badaczy, którzy wiele z nich poddali analizie, np. wybrane teksty ze zbioru *Baśni Braci Grimm* (zob. Woźniak 2009, Baluch 2013, Pieciul-Karmińska 2013, Koryga 2014, Staniów 2014, Ziółkowska 2016, Golda i in. 2022), *Przypadki Tomka Sawyera* (zob. Dybiec-Gajer 2011, Działowy 2018, 2022) czy *Historie jakubowe* (zob. Goślicki-Baur 1978).

Mimo że jakość niektórych tłumaczeń bywa krytykowana, Aleksandra Wieczorkiewicz (2019: 62) nazywa Tarnowskiego „doborowym tłumaczem”, stawiając go obok takich praktyków przekładu jak Rozalia Bernsteinowa, Stefania Beylin, Wanda Kragen, Maria Kreczowska (właśc. Feldmanowa), Franciszek Mirandola (właśc. Pik), Janina Mortkowiczowa, Zofia Rogoszówna, Irena Tuwim czy Janina Zawisza-Krasucka. Co więcej, Marek Pieczonka (2003: 125) zauważa, że w Krakowie, w latach 1918–1939, kiedy bohater niniejszej pracy współpracował z krakowską Księgarnią Powszechną, to właśnie on przetłumaczył najwięcej tekstów z języka niemieckiego. Jednak warto dodać, że przygotowane na

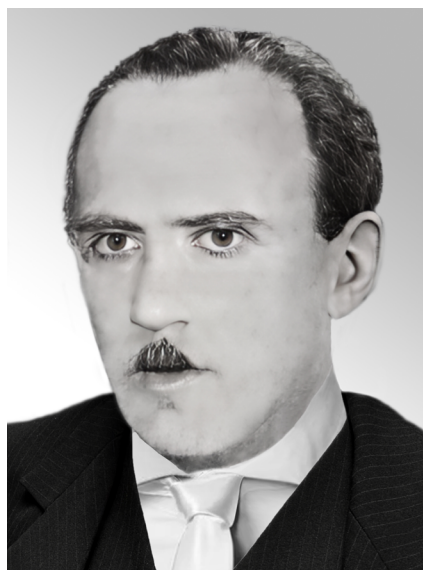
1 Na przykład w odpisie skróconym aktu małżeństwa Marcelego i Barbary Tarnowskich (dalej OAM), załączonym do akt sądowych zgromadzonych w postępowaniu o uznanie Marcelego Tarnowskiego za zmarłego. Udostępnione na stronie *The US Holocaust Memorial Museum* (dalej USHMM).

potrzebę tego artykułu zestawienie tłumaczeń Marcelgo Tarnowskiego wskazuje na wydanie przez Księgarnię Powszechną, w omawianym przez Pieczonkę (2003) okresie, zaledwie trzech tłumaczeń z języka niemieckiego: *Kruszynka i Antos* Ericha Kastnera oraz *Perri: powieść leśna i Piętnaście zajęcy* Felixa Saltena.

Przekłady Tarnowskiego cieszą się różną popularnością, a na brak uznania niektórych wpływa najprawdopodobniej istnienie konkurencyjnych wersji, np. *Zwycięstwo matki* w jego przekładzie ukazało się w 1929 r., ale jak twierdzi Joanna Dobrowolska (2020: 2), w 1940 r. ukazało się najpopularniejsze tłumaczenie autorstwa Haliny Górskiej, uzupełnione po II wojnie światowej przez Adama Ważyka.



Zdjęcie 1. Zdjęcie Marcelgo Tarnowskiego (Łoza 1938: 746)



Zdjęcie 2. Cyfrowa renowacja zdjęcia (wykonanie: River – Sebastian Wiszniewski)

Tło rodzinne

O życiu rodziców i rodzeństwa Tarnowskiego zachowało się wiele informacji. Ojciec, Leon², urodził się w październiku 1871 r. w Smile³ jako syn Hersza. Tarnowski senior zmarł 16.03.1923 r. (za *JRI-Poland*).

2 W kartach wpisowych na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w Krakowie Tarnowski zapisał, że jego ojciec był niezdolny do pracy. Również karta meldunkowa do spisu ludności miasta Łódź wystawiona na nazwisko Leona (dalej KMŁ) podaje, iż Tarnowski senior był kaleką, i odnotowuje nawet jego wyjazd na leczenie do Poznania. Z kolei w zachowanej w poznańskiej filii Archiwum Państwowego innej karcie meldunkowej (dalej KMP), co prawda odnotowano ten pobyt, ale wskazano zawód *handlarz*. Leon posiadał także imię żydowskie, które różnie zapisywano: *Lejba* (za OAM), *Lajb* (za KMŁ), *Leib* (za KMP), *Lejb* (za USHMM). Natomiast według Marka J. Minakowskiego (2024), Tarnowski senior nosił imiona *Leon Majer*.

3 Podajemy tu współczesną nazwę miasta (za *Encyklopedią PWN*). W KMŁ widnieje zapis *Smola*.

Z kolei matką literata była Teofila⁴, a właściwie Tauba, z d. Bauman (za OAM). Matka tłumacza urodziła się 28.04.1862 r. w Koninie (za KMŁ). Była dwukrotnie zamężna, po raz pierwszy z Robertem vel Beniaminem Konem, z którym miała co najmniej dwie córki: Alicję⁵, po mężu Strawczyńską, urodzoną 24.05.1889 r., i Ewę⁶, po mężu Plockerową vel Plockierową, urodzoną 1.01.1892 r. i zmarłą w 1958 r. Obie siostry przyrodnie Tarnowskiego przeżyły II wojnę światową i to one, po jej zakończeniu, wraz z bratową Wilhelminą⁷ wniosły o uznanie tłumacza za zmarłego.

Z drugiego małżeństwa, z Leonem Tarnowskim, oprócz literata, Teofila z d. Bauman miała jeszcze dwojkę dzieci: Karolinę⁸ i Adama. Urodzona w styczniu 1899 r. w Koninie Karolina była o kilka miesięcy starszą siostrą Marcelego (za KMŁ). Zmarła w sierpniu 1942 r. w drodze do Treblinki, najprawdopodobniej już na placu przesiadkowym w Warszawie. Młodszy brat literata, Adam Tarnowski, używający również imion *Abraham* (za USHMM) i *Abram* (za Hirschberg 2023 oraz *JRI-Poland*), urodził się 22.02.1901 r. w Koninie i zmarł 15.01.1943 r. w obozie Auschwitz⁹ (za USHMM).

Wydaje się, że rodzina Tarnowskich musiała być dobrze uposażona, ponieważ udało się im wysłać dzieci do dobrych szkół. Sam Tłumacz odebrał wyższe wykształcenie, a jego siostry – Ewa z pierwszego małżeństwa Teofili i Karolina z drugiego – wyszły dobrze za mąż.

Młodość Tarnowskiego

Opowiedzieliśmy już o rodzinie, w której przyszedł na świat Marceli Tarnowski. Nie dysponujemy jednak żadnymi informacjami na temat jego dzieciństwa. Możemy jedynie domniemywać, że całe jego wczesne życie rozgrywało się w Koninie i Łodzi.

- 4 W jej przypadku dokumenty nie mnożą wariantów imienia żydowskiego, ale dwa z dostępnych źródeł – *Księga zgonów KL Auschwitz* i *JRI-Poland* – odnotowały inną ortografię nazwiska: *Baumann*.
- 5 O Alicji wiemy, że odebrała wykształcenie średnie. Wyszła za Aleksandra Strawczyńskiego, z którym miała dwie córki: Julię oraz Wandę (za USHMM i Żydowskim Instytutem Historycznym [dalej ŻIH]).
- 6 Ewa Plockerowa była nauczycielką muzyki (za ŻIH) oraz pianistką po Konserwatorium Lipskim, które ukończyła ze złotym medalem (Chmielewski 1902–1992: 25). Wraz z mężem, znanym lekarzem Leonem Plockerem, mieli jedną córkę, Annę, urodzoną w 1915 i zmarłą w 1942 r., malarzkę i przyjaciółkę Bruna Schulza oraz narzeczoną (za *Miasto Bruna Schulza*) lub żonę Marka Zwillicha (Minakowski 2024).
- 7 Szwagierka tłumacza urodziła się 22.07.1906 r. Była córką Maurycego Zyskinda vel Mosesa Susskinda i Franciszki Rajzer vel Fany Reiner (Hirschberg 2023). Z zawodu była pianistką (za Yad Vashem). Wilhelmina Tarnowska używała aliasów *Maria Życińska* (za USHMM) oraz *Maria Życznińska* (za *Księga zgonów KL Auschwitz*).
- 8 W jej akcie urodzenia nazwisko jest zapisane z błędem: *Tarnawski*. Przez pewien czas była żoną Bolesława Wojciecha Hermana, lekarza, ale małżeństwo to zakończyło się rozwodem, o czym dowiadujemy się z aktu zgonu mężczyzny (za *Geneteka*). Grób Hermana znajduje się na Cmentarzu Powązkowskim w Warszawie, a w epitafium nagrobkowym podpisany został syn zmarłego (cyt. „Ukochanemu Niezapomnianemu Ojcu, Synowi, Bratu. Syn, Matka, Bracia” [za *Warszawskie Zabytkowe Pomniki Nagrobne*]). Niestety trudno o informacje o tym potomku, w konsekwencji czego nie wiemy, choćby tego, czy jego matką była Karolina z d. Tarnowska. W powojennych aktach procesowych w sprawie uznania jej za zmarłą zapisano, że nie pozostawiła po sobie bliskich krewnych (za USHMM).
- 9 *Księga zgonów KL Auschwitz* nie odnotowuje daty osadzenia ani numeru obozowego Adama Tarnowskiego, ale zawiera informację o przyczynie jego zgonu (*Septischer Darmkatarrh*, pol. „septyczne zapalenie jelit”) oraz zawód (*księgowy*). Dnia 16.12.1930 r. najmłodszy Tarnowski poślubił Wilhelminę z d. Zyskind (por. przypis nr 7), z którą miał córkę Urszulę Alinę, urodzoną w 1932 r. w Krakowie (za USHMM). Obie kobiety – Wilhelmina i Urszula – przeżyły wojnę (za ŻIH).

Według informacji, które osobiście przekazał Łozie (1938), ukończył on Wyższą Szkołę Realną w Łodzi. W rzeczywistości chodzi o Prywatne Gimnazjum i Liceum Męskie Zgromadzenia Kupców m. Łodzi, które posiadało wówczas renomę. Historii tej placówki poświęcona jest publikacja Adrianny Szczerby (2015), z której dowiadujemy się, że celem szkoły było kształcenie zarówno handlowe, jak i ogólne. W ramach przedmiotów zawodowych uczniowie uczyli się buchalterii, korespondencji handlowej, arytmetyki handlowej, towaroznawstwa, ekonomii politycznej, prawoznawstwa, geografii handlowej oraz historii handlu. Szczerba (2015: 45) pisze: „Na tych przedmiotach do końca istnienia szkoły opiera się program nauczania pomimo różnych zmian, które zachodziły w nim pod naciskiem władz bądź w wyniku działalności dyrekcji i pedagogów”. W szkole bardzo dużą wagę przykładano do nauki języków obcych, a „[n]a lektoraty francuskiego i niemieckiego nie żałowano pieniędzy” (*ibid.*). Tarnowski uzyskał maturę w tej placówce w 1918 r. (za KWUJ).

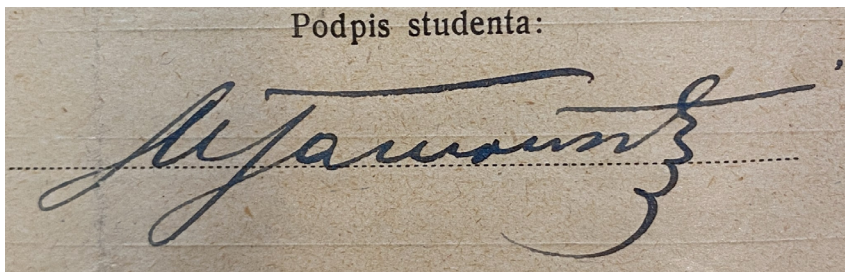
Po zakończeniu edukacji na tym etapie przyszedł tłumacz zgłosił się jako ochotnik do Wojska Polskiego. U Łozy (1938) znajdujemy informację, że służba wojskowa literata miała miejsce w latach 1918–1920. Precyzyjne daty swojego pobytu w armii Tarnowski zapisał w karcie wpisowej na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim: od 12.12.1918 do 3.07.1920 r. Ślad po jego służbie w wojsku zachował się również we wspomnianej już karcie meldunkowej z Łodzi wystawionej na nazwisko jego ojca.

Kilka miesięcy po zakończeniu dwuletniej służby wojskowej, złożony egzamin z łaciny, Marceli Tarnowski rozpoczął studia matematyczne na Wydziale Filozoficznym Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie, gdzie studiował od roku akademickiego 1920/21 do 1923/24. Archiwum instytucji do dzisiaj przechowuje odręcznie wypełnione i podpisane przez bohatera niniejszej pracy dokumenty. Dowiadujemy się z nich między innymi, że pochodzący z Łodzi student zamieszkiwał w Krakowie pod adresami: ul. Grabowskiego 10 oraz ul. Bonerowskiej 6. Uczestniczył on w zajęciach z teorii dowodu, geometrii analitycznej, teorii liczb rzeczywistych, fizyki doświadczalnej, zagadnień optyki, astronomii sferycznej, chemii organicznej i wielu innych. Prawdopodobnie jedynym komponentem humanistycznym był wykład o dziejach filozofii greckiej. Z ankiety, którą Marceli Tarnowski wypełnił w maju 1937 r. dla Włodzimierza Pfeiffera¹⁰ (dalej AMT), dowiadujemy się, że podjął studia matematyczne, ponieważ planował zostać nauczycielem.

Podsumowując, Marceli Tarnowski odebrał bardzo dobre wykształcenie, na którełożyło się ukończenie prestiżowej łódzkiej szkoły oraz Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Jego edukacja była wszechstronna: odebrał wykształcenie ogólne, zawodowe oraz pogłębione w przedmiotach ścisłych. Choć nie otrzymał fachowego przygotowania translatorskiego, to kompleksowe wykształcenie z pewnością wpłynęło na różnorodność jego dorobku oraz otwartość na podejmowanie się różnych zadań. Jego służba wojskowa oraz częste przeprowadzki najpewniej wpłynęły na jego umiejętność adaptacji do różnych sytuacji i rozwinęły jego umiejętności organizacyjne.

¹⁰ Włodzimierz Pfeiffer (25.11.1890–25.06.1941) był łódzkim księgarzem, bibliofilem, esperantystą i fotografem. Zajmował się popularyzacją czytelnictwa oraz tworzeniem dokumentacji związanej z dziejami księgarstwa łódzkiego, na potrzeby której opracował i rozesłał w 1937 r. do księgarń i księgarzy specjalną ankietę. Otrzymane przez niego kwestionariusze są przechowywane w Archiwum Państwowym w Łodzi w zespole *Archiwum Włodzimierza Pfeiffera* (dalej AWP) o sygnaturze 39/596.

Podpis studenta:



Zdjęcie 3. Podpis Marcelgo Tarnowskiego na karcie wpisowej z 19.11.1922 r. znajdującej się w Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego

Małżeństwo i rodzicielstwo¹¹

Dnia 23.12.1923 r. Marceli Tarnowski zawarł związek małżeński (zarejestrowany urzędowo 2.06.1924 r.) z Balczą z domu Gliksman (zapis za OAM) vel Glücksman (zapis za Minakowskim 2024 oraz Łozą 1938). Według karty meldunkowej do spisu ludności miasta Łodzi wystawionej na nazwisko Gliksmanów (dalej KMG), w której figuruje jako Balbina, małżonka tłumacza przyszła na świat 12.04.1900 r. w Łodzi. W dorosłym życiu najczęściej używała imienia *Barbara* i to jego zdrobniałej formy, *Basia*, używał Szymon Gliksman pisząc we wspomnieniach o „najukochańszej ze swoich sióstr” (SG: 468). Pani Tarnowska była córką Szlamy Gliksmana¹² i Łai z Karpów (za OAM) oraz siostrą liczного rodzeństwa (za KMG). Według zachowanych wspomnień jej brata, „(...) była najpiękniejsza i najbardziej utalentowana w rodzinie, (...) malowała, rzeźbiła, pisała¹³, i (...) niewątpliwie posiadała wielki, rzadko spotykany aktorski talent” (SG: 464).

Niecałe dwa lata po ślubie Marcelgo i Barbary, 31.05.1925 r. w Łodzi, przyszło na świat ich jedyne dziecko, córka Julia Wanda, której imiona zapisywano również łącznie: *Julia-Wanda* (za USHMM i SG).

- 11 W odtworzeniu sytuacji rodzinnej Tarnowskiego jednym z najważniejszych źródeł są nieopublikowane wspomnienia Szymona Gliksmana (dalej SG) z prywatnego archiwum prof. Barbary Engelking. Gliksman, twórca pamiętnika, był szwagrem tłumacza mieszkającym z Tarnowskimi, kiedy trafili do getta (SG: 70). Numery stron będziemy podawać za otrzymanym maszynopisem.
- 12 Gliksmanowie byli rodziną o tradycjach jubilerskich, co potwierdzają liczne dokumenty zachowane w Archiwum Państwowym w Łodzi.
- 13 Osoba o personaliach *Barbara Tarnowska* wydała dwie powieści dla młodzieży: *Tajemnica Janki* w 1928 r. w Domu Książki Polskiej oraz *Zła Krystyna* w 1931 r. w wydawnictwie L. Fiszer, dla którego pracował wówczas Marceli Tarnowski. Ponadto, w 1938 r. ukazał się polski przekład *Wspaniałego pomysłu Nory*, spod pióra Herminii Zur Muhlen, autorstwa Barbary Tarnowskiej. Tłumaczenie to ukazało się nakładem Księgarni Popularnej, dla której pracował również Marceli Tarnowski. Warto więc zwrócić uwagę na fakt, iż zainteresowania twórcze Tarnowskiej i Tarnowskiego oscylowały wokół literatury dla młodych czytelników. Co ciekawe, na pierwszej stronie *Tajemnicy Janki* zapowiadano, że w przygotowaniu jest powieść *Duch Barbakanu*, a w *Złej Krystynie* informowano, że wkrótce ma ukazać się powieść *Dwie Marysie*, obie autorstwa Barbary Tarnowskiej. Niemniej żaden z tych tekstów nie został wydany. W *Kurjerze Warszawskim* z 1927 r. (str. 5) możemy znaleźć *Tajemnicę Janki* na liście najpiękniejszych książek sezonu z informacją, że pozycje z zestawienia są do nabycia we wszystkich księgarniach L. Fiszer.

W pewnym momencie trzyosobowa rodzina Tarnowskich opuściła Łódź. Mieszkali, przez niedługi czas, od 1931 do 1932 r., w Katowicach¹⁴, ponieważ literat pełnił tam rolę kierownika księgarni Ludwika Fiszera. Później przeprowadzili się do Warszawy, gdzie pozostali już na stałe.

Cała trójka Tarnowskich była ochrzczona (SG: 69) w wyznaniu katolickim¹⁵, a Barbara miała bardzo specyficzny stosunek do Żydów i nie przyznawała się do swojego pochodzenia (SG: 68–69). Tarnowscy, najprawdopodobniej oboje, zupełnie odeszli od religii i tradycji żydowskich, o czym świadczy fragment *Dziennika z Getta Warszawskiego* Mary Berg ([1945] 1938: 128), która pisze, że Julia o swoim pochodzeniu dowiedziała się dopiero w momencie otrzymania rozkazu opuszczenia strony „aryjskiej”.

Wspomnienia Szymona Gliksmana pozwalają rzucić światło na to, jakimi ludźmi byli Marceli, Barbara i Julia. W pamiętniku Gliksman wraca pamięcią do 1940 r. i wspomina siostrę i szwagra między innymi w słowach:

Marceli Tarnowski dobrze przed wojną zarabiał. Otrzymywał wysokie honoraria za tłumaczenia z języka niemieckiego, a jego żona z gestem udzielnej księżniczki wydawała pieniądze. Zimą mieszkała w Zakopanem i to w najdroższych pensjonatach¹⁶, gdzie na śniadanie zjadała jeden sucharek i wypijała szklankę czarnej kawy, a na obiad dziesięć dekagramów wygotowanej cielęciny i trochę tartej marchewki. Na kolację jadła tylko owoce. Dieta ta stosowana była skrupulatnie, aby nie przybrać na wadze i aby ciągle wyglądać młodo. (SG: 68–69)

Przekłady przynosiły Tarnowskiemu znaczne dochody, dzięki czemu jego rodzina mogła żyć na wysokim poziomie.

Także z korespondencji zachowanej w *Archiwum Włodzimierza Pfeiffera* dowiadujemy się o kilku cechach tłumacza. Tarnowski był uważany za człowieka o wielu zaletach: inteligentnego, szybko przyswajającego wiedzę, mądrego i sprytnego. Podkreślano jednak jego zarozumiałość, która stawiała się widoczna dopiero po pewnym czasie¹⁷. Sam Pfeiffer dostrzegał również wszechstronność i wyjątkowość Tarnowskiego. W liście do tłumacza z 15.05.1937 r. określił go mianem „człowieka z innego poziomu i o innych widnokęgach” oraz docenił jego zdolność przelewania na papier „rzeczy najbardziej zawilych”.

Osoby z otoczenia mogły uważać Marcelgo Tarnowskiego za osobę prowadzącą życie nudne i monotonne. On sam jednak miał na ten temat inne zdanie, które wyraził w liście z 30.05.1937 r., odsyłając Pfeifferowi ankietę: „Niewątpliwie niejeden ważny moment przeoczyłem, ale też tyle minionego czasu robi swoje, zwłaszcza w tak ruchliwym życiu, jakie ja (mimo przeciwnych pozorów) prowadzę”.

Tarnowski był także bardzo pracowity. Z korespondencji zachowanej w *Archiwum Włodzimierza Pfeiffera* dowiadujemy się, że nawet podczas wakacyjnych wyjazdów nie odpoczywał od pracy. Warto

14 W nocy poświęconej tłumaczowi Hanna Tadeusiewicz i Irena Treichel (1993: 64) wzmiankują, iż Tarnowski mieszkał w Katowicach, ale czynią to w nawiasie i z pytańnikiem. Jednak fakt ten nie budzi żadnych wątpliwości w świetle licznych dokumentów zachowanych w *Archiwum Włodzimierza Pfeiffera* oraz książki Janiny Krakowiak (2005).

15 List Włodzimierza Pfeiffera do Edmunda Górskiego z 9.07.1931 r. (za AWP).

16 *Zakopiańska lista gości* z 10.01.1932 r. (str. 9) informowała o przybyciu do Zakopanego Barbary Tarnowskiej z Katowic wraz z córką. Kobiety zatrzymały się w Białej Róży między 28 a 31.12.1931 r. Co ciekawe, jest to prawdopodobnie jedyny numer *Zakopiańskiej listy gości*, który odnotował przybycie Tarnowskich.

17 Zalety Tarnowskiego wymienił Pfeiffer w liście z 9.07.1931 r., *op. cit.* Zarozumiałość jest natomiast wzmiankowana w korespondencji Górskiego do Pfeiffera z 6.09.1932 r. (za AWP).

w tym miejscu przytoczyć fragment listu, który Tarnowski wysłał z Orłowa Morskiego 30.06.1937 r. do Pfeiffera:

Grzecznie przepraszam, że dopiero dzisiaj odpowiadam na Pański list z 11-go. Nadszedł on krótko przed moim wyjazdem na urlop, więc w największej gorączce pracy, tutaj zaś pierwszy tydzień trzeba było przeleniuchować, a teraz dopiero siadam do maszyny (bez której, jak i dawniej nawet na urlop nie jeżdżę – z przywiązania!). (AWP)

Postać Marcelego Tarnowskiego pojawia się również w zabawnej anegdocie przytoczonej przez Ryszarda M. Grońskiego (1995: 85). Według niej, polski wydawca dzieł Tomasza Manna, Mojżesz Fruchtmann, otrzymał pewnego dnia wiadomość, że niemiecki noblista przejeżdża przez Warszawę, gdzie będzie miał pół godziny postoju. Mann chciał, aby jego wydawca przywitał go na dworcu. Fruchtmann wpadł jednak w panikę, ponieważ Mann myślał, że jest on wielkim wydawcą, a nie małym księgarzem. Aby nie rozczarować noblisty, na dworzec poszedł elegancko ubrany Marcelec Tarnowski, który udawał właściciela dużego wydawnictwa.

Należy wspomnieć także o rozpadzie małżeństwa Marcelego i Barbary Tarnowskich, które Gliksman określił jako „zadziwiające”. Doszło do niego w 1940 r., kiedy Barbara postanowiła zostawić męża dla „20-letniego przystojnego chłopca” (SG: 69). „Chłopcu” było na imię Zdzisław i pochodził on z „eleganckiej rodziny żydowskiej” (*ibid.*). Tłumacz przystał na rozwód, pod warunkiem, że córka zostanie z nim, na co Barbara przystała, ponieważ „Juleczka była już za duża, aby bez żenady przyznawać przed ludźmi, że jest jej córką, i dlatego, że była jeszcze za mała, aby mówić, że jest jej siostrą” (*ibid.*).

Choć małżeństwo Tarnowskich się rozpadło, w wielokrotnie cytowanych już wspomnieniach Gliksman zaświadcza, że „Marcelec nie przestał kochać Basi” (*ibid.*). Kiedy Tarnowscy znaleźli się w getcie warszawskim – a znalazł się tam zarówno Marcelec z Julią, jak i Barbara ze Zdzisławem oraz Szymon Gliksman – literat dodawał córce otuchy obiecując, że po wojnie ponownie pobierze się z jej matką (SG: 169).

Życie zawodowe i przekłady

Tarnowski jest autorem wielu znanych, także współcześnie, przekładów, które budzą zainteresowanie wśród czytelników, jak i badaczy. Pomimo że część z jego tłumaczeń doczekała się jedynie pierwszego wydania (np. *Podręczniki miłości* Franza Bleia), wiele innych jest nadal wznawianych (np. *Gabinet nr 13* Edgara Wallace’a), przez co nazwisko tłumacza jest wciąż żywe. Analiza pozyskanych źródeł wskazuje na to, że Tarnowski jest autorem 145 tłumaczeń wydanych w ciągu 16 lat. W niektórych przypadkach, nazwisko tłumacza było błędnie zapisywane jako *Tarnawski* (Kowalczyk 2023), lub było zastępowane aliasem *Andrzej Magórski* (też *Magurski*).

Marceli Tarnowski zaistniał na rynku wydawniczym w 1923 r., kiedy ukazało się jego dziesięć przekładów z języka niemieckiego, w tym książki Bô Yin Râ oraz wspomniane *Podręczniki do miłości* F. Bleia. Przekład był dla niego wówczas jedynie zajęciem dodatkowym, o czym napisał w ankiecie Pfeiffera:

Księgarstwo stało się moim zawodem przypadkowo. Po ukończeniu studiów matematycznych w Krakowie zamierzałem poświęcić się pracy nauczycielskiej. Przez dwa lata pracowałem w gimnazjum, oddając się jednocześnie swojej ulubionej pracy tłumacza. Jedynym moim wydawcą była wówczas księgarnia L. Fiszera w Łodzi. (AMT)

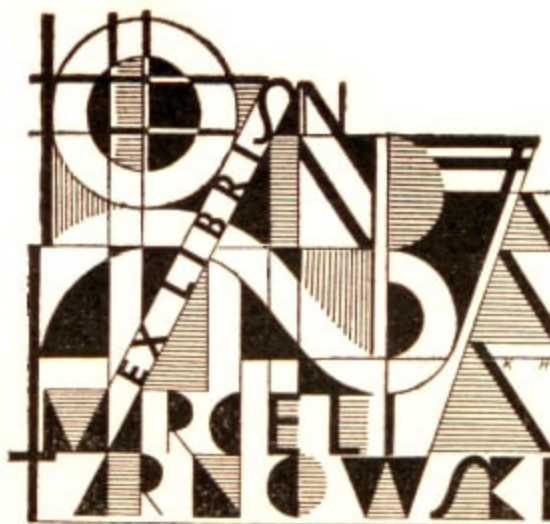
Następnie, Tarnowski porzucił pracę w szkolnictwie i od 1.10.1925 r. pełnił funkcję doradcy literackiego w łódzkiej księgarni, która wydawała jego pierwsze przekłady. Zajmował to stanowisko do 1.02.1928 r., kiedy odszedł by poświęcić wyłącznie pracy tłumacza (za AMT). Po latach, swój dwuletni angaż w księgarni L. Fiszera wspominał w słowach:

Pozostając na tym stanowisku przez przeszło dwa lata, miałem sposobność nauczyć się księgarstwa. Pracując w dziale wydawniczym, byłem w księgarni sortymentowej niejako widzem, ale miałem dość okazji, aby poznać piękno tego zawodu i pokochać go tak serdecznie, że z radością przyjąłem ofiarowane mi w r[oku] 1931 stanowisko kierownika księgarni Fiszera w Katowicach. Po opuszczeniu tej posady już stale myślałem o nowej pracy na terenie księgarskim (...). (AMT)

W 1924 r. wydano jego pierwszy przekład z języka angielskiego, tłumaczenie *Księcia i żebraka* Marka Twaina, a rok później z języka rosyjskiego – były to trzy przekłady twórczości Lidii Czarskiej¹⁸. Warto dodać, że w 2000 r. ukazało się *Pożegnanie z dzieciństwem* tej samej autorki w tłumaczeniu Tarnowskiego, jednak jest to po prostu wznowienie przekładu *Księżniczki Dżawachy* z 1925 r. wydane pod innym tytułem. W ramach współpracy z wydawnictwem L. Fiszera, gdzie publikował swoje pierwsze tłumaczenia, dokonał redakcji *Jak powstają światy* Svante A. Arrheniusa, którego przekład przygotował Ludwik Bruner.

W 1927 r. Przemysław Smolik założył w Łodzi Towarzystwo Bibliofilów, które zrzeszało wiele zasłużonych dla księgarstwa osób. Tarnowski dołączył do niego już na początku jego funkcjonowania. Jednym z członków stowarzyszenia był również Karol Hiller, twórca ekslibrysu tłumacza (Zdjęcie 4). Wspomniana grafika znalazła się w publikacji *Ekslibrysy Karola Hillera*, wydanej dzięki inicjatywie Smolika i pozyskanym przez niego subsydiom (Matuszak 2017). Hiller jest również autorem wielu okładek przekładów Tarnowskiego, np. twórczości Waldemara Bonselsa. Artysta i tłumacz współpracowali razem już od czasów L. Fiszera, a później w wydawnictwie Renaissance, gdzie Hillera polecił sam Tarnowski: „Kiedy już byłem studentem Akademii Sztuk Pięknych, znany tłumacz (sic!), Marceli Tarnowski, polecił mnie jako grafika Ludwikowi Erdtrachtowi, właścicielowi wydawnictwa Renaissance” (Lipiński 2016: 65).

18 Większość przekładów twórczości L. Czarskiej z pierwszej połowy XX wieku, nie jest opatrzona nazwiskiem żadnego tłumacza, np. *Leśne schronisko* (1939, Wydawnictwo J. Przeworskiego), co może sugerować niekompletność wykazu umieszczonego w załączniku do artykułu. Jednakże warto też dodać, że Tarnowski nie jest jedynym tłumaczem L. Czarskiej, bo jej twórczość również przekładały np. Zofia Dromlewiczowa czy Eugenia Solska.



Zdjęcie 4. Ekslibris Marcelgo Tarnowskiego (Hiller 1927)

Do 1927 r. L. Fiszer¹⁹ było jedynym wydawnictwem, z którym bohater niniejszej pracy współpracował. Wtedy też nawiązał współpracę ze wspomnianym wyżej wydawnictwem Renaissance, gdzie publikował np. Leopold Staff. W 1928 r., poza sześcioma przekładami, głównie z angielskiego, dla Renaissance, Tarnowski wykonał dla Wydawnictwa A. F. Mittlera *Słowniczek wyrazów obcych staropolskich i trudno zrozumiałych oraz ważniejszych nazw geograficznych spotykanych w „Ogniem i Mieczem” Henryka Sienkiewicza*. Podobnego zlecenia podjął się w 1929 r., kiedy przygotował słowniczek do *Starej baśni: powieści z IX wieku pióra Ignacego Kraszewskiego* oraz przekład *Portretu Doriana Gray’a*, które również ukazały się nakładem wydawnictwa A. F. Mittlera. W tym czasie w Renaissance ukazało się również jego pierwsze tłumaczenie z języka francuskiego, *Serca w udręce* Josephina Péladana.

Rok później, w 1930 r., ponownie dla A. F. Mittlera, opracował *Grzesia niedorajdę i inne bajki polskie*. Wówczas zaczął się też posługiwać aliasem *Andrzej Magórski*, którym opatrzył swoje trzy bardzo rozbieżne gatunkowo przekłady: *Anię z Wyspy* Lucy Maud Montgomery, *Szpiegostwo!* H. R. Berndoffa oraz *10 zagadek Londynu* Edwarda Phillipsa Oppenheima. Dwie ostatnie pozycje zostały wydane przez Towarzystwo Wydawnicze „Mrówka”, a *Ania z Wyspy*, nielegalnie przez Wydawnictwo Francuza. Jak czytamy w *Ilustrowanej Republice* (1931: 4), bracia Izrael oraz Abram Francuzowie zdecydowali się wydać *Anię z Wyspy* w 3000 egzemplarzach, pomimo informacji od Wydawnictwa „Rotor”, iż posiada ono wyłączne prawa do dystrybucji tego tytułu. Możliwe, że tłumacz, świadomy braku praw autorskich, zdecydował się na skorzystanie z pseudonimu, celem uniknięcia ewentualnych konsekwencji i oskarżeń o brak profesjonalizmu. Możliwe, że dodatkowo zainspirował się tłumaczonymi przez siebie autorami, którzy również publikowali pod przybranymi imionami, np. *Bô Yin Râ* (właśc. Joseph Anton

19 Więcej o samym wydawnictwie piszą Janina Krakowiak (2005) i Joanna Sosnowska (2014).

Schneiderfranken) lub *Mark Twain* (właśc. Samuel Langhorne Clemens). Informację o tym, że *Andrzej Magórski* to alias Marcelego Tarnowskiego potwierdza np. *Wykaz Druków Wydanych w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (1937) oraz Jankowski (1995).

W ankiecie Włodzimierza Pfeiffera, w wierszu przeznaczonym na odnotowanie opanowanych języków obcych, Tarnowski wpisał trzy: niemiecki, francuski i rosyjski. Według Krisa van Heuckeloma i in. (2012: 175), był on tłumaczem niemieckiego, angielskiego, rosyjskiego i holenderskiego, co jednak nie jest całą prawdą, ponieważ tłumaczył też, jak już wcześniej wspomniano, z francuskiego. Warto dodać, że *Księżę Incognito* Jo van Ammers-Küller z 1936 r. jest jedynym przekładem z holenderskiego autorstwa Tarnowskiego. Pozostałe tytuły przetłumaczonych przez niego holenderskich pisarzy ukazały się w języku niemieckim lub angielskim. Niemniej, powyższa lista języków i tak nie jest kompletna, ponieważ w 1931 r. ukazał się jego pierwszy przekład z jidysz: pierwszy tom trylogii *Przed potopem – Trzy miasta* pod tytułem *Petersburg* autorstwa Szaloma Asza. Co ciekawe bohater niniejszej pracy jest również autorem przekładu trzeciego tomu, *Moskwa* (1932), ale nie drugiego, *Warszawa* (1931). Pomimo że cała seria była wydana nakładem Wydawnictwa „Rój”, druga część została przełożona przez Wacława Rogowicza. Wspomniani Heuckelom i in. (2012), wymieniając języki, z jakich tłumaczył Tarnowski, polegali prawdopodobnie na narodowości autorów tekstów źródłowych, a nie języku ich publikacji. Idąc tym błędnym tokiem myślenia, można dojść do wniosku, że Tarnowski znał również islandzki, skoro tłumaczył Gunnara Gunnarssona. Jednak wydany w 1932 r. przekład *Siedmiu dni ciemności* był oryginalnie napisany po angielsku.

Dnia 1.07.1931 r. Tarnowski został kierownikiem katowickiej filii księgarni L. Fiszera. Objął funkcję przełożonego po Erneście Komandzie i był ostatnim zarządzającym placówką, która od 1930 r. znajdowała się w kryzysie. Zadanie musiało być niełatwe, ponieważ w kasie regularnie brakowało pieniędzy na spłatę kredytów i weksli (Krakowiak 2005: 10), co Tarnowski po latach, w 1937 r., wspominał w słowach: „(...) pracowałem w Katowicach w okresie agonii tej księgarni (...)”²⁰. Katowicki okres pozostawił na tłumaczu piętno:

Zostały tam pewne „kompleksy”, które mi po prostu utrudniają powrót do tych czasów. Staram się zawsze wyeliminować je ze swojej świadomości, bo ten okres, jaki spędziłem w Katowicach, był dla mnie najcięższym okresem życia, tym gorszym jeszcze, że doświadczenia, jakie stamtąd wyniosłem, nie mogą mi swoją życiową wartością odplacić trudów, jakimi je okupiłem i gorczy, jaką przeżyłem (...). (*Ibid.*)

Mimo że nie było do końca jasne, dlaczego to właśnie Tarnowski został kierownikiem filii, zwłaszcza że brakowało mu doświadczenia w prowadzeniu księgarni, to według Pfeiffera początkowo prowadził ją dobrze²¹. Jeśli zaś chodzi o opinię pana Fiszera, właściciela firmy, na temat kierownictwa Tarnowskiego, miała się ona z czasem pogorszać, a podlegli mu pracownicy zaczęli odczuwać do niego niechęć²².

Jako przedstawiciel katowickiej filii L. Fiszera, literat został członkiem rzeczywistym Związku Księgarzy Polskich (dalej ZKP), a następnie sekretarzem Śląskiego Koła oraz członkiem Zarządu Głównego ZKP, co wiemy dzięki zachowanym w archiwum stowarzyszenia dokumentom oraz ankiecie Pfeiffera. Dodatkowym potwierdzeniem tej informacji jest komunikat ZKP na temat zaniżania przez niektóre księgarnie ustalonych cen książek, który ukazał się w piśmie *Polonia* (1932: 16), i pod którym

²⁰ List Tarnowskiego z 30.06.1937 r., *op. cit.*

²¹ List Pfeiffera z 9.07.1931 r., *op. cit.*

²² List Górskiego z 6.09.1932 r., *op. cit.*

widnieje podpis: „Sekretarz: Marceli Tarnowski, kierownik księgarni L. Fiszera, Katowice”. Tłumacz nie zachował jednak kierowniczego stanowiska na długo, bowiem w 1932 r. placówka upadła (Krakowiak 2005, Sosnowska 2014).

Tarnowski był czynnym uczestnikiem życia społeczności księgarskiej, angażując się w różnorodne inicjatywy. Dla przykładu, jak piszą Tadeusiewicz i Treichel (1993: 64), współzałożył on Spółdzielczy Bank Księgarski w Warszawie, który powstał w październiku 1932 r. i był ściśle związany z ZKP. Wiemy jednak na pewno, że literat nie zasiadł w pierwszym zarządzie rzeczzonej placówki finansowej, ponieważ *Tygodnik Handlowy* (1932: 8), informujący o powołaniu banku, wyliczył inne nazwiska zarządczego gremium, co jednak nie dziwi jeśli wziąć pod uwagę, że, w związku z upadkiem katowickiej placówki L. Fiszera, Tarnowski pozostał członkiem ZKP jedynie do połowy października 1932 r. (za AMT). W tym samym roku Tarnowski współpracował również z Udziałową Spółką Wydawniczą, której nakładem wydał *Mario i czarodzieja* Thomasa Manna.

W roku kolejnym, 1933, wydał *Okręt Śmierci* autorstwa Bruno Travena, którego prawdziwa tożsamość wciąż pozostaje kwestią dyskusyjną. Wtedy też ukazały się tłumaczenia podpisane nazwiskiem literata, które najprawdopodobniej są nieznacznie zmienionymi wersjami istniejących już wcześniej tekstów. Chodzi mianowicie o *Przygody Hucka* oraz *Przygody Tomka Sawyera*. Jak pisze Wieczorkiewicz (2020: 62), pierwsze polskie przekłady tych dwóch powieści ukazały się kolejno w 1898 r., pióra Teresy Prażmowskiej, oraz 1925 r., pióra Jana Bilińskiego.

Co więcej, w 1933 r. ukazał się film *Przybłęda*, który był ekranizacją scenariusza autorstwa Marcelego Tarnowskiego w reżyserii Jana Nowiny-Przybylskiego. O ukazaniu się filmu rozpisywały się liczne gazety, komentując również jego scenariusz: „Pomysłowy i świetnie wykorzystany scenariusz dał pole do popisu znanym już na polskim gruncie filmowym aktorom” (*Kino* 1933, nr 37: 11). Natomiast w *Kurjerze Polskim* (1933: 5) ukazała się długa i bardzo krytyczna recenzja filmu. Niemniej, chwalono tu wkład Tarnowskiego, zaznaczając, że scenariusz nie zawiera rażących błędów, a akcja jest wartka i dobrze zbudowana, choć nie zawiera żadnych nowatorskich rozwiązań. Należy również zwrócić uwagę, że w innym wydaniu *Kina* (1933, nr 49: 7) napisano, że „dialogi były wypowiedzane literackim językiem”. Ta kwestia nie dziwi, jeśli wziąć pod uwagę, że Marceli Tarnowski miał już za sobą kilka lat praktyki jako tłumacz literacki podczas tworzenia *Przybłędy*. Powieściowy styl musiał być dla niego naturalny, co znalazło odzwierciedlenie w dialogach produkcji. Film posłużył również jako inspiracja dla jego znajomej z czasów pracy dla Fiszera, Zofii Dromlewiczowej, która na jego podstawie rok później, nakładem Księgarni Popularnej, wydała powieść pod tym samym tytułem.

W 1934 r. ukazało się dwanaście przekładów autorstwa Tarnowskiego, w tym trzy wydane pod aliasem Andrzej Magurski (tj. *Doktor X* i *Trzynasty testament Mr. Manhattana* Alexandra Arno oraz *Wielki mur* Franka Arnau), z którego rok później skorzystał aż pięć razy. Warto zauważyć, że jako Andrzej Magórski, współpracował jedynie z wydawnictwami „Mrówka” oraz „Płomień”.

Rok później, ukazały się przekłady dwóch powieści Jeffery’a Farnola, *Triumf miłości* oraz *Ksiązęcy rywal*, które według portalu *lubimyczytać.pl* są autorstwa Tarnowskiego. W książkach widnieje jednak informacja, że zostały one przygotowane przez Marcelego Marka. Tymczasem żadne z dostępnych źródeł nie podaje, by Marceli Mark było kolejnym aliasem Marcelego Tarnowskiego, a tym, co jednoznacznie zaprzecza przypuszczeniu o istnieniu kolejnego pseudonimu bohatera niniejszej pracy oraz świadczy o pomyłce poczynionej przez portal czytelnicy, jest ogłoszenie zamieszczone w *Życiu Teatru* (1927: 71). Według niego Mark przez osiem lat był korepetytorem operowym i operetkowym, związanym z lwowskim

środowiskiem teatralnym, z którym Tarnowskiego nic nie łączyło. Osoba o tych personaliach wydała ponadto w 1922 r. polski przekład niemieckiej operetki *Bajadera* Emmericha Kalmana. Jak dowiadujemy się z okładki, publikacja ukazała się nakładem tłumacza, a niezwiązany z lwowskim środowiskiem teatralnym Tarnowski nie miałby interesu w wydaniu tej pozycji własnym sumptem.

W 1934 r. Tarnowski założył w Warszawie Księgarnię Powszechną Dziel Prawniczych i Ekonomicznych, gdzie od 28.02.1934 r. piastował stanowisko kierownika (za AMT oraz Tadeusiewicz, Treichel 1993: 64). Od 1936 r. był również redaktorem *Przeglądu Wydawnictw Prawniczych* (za Biblioteka Narodowa), który wychodził nakładem tej księgarni. Później, w 1938 r., na rok objął stanowisko redaktora odpowiedzialnego w miesięczniku *Przegląd Prawa Pracy* (za Jagiellońska Biblioteka Cyfrowa). W tym samym roku ukazał się przekład *III-ech tytanów* Emila Ludwiga przygotowany przez Marcelę Tarnowskiego razem z Eustachym Zawiejskim (właśc. Edyta Gałuszkowa-Sicińska) oraz została udostępniona drukiem *Wyspa koralowa* Roberta Michaela Ballantyne’a nakładem Nowego Wydawnictwa²³.

Marcele Tarnowskiego można niezaprzeczalnie uznać za płodnego tłumacza, co podkreśla poniższe zestawienie liczby jego przekładów wydanych w konkretnych wydawnictwach. Niemniej te pokaźne liczby skłaniają również do podejrzeń, że mógł korzystać z pomocy innych tłumaczy lub, jak w przypadku *Przygód Hucka* i *Wyspy Koralowej*, z już wcześniej wydanych przekładów. Wątpliwości te wskazują również na konieczność przeprowadzenia pogłębionych badań stylometrycznych celem wykazania ewentualnych nieścisłości w tytułach, których przekład przypisuje się Tarnowskiemu.

Tabela 1. Zestawienie liczbowe wykonanych tłumaczeń dla wybranych wydawnictw (opracowanie własne)

	Ludwik Fiszer	Renaissance	Towarzystwo Wydawnicze „Rój”	Wydawnictwo „Mrówka”	Polskie Tow. Przyjaciół Książki	Wydawnictwo J. Przeworskiego	Płomień	Księgarnia M. Fruchtmann	Nowa Powieść	Księgarnia Popularna	Wydawnictwo Nowoczesne	Księgarnia Powszechna	Powszechne Tow. Wydawnicze	Instytut Wydawniczy „Plan”	Inne	Suma
1923	10															10
1924	5															5
1925	7															7
1926	2															2
1927	3	1														4
1928		6														6

23 Warto dodać, że w 1925 r. nakładem wydawnictwa Ludwika Fiszera ukazało się pierwsze wydanie tłumaczenia *Wyspy Koralowej* jednak, podobnie jak w przypadku *Przygód Hucka*, bez wzmianki o autorze przekładu. Oba wydania *Wyspy Koralowej*, zarówno to anonimowe z 1925 r. jak i to z 1938 r., podpisane nazwiskiem Tarnowskiego, zawierają dokładnie ten sam tekst.

	Ludwik Fiszer	Renaissance	Towarzystwo Wydawnicze „Rój”	Wydawnictwo „Mrówka”	Polskie Tow. Przyjaciół Książki	Wydawnictwo J. Przeworskiego	Plomien	Księgarnia M. Fruchtmann	Nowa Powieść	Księgarnia Popularna	Wydawnictwo Nowoczesne	Księgarnia Powszechna	Powszechnie Tow. Wydawnicze	Instytut Wydawniczy „Plan”	Inne	Suma
1929		8			2										1	11
1930		9	2	2											2	15
1931			2		1											3
1932	1		1	1											1	4
1933		1			1	4	3	2								11
1934		2				2	3	1	2	2					1	13
1935	1					1	4		2		4	1				13
1936		1				2	1		1	1	1				1	8
1937		1				1	1		5	1			1			10
1938		1					4	1	1			3		6	4	20
1939													2	1		3
Suma	29	30	5	3	4	10	16	4	11	4	5	4	3	7	10	145

Getto i śmierć

W zakończeniu części poświęconej małżeństwu i rodzicielstwie Marceliego Tarnowskiego przywołaliśmy obraz getta warszawskiego, które, jak w przypadku wielu innych Żydów, stało się również domem tłumacza i jego bliskich. Szymon Gliksman wspomina, że „Marceli Tarnowski musiał zlikwidować swoje mieszkanie przy ulicy Świętokrzyskiej²⁴. Zamienił się na mieszkanie z Polakiem, który mieszkał przy ulicy Leszno 25, i który musiał opuścić teren getta” (SG: 69). Lokal znajdował się na drugim piętrze, był obszerny i miał spore zaplecze strychowe od strony kuchennej (SG: 70). Strych ten miał pełnić funkcję kryjówki, dlatego też korytarz, który do niego prowadził, był zasłonięty wysokim i szerokim meblem, na którym wisiały płaszcze (SG: 150). Przy ulicy Leszno 25, mieszkała również siostra tłumacza, Ewa²⁵, z rodziną (za USHMM). Zajmowali oni jednak inne mieszkanie (SG: 149). Warto dodać, że Tarnowski

24 Dokładny adres mieszkania to: ul. Świętokrzyska 28 m. 25 (Łoza 1938).

25 Plockerowie, w odróżnieniu od tłumacza, mieszkali pod tym adresem już przed wojną, co wiemy dzięki *Spisowi abonentów warszawskiej sieci telefonów* z 1937 r. (str. 235), który, oprócz numeru, odnotował również ich adres domowy. W spisie (str. 313) widnieje także nazwisko Marceliego Tarnowskiego, zamieszkałego wówczas przy ulicy Świętokrzyskiej 28.

pozostawał wówczas w kontakcie z byłą żoną, o czym dowiadujemy się z cytowanego już pamiętnika: „Basia ze swym pięknym mężem i teściami zamieszkała przy ulicy Chłodnej²⁶, na terenie getta. Wraz z mężem często odwiedzała matkę i rodzeństwo, przede wszystkim swoją córkę Juleczkę” (SG: 69).

Literat, przed wojną bardzo aktywny i pracowity, również w trakcie jej trwania nie pozostał bierny. Przede wszystkim, miał on rozpocząć pracę nad własną książką – opowieścią o getcie – o czym czytamy w zaledwie jednym źródle, w pamiętniku Berg:

Julia zaprosiła mnie raz do domu, gdzie poznałam jej ojca, szczupłego, niezbyt wysokiego mężczyznę w średnim wieku. Trochę się garbi, a czoło ma pokryte głębokimi zmarszczkami. Julia zdradziła mi, że ojciec dniami i nocami pracuje nad książką o getcie. (Berg [1945] 1983: 130)

Wynika z tego, że Tarnowski nie oszczędzał czasu ani wysiłku na redakcję własnych wspomnień. Jest to niezwykle interesująca informacja, gdyż obok tłumaczeń, dziennikarstwa, scenopisarstwa, tworzenie książki jest kolejną formą działalności twórczej.

Praca nad książką nie była jedynym zajęciem literata. Gliksman pisze, że szwagier tłumacza, doktor Plocker, zaproponował Tarnowskiemu prowadzenie swojej kartoteki lekarskiej (SG: 70). Nie wiemy jednak, czy tłumacz podjął się tej aktywności. Wiemy natomiast o jego innej pracy: „Marceli znalazł jakąś pracę na terenie getta w tak zwanych szopach, gdzie pracowano oczywiście dla Niemców. Otrzymał *Ausweis* z czarnym hitlerowskim orłem” (SG: 166). Jak dowiadujemy się z relacji Gliksmana, Tarnowski pokładał duże nadzieje w legitymacji poświadczającej jego miejsce zatrudnienia. *Ausweis* miał chronić zarówno jego, jak i Julię, która nie ukończyła wtedy jeszcze siedemnastego roku życia. Martwił się o córkę i „[g]dy szedł rano do pracy, zawsze zabierał ją ze sobą. Bał się, że w czasie jego nieobecności Niemcy wywiozą dziewczynkę na Umschlagplatz” (*ibid.*).

Niestety historia Tarnowskich nie zakończyła się szczęśliwie. Jeśli chodzi o szczegóły dotyczące ich tragicznej śmierci, możemy dotrzeć do dwóch wersji. Pierwszą wersję przedstawia Gliksman, pisząc w fabularyzowanych wspomnieniach, że Marceli wraz z Julią zostali zabrani z szopy, w której tłumacz pracował, i trafili w bydlęcym wagonie do obozu koncentracyjnego, gdzie zmarli. Miało to mieć miejsce w połowie sierpnia 1942 r. (*ibid.*). Inną wersję można znaleźć w zeznaniach zebranych w procesie sądowym o uznanie Marcelego i Julii Tarnowskich za zmarłych. Według spisanej wypowiedzi Leona Plockera, szwagra tłumacza, ojciec wraz z córką mieli zostać zamordowani na placu przesiadkowym w Warszawie podczas transportu do Treblinki w sierpniu 1942 r. Informacja ta miała pochodzić od policjantów, którzy byli naocznymi świadkami wydarzeń. Podobne zeznanie złożyła, Wilhelmina Tarnowska, szwagierka literata, wspominając, że Julię po raz ostatni widziała w sierpniu 1942 r. (za USHMM).

Najprawdopodobniej nigdy nie dowiemy się, która z relacji jest prawdziwa. Wydaje się jednak, że przybliżony, fabularyzowany fragment wspomnień Szymona Gliksmana o ostatnich chwilach tłumacza nie ma charakteru dokumentalistycznego. Nie sądzimy też, by Gliksman, nie będąc świadkiem wydarzeń, mógł mieć precyzyjną wiedzę dotyczącą śmierci literata, wszakże wątpliwości co do tego ma sama fundacja *Pamięć Treblinki*, która w *Księdze imion*, we wpisie na temat Marcelego Tarnowskiego, w polu „Miejsce śmierci” stawia ukośnik pomiędzy jednym a drugim z możliwych: „Treblinka/Umschlagplatz”. Warto dodać, że według Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, Marceli i Julia Tarnowscy zginęli w getcie warszawskim (za *straty.pl*).

26 Chłodna uchodziła za ulicę elity (Cieślińska-Lobkowicz 2016: 262), co może potwierdzać, że „elegancka” rodzina drugiego męża Barbary Tarnowskiej była rodziną o wyższym statusie.

Argumentem, który mógłby przemawiać za tym, że Marceli i Julia Tarnowscy trafili jednak do obozu koncentracyjnego w Treblince, jest fakt, iż sierpień 1942 r. był czasem rozgrywania się tzw. wielkiej akcji deportacyjnej w getcie warszawskim, czyli okresem zintensyfikowanych wywozów do obozu koncentracyjnego. Akcja deportacyjna trwała od 22.07 do 21.09.1942 r. i była częścią akcji „Reinhardt”. Dariusz Libionka i Jacek Leociak (2017: 32–33) piszą, że miejscem koncentracji był plac przeładunkowy (*Umschlagplatz*), a tempo wysiedleń było przerażające. Rozstrzeliwano zaś głównie osoby chore i starsze, i miało to miejsce nie na placu przeładunkowym, ale na cmentarzu żydowskim. Do żadnej z tych dwóch grup nie należał jednak Tarnowski i jego córka. Rozstrzeliwano także próbujących się ukryć, ale według wspomnień Gliksmana zabierany Tarnowski nie stawiał oporu (SG: 166).

Z jednej strony wydaje się rozsądne, aby dać wiarę zeznaniom sądowym i uznać, że tłumacz wraz z córką zmarł w sierpniu 1942 r. na placu przeładunkowym w Warszawie, nigdy nie docierając do obozu zagłady. Z drugiej strony należy zauważyć, że ta informacja pochodzi z drugiej ręki. Pytanie jednak, czy funkcjonariusze, rzekomi świadkowie, byli w stanie udzielić rodzinie pewnych informacji, zwłaszcza że w tamtym okresie na plac przeładunkowy kierowano dziennie około 10 tysięcy osób (Libionka, Leociak 2017: 33).

Również autorzy, którzy po wojnie pisali o Marcelim Tarnowskim, byli podzieleni w kwestii miejsca zgonu. U Stanisława Pazyry (1970: 385), Stefana Dippa (1976: 277) oraz Tadeusiewicza i Treichela (1993: 64) czytamy, że literat zginął w Treblince. Inną informację przekazuje natomiast Bolesław Olszewicz (1947: 284): „Tarnowski Marceli (*1899) – tłumacz, kierownik ‘Księgarni Dziel Prawn. i Ekonom.’ w Warszawie; zginął w Warszawie”.

W odróżnieniu od miejsca śmierci literata, pewny jest okres, w którym Tarnowski był widziany po raz ostatni, a który Gliksman zawęził do „połowy sierpnia 1942 r.”. Należy bowiem przypomnieć, że autor cytowanych wspomnień mieszkał wówczas z Tarnowskimi i nie mógł nie zauważyć zniknięcia krewnych. Mimo to źródła odnotowują inną datę. W Centralnym Katalogu Bibliotek „Fides” jako rok śmierci podano w przybliżeniu rok 1944. Niestety jest to bezsprzecznie błędna informacja, powielona następnie w innych pracach (np. Działowy 2022) oraz w *Wikipedii*, która dla wielu użytkowników internetu stanowi główne źródło informacji. Postanowieniem sądu formalną datą zgonu Tarnowskiego i jego córki jest natomiast dzień 19.05.1946 r. (za USHMM)²⁷.

Recepcja przekładów Tarnowskiego

Marceli Tarnowski już za życia był znanym tłumaczem (SG: 68). Jego nazwiskiem lub jednym z jego aliasów podpisano co najmniej 145 tłumaczeń wielu uznanych pisarzy, takich jak: Maksym Gorkij, Alfred Neumann, Jakob Wassermann czy Franz Werfel. Powieści tych autorów zostały uznane przez polską prasę za arcydzieła roku 1930, co stanowi pochwałę zarówno dla nich samych, jak i dla tłumacza (*Przegląd księgarski* 1931: 35). Jednak pierwsze tłumaczenia Tarnowskiego były oceniane zaledwie jako „dobre” (o *Maskach* Edwarda Reinera w *Gazecie Lwowskiej* [1928]), a później też jako „poprawne” (o *Diabelskim młynie* w *Gazecie Robotniczej* [1938]). Pozostałe tytuły były również często wzmiankowane w gazetach, np. *Towarzysze snów* L. Franka w *Wiadomościach Literackich* (1937) oraz *Barbara F. Werfela*

²⁷ Barbara i Zdzisław również nie przeżyli II wojny światowej, a ich śmierć najprawdopodobniej poprzedziła odejście Marceliego Tarnowskiego i Julii (SG: 167–168).

w *Polsce Zachodniej* (1934) oraz krytykowane, np. wspomniana *Barbara* została uznana za mniej staranną (Piwiński 1935: 172).

Jak czytamy w *Warszawskim Dzienniku Narodowym* (1935: 4) o *Śmierć jest piękna* Marcela Briona: „Przekład Marcelego Tarnowskiego naogół (sic!) dość poprawny, jedynie tytuł nie wydaje się zbyt szczęśliwie dobrany, w każdym razie prawdopodobnie nie leżał w intencji autora”. Na tytuł zwrócono również uwagę w przypadku książki *Lipiec 1914. Europa we krwi* Emila Ludwiga: „Co do przekładu samego, to jest on poprawny, bez walorów artystycznych. Nie jest jednak szczęśliwą zmianą tytułu, z nader poważnego tytułu oryginału niemieckiego (...). Tytuł polski traci nieco żądzą sensacji” (Ptaśnik 1930: 272). W pracach naukowych (np. Pieciul-Karmińska 2009) doceniono natomiast kreatywność Tarnowskiego, który, dla przykładu, tytułowego bohatera baśni *Rumpelstilzchen* nazwał *Halasik* (Golda i in. 2022). Niestety jednak w 1989 r. redakcja zdecydowała się zmienić to imię na *Titelitury* w kolejnych przedrukach przekładu. Podobna ingerencja w tytuł miała miejsce w przypadku *Roszpunki*, którą Tarnowski nazwał *Jagódką* (1925), co spotkało się z krytyką współczesnych badaczy (Baluch 2013).

Zarówno badacze, jak i recenzenci dostrzegają błędy w tekstach tłumacza. Dla przykładu Eliza Pieciul-Karmińska (2009: 93) zwraca uwagę na niedopatrzenie w *Miejskich muzykantach z Bremy*, gdzie z „Przenajświętszej Panienki” zrobiono „właścicielkę koguta”. W 1932 r., Tarnowski przygotował tłumaczenie *Kochanka Lady Chatterlay* (Becket 2007: 223), ale w związku z jego konfiskatą w wyniku naruszenia praw autorskich (Chwalewik 1934: 134), zostało ono ponownie wydane w skróconej wersji rok później nakładem wydawnictwa Fruchtmanna. Przekład ten spotkał się jednak z krytyką i według Witolda Chwalewika (1934), „ohydnu” tłumaczeniu Tarnowskiego brakowało „profetyczności” pióra Davida Herberta Lawrence’a, której nie mogli doświadczyć

czytelnicy polscy, biorąc do ręki obciętą przez cenzurę i ohydnie przetłumaczoną przez p. Marcelego Tarnowskiego wersję polską oryginału. Poziom literacki tej roboty zbędnem (sic!) czyni wypowiedanie uwag bardziej szczegółowych o przekładzie. Dla trawestacji tego rodzaju nie powinno być miejsca na rynku wydawniczym. (Chwalewik 1934: 146)

Komentowano również *Ojca świętego: żywot i czyny papieża Piusa XI* Friedricha von Lamy, gdzie Tarnowski „samowolnie poopuszczał niektóre zdania z oryginału” (Sajdak 1939: 1). W kontrze stoi komentarz na temat tłumaczenia *Historji Jakubowych* Thomasa Manna, które „wypadło dość dobrze (a zadanie było niełatwe!); tłumacz podciągnął się i dał pracę znacznie przewyższającą niektóre inne jego roboty” (Piwiński 1935: 171–172). Książka ta jest pierwszym tomem tetralogii *Józef i jego bracia*, i warto dodać, że Tarnowski poinformował Łozę (1938), że jest również autorem przekładu drugiego tomu, *Młodocianego Józefa*, którego na próżno szukać w bibliotekach. Nie wiadomo, czy tłumacz przekazał Łozie informację o planowanym przekładzie, czy może jednak przygotowanym, ale nigdy niewydanym. Niemniej można mówić tu o pewnym (nie pierwszym już) zawyżeniu liczby wykonanych tłumaczeń spowodowanym wydzieleniem *Józefa i jego braci* jako oddzielnego tytułu, a nie nazwy serii.

Niestety tylko niewielka część przekładów Tarnowskiego jest obecnie ceniona. Wśród tych najbardziej znanych, poza baśniami braci Grimm, można wskazać przekład *Ani z Wyspy*, *Baśni 1001 nocy* oraz baśni Andersena. Fiona Becket (2007) zwraca szczególną uwagę na to, jak ważną rolę Tarnowski odegrał w popularyzacji twórczości Davida Herberta Lawrence’a. Analizom poddaje się przekład baśni braci Grimm (np. Pieciul-Karmińska 2013), często w kontekście transkrecji (np. Golda i in. 2022) lub samych wydań (np. Pieciul-Karmińska 2009, Kowalczyk 2023). Jeżeli chodzi o Grimmskie baśnie, jak zaznacza Magdalena Koryga (2014: 11), wersja Tarnowskiego z 1925 r., wydana nakładem L. Fiszer,

stała się jedną z najbardziej popularnych. Tłumaczenie to było wielokrotnie wznawiane, zarówno w okresie międzywojennym, w 1930 i 1937 r., tj. za życia tłumacza, jak i w kolejnych latach, aż do czasów współczesnych.

Niemniej według Moniki Woźniak (2009: 65), *Kopciuszek* w przekładzie Tarnowskiego wydany przed II wojną światową tak naprawdę nie jest przekładem Grimmowskiej *Aschenputtel*, a wolną adaptacją *Cendrillon* Charles'a Perraulta. Woźniak (*ibid.*) wskazuje, że to dopiero pierwsze powojenne wydanie baśni braci Grimm z 1956 r. zawiera wierny przekład niemieckiej *Aschenputtel*. Jednakże to tłumaczenie w niczym nie przypomina wersji wydanych do 1944 r. włącznie, dlatego błędnym jest przypisywanie jego autorstwa Tarnowskiemu (*ibid.*). Niemniej nikt nie podważa jego autorstwa przekładu z 1925 r. jak ma się to w przypadku *Przygód Hucka*. Tłumaczenie tej powieści z 1898 r. autorstwa Teresy Prażmowskiej zostało wznowione w 1926 r. bez nazwiska tłumaczki, „co doprowadziło do zaistnienia poważnej nieścisłości (lub może raczej mistyfikacji)” (Wieczorkiewicz 2020: 63). W wyniku tej sytuacji przekład *Przygód Hucka: powieści dla młodzieży* Tarnowskiego wydany w 1933 r. jest powszechnie uznawany za pierwsze i wielokrotnie wznawiane tłumaczenie tego tytułu. Jednak porównanie tekstu Tarnowskiego z wersją Prażmowskiej pokazuje, że są one praktycznie identyczne, z drobnymi zmianami i pominięciami. Niejasne jest, jak nazwisko bohatera niniejszej pracy znalazło się w miejscu należnym tłumaczce – czy to przez pomyłkę wydawnictwa, czy celowe działanie tłumacza (Wieczorkiewicz 2020: 63).

Podsumowanie

Według wspomnień Gliksmana, Marceli Tarnowski był dobrym i pracowitym człowiekiem, pełnym zapału do swojej pracy tłumaczem, kochającym i wyrozumiałym mężem oraz wzorowym ojcem, który do końca dbał o bezpieczeństwo jedynej córki. W swojej karierze zawodowej Tarnowski wykazał się niezwykłą aktywnością i wszechstronnością czego dowodem jest wykonywanie tłumaczeń z zakresu dwóch z ośmiu wyszczególnionych przez Jenny Williams i Andrew Chestermana (2002: 9–13) gatunków²⁸, bowiem przekładał prozę (np. twórczość Theodore Dreisera czy Heinricha Manna) oraz literaturę dziecięcą (np. twórczość Felixa Saltena czy Lidii Czarskiej). Nie wahał się podejmować różnych zadań, dlatego, oprócz wielu przekładów na język polski, stworzył m.in. scenariusz do filmu *Przybłęda*. Co więcej, Tarnowski nie pozostawał w izolacji od księgarskiej społeczności, a wręcz przeciwnie, był członkiem kilku branżowych gremiów, a jego twórczości nie można podzielić na okresy lepsze czy gorsze, ponieważ przez krytyków była ona oceniana różnie, niezależnie od roku wydania.

Jak podaje Marzena Chrobak (2023: 69), „[p]rężny rozwój życia literackiego, w tym przekładowego, po odzyskaniu przez Polskę niepodległości w 1918 roku został przerwany wybuchem II wojny światowej”, w wyniku której Marceli Tarnowski, płodny tłumacz „literatury niemieckiej, rosyjskiej, francuskiej i angielskiej”, odszedł w zapomnienie, a okoliczności jego śmierci pozostają nieznanne. Podsumowując, można powiedzieć, że Tarnowski miał szczęście pracować w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym, w okresie prężnego rozwoju czytelnictwa, który niewątpliwie przyczynił się do liczby zrealizowanych przez niego

28 Do wspomnianych gatunków Williams i Chesterman (2002: 9) zaliczają zarówno gatunki literackie, takie jak epika, liryka i dramat, oraz inne rodzaje tekstu wyróżniane na potrzeby tłumaczenia takie jak: teksty multimedialne (które Williams i Chesterman omawiają oddzielnie), teksty religijne, literaturę dziecięcą, teksty turystyczne, teksty techniczne oraz dokumenty prawne.

zleceń. Jak twierdzą badacze (np. Krajewska 2022: 142) postać samego tłumacza może rzutować na jego przekład, pomimo że często pozostaje on niezauważony (Dębska 2018). Z tego względu, wspomniana analiza stylometryczna mogłaby dodatkowo umożliwić zrozumienie, jak duży wpływ miały wydarzenia z życia Tarnowskiego oraz jego wykształcenie na treść i styl jego przekładów.

Odtworzenie pełnej bibliografii dorobku Tarnowskiego jest zadaniem bardzo trudnym, a dotarcie do wszystkich jego tłumaczeń wymagałoby pogłębionej analizy księgarskiej lub analizy stylometrycznej domniemanych przekładów. Dla przykładu, według Szymona Gliksmana (str. 68), Tarnowski był tłumaczem twórczości Stefana Zweiga, na co nie wskazuje żadne ze źródeł. Jednak należy zauważyć, że twórczość Zweiga ukazywała się nakładem wydawnictw, dla których pracował bohater niniejszego artykułu, więc teoretycznie takie powiązanie jest możliwe.

Należy w tym miejscu podkreślić rolę analizy tła rodzinnego w przygotowywaniu artykułów biograficznych, zwłaszcza poświęconych tłumaczom. Tło rodzinne nie tylko pomaga zrozumieć często istotny kontekst czyjejś twórczości, ale może dodatkowo wskazać inne postacie warte dalszych badań. Niniejsza praca wykazała, że osobą, której warto się bliżej przyjrzeć, zwłaszcza z perspektywy translatoryki antropologicznej, jest Barbara Tarnowska. Dalsze badania nad tą postacią pomogłyby w ustaleniu jej życiorysu oraz ewentualnego wkładu w polski przekład okresu dwudziestolecia międzywojennego.

Załącznik

Opracowany wykaz tłumaczeń przygotowanych przez Marcelę Tarnowską wraz z pełnymi tytułami oraz ich autorami jest dostępny tutaj: <http://tinyurl.com/mtsy74w9> [data dostępu: 20.11.2024].

Podziękowania

Autorzy dziękują osobom i instytucjom, które miały szczególny wkład w powstanie tej pracy: p. prof. Barbarze Engelking, p. prof. Elizie Pieciul-Karminińskiej, p. dr Joannie Ostrowskiej, p. dr Agnieszce Jedziniak-Danowskiej, p. dr. Pawłowi Podnieśnińskiemu, p. dr. Andrzejowi Skrzypczakowi, p. mgr. Robertowi Brzósce, p. mgr. Michaelowi Sfordowi, Stowarzyszeniu Księgarzy Polskich oraz Żydowskiemu Instytutowi Historycznemu.

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BARBARA ALICJA JAŃCZAK

Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Faculty of Modern Languages and Literatures

barbara.janczak@amu.edu.pl

ORCID 0000-0001-7651-636X

Pattern Replications (PATs) in the Speech of German-Polish Bilinguals

Abstract

This paper provides an insight into language induced changes in the speech of German-Polish bilinguals living in Germany and in Poland, with a focus on generational differences in the use of pattern replications (PATs). The relevance of the study of pattern replication in the speech of bilinguals is based on the fact that it has so far not attracted as much scientific interest as other linguistic phenomena resulting from frequent contact of two or more languages. Therefore, the article contributes to closing the research gap regarding the study of German-Polish language contact. The source of linguistic material for the analysis is language biographies of German-Polish bilinguals that have been recorded, by the author among others, transcribed, and annotated in regard to the morphosyntactic changes induced by German-Polish language contact. In particular, attention is paid to the interplay of bilingual language repertoires, focusing mainly on pattern replications (PATs). The peer group for the interview are two generations of Germans: Generation Poland and Generation Germany – the first are Germans who after World War 2, decided, or were forced to stay in the newly obtained Polish territories, the latter are descendants of the first group, living in Germany. The following presentation is based on the examples of pattern replications and statistical analysis of the linguistic changes resulting from language contact, developed on the basis of material published in the “LangGener” spoken corpus.

Keywords: German-Polish bilingualism, German Minority in Poland, German-Polish language contact

1. Introduction

This paper provides an insight into language induced changes in the speech of German-Polish bilinguals living in Germany and in Poland, with a focus on generational differences in the use of pattern replications. This study is part of a larger international linguistic project examining the interplay between language

biographies and contact induced change in the morphosyntax of German-Polish bilinguals.¹ The main objective of the project was answering the question of whether the morphosyntactic changes induced by German-Polish language contact in bilingual speech differ across generations.

Research on the effects of Polish-German language contact is not completely unknown, but rather limited. There are works dealing with lexical or morphological interference (*cf.* Podgórní 2010, Bawiej 2014) – focusing mainly on the aspects of contrastive speech error analysis and didactics. However there are not many works analyzing the topic of replication of morphosyntactic patterns in bilinguals. Bučková (2021) examines pattern replications in German-Czech bilinguals, concentrating on developing a suitable interpretative framework for the analysis of pattern replications in the area of argument structure and the valence associated with it. With regard to German-Polish bilinguals, Centner (2022a) investigates pattern replications, with a focus on construction as an overarching element. She examines the lexical replications of German-Polish bilinguals. Księżyk (2023) analyzes the occurrence of pattern replication due to the impact of language biographical and language ideological factors, with a focus on age of onset, education, language ideologies and more. Księżyk also publishes an article in English on the language contact phenomena observed in German-Polish bilinguals, with a focus on language attitudes. The author analyzes, among other aspects, pattern replications from a statistical perspective (*cf.* Księżyk 2024).

To the best of our knowledge, however, no other papers in English have addressed examples of German-Polish pattern replication. This study aims to fill this research gap.

2. Peer Group

The research focuses on generational differences in the speech of bilinguals. The informants belong to one of two generations of German-Polish bilinguals: Generation Poland and Generation Germany. The generations are defined by a selection of linguistic criteria (*cf.* Centner 2022b: 27ff.).

Generation Poland (GP), named after the place of residence of the informants, refers to the persons born before 1945 in German territories (according to the present nomenclature: Upper- and Lower Silesia, Lebus, Pomerania, Warmia and Masuria) that were incorporated into Poland after World War 2. The end of World War 2 was a turning point for many millions of people whose reality changed because of the newly drawn borders. This reality also applied to the Germans who, with different turns of fate, remained on the territory of the People's Republic of Poland. The first language (L1) of this generation is German, but the new order meant having to learn a new official language, Polish. The representatives of this generation acquired Polish as their second language (L2) in their childhood (before they turned 12 years old) and were usually socialized in educational institutions. In most cases, marriage (mainly to a Polish woman or man)² was followed by a language shift to Polish.

1 The research project "Language across generations: contact induced change in morpho-syntax in German-Polish bilingual speech" was financed by the National Science Centre, Poland, project no. 2016/23/G/HS2/04369 and the German Research Foundation (DFG) and carried out at the Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences as well as at the University of Regensburg. The LangGener research team included also scientists from Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, University of Warsaw and University of Opole.

2 Sometimes marriages took place with Ukrainians, Lemkos, or other displaced ethnic groups.

Generation Germany (GD), also named after the place of residence of the informants, refers to the persons born after 1945 in Poland in former German territories (according to the present nomenclature: Upper- and Lower Silesia, Lebus, Pomerania, Warmia and Masuria) who are (not necessarily direct) descendants of Generation Poland. The L1 of these persons is Polish. Unlike their parents or grandparents, they did not know German and learned it only after emigration to Germany (in most cases in the period 1960–1990). Their acquisition of German as their L2 occurred at over 12 years of age. Many speakers of this generation actively use both languages but in different language domains.

The two generations undoubtedly share the same place of origin and roots, but also the experience of acquiring a second language, which results in successive bilingualism. The sudden and irreversible confrontation with a different linguistic reality undeniably affected the language of our informants, resulting in their use of language, code switching or replication of morphosyntactic patterns, among other things. However, the order of the acquired languages and the age of onset of L2 are completely different (for the discussion of the term “generation” in the LangGener project *cf.* Centner 2022b: 23ff.).

3. Research Methodology

Using the language biographical method³ (*cf.* Franceschini 2006, Franceschini & Veronesi 2016, or Zielińska 2018) in guided interviews, the research focused on the histories of family languages (including language acquisition, in some cases language loss, language attitudes, *etc.*) on the one hand and on the determination of morphosyntactic changes occurring in the speech of German-Polish bilinguals (first of all on pattern replications) on the other. About 80 questions, posed by two interviewers (one German and one Polish) in German and in Polish, enabled the collection of bilingual material (German-Polish).

The annotation of linguistic changes resulting from language contact encompassed two levels: the type of phrase and the type of deviation attributed to language contact. The first level involved the identification of the deviation from the homeland baseline in the field of the relevant clause (*cf.* Bučková *et al.* 2022: 53ff.). Six types of phrase were distinguished: the Noun Phrase (NP), Prepositional Phrase (PP), Verb Phrase (VP), Adjective Phrase (AP), Adverbial Phrase (AdvP), and whole sentence (S). In the process of determining a phrase, the principle of evaluating the phrase on the basis of existing material, rather than the one that was supposed to be there but was missing, was applied. Therefore, phrases that lacked an explicative subject were qualified as a whole sentence (S). In regard to the type of deviation, six patterns were annotated: Replication of linguistic matter (MAT), Pattern replication (PAT), Code-switching (CS), Self-correction (SC), Word order (WO), and Other Deviations (AA).⁴

The third element in the comparative analysis of the deviations is the home baseline – the colloquial language spoken in the region, which often differs from the standard language variety of the languages studied (Bučková *et al.* 2022: 53ff.).

The recorded material was transcribed and elaborated in several steps using the tools Oetra, WebMAUS, EXMARaLDA and finally ELAN for the annotation. Transcribed and annotated material was released in the form of the “LangGener” Spoken Corpus.

3 Language biographies are “the narratives that revolve around acquiring one’s own language and are embedded in narrative interviews” (Franceschini 2006: 32).

4 Abbreviation for the German term “andere Abweichungen”.

4. Pattern Replication

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One of the possible phenomena in the speech of bilinguals are pattern replications (also called PATs) (*cf.* Matras & Sakel 2007: 829ff.). These grammatical replications of patterns are triggered by language contact (Bučková 2021: 83, 100).

The study of pattern replication in the speech of bilinguals has so far not attracted as much scientific interest as other linguistic phenomena resulting from frequent contact of two or more languages, such as the emergence of loanwords or the formation of fused lects.

According to the definition of Matras and Sakel (2007: 841) and Sakel (2008:15), respectively, PATs occur when “only the patterns of the other language are replicated, i.e. the organization, distribution and mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning” while the “morphological material and its phonological shape” are not transferred. Simply put, a PAT is a borrowing of the grammatical constructions. The opposite of this phenomenon is the Replication of linguistic matter (MAT) which refers to the “direct replication of morphemes and phonological shapes from a source language” (Matras & Sakel 2007: 829).

5. PATs in the Speech of Polish-German Bilinguals – Examples

The analysis of the linguistic material will be limited only to a discussion of the predominant PATs occurring in the speech of the respondents, according to the types of phrases mentioned above. It will be offered according to typical phenomena occurring in the given phrase type.

5.1. Sentence (S)

All the replications that had a syntactic effect on the whole sentence were classified as PATs at the sentence level. They usually refer to cases with a missing subject, or mark negations, word order, conjunctions and discourse markers (*cf.* Bučková *et al.* 2022: 58).

Absence of Pronominal Subject or Formal Subject

Personal pronouns in subject function are optional in Polish (unlike in German) and are only used when the context requires it (*cf.* Kulik 2016: 96, Sopata 2016, Sopata, Długosz & Brehmer *et al.* 2021). Polish is a pro-drop language. Since subject is implicitly marked in conjugation endings, personal pronouns often seem redundant (*cf.* Engel *et al.* 2000: 226f.). The transfer of the Polish pattern and the omission of the personal pronoun in the subject function is a common occurrence found repeatedly in the utterances of German-Polish bilinguals (see the Examples [1] and [2]):

[1]	und da	habe	*	drei Jahre auch studiert (BK_HAM)
	And there	have	[I]	three years also study/VVPP

Trans: And I have also studied there for three years.

- [2] ja und # _ am Anfang war war * wirklich für mich ein Horror (BK_AUG)
 Yeah and at the beginning be/VAFIN.Past [it] really for me a horror.
 Trans: Yeah, and at the beginning, it was really a horror for me.

In both cases, the speakers omit the obligatory personal pronoun in the function of the subject calibrating the Polish construction. In example [1], the obligatory personal pronoun “ich” – [En.: I] is omitted. The second example [2] is missing the impersonal pronoun “es” – [En.: it] – that would fulfil the role of formal subject in the sentence.

Double Negative (Negative Concord)

While negation in German is expressed at the sentence level with the help of only one negation word (Engel *et al.* 2000: 352, 1222), in Polish negative concord applies (so-called double negation) (*cf.* Czerepowicka & Przybyszewski 2017: 60). Due to the replication of this linguistic pattern in the following examples through the transfer of the Polish structure two negators occur at sentence level:

- [3] der hat immer gesagt so wenn **keiner** das **nicht** wusste, ne (BQ_RAC)⁵
 der/PDS. has always said so when **nobody/PIS** das/PDS. **not/PTKNEG** knew, not.
 Trans: He always said so, when nobody knew, didn't he.

- [4] Herr -- darf **kein** den den Verdienstkreuz **nicht** bekommen (QK_BOB)
 Mr. -- may **none/PIS** den/PDS den/PDS Cross of Merit **not/PTKNEG** receive.
 Trans: Mister -- must not receive a Cross of Merit.

In both examples [3] and [4] the multiple marking of negation by the indefinite pronoun “kein” [En.: nobody, none] and negation particle “nicht” [En.: not] that would be required in Polish refer to the entire sentence and violate German syntactic rules. In addition, in example [4], the use of the indefinite pronoun “kein” precludes the use of a determiner before a noun that also goes against the rule.

PATs appear not only as a result of the use of double negation, but also due to the frequent failure of speakers to distinguish between the indefinite pronoun “kein” and the negation particle “nicht,” both of which are realized as the negation “nie” in Polish (*cf.* Bučková *et al.* 2022: 59).

Temporal Conjunctions

Another category that contributes to pattern replication are the temporal conjunctions “als” and “wenn” [both En.: when]. While both in Polish and English there is only the conjunction “kiedy”, in German there is a distinction between “als” (related to a single action or event in the past) and “wenn” (related to other cases) (*cf.* Engel *et al.* 2000: 432f.). The lack of distinction between those conjunctions in Polish frequently leads to their misuse in German:

⁵ Pl. trans.: On zawsze tak mówił, kiedy **nikt** tego **nie** wiedział.

[5] sie sprachen immer Deutsch, als sie nicht wollten, dass wir verstehen, worum es geht (JS_STR)

They spoke always German, when/KOUS they not want/VMFIN:Past that we understand about what it went

Trans: They always spoke German when they did not want us to understand what was going on.

In example [5] the adverb “immer” – [En.: always] – indicates the repetitiveness of the activity performed in the past. Therefore, the conjunction “wenn” should be used.

5.2. Noun Phrase (NP)

Pattern replications that affect articles or are neologisms were classified as a Noun Phrase in our project (*cf.* Bučková *et al.* 2022: 59).

The omission or misapplication of the article seems to be a natural consequence of the interpenetration of the two language systems for German-Polish bilinguals. Due to the fact that the grammatical category is missing in Polish, it is unclear and often confusing when to apply it (*cf.* Engel *et al.* 2000: 802).

[6] i mój mąż później pojechał do Murnau na ten na ten Sprachkurs (JS_STR)

And my husband later went to Murnau on this/PDS on this/PDS language course.

Trans: And my husband later went to Murnau for the language course.

In example [6] the speaker adds a demonstrative pronoun in the adnominal function, which, albeit redundant in Polish, forms a bridge between the sentence beginning, uttered in Polish, and the German noun “Sprachkurs” [En.: language course]. There is a functional proximity of definite articles to possessive pronouns in the German language (*cf.* Engel *et al.* 2000: 803, Ahrenholz 2007: 12ff.)

On the other hand, the typical pattern replication in German relies on omitting the use of the article in cases where its use should be obligatory:

[7] hat * Problem gehabt ne? (BN_WUP)

Have/VAFIN:3.Sg.Pres [a] problem have/VVPP, no?

Trans: Had a problem, didn't [he/she/it]?

In example [7] the indeterminate meaning of the noun implies the use of an indefinite article. As is the case in German, the indefinite article marks the referent of a noun as not known, not introduced (*cf.* Vater 1982: 68ff.). However, since Polish does not have an article category, the pattern is based on the absence of the obligatory article in the German sentence.

5.3. Verb Phrase (VP)

In the Verb Phrase, the deviations from the baseline occur at the lexical-semantic level, at the morpho-syntactic level, or at both levels (*cf.* Bučková *et al.* 2022: 61).

The first case is illustrated by example [8]:

- [8] so _ ich habe neunzehnhunderneunzig [sic!] bin ich aus Polen weggefahren (UC_LUC)
 So, I have/VAFIN:1.Sg.Pres 1990 be/VAFIN:1.Sg.Pres I from Poland drive/VVPP
away.

Trans: I left Poland in 1990.

The verb “wegfahren” used in example [8] as a participle is a direct lexical translation of the Polish expression: “wyjechać”, the correct expression should be “ausreisen” [En.: to leave, to depart].

One of the multiple patterns at the morphosyntactic level in the Verb Phrase was the use of reflexive verbs (that involved the omission or misapplication of reflexive pronouns):

- [9] also zuerst habe ich mich in München gelernt also sechs Jahre bei einem Professor
 (BL_AUG)
 so first have/VAFIN:1.Sg.Pres I me/PRF in Munich learn/VVPP so six years by a professor.

Trans: So, first, I studied in Munich for six years under a professor.

The pattern replication in example [9] lies in the difference between “to learn” and “to teach” which in Polish is expressed only by the use or omission of the reflexive pronoun. The former is reflexive: “uczyć się” [En.: to learn], and the latter: “uczyć” [En.: to teach]. In the example the informer uses the verb “lernen” and tries to modify its meaning by adding the reflexive pronoun.

5.4. Prepositional Phrase (PP)

PATs in the Prepositional Phrase involve adding or omitting the prepositions that either occur, or are absent in the model language.

- [10] tak bo ja mam też tutaj wujka also brat od mojego taty
 (LC_BUR)
 Yes because I have/VAFIN:1.Sg.Pres also here uncle so brother from/APPR my father.

Trans: Yes, because I also have an uncle here, so the brother of my father / my father’s brother.

Possessive constructions are expressed in the Polish homeland baseline using the subjective genitive, while German constructions are often expressed by a Prepositional Phrase with prepositions “von” or “durch” [En.: of] (*cf.* Engel *et al.* 2000: 928) though genitive constructions are also possible in German: “meines Vaters Bruder”. In example [10] the speaker LC_BUR uses the preposition “od” – “von” [En.: of] as in the model language: “der Bruder von meinem Vater” [En.: the brother of my father].

Another phenomenon in a Prepositional Phrase resulting from pattern replication is the omission or addition of the article (as in the case of Noun Phrases):

- [11] no to też jechał z tym autobusem [KI_VIM]
 so this also [he] go/VVFIN:3.Sg.Past with that bus

Trans: So, he went by bus.

Example [11] is based on the difference in using objects. In Polish there is a separate case, the Instrumental, to express the use of objects, among other things, whereas in German this kind of action is represented by a Prepositional Phrase in the third case, the Dative: “mit+Dativ” (cf. Engel *et al.* 2000: 349). The correct expression would be: jechał [tym] autobusem.

5.5. Adjective Phrase (AP)

Pattern replications in Adjective Phrases are a rather rare phenomenon. As in the Verb Phrase analyzed above, they appear on the lexical-semantic or morpho-syntactic level. The transfer of the lexical pattern from German into Polish is illustrated in example [12]:

- [12] to pod pod pas zawsze wkładała poduszkę tak że jakby że była **wysokociężarna** [CS_GIZ]
 That under under belt always put/VVFIN:3.Sg.Fem.Past pillow so that as that be/VAFIN:3.Sg.Fem.Past **highly pregnant**.
 Trans: So, she placed a pillow under the belt, as if she were heavily pregnant.

The adjective in the predicative function “wysokociężarna” is a direct translation of the German construction “hochschwanger” [En.: heavily pregnant]. The Polish expression “być w wysokiej ciąży” [literally in En.: to be high in pregnancy] requires the use of an adjective in the attributive function.

The replication of a morpho-syntactic pattern is illustrated in example [13]:

- [13] denn sie hat uns gelernt [sic!] tanzen oder singen
 von hier **die alle** Lieder [BQ_RAC]
 Because she have/VAFIN:3.Sg.Pres us learn/VVPP dance/VVINFINF or sing/VVINFINF of here **the all** songs.
 Trans: Because she taught us to dance or to sing all these songs/the whole songs.

In German, similarly to English, the possible construction would involve the use of the adjective “alle” and the demonstrative pronoun “diese” – “alle diese Lieder” – [En.: all these songs], or the construction: “die sämtlichen Lieder” with the same meaning. The expression: “die alle Lieder” is a direct replication of the Polish construction: “te wszystkie piosenki”.

5.6. Adverbial Phrase (AdvP)

Similarly to the Verb Phrase, pattern replications in Adverbial Phrase occur again on the lexical-semantic level or morpho-syntactic level. The case of the lexical-semantic replication is illustrated in example [14]:

- [14] damals möchte ich das **besser** als heute (QX_BER)
 Then will/VAFIN:1.Sg.Konj I it **good/ADJD:Comp** than today
 Trans: Then, I liked it more than today.

In example [14] one can observe the replication of the Polish colloquial expression “lubię to lepiej” [En.: I liked it better]. Even in Polish, the proper form would be “bardziej” (as in the German case “mehr”) [En.: more]. Although in both languages the expected phrase would be: “I liked it more”, the expressions “lubić bardziej” [En.: to like better] or “lubić najbardziej” [En.: to like the most] were also used in 20th century Polish literature (cf. Maeterlinck 1903: 164, Fleszerowa Muskat 1961: 215) and may have penetrated into colloquial speech.

Example [15] shows the replication in Adverbial Phrase on the morpho-syntactic level:

- [15] i to mi to było **obojętnie** BN_WUP]
and this me it be/VAFIN:1.Sg.Past **indifferent/ADV**
Trans: And I did not care.

In example [15] the phrase: “I było mi to obojętnie” [En.: And I did not care] is the replication of the German expression “und es war mir egal”. In German, the use of an adverb is expected. In Polish, an adjective in the predicative function is required: “i to było mi obojętne”. A possible form would also be: “i było mi wszystko jedno” [En.: it was all the same to me].

PAT Statistics

The “LangGener” Spoken Corpus contains almost 680,000 words and 85,000 utterances (540,000 words and 66,000 utterances of which were produced by the interviewees) over 78 hours of recordings in both languages. The distribution of the lengths of interviews of both generations is almost the same (Generation Poland produced a slightly higher number of words, 5%) (cf. LangGener Corpus).

The distribution of deviations from the baseline with respect to the studied language contact phenomena looks as follows:

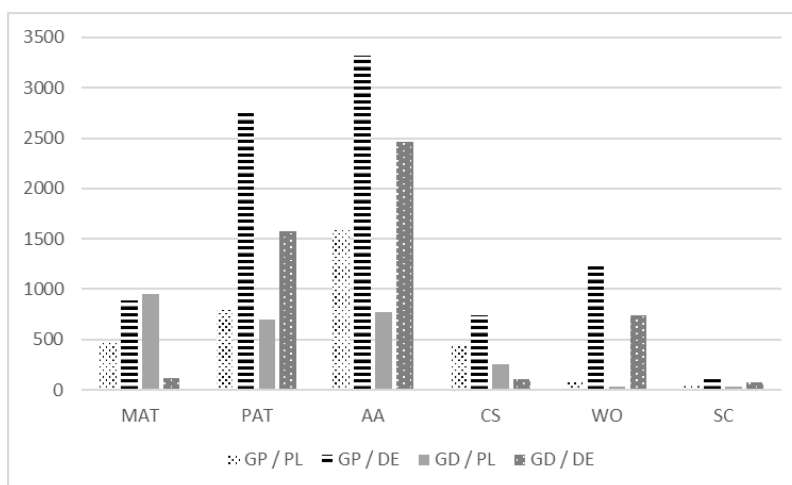


Figure 1: Syntactic Annotation: Distribution of Language Contact Phenomena * Language * Generations (graphic by the author based on LangGener Corpus): GP – Generation Poland, GD – Generation Germany, PL – Polish, DE – German

As demonstrated in Figure 1, most of the deviations from the baseline for both Generation Poland and Generation Germany were categorized as ‘Other Deviations’ [AA], followed by “Pattern Replications” [PAT]. In other categories (“MAT”, “CS” and “SC”) the differences between the numbers are far less significant. In both categories [PAT and AA], Generation Poland produces far more deviations than Generation Germany: AA: 4,916 for GP and 3,236 for GD; PATs: 3,541 for GP and 2,271 for GD.⁶ Interestingly, in both generations more substantial numbers of deviations occur in the German language and the model language is Polish.⁷ This is particularly notable because while the speakers of Generation Germany are learners of German as a second language, in the case of Generation Poland, we are dealing with the first, native language.

Table 1 shows that most of the PATs occur in German with respect to the whole Sentence, followed by Noun and Verb Phrases. In Generation Poland, the highest number of deviations occurs in the whole sentence and is almost twice as large as the highest number of deviations in Generation Germany language, which occur in the Noun Phrase.

The number of deviations in Polish is significantly lower and similarly distributed for both generations.

Table 1: PATs according to phrase types * Language * Generations

Sentence		Phrase type					
		NP	VP	PP	AP	AdvP	
GP	Polish	139	285	249	126	47	43
	German	1,381	678	892	398	119	321
GD	Polish	194	229	224	120	54	67
	German	596	750	370	317	115	73
Count		2,310	1,942	1,735	961	335	504

Conclusion

Based on the study, it can be concluded that pattern replication is one of the more common types of deviation from the baseline in the speech of German-Polish bilinguals.

It should be noted that PATs occur in all types of phrases, however, in most cases they involve the whole sentence or Noun and Verb Phrases. Omission of the obligatory subject, deviation in the use of articles, conjunctions, or reflexive pronouns are the most common types of replication. In an overwhelming number of cases, PATs occur in German and the model language is Polish (76% of all PAT cases). This rule applies to both generations of informants.

However, Generation Germany is characterized by less frequent use of PATs in both languages than Generation Poland. This is an interesting result, since it is Generation Germany who learned German as a second language, while Generation Poland are early bilinguals with L1 German.

⁶ All the statistical data below was generated from the Corpus. Cf. <https://langgener.ijp.pan.pl> [date of access: 30.06.2023].

⁷ Regarding the pattern replications 76% of them occur in the German language: 4,430 out of a total of 5,822 PATs.

List of abbreviations

* – omission
 3 – 3rd person
 ADJD – adverbial or predicative adjective
 ADV – adverb
 APPR – preposition
 Comp – comparative
 En. – English
 Fem – feminine
 Konj – conjunctive
 KOUS – subordinated conjunction
 Past – past tense
 PDS – substitutional demonstrative pronoun
 PIS – substitutional indefinite pronoun
 Pl. – Polish
 Pres – present tense
 PRF – reflexive personal pronoun
 PTKNEG – negation particle
 Sg – singular
 Trans. – translation
 VAFIN – auxiliary, finite
 VMFIN – finite modal verb
 VVFIN – finite verb, full
 VVINFIN – infinitive, full
 VVPP – past participle, full

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MAGDALENA JUREWICZ
Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań,
Institute for Applied Linguistics
magdalen@amu.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0003-0762-6017

Art Communication and the Museum. Prerequisites of Art Translation Didactics

Abstract

In order to draw attention to the linguistic context concerning fine arts, this paper presents a didactic approach to translation difficulties concerning the reconstruction of the real meaning of interlingual lacunae (gaps), understood as lexical units present in one culture and absent in another, using the example of ambiguous Polish terms referring to a painting style present in albums or museum guides. Based on the model of reconstructing the actual meaning, selected terms related to the existence of the so-called Munich School are shown, which, if not identified correctly, can lead to a trivial interpretation of a given work of art by the audience in the target culture. Language and linguistic actions are essential for the description of works of art, their meaning and cultural-historical references, which is also linguistically manifested in established text types and genres. The reception of art is essentially through two channels: visual and verbal. Observers can identify the content of the work through their own cultural filters, including human universals. The presence of verbal comments can enrich a better and deeper understanding of its meaning. People have been describing the meaning of art verbally since they encountered artefacts rooted in other cultures, but the branch of linguistics dealing with the relationship between language and visual art is very young and consequently little researched. The same applies to the topic of translation in the field of art communication and museums, which is relatively new. The results of the analysis presented this paper can be used by university translation didacticians and by translators to find adequate equivalents in the field of translation in the field of painting history.

Keywords: regional city museums, advertisements of exhibitions, unambiguous painting style terminology, challenges for translators, “Munich School” of painting

0. Introduction

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Linguistic activity is essential for describing works of art, the techniques used to create paintings or sculptures, the significance of a particular work of art for a country's culture, and the historical references and connotations of the themes depicted in a work of art. Statements about works of art are realised by means of established textual genres, such as guided tours of museums, descriptions in albums devoted to the paintings of a particular era, or art criticism texts (cf. Spieß 2018: 370). The branch of linguistics dealing with the relationship between language and the field of fine arts is relatively young, although it has recently received increasing attention in Germany, as a result of several projects (such as a textbook developed by Hausendorf and Müller in 2016) and various analyses of individual elements of communication and the function of linguistic phenomena within artistic communication (cf. Roll and Spieß 2013; Müller and Kluwe 2012; Hausendorf and Müller 2016). Interdisciplinary questions and individual approaches to the subject of study also play an important role in this research (cf. Müller and Kluwe 2012; Hausendorf and Müller 2016). For example, the aforementioned textbook on arts communication provides an overview of the key topics and research in this area, partly from a linguistic perspective (cf. Spieß 2018: 371). In that publication, authors from the fields of conversation studies, text and discourse linguistics, rhetoric and stylistics, sociology, didactics, art criticism, art pedagogy, art therapy, art history, and art theory present up-to-date knowledge concerning linguistic reflection in the aforementioned areas. What is missing from that comprehensive publication, however, is a translational perspective.

Two years ago, a publication was produced which attempts to fill this gap. The collection *Translation – Kunstkommunikation – Museum / Translation – Art Communication – Museum* (2021) contains texts on translation in the field of art and museum communication. This is, as the authors themselves indicate, a relatively new and under-researched area in the field of translation studies. In that collection, experts from various fields present their own perspectives on this transdisciplinary area and thus explain the special features, conditions and requirements of translation in a scientific and practical context. For example, an article by Antonia Lagemann considers translation in the field of exhibitions, using the example of the Schirn Kunsthalle in Frankfurt am Main (cf. Ahrens *et al.* 2021: 137–153). In the Polish literature on art communication, one can find articles dealing with art as a form of communication in the visual sphere, but there is a lack of linguistic and translational approaches to the topic of language as a tool for describing and discussing art (cf. Sztabiński 2003; Juskiewicz [DWed 1 Mar 2023], among others).

To draw attention to the linguistic context concerning fine arts, this article presents some challenges faced by the translators of popular science texts available in Polish city museums, working in the Polish–German language pair. Using the example of expressions relating to the characteristics of the painting style of representatives of the so-called Munich School, as well as ambiguous descriptions of works by painters of that school, a demonstration is given of the interlingual¹ or even intercultural lacunae which hinder, among other things, the creation of monographs on the painting of the Munich School in German. Using specific examples of certain elements characteristic of Polish culture but less known in German culture, appearing in paintings and/or in text describing them, the model of the analysis of interlingual

1 The concept of linguistic lacunae is one means of describing the challenges faced by a translator when there is a gap in the linguistic system of the target language, also referred to by translation theorists as, for example, null equivalence (cf. Kade) or denotative null equivalence (Koller). The notion of lacuna was chosen for analysis here because of its location not in the single specific text undergoing the translation process, but in the entire discourse on the topic in question.

lacunae according to Miłosz-Szewczyk (2022) will be discussed in the context of its usefulness for the analysis of texts accompanying works of art. For the purposes of this article, the model additionally takes into account the visual aspect that is indispensable in the interpretation of works of art. We propose to replace the notion of interlingual lacunae with intercultural lacunae² when interpreting the visual side of a painting, as paintings are also carriers of non-verbal content.

1. Intercultural Lacunae in Fine Arts Communication

The concept of interlingual lacunae refers to differences in meaning that become apparent only at the moment of intercultural contact (cf. Panasiuk and Schröder 2006: 14). Lacunae hinder the reception of the text in the foreign language, and can lead to both communicative distortions and intercultural misunderstandings (Freihoff 2001: 219–220). As lexical units, interlingual gaps do not have single-word equivalents in the target culture, which makes them problematic in the translation process. Ertelt-Vieth (2006: 66) defines lacunae as meaning gaps (*Bedeutungslakunen*, 2004: 84) and considers their analysis in terms of discovery, representation, and explanation. Discovery involves revealing cultural differences, which are understood as interlingual gaps. Ertelt-Vieth (2006: 54) proposes explanation of these gaps, that is, the formulation of a statement concerning their current meaning. Current meaning, also referred to as contextual, textual or pragmatic meaning, is the meaning of a lexeme in use, in a specific communicative situation, and “(...) is therefore attributed to a particular textual realisation of a given lexeme” (Markowski 2012: 43). The context determines the actual meaning. What is missing from the definitions of lacunae quoted above, however, is the extent to which a given collocation or individual word must be recognisable in the original culture as a phraseological expression, or whether, for example, instances of pun can also be counted among these lacunae. In this article we propose a broad understanding of the concept.

In the model of reconstruction of the current meaning of interlingual lacunae according to Miłosz-Szewczyk (2022: 99), it is the reading of the text from the position of the naïve foreign-language reader³ that comes to the fore, followed by a description of the context, the identification of the theme of the plot and the discourse plane in which the lacuna in question occurs in the foreign language, which serves in further steps to classify the lacuna as a key word, to reconstruct its current meaning, and optionally to compare its lexical meaning with the current meaning. The Miłosz-Szewczyk model can be applied not only to the situation of reading a foreign-language text. In the case of specialised or popular science texts in which specialised terminology appears, a translator, even one from the culture of the original language, is often confronted with unfamiliar terms, and thus acts in the role of a lay person. This can lead to a misreading of the term in question, or to a failure to recognise that it is a professional or jargon

2 Szerszunowicz (2015) writes about intercultural gaps (lacunae) in the context of the lack of a relevant cultural element named in the target culture in the output language. Quoting Dagut (1981), he writes that two basic types of gaps are distinguished: linguistic and cultural. Linguistic gaps occur when a given concept realised by means of a lexical unit cannot be expressed in the target language by means of an expression, although the meaning is known in the target culture. We speak of cultural gaps in the case of words naming phenomena, objects, customs, etc. embedded in the source culture, and thus conveying meanings that must be explicated in the target language because they are not known to users from the target culture (cf. Szerszunowicz 2015: 633–634).

3 It seems appropriate here to clarify what is meant by naïve reader: a person who has mastered a foreign language sufficiently to be able to tell that an expression may be a lacuna, in our opinion, cannot be considered a naïve reader.

term used in the relevant field, often having no equivalent in the foreign language. Such issues arise when translating albums on the subject of painting. This requires additional specialist knowledge on the part of the linguist, as well as consideration of the painting depicted, and therefore it becomes necessary for our purposes to supplement the Miłosz-Szewczyk model with observation of a given work of art and to include observation in its description.

When translating texts from the field of fine arts, it is therefore necessary to ask ourselves some additional questions. For this purpose, we will refer to the catalogue of issues formulated by Ballstedt (2011: 428) with regard to the visual sphere in the translation of technical documentation and advertising, adapting it to the field of fine arts⁴.

- 1) To what extent can verbal communication (*e.g.* in the form of descriptions of a painting) facilitate the understanding of images?
- 2) Are there limitations to visual communication? Research by Grotstabel *et al.* (2003) has indicated that abstract concepts and arguments are difficult to convey in paintings. Therefore, only in the case of simple content and actions is the interpretation of the image not a problem; with more complex content, text and image are indispensable if we want to interpret the painter's intention correctly – for example, descriptions of historical paintings require a thorough knowledge of the eras depicted.
- 3) How can the intelligibility of the paintings be assessed? In the case of text comprehensibility, many linguistic indicators have been found at word, sentence and text level that contribute to comprehension. In the case of images, the situation is more complicated and the research is less convincing.
- 4) Are images really cross-culturally intelligible? Do cultural factors condition the understanding of images? Do we need intercultural competence in visual communication? There has been research on this topic since the 1960s, but a systematic, theoretical and empirical approach has emerged only in recent years under the influence of globalisation. Today, it is believed that the recognition of objects, people and scenes in images does not generally cause difficulties in any culture, subject to two conditions: Firstly, the observer must have knowledge of the culture in which the work was created. Secondly, the images must not deviate from everyday perception, for example through unusual perspectives, colours or illustration styles (*cf.* Spaulding 1956; Twyman 1985). Difficulties in understanding arise when images are interpreted because cultural cognitive styles, conventions and mentalities play an important role. As in the translation of written texts, a representative of the target culture should be involved in the description of paintings, in order to avoid confusion in communication.

Although the lack of a description of the work does not prevent its reception, a description may supplement that reception or identify the reality being presented in accordance with the intention of the sender, here the painter. Misunderstanding of the title of a painting may impoverish the message or distort it completely, but still does not completely deprive the observer of an aesthetic experience. Hence, there is probably little interest on the part of the authors of studies in published albums in conscientiously translating, or rather explaining, the titles of paintings

4 The questions below may also refer to: multimodal translation: visual content to verbal content in any language, *e.g.* audio-visual translation as for the blind. It can be multilingual also be intracultural translation that is explaining the meaning of the masterpieces to the members of the same culture.

Thus, it should be assumed that the fact that the recipient of a work of art belongs to the target culture of the translation may hinder its reception if it is strongly associated with a certain initial culture. This is the case, for example, with works by Polish representatives of the so-called Munich School.

2. The “Munich School”⁵

In the history of painting, the term “Munich School” refers to a group of painters who worked in Munich from the first half of the 19th century until 1914. The art historian Frank Büttner writes that the school had already developed in the early 19th century thanks to the initiative of King Ludwig I (Büttner 2006: 215; compare also Raczynski 1836/41/1992: 44–60, after Büttner 2006: 216). Roman Musil, director of the West Bohemian Gallery in Pilsen, lists the characteristics and means of expression typical of the painters of the “Munich School”:

They worked with darker colours, used dark brown tones and very high light contrasts. (...) This gives Munich painting its character and distinguishes it from the so-called lightened palette of Parisian art. (<https://www.radio.cz/de/rubrik/kultur/muenchener-kunst-leuchtet-in-pilsen>. [DWed 15 Apr 2019])

The Polish artists living in Munich did not form a specific artistic group. They came to Munich for longer or shorter studies. Those who gained recognition stayed in the city for many years; others visited Munich only during exhibitions. What distinguished them from other foreign artists (such as those from the Czech lands) was above all their programmatically different subject matter, closely related to Poland: national poetry and historical events, Polish landscapes, costumes, *etc.* In the beginning, the romantic trend was particularly strong, as can be seen in paintings with historical themes, mainly depicting various skirmishes. In later years, the Realists, whose domain was genre scenes and landscapes, prevailed. They were characterised by comprehensive realism, atmospherism (“moodiness”) and subdued colours, dominated by browns and greys (the so-called “Munich sauces”). Paintings by Polish artists of the Munich School are still valued by connoisseurs and are eagerly purchased⁶. The so-called “Polish landscapes” are particularly popular.

The most prominent representative of the Munich School was Józef Brandt, whose learners included Alfred Wierusz-Kowalski (1849–1915). Brandt, Wierusz-Kowalski and Władysław Czachórski were at the heart of the Polish art scene, opening their homes to newcomers and supplying them with Polish “props” from the numerous holdings of their studios. Alfred Wierusz-Kowalski remained in Munich and received the title of an honorary professor of the Academy in 1890. The “Polish colony” also included, among others, Maksymilian Gierymski, Jan Chelmiński, Juliusz Kossak, Władysław Szerner, Antoni Kozakiewicz, and many other outstanding Polish painters of the 19th and 20th centuries.

⁵ At this point I would like to thank Ms. Eliza Ptasińska, curator of the Suwałki District Museum, for any substantive comments on the paintings of the Munich School.

⁶ Among others, an album by Hans-Peter Bühler was published in 1993 under the title *Jäger, Kosaken und polnische Reiter: Josef von Brandt, Alfred von Wierusz-Kowalski und Franz Roubaud und der Münchner Polenkreis*. This publication met the needs of the art market at the time, which showed great interest in the works of painters who worked in Munich and are better known abroad than in Poland. Beautiful illustrations of the paintings, often sourced from private collections and presented only at auctions, allow us to understand the incredible popularity of the originals.

On the website of the District Museum in Suwałki (81 T. Kościuszki St., 16–400 Suwałki) one can find announcements of many exhibitions devoted to Alfred Wierusz-Kowalski, who was born in Suwałki and is regarded as one of the town's most eminent figures. One of these is a permanent exhibition titled "Alfred Wierusz-Kowalski 1849–1915". Wierusz-Kowalski's paintings were and still are highly sought after, especially his generic horse scenes. His wedding processions, with colourful Polish costumes and speeding carts with young, smiling people, are full of joy and affirmation of life, impressive in their colours and suggestive of carefree movement. Wierusz-Kowalski also painted winter hunting scenes and snow-covered winter landscapes with menacing silhouettes of wolves attacking travellers.

The museum also has a number of publications telling the story of the group of Polish painters in Munich, as well as some devoted exclusively to Wierusz-Kowalski. One of the latter (Ptaszyńska 2021) is written in two languages, Polish and English⁷.

3. Fine Arts Terminology in the Context of Translation

3.1.

As the first example of the reconstruction of the meaning of interlingual lacunae related to the achievements of Polish painters in Munich, we will analyse, in accordance with the Miłosz-Szewczyk model as modified for the purposes of this article, the term "Munich sauces", used in Poland to refer to the colouring of paintings of the Munich School. The first step in this approach is to read the text from the position of a naïve reader, in our case a translator unfamiliar with painting terminology. On Polish websites, we find 1,490 results for this term referring to the painting style of the Munich School, for example, "Colour. "Munich sauces" and divisionism" (DWed 3 Jun 2019).

In the next stage, according to the Miłosz-Szewczyk model, it is important to identify the lacunae and then verify them by comparing existing dictionary definitions for the language pair of interest with those used in the text in question. In the case of terms relating to the use of colours (such as the "Munich sauces" discussed here) and motifs, this is possible without having to take the images into account, although undoubtedly the images shown on museum websites and in albums give an idea of why the colours of the paintings are compared to sauce: dark, brown tones dominate, as mentioned above, and such tones also characterise sauces in the culinary field. When describing the discursive context of the term and identifying its subject in the given discourse fragment (in accordance with the Miłosz-Szewczyk model), it should be noted that the term "Munich sauces" in Polish serves as a pejorative term for colours of the paintings created by painters associated with the Munich centre. This is due to the brown and greyish-yellow colours that are often repeated in these paintings. "Munich sauces" are perceived as something old-fashioned and dark when compared with the colour scheme of the Impressionists. The pejorativeness of the term may also have to do with Polish history: the "Munich School" existed at the time of the Partitions

7 Unfortunately, there are very few studies in German, and those that are available (e.g. Fałtynowicz/Ptaszyńska 2005) contain shortcomings because art historians translating into German are not always aware of the challenges facing the translator. Translators working on texts about exhibitions dedicated to the Munich School at the Arsenal in Zamość (near Józef Brandt's birthplace in Szczepleszyn, Brandt also lived in Orońsko, it is worth visiting his palace and museum) also face similar challenges.

of Poland, and although Bavaria was not among the partitioning powers, the broader connection with German-speaking Prussia influenced the perception in Poland of art created in the German lands.

On Polish websites we also find culinary associations with the adjective “Munich” and the noun “sauce”, but they do not appear as a collocation and the adjective does not appear directly adjacent to the noun. On German websites, direct collocations are not found for a literal translation of the term, and in the culinary field we find, for example, *Münchner-Kindl* (401,000 results), where the irreducible adjective *Münchner* (“Munich”) and the noun *Soßen* (“sauces”) appear, but not as the idiomatic expression *Münchner Soßen* in the pejorative sense in which this expression is used in Poland. In light of the definitions presented, it can be concluded that the collocation *sosy monachijskie* in Polish is strongly stigmatising. Thus, in reconstructing the current meaning of the term “Munich sauces” in art texts, one must conclude that it is a pejorative stigmatising term for the colouring of paintings of the so-called Munich School, which has no equivalent in German. In the German text accompanying the exhibition catalogues, the term “Munich sauces” must therefore be presented using the methods available to the translator (for example, as a quotation in inverted commas with a footnote also explaining its pejorative meaning).

However, the expression “Munich sauces” also appears in literary works as an integral part of the text, for example in Mark Kochan’s (2007) book *Playground*. In the case of a literary translation of this text into German, the method of borrowing with an explanatory footnote breaks up the linearity of the text, and the borrowing may mislead the German reader, leading them to make culinary associations, for example. Here we have an interesting case: in the source language we find a term containing an exonym from the target language area, but it has no corresponding term in the target language. The pejorative term *Soße* (sauce as something thick, brown), without a painting-related context, may not always be clearly understood even in Poland. Nevertheless, the term “Munich sauces” is used by Polish art historians. In the case of a literary allusion, German readers should be offered the loanword with an explanatory footnote, in order to render the passage of text with its ironic meaning, alluding to the history of painting.

3.2.

Intercultural lacunae in the form of language games not recognised by translators can also be illustrated by the following examples of **translations of picture titles**. In the German albums devoted to the Polish representatives of the “Munich School” (Fałtynowicz/Ptaszyńska 2005), we find places where the translators either failed to take into account the content of the painting described or failed to understand the ironic overtones of the painting’s title. Beneath one of the paintings by Antoni Kozakiewicz, which immortalises a villager surrounded by rabbits, sitting in front of an old house, we find the title *Maciej król nad króle* (Fałtynowicz/Ptaszyńska 2005: 48). The German translation of the title reads *Maciej König der Könige*. The German reader must be confused at this point: what does the old villager in the painting have to do with Jesus Christ? The pun (Polish *król(ik)*, plural *króle*, also being a term for rabbits, especially in the plural) has not been rendered in the translation, which may lead to a complete misunderstanding of the painting’s title.

Other examples of ignoring intercultural lacunae can be found in the case of the loan of the names Protazy and Gerwazy Rębajło (Fałtynowicz/Ptaszyńska 2005: 49) in the German titles of paintings by Antoni Kozakiewicz that appear in the album. For most Poles, Protazy and Gerwazy are immediately recognisable, as these are the names of the protagonists of Adam Mickiewicz’s *Pan Tadeusz*, which is well-

known to all Poles. German readers, who are not at all familiar with these names, are given no explanation, and consequently may not even be able to interpret these nouns as proper names.

On the other hand the title *Budrys z Laszką* by Juliusz Kossak, given in the German version as *Budrys mit Laszka* (*ibid.*), may the German reader interpret as containing proper names. Although German Wikipedia lists “Lachen” as a term for old Poles, it will be difficult to make a connection with the feminine variant “Laszka”. Meanwhile, the Polish term “budrys” (used jokingly about Lithuanians) – not to mention its connotations with Adam Mickiewicz’s *Three Budrys* – will be unfamiliar to the average German reader. There is in fact a translation of Mickiewicz’s work by Carl von Blankensee in which the terms “Budris” and “Lachin” are used (https://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=20846 [DWed 30 Aug 2023]); however, even if the title of the painting in the German version of the album were given as *Budris mit Lachin*, it would still probably require an extended explanation in a footnote.

3.3.

When analysing works on Polish paintings written in German, it is also possible to find cases of failure to recognise **the cultural meanings of works**. Thus, we are not dealing here directly with the mistranslation of a given term (*e.g.* Trilogy), but with a downgrading of the significance of the literary works to which the painting in question refers. We will discuss this issue with reference to a very valuable work by Hans-Peter Bühler (1993) (mentioned in footnote 6), one of the few German art historians to explain professionally to German readers the complex history of Poland, without which an understanding of the paintings of the Polish Munich painters, whose works repeatedly referred to events from Polish history, would not be possible. However, even such a seasoned art history expert sometimes fails to recognise the connotations of a term. For example, to explain to the German reader the specific features of Polish history painting, characteristic of the Polish Munich School, Bühler uses interesting associations when describing historical paintings: in writing about Henryk Sienkiewicz’s Trilogy, he compares it to the works of Karol May (*Winnetou*) (Bühler 1993:40), emphasising the adventure themes of the Trilogy and ignoring the national and religious meaning of that series of novels. He consistently compares the wings of the hussars to the plumes of native Americans. This juxtaposition is very peculiar to a Pole reading these comparisons in German:

Zwar nicht bildbestimmend, jedoch als farbenprächtiger Blickfang, zeigen sich die berühmten polnischen Lanzenreiter in ihren Eisenpanzern mit hohem, indianisch wirkenden Federschmuck. (Bühler 1993: 36). [Although they do not dominate the picture, the famous Polish lancers are a colourful eye-catcher in their iron armour with high, Indian-style feather decorations.]

Such a comparison may lead, through the lack of an attempt to explain the intercultural connotation of the lacuna, to a pejorative interpretation of the Polish images by German readers. The intercultural lacuna relates in this situation to the connotations of the recipients of the work in the initial and target cultures: for a Pole, the hussars are a source of pride, having been the Polish army’s flagship military formation in the 17th century; for a recipient in the German target culture, they may appear to be a formation similar to native American troops⁸. In such a situation, there is no need at all to explain to

8 Another example of the same author’s lack of care in describing images is the description of a Cossack boat on the Dnieper river, the so-called *czajka*. Here the translator uses borrowing with a Germanised spelling of the term (*Tschaika*). The author of the study notes that *czajka* is also the name of a bird (“lapwing”), although he mistakenly translates it as *Möve*, not *Kibitz*.

the readers what the plumes resemble, since they can be seen in the image anyway. So the most effective translation strategy in this situation is loanword. The task of translating Bühler's album into Polish can be also extremely cumbersome⁹, precisely because of the failure to recognise the cultural significance of certain terms.

4. Summary

It can be stated unequivocally that there exist interlingual and intercultural lacunae with respect to the painting style of the Munich School and the description of the works of Polish painters of the 19th century, which can make it difficult for translators of exhibition catalogues and fiction to find adequate translation solutions. German and Polish art historians should not be forgotten either, as without translations of significant works of the period they will not be able to interpret and describe specific works correctly.

The analysis presented here of art terms, focused on the current meaning of intercultural lacunae, can be used by translators to find suitable equivalents and to better understand foreign cultural realities. Moreover, lexicographers can use the current meanings associated with lacunae (appropriately formulated) to expand, supplement, update or even correct dictionary definitions to reflect their linguistic and cultural specificity. Lacunae also show potential for contrastive discourse analysis. It is possible to compare vocabulary in the parallel, thematically homogeneous discourses of two linguistic and discursive communities in order to search for lacuna equivalents in the target language in parallel cultural texts. Contextual considerations play an important role in the translational approach, as they determine the choice of an equivalent and indeed the extent to which the sense conveyed by the translation unit can be reproduced. Out of the many competing forms, the one that exhibits the correspondence of the largest number of parameters among those taken into account in the analysis of the original is chosen as the representation of the lacunar word (cf. Szerszunowicz 2015: 648).

(*ibid.*). However, *czajka* in the sense of a boat is probably not derived from the name of the bird; Stanisław Sarnicki wrote that it comes from the verb *czaić się* ("to lurk") (in rushes, for example), and Dmitry Yavornitsky in turn reported that the name comes from the Tatar noun *kaik* (*chaik*) meaning "round boat" (cf. Gorski 2003: 111–112).

9 The translator of Bühler's position into Polish, Tomasz Kozłowski (1997), struggled with this type of dilemma. A discussion of his translation solutions, however, would require a separate article. Cognitive science studies have shown that translators are influenced by various aspects that have tended to be excluded from previous cognitive-centred research approaches – including emotion (cf. Risku 2005: 63). Being able to assess and communicate or transfer one's own emotions and those of other people is a central component of intercultural communication (cf. Hubscher-Davidson 2013: 332–333). Emotions are therefore a part of the translation process that cannot be excluded, which is used by translators as a matter of course, but still does not receive enough attention in translation studies discourse and studies (cf. Steyskal 2017: 30–31). Steyskal coined the term *emotional* to dissolve the dichotomisation of cognition vs. emotion and to give new perspective to the powerful unity of the two major domains in the translation process, which also abolishes this habit of contrasting at the word level and cements the two areas in an indissoluble liaison. The fusion of cognition and emotion in translation is corroborated and stabilised by the researcher with the obvious nominal neologism *emotionality*. Translators cannot transfer anything if they do not understand it, so translation is dependent on empathy and empathy in turn is the fusion of emotion and cognition. Nevertheless, a demarcation between oneself and the other person is required in order to achieve understanding. Empathy also makes it possible to visualise the inner life of another person by means of one's own representations, which, however, do not represent the actual feelings of the other person, but merely an individual, emotional reaction (cf. Steyskal 2017: 23ff).

The model for the reinterpretation of the meaning of lacunae by Miłosz-Szewczyk, extended in the present article with elements of image analysis, can serve as a way of analysing art-related texts in translation classes for linguistics students. The didactic potential of this kind of analysis lies not only in the possibility of illustrating the notion of lacunarity, but also in introducing students to a broader spectrum of Polish culture, which includes the fine arts in addition to writing traditions. Furthermore, the students themselves can thus be encouraged to take an interest in regional painting or sculpture, not always well known to a wide audience.

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Received:

10.04.2024

Reviewed:

30.06.2024

Accepted:

16.09.2024

KONRAD KLIMKOWSKI

Maria Skłodowska-Curie University (UMCS), Department of Applied Linguistics

konrad.klimkowski@mail.umcs.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-9835-635X

KATARZYNA KLIMKOWSKA

Maria Skłodowska-Curie University (UMCS), Institute of Education

katarzyna.klimkowska@mail.umcs.pl

ORCID: 0000-0001-6388-274X

A Class in Translation Service Provision for Students of Applied Linguistics UMCS

Abstract

This study presents how students of translation at the Department of Applied Linguistics UMCS assessed the class dedicated to translation service provision competence. Analysed are data in the pre-test and post-test questionnaires taken by 30 (pre-test) and 21 (post-test) class participants in its initial implementation in the academic year 2022/23. Results indicate a general sense of satisfaction with class content and participation, and the open questions provide valuable information on potential areas of class enhancement. The article provides a general outline of the subject: content and methods. Apart from regular content-oriented classes, four workshops with language service provision professionals were held. Students had optional tasks to take: study tasks to explore selected aspects of business functioning in Poland and social media activities to build the brand associated with the class.

Keywords: translation service provision competence, translator education, portfolio management, solopreneurship, freelancing

Introduction

Translation as a service and a business activity has become of interest to a growing number of researchers over the past two decades. It is true that the service-related nature of translation has been long recognised, yet it is particularly the latest research – reviewed briefly below - that seeks to answer the question what is service, what kind of service translation is, and why seeing translation as service provision and translators

as service providers can be beneficial to translation studies and translator education. In the context of our study, the educational aspect is paramount. Informed by a vast body of research, the authors developed a dedicated class (mandatory academic subject) in building translation service provision competence to MA students of translation at the Department of Applied Linguistics, Maria Skłodowska-Curie University in Lublin, Poland. The class had its first edition in 2023 and engaged all students of the Department in the first year of MA in translation (33 in 2023). This study presents and discusses results from the pre-test and post-test questionnaires taken by these students. Both pre-test and post-test bring a lot of information to use in the future editions. A general conclusion at this stage of subject development is that its content and class interaction is well assessed by the participants, who were also eager to share ideas for potential improvements to the programme.

Literature Overview

One of the main concept behind the research we present and the class we describe is that of service in general, and of language service in particular. For the sake of brevity, we present the historical outline of research on translation service as divided into three chronological stages. The initial stage emerges as early as early 1980s, with the seminal functionalist notions of *skopos*, *commission* (Reiss & Vermeer 1984) and *translatorial action* (Holz-Mänttari 1984). It was perhaps for the first time then when translation researchers realized and outlined the communicative and collaborative complexity of the translation process. The studies of the time mostly focused on the notion of translation as no longer an individual act, but a social action. Yet, at the time, the notion of translation service was not addressed directly: *skopos*, *commission* and *translatorial action* were abstract generalisations.

Stage two comes with the rise of *sociology of translation*, which is a study of “the sociological process of the translation event” (Chesterman 2009: 16). One dimension of the sociological take is *translator studies* – a term which is a deliberate modification of the classical notion of *translation studies*. Chesterman (2009) explains that in translator studies the texts and textual relation stay in the background, while “the translators themselves are primary research subjects” (Chesterman 2009: 15). Even though Chesterman (2009) is considered a seminal text for sociology of translation, it must be kept in mind that this research strand is already outlined in a collective volume by Wolf & Fukari (2007), with Chesterman’s own contribution in it (Chesterman 2007). The texts by Chesterman and by other authors in Wolf & Fukari (2007) marked an emergent interest in the social and professional functioning of translators and interpreters, giving rise to prolific research in the years to follow. A novelty of translator studies was its openness to empirical evidence behind phenomena that had previously been taken for granted. This is perhaps best evidenced by multiple empirical research contributions by Helle V. Dam and Karen Korning Zethsen. The long record of their works includes studies on translator status (Dam & Korning Zethsen 2008, 2010, 2011), translator profession (Dam & Korning Zethsen 2016) and professionalism (expertise) (Dam & Korning Zethsen 2014). Other empirical research enriching the field includes studies like Chodkiewicz (2012), Havumetsä (2012), Kuznik & Verd (2010), Risku *et al.* (2020) or Ruokonen (2013). Among more theoretically oriented studies of the time, Drugan (2013) and Kuźnik (2014) are noteworthy, even though the data-oriented studies mentioned above also feature important theoretical content.

One more type of publication that emerged in relation to the studies typical of stage two were those in translator pedagogy. Perhaps the first to be mentioned here is Gouadec (2007). For one thing, this monograph offers the broadest available exposition of potential configurations of the translation service, often quoted, analysed and developed further in translator studies. An equally vital aspect signalled by Gouadec (2007) is how translator education is to make optimal use of what we now about the translation process. Another short, but undeniably seminal publication is EMT (2009). As part of an educational programme, EMT (2009) was among the first formulations of the notion of translation competence (the-then topical concept in translator education) in which service provision plays a pivotal role. The above mentioned Chodkiewicz (2012) is an empirical study based to the list of competences in EMT (2009). She investigated how active professional translators and translation students perceive the skill catalogue produced by EMT experts. Some results are discussed later in this article. Klimkowska & Klimkowski (2015, 2020) rely on EMT (2009) for the list of research items in a study to determine the entrepreneurial resources of Polish students of translation.

Even if many of the works listed in stage two overtly used the concept of translation service, service provision or service competence, the main focus was placed on translation as product and process, or translators as agents in social networks. Stage three introduces a turn in the research optics. Firstly, it is the service and the process of its design, delivery and management that becomes the pivot for investigative efforts. Secondly, researching the service calls for voices other than those in translation studies or translator education.

Business and people skills are only beginning to be included in translator training programmes and research agendas, although their relevance has been increasingly recognized [...] This is a gap the discipline needs to fill in the future. Interesting new avenues for research could perhaps be found in the direction of service studies (or serviceology or service science), which looks at service management and service innovation across fields. (Koskinen 2020: 146)

Kujamäki (2020) presents an approach anchored in service research called Service-Dominant logic. She finds the approach particularly relevant to translation services as it puts strong emphasis on the process rather than the product in added value creation. From this perspective, a translation service is a translator's co-creation of value for their clients. To use Reiss & Vermeer (1984)'s concepts, one could say that a translation service often has its *skopos* defined beyond the text and its translation (product). The end user value may call for *skopos* re-positioning to some later stages of text use (for instance in the case of research text translation, where the *skopos* can be placed on the successful publication, rather than on translation of the original – for more details, see: Klimkowski 2022). For space scarcity, we refrain from discussing this new emergent research trend in details. The reader is redirected *e.g.* to (Kujamäki 2021) for a broader outlook on recent advancements.

Solopreneurship Academy: The Background and Rationale

Solopreneur Academy is an educational brand corresponding to the academic subject *Translators on the Service Market*, which is part of the formal curriculum for 1st year MA translation students (Applied Linguistics, UMCS). The decision to have an alternative name for a regular academic course was deliberate: to make the students experience how branding works and what it takes to develop a brand.

The point was to build a brand for the class that students can choose to contribute to by their posts in social media – more details below.

Three main reasons are underlying for the subject proposal and implementation. Firstly, the latest research discussed above highlights a need for theoretical investigations into the concept of *service* as the pivot for service provision. In our view, this perspective also needs its extrapolation onto translator (interpreter) education. Secondly, a considerable body of empirical research depicts an extremely complex picture of the translation profession, often paradoxical and self-contradictory views on translator status and job satisfaction. A good example is (Chodkiewicz 2012), who collected responses from 33 professionals and 22 students of translation concerning their assessment of skills that make up the translation competence as outlined in EMT (2009). The responses show that despite the vision promoted by the EMT (2009) experts that the translation service provision competence is the common denominator for all the other dimensions of translator performance, the students and the professionals did not acknowledge its role as pivotal. For example, (Chodkiewicz 2012) observes that:

Translation service provision competence “was found highly important by both groups [...], although it was not among the highest ranked ones. This seems quite unexpected since this “highly” practical competence is at the centre of the EMT model and its elements are also highlighted in other recent scholarly works [...]. (Chodkiewicz 2012: 46)

Our own research (Klimkowska in print) involving 206 active Polish translators indicates that not all aspects of the translation service provision competence are valued the same by the professionals. For example, while 87.50% of the respondents assessed *negotiating with clients* to be a very important skill, and 83.70% assessed *service pricing* in the same way, only 51.00% valued skills in *service portfolio building* that high. A noticeable number of respondents (33.70%) assessed the skill as important and another 10.60% as rather unimportant.

Findings of the kind illustrated above are more a regularity than an exception, and they pose an obvious question to translator educators: if empirical data do not provide unquestionable support for the role of service and service provision competences, should we highlight their role by addressing them in dedicated educational components?

Our answer is definitely positive. Firstly, the fact that either students or professionals assess different skills in different ways does not mean that the service-related competences have no place in translator education. Irrespective of result fluctuation, only a marginal number of responses could signal the irrelevance of the skills in the eyes of professionals or students. Secondly, service-related functioning is a transference skill, which equips students with strategies of market functioning that can be extrapolated beyond the language service industry. Thirdly, the academic subject that we outline here is implemented in a country whose translation market is characterised by low structuration (European Commission. Directorate-General for Translation et al. 2013) and which favours freelancing/solopreneur models of service provision.

Nevertheless, the result fluctuation reported is also a signal that any academic course or subject addressing translation service provision needs to be a mosaic of constituents, allowing participants to choose those which they find relevant for their learning trajectory.

Content areas

The content of the class is arranged around four main topic areas:

1. Designing a service portfolio, to help students realize their fields of interests, modes of translation they favour. Students are asked to use three parameters when building their portfolios: (a) which fields match students' interests; (b) which fields offer profitability vistas; (c) which fields offer client base opportunities.
2. Designing a business model in which the portfolio is to be implemented as a service ecosystem. It is a well-known fact that language professionals can work in a number of variants: in-housing, freelancing/solopreneurship, or hybrid modes. Discussing benefits and costs of each option helps students plan their optimal interaction with the language market.
3. Basics of business management is a component devoted to concepts of income, taxation, social levies, formalities of starting and running a business in Poland, IT support for business operations *etc.*
4. Marketing and CRM is to help students define the channels and modes of communication with their prospective and present client base. Major marketing and CRM policies are discussed for students to be able to decide on their optimal choices.

Multiple Voices

A vital feature of the class arrangement is that apart from regular, curricular classes, four meetings with active professionals were planned and arranged. There are two main reasons behind this solution. Firstly, the voice of professionals in a profession-oriented academic classroom (González Davies 2004) has a strong interest-raising and empowering function: it is no longer an academic teacher (who may be a professional, but their voice is situationally that of a teacher) who talks, but renowned industry experts. Secondly, the content presented by a teacher is "legitimised" by the experts: a teacher does not have to argue that 'this is vital knowledge, this is why you need to know this' since experts bear witness to that knowledge by their actual career narratives.

Marketing Activities

Apart from regular classes and meetings with industry experts, the students have an option to engage in social media marketing. This task consists in developing a series of posts in relation to regular classes and expert meetings. It makes students experience using social media for (self-)branding purposes, to unveil the potential and realise the risks of this marketing channel.

Study Tasks

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Conducting research on a selected aspect of business activity in Poland is another optional activity for the students. Topics include researching websites of Polish institutions like Social Security Company, Tax Office and other organisations like banks, security companies and accountancy services.

Portfolio

The semester assignment is to fill in data in a personal portfolio covering four main topic areas of the class. The students have an oral examination and are asked to discuss, justify and expand on their choices. They can also ask questions or seek confirmation to what they wrote. The examination is a dialogical event and its main role is formative: helping students determine “where am I on my way and what’s next.”

Pre-test and Post-test: Method and Tool

The research we wish to present in this study comes from a pre-test and post-test questionnaires taken by the students. Pre-test was taken at the beginning of the first class before class content and objectives were disclosed. The students only had access to an official course syllabus published by the university. The subject was mandatory to all students, whereas taking either pre-test or post-test was not. The students were informed in writing (within the questionnaire form) about the option to refuse to take part and about the fact that the questionnaire is taken for research purposes. The students were asked to express their consent to research use in a written and legible form (checking yes/no in a consent formula). The pre-test questionnaire was filled in by 30 students (out of 33 total class participants), while post-test by 21 (out of 33). It must also be emphasised that the questionnaires were not intended primarily for measuring skill development in students, but for confirming that the course empowered students’ own work on getting ready for the market and determining directions for potential enhancements of the class.

Results

The general perception of the course was positive in the pre- and post-test. 29 out of 30 taking pre-test assessed the subject as a valuable component of their MA course. 20 out of 21 post-test responses stated the same.

Table 1. *Is it good to have this subject in your curriculum?* Own research, chi-square – 2.2435, $p=0.5234$

	Pre-test (N)	Post-test (N)
Definitely yes	16	12
Rather yes	13	8
Hard to say	0	1

	Pre-test (N)	Post-test (N)
Rather no	1	0
Definitely no	0	0
Total:	30	21

Asked about their professional plans after graduation, the respondents answered as follows:

Table 2. *Do you have professional plans after graduation?* Own research, chi-square - 3.5740, p=0.3112

	Pre-test (N)	Post-test (N)
Definitely yes	1	2
Rather yes	18	16
Hard to say	8	2
Rather no	3	1
Definitely no	0	0
Total:	30	21

In both pre- and post-test questionnaires, the students expressed their noticeable interest in service provision as a viable professional option:

Table 3. *Do you find language service provision an attractive professional trajectory?* Own research, chi-square - 0.9486, p=0.6223

	Pre-test (N)	Post-test (N)
Very attractive	1	2
Rather attractive	28	18
Hard to say	1	1
Rather inattractive	0	0
Inattractive	0	0
Suma:	30	21

The next questionnaire item was intended to check if the participants realised they need skills to narrate about their service to potential clients. The post-test shows a little improvement in this respect:

Table 4. *When asked by someone, will you be able to explain what translation services you offer?* Own research, chi-square - 9.2523, p=0.0261

	Pre-test (N)	Post-test (N)
Definitely yes	0	1
Rather yes	12	14
Hard to say	6	5
Rather no	12	1

	Pre-test (N)	Post-test (N)
Definitely no	0	0
Total:	30	21

Questionnaire item five investigated the gap between what the respondents expected of the subject (pre-test) and what they believe they gained (post-test). This item was an open question so the participants were able to list more than one benefit. The table below shows the main three categories to which the answers can be classified.

Table 5: *What expectations do you have of the subject (left-hand column)? On what expectations did the subject deliver (right-hand column)?* Own research (figures do not sum up to N=30 and N=21 owing to multiple responses possible for this item)

	Pre-test (N)	Post-test (N)
Acquiring/enhancing knowledge about the translation market. Beginning market activity	30	16
Knowledge and skills on launching and managing a business	26	21
Defining one's niche or area of translation service provision	19	8

The last three items only occur in the post-test questionnaire. These were open questions intended to elicit descriptive assessment of the subject and possible improvements. Selected, most frequent participant responses are listed down below:

1. What was missing in the class?

- I'd like more guests
- I'd like more information on employment opportunities
- I'd like more practical information on service provision options now, when at the university
- I'd like to learn about CV and employment documentation
- I'd like to learn more about entering the market
- I'd like to know more about the translation market in Poland and abroad
- I'd like to know more about building my service portfolio
- I'd like more group and team work (workshops)
- I'd like more case studies
- I'd like translator-client role playing activities

2. Which class components/aspects/motives recurred too often or for too long?

- Too many guests
- Too much on solopreneurship at the cost of other forms of market activity (which could be more attractive for students)

3. What could make the subject better?

- I'd like to get contacts to attractive employers
- This subject should be held at the BA not the MA course

- This subject is attractive as such, but the curriculum is overloaded which prevented my engagement in the topic the way I'd like to.

Discussion

The data presented above offer an insight into how the students assessed their class what they expected, and would expect of it. The data disclose a complex, sometimes paradoxical picture of student assessment of the class, their skills, their readiness to self-educate as solopreneurs or as other active market players. This is hardly surprising as neither the needs, nor expectations of 30 young adults can be convergent as regards career plans. Neither the pre-test nor post-test did investigate the participants' background in service provision or actual interests in becoming language specialists on graduation.

In our view, the responses for the closed items and the open ones testify to the general acceptance of the subject in the form delivered, with perhaps one vital exception: the balance between what the students expected and what they acquired does not confirm they feel satisfied with post-class skill levels. For example, in pre-test 30 (out of 30) students expressed their expectation to get or improve their knowledge of the market and skills of entering into the market. Yet, in the post-test only 16 out of 21 respondents admitted having satisfied their need. The students were much more satisfied with developing their personal entrepreneurial potential: 21 out of 21 respondents stated so in the post-test. Only 8 out of 21 students responded in the post-test that they knew how to determine their area of service provision.

Notwithstanding the above, some data generalisations seem plausible and can be used to improve classroom experience – at least for those students who are interested in the topic. Firstly, the number of student voices asking for more practicalities in the class cannot be ignored. The students provided a short, but very concrete list of activities to include. Secondly, if more practical activities are to occur in-class, the list of four guest meetings will have to be reduced. At the same time, voices of other partners of the Academy can be made available to students in an asynchronous mode (recorded interviews for self-study on a learning platform). In this way, we can seek to satisfy those students who found four guest meetings too much as well as those who would like a greater access to professional voices. Thirdly, the portfolio semester assignment must also be discussed in-class to provide guidance to students who want to spend more time on nourishing their solopreneur potential.

Conclusions

The literature of the subject unveils a complex network of views on translation service provision, and on how the service orientation should inform translator education. It is relatively easy to find empirical and conceptual works that would enthusiastically promote the service orientation as vital part of translator pedagogy; yet, some data studies and some educational conceptions are not that eager to put strong emphasis on translation service provision education. We find the arguments of the former theorists more convincing. This is why we decided to give our students an opportunity to engage into a translation service provision training on a regular, curricular basis. The most positive outcome of the subject implementation is that the majority of the participants found it a necessary component of their translator education,

let alone the fact that some of them would be happy to work even harder on their solopreneurship competences than the subject in its initial edition allowed them to. At the same time, the research made us realise that to cater for the needs of such a diversified group as 33 students invited to plan their service provision careers, we need to provide them with more than just regular, curricular content. A vision that could be of better use to students is that of a learning eco-system, where content and interaction can be altered depending on learning needs. The research presented above follows the initial edition of the class, yet some small-step improvements taking the subject closer to the learning eco-system stage are feasible.

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ALEKSANDRA R. KNAPIK

Komisja Nauk Filologicznych Oddziału PAN we Wrocławiu

reginaknapik@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0003-3814-3560

PIOTR P. CHRUSZCZEWSKI

Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Wydział Neofilologii

piotr.chruszczewski@uwr.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-3915-650X

O wpływach wybranych języków wehikularnych i istocie oddziaływania społeczno-historycznego kontekstu kreolizacyjnego na typologię i stan języków kontaktu

On the Influence of Selected Vehicular Languages and the Essence of the Impact of the Socio-historical Context of Creolization on the Typology and Status of Contact Languages

Abstract

As a starting point, the authors of the work point to one of Arends's (1995) texts, which is an interesting attempt to classify creole languages, based on non-linguistic criteria of the social history of these languages. This researcher wonders whether creole languages may be characterized by a particular history of origin that is universal only to these particular languages and is not shared by them with other natural languages. The authors are of the opinion that it is not yet possible to provide a satisfactory answer to the issue presented in depth by, among others, Arends, also due to the fact that the vast majority of the extra-linguistic and fascinating histories of creole languages have never been analyzed in any way, not even mentioning their preservation in the written form.

Jako punkt wyjścia autorzy pracy wskazują na jeden z tekstów Arendsa (1995) podejmujący niezwykle ciekawą próbę klasyfikacji języków kreolskich, opartą o pozajęzykowe kryteria historii społecznej tych języków. Badacz ten zastanawia się, czy języki kreolskie mogą być charakteryzowane przez swoją szczególną historię powstania, która jest uniwersalna tylko dla tych poszczególnych języków i nie jest przez nie dzielona z innymi językami naturalnymi. Autorzy skłaniają się do stwierdzenia, że nie jest jeszcze możliwe przedstawienie satysfakcjonującej odpowiedzi na zagadnienie wnikliwie przedstawiane, między innymi, przez Arendsa z uwagi też i na to, że zdecydowana większość

pozajęzykowych i fascynujących historii języków kreolskich nigdy nie została w jakikolwiek sposób przeanalizowana, czy chociażby spisana.

słowa kluczowe: typologia języków¹, kreolskie języki kontaktu, historia społeczna języków, ewolucja i zmiana języka, językoznawstwo antropologiczne, kreolingwistyka

keywords: language typology, creole languages, social history of languages, language evolution and change, Anthropological Linguistics, Creolinguistics

Kreolskie języki kontaktu są wciąż dla wielu ludzi – części natywnych użytkowników tych języków kontaktu nie wyłączając – językami drugiego obiegu, którymi się mówi z przyjaciółmi, lub z innymi użytkownikami, kiedy ma się pewność, że oni również te języki znają i chcą ich używać². Natomiast w wielu przypadkach, szczególnie w miejscach, gdzie w użyciu są dwa lub więcej języków kontaktu, kiedy takiej pewności brakuje, lub dla zachowania neutralności, używa się języka, którego status uchodzi za neutralny. Takimi językami spełniającymi powszechnie uznawane kryteria, aby stanowić kreolskie języki kontaktu są raczej słabo znane badaczom, stąd także rzadko przywoływane w badaniach kreolingwistycznych np. surżyk, trasianka, czy joual.

Surżyk, z języka ukraińskiego – chleb lub mąka z mieszanki różnych rodzajów ziarna – surżyk jest językiem kontaktu, w którym językiem leksyfikującym jest język rosyjski; zaś podstawę gramatyczną stanowi zasób języka ukraińskiego.

[Surżyk jest] rozpowszechniony w dużej części Ukrainy oraz Mołdawii (Naddniestrze) i w sąsiadujących z Ukrainą regionach Rosji (obwód woroneski, rostowski, kraj krasnodarski); zrusyfikowana wersja miejscowych ukraińskich dialektów stepowych nazywana jest **bałaczka**. (...) Ukraińska filolożka – Łesia Stawycza uważa, że surżyk jest językiem miasta, które przestało być ukraińskie, ale nie stało się do końca rosyjskie. (...) Gramatyka i wymowa pozostają ukraińskie, podczas gdy znaczna część słownictwa jest zapożyczona z języka rosyjskiego (...), w ramach surżyku wyróżnia się wiele wariantów. (...) [S]urżykiem posługuje się 15–20% ludności Ukrainy, przede wszystkim w obwodach dniepropetrowskim, połtawskim, sumskim i czernihowskim. (...) Niektóre utwory współczesnych ukraińskich pisarzy: Bogdana Żołdaka czy Łesia Poderewjańskiego były napisane w surżyku, by osiągnąć komiczny efekt. (...)

[Wikipedia: surżyk – dostęp: 4.03.2024]

- 1 „Zadaniem [typologii języków] jest analiza tych cech systemów językowych, które wprowadzie nie są wspólne wszystkim językom, ale występują w większych ich grupach. Typ lingwistyczny jest to właśnie grupa języków posiadających wspólne cechy strukturalne. Pierwszym problemem typologii jest więc dobór cech, na podstawie których mamy wydzielać typy. Chodzi tu o wybór cech ważnych, tj. takich, które przejawiają się właściwie już zespołami cech ze sobą związanych, wynikających ze wspólnych przyczyn synchronicznych” (Milewski [1950] 1993: 76, rozdział pt. „Podstawy teoretyczne typologii języków”). Zob. np. też prace Merritta Ruhlena (Ruhlen 1994; Greenberg, Ruhlen 2007). Zob. też Knapik, Chruszczewski (2023a: 26).
- 2 Na podstawie: (a) pierwotnego anglojęzycznego tekstu (Knapik 2019: 83–88); oraz (b) podrozdziału rozbudowanego o nowe wątki i źródła, opublikowanego w języku polskim (Knapik, Chruszczewski 2023a: 148–159). Wszystkie tłumaczenia z języka angielskiego zostały wykonane przez autorów.

Trasianka, z języka białoruskiego; jest językiem kontaktu, w którym językiem leksyfikującym wydaje się być język rosyjski, natomiast podstawę składni stanowi zasób języka białoruskiego; trasianka jest powszechna w użyciu na terytorium Białorusi. Trasianka jest powszechnie postrzegana przez swoich użytkowników jako język o zdecydowanie niższym statusie społecznym niż języki rosyjski i białoruski.

Etymologię słowa [w interesujący – ludyczny sposób] tłumaczy artykuł w czasopiśmie *Kruh* (04.04.1996) – „Termin tarsianka pochodzi od nazwy karmy dla rogaczyny, czyli krów. Kiedy gospodarzowi brakuje dobrego siana, dodaje słomę, starannie mieszając. Krowa nie zauważa oszustwa i zjada trasiankę. Prawda, mleka nie przybędzie. Tak samo Białorusini – swojej okropnej trasianki nie zauważają ani w domu, ani w autobusie, ani w parlamencie”.

[Wikipedia: trasianka – dostęp: 4.03.2024]

Joual, nazwa pochodząca z języka francuskiego – *cheval* – koń; jest to język kontaktu, w którym językiem leksyfikującym jest język angielski, natomiast podstawę gramatyki stanowi zasób języka francuskiego; język ten najczęściej jest używany przez robotników w prowincji Québec w Kanadzie.

Joual powstał w związku z niekorzystną dla języka francuskiego polityką językową Kanady wobec Québecu. Język angielski był faworyzowany w życiu publicznym, (...) podczas gdy zubożały w terminologię dot. realiów północnoamerykańskich język francuski został zepchnięty do roli języka drugorzędowego. Ludność francuskojęzyczna pracowała głównie w fabrykach, toteż jej język zaadaptował się do rzeczywistości pozajęzykowej przyjmując wiele anglicyzmów.

[Wikipedia: joual – dostęp: 4.03.2024]

Kanadyjski pisarz, dramaturg, scenarzysta i tłumacz – Michel Trambly (1942) – najsłynniejszy przedstawiciel nowego pokolenia artystów québeckich, którzy w czasie Spokojnej Rewolucji [1960–1966] uznali joual za [swoją] formę ekspresji artystycznej.

[Wikipedia: Michel Trambly – dostęp: 4.03.2024]

Paradoksalnie, często tym językiem, którego status uchodzi za neutralny jest język dawnego lub całkiem współczesnego kolonizatora; w bardzo wielu miejscach świata jest to język francuski, portugalski, hiszpański, rosyjski lub angielski. W interesujący sposób tę myśl rozwija Joseph Errington w swojej pracy z 2008 roku pt. *Linguistics in a Colonial World: A Story of Language, Meaning, and Power*. Errington odnosi się w swoim tekście, między innymi do tego, że języki takie, np. język malajski w Nusantaraze (tj. w rejonie wysp Azji Południowo-Wschodniej), czy język suahili – język z rodziny bantu, używany w Afryce Środkowej i Wschodniej, zapisywany zarówno alfabetem łacińskim, jak i arabskim; nie będąc natywnymi językami europejskich kolonizatorów, stały się *de facto* językami roboczymi, zwanymi niekiedy **językami wehikularnymi**, reprezentującymi najczęściej stanowisko siły z perspektywy kolonizatora, oprócz tego stając się również w tym samym czasie językami urzędowymi w niektórych państwach. We wspomnianych rejonach świata językiem suahili posługiwali się np. kolonizatorzy belgijscy, a malajskim kolonizatorzy holenderscy, co wedle Erringtona, mogło też powodować wyparcie i dezintegrację wielu języków małych społeczności, których rdzenne języki miały zdecydowanie mniejszy prestiż społeczny. Oczywiście językami wehikularnymi mogą także się stać pidżyny, czy kreolskie języki kontaktu. Niemniej, najczęściej są nimi języki kolonizatora, które dysponują potężnym zapleczem politycznym i militarnym.

Trzeba pamiętać, że języki wehikularne, takie jak np. język rosyjski na dużej części terytorium Federacji Rosyjskiej – wsparte pozawerbalnymi siłami politycznymi oraz militarnymi kolonizatora,

doprowadziły na ogromnych obszarach tego państwa nie tylko do niemal całkowitej dezintegracji języków lokalnych społeczności, ale także miały często kluczowe znaczenie w doprowadzeniu do całkowitej dezintegracji kulturowej niewielkich lokalnych społeczności etnicznych. Paradoksalnie, także rosyjskojęzyczne szkolnictwo podstawowe, czy nawet średnie, jeśli stanowiło dla dzieci i młodzieży jedyną możliwość uczestniczenia w edukacji, potrafiło się walczyć przyczynić do bardzo szybkiego wynaradawiania. Współczesny baczny obserwator małych społeczności etnicznych i wytrawny podróżnik – Wojciech Górecki, zaobserwował i opisał poniższą bardzo wymowną scenkę.

Jechaliśmy na północny wschód, **w kierunku Astrachania**, jedną z tych dróg których nie ma na mapie. Step był brunatnozielony i pachniał piołunem, gdzieś tam widać było wodne oczka, pokryte skorupami soli (...). To była zwykła przydrożna buda, sklecona naprędce z blachy i dykty, pełno takich **na południu Rosji**. Ze środka dobiegały głosy, ale drzwi były zamknięte. Nasz kierowca zapukał w okienko, a potem powiedział coś **po kalmucku** do kobiety, która pojawiła się za szybą. Okazało się, że bar jest otwarty i możemy tu zjeść. Właścicielka urządziła maskaradę dla inspektorów podatkowych – gdyby się nagle pojawili, tłumaczyłaby, że to przyjęcie dla grona znajomych. Dzięki takim wybiegom wiązała koniec z końcem. Dojadaliśmy *manty*, pierogi z baraniną mięsem podawane w rosole, gdy podszedł do nas skośnooki brzdąc:

– **Diadi, dajcie chlebuszka!** – poprosił. Kierowca podał kromkę chleba i zagadnął go w ojczystym języku, ale mały nie rozumiał. – **Spasibo, diadia** – podziękował i wtedy kierowca rozbeczał się. – Jak mój wnuczek, zupełnie jak mój wnuczek... **Nie mamy przyszłości, braciszku, wyrzemy, wyginiemy...** – lkał rozdygotany. Podpity *mużyk* przy sąsiednim stoliku przytaknął mu niepewnie. (Górecki 2015: 33–34. Podkreślenia – A.K., P.C.)

Teren Federacji Rosyjskiej jest szczególnie interesującym laboratorium dezintegracji języków, bowiem nie tylko zasięg geograficzny tego państwa jest ogromny, ale także prowadzone przez to państwo planowe wynaradawianie mniejszych grup etnicznych ma wielki zasięg i jest systematycznie prowadzone od bardzo długiego czasu i to często na bardzo różne i wymyślne sposoby. Tego systemowego wynaradawiania zwykle się nie dostrzega kiedy bada się tylko jeden wycinek zastanej rzeczywistości, tj. tylko język, kulturę, czy jakąś jedną małą społeczność. Natomiast kiedy spojrzeć się całościowo na to, co się dzieje z wieloma społecznościami etnicznymi, na które jednocześnie oddziałuje **cały zbiór mocnych bodźców wymierzonych w te społeczności przez kolonizatora**, to dopiero wtedy zaczyna się dostrzegać większą część tragicznej historii dezintegrującego wpływu przygotowanego z rozmysłem przez jedną nację wielu innym, tylko mniejszym i politycznie słabszym. Taką pozajęzykową **zmienną o przemożnym wpływie** na całym terytorium Federacji Rosyjskiej, która **ma charakter dezintegracyjny i rujnuje od środka wszystkie mniejsze społeczności etniczne**, w które jest wymierzona, jest planowe, uporczywe i długotrwałe **alkoholizowanie**, co dobitnie podkreśla w swoich materiałach podróżnik i reportażysta Jacek Hugo-Bader.

Szamanka od pijaków

Rozmowa z doktor Lubow Passar, udehejską lekarką narkolog i psychiatrą ze wschodniej Syberii

[Jacek Hugo-Bader] *Czym zajmuje się narkolog?*

[dr Ludow Passar] Leczeniem uzależnień. Ja **specjalizuję się w alkoholizmie**. Mam **tysiąc siedmuset pięćdziesięcioro siedmiu pacjentów**. Mój gabinet należy do szpitala

psychiatrycznego miasta Chabarowska. (...) Od szesnastu lat prowadzę także praktykę w formie wyjazdowej. Jeżdżę po całym rosyjskim Dalekim Wschodzie, do wiosek zamieszkałych przez rdzenną ludność, przez syberyjskich aborygenów.

I co?

Widzę, że giną, wymierają. Zagłada. Fizyczne unicestwienie. **Całe narody zapijają się na śmierć i znikają z powierzchni ziemi.** (...) Nie jest już tajemnicą, że rdzenne narody żyjące na Północy mają genetyczne predyspozycje do alkoholizmu. Na to nic nie można poradzić. Od tysięcy lat żyjemy na terenach, gdzie z powodu surowych warunków niewiele rośnie. Odżywiamy się mięsem, nabiałem i rybami, więc w procesie ewolucji wykształciła się u nas białkowo-tłuszczowa przemiana materii. Ty, jak wszyscy ludzie rasy indoeuropejskiej, masz białkowo-węglowodanowy typ przemiany materii, bo twoi przodkowie od setek, tysięcy lat odżywiali się głównie pokarmami roślinnymi.

No i jak to się ma do wódki?

Tak, że jak każdy alkohol robiona jest ze zboża, kartofli albo owoców. Żeby ją przerobić, zutylizować w organizmie, potrzebny jest pewien enzym, którego w twoim organizmie jest pod dostatkiem, a w moim bardzo mało, bo mam inną przemianę materii. Taka fizjologia.

Co się dzieje, kiedy wypijesz?

Mój organizm nie metabolizuje alkoholu jak każdej innej trucizny, prawie z nim nie walczy, więc wódka robi, co chce. Głównie w układzie nerwowym, w mózgu. Człowiek staje się bardzo agresywny, emocjonalny, ekspresyjny. (...) Rosja zajmuje czołowe miejsca na świecie w liczbie zabójstw i samobójstw. Co roku zapija się na śmierć czterdzieści tysięcy ludzi. Statystyczny obywatel wypija siedemnaście litrów czystego spirytusu rocznie.

Polak ponad dziewięć. Ale Rosjanin na jedną butelkę legalnego alkoholu dodatkowo wypija cztery flaszki samogonu, którego nie uwzględniono w statystyce. (...) A więc póki co, dawaj, walniemy kielicha.

Tak jest! I od razu robi się fajnie. Tak więc problem zapijania się na śmierć całych narodów, to nie jest zagadnienie medyczne, genetyczne, biologiczne, ale społeczne. To choroba socjalna. Winna jest sytuacja, w której aborygeni znaleźli się nie ze swojej winy. **Dzieci, które wychodzą z tajgi, żeby pójść do obowiązkowej szkoły, uczą się siedzieć w krześle, spać w łóżku, chodzić po schodach, jeść łyżką, widelcem z talerza, a przy tym czytać i pisać, na dodatek w obcym języku** [rosyjskiego kolonizatora]. **To straszne katusze.** Nie dają rady i już na starcie są gorsze. (...) **W Rosji jest potężna, bardzo głęboko zakorzeniona kultura picia.** To nieszczęście zaczęło się w czasach Piotra Wielkiego, który zachęcał do otwierania karczm i picia, ile wlezie. Ściągał z tego potężne podatki.

A wczoraj w Rosji był Dzień Obrońców Ojczyzny, to znaczy Żołnierza, w całym kraju bardzo uroczystie obchodzony jako Dzień Mężczyzny. Każdy obywatel płci męskiej obowiązkowo musi się w tym dniu zalać. Ciekawe, że Dzień Kobiet świętuje się dokładnie tak samo – upijają się wszyscy faceci... (...)

Ale u nas w karierze zawodowej alkohol nie przeszkadza. Jest ogromna tolerancja dla pijaków. Alkoholizm nie dyskredytuje człowieka, ale w życiu osobistym ktoś taki to przekleństwo. Moje dzieciństwo to było piekło. Kiedy ojciec się upijał, był strasznie agresywny. Na szczęście umarł sześć lat temu. (...) **Do tego** [braku odpowiedniego enzymu pomagającego rozkładać alkohol] **dochodzi kulturowy, rosyjski rytuał picia przy każdej okazji, więc człowiek rodzi się i jest bez szans.** (...)

Jak przetrwać ten pijacki kołowrót pokoleń? (...) [**Są narody, które**] **przekroczyły próg ilościowy, po którym zwyczajnie nie ma biologicznej możliwości odtworzenia substancji ludzkiej.**

Jaka to liczba?

Około dwustu pięćdziesięciu osób.

*To z mojego spisu małych, rdzenny narodów Rosji, których jest czterdzieści pięć, wynika, że mniej niż dwustu pięćdziesięciu przedstawicieli mają **Alutorzy**, których zostało dwunastu, **Kerekowie**, tylko ośmiu, i **Enćowie**, których jest dwustu trzydziestu siedmiu. **Tazowie** są na granicy wyginięcia, bo zostało ich tylko dwustu siedemdziesięciu sześciu. W sumie, razem z dużymi narodami, takimi jak **Jakuci**, **Buriaci**, **Chakasi**, **Tuwińcy**, na Syberii żyją dwa miliony aborygenów i wszędzie, z wyjątkiem Republiki Tuwy, są mniejszością narodową.*

(...) Na pewnym etapie białej gorączki [*delirium tremens* – jedna z najczęstszych psychoz alkoholowych] może pojawiać się strach. Ogromny, paniczny, irracjonalny strach. Strach niepojęty. Alkoholik nie wie czego się boi. Może śmierci, ale skąd miałaby nadejść? Nie wiadomo. Strach rośnie i zamienia się w panikę, w której ludzie całkowicie przestają nad sobą panować, a gdy mają broń, zaczynają strzelać na oślep we wszystkie strony, najczęściej tam, skąd dochodzą złe głosy. Chorzy chowają się, uciekają albo atakują napotkane osoby, rozpoznając w nich swoich prześladowców.

(Hugo-Bader [2009] 2011: 177–180, 182, 184–186, 188; podkreślenia – A.K., P.C.)

&

Na drodze między Czelabińskiem a Kurganem. Po drodze z Ufy – Ural, **granica Azji**, i radykalna, jak nożem uciął zmiana pogody. **Temperatura spada o kilkanaście stopni.** (...) Nastawiłem budzenie na 7.00, ale nie zmieniłem czasu na lokalny, więc budzę się o 9.00. Okropna strata czasu. Jakie to upokarzające. W Rosji nie wypuszczą z hotelu, zanim nie obejrzą pokoju, w którym spałeś. Stoisz jak głupi w recepcji, a oni sprawdzają, czy nie ukradłeś umywalki. (Hugo-Bader [2009] 2011: 192–193; podkreślenia – A.K., P.C.)

Kola

Zabierałem do samochodu wszystkich, z którymi było mi po drodze, ale **w zamian za podwiezienie musieli mi opowiedzieć swoją historię** i zgodzić się na zdjęcie. Kolę Nikolajewicza Piefimienkę z ulicy Nabieżeżnej 8 w posiołku Budagowo – tak mi się przedstawił – zgarniam z drogi gdzieś między Krasnojarskiem a Irkuckiem. Matka wygnała go z domu, bo poprosił o dwieście rubli (dwadzieścia złotych) na podręczniki szkolne. **Chodzi do piątej klasy podstawówki.** Na początku roku szkolnego nauczycielka dała mu książki warunkowo, pieniądze miał przynieść do grudnia. Nie przyniósł, to zabrała. **Matka Koli jest pijaczką.** Ma czterdzieści siedem lat i nie pracuje. Do dzisiaj mieszkali we dwoje. Dwieście rubli to siedem półlitrowych butelek najtańszej sklepowej berbeluchy. Chłopak nie wie, kto jest jego ojcem. Chce się dostać do posiołka Buluszko, gdzie mieszka jego babka, ale najpierw jedziemy do jego szkoły. Powiedziałem, że zapłacę za książki, ale chociaż jest dopiero trzynasta, poza dozorcą nie ma tam nikogo. Kola mówi, że ciociowi nie można zostawić pieniędzy, bo pije. Nauczycielka nie mieszka w ich wiosce, cerkwi, a więc duchownego nie mają, przewodniczący sielsowieta (rady wioski) też pijący, w sklepie matka Koli ma wielki dług, więc

zostawiać tam pieniądze na podręczniki to ryzyko. **Jedziemy do babki chłopaka, a on pokazuje ludzi zbierających spod śniegu w przydrożnym rowie suche konopie indyjskie i robi mi wykład o produkcji haszyszu.** Mówi, że w szkole wszyscy jego koledzy palą marihuanę. Rozstajemy się w barze „U Druzej” („U Przyjaciół”), gdzie ma czekać, aż jego babka skończy pracę. Kobieta jest tragarzem w młynie. Znamy się z Kolą kilka godzin, a on już nazywa mnie „wujaszkiem”. Patrzy na mnie znad talerza wielkimi okrągłymi oczami, kiedy znikam za drzwiami baru. (Hugo-Bader [2009] 2011: 193–194; podkreślenia – A.K., P.C.)

Co bardzo interesujące, jednak nawet długie lata przemożnego wpływu językowo-kulturowego nie dały rady wydatnie wpłynąć na inne wybrane etniczne społeczności mowne języków politycznie słabszych. Niemniej z kolei te społeczności mowne mają niekiedy kłopoty z gwałtownie wybuchającymi waśniami wewnątrz własnych grup etnicznych. Waśnie te mogą wybuchnąć także z błahych powodów językowo-kulturowych, co wyraźnie zaobserwował w swoich podróżach po Jakucji Michał Książek.

Jakuci mówią niby tym samym językiem, ale nie zawsze mogą się porozumieć. Jakucki ze wschodnich ulusów, czyli z Ilin Engeru, różni się nieco od tego znad Wiluja. Używane tu na co dzień formy rozkazujące dla Sacha z zachodu brzmią twardo i apodyktycznie, a przez to obraźliwie. Toteż jeśli w jednym pokoju w akademiku zamieszka dwóch pierwszoroczników z przeciwnych brzegów Leny, niechybnie pokłóć się, a nawet pobiją. Bo **kiedy jeden mówi: „Podaj mi to”, drugi słyszy: „Dawaj mi to zaraz!”**. Zanim wyjaśnią sobie, o co chodzi, jeden ma podbite oko, a drugi rozbity nos. W styczniu 2006 roku taka kłótnia doprowadziła do regularnej bitwy. Z powodu subtelnych różnic w formie imperatywnej czasownika „dać” na łodzie Łogu, jednego z dawnych kanałów Leny, tłukło się stu pięćdziesięciu studentów z Büülü Bölöghö i Ilin Engeru. Tylu przynajmniej zatrzymała milicja.

Bülüü Bölöghö – grupa ulusów na zachód od Leny, nad rzeką Wiluj (po jakucku Büülüü). Studenci stamtąd wydają się szczególnie wojowniczy, przedkładają jakucki nad rosyjski, nie lubią *nuuczca*, czyli białych. Równie gorliwie stają w obronie ziomków, jak i biją się między sobą, choć przede wszystkim tłuką tych ze wschodniego brzegu Leny, z Ilin Engeru.

Ilin Enger – czyli Zarzecze. Podobnie jak Büülü Bölöghö jest nazwą miejsca, ale opisuje też jego mieszkańców. Wystarczy powiedzieć tak o kimś, by było jasne, że chodzi o człowieka spokojnego, nieskonnego do bitki i opanowanego. Za takich uchodzą mieszkańcy ulusów Amma, Menge-Kangalas i Ust’Aldan. Wyjątkiem są Tatta i Czurapcza. To ulusy, z których pochodzą wszyscy jakuccy pisarze i wielu polityków. Tattanie i Czurapczanie doskonale mówią po jakucku i noszą często jakuckie, a nie rosyjskie nazwiska. W latach dziewięćdziesiątych rosyjscy taksówkarze z Jakucka bali się tam jeździć, bo czekało ich ostre lanie. (Książek 2013: 38–39)

Zastanawiać się można, jakie pozawerbalne czynniki miały decydujący wpływ na zachowanie powyżej opisanych przez Michała Książka modeli językowo-kulturowych sposobów funkcjonowania tych ludzi.

Nie tylko współcześni reporterzy – jak Wojciech Górecki, Michał Książek, czy Jacek Hugo-Bader potrafią dokładnie spostrzec, co się może dziać kiedy kultura zdecydowanie politycznie i militarnie mocniejsza jest konfrontowana z kulturą wyraźnie politycznie słabszą. Takie wpływy obserwuje się od dawna, a kolejnym z bacznych obserwatorów tego typu zmian, ponad wiek z okładem temu, był nie kto inny, a pisarz Anton Czechow.

Rdzenna ludność Południowego Sachalinu, tubylcy, na pytanie, kim są, nie podają nazwy plemienia czy ludu, ale odpowiadają po prostu „ajno”, co znaczy „człowiek”. Na mapie etnograficznej Szrenka teren zajmowany przez Ajno albo Ajnów oznaczony jest kolorem żółtym; cała żółta jest więc japońska wyspa Matsmaj oraz południowa część Sachalinu aż do Zatoki Cierpliwości. Ajnowie mieszkają również na Wyspach Kurylskich, dlatego Rosjanie nazywają ich Kuryłami. Nie wiadomo dokładnie, jak wielu Ajnów zamieszkuje Sachalin, nie ulega jednak wątpliwości, że lud ten wymiera, i to niezwykle szybko. (...) Zanim Rosjanie zajęli Południowy Sachalin, Ajnowie znajdowali się pod niemal feudalną władzą Japończyków, a **zrobić z niech niewolników było o tyle łatwo, że są łagodni i niekonfliktowi**, przede wszystkim zaś głodowali wówczas i nie mogli obejść się bez ryżu. (...) Ajnowie są smagli jak Cyganie; **mają wielkie bujne brody**, wąsy i czarne włosy, gęste i twarde; **oczy ciemne, wyraziste, łagodne. Są średniego wzrostu i mocnej budowy ciała, przysadziści**; rysy twarzy mają dość prymitywne, grubo ciosane, ale (...) bez mongolskiego spłaszczenia ani bez chińskich skośnych oczu. (...) **Ajnowie mieszkają w bliskim sąsiedztwie ludów o bardzo skąpym owłosieniu twarzy, więc ich bujne brody poważnie intrygują etnografów**; nauka po dziś dzień nie jest w stanie określić miejsca Ajnów w systemie ras. Łączy się ich z ludami to mongolskimi, to znów kaukaskimi; pewien Anglik uznał nawet, że to potomkowie Żydów, których zaniosło niegdyś na Wyspy Japońskie. Obecnie za najbardziej prawdopodobne uchodzą dwie hipotezy: pierwsza mówi, że Ajnowie stanowią odrębną rasę, zamieszkującą kiedyś wyspy wschodnioazjatyckie, druga natomiast – wysunięta przez naszego Szrenka – że to lud paleoazjatycki, dawno temu wyparty przez plemiona mongolskie z kontynentu azjatyckiego na jego wyspiarskie peryferia, i że droga owego ludu z Azji na wyspy wiodła przez Koreę. W każdym razie Ajnowie wędrowali z południa na północ, z ciepła do zimna, zmieniając stopniowo warunki na coraz to gorsze. **Nie są wojowniczy, nie znoszą przemocy; nietrudno było ich pobić czy ujarzmić.** Z Azji wyparli ich Mongołowie, z Nipponu i Matsmaju – Japończycy, na Sachalinie Giliacy nie puścili ich dalej jak do Tarajki, na Wyspach Kurylskich spotkali Kozaków i ostatecznie znaleźli się w sytuacji bez wyjścia. (Czechow [1895] 2022: 205, 206, 207, 208. Podkreślenia – A.K., P.C.)

Innym ciekawym przykładem, ale już bardzo delikatnym w porównaniu z przykładami wskazanymi powyżej, postępującej dezintegracji kulturowo-językowej dziejącej się na naszych oczach na terenie Unii Europejskiej, jest np. stopniowe osłabianie języka maltańskiego przez systemowe przygotowywanie młodych Maltańczyków do studiowania u siebie na Maltcie wyłącznie po angielsku, gdyż to właśnie język angielski jest zdecydowanie najbardziej systemowo preferowany w maltańskiej edukacji wyższej. W związku z czym, młodzi absolwenci uniwersytetu automatycznie wpaść mogą w zjawisko **wymuszonej dyglosji**, bowiem jeden z rejestrów mowy potrzebnych do opisanego rzeczywistości, o której uczyli się tylko po angielsku, będą najprawdopodobniej mogli dokładnie opisać tylko w tym języku. Co za tym idzie, jest już łatwe do przewidzenia: mózg człowieka zazwyczaj stara się podążać tropami najłatwiejszych wypracowanych przez siebie ścieżek, w związku z czym ludzie po studiach będą najprawdopodobniej zdecydowanie częściej sięgali w rozmowach z innymi studentami właśnie do języka kolonizatora, w którym to języku studiowali i to we własnym kraju.

W tym miejscu należy wskazać jeszcze jedno interesujące zjawisko, kiedy bardzo wielu różnym społecznościom mownym jednego, w miarę spójnego, regionu geograficznego narzucony jest jeden system państwowy, prawny i administracyjny, a co za tym idzie, również system wartości oraz **język, który ma cechy kreoloida**.

Rząd indonezyjski, tworząc od podstaw tożsamość legitymizującą (...) dzięki aparatowi władzy (prawu, administracji, edukacji), zdołał podporządkować sobie 240 mln ludzi reprezentujących

różne grupy etniczne (...). Ceną za to było jednak odrzucenie tożsamości etnicznych poprzez przyjęcie [sztucznej] tożsamości narodowej oraz zadeklarowanie przynależności do Republiki Indonezji. (Gas 2017: 134)

Co jest niezwykle poruszające i znamienne, nowy język stał się wspólną, narzuconą z góry platformą podporządkowania aparatowi państwa, gdzie głównym celem pomysłu powołania do życia nowego języka:

(...) jest stworzenie wspólnej wizji, kultury i narodu. Nie jeden język, aby ułatwić komunikację (którą to funkcję dotychczas sprawowała *lingua franca* archipelagu – język *melayu*), ale język jedności. Grupa Jawajczyków z holenderskim wykształceniem dostosowała kupiecki język *melayu* do potrzeb nowego państwa, ustalając ujednoliconą gramatykę i struktury oraz wzbogacając go w patriotyczne słownictwo. Język indonezyjski przypomina orwellowską nowomowę, jest uproszczony, pełen skrótów, podniosłych haseł, utartych zwrotów, nie pozwala na krytyczne analizy ani filozoficzne dyskusje. (...) Ze względu na ubogie słownictwo język indonezyjski zawiera w sobie wiele zapożyczeń z jawańskiego, arabskiego, sanskrytu, portugalskiego, holenderskiego i angielskiego. Indonezyjczycy na co dzień wolą się posługiwać swoimi lokalnymi językami, ponieważ łatwiej im wyrazić bardziej skomplikowane czy abstrakcyjne kwestie. (Gas 2017: 136–137)

Kiedy do powyższego dodamy jeszcze informację, że „[w] szkole jednym z ważniejszych przedmiotów jest edukacja obywatelska (ind. *Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan*), nastawiona na podtrzymywanie tożsamości indonezyjskiej” (Gas 2017: 137), to rysuje nam się dość ponury obraz aparatu władzy traktującej **język jako eksperymentalne narzędzie podtrzymujące określoną wizję państwa**.

Wiele podobieństw między językami kontaktu jest natury społecznej, historycznej lub ekonomicznej i dotyczy określonych warunków, które katalizowały procesy ich powstania. W wielu przypadkach języki kontaktu powstawały w XVI wieku, w okolicznościach europejskiej ekspansji kolonialnej, która charakteryzowała się niezwykle wręcz brutalnością i przemocą militarną, symbolicznym gwałtem religijnym na ludności tubylczej połączonym z jej ekonomicznym wyzyskiem. Okazało się, że niejeden europejski monarcha zachowywał się jak pirat, z tą tylko różnicą, że on często w majestacie swojego miłościwie panującego prawa przeprowadzał holokaust na ludności tubylczej i jej wartościach, natomiast zwykły bandyta i rozbójnik morski otrzymać mógł list uwierzytelniający od monarchy, który sankcjonował kryminalne działania wykonywane dla króla, powołując do życia neologizm, czyli nazywając je korsarstwem³. Kolonie powstawały z chęci zysku, jak się okazało, zysku za wszelką cenę. Były powoływane w celu rozpoczęcia na szeroką bardzo skalę produkcji, w tamtych czasach całkiem nowych towarów, takich jak, np. cukier, kawa, tytoń i melasa.

W tym miejscu należy wskazać na bardzo cenione komparatywne badania społeczności niewolniczych przeprowadzone w terenie przez Sidneya W. Mintza, który w niewielkich odstępach czasu prowadząc badania przeniósł się na kilka lat, między innymi, do Puerto Rico, na Jamajkę i na Haiti. Mintz

3 Zob. np. **list kaperski** (ang. *letter of marque*) – dokumenty wystawiane przez rządy państw, lub monarchę, sankcjonujące rozbójniczą działalność osoby – kapitana statku, bądź grupy osób, prowadzących przestępczą działalność niejako pod egidą i w imieniu wystawiających takie dokumenty. Listy kaperskie upoważniały ściganie, konfiskatę ładunku i/lub zatapianie statków nieprzyjaciela; zapewniały prawo do pływania pod banderą mocodawcy, cumowania w jego portach i zachowania części pozyskiwanych na drodze rozbójnictwa łupów. Doskonałym przykładem byłyby tutaj listy kaperskie wystawiane rozbójnikom np. przez Elżbietę I, królową Wielkiej Brytanii i Irlandii; a przykładem jednego z takich zalegalizowanych rozbójników morskich, którym w świetle ich „zasług” nadano szlachectwo byłby żeglarz, nawigator, admirał i licencjonowany przez królową brytyjską pirat – Francis Drake (około 1540–1596). Zob. też: wikipedia: „list kaperski”, „Francis Drake” [dostęp: 4.06.2024].

podkreśla w swoich badaniach, że większość niewolników nigdy nie dała się zdehumanizować siłom kolonialnym, i cały czas pracowała nad sposobami polepszenia swojej sytuacji. Przy zaznaczeniu, że intensywność wyzysku kolonialnego w badanym miejscu zależał od poziomu nadzoru i typu zarządzania sprawowanym w tej kolonii. Natomiast zjawisko kreolizacji nigdy nie było pasywnym mieszaniem się kultur, ale polegało wedle Mintza na powstawaniu i kreatywnym rozwoju nowych form kulturowo-społecznych w oparciu o konglomerat różnych tradycji kulturowych (w tym języków), które były wnoszone przez ludzi do kontaktu w sytuacji kolonialnej (zob. np. Mintz 1960, 1971, 1974, 1986, 2010).

Również inny badacz języków kontaktu – Derek Bickerton – docenił wagę zmiennych pozajęzykowych wpływających na rozwój języków kontaktu. Bickerton (1988, cyt. za Arends 1995: 15) wskazuje na trzy typy języków kreolskich, wyróżnionych z uwagi na ich pozajęzykową charakterystykę. To, co Arends, cytując za Bickertonem, nazywa „pozajęzykową charakterystyką”, my nazwalibyśmy **społeczno-historycznym kontekstem kreolizacyjnym**, którego wartość jest nie do przecenienia, bowiem to właśnie on stanowi bezpośredni katalizator wszystkich zmian językowych w ogólności, a w szczególności, zmian zachodzących w samych językach kontaktu. Z uwagi na pozawerbalny kontekst, o którym mowa, Bickerton wyróżniłby trzy typy języków kreolskich; są to: **plantacyjne języki kreolskie** (ang. *plantation creoles*), **handlowe języki kreolskie** (ang. *fort creoles*⁴), oraz **wyzwolone języki kreolskie** (ang. *maroon creoles*⁵).

Sytuacyjne zanurzenie jakim dla pracujących ludzi była plantacja, nie jest jedynym typem warunków, w których powstawały języki kreolskie. Podobnie jak to miało miejsce „(...) w Zachodniej Afryce (np. na Wyspach Annobón oraz na São Tomé na zachodnim wybrzeżu Afryki), i być może też na południowych obszarach Ameryki Północnej, powstał cały szereg języków kreolskich, w tzw. fortach – ufortyfikowanych placówkach ulokowanych wzdłuż brzegu Zachodniej Afryki, z których Europejczycy rozwijali swoją działalność komercyjną” (Arends 1995: 16). Forty oraz ich otoczenie stanowiły niezwykle ciekawą pozajęzykową scenografię dla wydarzających się tam zmian językowych opartych na kontakcie ludzi i języków nie dość, że zupełnie ze sobą nie spokrewnionych, to jeszcze bardzo dalekich od siebie pod względem kulturowym. Z jednej strony „(...) jakiś środek komunikacji musiał być w użyciu, zarówno wśród Afrykanów wywodzących się z różnych środowisk językowych, jak i między Afrykanami i Europejczykami” (*ibidem.*). Z drugiej strony, „(...) internetniczna komunikacja rozciągała się na otoczenie fortów, gdzie Europejczycy (...) mieszkali w mieszanych gospodarstwach domowych ze swoimi afrykańskimi żonami, z którymi porozumiewali się w rodzaju jakiegoś języka kontaktu” (*ibidem.*). Wydaje się, że właśnie te języki kontaktu używane w warunkach domowych najszybciej i najefektywniej przeszły proces kreolizacji, kiedy następne pokolenie ich użytkowników urodziło się w tych gospodarstwach domowych, w których rodzice używali języka kontaktu na co dzień, starając się w nim opisywać różne sytuacje, jakie życie im przynosiło. Kiedy dzieci zaczynały mówić, kierować się musiały, jak to dzieci pod każdą szerokością geograficzną, swoją wrodzoną ciekawością świata, a to z kolei musiało zmuszać ich rodziców do opisywania dla nich rzeczywistości, która ich otaczała w języku zrozumiałym dla dziecka. Dzieci takie w łatwy sposób – właściwy wszystkim dzieciom na świecie i w każdym czasie, stawały się rodzimymi użytkownikami języka kreolskiego, nawet nigdy pewnie sobie nie zdając sprawy, że swoim zachowaniem multiplikują nabycie języka kontaktu, który mógł dopiero co powstać jedno pokolenie

4 Ang. *fort* – rozumiany w znaczeniu placówki handlowej.

5 Ang. *maroon* – w znaczeniu potomka samowyzwolonych – zazwyczaj ludzi zbiegłych z plantacji wcześniej przymuszanych do niewolniczej pracy, zamieszkujących odległe rejony Karaibów.

wcześniej. Powodować to musiało, z każdym nowym pokoleniem wzrost wykładniczy, między innymi: neologizmów, neosemantyzmów; hybrydyzację rodzimej kultury, włączając w ten proces przeszczepienie elementów kultury rodzimej, np. afrykańskiej, bowiem jej elementy zostały wplecione do kultury języka leksyfikującego (którym najczęściej był język kolonizatorów). Kreolizacja musiała też zasadać się na zwiększaniu palety różnych dyskursów i rejestrów mowy, które były potrzebne do codziennego życia w różnych sytuacjach w opisywanych społecznościach bezpośredniego kontaktu dalekich kultur i języków. Powyższe musiało dodatkowo przyspieszać procesy kreolizacyjne.

Kolejny społeczno-historyczny typ niewerbalnego kontekstu kreolizacyjnego katalizujący zmiany językowo-kulturowe mógłby zostać określony mianem **kontekstu wyzwolonych języków kreolskich** (ang. „*maroonage*”). Typ ten odnosi się do „(...) faktu, że niewolnicy, którzy uciekli z plantacji, następnie uformowali swoje społeczności we wnętrzu kraju w relatywnej izolacji od reszty kolonii” (Arends 1995: 16). Uciekinierzy ci, zwani „*maroons*” często uciekali przed prześladowcami w odległe i bardzo trudno dostępne rejony. Np. na Jamajce zazwyczaj uciekali do wolności kierując się w niebezpieczne i niedostępne góry, które zapewniały im w miarę spokojne schronienie. Grupy odważnych uciekinierów do wolności pojawiały się w wielu rejonach kolonialnego świata, początkowo budując swoje własne społeczności, które znacznie dystansowały się od głównego nurtu kolonialnego życia. Grupy takie osiedlały się i rozwijały np. na Jamajce, w Kolumbii, na Surinamie, czy w Afryce (Kopytoff 1978: 288). Później takie grupy wolnych uciekinierów zazwyczaj asymilowały się z większością społeczeństwa, chociaż z wyjątkami. Np. grupa wolnych uciekinierów na Surinamie, którzy zachowali swoje własne tradycje oraz język i dzielą się na wiele szczepów, z których każdy ma swoje tradycje tak kulturowe, jak i językowe. Jacques Arends (1995: 15) zaznacza jednak, że “(...) skoro ich języki najprawdopodobniej rozwinęły się z kreoli plantacyjnych, nie powinniśmy oczekiwać odnalezienia istotnych strukturalnych różnic między nimi”.

Język saramakański (ang. *Saramaccan*) jest uważany przez wielu kreolistów za najczystsza wersję, czy też za najbardziej radykalny język kreolski, jaki przetrwał do dzisiaj, bowiem saramakański „(...) z uwagi na swoją – prawdopodobnie – szybką formację, a następnie na swoją izolację od innych języków, zachował swój oryginalny kreolski charakter w czystszej formie niżli inne znane języki kreolskie (...)” (Arends 1995: 16–17).

Nieco inną typologię języków kreolskich zaproponował Robert Chaudenson (1977: 264–265), który kładzie nacisk na to, że „struktura społeczno-ekonomiczna odgrywa kluczową rolę w pidżynizacji i kreolizacji”. Badacz ten rozróżnia dwa typy języków kreolskich, które odpowiadają dwóm różnym strukturom społeczno-ekonomicznym. Wedle tego badacza języki kreolskie, widziane przez pryzmat społeczno-ekonomiczny, można postrzegać jako **endogenne języki kreolskie**, lub jako **egzogenne języki kreolskie**. Do dwóch powyższych typów należy jeszcze dodać trzeci typ języków kreolskich – **typ izogeny** (zob. Knapik, Chruszczewski 2023b).

“Społeczności związane” (ang. *the “lazando” communities*) odpowiadają typowi endogennych języków kreolskich, ponieważ: „pojawily się na zachodnim wybrzeżu Afryki i były uformowane przez Portugalczyków, później przez osadników angielskich grupujących się w społeczności wraz z rdzennymi Afrykanami: handlarzami, konkubinami, służącymi, etc.” (Chaudenson 1977: 264).

Typem endogennych języków kreolskich byłyby też afrykańskie kreole, w których językiem leksyfikującym – szczególnie w Afryce Zachodniej – był przez dłuższy czas język portugalski. Np. endogeny język kreolski, jakim niewątpliwie jest kasamancki (ang. *Casamance*), zwany też kreolem gwinejskim (używany w regionie Senegalu w dorzeczu rzeki o tej samej nazwie, co język kasamancki;

w bezpośredniej bliskości używany jest język jolański (ang. *Jola/Diola*), natomiast dla większości populacji w tym regionie do kontaktów służy wolof – język z rodziny nigero-kongijskiej, z grupy języków atlantyckich. Językiem tym posługuje się około 80% ludności Senegalu. Ponadto używane są także języki takie jak soninkeński (ang. *Soninke*), oraz mandinkański, znany też jako mandingo (ang. *Mandinka*), oba są językami nigero-kongijskimi z grupy mande. Języki z tej grupy są językami tonalnymi⁶.

Faktem o istotnym znaczeniu dla badań społecznych uwarunkowań języków w tym regionie świata może być stale utrzymujący się wysoki poziom niepiśmienności. Wpływ na to ma, oprócz innych czynników, duża niestabilność polityczna regionu. W zasadzie bez przerwy od 1982 roku, od czasu do czasu gasnąc lub się zaogniając, trwa krwawa rebelia Ruchu Demokratycznych Sił Casamance (MFDC), mająca za swój oficjalny cel oderwanie całego regionu Casamance od Senegalu. W tle co jakiś czas przewijają się płatni mordercy, szakale handlujący bronią i narkotykowe hieny – zawsze żerujące na resztkach zdrowej tkanki społecznej.

Powyższe czynniki wziąć też musieli pod uwagę organizatorzy jednego z najbardziej znanych rajdów pustynnych, który przez wiele lat prowadził z Paryża do stolicy Senegalu – Dakaru, ale ze względów bezpieczeństwa uczestników jego trasa musiała zostać całkowicie zmieniona i od 2008 roku rajd ten odbywał się w Ameryce Południowej, natomiast od 2020 roku jest planowany w pustynnych warunkach Arabii Saudyjskiej.

Takie okoliczności lokalnej przyrody politycznej w zasadzie niemal nie tylko dokumentnie wykluczają prace terenowe lingwistów i antropologów, którzy nie są samobójcami, ale również nad wyraz skutecznie utrudniają rządowi Senegalu prowadzenie podstawowej opieki zdrowotnej i edukacji dzieci z tego doświadczonego przez wojny i rozboje skrajnie zabiedzonego regionu świata. Często zamiast kierować się do namiastki szkoły, dzieci są porywane przez różnego rodzaju grupy przestępcze, odurzane narkotykami, by następnie siłą je wcielić do bezwzględnych i okrutnych bojówek, z których większość już sama nie wie po co i dla kogo ma walczyć niemal trzecią dekadę z rzędu. W takich warunkach nie ma mowy o prowadzeniu żadnych badań, a na pewno nie bezpośrednich, stałych lub chociażby cyklicznych badań z zakresu językoznawstwa terenowego, czy innych subdyscyplin językoznawstwa antropologicznego.

Co ciekawe, wieloletni wysiłek i determinacja Senegalczyków pomogły im zebrać fundusze, by 6 grudnia 2018 roku otworzyć Muzeum Czarnej Cywilizacji w Dakarze (fr. *Musée des Civilisations noires*). Jest to jedna z z bardzo niewielu tego typu instytucji kultury i nauki, oraz dokumentująca i przechowująca dorobek kultur afrykańskich na tym kontynencie. Warto dodać, że wedle szacunków (zob. np. Searcey, Nayeri 2019), 95% afrykańskiego dorobku kulturowego jest cały czas przetrzymywane w różnych muzeach świata (głównie Europy i Stanów Zjednoczonych). Żadna z tych instytucji nie kwapi się specjalnie żeby zwrócić kolekcję, w sporej części – jeśli nie w zdecydowanej większości – ukradzioną jej prawowitym właścicielom, tłumacząc się nieporadnie, że „(...) przepisy europejskich państw zabraniają muzeom pozbywania się eksponatów bez zgody rządów” (Jagielski 2020: 113).

Bezcenne zabytki kultury i sztuki afrykańskiej można zobaczyć w takich muzeach jak np. Muzeum Etnologiczne w Berlinie (*Ethnologisches Museum Berlin*), założonym w 1883, otwartym w 1886 jako Królewskie Muzeum Etnologiczne, a obecnie przeniesionym od 2020 roku do Humboldt Forum. Obecnie muzeum to posiada jedną z największych na świecie kolekcji artefaktów, zdjęć, nagrań oraz archiwalnych filmów dokumentalnych pochodzących głównie z Afryki, Oceanii, Azji oraz Ameryk. Inne instytucje tego

6 Zob. np. Malcolm Guthrie (1967) – jedna z wielu wczesnych prac zredagowanych na temat języków afrykańskich, lub zbiór tekstów na temat sytuacji językowej Południowej Afryki pod redakcją Rajenda Mesthrie (2002).

typu, to paryskie Musée du quai Branly, specjalizujące się w zbiorach sztuki kultur pozaeuropejskich, otwarte 20 czerwca 2006 roku przez prezydenta Francji Jacques'a Chiraca; nowojorskie Muzeum Sztuki Afrykańskiej (*Museum of African Art*) i ponad sto innych posiadających w swoich kolekcjach jakieś zbiory afrykańskie⁷ w samym USA.

Sporo do myślenia w perspektywie, o której mowa, daje też to, że np. Konstytucja Senegalu (z 2001 roku) nakłada na każdego kandydata na urząd prezydenta m.in. obowiązek płynnego czytania, pisanie i mówienie w oficjalnym języku jednego z dawnych kolonizatorów. W Senegalu językiem tym jest francuski, bowiem po pierwszych kolonizatorach, czyli XV-wiecznych rozbójnikach portugalskich, już w XVII wieku w tym rejonie palmę pierwszeństwa zdecydowanie przejęli rozbójnicy francuscy, ponieważ każdy, kto siłą, lub podstępem, z premedytacją, mając na celu tylko swój własny interes wykorzystuje innych i to nie przez lata, czy dekady, ale przez całe wieki, w dodatku robi to na ogromną przemysłową wręcz skalę, jest nikim innym, tylko – najdelikatniej mówiąc – rozbójnikiem zasługującym na karę.

Małą część tego jak zachowywał się francuski, ale też i każdy inny rozbójnik, zwany kolonizatorem, co i jak padało jego łupem, jakich gwałtów dokonywał na kulturze i społecznościach, w które bez pardonu ingerował, można obejrzeć w bardzo licznych muzeach na świecie. Paradoksalnie, muzea te często mają w nazwie „etnograficzne”, a *de facto* stanowią sankcjonowany przez wiele tzw. oświeconych społeczeństw zapis mechanizmu zbrodni dokonywanych przez społeczeństwa Zachodu na rdzennej ludności zbyt wielu części świata, żeby je tutaj wszystkie wymienić. Dość powiedzieć, że ludność tę wbrew jej woli poddawano procesom kolonizacji, deportacji czy po prostu anihilacji.

Robert Chaudenson (1977: 265) jest zdania, że endogenne języki kreolskie, utrzymujące stały kontakt z rdzenną ludnością, są bardziej wrażliwe na procesy dekreolizacyjne, a tym samym mogą również łatwiej ulegać procesowi repidżynizacji:

[W] przypadku endogennych języków kreolskich, populacja nie-europejska jest relatywnie homogeniczna i pozostaje w obrębie swojego własnego terytorium lub terytoriów przyległych; nawet podczas obcej dominacji zachowuje swoją tożsamość etniczną, swoje tradycje, oraz w dużej mierze także swój język. Kluczową [natomiast] cechą egzogennych języków kreolskich jest ich etniczna dywersyfikacja w grupach niewolniczych, mówiących różnymi językami, i często planowo oddzielonymi od ich afrykańskiej grupy [z której się wywodzili] oraz wcielanie ich w nową społeczno-ekonomiczną strukturę ukierunkowaną na ich dekulturację. (Chaudenson 1977: 265)

Wedle tego badacza, można wyróżnić następujące cztery **zestawy czynników przyczyniających się do przejrzystości analizy języków kreolskich**:

(A) **Dekulturacja / akulturacja**; jest fundamentalnym procesem dla zrozumienia kolonialnych społeczności plantacyjnych XVII i XVIII wieku. Kolonie miały pewną własną politykę w zakresie selekcji nowych niewolników, bowiem podkreślić należy, że zniewoleni ludzie przywożeni do różnych kolonii nie byli dobierani przypadkowo „psychologiczne i osobowe cechy różnych grup etnicznych także były brane pod uwagę” (Chaudenson 1977: 266). Podobnie „(...) młodsi niewolnicy byli systematycznie poszukiwani, bowiem oni łatwiej się asymilowali do systemu plantokratycznego” (*ibidem.*). Niemniej, szczególnie pożądaną grupą Afrykanów, na których jak na zwierzęta, regularnie polowano i transportowano na plantacje, były dzieci w określonym wieku, gdyż psychikę dzieci najłatwiej było uformować, podobnie jak wymóc na nich pożądaną przez plantatorów zachowania.

⁷ Zob. listę tych instytucji np. pod adresem: Smithsonian Libraries: library.si.edu.

Dzieci w wieku od lat dziesięciu do piętnastu są najlepszymi niewolnikami do wysyłki do Ameryki. Portugalczycy biorą ich tylko w tym wieku (...). Ma to tę zaletę, że przynajmniej można ich wychować wedle upodobania; ćwiczy się ich w przyswajaniu tylko tych nawyków i zachowań, które odpowiadają ich panom; bardziej ochoczo uczą się języka i zwyczajów kraju, jego Religii; bardziej ochoczo zapominają swój kraj ojczysty i występki, których tam nie braknie; uczą się lubić swoich panów i jest mniej prawdopodobne, że ujdą. (Chaudenson 1977: 266, cyt. za Labat 1730: 106–107)

Historia handlu ludźmi zna przypadki braku woli podporządkowania się i stawiania oporu kolonizatorom czy łowcom niewolników. Zdarzały się miejsca, w których plemiona afrykańskie wszczynały rewolty, zniewoleni popełniali samobójstwa, a jeszcze inni cierpieli na ciężką depresję. Można tu przywołać literaturę przedmiotu opisującą stawiający opór lud Ibów, zamieszkujący od starożytności obszar przy zbiegu rzek Niger i Benue w Afryce Zachodniej (zob. Ransford 1971: 102). Wspomnieć też należy o koloniach, w których nieustanne rewolty i nieposłuszeństwo doprowadziły do eksterminacji niektórych grup etnicznych, tak jak to miało miejsce na Karaibach⁸.

Temat niewolnictwa jest niezwykle złożony, i trudno tutaj o jakiekolwiek wiążące generalizacje, bowiem należałoby opisać każdy zniewolony w przeszłości lud z osobna. Niemniej można domniemywać, że jednym z licznych powodów szczególnego upodobania w bestialskim polowaniu na niektóre, szczególnie afrykańskie, grupy etniczne, było radosne usposobienie tych ludów oraz ich pokojowe nastawienie do świata w ogólności, a do nowo przybyłych gości w szczególności. Paradoksalnie, to co stanowiło ich niewątpliwą zaletę, zostało brutalnie wykorzystane przez rzekomo cywilizowanych, europejskich łowców głów.

(B) Rola i funkcja „kreolskich” niewolników. Można przyjąć, że status społeczny niewolników, którzy urodzili się na plantacji był o wiele wyższy, niż tych ludzi, którzy zostali dopiero co na taką plantację przetransportowani. Ci nowi niewolnicy nazywani byli *bozales* (l. poj.: *bozal*; z języka hiszpańskiego, tutaj w rozumieniu: „dziki, nieokrzesany”, ale również „mówiący łamanym hiszpańskim”). Kreolscy niewolnicy „stanowili społeczny model dla nowoprzybyłych” (Chaudenson 1977: 266). Stąd też wedle Rensa:

Kreolski niewolnik stał się gorliwym propagandystą karaibskich zwyczajów oraz swojego nowo nabytego języka, ucząc przybysza anglojęzycznych nazw produktów codziennego użytku, wprowadzając go w języki jego nowego kraju, w ten sposób odwołując go coraz dalej i dalej od Afryki. (Chaudenson 1977: 266, cyt. za Rens 1953: 61)

Nowi niewolnicy stopniowo przystosowali się do warunków „nowego świata”, nabywając nowe języki, zakładając rodziny, aby w końcu stać się niemal rdzennymi mieszkańcami.

(C) Brak społeczno-kulturowej superstruktury. Osadnicy, którzy przybyli z Europy, aby żyć w koloniach, byli wolni od presji używania standardowych form wyuczonych w szkole, będących „(...) bezpośrednim wpływem lingwistycznych wzorów klas wyższych” (Chaudenson 1977: 267). Co więcej, „w sytuacji kontaktu językowego, w kontekście plantacji, wzrosły możliwości gwałtownej ewolucji języków europejskich, bowiem w tym kontekście, inherentne tendencje strukturalne, generalnie hamowane przez wpływy unormowań, miały większą swobodę wolnego rozwoju” (Chaudenson 1977: 267). Innymi słowy, w warunkach kolonialnych, tym bardziej plantacji na końcu świata, normy językowe,

8 Zob. też np. tekst Mervina Alleyne, w którym opisane jest bogactwo języków tubylczych Karaibów (2004).

wpajane w tamtych czasach raczej nielicznym, były na szarym końcu hierarchii spraw, na które należało mieć baczenie. Na podstawie badań można wnioskować, że podstawową funkcją języka kontaktu była jego funkcja komunikacyjna.

(D) **Spoleczna struktura plantacji.** Wyspiarski charakter plantacji powodował ekonomiczną i społeczną izolację, która budowała nad wyraz sprzyjające warunki przyspieszonych procesów dekuluracji. Składała się na nie „rozmyślnie zaplanowana polityka mająca za zadanie uniemożliwienie formowania się homogenicznych społeczności niewolników” (Chaudenson 1977: 267). Po pierwsze, niewolnicy byli starannie selekcyonowani i musieli przejść proces dekuluracji, który był dokładnie opisywany w listach przychodzących do kolonii z ojczyzny plantatorów. Plantatorzy usilnie starali się, aby z pamięci nowych niewolników wymazać ich afrykańskie korzenie i aby byli oni podporządkowani swoim nowym kolonialnym panom. Receptura dekuluracyjna okazała się efektywna i zarazem owocna.

Oliver Ransford zauważa, że:

Plantatorzy z premedytacją usiłowali złamać ducha niewolników i rozluźnić ich związki z Afryką przez wyważoną separację plemion, przez uczenie ich mówienia tylko w języku [swoich] panów (...). Przy końcu procesu zazwyczaj rezultatem była anihilacja przeszłości i zatarcie obyczajów. (Ransford 1971: 104, cyt. za Chaudenson 1977: 267)

Plantacyjna izolacja celowo uniemożliwiała komunikację między niewolnikami; utrzymywanie wzajemnych relacji między plemionami również nie było możliwe. Co więcej, „wertikalna”, czyli bardzo zhierarchizowana struktura plantacyjnej społeczności, podobnie jak brak bezpośredniej komunikacji pozwoliły na przyspieszenie procesów dekuluracji (Chaudenson 1977: 267). Stąd też język oddawał relacje przyjaźni, antypatii, czy zależności na poziomie całych, często bardzo zróżnicowanych grup społecznych:

język kreolski, który rozwinął się na plantacji reprezentował nie tylko środki komunikacji [będące w użyciu] między dominującą grupą europejskiego pochodzenia, a podporządkowanymi im grupami niewolników, lecz także między różniącymi się etnicznie podgrupami z każdej poszczególnej społeczności niewolników. (Chaudenson 1977: 267)

Dla przykładu, kiedy spojrzeć na kreol jamajski, nie ma wątpliwości, że system plantacyjny sprawił, iż ten język kontaktu był na Jamajce w użyciu przez różne warstwy społeczne oraz był wykorzystywany jako podstawowy środek komunikacji w różnych typach komunikacji. Stąd też wnioskować można, że kreol jamajski od bardzo wczesnej fazy swojego rozwoju zapewniał komunikację w obszarze co najmniej kilku dyskursów, co było też niezwykle skutecznym katalizatorem jego dynamicznego rozwoju (zob. też Knapik 2019). Społeczna struktura plantacji wpływała na formę języka w różnych wymiarach jego rozwoju semantycznego, składniowego oraz leksykalnego. Uzasadnione jest domniemanie, że użycie języka kreolskiego przez zróżnicowane społeczności mowne i różne grupy społeczne w ramach różnych dyskursów, wpłynąć musiało zasadniczo na zróżnicowany zasięg powstających form obocznych i dialektalnych.

Co ciekawe, w przypadku formowania się tego egzogennej języka kontaktu, jakim jest kreol jamajski, język plantatorów (na Jamajce można uznać, że był to język angielski) – początkowo uznawany z definicji za język większego prestiżu (superstrat), musiał stracić na wartości, i to nie na rzecz wielu różnych języków (substratów), z jakimi przetransportowani zostali na Jamajkę zniewoleni ludzie

z Afryki, ale na rzecz dynamicznie powstającego nowego języka, jakim stał się kreol jamajski. Praktyczne znaczenie kreola jamajskiego znacznie szybko rosło, bowiem stawał się *lingua franca* bardzo zróżnicowanej społeczności, wywodzącej się z wielu bardzo różnych grup etnicznych. Interesującym zadaniem byłoby przeprowadzenie badania terenowego na Jamajce, aby sprawdzić w jakim stopniu obecnie język angielski cieszy się prestiżem, i jakie jest jego praktyczne znaczenie (częściowo zadanie to już wykonał Edgar W. Schneider w swojej pracy z 2007 roku). Z obserwacji wnioskować można, że prestiż języka angielskiego na Jamajce znacznie wzrósł z uwagi na jego mocną pozycję na świecie; z tego samego powodu musiało też wzrosnąć jego praktyczne znaczenie. Młodzież często mówiąca od dziecka językiem angielskim wyjeżdża do Europy lub Stanów Zjednoczonych, gdzie w sporej części przypadków uczy się, studiuje i szuka swojego nowego miejsca na Ziemi.

Podsumowując, można powiedzieć, że **kreolskie języki kontaktu**, ale także wszystkie inne języki używane przez różne społeczności mowne w ramach zróżnicowanych dyskursów użycia, **w bardzo dużej mierze zależą od swoich uwarunkowań kontekstualnych, bowiem to właśnie niewerbalny kontekst bywa często kluczową zmienną nadającą wypowiedziom znaczenie**. Rzecz jasna, znaczenie to także właśnie dzięki wspólnemu kontekstowi użycia dla nadawcy i odbiorcy tekstu może być w pełni czytelne. Powyższą myśl można jeszcze rozbudować o wskazanie Bailey'a i Maroldta, którzy zaznaczają, że mówić możemy o wyraźnej kreolizacji języka, kiedy zapożyczane są koncepty podstawowe (rzeczą na inną dyskusję jest fakt tego jak definiować, które koncepty są podstawowe dla badanej społeczności mownej, a które mają niewielki potencjał żeby kiedykolwiek się nimi stać). Bailey i Maroldt (1977: 34)⁹ piszą co następuje:

Powszechnie uznaje się, że jakość zapożyczeń jest nawet ważniejsza niż ich ilość, ponieważ zapożyczanie „podstawowych” pojęć jest często uważane za wiążący dowód na kreolizację, podczas gdy często zakłada się, że zapożyczanie „niepodstawowego” słownictwa nie musi sugerować ani zakładać kreolizacji. Niemniej nie można też zaprzeczyć znaczeniu jakości, gdyż stopień wzrostu wyrazistości – szczególnie w składowej morfologicznej i fonetologicznej – wynikający z zapożyczeń, jest w dużym stopniu zależny od liczby i częstotliwości występowania tychże [zapożyczeń]. Co więcej, nie jest łatwo określić, co jest „podstawowym” słownictwem w danym języku, ponieważ nie jest dostępny żaden ugruntowany zbiór zasad definiujących „podstawowość pojęć” i jest pewne, że znaczna część tego, do czego odnosi się „podstawowość”, ma charakter względny i zależy od badanej kultury.

Oczywiście, powiedzieć można, że przez ostatnie dziesięciolecia Anna Wierzbicka wraz ze współpracownikami (zob. np. Wierzbicka 1972, 1997; Wierzbicka, Goddard 1994) – opracowując swoją koncepcję uniwersaliów semantycznych (ang. *Natural Semantic Metalanguage*) – starała się dowieść, że takie podstawowe uniwersalia można wskazać w różnych kulturach, co tym bardziej potwierdza wycucie Bailey'a i Maroldta, którzy założyli – zresztą bardzo trafnie, że takie kluczowe koncepty można wyodrębnić, ale dla poszczególnych społeczności mownych z osobna, i – co ważne – koncepty te są

9 Quality of borrowing is generally acknowledged to be even more important than quantity, since borrowing of „basic” concepts is often considered to be strong evidence for creolization, whereas it is often assumed that borrowing of „non-basic” vocabulary need not imply or presuppose creolization. But the relevance of quality is not to be denied either, since the degree of increase in markedness – especially in the morphological and phonetological components – which results from borrowing is highly dependent on the number and frequency of the items concerned. Further, what is „basic” vocabulary in a language is not very easy to determine, since no well-established set of principles defining „basicness of concepts” is available, and it is certain that much of what „basicness” refers to is relative to the culture concerned (Bailey, Maroldt 1977: 34).

zwykle różne, bowiem zależą od specyficznych zmiennych kulturowych, czyli zewnętrznych dla każdego języka naturalnego. Tę obserwację potwierdzają także badania Johna Rickforda, którego refleksję tutaj przytaczam. Refleksja Rickforda niesie ze sobą dodatkowo bardzo emocjonalną ekspresję dotyczącą tego, jak ludzie mówiący kreolskimi językami kontaktu na co dzień postrzegają te języki, bowiem ta często pomijana zmienna może się okazać kluczowym elementem zmiany językowej. Dziać się tak może z uwagi na to, że ludzie sami tworzą sobie obraz samego języka, którego używają, a przez to także obraz samych siebie i swojej roli w świecie, który ich otacza. Innymi słowy, to czy ludzie budują w sobie za pomocą języka obraz siebie jako kreatorów rzeczywistości – liderów, czy w najlepszym razie naśladowców, zależy w dużej mierze od nich samych. To właśnie z tego powodu wykreowany obraz używanego języka może sprawić, że rodzice sami mogą nie chcieć, aby ich dzieci kontynuowały rozwój swojego natywnego kreolskiego języka kontaktu, czym mogą skazać własny rodzimy język na szybko postępującą dezintegrację (zob. też Knapik, Chruszczewski 2023a: 184–188 oraz Knapik, Chruszczewski 2023b: 177–192):

Jako rodowity Gujańczyk, spotkałem się z tym uwłaczającym poglądem niezliczoną ilość razy. Jeden z niedawnych przykładów można znaleźć w raporcie opublikowanym w gazecie *Guyanese Sunday Chronicle* z 15 lutego 1981 r. (s. 4):

- (1) Minister spraw wewnętrznych Stanley Moore powiedział, że wielu Gujańczyków używa kreolskiego [języka kontaktu], aby uniknąć prawidłowego angielskiego. Nazwał język kreolski jako wulgarny, szorstki i z góry ustalony sposób wyrażania się.

Wreszcie mamy szczególnie wyraziste poglądy wyrażone przez Oxforda, emerytowanego szofera i taksówkarza oraz członka klasy nieposiadającej, czyli niższej klasy średniej w Cane Walk w Gujanie. W niedawnym wywiadzie ze mną tak powiedział na temat kreolskiego [języka kontaktu] z Gujany:

- (2) Z tego nic ci nie styknie. Nie da nic dobrego człowiekowi... Nie ma w tym żadnego dobra, ni hu hu. Donikąd cie nigdzie nie zaprowadzi. Jeśli – jeśli ktoś może mówić, no wiesz, dobrze po angielsku, wiesz, no czaisz, będzie mógł to dać swoim dzieciom... Ale jeśli zaczniesz z nimi od innego rodzaju języka kreolskiego, to wiesz, puścisz ich w maliny... No, i mogą dostać, no wiesz, najniższe stanowisko. *Dostaną*, rozumiesz, najniższe stanowisko, a nie najwyższe! (Spontaniczny wywiad 30)

Zwykle zakłada się, że miejsca, w których obecnie występuje skala języków kreolskich, były w pewnym momencie w przeszłości zasadniczo sytuacjami dwujęzycznymi, obejmującymi jedynie bardzo daleki język kreolski [tu: bazylekt] i odmianę standardową [tu: akrolekt]. Następnie, wraz z zatarciem granic społecznych między użytkownikami języka kreolskiego i standardowego oraz ze zwiększonymi możliwościami mobilności społeczno-ekonomicznej, zakłada się, że osoby posługujące się językiem kreolskim miały zwiększone możliwości i motywację do modyfikowania swojej mowy w kierunku odmiany standardowej, rozpoczynając w ten sposób proces dekreolizacji, który trwa do dziś¹⁰. (Rickford 1985: 146–147)

Warto na koniec wskazać kolejne pytanie badawcze, które jasno stawia językoznawcom i antropologom kultury John R. Rickford. Badacz ten dostrzega bardzo wyraźny paradoks widoczny zwłaszcza w różnicach

10 As a native Guyanese, I have encountered this derogatory view countless times. One recent example is contained in a report in the *Guyanese Sunday Chronicle* newspaper of Feb. 15, 1981 (p. 4):

(1) Home Affairs Minister Stanley Moore said that to many Guyanese used Creole so as to escape proper English. He dubbed Creolese as a vulgar, rough and ready mode of expression.

w tym, co się mniej, czy bardziej oficjalnie mówi o kreolskich językach kontaktu, a tym co jest rzeczywiście czynione, kiedy się ich powszechnie używa, i to bez żadnego względu na to, czy mówimy akrolektem, mezolektem, czy bazylektem jakiegokolwiek języka kontaktu (zob. też Knapik, Chruszczewski 2023a: 138):

(...) jeśli wszyscy zgadzają się, że odmiany niestandardowe lub kreolskie są złe, a język standardowy dobry, dlaczego nie widać większego postępu w eliminacji tych pierwszych? W Gujanie, podobnie jak w większości miejsc, gdzie w użyciu są karaibskie skale kreolskich języków kontaktu, językiem urzędowym jest standardowy angielski, będący językiem rządu i edukacji oraz językiem najczęściej używanym w mediach. Jednak mimo to językiem codziennego użytku dla mas ludności w dalszym ciągu są określone warianty kreolskiego języka kontaktu i to pomimo faktu, że można założyć, iż proces dekreolizacji trwa od 150 lat lub dłużej¹¹. (Rickford 1985: 146–147)

Pytanie postawione przez Johna Rickforda cztery dekady temu nic nie straciło na swojej aktualności i dalej można je traktować jako ważne zadanie badawcze.

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Finally, we have the particular trenchant views expressed by Oxford, a retired chauffeur and taxi-driver, and a member of the Non-Estate or lower-middle class in Cane Walk, Guyana. In a recent interview with me he had this to say about Guyanese Creole:

(2) It don't take you nowhere. It don't do good to a person... There is no good in it at all, whatsoever. It don't carry you nowhere. If – if one can pick up, you know, good English, you know, you see, he can spread it among his children them... But if you start with different kind of Creole language on them, you know, you'll make them go out in the wrong side... Well, they might get, you know, the bottom job. They *will* get, you know, bottom job, but not top job! (Spontaneous interview 30)

(...)

The places which now have creole continua are usually assumed to have been essentially bilingual situations, involving only a highly divergent Creole and a standard variety, at some earlier point in the past. Then, with the breakdown of social barriers between Creole and standard language speakers, and with increased opportunities for socioeconomic mobility, the Creole speakers are assumed to have had increased opportunity and motivation to modify their speech in the direction of the standard variety, thus beginning the decreolization proces which has continued up to the present day (Rickford 1985: 146–147).

- 11 (...) if everyone agrees that the non-standard or Creole varieties are bad and the standard language good, why hasn't more progres been seen in the elimination of the former? In Guyana, as in most Caribbean creole continua, the official language is standard English, and this is the language of government and education, and the language used most often in the media. But the everyday language of the mass of the population continues to be some variety of Creole despite this, and despite the fact that decreolization may be assumed to have been taking place for the past 150 years or more (Rickford 1985: 146–147).

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ALEKSANDRA KOWALCZYK

University of Siedlce, Institute of Linguistics and Literary Studies

aleksandra.kowalczyk@uws.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-8477-2678

Change of Meaning Behind *Meat*-Specific Words in the History of English

Abstract

The aim set to this paper is to discuss English food metaphors named and defined in Kleparski (2008) as cases of foodsemy. Here, we shall be dealing with meaning shifts of meat-related vocabulary items, in which the source domain derives from the riches of the conceptual macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS**, the target domain being the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING**. To this end, we shall concentrate on a dozen of figurative extensions of the original senses of lexical items related to the category **MEAT PRODUCTS** and many other foodsemic shifts in this area will be employed as backup material or only mentioned in passing in relevant cases. As to the research material, we shall rely on the data derived from various dictionaries, including *The Oxford English Dictionary*, *Green's Dictionary of Slang*, *Green's Dictionary of Slang Online*, *Random House Historical Dictionary of American Slang*, *The Diner's Dictionary* and other lexicographic sources. The model of analysis employed in this paper is that of Kleparski (1996, 1997) and further developed in later publications of the author. All in all, the enquiry attempted here is predominantly historical and the method is one of the versions of cognitive linguistics analysis, but there are also elements of sociolinguistics and cultural linguistics.

Keywords: metaphor, metonymy, foodsemic developments, **MEAT PRODUCTS** category, the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING**

Introduction

The target of this paper is to analyse selected metaphorical and metonymic transfers of lexical items linked primarily to the microcategory **MEAT PRODUCTS** that may be said to represent cases of historical shift to

such human-related conceptual categories, as **FEMALE HUMAN BEING**¹ (*beef, burger, ham, meat, mutton, laced mutton, pork, pork chop, veal*), **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS** ((*vertical*) *bacon sandwich, beef, beef curtains, fur burger, meat, a bit of meat, mutton, pork, veal and badly wrapped kebab*), **MALE PRIVY PARTS** (*bacon, bacon bazooka, beef, beef bayonet, beef bugle, beef injection, beef steak, beef torpedo, beef tube, hot dog, meat, meat axe, meat horn, meat puppet, meat skewer, meat tool, meat whistle, meatballs, mutton, mutton bayonet, mutton dagger, mutton gun, mutton tail, pork, pork grinder, pork leg, pork roll, pork sword, salami, sausage, (love) steak and wienie/weeny/weiner/wiener/wienie/winni*) and, finally the category of **SEXUALITY** (*beef, meat and pork*). In the tradition of metaphorical studies a variety of authors penetrated other sectors of metaphorization processes, such as for example, Górecka-Smolińska and Kleparski (2019), who studied plantosemy, and Osuchowska and Kleparski (2012) who dealt extensively with the phenomenon of gustasemy.²

It goes without saying that food is of major importance for every living creature, not only vital for maintaining our earthly existence, being the fuel for continuation of life, but also food plays a crucial role when viewed from historical, cultural and social perspective. As a significant component of our daily existence, it has also enormous influence on the shape of language. Recent analysis, carried out by, among others, Kleparski (2008, 2012), López-Rodriguez (2014) and Kowalczyk (2017, 2019) provides ample evidence the food-related vocabulary serves as the basis for numerous metaphorical/metonymic transfers, and the process in question is, in no way, restricted to the current use of English, but rather it characterises various stages of the development of its vocabulary stock. The process is as old as English itself. Already at the oldest stages of the development of English the type of change discussed here was for all of us to see. Such lexical items as *beef, mutton, pork* and *veal* were introduced by the French-speaking Normans in order to deliver an alternative to the animal names used in reference to edible meat of domesticated animals. From this time on, these words began their semantic journey in English, which included the rise of multiple figurative extensions.

Foodsemy

The term *foodsemy* was introduced first by Kleparski (2008), and it is now used in literature on the subject to name those semantic alterations, both metaphor and metonymy, in which a lexical item linked originally to the macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS** comes to be employed in reference to objects signified by lexical items that are related to the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING**, especially several of its subcategories, such as **FEMALE/MALE HUMAN BEING**, **FEMALE/MALE PRIVY PARTS** and **SEXUALITY**. In the proposed model of semantic analysis, Kleparski (1997) implements the basic metaphorical/metonymic paths based on general schemata of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, but also the author elaborates on smaller

1 Interestingly enough, the conceptual category **FEMALE HUMAN BEING** is far richer than the category **MALE HUMAN BEING** and one finds it difficult to trace cases of male-specific foodsemy transfers, except for the lexical items *beef* and *beefcake*. The nouns are used in reference to attractive and muscular man. *Beefcake* is thought to be based on the model similar to a female specific *cheesecake* “attractive female human being”.

2 Let us stress that these are merely limitations of space that do not allow us to extend here our inquiry into other fields of foodsemy metaphorization processes which, panchronically speaking, is present in practically all natural languages of the world in various forms and manifestations.

units – attributive features forming various paths which enable the analyst to delve into the nature of figurative shifts based on metaphor and metonymy.

Obviously, in the case of foodsemic transfers certain resemblance paths or, as termed by (Sornig 1981) conceptual bridges, seem to trigger and to channel metaphorical shifts in which food items, with their various qualities, such as taste (SWEETNESS) and visual characteristics, such as (SIZE) come to stand for attributes of human beings. One may claim, to use cognitive terminology, that the process of transfer involves the projection of attributive features and values associated with members of the macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS** onto the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING**.

For instance, the value (SWEET) is perceived as positive in the rise of metaphorical transfers of such lexical items as *honey*, meaning not only “the sweet sticky substance produced by bees and used for food”, but also its metaphorical sense “a beloved person”. Similarly, the same attributive element may be said to be responsible for the emergence of figurative extensions of several lexical items, such as *cheesecake* which acquired the secondary sense “an attractive female”, and *cookie* which is used in reference to a woman, a girl, esp. an attractive and seductive one. However, the presence of the value (SWEET) does not automatically result in the rise of positively-loaded senses. Let us take the cases of *tart* and *tartlet* in which one may speak of pejorative shift as the two lexical items developed the senses “a female of immoral character” and “a young woman of immoral character”, respectively.

In general, foodsemic metaphors are frequently nothing else but euphemistic tools employed to avoid certain taboo terms connected with moral issues and sexuality, and, as such, they serve as substitutes that are more acceptable on various grounds, e.g. *biscuit*, *chicken* and *peach* convey the senses “an immoral woman” and “a prostitute”. Additionally, *bun*, *bread* and *pie* are used in reference to female privy parts, whereas *banana*, *carrot* and *cucumber* are employed to stand for male privy parts. In turn, lexical items, such as *cauliflower*, *jam*, *jelly roll* acquired, at one point of time, an extended sense ‘sexual intercourse’. The very same could be said about dysphemising potential of foodsemic transfers and the study carried out by, for example, Keith and Burridge (1991, 2006) and Duda (2014).

The Microcategory **MEAT PRODUCTS**

The lexical items linked to the conceptual microcategory **MEAT PRODUCTS** have been frequently affected by figurative extensions of various nature, and hence constitute varied multilingual material for linguistic analysis. According to Kiełtyka (2016: 200), “one of the most intriguing aspects of foodsemy [...] is the prominence of meat products in the rise of metaphorical senses”. From the extralinguistic point of view let us stress that – since meat is obtained from animal flesh – whenever one employs meat terminology to refer to people, one makes use of the general conceptual metaphor <HUMAN BEING (OF A KIND) IS ANIMAL (FLESH)>.

In selecting the data material for the analysis attempted here, we have been guided by the principles that are easy to define. First of all, the list of vocabulary items which are primarily semantically related to the microcategory **MEAT PRODUCTS** has been compiled on the basis of *Random House Word Menu* and *Longman Lexicon of Contemporary English*. Secondly, the decision on the question of edibility of a given food item, as relatable to various extralinguistic cultural factors, has been based on the list of food items given in the *Random House Word Menu*. All in all, the two subcategories **MEAT AND CUTS OF MEAT** and

SAUSAGE AND PÂTE are linked to more than one hundred words used in reference to various meat types and meat products. Further, the lexical material has been confronted with various dictionaries, such as the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *Green's Dictionary of Slang*, *Green's Dictionary of Slang Online*, *Historical Dictionary of American Slang*, *Urban Dictionary* and *Dictionary of Word Origins*, among others. Let us stress that due to obvious space limitations, we have restricted our attention to the transfer of words covering general meat types, such as *beef*, *mutton*, *pork*, *veal*, and a few meat products including *bacon*, *chop* and *hamburger*. Finally, the conclusion as to the main paths of semantic development of meat-related vocabulary are attempted.

To start with, let us focus on the very word *meat*³, the central meaning of which, according to *The Diner's Dictionary* is 'the flesh of animals used as food', developed in the 14th century. Interestingly, the Anglo-Saxon noun *mete* used to refer to food in general, and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) enumerates two related senses, that is "food, as nourishment for people and fodder for animals", and the other one being "a kind of food; an article of food, a dish, a drink". The source provides the following Middle English illustrative material for the former sense: 1222 *Ne sculen ze nawiht zimstones leggen Swinen to mete* > c1450 *Ți mete schal be mylk, hony, & wyn* and for the latter: 1340 *A god huet we hedde guod wyn yesteneuen and guode metes*; > c1520 *Of all metis in the worlde that be By this lyght I loue best drynke*.

Judging on the basis of available lexicographic material, one may say that from the beginning of the 14th century a novel meaning that is "the flesh of animals used as food, esp. excluding fish and sometimes poultry, and usually in contrast to the bones and other inedible parts" started to establish itself in English. The OED provides the earliest quotation dating back to the first half of the 14th century: *Ilc man..Heued and fet and in rew mete Lesen fro ðe bones, and eten*. However, the original meaning of *meat* by no means disappeared completely from the lexico-semantic system of English, and its traces are visible in various quotations from the 16th and the 17th century: 1578 *These kindes of lillies are neither used in meate nor medicine* > 1623 *Meate of the Gods, Ambrosia, Manna*. In Modern English, the original sense is still traceable in such compounds as *bakemeat* used in the sense "pie", *milkmeat* "cheese and other dairy products", *mincemeat*⁴ standing for dried fruit mixed with species, suet, and often some sort of alcohol and *sweetmeat* "a sweet or other preserved or candied fruits, sugared nuts, etc.", as well as fixed expressions, such as *meat and drink* and *what's one man's meat is another man's poison*.

As far as the effects of metaphorical extension of *meat* are concerned, they made their first appearance during the course of the 16th century, and *Green's Dictionary of Slang* enumerates two main sense-threads. Chronologically, these are "woman's body as an object of sexual pleasure" and "the penis". Somewhat later, at the beginning of the 17th century, the sense "the vagina" appeared followed by the rise of the meaning "prey, a potential victim". Finally, the 19th century, was the time of the emergence of

3 Interestingly, Ayto (1990) draws up a fascinating history of the lexical item *meat*. The author states that, etymologically, its source may be traceable in Indo-European *mat/met* 'portion of food measured out' which, in turn, may be also said to lie at the basis of English *measure* as Old English *mete* broadened its meaning and evolved from "portion of food" to, generally speaking, "food".

4 What is more, one may speak of two separate threads of sense development here; the former linguistic (based on the semantic development of the *meat* itself) and the latter cultural one. Here, let me highlight the influence of an extralinguistic factor in the rise of the modern sense of *mincemeat*. In the Middle Ages and Renaissance, people used to conserve and spice up meat with various dried fruit, salt and other species. As Ayto (1993) suggests, there could be a gradual reduction of meat component in mincemeat.

yet one more female-related sense, that is “a prostitute”, whereas the sense “a corpse, a wounded person” developed during the course of the 20th century.

Kleparski (2012) signals the presence of several modern senses of *meat*, such as “a sexual partner”, the sense that gave rise to many other formations, such as the ones encoded by the compounds *meat market* and *meat rack* used in reference to bars for singles, where one can find someone for sexual “consumption”. Additionally, other secondary compounded formations, such as *fresh meat*, *hot meat* and *raw meat* have acquired the sense “a prostitute” and “the vagina”. Kleparski (2012), points out to the fact that meat-related words follow the path of semantic evolution that may be patterned as <SEXUAL USE OF A PERSON IS CONSUMPTION OF MEAT>.

Human-Oriented Extensions Related to the MEAT PRODUCTS Category

Other historically oldest cases of foodsemic transfers in the history of English involve the implementation of meat terms used metaphorically to refer to humans and the various qualities of their body and mind. For example, the lexical item *bacon* started to be used, in the 14th century English, with reference to human being and human flesh, in most general terms. As we have seen, at the beginning of the 16th century, *meat* started to be used in reference to a woman and her body viewed as the sources of sexual pleasure. During the course of the same century, *mutton* and *beef* developed similar metaphorical senses. Specifically, the former acquired the sense “a promiscuous woman”, and the latter “the vagina”.

Similarly, other somewhat loosely meat-related words referring to fish and bird flesh proved to be at the peak of their semantic productivity in the 15th–17th centuries. For instance, the lexical item *cod* developed a metaphorical sense “penis” in the course of the 16th century, and *fish* started to be used in reference to vagina, and later also as a general term for the woman, whereas *herring* acquired a secondary meaning “a foolish person”. Interestingly enough, lexical items linked to the category **POULTRY AND GAME** are even more productive and, follow a similar line of semantic evolution. Likewise, *pheasant*, *partridge*, *quail*, *pullet*, *poultry*, *duck*, *chicken*, *deer* and *hare* were all used in a sense “a woman” and/or “a prostitute” with minor differences in meaning. Intriguingly, *poultry* stood for women in general, in case of *chicken* and *pullet*, the element (YOUNG) seems to be clearly at work and may be said to have been responsible for the emergence of a novel sense “a young woman” and, at a later stage, “a young prostitute”. One could state that the mechanism that operated in the rise of those meaning shifts was very much of similar nature, but – at the same time – the results of metaphorical shifts disappeared more or less at the same period of time during the course of the history of English. In other words, it is possible to say that female-specific metaphorical senses that developed with the lexical items related to the category **POULTRY AND GAME** are a linguistic flash in the pan as the majority of metaphorical senses are obsolete now. It remains for future research to see whether the nature of this wave-like disappearance is purely accidental or whether it may be justified on some linguistic and/or extralinguistic grounds.

On the basis of the linguistic material discussed above, it may be claimed that the conceptualization of meat is in various intricate ways strictly connected with human body and corporality, and – especially – cognitive centrality of human sexuality, and all that what goes with it. In what follows, I shall try to encircle and divide the gathered data, the scope of foodsemic extensions affecting the names of meat

kinds and products, into four main categories. I shall begin with the body of lexical items that witnessed female-specific shifts as, both women and their bodies are most frequently viewed from a metaphorical perspective as food ready for consumption (by men). In this context, let us point to Cutierrez-Rivas (2011) who claims that in the metaphors of consumption women are usually eaten, rather than consume food themselves, because they are perceived as mere products that are at the disposal of men, to be consumed, enjoyed or ignored and/ or totally discarded.

The general macrocategory **FEMALE HUMAN BEING** may be further subdivided into other various conceptual subcategories including, among others, **ATTRACTIVE FEMALE HUMAN BEING** and **IMMORAL FEMALE HUMAN BEING**. Lexical items, such as *burger*, *ham* and *pork chop*, that are related through metaphorical links to the former subcategory, developed the historically attested sense “a very attractive young woman” at some point of their semantic evolution in English. Also, the words that fall within the latter conceptual category that is *beef*, *meat*, *mutton* and *laced mutton* acquired the secondary sense “a prostitute”. The noun *pork* may be proved to be employed in reference to a woman, viewed as a sexual object. The component (YOUNG) seems to have provided the conceptual bridge, and the necessary spark for the rise of the novel metaphorical sense of *veal* that may be used in reference to young female, referring to a girl younger than the interested male.⁵

Conceptually, as women tend to be perceived through the prism of their bodies, many lexical items related to the subcategory **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**, such as (*vertical*) *bacon sandwich*, *beef*, *beef curtains*, *fur burger*, *meat*, *a bit of meat*, *mutton*, *pork* and *badly wrapped kebab* developed another female-specific sense “female privy parts, the vagina”.

The conceptual image of a woman mirrored in the body of existing metaphors/metonymies is in no way homogenous. Yet, one observes that the amount of figurative changes within the first of the categories is relatively low, as the most productive and general path of development operative here is <SWEETNESS IS PERCEIVED AS POSITIVE>. Consequently, attractive female human being is more often referred to by means of sweet foodstuff names that semantically share the well-pronounced conceptual feature (SWEETNESS). Finally, meat-oriented foodsemic extensions are oftentimes linked to sexuality, and therefore the two conceptual subcategories, that is **IMMORAL FEMALE HUMAN BEING** and **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS** are rich as far as foodsemic transfers are concerned. One may speak here of two major paths of development, namely, <IMMORAL FEMALE HUMAN BEING IS PERCEIVED AS MEAT/A KIND OF MEAT> and <FEMALE PRIVY PARTS ARE PERCEIVED AS MEAT/A KIND OF MEAT>. Although, one may get the impression that it is the woman and her body which is frequently pictured as a food to be “consumed”, however the same holds true for the microcategory **MALE PRIVY PARTS** that is linked to a great number of lexical items, and – what is more – the set of metaphors found here definitely outnumbers the body of female-specific extensions. However, female-related semantic alterations may be said to be more varied and conceptually diversified and they frequently develop links to a large number of conceptual categories.

Interestingly enough, the body of transfers linked to the microcategory **MALE PRIVY PARTS** is quantitatively attention-appelling because as many as 30 lexical items have developed secondary senses, and this number includes a certain group of compounds. These are such lexical items as *bacon*, *bacon bazooka*, *beef*, *beef bayonet*, *beef bugle*, *beef injection*, *beef steak*, *beef torpedo*, *beef tube*, *hot dog*, *meat*, *meat axe*, *meat horn*, *meat puppet*, *meat skewer*, *meat tool*, *meat whistle*, *meatballs*, *mutton*, *mutton bayonet*, *mutton*

5 In Polish, some meat-related lexical items, such as *cielęcinka* and *wolowinka* which are diminutives of *cielęcina* “veal”, and *wolowina* “beef” may be used in reference to young inexperienced females.

dagger, mutton gun, mutton tail, pork, pork grinder, pork leg, pork roll, pork sword, salami, sausage, (love) steak and *wenie/weeny/weiner/wiener/wienie/winni*. All the lexical items listed above developed historically secondary metaphorical sense “the penis” at the certain stage of their semantic evolution. Additionally, the list given here may be supplemented with the example of mixed-bag type transfers, that is *meat and two veg(etables)* (meat + vegetable) that conveys the sense “the penis and testicles” and the compound *meatballs* (meat + round inanimate object) used in reference to testicles.

As shown above, the conceptual category **MALE PRIVY PARTS** is particularly rich in foodsemic metaphorical shifts. One could say that the abundance of meat products has conditioned the metaphorization and metonymization processes linked to human associations of meat and meat products with physical strength, vitality, vigour, and general fitness. Consequently, there is a set of cases of complex nouns semantically characterized by presence of those elements that are directly associated with physical power, violence and warfare, such as *bazooka* (in *bacon bazooka*), *bayonet* (in *beef bayonet, mutton bayonet*), *axe* (*meat axe*), *dagger* (*mutton dagger*), *grinder* (*pork grinder*), *gun* (*mutton gun*), *knife* (*butter knife*), *musket* (*mutton musket*), *torpedo* (*beef torpedo*), *skewer* (*meat skewer*) and *sword* (*pork sword*). In the above cases, different kinds of weapons are clearly associated with masculinity and dominance and, therefore, the metaphorical/metonymic path here <MALE PRIVY PARTS ARE PERCEIVED AS A KIND OF WEAPON> is followed. What is more, note that the majority of weapons listed here are tubular-shaped and hard as being made of steel and their deployment involves some form of thrusting movement. All these features form a bridge for the associations with the penis and penetration.

Meat-Specific Cases of Metaphonymy

While studying the historical material collected for our analysis we have found evidence that justifies the proposal made by Goosens (1990) who introduced the notion metaphonymy that may be defined as the process in which metaphor and metonymy interact in some way. One gets the impression, that it is not the matter of the differences of perception between the two sexes, but rather one should point to a more universal association of meat products and sexuality regardless of sex distinction. There are other lexical items that acquired more than one figurative sense, in the rise of which one has grounds to speak of the working of metaphonymy. For instance, at some point of their semantic evolution, lexical items *meat, mutton, pork, beef* and *bacon* developed more than one secondary sense, the former of which is of metaphorical nature, and the latter ones are conditioned by the operation of metonymy. In these cases we are justified to propose metonymy within metaphor. In other words, lexical items that at some point of their history are linked to the macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS**, develop, via metaphor, a sense related directly to the macrocategory **FEMALE HUMAN BEING** and, simultaneously, or at some later stage, via the process of metonymy they start to be related to the microcategory **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS** (here, the metonymy <FEMALE BODY PART FOR PERSON> is at work). The same joint process may be testified for the evolution of the lexical item *meat*.

Yet another pattern clearly emerging from the history of the lexical item *beef* the historical prior sense of which was “the vagina”, resulted from the operation of metaphor <FEMALE PRIVY PARTS ARE PERCEIVED AS A FOOD ITEM>. Within the course of the sense evolution discussed here, it is possible to

distinguish one more figurative and female-specific sense arising through the operation of metonymy patterned as <FEMALE BODY PART FOR PERSON>.

Finally, this deeply rooted and embedded physicality of food metaphors and food metonymies may be exemplified by the existence of yet another path of development of secondary senses of meat-related words, such lexical items as *beef*, *beef injection*, *meat injection*, *pork* that acquired the sense “sexual intercourse”, and *to make bacon*, *to pork* and *to hide salami* that came to be used in the sense “to have a sexual intercourse”.

All in all, the analysed data allows us to formulate the following paths of metaphorical and metonymic extensions:

SCHEME 1:

metaphorical pattern <FEMALE HUMAN BEING IS PERCEIVED AS A FOODSTUFF> or <FEMALE PRIVY PARTS ARE PERCEIVED AS FOODSTUFF> or <MALE PRIVY PARTS ARE PERCEIVED AS A FOODSTUFF>

FOODSTUFFS > FEMALE HUMAN BEING (e.g. *burger*, *ham*, *pork*, *beef*, *meat*, *mutton*, *veal*)

FOODSTUFFS > FEMALE PRIVY PARTS (e.g. *beef*, *meat*, *mutton*, *pork*)

FOODSTUFFS > MALE HUMAN BEING (e.g. *beef*, *beefcake*)

FOODSTUFFS > MALE PRIVY PARTS (e.g. *bacon*, *beef*, *hot dog*, *meat*, *mutton*, *pork*, *salami*, *sausage*)

SCHEME 2:

metonymic pattern based on the relation <BODY PART FOR A PERSON>, HERE <FEMALE PRIVY PARTS FOR FEMALE HUMAN BEING>

FEMALE HUMAN BEING > FEMALE PRIVY PARTS (e.g. *meat*, *mutton*)

FEMALE PRIVY PARTS > FEMALE HUMAN BEING (e.g. *beef*)

SCHEME 3:

metonymic pattern based on the relationship <BODY ORGANS FOR ACTION EFFECTED WITH IT>

FEMALE/MALE BODY PARTS > SEXUAL INTERCOURSE (e.g. *beef*, *meat*, *pork*)

SCHEME 4:

metonymic pattern based on the relationship <OBJECT FOR ACTION>.

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE > HAVING SEXUAL INTERCOURSE (e.g. *pork*)

The evolution paths phrased schematically above represent a clearly simplified picture of foodsemic developments that have taken place in English, and affected a number of lexical items related to the conceptual category **MEAT PRODUCTS**. Yet to be verified, the schemas formulated here should be confronted with larger material and more extensive diachronic analysis.

Concluding Remarks

Every lexico-semantic system is in the state of constant flux and here we have attempted to throw some light on the mechanism of metaphorical and metonymic extensions of those lexical items that are related to the category **MEAT PRODUCTS**. Although one may hardly speak of any hard-and-fast rules that may be formulated for any lexico-semantic system of language, the mechanisms that we may have found operative here are far from being entirely random. Earlier, certain paths and tendencies in the semantic evolution of lexical items were formulated by, among others, Schreuder (1929), Stern (1931), Ullmann (1957) and, in Polish tradition, Kleparski (1990). In the foregoing, an attempt has been made to show that figurative extensions, affecting words related to meat types and meat products, frequently are linked to such conceptual target categories as **FEMALE HUMAN BEING** and **MALE/FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**.

Evidently, the discussed material throws some light on the nature of euphemistic tools used to refer to female and male privy parts, or more generally, human sexuality, and also the conditions that lie behind the rise of pejoratively loaded senses that serve to encode negative moral features, such as immorality and behavioural looseness. Obviously, one has grounds to claim that numerous metaphorical shifts discussed here and elsewhere are tightly connected with culture and extralinguistic norms and conditions.

Most conceptual metaphors are part of the cognitive unconscious effort, and the results of this effort are frequently transferred to other operations on further semantically-related lexical items. Hence, novel metaphorical language makes use of the existing patterns, and may be said to be a type of reduplication and reapplication of certain definite earlier patterns. In most general terms, the foodsemic transfers may be proved to follow a number of easily definable paths of evolution that may be schematized in the following manner, although future research may prompt the formulation of other patterns, too:

1. <(ATTRACTIVE/IMMORAL) FEMALE HUMAN BEING IS PERCEIVED AS A MEAT KIND/MEAT PRODUCT>,
2. <FEMALE PRIVY PARTS ARE PERCEIVED AS A MEAT KIND/MEAT PRODUCT>,
3. <MALE PRIVY PARTS ARE PERCEIVED AS A MEAT KIND/MEAT PRODUCT>.

At this point however, the data that has been analysed justifies the claim that the majority of lexical items related to the microcategory **MEAT PRODUCTS** have developed a number of historically secondary figurative senses through the process of metaphor, metonymy and metaphonymy. It is the task of the future research to bring to life, show and account for other characteristics of thus understood foodsemic transfers.

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MONIKA KUSIAK-PISOWACKA

Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Institute of English Studies

monika.kusiak@uj.edu.pl

ORCID:0000-0002-4043-9144

Investigating Polish Students' Research Competences: A Questionnaire Study¹

Abstract

The article reports on a questionnaire study which explored how sixty one students of English studies enrolled at a Polish university understood the concept of research and how they evaluated their own research skills in the context of their education. The findings revealed that all the students were aware of the importance of developing research competences. Although most of the respondents were willing to participate in research-oriented activities offered by university programs, there were students who did not approve of this form of teaching. The analysis of students' answers provided valuable information that can be used in adjusting the teaching program to the students' possibilities. The study points to the effectiveness of this kind of investigation in eliciting students' perspectives on this important component of academic instruction.

Keywords: university education, research skills, discourse community, students as researchers

1. Research Competences: In Search of a Definition

There are not many definitions of research skills². As regards applied linguistics research, two definitions are worth discussing. Nunan (1992) defines research as a systematic process of investigation consisting of three components: 1/ a question, problem or hypothesis, 2/ data, and 3/ analysis and interpretation of data. Wilczyńska and Michońska-Stadnik (2010) enumerate three elements of the competence that researchers should demonstrate: 1/ discipline knowledge, *i.e.*, being familiar with the specificity of what can be researched within a given discipline, 2/ research knowledge, *i.e.*, the one concerning research

1 This publication was funded by the program Excellence Initiative – Research University at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków.

2 In this article, the terms “research skills” and “research competences” are used interchangeably.

methods and techniques and 3/ awareness of ethical issues that need to be considered when embarking on a study. It seems that the two definitions complement each other. Nunan (1992) enumerates the basic stages of a research project; whereas Wilczyńska and Michońska-Stadnik (2010) focus on various types of knowledge which are indispensable in designing and conducting a research study. However, there is one more ability that should be emphasised in a contemporary conceptualisation of research competence – an ability to use English in an international academic context. Taking into account the fact that in Poland the role of English in academic publishing is increasing (Hryniuk 2019), it seems essential that universities develop this academic skill along with discipline knowledge and research skills³.

2. Developing Research Skills as a Way of Socialising Students

When joining the university, students become members of new social groups. In some of them, students participate as novices; in others as more experienced members, representing different statuses of legitimacy as participants. Students enter the academic community, a group of scholars in which students (as if by default) should be treated as “legitimate” members. Another community that students enter (this time) as peripheral participants is the discourse community, which represents a specific discipline, such as applied linguistics. In this group, students are novices who gain discipline specific knowledge and skills by participating in university education. Since university programs often prepare students for future professions, such as teachers or translators, we can assume that students enter one more community – the community of practitioners, in which they also function as peripheral inexperienced members.

One of the aims of higher education institutions is to facilitate students’ efforts to function in the above-mentioned groups (Müller 2022; Nizęgorodcew 2010). As regards participating in the discourse community of applied linguists, it is important to teach students “mechanisms of intercommunication among its members” (Swales 2011: 25). It means familiarising students with community specific genres (types of texts), which will enable every member of the group to contact other members. Participatory mechanisms cannot function without developing some specific lexis. Swales (2011) claims that:

It is hard to conceive, at least in the contemporary English-speaking world, of a group of well-established members of a discourse community communicating among themselves on topics relevant to the goals of the community and not using lexical items puzzling to outsiders. (Swales 2011: 26)

Therefore, practice in discipline specific vocabulary is crucial in allowing students to participate more fully in the life of their community.

As mentioned earlier, students should be prepared to enter one more group – a community of practitioners, which according to Lave and Wenger (1991) is a group of people who share the same interests in a given topic and experience similar problems. Participation in the group involves cooperation, exchanging knowledge, good practices, *etc.* Examples of communities of practitioners which philology students are prepared to enter are communities of teachers and translators.

3 A more detailed discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of the dominance of English in scholarship can be found in Hryniuk (2019).

An important goal that university education faces nowadays is to socialize students into new roles and make them realise what knowledge and skills they can develop as members of the new communities. Research skills seem to be an important element of all the three communities discussed before. "Consequently, [they] have been identified by higher education institutions as one of the important graduate attributes that need to be imbibed among and used by students" (Garg, Madhulika and Passey 2018: 2). Let us look at how university programs in Polish higher education approach the task of improving students' research competencies.

3. Developing Research Competences in a Polish Academic Context: Goals and Expected Outcomes

In Poland students develop research skills at both BA (undergraduate) and MA (graduate) levels of tertiary education. Exit standards, *i.e.*, knowledge, skills and social competences that students should develop, are specified by *National Qualifications Framework for Higher Education* (MNiSW 2011) and *Polish Qualifications Framework* (Chłoń-Domińczak *et al.* 2017). See: Table 1 for an example of specifications concerning MA education.

Table 1. Selected goals for English studies MA students who specialise in linguistics at the Jagiellonian University for 2022/2023

1/ Knowledge about:	A – the connection of linguistics with other science disciplines; B – research conducted in the discipline of linguistics; C – theoretical perspectives and research methods applied in linguistics; D – designing and conducting research in the discipline of linguistics;
2/ Skills:	A – finding, analysing and evaluating information as well as interpreting it in a critical way; B – evaluating critically the materials used in various academic tasks; C – preparing academic texts in English with the use of appropriate style and terminology; D – formulating and testing research hypotheses as well as selecting appropriate research methods to examine them; E – integrating information from various disciplines; F – preparing oral presentations in English also with the use of IT techniques; G – participating in discussions on topics connected with English studies; H – working in a team; I – expanding knowledge and improving research skills in a life long process; J – developing oneself as a professional practitioner with due respect of ethical issues;

3/ Social competences:	A – being prepared to evaluate critically one's knowledge and information found; B – being aware of the usefulness of science in solving theoretical and practical issues; C – being prepared to seek expert advice.

The specifications put a lot of attention to developing several aspects of research competence: students' research literacy (3B), research knowledge (1A, B, C, D) and skills (e.g., 2A, 2B). The need to develop social skills is underlined in 2H and 3C. The role of language competence is emphasised in 2C, 2F and 2G. The list of exit expectations may seem quite demanding both for students and teachers, which raises an important question to what extent the students of English studies are prepared to fulfil the goals specified in the university program. The questionnaire study conducted by the author of this article was an attempt to investigate this issue.

4. Investigating University Students' Research Skills: A Selection of Studies

A number of studies have explored research competences that students develop during their university education. Lankiewicz (2013) and Kusiak-Pisowacka (2016) analysed diploma theses that graduates produced during the final years of their education, viewing them as valuable evidence of students' transitions to new communities. Lankiewicz (2013) evaluated "academicity" of Licentiate projects completed by 23 students in five higher education institutions in Poland. He concluded that many students lacked basic academic and research skills indispensable for designing projects and presenting them in diploma papers. Kusiak-Pisowacka (2016) analysed 17 MA theses produced by pre-service teachers in a Polish university. She found that while focussing on solving educational issues the students experienced difficulties in operationalising the main concepts of their studies and analysing them from a theoretical perspective.

In the light of problems students experience in conducting research studies, certain remedies have been recommended. In teacher education the idea of extending the role of the teacher to that of teacher-researcher has been widely promoted, e.g. by Wilczyńska (2009), Piegzik (2009), Yamin-Ali and Sambucharan (2021). It was observed that by participating in action research projects student teachers develop their understanding of the link between theory and practice, gain more autonomy as teachers, and practice courage and objectivity – features indispensable in all research-oriented endeavours⁴. Wilczyńska (2009) and Niżegorodcew (2010) emphasise the role of diploma seminars in educating students. Niżegorodcew (2010) views MA students as fresh researchers, calling the stage of their development *in statu nascendi*, i.e., the process of their being born as graduates. Niżegorodcew (2010: 237) calls MA seminars "a place of intense negotiation of a written product of substantial length as well as an intense negotiation of identity." Wilczyńska (2009) emphasises the role of seminar meetings in building a culture of dialogue, which involves cooperation of all members of a seminar group and stands in contrast to an individualistic approach promoted in the contemporary academia.

4 The role of reflection skills in professional development of pre-service and in-service teachers, an important component of research competences, has been underlined e.g. by Michońska-Stadnik (2019).

The studies discussed above present the voices of university experts. Examples of research that focus on students' perspectives are questionnaire studies conducted by Garg, Madhulika and Passey (2018), and Liang, Kim and Kitheka (2022). Garg *et al.* (2018) explored the extent of understanding of research skills by students in India, and their views on the role of research skills in the university curriculum. The results provided the researchers with valuable information on students' needs and enabled them to formulate recommendations concerning fostering students' research skills in their university courses. In a similar study, Liang *et al.* (2022) investigated American undergraduate students' research habits, past research experiences, and self-perceptions of research skills. Their study showed that the students perceived information literacy skills, ethical principles, and communication skills as better developed than research design and statistical skills.

To sum up, a number of publications have explored the voice of academic teachers on how to guide students into new communities as novice researchers. However, there are still not many studies that investigated students' perceptions on this important aspect of university education. The author of the present article is not familiar with any research of this kind concerning philology students conducted in a Polish educational context. The study discussed in the next section aimed to fill this gap.

5. The Study

5.1. Context of the Study and Participants

The participants were students of English Studies of Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland: 38 BA students in their 3rd semester and 23 MA students in their 1st semester. Both groups of students were involved in designing their diploma theses. It was assumed that at this stage in their studies they would be more willing to participate in the study and share their opinions concerning research skills, which would result in obtaining more elaborate and honest answers.

5.2. Aims and Research Questions

The aim of the study was to gain more information about the students – the current state of their research knowledge and skills, their previous experience in learning research skills, their understanding of the concept of research, their evaluation of their own research skills and their opinions on the role of the university in fostering research competence. It was assumed that the data gained would lead to a better understanding of students' needs and enable the university instructors to explore to what extent the students were prepared to fulfil the research-oriented goals specified in the university program (see: Table 1). It was believed that the results of this investigation would suggest some procedures that could be implemented in the English studies programs, helping, thereby, the students to achieve the above-mentioned aims. Thus, the study sought to address the following questions:

1. How do the students of English studies define the concept of research?
2. What do the students think about the importance of developing general research skills?
3. What is the students' previous experience concerning acquiring research skills?
4. What do the students think about incorporating research-oriented activities into the university curriculum?

5. How do the students evaluate their general and academic skills?

5.3. The Instrument

The questionnaire (see: Appendix) was in English. It was modelled after the instrument applied by Garg *et al.* (2018), adapted to better reflect the characteristics of English studies in linguistics at the Jagiellonian University. It consisted of 14 questions, which aimed to provide data to answer the five research questions. Items 1 and 2 refer to RQ1; items 8 and 9 – to RQ2; items 3, 4 and 5 – to RQ3; items 10, 11 and 12 – to RQ4; items 6, 7 and 13 – to RQ5. The skills enumerated in question 13, which asked the students to evaluate themselves, corresponded to some of the abilities listed in the specifications for English studies (see: Table 1). The questionnaire was a combination of both closed and open questions. Open, long-form questions offered the students the opportunity to elaborate on the answers they had provided in closed-ended questions. The questionnaire was administered electronically via the Ms Forms platform. The respondents were allowed as much time as they needed; the average time of completing the survey was 23 minutes. They did not have to sign their questionnaires. They were informed that the main aim of the study was to obtain information that would help the university teachers to adjust their instruction to their needs.

5.4. Analysis

The data from closed questions were analysed quantitatively, *i.e.*, by calculating mean percentages. The answers to open questions were analysed qualitatively. Open-ended questions elicited elaborate answers, in which the students used a range of different terms. Sentences and phrases with similar meaning were clustered and given a common keyword. The keywords identified thereby were used in the final report of the answers to open questions.

5.5. Results

The subjects of the study consisted of two groups of students, *i.e.*, BA and MA students. It is crucial to explain that the first stage of the analysis did not indicate any striking differences between the two groups; therefore, in the final stage of the analysis all the participants were treated as one group. In the next section, the results drawn from the final analysis are presented according to the research questions.

5.5.1. RQ 1. How Do the Students of English Studies Define the Concept of Research?

#1 asked the students to define the term “research”. In the data, two types of definitions were distinguished. In the first type (see: Example 1 and 2), the students defined research as a way of discovering new information and expanding knowledge; some students emphasised an innovative character of this activity.

Example 1.

research may be associated with some discovery, something innovative, so not only getting to know something that other scholars investigated

Example 2.

the development of new knowledge or the inventive application of already existing knowledge to the development of novel ideas, approaches, and insights

In the other type of definition, the students viewed research as a process consisting of several steps associated with a scientific investigation (see: Example 3).

Example 3.

The systematic process of exploring new knowledge or ideas about a specific topic or problem. It involves collecting information, analysing data, and drawing conclusions to answer questions or solve problems.

In #2 the students were asked to provide three aspects of research that they considered the most important. The skills enumerated most frequently were critical thinking and the ability to evaluate information (65%), ability to search for information (34%), metacognitive skills: planning, managing, organising (30%), collecting data (22%), ability to use information for one's purpose (18%), analysing data (13%). (The numbers in brackets refer to the percentages of students who found the skills important.) The results show that the students attached greatest importance to the abilities connected with information needed for research purposes, such as seeking information and evaluating it.

5.5.2. RQ 2. What Do the Students Think About the Importance of Developing General Research Skills?

#8 and #9 explored the students' opinions about the usefulness of research skills. All the respondents agreed with the statement that research skills are useful. They explained that research skills are useful for academics and students in their academic tasks, *e.g.*, BA theses; in everyday life, *e.g.*, in critical evaluation of information, especially the one found on the Internet; in future professional life; in learning new things. See: Examples 4, 5 and 6 below.

Example 4.

Obviously, research skills are very useful at university and for people working either as scholars or scientists. However, I also believe that people can benefit from research skills in everyday life.

Example 5.

I think research skills are useful because we live in an era of misinformation. The ability to conduct your own research, even if it is a brief one, can help you avoid taking information at face value, and think critically before forming your own opinion on any topic.

Example 6.

There is a wide range of information in the era of the internet and it is important to know how to find your way through it and reach what is valuable.

5.5.3. RQ 3. What Are the Students' Previous Experiences Concerning Acquiring Research Skills?

The results show that 64% have been taught research skills, 9% have not received this kind of instruction and 27% chose the answer "hard to say". When asked to say at what level of education they were taught research skills, the BA students pointed to the following: Primary school (2%); Secondary school (21%); BA studies (71%); Others (26%). The MA students selected the following: Secondary school (8%); BA studies (73%); MA studies (39%); Others (13%). The results clearly show that both groups pointed to the university as the main source of instruction. As regards the "others" option, the students pointed to self-study, the role of the Internet and their "research" experiences that they considered conducive to learning research skills (see: Example 7, 8).

Example 7.

I got into research at high school level, when I watched a lot of YouTube videos concerning conspiracy theories. I realized that conspiracy theorists like to throw the term *research* around while in reality they are biased and often fail to fact-check their findings and sources. Creators that disagreed with the CTs often pointed to the importance of quality research skills.

Example 8.

I was not taught, but rather learned on my own by observing what other people included when writing about something. I used to write for a number of blogs back in primary school and middle school and would follow a number of other blogs too. ... Looking back, I can see that I gradually developed the skills to evaluate the reliability of the sources, finding them, scanning for specific info etc. and I continued to develop them throughout my high school and university years.

5.5.4. RQ4. What Do the Students Think About Incorporating Research-Oriented Activities into the University Curriculum?

Eighty seven percent of the students agreed with the statement that developing research skills should be included in the curriculum of their university courses; 13% of the students disagreed with this statement. When explaining their opinion, the students presented the following arguments:

- Primary and secondary education do not focus on research competences; therefore, tertiary education should devote due attention to this element of education.
- Research-oriented instruction can make the process of preparing diploma theses and other academic assignments easier and more enjoyable.
- Well developed research skills can be useful in future careers.

- More focus on research skills can help students to develop critical thinking skills, which are necessary in the process of searching for information and filtering it.
- Building research competences is important for one's personal growth.
- It is difficult to learn research skills on one's own; therefore, instruction conducted by experienced researchers (university teachers) will be very beneficial.

Those who did not like the idea of incorporating research-oriented activities into the university curriculum explained that teaching theoretical principles of conducting research could be confusing and the university probably would not have time to provide the instruction in a more practical manner.

#12 asked the students whether they agreed with the statement that participating in the research should be included in the curriculum of their university. 86% agreed with the statement; whereas 14% did not agree with it.

5.5.5. RQ5. How Do the Students Evaluate Their Own General and Academic Research Skills?

#6 asked the students whether they feel that they have developed any research skills. 78% answered "yes"; 1% – "no" and 21% selected "hard to say". Those who chose the answer "yes" enumerated the following skills they had acquired: searching for information; choosing what is relevant and using it for one's purpose; using search engines to find information; critical thinking; time management and organisation skills.

#13 required the respondents to evaluate their research skills on a scale from 1 (*very poor*) to 5 (*very good*). The choice of point 1 or 2 from the scale meant not developing a given skill. Selecting point 3, 4 or 5 indicated developing the skill to a satisfactory, high or very high degree. The question lists 19 skills: 3 soft skills (#13c/k/l/), 4 technical skills (#13f/h/i/j/), 3 social skills (#13m/p/q/), 2 metacognitive skills (#13g/r/) and 7 academic skills (#13a/b/d/e/n/o/s/). In this study, the types of skills were defined as follows: *soft skills* – character traits and cognitive predispositions; *metacognitive skills* – skills that involve organising work; *technical skills* – skills that involve coping with information, such as searching, using, reporting; *social skills* – skills that entail cooperating with others, e.g., peers, teachers, librarians; *academic skills* as higher-order skills needed in completing research-oriented tasks, usually based on content knowledge.

For each skill, mean percentages corresponding to each answer from 1 to 5 were calculated. Additionally, to obtain a clearer picture two groups of results were created – one presenting percentages of students who evaluated the skill as poorly developed, i.e., the sum of answers 1 and 2 and the other one presenting percentages of students who evaluated the skill as well developed, i.e., the sum of answers 3, 4 and 5. The results of the analysis are presented in Figure 1, which indicates the extent to which each skill was evaluated as well developed and poorly developed. The skills that received the highest percentage of *well developed* evaluation are searching for information (99%), being flexible (97%), using information sources (94%), critical thinking (92%) and complying with ethical requirements (92%). The skills with the lowest percentage of *well developed* evaluation are knowing current works in the discipline of English studies (51%), using research methods (62%) and self-discipline (63%).

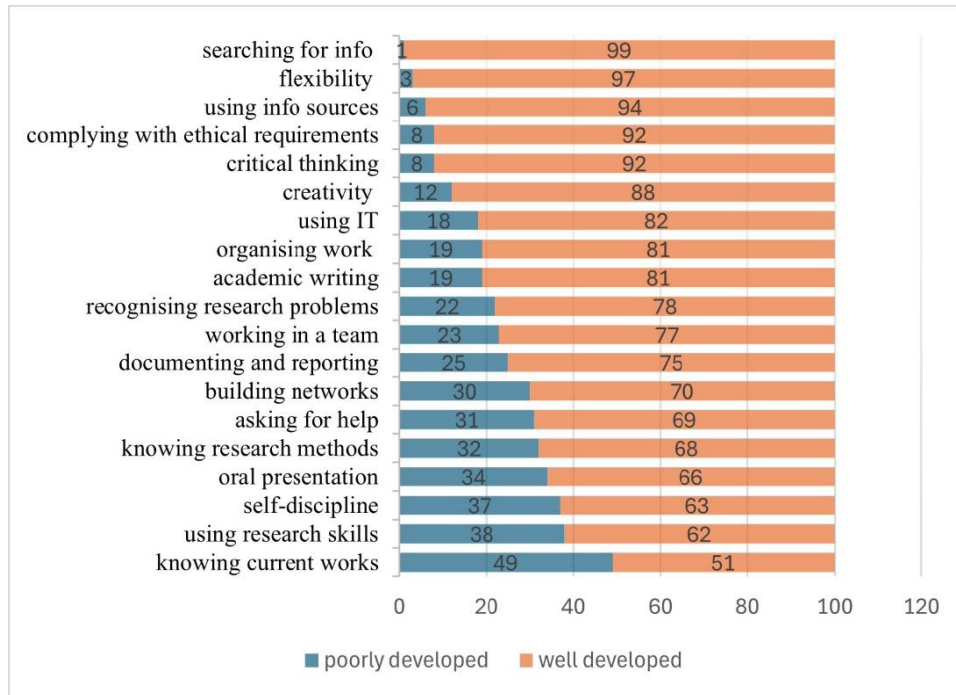


Figure 1. Poorly developed skills vs. well developed skills in mean percentages

The comparison of all the types of skills (see: Figure 2) shows that soft (92%) and technical (88%) skills were evaluated as developed better than academic (72%), metacognitive (72%) and social (71%) skills.

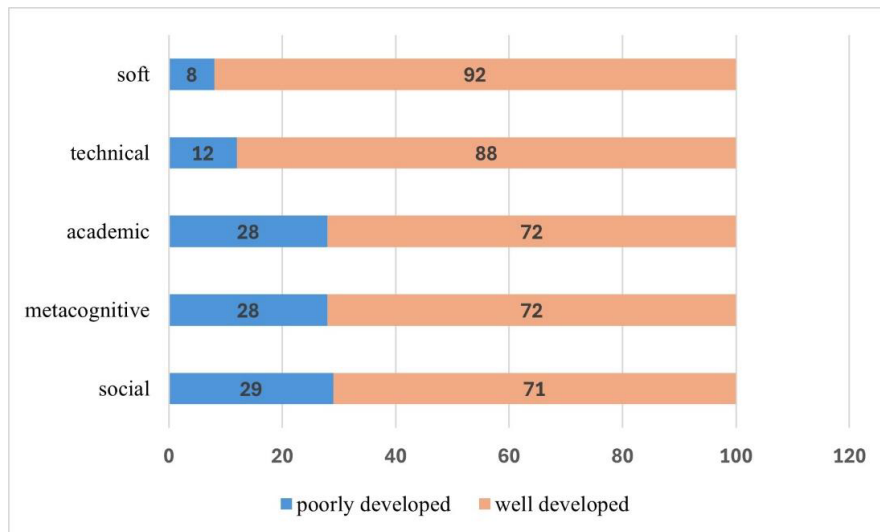


Figure 2. Students' evaluation of soft, technical, social, metacognitive and academic skills in mean percentages

6. Discussion and Conclusions

The study aimed to elicit English philology students' self-perceptions of their research abilities and their opinions on developing research skills at university. The results seem to complement the findings of university teachers, *e.g.*, Kusiak-Pisowacka (2016), Lankiewicz (2013), Niżegorodcew (2010), discussed in the earlier section of this article, who pointed to English philology students' poor research skills. Although the present study was conducted some time later than the above-mentioned studies, all of them concern the same educational context and can contribute to obtaining a more complete picture of fostering university students' research competences.

The unquestionable advantage of the present study is that in contrast to the above-mentioned studies it provides more details about the students' strong and weak points and allows us to understand better their needs. When self-evaluating their research skills, the students pointed to technical and soft skills as the abilities they had developed better than academic, metacognitive and social skills. The students perceived the following skills as well mastered: being able to look for information, also by means of search engines, critical thinking and management skills. Critical thinking was considered as the most important research skill. The students were aware of the Internet as a valuable source of information and were prepared to use it with due caution. It seems that the students have acquired a number of general research skills, which can serve as the foundation for further development of academic skills. These results are similar to the ones obtained by Liang *et al.* (2022), in which students perceived their basic research skills as better developed than academic ones.

Most of the students recognized the importance of research skills not only in their education but also in their everyday life and future careers, which is certainly a motivating factor in developing their abilities during university studies. When asked about their previous research-oriented experiences, both BA and MA students pointed to higher education as the main source of instruction. Some of the students viewed academic teachers as mentors and appreciated their expertise as researchers. Most of the students (87%) approved of the idea of incorporating research-oriented activities into the university curriculum. They also liked the idea of participating in research activities. These results seem very optimistic in the light of fostering academic research skills in the university.

An important question arises how to approach a group of students who presented less optimistic views. Thirteen percent of the respondents did not like the idea of incorporating research-oriented activities in the university program. They were not interested in participating in such activities. A surprising finding was that 9% of the students said that they had not been taught research skills and 27% could not decide whether they had been taught or not. It is difficult to understand why so many students chose the answer "hard to say". A possible reason is that this group of students was not taught research skills in an explicit way, which can explain why they did not recall this kind of instruction. Finding an effective strategy that could encourage this group of students to a more active participation seems to be an important task and calls for a separate investigation.

The study offers some specific teaching implications, which seem to complement the recommendations of a general nature suggested by Wilczyńska (2009) and Niżegorodcew (2010) discussed earlier. The findings imply that more focus should be put on enhancing academic, metacognitive and social skills. The students are not familiar with the current literature connected with the discipline of their studies. They also need more practice in research methods. Instruction should also concentrate

on developing academic writing and oral presentation skills. Although the students evaluated their skills of searching for information as well developed, their abilities to report and document data call for more attention. As regards metacognitive skills, being self-disciplined was assessed as poorly developed by 37% of the students and future instruction should encourage the students to improve systematicity and perseverance in their learning. Other skills that need to be practiced more extensively are social skills that involve working in a team, asking for help and building network groups. It is crucial that teaching draw on the skills that students assess as their strong points; in the case of the present study, it would be technical and soft skills. This approach would empower students and encourage them to participate in the academic and discourse community with more confidence.

As regards future research, it could be useful to delve into students' opinions concerning the role of the English language in developing research skills, *e.g.*, by asking them to self-evaluate their knowledge of English as the language of international academia. More attention should be paid to students' research literacy, *i.e.*, their awareness of the importance of scientific research in developing the discipline of English studies. This kind of investigation can lead to more effective personalisation of teaching programs. It can be useful to conduct a comparative study with students in the first semester of BA studies and the last semester of MA studies. A longitudinal study of changes in research skills' development might enhance our understanding of a dynamic nature of research competences.

More research is needed on how to assist students in developing new competences and how to create an atmosphere in which students will enjoy the freedom to construct new roles in the academia and future professional contexts.

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Appendix⁵

Research skills questionnaire

Dear student!

This set of questions aims to collect information about how English philology students develop research skills. The data obtained in this way will help us to adjust university instruction to students' needs and modify future courses accordingly. Please, answer the questions in an honest way. There are no good and bad answers here. Thank you for your cooperation!

1. What are your associations with the term "research"? Write your definition of the term "research".
2. What would you say are the three most important elements of research skills?

⁵ The questionnaire presented here does not reflect the layout of the original version given to the students. Spaces provided for open questions were omitted.

3. Have you ever been taught research skills?
yes / no / hard to say
4. If 'yes', at what level? You may indicate more than 1 answer.
Primary school / secondary school / BA education / MA education / others
5. If you selected "others" in the previous question, please specify what you mean by "others".
6. Would you say you have developed certain research skills?
yes / no / hard to say
7. If "yes", what kind of research skills do you feel you possess? Enumerate and describe.
8. How much do you agree that research skills are useful?
strongly disagree / somewhat disagree / somewhat agree / strongly agree
9. Why? Explain your answer to question 8.
10. How much do you agree that developing research skills should be included in the curriculum of your university courses?
strongly disagree / somewhat disagree / somewhat agree / strongly agree
11. Why? Explain your answer to question 10.
12. How much do you agree that participating in a research study should be included in the curriculum of your university courses?
strongly disagree / somewhat disagree / somewhat agree / strongly agree
13. How would you evaluate yourself? Assess each research skill on a scale of 1 to 5.

skill	1 – very poor	2 – poor	3 – satisfactory	4 – good	5 – very good
a/ Recognizing research problem					
b/ Knowing current works in the field related to English studies					
c/ Ability to think critically					
d/ Knowledge of research methods					
e/Using research methods					
f/Documenting and reporting					
g/Organising work					
h/ Searching for information					
i/ Using information sources					

j/ Using IT					
k/ Being creative					
l/ Being flexible					
m/ Asking for help					
n/ Academic writing					
o/ Preparing oral presentations on a scientific topic					
p/ Building relationships and networks					
q/Working in a team					
r/ Self-discipline					
s/ Complying with ethical requirements					

14. Any comments you would like to add about any issue raised in this questionnaire.

SVITLANA LYUBIMOVA

South Ukrainian National Pedagogical University named after K. D. Ushynsky, Odesa,
Ukraine

lyubymovaSA@pdpu.edu.ua

ORCID: 0000-0001-7102-370X

MARIA SHUTOVA

Kyiv National Linguistic University, Ukraine

mariia.shutova@knlu.edu.ua

ORCID: 0000-0001-7210-0260

Dynamism vs Stability of Sociocultural Stereotypes

The Case Study of the Hipster Stereotype

Abstract

Focusing on the dynamic nature of sociocultural stereotypes, we examine changes in linguistic representation of the hipster stereotype, which is considered a verbalized cognitive structure that embodies a simplified and conventional image of a social group. The study is based on the premise that dynamism of a sociocultural stereotype can be detected and described mainly by linguistic methods and techniques that include semantic, motivational, distributional, contextual analysis. Notable alterations of verbalized sociocultural stereotypes are observed in media discourse, which is highly responsive to social processes that influence stereotyping. The data for the study is collected from American web-based digital sources and language corpora. The results of the research confirm linguistic representation of sociocultural stereotypes is a dynamic process of their formation, functioning and changing that comprise qualitative and quotative transformations. Qualitative changes are transformations of the stereotype characteristics, represented by lexical items and syntactic units. Quantitative changes concern the increase or reduction in frequency of the sociocultural stereotype in media discourse with subsequent disappearance of it. Under certain conditions, the disappeared sociocultural stereotype renews in media discourse. The results of our research can be of use in a wide range of linguistic studies aimed at detecting changes in verbalized cognitive units.

Keywords: sociocultural stereotype, subcultural group, hipster, media stereotyping, dynamism

Introduction

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Contrasted concepts of change and permanency has been discussed throughout the whole history of philosophy and science. Ancient philosophers claimed all things do change: *Omnium rerum vicissitudo est* (Riley 1891: 314). Change seems the only constant feature of our life. As Virginia Wolf has put it, “change perhaps would never cease. High battlements of thought, habits that had seemed as durable as stone, went down like shadows at the touch of another mind” (Wolf 2007: 485). There is an appropriate balance between change as a characteristic of the world and permanency as a phase in the progressive development of the conceptual system (Davies 1900: 515). Concentrating knowledge about social groups (Hamilton *et al.* 1992: 135), sociocultural stereotypes function as elements of the conceptual system of a particular society. Social and political processes influence greatly transformations of sociocultural stereotypes, which we consider potentially changeable. Originated from the Greek δυναμικός “capacity, capability to develop” (Liddell & Scott 1853), the term “dynamism” refers to transformations of sociocultural stereotypes in media discourse.

Ever since Walter Lippmann introduced the term “stereotype”, an abundance of scholarly research has emerged, focusing on diverse aspects of stereotypes. One of the main properties, attributed to stereotypes is their resistance to change. However, experimental data suggest (Vinacke 1957, Kranz *et al.* 2021) that stereotypes can change (Yzerbyt & Corneille 2005: 181). The degree of their changeability depends on different factors, such as the context of their emergence and functioning, their significance for the national culture, their pragmatic meaning, *etc.*

Scientists acknowledge simplicity, conventionality and axiological character of stereotypes (Ashmore & Del Boca 2017, Shneider 2004). To a certain degree, all stereotypes are represented in the language (Bartmiński 2017, Beukeboom & Burgers 2019). They manifest on a lexical-semantic level and on the level of syntax (Bartmiński 2005). Changes in a verbal form of a stereotype reflect the alteration of cognitive and pragmatic properties of it.

Within the frame of our work, a sociocultural stereotype is defined a verbalized cognitive structure that embodies a simplified and conventional image of a social group or an individual (Lyubimova 2022b: 60). A sociocultural stereotype embraces descriptive and evaluative features, commonly associated with members of a specific group (Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2013). Sociocultural stereotypes are propagated by mass communication, particularly within media discourse, which is characterized by its agile response to social processes that influence stereotyping (Dijk 1996, Chilton 2004, Ross 2019). Media stereotyping is representation of sociocultural stereotypes by linguistic and non-linguistic means in media discourse (Lyubimova 2022b). It is a dynamic process, brought about by social, cultural and media factors. They are ethical, aesthetic and behavioural standards, cultural dominants, activity of journalists and social networks’ leaders that draw public attention to trends and events of a social life. The research has been conducted on the US media sources due to the significant impact of American media products on a global public opinion through the spread of films, songs, memes, *etc.*

The objective of this paper is to outline the dynamism of sociocultural stereotypes on the example of media portrayal of a subcultural group of hipsters that “practice a wide array of social dissent through shared behavioral, musical, and costume orientations” (Clark 2018: 313). Subcultural groups, such as hipsters, are conventional social types, perceived as “deviations from the norm” (Cohen 2011: 6), that

is why their media stereotyping conveys their inconsistency with the traditional values of the dominant culture. Changes in media representation of subcultural stereotypes reflect generational worldview shift.

Theoretical Premises of the Work

Sociocultural stereotypes are the results of social cognition, *i.e.* a mental action, concerning various psychological processes (perception, attention, memory, *etc.*) that enable people to learn about the world (Frith 2008). Categorizing social setting, people distinguish salient features of a social group and evaluate them (Pickering 2015) in accordance with national ideals, cultural values and ethical, aesthetic, and behavioural standards (Lyubymova 2020). Evaluation is ascertainment of compliance or non-compliance of a social group with culturally prioritized value criteria. The criteria are embodied in discrete ideas, “fixed” images (MacLaury 2007: 140). Cultural archetypes and established sociocultural stereotypes and function as mental points of reference in the process of stereotyping. Cultural archetypes are symbolic images that can vary without changing their basic cognitive schemes (Jung 1981). They preserve the ancestral experience of the nation and serve as value orientations of the society (Shutova 2014: 519).

Indispensable to human mental activity, sociocultural stereotypes are the integral part of natural language. Representing the image of a group in its verbal form, a sociocultural stereotype functions as the centre of semantic and cognitive associations (Coulmas 1981). Linguistic manifestation of stereotypes are found in lexical items (Bartmiński 2017, Beukeboom & Burgers 2019), connotations and pragmatic presuppositions (Lawton 2016), derivational paradigms (Bartmiński 2017), propositional structures (Coulmas 1981, Quasthoff 1978, Ross 2019), rhetorical and stylistic devices (Dijk 1996), phraseological units and proverbs (Bartmiński 2005, Shutova 2015), communicative styles (Furkó 2013, Deutschmann & Steinval 2020), speech etiquette (Shutova 2013) and media genres (Lyubymova 2021). In our paper, we dwell on lexical items and syntactic units that represent a hipster subculture in American media discourse. The lexeme *hipster* is defined as a nomen of a sociocultural stereotype (Lyubymova 2022a: 120). A syntactic unit that represents a sociocultural stereotype expresses societal attitude to a social group. Judgements about a stereotyped group are regularly reproduced in the language usage (Shutova 2014), for example, *Everybody hates hipsters*. Subcultural groups, such as hipsters, are conventional social types, perceived as “deviations from the norm” (Cohen 2011: 6), that is why their media stereotyping conveys their inconsistency with the traditional values of the dominant culture. Changes in media representation of the stereotypes of subcultural groups reflect generational worldview shift.

Methodology

The research methodology rests on the premise that sociocultural stereotypes interpret reality within the scope of cognitive models, represented by linguistic signs (Bartmiński 2017, Lawton 2016, Ross 2019, Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2013). The research methods are based on the anthropocentric approach to linguistic studies and the principles of holism that claims the interdependence of processes and phenomena of the social world and functionalism, according to which language structures are analysed in communicative situations.

Although sociocultural stereotypes are not purely linguistic concepts, they can be detected and described mostly by linguistic methods and techniques (Shutova 2022). The first step of the research design is media monitoring that involves observation and fixation of language material for further linguistic processing (Graffigna & Riva 2015). The research data are restricted to syntactical units that verbalize the hipster sociocultural stereotype in American web-based digital media that comprise «quality» periodicals, popular entertaining magazines and blogs within the period of the 1940s till 2022. A verbalized sociocultural stereotype is indicated in the chosen texts by semantic and grammatic markers of typicality. They are the plural form of nouns, e.g. *hipsters*; an indefinite article, e.g. *a hipster*; characterising adjectives, e.g. *a typical hipster*; quantifiers, e.g. *most hipsters*; evaluative predicates, e.g. *a self-conscious hipster*.

Hermeneutic procedure of a media text interpretation involves knowledge of the communicative background, *i.e.* the historical, cultural and ideological context, as well as the information transmission channel (Lyubymova 2020). Interpretive reconstruction of the stereotype's meaning is based on the hermeneutic canon that the language is the medium for understanding (Gadamer [1975] 2004). Regardless of the author's will (Schleiermacher 1998), "the meaning is determined and affected by the context" (Gadamer [1975] 2004: 233). Mediated by the language meaning is formed by the most important characteristics of the interpreted object: "we must understand the whole in terms of the detail" (Gadamer [1975] 2004: 291) and vice versa, "understanding of the particular follows the provisional understanding of the whole" (Schleiermacher 1998: 45). Hermeneutic procedure lies in comprehending the meaning of the sociocultural stereotype, interpreting it in the cultural and historic context and explaining the means of its media representation.

The fundamental step in our study is cognitive analysis (Croft & Cruse 2004, Góralczyk & Paszenda 2020), which is a procedure largely based on introspection (Talmy 2007). Considering our own ideas and thoughts about the verbalized sociocultural stereotype, we focus on contextually construed meaning (Croft & Cruse 2004: 97) and motivation, concealed behind the linguistic structure. Semantic and motivational analysis contributes to detecting all possible meanings (Shutova 2022). The research technique involves knowledge of cultural concepts that influence representation of the sociocultural stereotype.

Corpus analysis is applied to verify introspective findings of the research. It includes qualitative as well as quantitative methods. Analysing corpora, such as Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) (Davies 2019), Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Davies 2020), we can observe patterns, which are not always accessible to intuition (Hallan 2001: 91). Language Corpora are useful tools to track changes in the linguistic representation of the sociocultural stereotype over time. Diachronic perspective of the research refers to interpretation of changes in media representation of the sociocultural stereotype from the time of its appearance till the present day. Diachronic description confirms the hypothesis that sociocultural stereotypes of media discourse are inherently changeable.

Dynamism of Media Stereotyping

Dynamism of media stereotyping comprises different stages of the stereotype's development: formation, functioning and changing (Lyubymova 2022b: 61–62).

1. Formation of a Hipster Stereotype

The hipster sociocultural stereotype emerged in times of high economic growth and general prosperity. It was the period of rigid conformity, when people, especially older generations, strictly observed norms of behavior and aligned their attitudes and beliefs with traditional values. The generation of hipsters “reared during a period when most middle-class U.S. families were obsessed with regaining financial and social security” (Wentworth & Flexner 1967: 258). Hipsters differentiated themselves from conservatism of their parents and determined their own values and appearances.

The subculture began to garner attention of media in 1948. “The San Francisco Chronicle” characterized a hipster as “a chap who’s hep to what’s happening” (Dalzell 1996: 99). In his “A Portrait of the Hipster” published in “Partisan Review”, Anatole P. Broyard depicted a hipster as opposed to conformist American society. Broyard revealed the noticeable features of a hipster: jive music and marijuana, a fashion style (padded shoulders and dark glasses), “rich in aggressiveness” language (Broyard 1948/2018). Interest of journalists in the subculture promoted its stereotyping. Collocations *generic hipster*, *quintessential hipster*, *typical hipster* confirm stereotypic character of the hipster subculture.

Stereotyping of groups and individuals begins with their perception that physically stimulate human senses (Ageles 1992: 222). Sensual experience of verbal and non-verbal communication with the group is conceived and structured: the prominent features of the group are compared with ones of the exemplar. In American society, the exemplar is a white middle class protestant (Zárate & Smith 1990) that embodies ethical, esthetical and behavioural standards. Contrary to a conventional middle-class, the hipster stereotype is formed in view of its negatively evaluated properties.

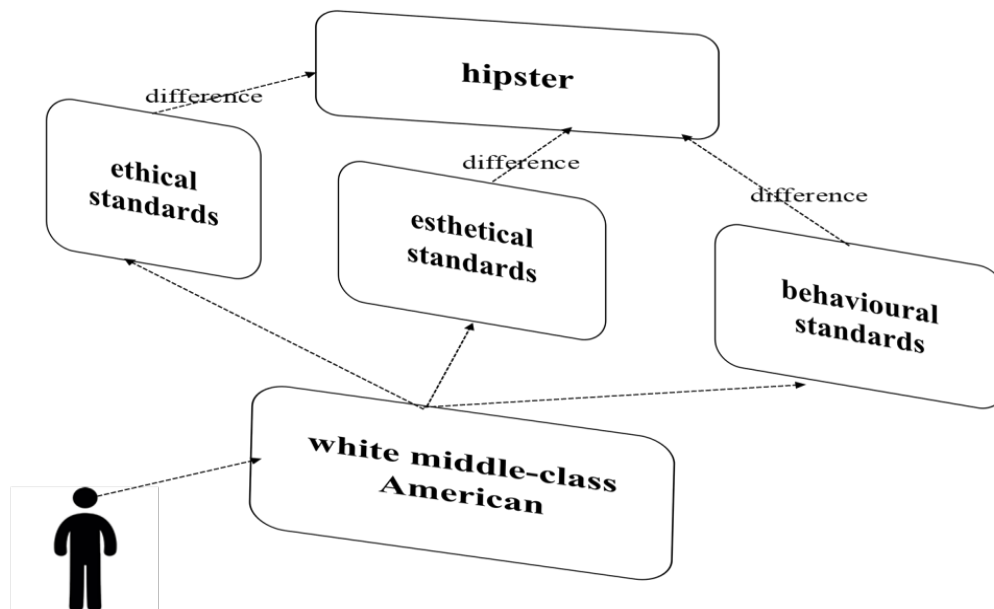


Figure1. Formation of a sociocultural stereotype

Formation of a sociocultural stereotype is accompanied by its designation. A nomen of a sociocultural stereotype correlates with a conventional opinion about a social group, which is very often created and/or fortified in media discourse (Lyubymova 2022a: 121). Formed by means of suffixation, the nomen *hipster* derives from *hip* or its doublet (etymological twin) *hep* (Wentworth & Flexner 1967: 258, Dalzell 1996: 57). Early in the 20th century, *hip* and *hep* were used interchangeably to mean “world-wise, sophisticated, and up-to-date with trends in music, fashion and speech” (Dalzell 1996: 57). Adjective *hip* was fixed in 1915 in the meaning “cool, gone, far-out” (Wentworth & Flexner 1967: 258), while *hep* appeared later in the meaning “aware of, with comprehension and appreciation for a field of endeavour, modern mode, fashion, the way of life; modern” (Wentworth & Flexner 1967: 253). The word stem suggests that referents of the subcultural group have been categorized as having qualities expressed by *hip/hep*. Derogatory meaning of suffix *-ster* (Hoad 2000: 461) indicates that these qualities were negatively perceived in American society. In the 1940s – 1950s, two versions (*hipster/hepster* and *hippie*) were in use to denote a devotee of jazz music and the jazz lifestyle, who strives to be hip (Dalzell & Victor 2013: 1148). In the 1960s, *hippie* became firmly associated with “flower children” subculture (Dalzell & Victor 2013: 1149). The distinction between hippie and hipster subcultures is highlighted by contemporary media: *First thing's first: hipsters aren't hippies* (Baklarz 2021).

In media discourse of the 1960s, a hipster was portrayed as a disillusioned person, interested only in his own likes and fads: *the real hipster loved fast cars and motorcycles. He was cool only with the arts because he trusted nothing else* (Stem 1967). Much attention was paid to hipster's appearance that was criticized and ridiculed, e.g. *A local policeman, patrolling his beat last week, looked disdainfully at a cool hipster loafing at a street corner... the “cool number” wore a box-back jacket, stove-pipe slacks, flat-toed shoes, a beige sport shirt with peagreen Continental necktie* (“This Cat Was Cool, Man!” 1961). Represented in details the hipster style arouses contempt, which is explicitly expressed by predicate modifier *disdainfully*. Slang adjective *cool* “fashionable” (Dalzell & Victor 2013: 537) and noun *number* “an attractive person” (Dalzell & Victor 2013: 1603) convey irony with which the hipster style is treated by media. The hipster way of life is described as *non-intellectual, non-imotional, non-social* (Stem 1967) and characterized by *extreme behavior* (Masters 1958). Evaluative predicates *underground rebels* (Masters 1958), *punks* (Stem 1967) convey assessment of the hipster group.

2. Functioning in Media Discourse

Propagated and reinforced by mass media, sociocultural stereotypes are unambiguously perceived by the audience as well-established information. In media discourse, sociocultural stereotypes function as means to present persuasive arguments. An utterance act manifests an underlying communicative intention (Recanati 1986: 214). Using the stereotype nomen, the author supposes the audience shares his knowledge of a sociocultural stereotype. Appealing to a stereotype, the author realizes his persuading intention, e.g. *He is not the race man protesting through Hip – not the hipster... He is informed, polite, hard-rock, no-nonsense* (“The Shine Boy” 1963). The author employs the nomen *hipster* to underline decisiveness of the African American to fight for their rights, not just protest for the sake of manifesting their disagreement with existing societal rules.

Circulating in media discourse, the sociocultural stereotype acquires prototypicality, *i.e.* associated with the stereotype characteristics become standard criteria for making inferences and forming value judgments about social setting. This manifests in the hipster + noun collocation, in which the descriptor *hipster* endows a noun with a characteristic feature of the stereotype.

Table 1. *Hipster* + noun collocations in American English Corpora (COCA, COHA)

Hipster + Noun		
hipster	style, icon, fashions, design, sports jacket, plaid pants, shoes, dress, jeans, glasses, chignon and wisp, body getup	fashion standards
	district, neighborhood, apartment, hotel, lounge	
	restaurant, bar, coffee shop, downtown club, food	behavioral standards
	lifestyle, hobby, behaviour	
	literati, writer, bloggerati	
	language, jargon, slang	
	farce, irony, joke, humor	
	underworld, twist	
	vibe, party	

As shown in Table 1, the hipster stereotype sets up fashion and behavioral standards that are used to identify specific features of objects in American social setting.

3. Changes in Media Representation of the Hipster Stereotype

Under the influence of social, cultural and media factors, sociocultural stereotypes undergo changes. This process comprises content modification, evaluative variation, activation, inactivation, and iteration (Lyubymova 2022b).

Content modification of a sociocultural stereotype is a change of its descriptive features. In the 1950s, phrases *narcotics violation* and *sexual misbehavior* (Masters 1958) described asocial behavior of hipsters. At the beginning of the 21st century, the socially acceptable hipster life style is outlined by the phrase *purchasing environmentally-friendly products and celebrating visual arts* (Greif 2010a). Ecologic awareness within the subcultural community has caused its designation *green hipsters*.

The hipster appearances correspond not only to fashion trends, but also the social status of members of the subcultural group. Before the turn of the century, hipsters used to be described *a class of people who moved to Williamsburg, Brooklyn, wearing white tank tops* (Rogers 2016). Their unassuming clothes and residence area point to their modest position. In the 21st century, hipsters are portrayed as *white, young, and affluent* (Greif 2010b). They prefer trendy clothes, *e.g. skinny-jeans-loving, tattoo-sporting, ironic-glasses-wearing* (King 2017). Regardless of cost considerations, the hipster style is characterized by *individuality and self-expression* (Adam n.d.).

Evaluative variation refers to the alteration of evaluative features of sociocultural stereotypes. These changes manifest in connotative meanings of nomina or evaluative predicates, *e.g.* if in the 20th century, hipsters are characterized as *young slum hoodlums* (Masters 1958) and *parasitic characters* (Wayatt

1980), in the 21st century, the subculture does not arouse such negative attitude. A hipster is described as *adopting an artsy persona* (Baklarz 2021) and *rebel consumer* (Greif 2010 a), provoking ironic attitude because of his *knowing, and deciding, what's cool in advance of the rest of the world* (Greif 2010b). The adjectives *wacky* and *quirky* (Anderson 2015) express mockery of the hipster style and hobbies.

The lack of incoming information about referents of sociocultural stereotypes leads to their **inactivation** that manifests in reducing their occurrence in media discourse and consequently their **disappearance**. Social breakdown of the 1960s-1980s declined in the early 1990s. The period of “a moral revival” discredited the idea that it is every adolescent’s social duty to be a rebel (Brooks 2005). Under these circumstances, the hipster stereotype practically disappeared from media discourse in the early 1990s.

Table 2. Frequency of lexeme *hipster* in COCA

1990–1994	1995–1999	2000–2004	2005–2009	2010–2014	2015–2019
22	42	60	110	166	200
Total 600					

As shown in the Table 2, the frequency of nomen *hipster* in Corpus of Contemporary American English has been increasing at the turn of the century. The data indicate **iteration**, *i.e.* the return of the disappeared stereotype in its original nomen to media discourse.

The extraordinary popularity of the hipster subculture in the United States in the 21st century is shown in the sentence *Hipster culture is omnipresent, it dominates fashion, music and lifestyle* (Weeks 2010). The considerable interest of media in the subculture brings about **activation** of its sociocultural stereotype. Activation manifests in increased occurrence of the sociocultural stereotype in media discourse. The diagram below shows that frequency of lexeme *hipster* in Corpus of Historical American English (Davies 2019) is increased by 70 per cent from the time of the stereotype formation in the 1940s.

Hipster			
1940–1950	1960–1970	1980–1990	2000–2010
6	13	19	111
Total 149			

Figure 2. Frequency of occurrence in COHA

Activation induces morphological derivation or appearance of new nomina. Activation of the hipster stereotype manifests in word-formation paradigm.

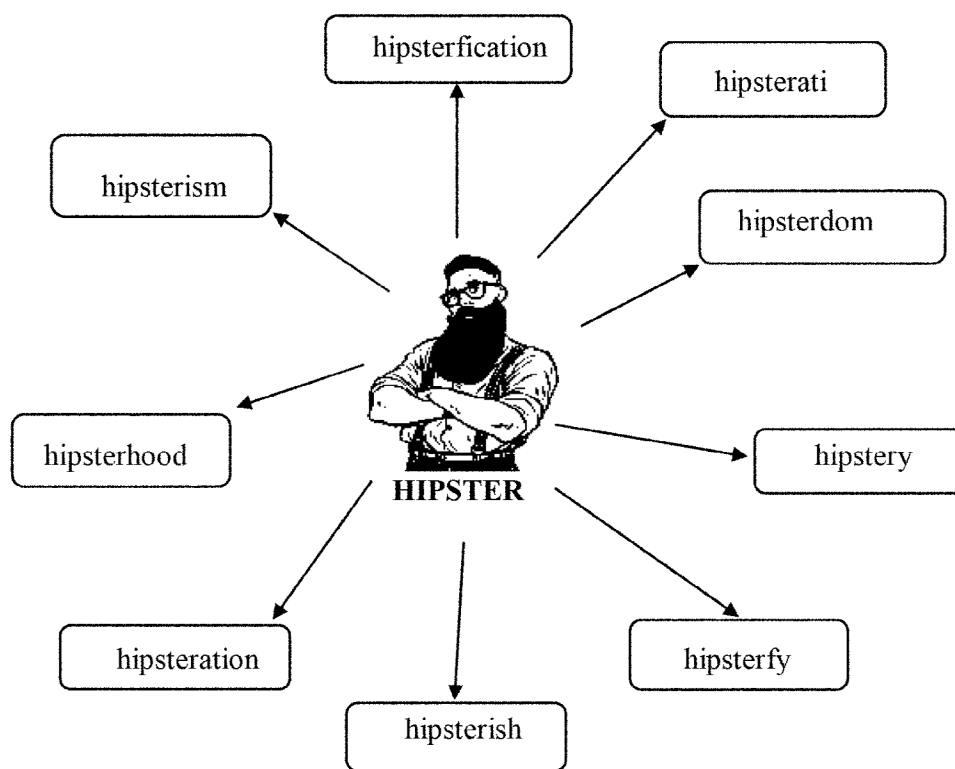


Figure 3. Word-formation paradigm of nomen *hipster*

The meanings of all derivatives are semantically related to derivational base *hipster* that undergoes semantic and lexical transformations through suffixation. Derivation is motivated by organizing new information about the sociocultural stereotype. This mental process is characterized by generalization and specification of information about the subcultural group.

- (1) Generalization is formulation of general ideas by abstracting common properties of hipsters, e.g. *Hipsterfication of Denver*, *college hipsterism*. The derivatives *hipsterfy*, *hipsteration*, *hipsterfication* denote the action or process connected with acquiring the hipster qualities. Noun *hipsterism* denotes the style of life of a hipster. Collective nouns *hipsterdom* and *hipsterhood* refer to the aggregate of hipsters in the United States.
- (2) Specification is identification of unique qualities of the subculture, e.g., *hipsterish vibe*. Synonymous adjectives *hipstery* and *hipsterish* indicate a specific characteristic of a hipster, which becomes evident in a particular context, e.g., adjective *hipsterish* means “beautiful, tidy, popular” in the phrase *hipsterish Los Angeles neighborhood* and “bold, persistent, ready to break the rules” in the phrase *local designers (many young and hipsterish) and factory owners (many older and not hipsterish at all)*. Noun *hipsterati* is the blending of derivational base *hipster* with the non-morphemic part of the word *literati*, which was separated to form a new word in the

meaning “elite” (Bauer *et al.* 2013: 526). *Hipsterati* conveys ironic attitude towards hipsters’ arrogance and superiority, based on their knowledge of fashion and technology micro trends.

On the results of the analysis, it can be stated that media stereotyping of the hipster subculture is characterized by three periods. The first period covers the 1950s and 1960s, when the hipster subculture is represented by analogy to the hippie subculture, which was criticised for a negative assessment of their asocial behavior. The second period, comprising the 1980s – 1990s, distinguishes the hipster stereotype as the social group, having knowledge of modern urban life. The third period begins in the 21st century with propagation of the image-conscious and eco-friendly hipster persona, described ironically.

Conclusion

Our study offers the insight into linguistic and cognitive process of stereotyping. We consider a sociocultural stereotype a verbalized cognitive structure that embodies a simplified and conventional image of a social group. A sociocultural stereotype can be subject to modification as new information and perspectives on a social group emerge. The transformations of sociocultural stereotypes can be observed through their linguistic manifestations, which vary over time. The most noticeable alterations in the portrayal of sociocultural stereotypes are discernible in media discourse.

Media stereotyping include stages of formation, functioning and changing of sociocultural stereotypes. Formation is evaluative categorization, *i.e.*, distinguishing and assessing salient features of groups and individuals in accordance with cultural values and social standards. In media discourse, sociocultural stereotypes function as means of presenting persuasive arguments to explain the point of view of a group or an individual. Changes of stereotypes can be qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative changes are content modification and evaluative variation that reflect changes in verbalized descriptive and evaluative features. The quantitative changes comprise activation that manifests in increased occurrence of a stereotype in media discourse and inactivation, which is frequency reduction of a sociocultural stereotype that leads to its disappearance from media discourse. Iteration is a renewal of the disappeared stereotype in media discourse under the influence of social, cultural and media factors.

Not every sociocultural stereotype undergoes these transformations. There are persistent stereotypes, whose stability depend on their significance for the society. The most variable stereotypes are those of subcultural groups that reflect generational worldview shift. The driving forces behind the dynamism of sociocultural stereotypes are social and cultural processes that shape media interest in sociocultural stereotypes.

The results of our study have important implications for future research of linguistically represented stereotypes. The proposed methodology can be applied in studies of media stereotyping groups, participating in social movements, *e.g.*, stereotyping pro-lifers in the context of the anti-abortion movement, gender stereotypes with regard to heteronormative ideology, or stereotyping ethnicity in the perspective of the Black Lives Matter movement. The results of our research can be of use in a wide range of linguistic studies aimed at detecting changes in verbalized cognitive units.

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Received:

26.09.2023

Reviewed:

25.11.2023

Accepted:

10.06.2024

EWA MATKOWSKA

University of Wrocław, Institute of German Philology

ewa.matkowska@uw.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-9323-6949

Topos and Topography of Italy in Contemporary German Artist's Prose

Abstract

The article deliberates upon the relationship of artistic creativity and the topos and topography of Italy in German literature in the decades around 2000. Italy is continuously one of the most important references in artist's texts. The writers create characters that enter a dialogue with the multi-layer European cultural space represented by "the Italian narratives". The paper deals with the traditional dichotomy of the topos: North – South, light – darkness, ancient culture – Christian culture, life – death, sensuality – spirituality, nature – culture and civilization. The specifics of the connection between artistic creativity and the Italy topos are examined on the basis of three examples: Hanns-Josef Ortheil *Rom, Villa Massimo* (2015), Feridun Zaimoglu *Rom intensiv* (2007) and Martin Mosebach *Die schöne Gewohnheit zu leben – eine italienische Reise* (1997). The analysis focuses on the palimpsests of space, time and text. It is characteristic that the figures move in a topically charged area of Italy and examine their aesthetic points of view. The character construction goes back to the model of a Flâneur, wanderer and traveller who – in contrast to previous epochs – is equipped with communication technologies that enable him to create his own trans-medial message.

Keywords: artist' novel, Künstlerroman, German literature, Italian Journey, Italy, Rome, palimpsest, Hanns-Josef Ortheil, Feridun Zaimoglu, Martin Mosebach

Literature creates spaces of imagination which are overwritten again and again as projection screens. Italy narratives are one of them. The analysis focuses on texts that were written in the decades around the year 2000. Their main characters are artists. These are artist's novels, artist's stories, travel diaries, the stylized autobiographic and biographic novel, the literary reportage. Artist's prose can look back on a long tradition in Germany. *Ardinghello und die glückseligen Inseln* [Ardinghell and the Blessed Islands] (1787) by Wilhelm Heinse is considered the first artist's novel [Künstlerroman] (Marcuse 1978: 37). The genre is characterised by the protagonist who is an artist or is aspiring to become one and by complex excerpts

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of aesthetic deliberations (Wilpert 1989: 489). Its main subject is the search of the creative individual for universal values: aesthetic, religious, political. Most of the important writers in German language tried their hand at these genres, e.g. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, E.T.A. Hoffmann, Thomas Mann or Thomas Bernhard.

The increased interest of research in the Italian subject area is documented by the new bibliography of 2003, edited by Stefanie Kraemer and Peter Gendolla *Italien: eine Bibliographie zu Italienreisen in der deutschen Literatur* (Krämer, Gendolla 2003). A literary bibliography was published in 1989, edited by Anja Oswald (Oswald 1989). The following article is dedicated to the question of how artistic creativity is shaped as a theme in contemporary literature and what role topos and topography of Italy are playing in this.

The writers create characters that enter a dialogue with the multi-layer European cultural space represented by “the Italian narratives”. They reach for *hypotexts* (Genette 1993: 5) of the Italian travel to identify the position of the individual in the increasingly changing world. The character construction goes back to the model of a Flâneur, wanderer and traveller who (in contrast to previous epochs) is equipped with communication technologies (smartphone) that enable him to create his own trans-medial message. The change also occurs on the side of the reader who has access to digital databases regarding art. He gets closer to the *model reader* (Eco 1994) who is able to reconstruct perfectly the designed network of references in the text and creates his own multimedia text. In comparison to other topographies (e.g. Berlin), *Italianism*¹ is traditionally characterized by references to history of art.

While London, New York and Los Angeles must be regarded as the centres of contemporary art, Italy remains an integral part of narratives of artistic creativity in contemporary German literature. You may find that the flow of Italian literature does not break off. Numerous texts very consciously tie in with the past: with the milestones of German-language Italian literature of the past centuries. The texts present different approaches to this projection space of German writers. It is characteristic of these narratives that figures as Flâneurs, travellers or fugitives move in a topically charged area of Italy. The movement takes place horizontally in space and at the same time vertically in the psyche of the artist figures. Escape and utopia have been fixed motifs since Goethe. Johann Wolfgang Goethe’s *Italian Journey* (the journey took place in the years 1786–1788, the text was written much later and edited 1816–1817) is still the most important literary reference. The titles of more recent texts alone make this always up-to-date reference clear – such as Hartmut Lange’s novella *Die Bildungsreise* [The Educational Journey] (2000), Martin Mosebach’s volume of stories, essays and reportages *Die schöne Gewohnheit zu leben – eine italienische Reise* [Living, the beautiful habit – an Italian journey] (1997) or Joachim Fest’s travel book *Im Gegenlicht. Eine italienische Reise* [In the Backlight. An Italian Journey] (2004). A typology of *Italianism* in German poetry was presented by Paul Requadt (Requadt 1962). Peter Gendolla refers to this typology in his recent study *Die Erfindung Italiens. Reiseerfahrung und Imagination* [The Invention of Italy. Travel Experience and Imagination] (Gendolla 2014) which is used in this article. The basic description of the topos Italy in German literature follows this study.

1 The Polish researcher, Olga Plaszczyńska, uses this term in her monograph of 2010 *Przestrzenie komparatystyki – italianizm* [Spaces of Comparative Studies: Italianism] (Plaszczyńska 2010).

Methodology and Outline

The texts examined in this article were selected according to semantic and temporal criteria. The main characters are artists; the texts were written around 2000. In principle the study is committed to the method of literary hermeneutics as defined by Gadamer. (Gadamer 1972) In order to appropriately grasp the topic of artistic creativity three research fields are specifically focused: the literary figure, space-time relations (*chronotope*) and the aesthetic discourse in the text. Recent narratological studies provide numerous insights in these areas. The time-space relations are analysed both based on Bakhtin's seminal work *Chronotope* (Bakhtin 1981) and with reference to studies in the field of *spation turn* (Hallet, Neumann 2009). Bakhtin's approach is important because it consistently conceives of time and space as a unit. The chronotope is closely interwoven with the plot of the characters and with the history of the genre. Bakhtin analysed in this way, for example, the Hellenistic adventure novel, the chivalric novel or the English horror novel (Bakhtin 1981) and it identifies special units – such as the chronotope of the path (Bakhtin 1981: 22). The Spatial Turn deals with social and cultural processes that shape the spatial structures in the text. This includes, for example, the question of the experiences of proximity and distance, the self and the foreign, the centre and the periphery (Hallet, Neumann: 26–27). This article attempts to analyse modern artist's prose in the light of these findings. In the chronotope of artist's prose topography is brought together as a space for figures within the narrated world, as an artistic landscape in historical change and as formative cultural topoi. Above all it should be noted that the positioning and movement of the characters in space have a real (in the sense of the narrated world) and a symbolic meaning. The movement takes place horizontally in the topography and at the same time vertically in the psyche of the artist figures. This is expressed very clearly in the design of the Flâneur-figures². In the further course of the article this character is explained in more detail using Hanns-Josef Ortheil's novel *Rome, Villa Massimo*. The intertextual practice (which is complex in the artist's prose due to its recourse to literary traditions) follows Gérard Genette's study *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*. Genette's analysis model examines in detail "five types of transtextual relationships" (Genette 1993: 10): *intertextuality* here means an "effective presence of a text in another text" (Genette 1993: 10), meaning more or less literal borrowings from other texts: quotation, plagiarism and allusion. *Paratextuality* refers to the structure of the relationships in the text as a whole, paratexts control the reading process and function as a commentary: this includes the title, the foreword, notes to the reader, motti, illustrations, cover, chapter headings, etc. For Genette, *metatextuality* is the practice of commenting within the text as a whole: i.e., the text under investigation deals with other texts without necessarily naming them. Metatextual relationships thus mean all forms of commentary in the text. *Architextuality* means the relationship of the text to the genre, whereby the latter can either be named (e.g. in the subtitle: novel, story, etc.) but does not have to be.

In this terminology the architext means an original text of the genre. The most important category of transtextual references, which corresponds to the term intertextuality in Julia Kristeva and Michael

2 Andrea Bartl cites Charles Baudlaire's *Le peintre de la moderne* as literary sources for this figure, in particular the third part "L'artiste, homme du monde, homme des faules et enfant." The artist flâneur seeks beauty in the fleeting and accidental, according to Baudlaire, it is the "beauty of modernity." The author names *The man of the crowd* bei Edgar Allan Poe as the second most important text. (Bartl 2009: 148–149) For the German-speaking world, Walter Benjamin's *Passagen* is of particular importance. The essay "Flâneur" is part of "Charles Baudelaire. A poet in the age of high capitalism" (Benjamin 1974).

Riffaterre, is called *hypertextuality* in Genette's work. In order to capture this precisely, Genette introduces the terms hypotext and hypertext. The hypotext is imitated and/ or transformed in the hypertext, the hypertext superimposes the hypotext: e.g. Homer's *Odyssey* would be the hypotext for *Ulysses* by Joyce (Genette 1993: 15). Hypertext is thus the result of transformations and extensive continuations, which Genette calls transposition. Genette describes the main genres and procedures of literary transtextuality: parody, travesty, persiflage and pastiche (Genette 1993: 9–215). The study of aesthetic discourse in this article generally follows the elements of discursive practice identified by Michel Foucault. The objects that are discussed in the discourse are thus examined (what is said/ what is not); the subject positions (who is speaking/ who is not speaking, which institutions determine the discourse/ which institutions control the discourse) and the terms (how is the discourse coded) (Foucault 1972, Foucault 1991). The aesthetic discourse in the texts is analysed on the basis of these questions if this content can be identified in the text. It is conveyed both in the statements of the figures (art talks and artists talks) and via topographical-topical references.

In the second part I will present selected texts. The first two novels by Hanns-Josef Ortheil and Feridun Zaimoglu are characterized by the satirical stylistic register of varying intensity. The other texts by Martin Mosebach are offering an approach to Italian themes between light irony and seriousness. It is characteristic of all examples that the figures move in the topically charged spaces constructed as palimpsests: as a multi-layered structure of culture and text.

The Topos of Italy

The topos of Italy is traditionally characterized by dichotomy: North – South, light – darkness, ancient culture – Christian culture, life – death, sensuality – spirituality, nature – culture and civilization (Gendolla 2014: 59, 81). Contemporary writers use the duality of the topos for their own literary creations.

Within the framework of a narrated story the artist figures can move from the pole of the euphoric enthusiasm for the light/south and the associated eruption of artistic creativity to its opposite pole. It is always the south and Italy where the exit from the creative crisis is sought (e.g. *Death in Venice* by Thomas Mann). The sensory and spiritual perception that has been taken to the extreme (which is always stimulated by the great artistic heritage of Italy) is looking for a further development of the work of art that could stand the comparison with the past. Therefore, the story ends with success or failure – overcoming the crisis or self-extinction of the artistic subject.

An even more precise breakdown of the topos also points to its dichotomous character which helps the author to express himself in a strong literary manner. Rome is on one hand the centre of the ancient world and ancient art – on the other hand the city of ruins. The idea of Vanitas is omnipresent in the baroque churches and tombs of Rome and Naples. But on the other hand, there is the sensual splendour of life in the works of art and architectural installations (e.g. fountain installations). The question of the essence of beauty is being provoked constantly.

The dualism of body and mind can be identified as part of the topos. The self-destructive projections of the sensual merging with the ideal of beauty are depicted in literature. The following can serve as examples: in the Romantic period: Joseph von Eichendorff *Das Marmorbild* [The Marble Statue], in early 20th century Thomas Mann *Tod in Venedig* [Death in Venice] and in 2000 Hartmut Lange *Die*

Bildungsreise [The Educational Journey]). Artists from the north hope to overcome an artistic crisis and Italy serves as a projection screen.

Ancient and Christian myths as well as literature itself all belong to the topos (Greek and Roman poetry, Dante, Boccaccio, the characters of the *Commedia dell' Arte* and travel literature). A no less important aspect are the pilgrimages to the religious centre of Christianity and their secularized form – the educational journeys to the places where famous artists lived and worked in Italy and Rome. Their legends are continued in contemporary literature.

Rome and Villa Massimo as Topography and Literary Subject

The literary journey forms the most important narrative. Rome is the centre as the palimpsest city. Just like Gérard Genette focused on the broad intertextual relationships in literature in *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (Genette 1997) the term *Palimpsest* in cultural and sociological studies combines the material tradition and the processes of memory. The city appears as a changing space of memory that has been overwritten several times. The material historical tradition meets the subjective meanings (Binder 2015). In the literary texts figures move in the topography of Rome presented as a palimpsest city.

Numerous works by the literary scholarship holders of the German Academy in Rome, Villa Massimo, refer to the one-year stay in this institution. Two works are briefly presented below: Hanns-Josef Ortheil with *Rom, Villa Massimo* (2015) and Feridun Zaimoglu *Rom intensiv* (2007). Both fictional artist novels are ironic and satirical in their narrative style.

Rome, Villa Massimo is an artist's novel revolving around a group of artists who received one-year grants at Villa Massimo. The fact that an institution and a group of artists are the focus and not the strong artistic personality can be seen as a postmodern departure from the typical characteristics of the genre. The main character is Peter Ka, a poet from a German provincial town who is allowed to devote himself to his poetic work in Rome for a year. The character does it rather marginally. He is focused on relationships with other scholarship holders and the city of Rome which he would like to explore in his own individual way. The narrative structure with personal narration ensures distance and closeness at the same time. The artists in the novel do not have names but rather epithets given to them by Peter Ka; and they correspond to the types of artistic personalities – from the creative “craftsman” (the architects, the musicians) to the psychopathological type of artistic genius. Deviating from the genre tradition, it is not the man, but the female painter from Studio Ten. The Studio Ten is an intertextual reference to the poet-rebel Ralf Dieter Brinkmann. He lived there in the 1970es and wrote his well-known Rome diary *Rom, Blicke* [Rome, looks] (Brinkmann 2006).

The creative and emotional tension among the characters is linked to the presentations of the works in Villa Massimo. The love story that develops in the novel – a typical motif of the artist's novel – does not end with a happy ending but with the outbreak of mental illness in the painter from Studio Ten and her hasty departure. The love story that was not fulfilled in life finds its fulfilment in the work – another typical motif of the artist's novel. The poet is only able to write the new volume of poetry after his return to Germany. In reference to Goethe's *Roman Elegies*, which he wrote after his stay in Italy, the fictional volume of poetry is called *Elegien, römisch-bergisch. I–LII* (Ortheil 2017: 263). The painter from Studio Ten becomes a muse – It is a traditional twist in the male artist's vita.

The Figure of the Flâneur

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Peter Ka approaches the city as a Flâneur, as a walker and observer. The figure wanders through the city, taking photographs, recordings and making notes. Living and writing become a creative process. Firstly, he examines his immediate surroundings. He observes the people: how they behave, talk, what they read, how they eat. He gets to know everyday culture. It is much later that he looks at the sights of the city – and even these he sees randomly – led by his aesthetic intuition. The synaesthetic access to the city and rejecting the overwhelming knowledge become program:

In the beginning he simply drove the metro lines to the respective terminus. He walks long distances, photographs and records sounds, sounds and conversations with the help of his smartphone. [...] He understands the whole thing as a search for material that is not targeted but as free and random as possible. Images, films, sounds and texts of the eternal city are picked up and assembled into a disordered brew (or mix) as a basis and starting meta for later poems. (Ortheil 2017: 176–177)

The poet visits on his way the early Christian church of Santa Constanza (the mausoleum for Emperor Constantine's daughter). He describes the contemplation of the building and then the outburst of artistic enthusiasm and inspiration (Ortheil 2017: 86–90). The encounter with the city puts the Flâneur in a state of happiness since he can here indulge in the synaesthetic experience. The city is depicted as a Palimpsest, as a multi-layered cultural text and at the same time as a synaesthetically experienced space that the artist figure wanders through and uses creatively. The stimuli in form of art, architecture, food, drink, landscape and light characterize this creative encounter with the city. All senses are activated. The poet is inspired by the city and the city becomes a literary text as the creative process continues – but the final literary result is less important than the creative process itself. The well-known sights of Rome appear in the novel as (literally) “fleeting” when Peter Ka accompanies the sick female painter to the airport by taxi:

They don't talk anything, only the driver speaks, and since he is sure to drive two German tourists to the airport he explains the whole environment. He drives very fast and the great Roman monuments appear like swaying, heavy figures, as if one were in a film by Fellini. Out of sheer helplessness, Peter Ka points his finger out again and again: *San Giovanni, the Circo Massimo, the Via Ostiense!* [...]. (Ortheil 2017: 257)

The Aesthetic Discourse in Rome, Villa Massimo

The aesthetic discourse in the text is composed of the characters' art conversations and a large number of real and fictional works depicted, which has been typical of the genre of the artist's novel since its creation. The access to the eternal city in the form of strolling is an aesthetic statement. As Bartl emphasizes, the artist-flâneur seeks beauty in the fleeting and accidental, it is “the beauty of modernity” according to Baudelaire (Bartl 2009: 148–149).

The novel has an unmistakably ironic undertone. This marks the subject's position. It is up to the reader to assess the aesthetic judgments – whether to share them or not. In the literary field, the broad Classics and the Classics of Modern Poetry clearly dominate. Intertextual references lead back to J. W. v. Goethe. In reference to Goethe's *Roman Elegies*, which he wrote after his stay in Italy, the fictional volume

of poetry by Peter Ka is called *Elegien, römisch-bergisch. I–LII* (Ortheil 2017: 263). Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's stay in Rome is noted by the poet. He visits Casa di Goethe but he refuses to read the *Italian Journey*. Goethe's *Italian Journey* becomes an "*architext ex negativo*" – namely in the main character's fear of his influence on his own creativity. Peter Ka declares unbiased seeing to be the poetic method – similarly to Goethe (Ortheil 2017: 166). Well-known authors and texts appear as intertextual references (according to Genette): Catullus, Horace, Ovid (Ortheil 2017: 12), Eugenio Montale, Salvatore Quasimodo, Pier Paolo Pasolini (Ortheil 2017: 11), Gottfried Benn (Ortheil 2017: 16), Stefan George (Ortheil 2017: 16–17), H. C. Artmann (Ortheil: 20) and others. In a satirical passage against novels that are not well composed (Ortheil 2017: 50) Peter Ka proclaims the "ideal of brevity" (Ortheil 2017: 112): a purist poetry that is short, precise and musical. In this context, he mentions Stefan George (Ortheil 2017: 16–17), Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, Else Lasker-Schüler (Ortheil 2017: 19).

An important object of the discourse is linked both to the figure of the painter and the figure of the poet: how do modern artists react to the influence of the Italian artistic tradition with which they have to measure themselves in Rome? Peter Ka reports that the painter spent her entire Roman period in the studio or in the immediate vicinity: "But never in a museum or in a church! Because all of this would just have been "talked" into her! Yes, that's how she must have understood the Roman world with its infinite number of references and meanings: as a mighty cosmos that approached her more and more and "talked into" her! So that she barely managed to continue painting. Until the last picture. And after that it was definitely over. Departure, return, end of the permanent threat, flight back to Germany!" (Ortheil 2017: 257). For a long time Peter Ka cannot decide how to approach the city of Rome and all other artistic figures also feel the enormous pressure in confrontation with the great artistic tradition. The only exception is the successful sculptor who inscribed his own art in the cultural text of Italy with the help of professional and targeted PR activities (Ortheil 2017: 115–116). This attitude is easy to see as a marketing strategy, but it does not solve the real problem of the artists, who see themselves more as a footnote to the great art tradition. In context of lyrics, Peter Ka formulates an attempt at a solution that is in line with the aesthetic principles of postmodernism: "You had to parody the great gods, absolutely, you had to worship them and at the same time keep them at bay, you had to walk next to them, whistling, in the best of moods, but under no circumstances could you become their pupils and adepts" (Ortheil 2017: 17). The aesthetic discourse includes the question of modern art institutions. Orteil shows the individual artist figures within the group dynamics. This is characterized less by artistic exchange than by competition. Success in an artistic career depends above all on the extent to which the artists know the principles of art marketing and use them to their advantage. How such "art bubbles" can be produced is shown in the description of the successful show of the sculptor, called "Great Mogul" in the novel and his female partner/ manager (Ortheil 2017: 114–116). The author's diagnosis seems to be that success is not only led to an overall "good work" in terms of craftsmanship – but also to its professionally operated and wordy marketing in the state-private art world. The aesthetic discourse includes paratext references in the form of photos and a bibliography at the end of the novel. The reader can supplement his reading on this basis.

Italian Journey as a Slapstick Comedy³

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The Turkish-born German writer Feridun Zaimoglu received a scholarship from the Deutsche Akademie Villa Massimo in 2005. *Rom intensiv* was published as a book in 2007. Zaimoglu's book on Rome is a parodic genre pastiche (in Genette's terminology: persiflage, Genette 1993: 43) of the Italian Journey and of the artist's prose. Particular episodes take place in historically and art-historically known locations in Rome – some episodes take place in southern Italy. The style is characterized by cinematic clarity: detailed descriptions, rapid changes of images and the spatial movement of the first-person narrator. The preferred forms of comedy in the text are slapstick, situation comedy, satirical reference to national and cultural stereotype (e.g. "Just like all righteous Germans I have stuck to the main principle that you only see what you know: I read a good dozen of city guides wisely" (Zaimoglu 2018: 72) and the hyperbolic style. The focus is on the writer himself and his status as an artist. Feridun Zaimoglu appears in the text under his name (Zaimoglu 2018: 187): his first name is jokingly or maliciously twisted by his interlocutors ["Ferrero" (Zaimoglu 2018: 16), "once Felipe, once Ferrero", (Zaimoglu 2018: 16) "Kill Ferrero" (Zaimoglu 2018: 18), "Fibi Freak" (Zaimoglu 2018: 121)]. The author contrasts the ideal of the artist as a sensitive one – outstanding individual, the artist-genius, with the portrayal of his person in the novel. Let's give two examples: when the first-person narrator walks into a film scene that is being shot, the porter of Villa Massimo comments: "You are so stupid that just looking at it gives me a nosebleed [...]" (Zaimoglu 2018: 31). The narrator describes his stay on the beach – the poet's equipment includes "a cool box in the colours of the German flag" (Zaimoglu 2018: 114) – as follows:

My swimming trunks also make them (the beach visitors, E.M.) cheerful – admittedly, they are in the shape of a trumpet and in the pattern of the kilt. I bought them for two Euros from a toothless black African who told me that these swim trunks were inspired by the swimwear of designers in Milan and that I would be pretty stupid if I didn't buy them. I grabbed them and bought ten of them straight away. Here, at the Piccolo Pevero Beach I don't think it's a good idea anymore. (Zaimoglu 2018: 121)

Rome appears above all as a city besieged by tourists who "march up in troop strength" (Zaimoglu 2018: 147) at well-known sights. During the walks in Rome, the writer fights his way through the crowds with many tricks. The text parodies the well-known topoi of the Italian journey. To include strolling to culturally and historically significant sights and brilliant conversation among friends and connoisseurs. In Zaimoglu's persiflage a penniless emigrant – called Sowjet Sergiej – takes on the role of companion. The hyperbolic style is expressed by the fact that the artist does not "walk" but "run", the figures very often "shout at each other" (Zaimoglu 2018: 13, 20, 23, 24, 31, 40, 52, 54, 57, 58 *etc.*). The cultivated promenading of the educational traveller is parodied. The aesthetic discourse includes the art activities described in urban space. For example, female students, under the guidance of an artist from Villa Massimo, "roll green, pink and orange plasticine balls onto the street" (Zaimoglu 2018: 137) which are run over by cars, leading to a motorcycle accident and general chaos. Denis, the Sicilian friend of the first-person narrator, comments as follows: "[...] in Sicily, such art actions would be ended with a machine gun salvo. The artist, if she didn't bleed from forty holes, would be condemned to sweep the streets for six

3 The reviewer of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Volker Breidecker, formulated the comparison of the plot with a slapstick comedy in his article of 8/8/2007. <https://www.perlentaucher.de/buch/feridun-zaimoglu/rom-intensiv.html> [date of access: June 29, 2022].

months" (Zaimoglu 2018: 139–140). The travesty of art in which the Villa Massimo scholarship holder participates during his year in Rome addresses the lack of aesthetic criteria in the art world of the present.

Palimpsests of Space, Time and Text

Martin Mosebach was a fellow at Villa Massimo in 2014–2015. The volume *Die schöne Gewohnheit zu leben: eine italienische Reise* [The beautiful habit of living. An Italian Journey] had its first edition in 1997. It consists of ten prose texts and a short story marked as a prologue, the centre of which is a fictitious artist talk. The art and artist theme appears in two dominant narrations: the artist talk and the observations of a traveller/ Flâneur. The story (prologue) that opens the volume is entitled *The Coldest Country in the World* and already refers in the title to the dichotomy of the Italy-topos: North and South / Cold and Heat. The narrative is authorial. The main character is referred to as a "young man" (Mosebach 2018: 9) which can be seen as an intertextual reference to James Joyce's early work – the artist's novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (Joyce 1997). One can assume that the young man who had just arrived in Rome was an artist since the text says that he was endowed with "brilliant letters of recommendation" (Mosebach 2018: 9). The short story recounts an afternoon on a poetess' roof terrace "near the Piazza Farnese" (Mosebach 2018: 9). The artists who talk about Rome, Italy and art are a poet, a painter, an architect and a composer. They have no names and are stereotyped. The story ends with the young artist waking up. The conversation with the artist turns out to be a dream – or rather the young man's nightmare. That is because the last sequence describes a motorbike speeding towards him at the entrance of the poetess' house and his awakening (Mosebach 2018: 16). The interview with the artists in the short story served to convince the young man that his enthusiasm for Italy and Rome was unrealistic. Contrary to the stereotypical depiction the Italians are insensitive, calculating and cold: "Wherever northern people are moved and emotional the Italians remain dull and cold," said the painter. "For an Italian of course we're the cold ones!" the composer exclaimed indignantly. "We are the calculators without a sense of grace and poetry! The non-sensual barbarians who must be ashamed of their rudeness!" (Mosebach 2018: 15). The artists are foreigners living in Italy who have achieved fame and fortune. When the young man asked why they would still stay in Italy they responded with the traditional justifications of Italy enthusiasts since Winckelmann: "You can only build with a view on the Roman walls!" said the architect. "It was only here that I learned to see!" said the painter, "I hear my music here in the air," said the composer (Mosebach 2018: 16). Like many travellers before they lament the contradiction between the expected ideal and reality. In this sense the artist dialogue is a prologue to the following stories because the volume distances itself from the traditional reasons for the Italian Journey: the sources of the great Italian art would therefore be found more in living tradition and rooting of the people in nature and culture of the Italian regions than in ideal-typical conceptions. The stories and reports by Mosebach focus on people whose aesthetic sense as artists, craftsmen, designers or simply Italians is fed by the tradition into which they were born. Living in harmony with the past is her recipe for life and art. In the prose texts dedicated to Venice and Rome *Venice with Five Senses* (Mosebach 2018: 93–106) and *Roman Times of Day* (Mosebach 2018: 107–116) the narrator appears as a traveller and Flâneur who moves in topically charged, multi-layered urban spaces. The Neapolitan narration in the volume *Pompeian Present. An hour in the National Museum of Naples* draws on the second traditional narration of artistic creativity – the art talk. It takes place on

two levels of time and fiction. The figures do not move in space but in time. The authorial narrator who looks at the Pompeian frescoes in the National Museum of Naples quotes excerpts from the conversation between two artists (Eumolpus and Encolpius) of the ancient Roman novel *Satyricon* by Titus Petronius Arbiter (Petronius 2020). He fantasizes its continuation as an art conversation between two artists in the present. The reason for the discussions – both in the past and in the present – is the contemplation of the masterpieces of painting. In both cases these are works of art from a high culture that was wiped out by natural and historical catastrophes. The artists of the *Satyricon* talk about works of painters and sculptures who are only known by name today (such as Appelles and Zeuxis); the works themselves have not survived. The art considerations in the present concern images from Pompeii and Herculaneum – two cities on the Neapolitan Bay that perished after the eruption of Vesuvius. Fragments of the excavations are exhibited in the Museum of Naples. The heyday of a high culture here recalled roughly corresponds to the time when the artists of the *Satyricon* conducted their conversation. They lament great art of the past without being able to suspect that the high culture of their time will perish in near future. In the art talks the respective present is felt to be a time of decline – so achievements in the field of art are more likely to be in retrogression.

Between times there is a dialogue about aesthetic rules that have remained valid: “If I were a young painter I would know what I am doing,” he says [Eumolpo, the Italian successor to the Roman Eumolpus, E.M.] imploringly. “The worship of the lump, of the raw, unfinished, inanimate [referring to gold, E.M.] seems to have triumphed, but in truth the world of colour and form, the marriage of personal handwriting and objective appearance, is as close as ever. [...]” (Mosebach 2018: 90). This formula of authentic art which arose from the imitation of nature, from the artist’s rootedness in his culture and the needs of the art recipients is related to ancient art – but can also be considered normative for contemporary art. Mosebach sees the motivation for the production of art in the immutable principles of sensuality that would underlie artistic expression (Mosebach 2018: 82–83). Pompeian Present draws directly on the palimpsest motif. In the art talk between different times the layers are removed. That is in order to reveal the core of the artistic endeavours which is always current.

Conclusion

The article explored the question of how artistic creativity is represented in contemporary literature and what role the narrative of Italy is playing. German-language literary texts that were written around the year 2000 were examined. Their main characters are artists. The writers create characters that enter a dialogue with the multi-layer European cultural space represented by “the Italian narratives”. The character construction goes back to the model of a Flâneur, wanderer and traveller who – in contrast to previous epochs – is equipped with communication technologies (smartphone) that enable him to create his own transmedial message. The topos of Italy is traditionally characterized by dichotomy: North – South, light – darkness, ancient culture – Christian culture, life – death, sensuality – spirituality, nature – culture and civilization. Contemporary writers use the duality of the topos for their own literary creations which is shown in the article with sample analyses. It is characteristic of these narratives that the figures move in a topically charged area of Italy. Against this background insights into the subject of art and aesthetics are formulated. The analysed novels by Hanns-Josef Ortheil *Rom*, *Villa Massimo* and Feridun Zaimoglu

Rom intensiv are characterized by the satirical stylistic register of varying intensity. The analysed texts by Martin Mosebach from the volume *Die schöne Gewohnheit zu leben. Eine italienische Reise* offers an approach to Italian themes between light irony and seriousness. It is characteristic of all examples that the figures move in topically charged spaces constructed as palimpsests of space, time and text. The art and artist theme appears in two dominant narrations: the observations of a traveller/ Flâneur and the artist talks. The prose texts are deliberately transtextual (Genette, ([1982] 1997)). One of the most important references is still the *Italian Journey* by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. This can be seen in the titles of the works and in their content. The transtextual strategies refer to a literature and art that is classical in the broad sense (as classical and classical modern). One of the dominant themes is how contemporary artists can make creative use of Italy's great artistic heritage.

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MARLENA OLEKSIUK

Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Wydział Filologiczny

marlena.oleksiuk@uwr.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-0114-9259

Przegląd literatury koreańskiej ze względu na sposób tworzenia. Przekazy ustne i pisemne. Literatura pisana w języku koreańskim

A Review of Korean Literature in Terms of the Method of Creation. Oral and Written Communications. Literature Written in the Korean Language

Abstract

The Korean literature is closely related to the Chinese script. The Chinese script had a significant impact on the reception of literature because it was considered important and elegant, and in the days after the invention of Hangul, Koreans were divided on which script poetry should be written in. The Korean alphabet, Hangul, became popular only in the 20th century. Korean literature can be presented in two ways: by genre and chronologically. Historical events have a significant impact on works created at a given time. Just like in the Polish literature, in the Korean literature, historical periods, oppression from neighboring countries and political events are reflected in the works of writers of a given era. The subject matter of this article is a description of written and oral works on the Korean Peninsula and the impact of language choice on literature. The research perspective focuses on literature written in the Korean language, and the research material is literature created after the invention of Hangul.

Keywords: pansori, hanja, gugyeol, idu, hyangchal, hangul

Słowa kluczowe: pansori, hanja, gugyeol, idu, hyangchal, hangul

Wstęp

Literatura koreańska jest ściśle związana z pismem chińskim. Pismo chińskie miało znaczący wpływ na odbiór literatury, gdyż uważano je za doniosłe i eleganckie, przez co w czasach po wynalezieniu koreańskiego alfabetu – hangulu (한글) Koreańczycy podzielili się co do stanowisk odnoszących się do

tego, którym pismem powinno się tworzyć poezję. Koreański alfabet, hangul, upowszechnił się dopiero w XX wieku. Literaturę koreańską możemy przedstawić w dwojaki sposób, według podziału na rodzaje oraz chronologicznie. Dzieje historyczne mają znaczący wpływ na dzieła, które powstają w danym czasie. Tak samo jak w literaturze polskiej, tak w literaturze koreańskiej okresy historyczne, ucisk ze strony sąsiadujących państw oraz wszelkie wydarzenia polityczne odzwierciedlają się w dziełach pisarzy danej epoki.

Tylko pewna część literatury koreańskiej zapisywana była ideogramami chińskimi, mianowicie ta ściśle związana z kręgami władzy i kręgami intelektualnymi, pozostającymi pod wpływem kultury chińskiej, szczególnie w okresie Tang (czasy Zjednoczonego Państwa Silla). Istotnie, utwory w języku koreańskim były zapisywane na początku w transkrypcji fonetycznej przy użyciu znaków chińskich. Później klasyczny język chiński stał się podstawą wykształcenia elit oraz egzaminów urzędniczych, w których tworzenie literatury wzorowanej na chińskiej uznawane było za dowód wysokich kwalifikacji. Kategoryzowanie literatury tworzonej w klasycznym chińskim jako najbardziej reprezentatywnej ignoruje istnienie bardzo długiej tradycji literackiej przekazywanej ustnie. Literatura ustna (oralna) jest najstarszą formą literatury w Korei, posiada bogatą tradycję, a brak zapisu w pewnej mierze zrekompensowany został przez aktywną rolę aktorów i grup społecznych w jej przekazywaniu (w tym m.in. odtwórców obrządków szamanistycznych). Co więcej, literatura ustna i pisana przez wiele stuleci funkcjonują niezależnie obok siebie (przy dość ograniczonym, lecz niewątpliwym wzajemnym wpływie), by w połowie XVIII wieku zacząć aktywnie czerpać inspiracje jedna od drugiej, głównie pod wpływem nowych prądów intelektualnych i kryzysie dotychczasowych struktur i praktyk społecznych. Właśnie wtedy wiele tradycyjnych pieśni i utworów *pansori*, dotychczas odtwarzanych w ubogich wspólnotach wiejskich, zostanie spisanych w formie tzw. powieści klasycznej i znajdzie odbiorców w kręgach arystokratycznych. Tego typu tendencja osiągnie apogeum w XIX wieku. Twórczość w hangul w czasach Joseon ma istotnie ograniczony charakter, tym niemniej reprezentowana jest przez wysokiej klasy poezję m.in. kobiet z rodzin arystokratycznych (Ogarek-Czój 2003: 11–144).

Ustny i pisemny sposób tworzenia literatury koreańskiej

Literatura koreańska dzieli się na trzy kategorie: na tę pisaną po chińsku, na tę pisaną wcześniejszymi transkrypcjami, czyli pismem chińskim dostosowanym fonetycznie do języka koreańskiego i na tę pisaną hangulem.

Pomimo tego, że Koreańczycy posługiwali się swoim językiem przez kilka tysięcy lat, dopiero od połowy XV wieku, kiedy to król Sejong zlecił stworzenie alfabetu (1446 r.), wówczas Koreańczycy zaczęli pisać pismem koreańskim, ojczytym. Szacuje się, że przynajmniej do X w. n.e. Koreańczycy zapisywali poezję tylko w języku chińskim. Koreańczycy czytali klasykę konfucjanizmu i chińską literaturę. Koreańczycy z wyższej klasy posługiwali się językiem koreańskim i chińskim. W VII w.n.e. został wynaleziony system zwany idu, który pozwolił Koreańczykom na fonetyczny zapis języka koreańskiego za pomocą chińskiego pisma. Niektóre chińskie znaki były wykorzystywane jako wartości fonetyczne do reprezentowania koreańskich sylab i fleksyjnych zakończeń. Niedługo później został wynaleziony bardziej rozwinięty system transkrypcji zwany hyangchal, którym były zapisywane już całe zdania. Jeszcze inny system, gugyol służył do oznaczania elementów gramatycznych, natomiast znaki tegoż systemu

były wstawiane do zdań podczas transkrypcji. Wybrane dzieła literackie wskazują jednak, że większość dzieł literatury koreańskiej sprzed XX wieku została napisana w języku chińskim, nawet po wynalezieniu hangulu. Przekazy ustne zawierają wszystkie teksty, które były podawane ustnie z pokolenia na pokolenie aż do wynalezienia alfabetu koreańskiego. Są to ballady, legendy, mity, sztuki teatralne grane w maskach oraz pansori (opowiadania śpiewane, 판소리) (Kim 1997: 58–65).

Warto opisać próby, jakie podejmowano, aby pismo chińskie stało się bardziej użyteczne i przyswajalne dla niepiśmiennych Koreańczyków. W VII w.n.e. został wynaleziony system zwany idu (이두, 吏讀), który pozwolił Koreańczykom na fonetyczny zapis języka koreańskiego za pomocą chińskiego pisma (Im, Yun-pyo, 2006: 42). Jak pisze Halina Ogarek-Czój (2003: 8): „Wykorzystano w nim zarówno leksykalne znaczenie ideogramów, jak i ich wartość fonetyczną”. System idu oparty został na piśmie hanja, z użyciem dodatkowych znaków dla oznaczenia koreańskich końcówek gramatycznych. Przykładem zapisu w idu jest fragment chińskiego kodeksu prawnego z okresu dynastii Ming: 雖犯七出有三不去, przełożony na koreański jako 必于七出乙犯爲去乃三不去有去乙. Widoczne jest wprowadzenie koreańskiego tłumaczenia chińskiego terminu 雖 → 必于, dodanie do chińskiego elementu 七出 końcówki przyimkowej 乙, oraz dodatkowe znaki 爲去乃 i 有去乙 dla oznaczenia koreańskiej deklinacji czasowników (Ogarek-Czój 2003: 7–20).

Hyangchal (향찰, 鄉札) to z kolei archaiczny system znaków używanych do zapisywania hanji. Uważa się, że hyangchal to najbardziej rozwinięta forma idu, gdyż idu prawdopodobnie dzieliło się na grupy. Pierwsza wzmianka związana z hyangchal pojawia się w biografii mnicha Kyun Yi w okresie Koryo. Halina Ogarek-Czój zauważa, że hyangchal służyło do zapisu najstarszych zachowanych koreańskich utworów poetyckich – hyangga. Hyangchal był jednak na tyle skomplikowany, że po jakimś czasie zrezygnowano z niego (Sohn 2001: 125, 128). Do czasów obecnych zachowało się 25 wierszy, które były napisane w systemie hyangchal. Należy także wspomnieć, o systemie zwanym gugyeol (구결 / 입결, 口訣), który również miał ułatwić Koreańczykom posługiwanie się językiem chińskim. Gugyeol był używany do przekształcania klasycznego języka chińskiego w zrozumiały koreański. Oryginalny tekst w klasycznym języku chińskim był modyfikowany, a także wstawiano dodatkowe znaki upraszczające czytanie całego zdania. W ten sposób koreański czytelnik otrzymywał zdanie, które zachowywało porządek SOV, który był dla Koreańczyków łatwiejszy niż chiński SVO (An, Gwang-ho 2007: 33–71). Podobnie postępują do czasów obecnych Japończycy, którzy używają tego porządku zdania do odczytywania klasycznego chińskiego w systemie kanbun. Gugyeol zyskał popularność we wczesnym Koryo. W tym okresie znaki hanja były używane, aby reprezentować koreańskie dźwięki i ich znaczenia. Na przykład sylaba ‘잇’ była reprezentowana przez znak hanji 有 dopóki nie została przekształcona w koreańskie słowo ‘있다’. Późniejsza wersja systemu gugyeol została sformalizowana przez Jeong Mong-ju i Gwon Geun około 1400 roku podczas wczesnego panowania dynastii Joseon na żądanie króla Taejonga (ur. 13.06.1367, zm. 30.05.1422, lata panowania 28.11.1400–09.09.1418) ojca Sejonga Wielkiego. W czasie popularności systemu gugyeol wiele z dzieł konfucjańskiej klasyki zostało przekształconych w tym systemie. Gugyeol powinien być odróżniany od idu i hyangchal, ponieważ gugyeol zawierał specjalne oznaczenia, które współdziałały ze znakami hanja i stanowił pomoc w odczytywaniu i rozumieniu chińskiej gramatyki (Seth 2006: 62).

Pomimo wysoko rozwiniętej aktywności literackiej już w początkach koreańskiej historii, teksty piosenek nie były zapisywane aż do wynalezienia hangulu. Literatura ustna jest kategoryzowana na:

ballady, które to klasyfikują się z kolei na śpiewaka płci męskiej lub żeńskiej, tematykę – modły, praca, odpoczynek oraz regionalny styl śpiewu (Lee, Ramsey 2012: 28).

Legendy zawierają opowiadania ludowe i były główną rozrywką zwykłych ludzi, którzy uczestniczyli w spotkaniach, na których owe legendy opowiadano. Legendy dotyczą głównie personifikowanych zwierząt, kunsztownych sztuczek, udziału bogów w sprawach ludzkich i powstania świata. Wśród sztuk teatralnych, granych w maskach, najbardziej popularna była *sandae kuk* (spektakle z maskami, 산대극). Pomimo, że pochodzenie sztuk nie jest pewne, uważa się, że przypuszczalnie rozwinęły się one z szamanistycznych ceremoniałów. Dialogi były bardzo elastyczne, a aktorzy zazwyczaj improwizowali i grali bez wcześniejszego przygotowania. Sztuki nie były odgrywane na scenie, a także nie było limitu co do czasu i miejsca odgrywania sztuki, tak samo widownia mogła bardzo swobodnie oglądać sztukę, pasywnie lub aktywnie odpowiadając aktorom. Sztuki maskowe powtarzalne i różnorodne osiągnęły spektakularny efekt w swojej popularności, zwłaszcza jeśli chodzi o odgrywanie dramatów. Odgrywano także sztuki marionetkowe, pośród których zachowały się dwie: *Kkottukakshi nori* (꼭두각시놀이) i *Mansok chung nori* (만석중놀이, czyli sztuki kukielkowe) (Cho 2006: 18). Nie wiadomo w jaki sposób powstały sztuki. Wątki sztuk marionetkowych i maskowych są przesycane satyrą i krytycyzmem (*ibidem*).

Ostatnim typem przekazów ustnych jest śpiewana literatura folklorystyczna zwana pansori. Teksty pansori zostały zapisane i rozpowszechnione jako zwrotki dopiero w XIX wieku. Pansori było zawsze narracyjne. Oryginalnie repertuar pansori składał się z 12 epizodów (*madang*, 마당). Z pośród 12 pozostałych pansori, tylko 5 zachowało się do dzisiaj i są nadal śpiewane. Tekst pansori ewaluował z legend oraz ceremonii szamanistycznych i był przekazywany od jednego artysty do drugiego (Jo, Jongmun, Jong-seong 2012: 12).

Pisemny sposób tworzenia literatury to zapisywanie tekstów po chińsku aż do XV wieku, czyli do czasu wynalezienia hangulu. Pismo chińskie uważano za eleganckie i doniosłe, a ludzi posługujących się pismem chińskim za wykształconych. Ponieważ pismo chińskie było bardzo trudne do opanowania, Koreańczycy podejmowali próby transkrypcji chińskich dźwięków innymi znakami, dlatego wynajdywano kolejne systemy, które miały ułatwić zapisy (Kang 2000: 23–89). Hancha, hanja (한자, 漢字, dosłownie: znaki han) to koreańska nazwa dla chińskich znaków, natomiast hanmun (한문, 漢) to tekst lub zdanie pisane chińskimi znakami. Nazwa ta dotyczy tylko tych znaków, które zostały zapożyczone do języka koreańskiego, a ich wymowa dopasowana do wymowy języka koreańskiego. Hanja zyskała wielką popularność w Korei dzięki szybko rozprzestrzeniającemu się buddyzmowi. Jednakże to nie teksty religijne były głównym źródłem wiedzy o znakach, ale Cheonjamun (*Księga tysiąca znaków*). Hanja była jedynym systemem pisma aż do czasu kiedy król Sejong Wielki wprowadził w XV wieku hangul. Jednakże wraz z wprowadzeniem hangula, nie zaprzestano nauczania starego systemu. Przed zaprojektowaniem hangula próbowano bezskutecznie wprowadzać systemy hyangchal (향찰; 鄉札), gugyeol (구결 / 입결, 口訣) i idu (이두; 吏讀). Oficjalnie od 1949 roku pisma hanja nie stosuje się w Korei Północnej. W Korei Południowej jest ono nadal w użyciu, jednak jego znaczenie maleje na korzyść hangulu. Obecnie użycie hanja jest marginalne, choć nadal funkcjonuje jako przedmiot szkolny (McCann 2000: 97).

Wynalezienie hangulu zapoczątkowało rozkwit literatury koreańskiej pisanej tylko po koreańsku. Jak podaje Joanna Rurarz (2005: 295) w 1894 roku wprowadzono w Korei reformy Gabo¹, które

1 Reformy roku Gabo: od lipca 1894 roku rząd koreański zaczął wprowadzać szereg radykalnych reform dotyczących finansów, szkolnictwa, systemu monetarnego, ujednolicono system miar i wag, zmodernizowano także armię. Reformy roku Gabo miały na celu zmodernizowanie kraju na styl zachodni [w:] Rurarz (2005: 294).

między innymi zmodernizowały język używany na Półwyspie Koreańskim, przez co język koreański stał się jeszcze bardziej powszechny i nowoczesny. W 1895 roku język koreański wprowadzono do szkół podstawowych. Po okresie przejściowym, kiedy obok hangulu równocześnie używano znaków chińskich i dzielono ludność na prostych chłopów, którzy posługiwali się hangulem oraz szlachtę posługującą się znakami chińskimi, nastąpił okres używania tylko hangulu. Niestety nastąpiło to w czasie aneksji Korei przez Japonię, czyli za początek tej zmiany możemy uznać rok 1910. Zaczęto także wydawać czasopisma i gazety publikujące w języku koreańskim. Dualizm piśmienniczy Koreańczyków zaczął upadać na rzecz rosnącego w siłę języka scalającego naród. Spowodowało to także upadek hermetycznej piśmienniczo szlachty, która do tej pory posługiwała się językiem chińskim. Te zmiany spowodowały, że także pisarze zaczęli tworzyć w języku koreańskim (Ogarek–Czoy 2007: 7–10).

Przekazy pisemne. Rodzaje i gatunki literackie

Rozkwit literatury koreańskiej pisanej w języku koreańskim przypada na koniec wieku XIX i początek XX, to właśnie wtedy mają miejsce przemiany społeczne na Półwyspie Koreańskim. Koegzystencja pisma chińskiego i hangulu przestaje powoli istnieć. Anonimowe do tej pory powieści pisane hangulem zaczynają być podpisywane z imienia i nazwiska. Należy tutaj wspomnieć o zmianie stosunku do człowieka w niejako nowej literaturze. Do tej pory konfucjanizm narzucał pewien sposób zachowań, pouczał, a nawet poniżał klasę średnią. W nowej literaturze pisanej językiem koreańskim człowiek klasy średniej zaczyna być zauważany, ważne są jego uczucia, zachowania, egzystencja sama w sobie, człowiek zostaje wyzwolony spod jarzma konfucjańskich zasad, na co wpływ ma niewątpliwie większa świadomość społeczna, przemiany w społeczeństwie, ale także posługiwanie się hangulem (Lee 1983: 83–103). Kiedy w 1910 roku Korea znalazła się pod zaborem Japonii, Koreańczycy chcąc jeszcze bardziej podkreślić swoją odrębność i bunt przeciwko zaistniałej sytuacji politycznej, zaczęli posługiwać się hangulem. Nie oznacza to, że całkowicie zaprzestano używać znaków chińskich, ponieważ te pojawiają się zarówno w języku koreańskim, jak i japońskim, ale stopniowo je wypierano. Znaki chińskie straciły swój autorytet, natomiast w bardzo szybkim tempie przybywało ludzi posługujących się językiem koreańskim w mowie i piśmie.

Poezja

Można wyróżnić cztery główne formy tradycyjnej poezji: najstarszą *hyangga* (“pieśni ojczyste”, 향가), *byeolgok* (“specyficzna melodia”, 별곡), *changga* (“długie wiersze o miłości”, 창가), *sijo* (tradycyjne formy liryczne składające się z trzech linijek, 시조) lub *kasa* (“śpiewane wersy”, 가사). Inne formy poezji, które także rokowały to styl *kyonggi* (경기) w XIV wieku i *akchang* (“słowa pieśni”, 악장) w XV wieku (McCann 2000: 67–98). Koreańska poezja była zazwyczaj śpiewana, co odzwierciedla styl i forma wierszy oraz ich melodyjność, która jest bardzo rytmiczna, a sylaby starannie dobrane w rytm.

Najstarszą formą poezji jest *hyangga*, wiersze zapisywane w systemie *hyangchal* (향찰), datowane na początki dynastii panującej w Zjednoczonym Królestwie Silla (668 r.n.e.) aż do początków panowania dynastii w okresie Koryo (고려, 935–1392r.). Wiersze były pisane w 4, 8 lub 10 wersach, 10 liniowe

wiersze składały się z dwóch strof czteroliniowych i jednej dwuliniowej, która była także zakończeniem. Były to najbardziej popularne wiersze. 17 z 25 prastarych *hyangga* są buddyjskie. Wiersze były pisane zarówno przez buddyjskich mnichów, jak i członków Hwarangdo (화랑도), militarnej wówczas szkoły z VI w.n.e. Hwarangdo to nie tylko szkoła, ale warstwa społeczna w Silla, tę grupę społeczeństwa stanowili młodzi ludzie, których szkolono w umiejętnościach akademickich i sztukach walki z taką samą starannością. Hwarangdo zazwyczaj tworzyli mężczyźni arystokratycznego pochodzenia. Wojownicy warstwy hwarangdo odegrali zasadniczą rolę podboju pozostałej części Półwyspu Koreańskiego przez dynastię Silla oraz ustanowienia Zjednoczonego Królestwa Silla.

Główną zasadą edukacyjną hwarangdo było pięć zasad konfucjańskich. Działalność hwarangdo została rozwiązana za czasów dynastii Yi w okresie Joseon (조선, 朝鮮, 1392–1910r.). Następnie wznowiono ją w II połowie XX wieku, lecz modernizacja kraju spowodowała, że hwarangdo przeistoczyła się już tylko w sztukę walki (Kim 1991: 12).

Kolejnymi formami, która rozkwitły w połowie okresu Koryo były *byeolgok* (별곡) i *changga* (창가). Tematem tych anonimowych wierszy jest miłość, radość i udręka, co odzwierciedla bogactwo epitetów. Wiersze są bardzo melodyjne i podzielone na części oraz posiadają refreny, co jest charakterystyczne dla tej formy poezji. Co więcej, były one śpiewane przy akompaniamencie muzyki głównie przez kobiety zwane *kisaeng* (기생), czyli koreański odpowiednik gejszy.

Sijo (시조) jest najbardziej popularną oraz najdłuższą trwającą formą koreańskiej poezji. Pomimo, że niektóre wiersze są przypisywane pisarzom późnego okresu panowania dynastii Koryo, Sijo jest w pierwszym rzędzie przypisywane poetyckim formom czasów dynastii Joseon (조선, 1392–1910). Sijo to trzywersowe wiersze, w których w każdej linii jest od 14 do 16 sylab. Każda linijka składa się z grup czterech sylab. Zakłada się, że tematem poezji Sijo były głównie etyczne wartości konfucjańskie, ale także natura i miłość. Uważa się, że pisarzami tego typu poezji była wyższa klasa społeczeństwa (*yangban*, 양반) oraz koreańskie gejsze (*kisaeng* 기생) w pierwszej połowie panowania dynastii Joseon. W późniejszym okresie Joseon powstały dłuższe formy wierszy zwane *sasol sijo* ("narracyjne sijo", 사설 시조), które ewoluowało. Pisarzami tego typu wierszy byli zwykli ludzie, a tematyka wierszy była bardziej przyziemna, np. handel, korupcja, miłość. Ponadto *sasol sijo* często zawierały wulgaryzmy oraz wyrazy onomatopieczne (Lee 2003: 120). W tym samym czasie co *sijo* rozwinęła się także inna forma poezji – *kasa* (가사), jest to forma zapożyczona z języka chińskiego: oznaczająca poezję słowną lub prozę rymowaną. *Kasa* zazwyczaj miała znacznie dłuższą formę niż inne formy koreańskiej poezji i była pisana w dwuwierszach. Każda linijka dwuwiersza jest podzielona na dwie grupy, pierwsza grupa składa się z trzech lub czterech sylab, a druga grupa posiadała cztery sylaby. Historia *kasa* jest podzielona na dwa okresy, podział został dokonany za czasów japońskiej inwazji (1592–97). Wiersze składały się ze 100 linijek opisujących kobiece piękno, wojnę i odosobnienie. Zazwyczaj pisarze pochodzili z klasy społecznej *yangban*. Tworzenie poezji było warunkiem zdania egzaminu urzędniczego, wyznacznikiem erudycji i okazją do pokazania się w towarzystwie.

W końcu XIV wieku po ustanowieniu stolicy w Seulu, powstała forma poezji zwana *akchang* (악장) i była pisana w celu celebrowania początku nowej dynastii. Pierwsze przykłady *akchang* były zapożyczone z klasycznej chińskiej poezji (White 2009: 68).

W wiekach XVII–XIX, czyli w okresie dość późnego Joseon poezję nadal zapisywano w klasycznym języku chińskim. Utwory literackie opierały się na kanonie konfucjańskim, który był dla ówczesnych poetów obowiązkowy, prawie tak bardzo, jak znajomość rozporządzeń i sprawozdań,

napisów nagrobnych i listów. Hermetyczność szlachty nie dopuszczała, aby w utworach znajdowały się treści, które byłyby niezgodne z przyjętymi regułami ideologii konfucjańskiej. Początek wieku XX przynosi powiew świeżości w koreańskiej poezji. *Sinchesi* (신체시) to dosłownie „poezja nowego typu” została zapoczątkowana w Korei przez poetę Choe Namseon (최남선), którego najsłynniejszy utwór *Przesłanie morza do chłopców* (해에게서 소년에게) z 1908 roku został zauważony przez taki autorytet w dziedzinie studiów nad literaturą koreańską jak Peter H. Lee, który to ośmielił się zasugerować, jakoby Choe pisząc swój utwór zainspirował się pieśniami *Wędrowek Childe Harolda Byrona*. W swoim utworze Choe pisze o nadziei jaką żywi na to, iż młodzi są siłą narodu koreańskiego, zdolną do przewycięzania tego, co nieaktualne i przeprowadzenia rewolucyjnych zmian w społeczeństwie i literaturze. Co więcej, także w samej formie utworu zauważono wprowadzenie nowości takich jak: znaki przestankowe, zwrotki niejednokrotnej długości, onomatopeje. Utwory te krzewiły patriotyzm i świadomość narodową.

W czasie kolonializmu japońskiego w Korei literatura koreańska zmieniła się. Podczas japońskich rządów w Korei (1910–1945) język i prasa były ograniczone, co miało wpływ na ówczesną literaturę koreańską. Wiele przejawów późnego okresu Joseon, skupiających się na samodzielności i niezależności, nie było już możliwych. Wraz z Ruchem Samil² w 1919 roku powstała nowa forma literatury koreańskiej. Wielu pisarzy wykazywało bardziej pozytywne nastawienie, próbując poradzić sobie z ówczesną sytuacją narodową. Literatura skupiała się coraz częściej na konkretnej rzeczywistości. Przedsięwzięcia artystyczne wspierały gazety narodowe (Robinson 1990: 18–51).

Na współczesną poezję koreańską wpływa kontekst historyczny, w którym Koreańczycy doświadczyli aneksji Korei przez Japończyków, kolonializmu i podziału Korei na Republikę Korei i Republikę Ludowo-Demokratyczną w wyniku wojny koreańskiej. Rewolucja studencka z 1960 r., która obaliła reżim Syngmana Rhee (이승만) i wojskowy zamach stanu w 1961 r., który wyniósł do władzy Park Chung Hee (박정희) było materiałem dla tworzenia współczesnej poezji koreańskiej. Poeci Koreańscy podjęli wyzwanie podejmując tematy współczesne i polityczne, a także zagłębiając się w tematykę społeczną i ekonomiczną. Wiersze Pak Jaesama (박재삼 1933–1997), który pisze o głodzie i ubóstwie dzieci po wojnie koreańskiej, Ko Un (고은 1933–), były mnich buddyjski i działacz polityczny, jeden z najbardziej płodnych poetów Korei Południowej, odkrywa tkankę jaką jest język koreański we współczesnym społeczeństwie poprzez swoją poezję o domu, życiu dzieci pod okupacją i poglądach na temat niewolnic seksualnych (comfort women) (McCann 2004: 78).

Wybrane elementy prozy koreańskiej

Koreańska proza narracyjna zawiera mity, legendy i baśnie ludowe, a także literackie rozmaitości. Głównymi źródłami prozy narracyjnej są dwa duże dzieła historyczne: *Samguk sagi* (*Kronika Trzech Królestw*, 삼국사기) 1146 r. i *Samguk yusa* (*Legendy z Trzech Królestw*, 삼국유사) 1285 r. Najważniejszymi mitami zaś są te, które dotyczą Słońca i Księżycy, założenia Korei przez Tanguna – Mit o Tanguinie (단군 신화) oraz żywoty królów. Legendy dotyczą miejsc i zjawisk naturalnych oraz poszczególnych osób. Baśnie ludowe zawierają historie i opowiadania o zwierzętach i postaciach fantasy takich jak ougeo (오우거), czyli postaci podobne do europejskich ogrów. Baśnie ludowe opowiadają także o zjawiskach

2 Ruch pierwszego marca 1919 roku protesty koreańskiej ludności przeciw japońskim okupantom, zryw niepodległościowy przeciwko okupacji japońskiej w Korei [w:] Rurarz (2005: 332–333).

nadprzyrodzonych, nagradzaniu dobroci i karaniu zła, o mądrości i o głupocie. Ponieważ opracowaniem *Samguk yusa* zajmował się mistrz Zen, jego kolekcja zawiera żywoty świętych buddystów, powstanie klasztorów, dzwonów, cudów dokonywanych przed Buddę i bodhisatwów³ oraz inne opowieści nasycone szamanizmem i buddyzmem. Opracowania wykonane za czasów okresu Koryo zawierają opowieści mające charakter prehistoryczny dotyczące Trzech Królestw, czasów Silla. Późniejsze opracowania zawierają już literaturę piękną. Narracja dzieł literackich opowiadała o wydarzeniach historycznych danego okresu, pisarze natomiast kreowali postacie i wydarzenia dodając dziełu pikanterii. Niestety nie jest możliwe, aby podać dokładne daty i autorów większości dzieł. Ogólnie opowiadania są dydaktyczne, podkreślają moralne zachowania i w większości mają szczęśliwe zakończenia. Charakterystyczne dla prozy koreańskiej jest także to, że w większości dzieł napisanych przez autorów klasy yangban akcja dzieje się w Chinach, natomiast w tych pisanych przez autorów nie pochodzących z klasy yangban akcja dzieje się w Korei (Sohn 2001: 46–53).

Literackie różnorodności to proza składająca się z przypadkowych notatek klasy *yangban* i dotyczą czterech głównych tematów: historia, biografia, autobiografia i poetycka krytyka ludzi, zjawisk, otaczającego świata. Notatki te były uważane jako poza sferą oficjalnie usankcjonowanej chińskiej prozy.

Sinsoseol (신소설) to dosłownie „nowe powieści” pisane hangulem. Rozpowszechnienie własnego języka – koreańskiego spowodowało uwolnienie literatury od trudnych znaków chińskich i co za tym idzie rozpowszechnienie jej dla szerszego grona odbiorców. Publikacja powieści w języku koreańskim spowodowała, że stały się one bardziej dostępne dla koreańskiego społeczeństwa, zwłaszcza klasy średniej. Ponadto zmieniła się także tematyka powieści, ponieważ zawierały one krytykę ówczesnego porządku społecznego, skorumpowanej klasy wyższej – szlachty oraz opowiadały o życiu zwykłych ludzi propagując modernizację kraju. Często zawierały też elementy fantastyki, która nadawała im polotu. Niewątpliwie na *Sinsoesol* miała wpływ kultura Zachodu. Pod koniec XIX wieku na Półwysep Koreański przyjeżdżało coraz więcej misjonarzy, podróżników i badaczy, a wraz z nimi nowe trendy z Zachodu (Ogarek–Czój 2007: 23–32).

Wiele powieści z lat dwudziestych XX wieku skupiało się wokół tematów cierpienia intelektualistów dryfujących przez rzeczywistość. Życie rolników często przedstawiano jako żałosne. Kiedy rząd japoński wzmocnił swoją ideologię w latach trzydziestych XX wieku, miało to bezpośredni wpływ na literaturę koreańską. Wiele powieści tamtych czasów eksperymentowało z nowymi stylami i technikami literackimi. Pod okupacją japońską Koreańczycy musieli naśladować japońską adaptację zachodniej cywilizacji. Jednak pomimo tej sytuacji wielu koreańskich uczonych osiągnęło wiele w historii, języku i literaturze, łącząc to, co koreańskie i zachodnie. Yi In-jik (리인직 1862–1916) uważany jest za ojca współczesnej powieści i prekursora współczesnego teatru. Został szczególnie zapamiętany dzięki swoim *Krwawym łzom* (혈의 누) z 1906 r. Dwóch innych ważnych pisarzy to Yi Kwang-su (이광수 1892–1945) z jego powieścią *Bez serca* (무정) i Kim Dong-in (김동인 1900–1951) z jego powieściami historycznymi. W latach dwudziestych XX wieku pisarze tacy jak Yom Sang-op (염상섭 1897–1963) i Yi Sang (이상 1910–1937) zapoczątkowali nurt literackiego naturalizmu. Han Yong-un (한용운 1879–1944) i Kim So-wol (김소월 1902–1934) to z kolei poeci przedstawiający trudną sytuację kolonizacji w tamtym okresie. Duża część powojennej literatury Korei Południowej dotyczy codziennego życia zwykłych ludzi

3 „istota, której naturą jest wiedza doskonała”, istota oddana poszukiwaniu wiedzy doskonałej, przy czym wiedza doskonała jest określeniem osiągnięcia stanu buddy” [w:] Kim jest bodhisatwa? [na:] <http://amitaba.republika.pl/bodhisattwa.html> [data dostępu: 28.02.2017].

i ich zmagania z bólem narodowym. Upadek tradycyjnego koreańskiego systemu wartości to kolejny częsty temat tamtych czasów. W okresie powojennym narodził się ruch tradycjonalistyczny: powrót do korzeni tradycyjnych rytmów i nastrojów ludowych (Kwon 2004: 88–95).

Zakończenie

Historia literatury koreańskiej niewątpliwie jest napiętnowana wpływem pisma chińskiego i brakiem własnego pisma. Przez stulecia Koreańczycy, którzy nie umieli posługiwać się pismem chińskim, nie mieli dostępu do form literatury pisanej. Z pomocą miało przyjść wynalezienie transkrypcji pisma chińskiego: *hyangchal*, *idu* i *gugyeol*. Niestety formy te nie sprawdziły się, ponieważ język koreański jest językiem aglutynacyjnym i z tego powodu ideograficzne pismo chińskie nie nadawało się do zapisywania języka koreańskiego. Język chiński jest niefleksyjny i nie posiada gramatyki.

Koreańczycy ponawiali próby adaptacji języka chińskiego w swoim piśmiennictwie. Wszak musieli umieć się podpisać czy zapisać nazwę geograficzną. W tym celu wynaleziono *hangul*, czyli koreański alfabet. Zanim jednak Koreańczycy tworzyli utwory literackie we własnym języku minęło sporo czasu. Dopiero koniec XIX i początek XX wieku przynosi zmiany w piśmiennictwie literatury koreańskiej, wypierając pismo chińskie na rzecz *hangula*. U progu XX wieku w Cesarstwie Koreańskim rozwijał się ruch patriotyczny, gdyż państwo chyliło się ku aneksji japońskiej, co rzeczywiście później nastąpiło. W narodzie koreańskim nastąpił rozłam, jedni podejmowali próby naśladowania japońskich reform, inni chcieli podążać za wzorem zachodnim – amerykańskim. Nastąpił pewien przełom, gdyż w miejsce nauczania znaków chińskich wprowadzono w szkołach naukę języka koreańskiego (Rurarz 2005: 367–370). Ponadto, zaczęto wydawać przekłady zachodnich powieści oraz publikacje biografii koreańskich bohaterów (*sinseosol*). Mimo, iż w 1910 roku została anektowana przez Japonię, a Japończycy narzucili Koreańczykom naukę języka japońskiego, język koreański przetrwał i rozwinął się. W czasie okupacji japońskiej prężnie rozwijało się powstałe w 1921 roku Towarzystwo Studiów nad Językiem Koreańskim, w 1927 roku wydano pierwszy egzemplarz czasopisma „*Hangyl*” a w 1936 roku ukazał się pierwszy słownik języka koreańskiego *Dzosen sadzon* (조선어 사전) autorstwa Mun Sejong (문세영) (Lee 2007: 156). Nawet okupacja japońska nie była w stanie zniszczyć języka koreańskiego, wielu bowiem pisarzy w tym czasie nie mogło publikować swoich dzieł. Krótco po odzyskaniu niepodległości w Korei ma miejsce wojna koreańska 1950–53, której rezultatem jest rozłam Korei na dwa wrogie sobie formacje państwowe. Od tego czasu dzielimy literaturę koreańską na północną i południową. Mimo, że język koreański pozostaje taki sam w obu Koreach, to jednak nadal ewoluuje i zostaje poddany różnym wpływom, na Południu pojawiają się zapożyczenia angielskie, a na Północy wciąż egzystują znaki chińskie.

W latach sześćdziesiątych wielu pisarzy południowokoreańskich zaczęło odrzucać literaturę powojenną jako sentymentalny eskapizm. Podczas gdy niektórzy autorzy z Korei Południowej odzwierciedlali tradycyjny humanizm, pisma wielu innych odzwierciedlają głębokie wyobcowanie i rozpacz. Twórcy starali się wciągnąć czytelników w ówczesną rzeczywistość polityczną. To sprawiło, że poezja i literatura w ogóle stały się ważnym środkiem wyrazu politycznego. Niezwykły dla rozwoju literatury lat 60. był także wpływ zachodniego modernizmu. W latach 70. XX wieku pojawiła się literatura antysystemowa i poruszająca problemy związane z szybką industrializacją, takie jak zaniedbanie rolników. W tym samym czasie popularniejsza stała się literatura poświęcona podziałowi narodowościowemu (*bundan*

soseol) (Kim 1997: 120). Na początku XXI wieku podział narodowościowy jest wciąż powszechnym tematem, ale popularne są także klasyczne opowieści. Niektórzy pisarze z Korei Północnej są bardzo cenieni na Południu, a w 2005 roku pisarze z obu Korei zorganizowali wspólny kongres literacki. Koreańczycy są bardzo dumni ze swojego języka, co roku obchodzone jest także święto języka koreańskiego (hangul nal), które jest świętem ruchomym i przypada w pierwszych dniach października.

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JOANNA PĘDZISZ

Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Department of Applied Linguistics, Lublin

joanna.pedzisz@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0002-0931-8387

MONIKA NADER-CIOCZEK

Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Department of Applied Linguistics, Lublin

monika.nader@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0002-6559-1548

About the Effectiveness of an Interpreting Portfolio in Self-Assessment and Quality Management

Abstract

The paper presents an interpreting portfolio as a tool which facilitates self-development through self-assessment. An interpreting portfolio aids the identification of specific deficits in knowledge and skills as well as an individual diagnosis why certain problems occurred while interpreting and how to tackle them. Target texts become a benchmark against which own competences are evaluated. A 2018 questionnaire conducted among simultaneous interpreting students provides evidence that an interpreting portfolio is an effective self-assessment and a quality management tool designed to monitor the improvement of interpreter skills.

Keywords: portfolio, quality, self-assessment, simultaneous interpreter training

Preliminary Assumptions

The aim of this paper is to present a valuable tool which fosters self-assessment of a simultaneous interpreter trainee. It should be noted that specialised literature discusses various quality assessment criteria, rating scales, assessment forms or even progress assessment software tools to be applied in interpreter training in order to monitor the progress of participants¹. Unlike an interpreting portfolio, they only scarcely offer

1 See: e.g. Tiselius (2009), Tryuk (2012), Demidov (2022).

any examples of self-assessment forms to be used by interpreting trainees themselves². A tool regarded as similar to a portfolio and used especially in foreign language teaching is a logbook. Dam (2018) notes that logbook use involves teacher's time, learner's time and together time. Learners keep a logbook whereas a teacher influences its input. Then, the feedback from the teacher is worked on individually by the learners and a reflection on it follows in peer groups. The logbook is to develop learner's autonomy by monitoring the process of learning inside and outside the classroom (Dam, 2009) as well as to devise a clear plan of action for students (Klimas, 2017). This paper presents the results of a questionnaire used in empirical research to help determine the effectiveness of an interpreting portfolio as a tool to monitor and deliver desired quality of target texts produced by simultaneous interpreting trainees.

An effective interpreter training should develop skills which help to achieve required quality of the target texts. Simultaneous interpreting trainees implement specific communicative strategies while interpreting, i.e. communicative behaviours which help them fulfil an interpreting task. An interpreting portfolio enables trainees to monitor the improvement of their interpreting skills and facilitates their personal development. It is therefore an essential tool in simultaneous interpreter training in order to enhance quality of interpreted texts. The most essential elements of the interpreting portfolio and their advantages are discussed in reference to simultaneous interpreter training programme offered by the Department of Applied Linguistics at Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Poland. However, they can be successfully implemented in other types of interpreting and translation contexts.

This paper focuses on students' perception of self-assessment and quality management through interpreting portfolios. The portfolio defined as a record of development of simultaneous interpreter competence is used to illustrate universal techniques³ that are intended to assist a trainee in honing the skills of self-assessment, self-control and self-reflection both on and in action, hence supporting self-teaching processes (Pędzisz 2019: 91). It should be noted that the aforementioned processes do not refer only to a formal, institutionalised context which is to develop these skills, but also to trainees' own initiatives aimed at developing their simultaneous interpreter competences. Those skills give interpreters-to-be an autonomous status and permit the trainer to furnish them with specific tools for self-cognition (herein referred to as elements or components of the portfolio) which encourage self-assessment, tailoring the learning process to individual needs. Undoubtedly, the elements of an interpreting portfolio help trainees recognise a given problem and self-reflect on satisfactory solutions to it.

The quality of the target text produced during simultaneous interpreter training is an essential factor constituting the effectiveness of an interpreter's performance. Students of Applied Linguistics, as interpreters-to-be, assess the quality of the target text on their own while gaining professional experience. The development of skills to evaluate the quality of an interpreted text as well as one's own performance, i.e. self-assessment, should be included in an interpreter training programme. Thus, the authors of this paper postulate the need to develop these skills through the use of portfolios. As a result, quality becomes the overarching binding category that determines students' self-assessment activities. Self-assessment, though, refers to evaluation of both the target text and the interpreting process itself.

2 See: a self-assessment form devised by Schjoldager (1996).

3 *Universal techniques* are defined by Pędzisz (2019: 91) as those applicable in the broadly defined translation instruction, covering interpreting modes such as simultaneous, consecutive or whispered, as well as translation of various text genres.

Theoretical assumptions and empirical research presented in this paper are based on the main theses of anthropocentric translation studies⁴. From the anthropocentric perspective, an interpreting trainee who performs their interpretation during simultaneous interpreter training (both in-class and outside tutorials) is equipped with specific theoretical as well as practical skills and knowledge about this type of interpreting⁵. These prerequisites enable them to succeed in a simultaneous interpreting task being a communication task and therefore help achieve required communication effectiveness as described below. It should be noted that interpreting (even in reference to an in-class interpreter training) is perceived as an act of communication and takes place in presence of the following participants: an interpreting initiator who may equal source text producer (*e.g.* an interpreter trainer who assumes the role of a foreigner), an interpreting trainee who acts as a cultural and linguistic mediator, and a target-text addressee (*e.g.* other interpreting trainees who are assigned particular roles in an interpreting situation). Thus, a simultaneous interpreting trainee is to establish communication between all parties involved in an interpreting situation viewed as communication. The trainee performs to satisfy a given target-text addressee's expectations in relation to the source text delivered by a source-text producer (frequently also an interpreting initiator).

However, this paper presents also differing viewpoints on interpreting regarded as a commercial service. In such a case, interpreting is initiated by an interpreting commissioner (in the context of interpreter training, *e.g.* an interpreter trainer) who defines a particular goal of an interpreting situation and who asks a given interpreting trainee to perform interpreting as a commission in order to comply with the requirements of an interpreting commissioner and to satisfy an interpreting service recipient (*e.g.* other interpreting trainees).

In an attempt to discuss the issue of desired quality of interpreting, such features of interpreting should be taken into account which ascertain not only effective communication with a target-text addressee, but also satisfactory performance of an interpreting task suited for a target-text addressee. Consequently, in order to establish essential quality of a target text produced during simultaneous interpreter training the main focus should be on an interpreting trainee, i.e. their particular interpreting skills, preparation for an interpreting task and satisfactory quality of target texts which establish effective communication with a given target-text addressee. That is why, even the researchers who do not declare to work within the anthropocentric paradigm highlight the importance of defining quality assessment criteria for interpreting.

An Interpreting Portfolio as an Object of Study

In this paper an interpreting portfolio becomes, directly and indirectly, the focus of scientific reflection, i.e. the portfolio constitutes the background for the research methodology presented in this paper and simultaneously serves as an impulse to indicate its research potential.

This paper presents an interpreting portfolio as a tool to monitor and manage appropriate quality of target texts produced by simultaneous interpreting trainees. It is important to note that the interpreter trainer's actions coupled with the inclusion of the interpreting portfolio in the process of developing

⁴ The notion is used after S. Gruzca (2012).

⁵ According to the distinction provided by F. Gruzca (2009: 38).

interpreter skills, are a good fit for the concept of formative assessment (see: e.g., Janicka 2014: 245–248; Niemierko 2008: 301–308; Jürgens 2012: 32–33). The portfolio and a package of questions that stimulate self-reflection before, during and after an interpreting task correspond to the guidelines developed by AIIC (1999, 2016. *Practical Guide*) and Kalina (2005: 768–769) to enhance quality of interpreted texts. They also help simultaneous interpreting trainees gather data on the development of their particular interpreter competences. Thus, trainees are encouraged to implement a problem-based strategy.

Moreover, given portfolio components correspond to the concept of Design Thinking (Klimkowski & Klimkowska 2021: 156) which “helps master creativity (play), teamwork, focus (insight), goal-oriented performance and process ownership (accountability).” This concept primarily involves problem solving and underlies human needs (Lockwood 2010). Thus, the introduction of specific tools, e.g. a portfolio documenting the process not merely the product/result, whose function correspond to the concept of Design Thinking, is relevant to the university teaching-learning process. Indisputably, in reference to the development of simultaneous interpreter competence presented in this paper, a problem-solving approach applied in a given interpreting task involves problem diagnosis and the choice of particular competences and skills to overcome it. Consequently, simultaneous interpreting trainees are able to identify specific needs when designing their learning process in order to develop particular components constituting the competences they require.

Banfi (2002) discusses the use of various portfolio elements in fostering students’ autonomy. Wernice and Sabatier⁶ offer ready-made language portfolio elements for assessment of one’s own language skills. Galán-Mañas (2016, 2018) provides evidence for the effectiveness of portfolios in the development of translation competences. The author (2016) demonstrates the application of a portfolio in formative and summative assessment emphasizing the need for trainer-trainee collaboration as well as establishment and application of effective competence assessment criteria. Galán-Mañas (2018) also recognises the benefits of a professional portfolio that helps identify students’ general competences, set future goals and become familiar with the market rates and taxation. A portfolio proves useful among students who have difficulties in defining their professional profile.

The effectiveness of a portfolio was also proven by Mirek (2020) who treated it in simultaneous interpreter training as a self-regulation tool. In her study, the portfolio aimed to:

1. provide trainees with a tangible framework for organizing their work and documenting their progress (Johnson 2003 [in:] Mirek 2020: 145),
2. increase awareness of the role of self-diagnosis and self-education (lifelong learning),
3. support self-reflective practice, identifying one’s strengths and weaknesses,
4. plan activities towards a given goal, learning to reinforce the strengths,
5. work towards solutions to the weaknesses by specifying which factors propagate efficient and inefficient interpreting performance,
6. visualise the progress being made,
7. increase intrinsic motivation,
8. focus on process and not merely on the result (Mirek 2020: 145).

6 Retrieved from <https://teach-educ.sites.olt.ubc.ca/files/2017/09/Professional-Language-Portfolio-En.pdf> on 14. April 2024.

With reference to presented studies on portfolios in education, translators and interpreters, should consider the inclusion of such portfolio elements in a translator/interpreter training that will: a. require creativity, b. produce an in-depth reflection, c. help diagnose the problem, d. enable to name the problem and e. provide a plan how to solve it.

The authors of this paper advocate the use of techniques derived from coaching and applied in the training of future translators/interpreters because they offer a significant help in visualizing the level of development of the translator's/interpreter's competences. Moreover, the portfolio components described in the paper are tools for assessing progress⁷ which, like the system presented by Demidov (2022: 5), can be used to identify learning difficulties and to work on individual skills. In the face of the pictorial turn, postulated by Mitchell already in 1992, visualization may prove the most effective way to self-evaluate translation/interpreting skills. Consequently, further sections of this paper present techniques originally used in coaching adjusted for simultaneous interpreter training. Portfolio elements authored by students of Applied Linguistics at MCSU are visualized and accompanied by students' reflections on an interpreting portfolio.

The Notion of Quality

Further down, we present most representative concepts and definitions of quality (compiled chronologically) in interpreting.

Quality is a key notion in "Practical Guide for Professional Interpreters" (1990, updated in 2016) devised by an international association for interpreters AIIC (Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence). The publication was to contribute to higher quality of interpretation and to the increased standards of interpreters' performance. Its authors regard interpreting as a professional communication service and quality of interpreted texts as crucial in providing effective communication (AIIC 2016: 10).

Moreover, AIIC's guidelines highlight the role of appropriate preparation for an interpreting task in obtaining desirable quality of the service, i.e. establishing successful communication: "If ensuring proper working conditions is the first pillar of quality in conference interpreting, diligent preparation is the second" (AIIC 2016: 5).

Kalina's views on quality provide a broadly similar picture to those presented by AIIC members. Quality in interpreting is defined (Kalina 2005: 768–771) as a number of factors which interact with one another, e.g.: situation, context and other variables. Consequently, maintaining good quality in interpreting largely depends on the interpreter's actions taken before and after a particular interpreting task. Moreover, it is pointed out (Kalina 2005: 775–777) that quality in interpreting should not be limited to the relationship between the source and the target text, but that it depends on the circumstances in which interpreting as an act of communication is performed. Thus, an interpreter should determine the characteristics of target-text addressees, e.g. their expertise, needs, relationship with the source text producer. These are the factors an interpreter can have influence on if they devote some time to establish them. Kalina (2005: 782) also accentuates the fact that "(...) quality assurance does not relate to the interpreted text alone but includes processes required to produce such a text (...)." ⁸

⁷ See also Demidov (2022: 5).

⁸ See: steps and phases in the process of preparation for an interpreting task discussed by Kalina (2002, 2004).

Furthermore, the publication of the European Commission's Directorate-General for Translation (2012) highlights the fact that poor quality renditions performed for the EU institutions may result in serious consequences (*i.e.* legal ones). Maintaining high-quality of translation and other language services is included in DGT's mission statement, whereas ensuring quality and timely delivery of translated texts is listed among the main challenges for 2020–2024 (DGT 2020: 2–3). Similarly, the European Commission's Directorate-General for Interpretation or DG SCIC commits to provide high-quality conference interpreting (DG SCIC 2020: 4) and to deliver high-quality interpreting services which meet the customers' priorities and demand (DG SCIC 2020: 10–11).

The Role of Self-Assessment in Interpreter Training

Further down we present considerations concerning the role of self-assessment employed in interpreter training in order to review progress of interpreting trainees, both ongoing and towards the end of a particular phase of the training programme. Moreover, considerable advantages resulting from the application of self-assessment and quality management in interpreter training will be discussed below.

Common European Framework of Reference for Languages or CEFR (Council of Europe 2001: 192)⁹ presents self-assessment, *i.e.* assessment of individual development, as a tool which enhances motivation, increases language awareness as well as acts as an incentive to use one's own strengths and identify potential weaknesses. As a result, a given foreign language learner can effectively manage their learning process. Self-assessment brings most significant advantages when clear proficiency level descriptors are used and/or when the assessment relates to a specific experience, *e.g.* a test activity (CEFR 2001: 191).

In anthropocentrically profiled translation teaching, self-assessment is inseparable from the trainee-trainer interactions. Moreover, it is primary to the assessment made by the trainer. For instance, when a trainee self-examines the outcomes of a translation as a communicative activity (Klimkowski 2011: 101) and then attempts to verify the quality of the target text and the essential skills to produce it. Self-assessment helps to develop self-control which is crucial for the trainee to relate their performance to the criteria of output text evaluation, and to determine whether the task has been completed properly or what further (remedial) actions to take (Klimkowski 2011: 101). The actions geared towards self-assessment provide the means to gain other skills, such as (a) assessment of the learning process and its deliverables, (b) setting objectives, (c) time planning and management, (d) positive assessment of one's own skills, (e) active participation in training activities, (f) efficient processing of information inflow, (g) organisation of an apt work environment, (h) efficient use of social resources, (i) focusing on positive outcomes, and (j) effective determination of success and failure factors (Moser-Mercer 2008: 16).

Factoring in the aspects such as specific character of foreign language teaching, the properties of particular translation modes, output evaluation criteria and learner self-assessment, the interpreter trainer will seek to:

1. Support trainees engaged in a specific interpreting task to develop the skill of monitoring one's own performance;

9 CEFR is an international standard which aids in describing language skills and levels of proficiency in language learning.

2. Teach interpreter trainees to set realistic objectives that are precise, measurable, challenging and treated as a task to be accomplished;
3. Direct trainees' attention to what they want to achieve in a specific interpreting task;
4. Make trainees aware of their responsibility for their change;
5. Provide descriptive feedback on what the interpreter trainer has seen or heard, and inquire about motivation for specific performance;
6. Inspire trainees' motivation to act, in close correlation with the objectives, expectations and plans they have defined for themselves;
7. Propose tools to develop trainees' self-consciousness and to monitor appropriate quality of translation tasks they perform (Pędzisz 2019: 93–94).

Thus, the interpreter trainer assumes the role of a personal development trainer, or coach, in some of the training activities. Moreover, they help interpreting trainees to establish expected quality of the texts they produce. A simulation of an authentic interpreting setting gives the trainee a stimulus to analyse and/or check their performance with reference to pre-defined aims. The interpreter trainer assists the trainee in identifying their individual predispositions that surface in the course of the translation process. Drawing on the narration present in the literature (Whitmore 2011: 16–22¹⁰), the main goal of the process is to track, release and employ the trainees' potential for optimum efficiency of their actions in a translation setting.

The interpreter trainer's unconventional procedures are listed below as components of the interpreting portfolio.

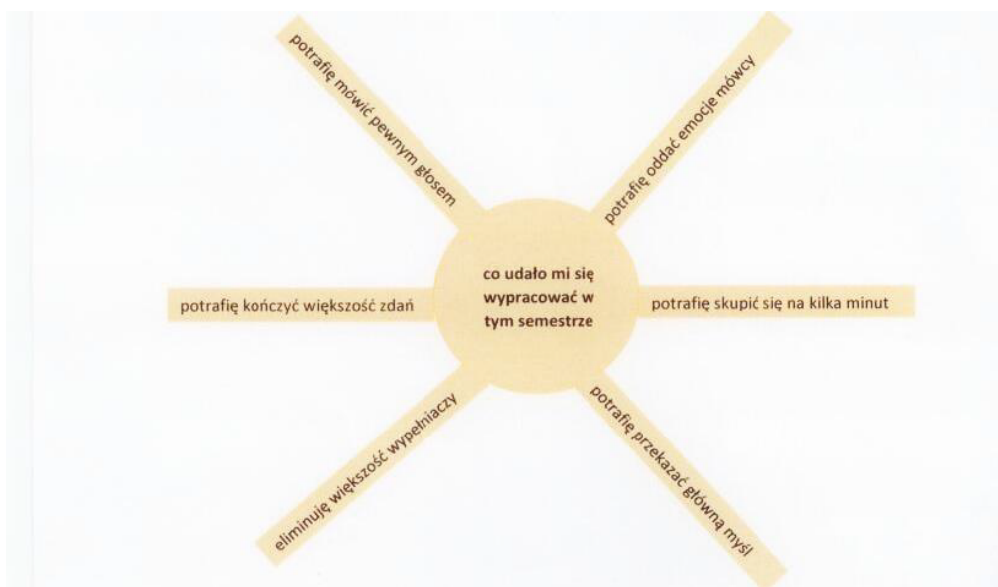
The Function and the Elements of the Portfolio

A portfolio is defined as (a) a tool documenting self-assessment of interpreting skills development and, consequently, self-checks, for example in the course of an interpreting task, against quality standards, (b) a form of control of broadly defined interpreting activities as communication activities by the trainee in the course of an interpreting task, (c) a tool for self-cognition that supports autodiagnosis and corrections required for interpreting skills development, and (d) a tool for determining success and failure factors (Pędzisz 2019: 94–95).

In addition to trainer feedback, self-assessment and peer feedback, the portfolio has become an element of the teaching process in the simultaneous interpreter training between languages A and B at the MCSU Department of Applied Linguistics and has had following forms:

1. Diary page to keep track of the trainee's reflection in a descriptive form, summarising their activity in a single tutorial session.;
2. Sun diagram: What have I learnt/succeeded in today? Each ray of the sun stands for things done successfully in an interpreting task.;

¹⁰ Coaching. *Trening efektywności. Rozwój ludzkiego potencjału w oparciu o model Grow: zasady oraz praktyka coachingu i przywództwa* (2011). Retrieved from <https://zwierciadlo.pl/psychologia/trening-personalny-coaching-kiedy-warto-skorzystac> on 17 July 2018.

Figure 1¹¹. Sun diagram: example 1.

3. Fishbone (Ishikawa) diagram is a cause-and-effect diagram that resembles a fish skeleton and seeks to visualise the interrelationships between the reasons for an event under analysis and the resulting outcomes. The diagram helps to separate the effects from their causes. Principally, each cause (depicted as a fishbone) can be traced back to one of five categories: Man, Method, Machine, Material and Management. The portfolio did not pre-define causal categories for the problems that would arise as the interpreting task unfolded. The trainees were to define the categories and find their components (Pędzisz 2023: 141);

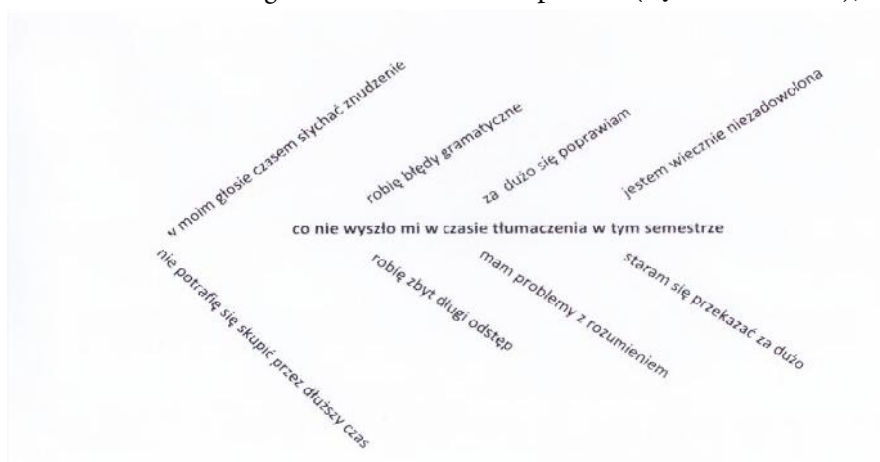


Figure 2. Fishbone (Ishikawa): example 2.

11 Due to the fact that self-reflection is much easier in the native language, sample portfolio elements prepared by MCSU Applied Linguistics students have been included in the original version.

4. SWOT¹² analysis is a basic tool for strategic analysis of an organisation (e.g. in planning, development, or investigation of opportunities) and includes all the characteristics that warrant success, all the characteristics that prevent the attainment of objectives, elements in the environment that could be exploited to its advantage and elements in the environment that could hamper success. By running a SWOT analysis in the portfolio, the trainees identified their strengths and weaknesses in their interpreting activity and, at the same time, had to find a correlation between the strengths and the opportunities, and between the weaknesses and threats;
5. The Wheel of Life is a graphic representation of the essential areas of activity in personal life. In the portfolio, trainees evaluated their skills development. They rated the degree of satisfaction with each of the areas on the wheel on an arbitrary ten-degree scale, from lowest to highest (Pędzisz 2019: 96–97, Pędzisz 2023: 140).

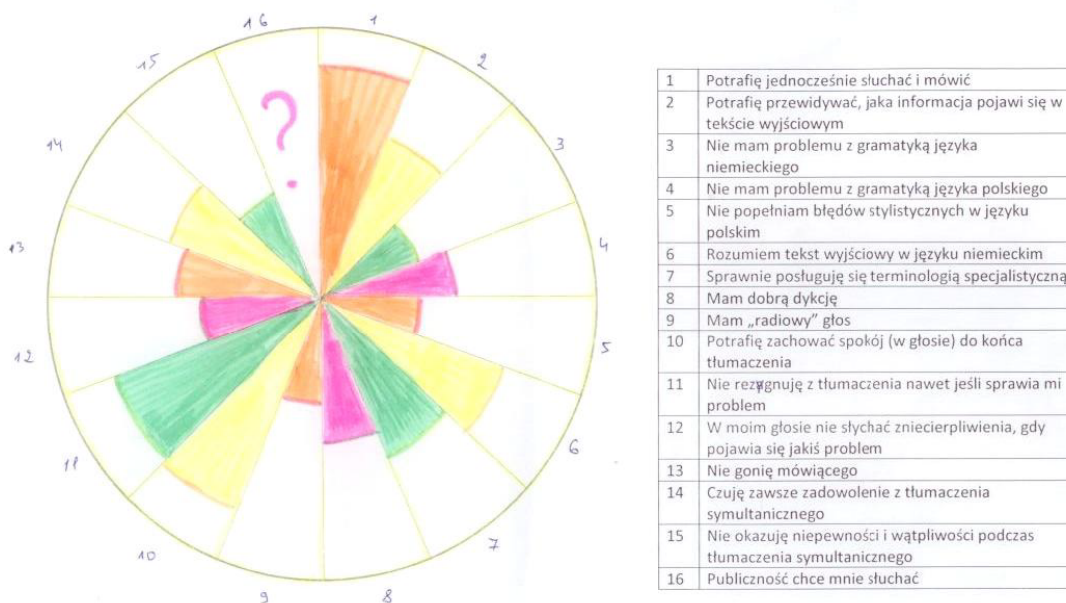


Figure 3. The Wheel of Life: example 3.

In the spring semester of 2018, portfolio-based activities became an element of the syllabus. Below is a brief overview of the techniques the simultaneous interpreting students at MCSU applied, as well as prospective ones, considered for implementation in the future. The first two belong to a category that Roda (2011: 408–409) referred to as developing self-awareness:

¹² SWOT stands for Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats.

1. Preparation of development route maps (figure 4) for their skills using traffic signs (Pędzisz 2023: 141);

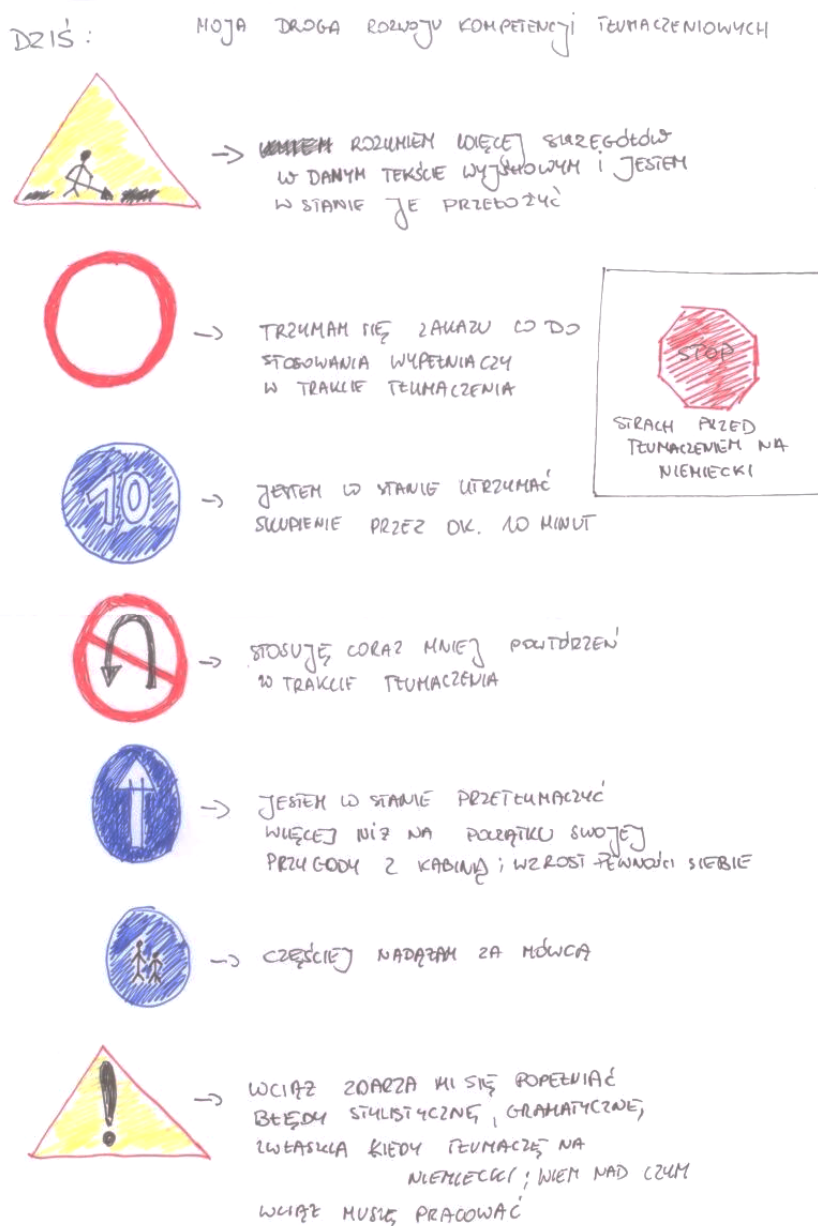


Figure 4. Road map: example 4.

2. Description of trainees' actions as interpreters in animal, colour or car make categories;
3. Tearing out a human figure form of an A4 sheet of paper folded in half, and listing what trainees already have or what they need as interpreters, *i.e.* knowledge in the head; values in the heart; skills in the hands; and material things in the legs.

4. Pasting a picture of an interpreter in the centre of an A4 sheet and enumerating features (both negative and positive) which extend radially away from it: I am patient / stressed out / excited / discouraged / *etc.* Each feature has a space to complete the sentence: “whenever...”
5. Doing a bin/suitcase exercise, directly following the interpretation of an input text which requires trainees to write down what they succeeded in/failed in on cards they either put in a suitcase of “things I am taking along as I go on a trip of honing my interpreter skills” or toss into the bin.
6. Performing a rating exercise to determine the level of satisfaction with particular actions during an interpreting task – drawing a ditch (how deep in a ditch each action is) or a ladder (which action is on which rundle) (Roda 2011: 99–100).

Evaluating Portfolio Effectiveness

The results of students’ reflection on the effectiveness of the portfolio elements and their functions are thoroughly discussed by Pędzisz (2019). The brief overview of the most important observations of MCSU Applied Linguistics students is reported below.

Following the winter semester 2018 the effectiveness of the portfolio format was rated in a questionnaire conducted among 22 students of Applied Linguistics at the MCSU (further in the text referred to as simultaneous interpreting students or SIS; students instead of trainees as they are in a university programme), on a scale from 1 to 4, where 1 stood for low effectiveness, 2 – average effectiveness, 3 – high effectiveness, and 4 – very high effectiveness. 40% of the cohort rated it effective and 40% – very effective¹³ (Pędzisz 2019: 98). These students (20 women and 2 men) attended a simultaneous interpreting course (2 x 45 min per week) for two semesters of their master degree programme (5th and 6th semester). Their previous experience with interpreting was limited to consecutive (4 semesters) and sight interpreting (4 semesters). The respondents majored in English (language B – advanced level) and German (language C – intermediate level).

The students filled in the questionnaires at the end of the 6th semester, i.e. after having finished their simultaneous interpreter training. The questionnaire findings were to provide preliminary evaluation of the portfolio. In order to collect students’ reflections on the portfolio’s effectiveness and not to suggest any particular answers, open-ended questions and “other option” answers were predominant in the questionnaire.

The simultaneous interpreting students gave the following feedback on the interpreting portfolio format. They noted the processual character of the development of their interpreting skills (SIS1: “It helps identify both good and weak points, looking from a holistic perspective at the entire semester”; SIS11: “With the portfolio, you can see if there has been any improvement over the semester and the errors you made at the beginning have been straightened out”). Moreover, students observed that the portfolio supported the process of self-diagnosis and was instrumental in identifying success and failure factors (SIS3: “The portfolio was also very helpful in understanding what I have learnt and what I still have to wrestle with”). The portfolio was regarded as a tool of self-cognition that documents self-assessment

13 Students did not receive any tips or guidelines on how to define effectiveness. The study was based on their individual perception of this phenomenon.

(SIS10: “The portfolio is a great idea because it gives pause for thought about what I can do and what I have to work on harder”) (Pędzisz 2019: 98–99).

Their opinions confirmed that the portfolio had served its intended functions. They stated that it was a tool for self-cognition (SIS2: “This format makes me reflect on my skills, by which I can find out more about myself and realise a lot of things”), making the identification of success and failure factors easier (SIS4: “A student is able to see their good and weak points, which is an incentive for action and a boost for self-esteem”). The simultaneous interpreting students emphasised the motivating character of the interpreting portfolio (SIS4: “You need this to keep perfecting your skills”) and frequently pointed out that its use in tutorials simply made sense (SIS7: “The portfolio works better in class because you remember your successes and failures more vividly immediately after interpreting”). The simultaneous interpreting students particularly liked the ways of visualising their skills improvement (SIS4: “The variety of the forms, and the variety of forms of representation and visualisation of strengths and weaknesses”), or even emphasised the therapeutic character of the portfolio exercises (SIS3: “Clears your head, calms you down; SIS4: “Creating the portfolio components relaxed the atmosphere after a period of intense interpreting practice”).

What the students questioned was the challenging character of self-assessment as they either lack an objective perspective on their interpreting practice or tend to be overcritical (SIS1: “Assessment is often unjust, particularly if someone has a low self-esteem.”; SIS3: „I am afraid we sometimes find it hard to evaluate ourselves and tend to go over the top, either positively or negatively. It is not easy to look objectively at yourself”) (Pędzisz 2019: 100–101).

Results

Data collected from the 2018 questionnaire revealed overwhelmingly positive attitudes of MCSU Applied Linguistics students towards the implementation of an interpreting portfolio in their 2-semester simultaneous interpreter training. Of the 22 participants, 80% found it either an effective or a highly effective tool for self-assessment and quality management.

Throughout two semesters of their simultaneous interpreter training the simultaneous interpreter students of Applied Linguistics participated in various portfolio-based activities so as to keep track of their progress. The interpreting portfolio components revealed themselves as valuable instruments for continuous assessment and helped to pinpoint students’ strengths and identify skills they still need to work on. Respondents observed it was easier to monitor their progress and to set goals concerning given deficits in knowledge and skills due to the use of the portfolio. The portfolio-based activities proved to motivate students or aided them in tackling various problems which occurred when performing an interpreting task. Undoubtedly, the portfolio implementation provided a framework for an enhanced dialogue between simultaneous interpreter students and their trainer.

When reviewing the effectiveness of the interpreting portfolio, quality is a category which reflects the ability to self-reflect on one’s own skills as well as to evaluate the process of interpreter’s performance. Quality serves as a point of reference for every single step a simultaneous interpreter student takes to execute their interpreting task i.e. before, while and after. Students are aware of the fact that they have to provide effective communication between all parties involved in an interpreting situation, e.g. express

the intentions of an interpreting initiator or a source-text producer and satisfy the expectations of the target-text addressee. For example, MCSU Applied Linguistics students reported the following problems concerning the source-text producer's intentions (visualised in various portfolio components included in the paper): focusing long enough on the source text, partial understanding of the source text, identifying the main idea of the source text. Difficulties when executing an interpreting task which influenced target-text addressee's satisfaction included *e.g.* delivering too many details, confident and lively delivery, repetition of lexis and ideas.

Conclusions

The research question of this paper focused on the effectiveness of an interpreting portfolio as a tool to develop self-assessment and quality management in simultaneous interpreting students of MCSU Applied Linguistics programme. The results of a 2018 questionnaire conducted among simultaneous interpreting students present an interpreting portfolio as a useful tool in monitoring the development of particular interpreter skills and competences, identifying students' strengths and weaknesses, setting goals to achieve required quality in fulfilling an interpretation task, documenting students' progress in tutorials as well as having motivating and therapeutic character. The majority of questionnaire participants regarded an interpreting portfolio as an effective self-assessment tool. Target texts of satisfactory quality which help to establish communication between a source-text producer and a target-text addressee become a benchmark against which students evaluate their own performance as interpreters. As a result an interpreting portfolio aids in pinpointing categories and phenomena which constitute desirable quality of interpreted texts and an interpreter's performance (*i.e.* quality in reference to both: a product and a process). It should be noted though that the findings about the portfolio effectiveness among MCSU Applied Linguistics students present only the initial work to be continued in order to use the full potential of an interpreting portfolio.

Certainly, the inclusion of the portfolio elements discussed in this paper should not be limited to translator/interpreting training in the classroom. The authors of this paper propound the regular use of an interpreting portfolio as a learning/teaching practice based on the need for continuous improvement to develop the ability to name the needs and problems related to translation/interpreting activities as well as to find solutions to given deficits in related tasks. In this context, the authors of the paper see that an interpreting portfolio supports the assumptions of the Design Thinking concept as the core of Design Thinking is to solve a given problem (Klimkowska/Klimkowski 2021: 165). Consequently, a portfolio and its components enable to conduct the first stage of Design Thinking which aids in recognising a problem. Moreover, the elements of an interpreting portfolio manifest Design Thinking "as a tool encouraging creative problem solving" (Klimkowska/Klimkowski 2021: 165).

Undoubtedly, the use of portfolio components provides opportunities for further discussion regarding the teacher's perspective. It is not yet entirely clear to what extent portfolio creation is a process- and not a product-oriented task – devising portfolio elements for the purposes of receiving grades/credits from classes, etc. Consequently, it involves taking responsibility for the portfolio creation process, openness and honesty towards involvement in the self-evaluation process and its documentation in the selected form.

Moreover, the authors of this paper believe that a portfolio in this form develops professional skills and prepares to operate on the translation market. Further scientific reflection on this tool may provide feedback on students' sensitivity towards their skills and their use – not only at work as interpreters.

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KONRAD RACHUT

Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Faculty of Modern Languages and Literatures

konrad.rachut@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0002-3019-0592

Internal Communication and the Efficiency of Enterprises. The Employee Perception of the COVID-19 Pandemic Technological Transformation

Abstract

In this paper, the author traces the causal relationship between the COVID-19 pandemic and the changes that have gradually been introduced in organisational internal communication since 2019. To make this possible, he briefly presents the relevant notions: the stakeholder approach, internal marketing and business communication model based on efficient business communication standards. All of them are designed to underscore that internal communication in an enterprise is not just a necessity but a competitive asset in itself, being recognised and applied by practitioners. The COVID-19 pandemic has explicitly shown that while organisations could not follow the guidelines offline, they were forced to make up for it online. Accordingly, the idea is confronted with the statistical data collected by three recognised institutions (Eurofound, Eurostat and Gallagher Communication). They examined six parameters in total, which can be encompassed under the umbrella of printed and digital communication streams. Although the modalities involved both traditional and innovative approaches, the latter category seems to have gained a significant advantage, proving its effectiveness.

Keywords: internal communication, enterprises, the COVID-19 pandemic, technological revolution, traditional and digital communication channels

The COVID-19 pandemic, forcing most organisations to react to unprecedented challenges without a reliable factual, technical, and financial background, has shocked the business environment and altered interaction methods. Remote work is a prime example of this transformation, with employees across various industries compelled to operate in this mode. This has triggered a re-evaluation of traditional internal communication strategies and the adoption of innovative approaches; however, maintaining

productivity remained the key amidst the turmoil. While offering a worrying prospect for the future, the ongoing crisis has also proved to test the organisations' ability to adapt and thrive. In fact, "[g]iven the large-scale economic and social upheaval wrought by COVID-19, this abrupt transition to remote work occurred at a time when organizational coordination, decision-making processes, and productivity were never more consequential" (DeFilippis, Impink *et al.* 2022).

Therefore, the paper aims to provide a theoretical background and present statistical data excerpted from Eurofound, Eurostat and Gallagher Communication surveys conducted within 2019–2022. The first two constituted isolated incidents, while the third was executed annually. All of them focused on examining the correlation between two issues: remote work and internal communication of businesses during the COVID-19 pandemic. They were based on empirical data gathered from enterprises in selected countries, relying on the following six parameters in total:

1. previous experience with remote work,
2. providing remote access to corporate email,
3. providing remote access to other digital assets,
4. videoconference frequency,
5. represented business branch,
6. utilised modes of communication.

Despite posing a challenge for most organisations, a transition to new technologies in communication streams, usually called Information and Communication Technology (the abbreviation used further is ICT), should be considered a valuable accomplishment, irrespective of its initial, perhaps deceptive, insignificance.

Internal organisational communication is crucial to preserve relationships among individual workers and teams. Within this framework, a company's employees are expected to cooperate in implementing its financial plan, struggling with as few difficulties as possible. The process is defined as "the formal and informal distribution of meaningful and updated information [...]. This information is one of the strongest tools for the company in terms of generating trust, perception of the quality of its products, customer loyalty, and even recommendation of the brand to third parties" (Mata, Buil and Gomez-Campillo 2021: 3171). It unfolds along different axes of the organisational hierarchy, using tools that typically revolve around printed and digital modes (Griffin 2017: 41) – this particular distinction has become pivotal in the context of the revolution induced by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Still, the degree of transparency in this information exchange is reflected through the insight it provides into the company's goals and employee behaviour. Coupled with mutual understanding, the appropriate data flow affects the motivation of subordinate workers, their engagement in professional activities and their willingness to uphold the corporate culture (Smoląg, Ślusarczyk 2021: 48). In fact, employees should be considered the actual stakeholders of an organisation specifically because their perspective on the work-related duties is so important, as it will be discussed below. Enterprises recognise that success hinges on motivated and satisfied employees, as suggested by K. Klimek-Michno and K. Marciniak:

Dzisiaj na rynku wygrywają organizacje, które stawiają na ludzi i komunikację. Coraz więcej pracodawców zaczyna mieć świadomość, że kluczem do sukcesu jest zadowolony i zmotywowany pracownik. Ci, którzy nie będą dbać o ten aspekt, mogą spodziewać się słabego zaangażowania

pracowników, a w konsekwencji – podwyższonej rotacji. A to z kolei ma przełożenie na wyniki biznesowe. (Klimek-Michno, Marciniak 2017: 108)

Conversely, problems in interpersonal relations are the fundamental facet of corporate life because they can lead to conflicts among existing workers and cause challenges in attracting new talent. During the COVID-19 pandemic, enterprises were almost required to develop methods for effective data dissemination and to preserve a sense of belonging among employees who suddenly dispersed. This situation underscored the magnitude of communication in shaping employee attitudes, productivity and overall organisational success (Smolağ, Ślusarczyk 2021: 489). G. Jacobs echoes this opinion, emphasising the necessity to be precise in this regard:

But what does this mean in the current pandemic? I believe there may well be evidence to be found that, amidst the daily turmoil, we are insisting on clarity, planning, and effectiveness more than ever before. We expect it from our governments and employers alike. And in a way this is understandable: these are very uncertain times indeed, and we count on our elected officers and on our bosses to tell us exactly what should be done, to give us unambiguous guidelines that will help us navigate the storm. (Jacobs 2020: 73)

The focus on the psychological aspect of business communication during the COVID-19 pandemic demonstrates that while employees fulfil their responsibilities online, it is essential to foster a sense of unity, empathy and reliability within the community despite physical separation. The communication processes across different levels of the company's hierarchy can significantly contribute to its ultimate success, as outlined in the updated business communication model by M. Welch and P. Jackson. It applies to both online and offline corporate interactions, including those conducted through ICT (Welch, Jackson 2007: 192). Bearing this in mind, it is crucial for managers not only to cultivate a positive workplace atmosphere and enhance employees' interpersonal skills but also to promote suitable communicative strategies and tools.

It can be achieved through regular training sessions, workshops and team-building exercises. Moreover, managers are recommended to ensure that their employees are proficient in communication platforms, which have been expanded into multilayered email interactions, video conferencing, project management software or instant messaging applications. As such, "[t]he main implication for management is on the need for companies to adapt to the new reality, and the need for the communications industry value chain to offer what it is now demanded: more digital channels, social media network management, and communication of CSR practices" (Mata, Buil and Gomez-Campillo 2021: 3170). Adhering to this approach enables organisations to employ the most suitable interactional practices, such as setting clear expectations, offering timely feedback and sustaining inclusive lines of communication. An observation can be made that organisations' boards of directors should actively introduce and guide such practices in both remote and traditional communicative contexts.

Paradoxically, the significance of the workplace atmosphere is magnified when working online, as it is not accompanied by the nonverbal signals intrinsic to offline communication. "According to this reasoning, newly virtual teams adjusting to the pandemic should communicate more frequently via email and meet more often to compensate for the lack of rich social and contextual information previously conveyed through face-to-face interaction" (DeFilippis, Impink *et al.* 2022). By doing so, employees can maintain interpersonal connection and understanding, which is essential for effective collaboration and optimism.

As a result, this translates into a company's well-being, allowing it to organise, execute and supervise corporate activities while monitoring employees' mental state (Listwan 2004: 289). E. Brzezińska and A. Paszkowska-Rogacz (2009: 168) recognised this trend, tailoring the principles of effective communication to suit the business context, which proved adaptable for remote communication during the COVID-19 pandemic. They emphasised the need to integrate these principles into an organisation's code of conduct, regardless of the mode of interaction. The principles should be illustrated as follows:

1. Harmonising the message with the receiver's professional competencies to account for potential comprehension limitations. This approach ensures that communication is accessible and relevant to the audience, avoiding misunderstandings and nurturing a transparent information exchange.
2. Maintaining high-quality communication to render the message credible and consistent with the company's business plan. It also cultivates trust and ensures all stakeholders know the company's objectives.
3. Synchronising the activities performed within the organisation's sub-departments with its general goals. Such coordination is critical to maintain a cohesive strategy and ensure that all teams within the organisation are working towards the same end.

Having pinpointed the advisable characteristics of corporate communication, it is worth noting that the interactions can unfold along two axes. Regarding *the vertical one*, the organisation's management can be informed of problems occurring at lower levels of the hierarchy specifically by means of it, which facilitates issue recognition and response (Welch, Jackson 2007: 184). To be effective, downward vertical communication – primarily the manager-employee vector – requires implementing specific strategies. First, employees are expected to be aware of the existing information channels; their functions should be clearly defined, and the tools themselves must be easy to use, allowing direct contact between the parties. Moreover, as claimed by Ł. Skiba (2016: 145), it is worthwhile to develop a significant level of reliance within both the employee and managerial structures, for instance, by ensuring consistent dissemination of announcements in terms of form and medium. A potential mismatch between the two might result in the workers questioning the reasoning implemented by their employers, providing space for self-governance or, perhaps, even resistance to change.

Regarding *the horizontal axis* of internal communication, which focuses on the interactions between individual employees and teams, increasing their frequency and providing a common platform for information exchange is advisable. It can serve as a tool for clarifying and updating essential data, particularly resolving issues related to understanding and utilising terminology – a significant source of debate among professionals within the same field (Juszczak, Rachut 2021) – as well as for collaborative project work. The latter can be represented thanks to a telling example of the strategic shift explicitly enforced by the COVID-19 pandemic within *CD Projekt Red*, the internationally recognised Polish game development studio.

While trying to salvage the now-successful *Cyberpunk 2077* (which initially seemed to be a technological and PR failure), the board of directors of *CD Projekt Red* introduced the concept of “agile strike teams”, which turned out to be revolutionary if compared with the strategies which had been applied before. The studio admits: “The idea was to flatten communication, making it much easier for different teams to interact. Rather than keep all the artists, designers and programmers together, the company created *strike teams* that consisted of developers from different departments” (GameSpot 2023). Because

of this, the specialists who represented separate professional branches could combine their skills, relying on the synergy effect, although all of this was happening online. Accordingly, such an accomplishment would not have been possible without the COVID-19 pandemic and the original problems with the *Cyberpunk 2077* release. Certainly, the case deserves an in-depth analysis in itself, yet it corroborates the core idea represented in this paper.

Consequently, the central aspect of a company's activities is fostering ongoing employee awareness of the importance of comprehensive communication within teams and aiding separate departments in enhancing it. Internal marketing is relevant here, encompassing everything designed to positively shape the workplace environment (Bednarska-Olejniczak 2016: 72). This can be facilitated through thematic workshops where employees fortify social bonds by sharing their knowledge and experiences. Integration trips also offer significant value, providing opportunities for participants to connect in an informal setting, which can be instrumental in building professional relationships. Thus, as a conflict resolution tool, communication significantly enhances team members' productivity, focus and determination (Bednarska-Olejniczak 2016: 74).

It appears indisputable that this theoretical framework is applicable in stable conditions unimpeded by external events such as global health crises or military conflicts. In 2020, its resilience was challenged as people's inability to adhere to these guidelines highlighted their significance. In fact, the COVID-19 pandemic led to a slowdown in manufacturing processes and nearly devastated the service sector, exacerbating the financial status of entrepreneurs and corporations alike. However, this is only one aspect of the situation because the other pertains to subjecting workers to prolonged stress and compelling them to survive in adverse conditions.

Enterprises had to uphold continuous and transparent internal communication to face the challenges that originated from the COVID-19 pandemic. It was complicated by the proliferation of misinformation and fake news, which sowed doubt about the future and eroded mutual trust. The approach is shared by the research group of E. DeFilippis and S.M. Impink, who focused specifically on the domain of online communication channels: "With the COVID-19 pandemic forcing employees worldwide to work from home, organizations have had to make challenging and urgent decisions about how best to utilize digital communication technology in the absence of a shared physical workspace" (DeFilippis, Impink *et al.* 2022).

Accordingly, HR and IT departments, having to manage the abovementioned prospect, were expected to invent new operational patterns to maintain the continuity of enterprises. The most evident example was the alteration of existing communication strategies – face-to-face meetings became forbidden or severely limited, obliging organisations to create replacements. Where feasible, they turned to social media for internal communication. Initially, remote work may have hindered relationship building, employee engagement and understanding of the developing situation (Smoląg, Ślusarczyk 2021: 49).

Quite surprisingly, enterprises have ultimately realised that a significant portion of work can be done remotely, with adjusted internal communication being critical in order to make it possible (Czech, Karpio, *et al.* 2020: 5). Individual empirical studies suggest that this has eventually had an encouraging impact on employee productivity, although it caused psychological instability among most workers and serious uncertainty about the perspective of working online at the very beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic (Future Business Institute 2021: 4). In turn, educational organisations, such as universities and

schools, had no other choice but to adapt to remote work – the communication channels which had been previously exclusive to business acquired didactic functions.

Introducing the analysis of the empirical data excerpted by the three institutions listed at the beginning of this paper, the authors of the Eurostat survey acknowledge the trend plainly. They reflect on the consensus that technology was not just beneficial but, in fact, necessary for survival during the COVID-19 pandemic, which highlights the role it played:

[e]nabling access to an enterprise's resources from outside of the enterprise's premises, i.e. remote access to e-mail or to other ICT systems of the enterprises, created a possibility for employees to continue performing their tasks and thus sustain the enterprise's activity. The use of internet communication software allowed also internal business communication within the enterprises, as well as with the outside world. (Eurostat 2022: 1)

Organisations utilised ICT solutions and reorganised their work on a much larger scale than initially anticipated. The most substantial increase in remote workers during the COVID-19 pandemic occurred in countries where the necessary infrastructure was well-established before its outbreak. Additionally, a secondary correlation was reported concerning the mode of operation, the number of employees and the field of specialisation of particular enterprises (Smoder 2021: 28).

First, Eurofound discovered that approximately 60% of employees in Finland transitioned from office-based work to remote work due to the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. Comparable shifts were observed in Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Denmark, with the rate above 50%. Ireland, Austria, Italy and Sweden reported an estimate of 40%. It should be noted that nearly one-fourth (24%) of European employees who had not been previously engaged in remote work were forced to adopt it. Among the people who occasionally worked remotely, the prevalence increased to 56% (Eurofound 2020: 5–6).

Second, Eurostat focused on four data set categories that offered a different and significantly more extensive insight into the transition regarding utilised communication technologies and their internal perception. In 2020, the research revealed that one-quarter of EU enterprises expanded the range of personnel provided with remote access to the company's email systems and other ICT resources, constituting the initial two statistical categories. The majority of changes within this group was reported by companies in Malta (55% for email, 58% for other ICT resources), which only slightly preceded the Netherlands, Germany (42% for both communication channels in the Netherlands, 42% and 39% in Germany, respectively) and Belgium (40% for the former, 43% for the latter asset types). Conversely, Lithuania experienced the lowest increase, with only 12% of companies allowing for more remote access to both resource categories (Eurostat 2022: 2).

Another issue that Eurostat scrutinised was videoconference frequency – more than half of the European companies reported growth regarding this parameter. Finland represented the trend the most with a 79% surge, followed by Malta (76%), Sweden (71%), the Netherlands (70%), as well as Denmark and Belgium (both estimated 68%). Located on the other end of the spectrum, Latvia (33%), Poland (29%) and Bulgaria (23%) admitted the lowest increase in the frequency of online meetings (Eurostat 2022: 2). The spike in the expansion of remote access to email and other corporate ICT assets and the frequency of online meetings, as it was claimed internally, was primarily dependent on a company's prior experience with such technological arrangements.

Additionally, it correlated with the organisation's field of specialisation, being the fourth contributing factor. Over half of the EU enterprises involved in science and technology reported an uprise in allowing their employees to access corporate email remotely (55%). In comparison, information and communication companies noted a slightly lower incidence (48%). The minimal figures were observed in the construction (24%) and retail (22%) branches. Regarding the increase in remote meeting frequency, not only the information and communication sector (90%), but also the scientific and technical business spheres (81%) established themselves at the forefront. The smallest growth was experienced in the accommodation, transport and storage sectors (40% in the case of each business category), tailed by the construction (37%) and retail sectors (36%) (Eurostat 2022: 3).

The trend that emerges from the data remains in direct correspondence with the observations of E. DeFilippis and S.M. Impink, who considered the advantages of organising more frequent and shorter videoconferences. Their line of reasoning suggests that “[m]anagers may have found it necessary to correct this problem by increasing the frequency of “all-hands” meetings for their teams or departments to overcome feelings of social isolation [...] and maintain a sense of identification with the organization” (DeFilippis, Impink *et al.* 2022). This strategy is also aimed at facilitating the synchronisation of tasks performed by individual workers who are not co-located, which would be considerably more feasible in a shared workspace. Indeed, the case of the *CD Projekt Red* studio and *Cyberpunk 2077* development scheme confirms that such ideas are not only theoretical.

It is worth noting that there is an aspect shared by both the Eurofound and Eurostat surveys: the employee evaluation of the crisis as triggered specifically by the coronavirus itself. According to the Eurostat survey, which noticeably broadened the perspective on the issue (2022: 4), 91% of the EU companies in 2020 claimed that the COVID-19 pandemic partially caused the transition towards remote work, while 39% pinpointed a direct correlation between the two parameters. To be exact, in Lithuania, all companies acknowledged the coronavirus as a factor in expanding corporate email access, followed by Cyprus (99%), Austria and Slovakia (both 97%), as well as Italy (96%). Furthermore, a significant portion of enterprises in Poland (55%), Lithuania (54%) and Austria (52%) recognised a direct link between the two. Among the EU enterprises that increased the online availability of ICT systems beyond email, 94% cited it as contributing. The highest percentages of such companies were found in Lithuania (100%), Cyprus (99%), Austria (98%) and Italy (98%), whereas Hungary reported the lowest rate of them all (71%) (Eurostat 2022: 7).

In 2020, as much as 97% of EU companies experienced an increase in the number of remote meetings and explained it by the COVID-19 pandemic. The difference in the proportion of companies mentioning at least a partial incline in this regard was less pronounced across EU member states than in the case of remote access to email and other ICT tools. The highest ratios were noted in Germany (96%) and Hungary (95%). Conversely, the lowest figures originated from Poland and Austria - 78% and 77%, respectively (Eurostat 2022: 10).

Excerpted by Eurofound and Eurostat, the five statistical vectors suggest that the COVID-19 pandemic exerted a noticeable impact across European nations. Nonetheless, an evident trend emerged concerning the prospect of adopting digital communication tools in these circumstances. Enterprises that either represented a technology-oriented business branch or employed staff already knowledgeable in such platforms experienced a smoother transition during the COVID-19 pandemic. It enabled them

to swiftly and effectively adjust the communication streams to the new reality as part of their routine operations, thus minimising disruptions.

Conversely, when seeking other determinants of the transition, one could refer to secondary characteristics of businesses. These cannot be perceived as demonstrating as noticeable an impact as it might have been expected: the total number of employees and the financial assets available. While they are intuitively associated with the stability of any business, they were not pinpointed as the ones which caused discrepancies in the context of pandemic-related transformations, at least not as clearly as the organisations' pre-existing familiarity with digital tools and specialisation field. Significantly, the COVID-19 pandemic has underscored the importance of matching communication channels with the characteristics of different business sectors and consistent information dissemination.

Third, relying on textual and nonverbal communication can be deemed another contributor as it aids employees in staying updated about the evolving situation without requiring active engagement. It should be borne in mind, nevertheless, that such means can be divided into two competing categories: printed and digital. Indeed, the digitisation of internal communication tools within organisations was an ascending trend before the COVID-19 pandemic, yet remained explicitly reserved for scenarios that required rapid information exchange. A series of "State of the Sector" reports released by Gallagher Communication allows one to get a more in-depth insight into how the contest between the two modalities progressed.

According to the first report in the series, print was seen as an omnipresent and reliable medium of internal communication in 2019. Crucially, as much as 70% of employees in the United Kingdom, the USA, and selected EU countries considered posters and banners the most effective, which proved overtly significant if compared to other categories. Subsequently, desk drops were favoured by 31% of the workers, flyers and leaflets by 30%, while brochures, guides, and concertina cards by 27%. In contrast, the staff perceived letters or memos as efficient in only 18% of cases, while printed newsletters were trusted the least, achieving a popularity rate of 12% (Gallagher Communication 2019: 13).

Indeed, digital channels of information exchange were referred to in the responses of the survey participants; however, their perceived usefulness was inconsistent and scattered. The most universal of them were acknowledged as valuable by the survey participants, including the top three: email announcements (92%), intranet (85%) and video communication software (72%). Yet, regarding more innovative solutions, their applicability was considered marginal, represented by the mobile applications usage rate of 20%, messaging platforms – 12%, preceding extranet, which was noted in 10% of cases (Gallagher Communication 2019: 14).

Considering 2021¹, the information excerpted by Gallagher Communication suggests a noticeable relegation of traditional communication methods and a developing integration of digital tools in corporate communication frameworks. Interestingly enough, this is correlated with an alteration of the data segmentation method – the survey's authors dropped their previous classification into printed and digital modalities. Instead, they moved the few remaining traditional communication tools into newly introduced statistical categories: environmental channels and content. Posters, banners, and noticeboards were still the only significant means of this type that were awarded a 46% effectiveness rate. The other two, namely employee magazines and letters/printed materials sent to employees' homes, have almost

1 The "State of the Sector" report for 2020 by Gallagher Communication has now become unavailable, so it must be omitted.

become wholly abandoned (being used in 16% and 15% of cases, respectively) even though they were recognised as effective from the theoretical standpoint (scoring 70% and 59% in this regard).

In contrast, the survey revealed that virtual conferences were deemed the most efficient among digital tools (94%), pursued by business chat software, for instance, Teams, Cisco or Jabber (91%), as well as by one-on-one web calls (90%). The three communication methods surpassed messaging applications, which were mentioned in 87% of responses. This situation can be interpreted as a reminder of their pre-pandemic domination in everyday interactions, which actually inspired their introduction into the business environment. However, email announcements, a far more classical digital communication method, received 78% of the votes for usefulness. Employee portals were also worthwhile since their effectiveness was estimated at 75%. Such figures demonstrate that employees did acknowledge the benefits of innovative software, maintaining trust towards conventional applications simultaneously. However, this constituted a decreasing portion of their professional skill set, being corroborated by the pinpointed methodology shift (Gallagher Communication 2021: 49–50).

In 2022, the final year under consideration, traces of traditional communication methods were present, although experiencing a general decline in reported usefulness rate (57% for both employee magazines and letters/printed materials sent to employees' homes). Environmental channels turned out as pragmatically and theoretically relevant, scoring 47% in this context. Thus, an observation can be made that corporate practitioners have generally marginalised print except for posters, banners, and noticeboards. They preferred to focus on digital communication channels – their evaluation suggests that this medium type has become a widespread standard. Specifically, 88% of survey respondents rated virtual conferences as effective, followed by enterprise chat tools at 86%. However, web calls experienced a minor decrease in popularity, scoring 81%. Messaging applications also faced a downturn, scoring a 13% reduction in positive evaluations to 75%. Email announcements remained efficient, though, receiving 71% of votes (Gallagher Communication 2022: 49–50).

Such an evolving perception of all communication tools supports the idea that the role of non-printed internal communication within enterprises has been on the rise since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. Employees have developed the ability to evaluate them critically, prioritising those digital communication tools that offer the most perceivable benefits. Besides, they also seemed selective regarding the number and complexity of utilised applications. In an era of uncertainty and change, such a form of data dissemination was critical for organisational stakeholders – the workers. Researchers admit that “expanding the number of email recipients and meeting attendees increases the likelihood that important information is received by all relevant individuals in an organization” (DeFilippis, Impink *et al.* 2022). Thus, attempts were made to overcome communication problems, becoming crucial in gaining a competitive edge over other organisations within the same business branch. Communicologists support this approach, claiming that contemporary marketing strategies have been directly shaped by the technological transformation:

a digital presence is now a must, not only in the sense that companies will need to increase their presence in digital media in general and, more specifically, in the different social media channels, but also in terms of the current and future offerings that communications, advertising, or media companies will have to present to their customers. For example, communication companies will need to develop new digital media, or, if these media already exist, commercialise them in a more active way or with a combination of traditional and general commercial proposals. (Mata, Buil and Gomez-Campillo 2021: 3184)

The time under review was marked by introducing new interaction methods and re-calibrating traditional communication strategies into digital formats, encompassing chats and corporate social networking sites, not forgetting about advertising campaigns. Historically speaking, remote work served as a means to attract and retain valuable employees, playing a peripheral role in fostering work environments and balancing professional and personal responsibilities. Nonetheless, during the COVID-19 pandemic, it excelled in the role of a contingency plan and became a proactive measure to prevent illness and financial breakdown (Dolot 2020: 42; Krzyszkowska-Dąbrowska 2020: 15).

Evaluating the abovementioned tendencies from the point of view of the COVID-19 pandemic aftermath, one could state that it does not necessarily entail a departure from physical workplaces. Instead, it should be interpreted as a way to provide additional opportunities for consultation with international experts, cost reduction and resolving unforeseen emergencies, not necessarily restricted to illness. Should in-person employment be minimised, significant expenditures could be directed towards other, more profitable goals (Jeran 2016: 52). An enterprise can assign its employees most tasks without having them on-site specifically if it can resort to an array of online solutions. As a matter of fact, some post-pandemic projections (Czech, Karpio *et al.* 2020: 108–116) anticipated substantial limitations on the return to traditional office settings.

Remote work inevitably presents a complex challenge for employers, requiring them to procure finances for essential assets such as equipment, software and training. Furthermore, it enforces following clear rules of cooperation, communication and consistent delegation of tasks. A. Smoder posits that this involves logistical and psychological support, remembering about the need to maintain a sense of company belonging and to keep employees informed about the ongoing situation along with project progress (Smoder 2021: 28). As such, the COVID-19 pandemic has catalysed the reinvention of pre-existing communication software, drawing employees' attention to the downsides of traditional channels. This shift has enabled organisations to appreciate the benefits of remote work; nonetheless, the necessity to limit the number of platforms in use has become apparent – the prospect of using an excessive range of applications seems overwhelming. It might deter the workers from engaging with them and cause a relapse of communication disarray experienced during the COVID-19 pandemic.

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AGNIESZKA RZEPKOWSKA

University of Siedlce, Faculty of Humanities

agnieszka.rzepkowska@uws.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0003-3381-0870

Disentangling the Meaning and Verb Collocates of Terms through Unabridged Statutory Context with implications for teaching: *Employer, Hirer* and *Temporary Work Agency* in UK Employment Legislation

Abstract

The paper addresses the issue of pinpointing the meaning of legal collocations of the terms: *employer*, *hirer* and *temporary work agency*, and through them the meaning of the legal terms in real legislative documents. This genre-specific corpus study sheds some light on how real legal acts can be used in the course of legal language learning to familiarise students with verbal collocations specific to employment law. The findings suggest that verb collocates disclose the system-bound meaning of terms and mirror the place of terms in the terminological system. Comparing legal definitions with information revealed through a purposeful analysis of verbal collocations in statutory contexts proves that the latter may show additional information about the concepts represented by terms. Although unabridged legal texts can be an insufficient source of specialist collocations for specialist language learners, if appropriately eased (Bhatia 1983), they may become a valuable learning material.

Keywords: verbal collocation, corpus, employment law, legal genre, legal language teaching, LSP, multiword item

Introduction

Legal language is a tool for communication in the legal milieu. It is used purposefully in a specific context by legal professionals or those who are not experts in law but need to be able to dialogue in legal contexts, for instance translators, office workers, or entrepreneurs. All these groups need to be able to understand, process and use unabridged legal texts of various legal genres. Regardless of the area of law, one type of writing is inevitable: legal statutes. Legislation represents a legal genre where terminology and

phraseology play an important role. As in any language for special purposes, the higher the familiarity with terminology and phraseology, the better the learners' communicative skills and reading comprehension.

There have been a number of studies on specialised collocations in legal language, and teaching and learning specialised collocations, including corpus studies, but the area remains under-researched. A number of scholars analyse collocations in different legal genres often relying on corpus tools (Heid 2001, Klabal 2019, Michta and Mroczyńska 2022, Leńko-Szymańska and Biel 2023), and the results of such reviews focus on assisting translation training and preparing teaching material and reference sources, like a dictionary. Researchers acknowledge that legislation has a special place in the array of different legal genres as it is the source of what is binding in law (Biel 2018, Klabal 2019). Constituting part of terminological phraseology, specialised collocations in legal communication (Tryuk 2000, Wronka 2021) and other contexts (Boers 2020, Conklin 2020, Pellicer-Sánchez 2020) are also subjects of theoretical, literature and research reviews. Multiword items are studied from different angles not only in general language learning, where the focus is, among others, on collocation knowledge assessment (Heid 2001, Lee and Shin 2021, and Ding et al. 2024), rote learning in collocations acquisition (Zhang and Reynolds 2023), or repetition in collocation learning (Peters 2014, Öksüz et al. 2024), but also in legal language learning where the centre of attention is collocations in translation training (Al-Jarf 2022), collocations learning through unabridged legal texts (Bhatia 1983), and collocations as part of coursebooks (Mroczyńska 2023).

The study attempts to list the collocates of three legal terms: *employer*, *hirer*, and *temporary work agency*, found in the corpus of UK employment law statutes, and show how the meaning of these terms is revealed in the way they interact with verbs in the contexts provided in the statutes. Following the route paved by Bhatia (1983), in which the process of learning a legal language should largely rely on unabridged texts, this study attempts to reveal the potential of using real legal acts in the course of legal language teaching. This paper addresses the issue of using contextualised verb collocations for learning and consolidating familiarity with such multiword items and the constituent legal terms. Considering the fact that the linguistic aspects of employment law form an understudied part of legal language, and that this area of law is of interest to legal language teachers (5% subject specialists and 12% language specialists teaching legal English (Sierocka 2017: 8)), this paper may bring a valuable contribution to the literature on employment legal language learning and teaching.

1. Legal Language and Legal Terms

“What is routinely referred to as ‘legal language’, represents an extremely complex type of discourse embedded in the highly varied institutional space of different legal systems and cultures,” as argued by Goźdz-Roszkowski (2012: 1). Legal language is among the most complex and multi-layered languages for special purposes (LSPs). It differs, among others, in terms of the legal system it is used in, and within that legal system in terms of the area of law, legal genre, vocabulary and users.

A legal system of a given country forms a whole, a whole of interrelated legal concepts (which Biel (2014: 41) refers to as concept systems) that is described with a legal language. Legal languages are based on national languages. Yet, if two different legal systems resource from the same national language, the legal languages of those legal systems are not the same. There are also subsystems of a given national legal

language that represent various areas of law, like civil, tax, employment, etc., within each legal system. These subsystems of legal language are not uniform and what mainly sets them apart is terminology and phraseology.

Wróblewski (1948) and Trosborg (1995: 31) propose a division of legal language into the language of law (the language of legislation and contracts, in Polish *język prawny*) and the language about law, which is the language used by lawyers discussing law (in Polish *język prawniczy*). Other scholars differentiate between a number of legal genres, pointing at linguistic discrepancies between them. For example, Bhatia (2006) recognises two legal genres corresponding to the division of language proposed above: the primary legal genre (the legislation) and secondary legal genre (the reproduction of legislation). Analogically, Klabal (2019: 167) discriminates between higher-order genre and lower-order genre, respectively. De Groot (1996: 378) takes into account the differences triggered by adjusting legal vocabulary to language users the texts are addressed to and/or drafted by: (i) the lexis used by legislators in legal acts, (ii) that used by lawyers in commentaries on the legal system, and (iii) that in texts for the general public regarding a given legal system. There are also other ways of categorising legal language, for instance the place it is used in (Maley 1994: 16) and the level of formality required (Danet 1980: 371).

The same as other LSPs, legal language would not function without the stability ensured by the use of terms. Lukszyn (2001: 9–14) explains what a term is in a single sentence: a word or a word combination that represents a specific concept in a specific terminological system. Terms are noted for their specialisation, conventionality, system-based meaning, accuracy, explicitness, and neutrality (Kornacka 2005: 131). Biel (2014: 39–41) stresses that legal terms should share all functional properties of a term, including transparency, conciseness, consistency, appropriateness, and derivability. Apart from that she also adds that terms are units of legal knowledge that form concept systems. In other words “concepts form complex interrelated networks and interrelations are part of their meaning” (Biel 2014: 41). As a consequence, the meaning of legal terms originates from a particular legal system (Northcott 2009: 170–172). The system-bound meaning of terms is also visible in the way terms are defined through a reference to other legal terms (Micha and Mroczewska 2023: 239, Rzepkowska 2024: 123–124).

The specialisation of legal terms is revealed in their use by specific users in specific situations and in reference to specific objects. The objects are usually concepts that are conventionally formed in a purposeful process by legislators. Legal terms may take the form of words that are used on daily basis in general language, but what makes them terms is that they adopt specific meanings in legal texts (Jopek Bosiacka 2011: 11, Klabal 2016, see also Zaikina 2023: 223). For example the terms *employer* and *hirer*, which in general English can be synonyms, in the context of employment law are no longer such. Also, in general Polish *dość* means a day, from midnight to midnight; yet, in Polish employment law it has a slightly different time reference, that is, a 24-hour period which does not need to start at midnight at all (Rzepkowska 2021: 38–41). This in turn reveals how the terms are system-bound as outside the legal system, and in this particular case outside the Polish employment law system, the term *dość* may have a different meaning. Klabal presents a similar example of misleading time expressions but in Czech terminology. He proves that *dość* and *lhůta*¹ have very specific meaning in legal language and are not consistently used in Czech law. This makes the understanding and interpreting of these seemingly simple

1 *Doba* is a period of time upon the expiry of which a right or obligation extinguishes without requiring a specific expression of will to produce such a legal effect. *Lhůta* is a period of time set to exercise a right with respect to the other party, before the court or a competent authority (Klabal 2016: 51).

terms particularly challenging (Klabal 2016), and proves another feature of terms, namely that they are accurate and explicit. In the legal context the accuracy and explicitness can be limited to a single act or may embrace the whole branch of law if the legislator decides so. And last but not least, the neutrality of legal terms ensures that they carry no emotive or stylistic features.

2. Legal English Teaching

Legal English is an area of interest of learners with different legal expertise, including among others trainee language teachers, translators and interpreters, students of law, office workers and experienced lawyers (based on Northcott 2009, Mroczyńska and Michta 2023). A study on the process of foreign language learning (including legal English) by Sierocka suggests that students need legal English to improve their skills and qualifications, for work and their studies alike (Sierocka 2017: 13). On the other hand, legal English teachers do not form a uniform group in terms of familiarity with law. They may be subject specialists or language specialists (Sierocka 2017). It sometimes happens that they are both.

Courses on English for special purposes, legal English in particular, focus on teaching language in context, rather than on grammar and language structures. Therefore, they should combine language and the knowledge of the subject (Al-Jarf 2022: 4). It is essential to expose students to real-life texts of different genres that would present the legal way of phrasing ideas (Northcott and Brown 2006, Northcott 2013a, Al-Jarf 2022). However, teaching material provided in coursebooks is adjusted to learners' needs and capabilities, including the level of English, and thus may lack such content. In reference to teaching legal English, Bhatia aptly points that "[s]implification may [...] have a negative effect not only on learning to read genuine legal texts, but also on the development of efficient reading strategies in the learner." (Bhatia 1983: 44) What he proposes as an alternative is easification, a technique of making the text more accessible to the learner by using "easification devices" as Bhatia calls them. The devices depend on the purpose of reading and the nature of the text, but the point is to make the learner work independently to get the required information from the text. Such an easified material can constitute an element of a legal English course, being demanding on the one hand and enlightening on the other. Al-Jarf (2022: 8) also notices that legal documents can be used in language learning, starting from the short and easy and proceeding with the more complex ones that can be approached by students through decomposing complex syntax. While at the beginning of foreign legal language learning simplification is required to ensure the understanding of the topic, the authenticity of the texts is crucial for advancing. This can be supported with corpus based resources, which may provide authentic materials that can easily serve as a source of extracts with examples of use of certain terms or word combinations (Northcott 2013b).

3. Specialised Collocations

Knowing a word involves its various aspects, each of which can be either receptive or productive: form (spoken, written and word parts), meaning (form and meaning, concept and referents, associations) and use (grammatical functions, collocations and constraints on use) (Nation 2013, Nation 2020: 16). In this light, collocations come under the knowledge of how to use a word, including what words typically occur

with it (Nation 2013:82), and are followed by the knowledge of the constraints on use. There is no single definition of a collocation that all scholars would apply. This paper adopts the definition of a collocation by Hartmann and James who believe it is “the semantic compatibility of grammatically adjacent words” (1998: 22–23), where the patterns of cooccurrence of words such as adjective-noun, noun-verb or verb-preposition play a major role. Collocations are seen as multiword items that are in opposition to idioms, which are much more fixed, and free word combinations, which are much less fixed (Cruse 1986: 40, Burkhanov 1998: 39, Cowie 1998: 30, Hartmann and James 1998: 22–23). Collocations are different in terms of size (the number of words), type (function word + content word, or content word + content word), the location in a sentence (whether they appear next to one another or are separated by other words) and the range of collocates of a given node (Nation 2013: 82).

This type of multiword items is the central part of LSP. In the specialist context they are referred to as a specialised collocation, or terminological phraseology, which Tryuk explains as “a combination of lexemes which is neither totally fixed nor completely free (e.g. of the type: N+Adj, N+V, V+N), with the term as its stable core” (Tryuk 2000: 109). She believes that special phraseology, together with terminology, is what distinguishes all specialized texts. Both mark texts by means of a specific frequency of usage, concentration, and usage unique to a given discipline (Tryuk 2000: 106–107).

There are two main approaches to identifying collocations, frequency-based and phraseological. The former uses corpus analytics to calculate the strength of a collocation. It assesses the probability of occurrence and association measure of a collocation by taking into account such corpus data as: the number of tokens in the corpus, the frequency of the node and the collocate separately, the frequency of the whole collocation (the node + the collocate) in the corpus, and the collocation window size (Brezina 2018: 70). The phraseological approach, presented by Tryuk above, perceives a collocation as a combination of lexemes occurring in certain grammatical constructs. Such multiword items are transparent in meaning and lexically variable to a certain extent (Cowie 1994: 115–116, Sinclair 2005). The two relatively opposing attitudes complement one another and some scholars believe that they bring best results when working side by side (Michta and Mroczyńska 2022: 14, Ding *et al.* 2023: 2).

Biel (2014: 36) lists various types of word patterns found in legislation and other legal texts. Among them she mentions a term-embedding collocation, which is a special type of legal collocations where, usually, a noun collocates with a verb. Such word combinations as if activate the terms and let them be an element of relations in a text. The same as terms, they are system-bound. Therefore, they are not very prone to variation or synonymy, feature restricted substitutability of constituent elements, may specify the meaning of the term-collocate in case of synonymy, and may have colloquial equivalents. Moreover, collocations synonymous in general language are not necessarily synonymous in legal language (Biel 2014: 47–48). Wronka (2021: 361) points out two types of semantic relations between the constituents of a collocation and, based on that, distinguishes conceptual collocations in which the meaning of the collocate is a derivative of the meaning of the node, e.g. a verb-noun collocations such as *to pay an employee*², *employee works*, and lexical collocations (in Polish *kolokacje leksykalne*) in which the collocate does not provide any additional meaning to the node, e.g. *to do work*, or *to provide instruction*, which can be shortened to a single verb: *to work* and *to instruct*, respectively. Worth noting is the fact that the collocational range that is typical of a given node may differ in the area of LSP (Corpas Pastor 1996: 68–70, Montoro del Arco 2011: 137 as cited in Wronka 2021: 362).

2 In this section, examples relating to employment come from the UK employment law corpus under analysis.

4. Teaching Legal Collocations

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The familiarity with what words can occur with other words is a key to mastering a foreign language (Nation 2013: 497–506). Therefore, specialised collocations are in the interest of a specific group of learners: foreign language learners focused on acquiring an LSP. They are rarely beginners in the foreign language and want to be able to communicate using it in a given walk of life. Thus, it is not only words and terms they need to know, but also broadly-meant formulaic language. Wronka (2021) attempts to explain the role legal phraseology plays in legal communication, which is the core of interest in legal language teaching (Sierocka 2017). These few points he presents seem to refer to legal collocations, part of legal phraseology:

- legal collocations make interaction between terms possible in a text;
- as terms are part of legal collocations, legal collocations are also carriers of meaning;
- fixed phrases imply fixed meaning and this way contribute to unambiguity of the text;
- the frequent use of legal collocations makes the text idiomatic and thus reduces the cognitive effort needed to process the information by the recipient;
- the use of legal collocations reveals the professional nature of the text (based on Wronka 2021: 364–365).

Boers (2020) reviews a number of studies to present the conditions of acquiring multiword items³ with and without instructional intervention. In the realm of incidental learning⁴ he highlights:

- the effect of the role of frequency of encounters with a given multiword item on the learning process,
- syntagmatic and morphological distance between its constituents that may hinder its recognition by learners,
- little attention being paid by learners to such items during content-focused learning,
- interference of L1 in learner's use of multiword items,
- non-transparency of certain multiword items (such as idioms), and
- the mode of input (listening or reading) as stress and intonations of spoken language may help the recognition of multiword items.

This all leads to a situation where the acquisition of multiword items in non-manipulated conditions takes a lot of time as the phrases seem to pass unnoticed. That can be changed by focused intervention in the text, that is by increasing the number of instances of certain multiword items, by attracting learner's attention to such phrases by highlighting, underlining or bolding them, and by providing glosses and annotation together with the text. In fact, studies show that typographic salience strongly affects the noticeability and acquisition of multiword items, compared to single-word items (see: Bishop 2004, Peters 2012).

In the context of factors that tend to affect the deliberate learning of multiword items, Boers points out that transparent and non-transparent phrases require a different approach. In terms of collocations,

3 This is an umbrella term Boers uses to address “a wide range of expressions comprising more than a single word, which have in the literature received various labels, including ‘lexical phrase’, ‘multiword unit’, ‘phrasal expression’, ‘chunk’, ‘prefab’, ‘phrase-eme’, ‘collocation’, ‘idiom’, ‘lexical bundle’, and ‘formulaic sequence’” (2020: 143).

4 Incidental learning takes place in the course of meaning-focused activities in which learners focus on the communicative purpose of the task and have no intention to learn new vocabulary (Pellicer-Sánchez 2020: 162, Boers 2020: 145–146).

the main issue is the congruence with the L1 equivalent: if there is no congruence (like in Polish “make a photo” instead of *take a photo*, or “have 20 years” instead of *be 20 years old*), then the learning is hindered. In fact studies indicate that

non-native speakers activate input from both of their languages, even when the task, as well as the linguistic and social context only necessitates the use of one language. This cross-language activation is mediated by the immediate linguistic context (e.g., how biasing a sentence is to a particular meaning), as well as the amount of cross-language overlap (e.g., *piano/piano* are identical cognates vs. *vocabulary/vocabulaire* are non-identical cognates) and proficiency. (Conklin 2020: 184)

Another condition affecting learning is the intra-lexical interference: incorrectly substituting one constituent of a phrase with another one of a similar meaning (confusing *in* with *on*, *make* with *do*). In that context, teaching intact expressions gives much better results in posttests than when learners are asked to fill in blanks with single words to form the targeted multiword items (Boers *et al.*, 2017).

Real-life reading material provides learners with a possibility of experiencing the language in the form it is in fact used. It can be a starting point of learning collocations, but it may also be incorporated in other stages of the learning process as a material providing context to the multiword items taught. The tasks can be either focused on polishing students’ receptive skills, for instance multiple-choice, word combination, matching and yes/no judgement tasks, or on developing their productive skills, like fill-in-the-blank or translation tasks (Ding *et al.* 2023: 3, Lee and Shin 2021: 436–437). Mroczyńska’s review of legal English coursebooks used at Polish universities demonstrates that the majority of collocation-related tasks are gap-filling (66%) and matching (28%) (Mroczyńska 2023: 69), which suggests that focusing on learners’ productive collocations knowledge prevails over evaluating learners’ receptive collocation knowledge. Thus learners are not only expected to recognise the collocations but also use them, usually after being previously made familiar with them, often in a reading comprehension task.

5. The Study

This corpus study is designed to show the potential of acquiring the meaning of the terms *employer*, *hirer* and *temporary work agency* through the spectrum of verbal collocations they form in the area of UK employment law legislation. First, the meaning of the terms is investigated with legal definitions of the terms. The next step is to present the verb collocates of the terms from the corpus selected for this analysis.

5.1. General and Legal Definitions of the Terms

The selected terms, *employer*, *hirer* and *temporary work agency*, stand for persons that are engaged in giving paid work to others under contract. The distinction among them lies in the contractual relations between those giving paid work and those to whom the work is given. Their meaning is very specific in the context of employment law and when compared to the general English, the first two are relatively close synonyms⁵, while the last is not found at all in general dictionaries.

5 employer – “a person or organization that employs people” (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/pl/dictionary/english/employer>), hirer – “a person or company that employs people” (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/pl/dictionary/english/hirer>) [date of access: 3 Jan. 2024].

A review of special-purpose sources, including encyclopaedias and dictionaries, reveals how far the words are recognised as terms by experts, if at all. Legal dictionaries often resort to quoting or directly referring to relevant statutes that regulate a given issue to ensure high precision when defining terms. On the other hand, legislature is a source of a very detailed definition specific and often limited to an act in which it appears, which is suggested by the use of such phrases accompanying definitions as: *in these Regulations, in relation to a worker falling within paragraph (bb) of that subsection, in subsection (1) or for the purposes of this Part*⁶.

Employer

“Jowitt’s dictionary of English law” (Greenberg 2015) explains the term *employer* in the context of employment law by quoting legal regulations as “the person by whom the employee or worker is (or where the employment has ceased, was) employed” (Employment Rights Act 1996 and Trade Union and Labour Relations (Consolidation) Act 1992⁷.) It further says that

employer is entitled to rights, and bound to perform certain duties, as a consequence of his status as an individual who has engaged or hired the services of another. For example an employer is entitled to expect an employee to work with reasonable care and skill and to look after the employer’s property when using it. Conversely, an employer has a duty to pay an employee the agreed amount if the employee arrives for work and is able to work. (Greenberg 2015: 841)

The definition of employer can be found in a number of acts in the corpus. In Agency Workers Regulation and Part-Time Workers (Prevention of Less Favourable Treatment) Regulations 2000 an *employer* is “in relation to an employee or worker, [...] the person by whom the employee or worker is (or where the employment has ceased, was) employed”. Employment Rights Act 1996 defines *employer* a few times and always narrows the use of a given definition to specific conditions.

Hirer

Legal English dictionaries omit *hirer* from their entry lists. There are terms like *hire-purchase agreement* and *hire*, but the meaning is rarely linked with that indicated in the relevant employment law corpus (Woodley 2013, Greenberg 2010, Hay 2023). “Jowitt’s dictionary of English law” defines *hire* in four ways, but only one: “the hiring of work and labour (*locatio operis faciendi*)” (Greenberg 2015: 1156) seems to relate to employment relationship.⁸

The legislator defines *hirer* “as a person engaged in economic activity, public or private, whether or not operating for profit, to whom individuals are supplied, to work temporarily for and under the supervision and direction of that person” (The Agency Workers Regulations 2010). A UK legal guidance on temporary agency work explains the term in the same fashion, but adds more practical details set forth elsewhere in the legislation:

⁶ Examples taken from the corpus under analysis.

⁷ “Osborn’s Concise Law Dictionary” (Woodley 2013) provides a similar definition of *employer* through analogical references.

⁸ Other dictionaries under review (Greenberg 2010, Woodley 2013, Hay 2023) do not provide any information about *hirer* in the context of temporary agency work.

(the) hirer (end-user) is a “person” – eg company, partnership, sole trader, public body – which is engaged in economic activity (whether or not for profit) and which books agency workers via a TWA [temporary work agency]. The hirer is responsible for supervising and directing the agency worker while they undertake the assignment. A hirer will have its own legal identity – so a division within a company will not be a separate hirer if it does not have its own legal identity. (BIS 2011: 8)

Temporary Work Agency

The term *temporary work agency* is not recognised in legal dictionaries under review. A study of secondary legal sources puts a little light on the term though. “Agency Workers Regulations: guidance” explains what *temporary work agency* means in the following manner:

[a] temporary work agency (TWA) supplies agency workers to work temporarily for a third party (the hirer). The agency worker works temporarily under the supervision and direction of the hirer but only has a contract (an employment contract or a contract to perform work or services personally) with the TWA. Under the Regulations a TWA is a person (individual or company) in business, whether operating for profit or not and including both public and private sector bodies, involved in the supply of temporary agency workers. This could be a “high street” agency, but also an intermediary such as an umbrella company or a master or neutral vendor if they are involved in the supply of the agency worker. (BIS 2011: 6)

The same as in the case of *hirer*, the information is based on the definition and other details found in Agency Workers Regulations 2010.

The analysis of legal sources shows that there are both similarities and differences between the terms, but still the employment law context makes them take on a very narrow meaning. *Hirer* and *temporary work agency* are terms that operate next to each other in the area of temporary agency work. The term *employer* is also used to refer to the person by whom the employee or worker is or was employed. Therefore, in the context of the temporary agency work, it is the temporary work agency that acts as an employer in terms of obligations as, just like an employer, the agency has a duty to pay an employee the agreed amount if the employee arrives for work and is able to work, and the hirer is also a person that acts as an employer as it is the hirer who is “entitled to expect an employee to work with reasonable care and skill and to look after the employer’s property when using it” (Greenberg 2015: 841). Naturally, the hirer bears the costs of such work, but the amount due is paid to the temporary work agency that has one contract with the hirer and another with the agency worker.

5.2. The Corpus and the Terms

The study focuses on UK law which comprises English and Welsh law, Northern Ireland law and Scottish law. Despite the independence of each of the countries, all of them recognise the UK parliament’s law-making power. The primary legislation is therefore passed by that body and applies to the whole of the UK. Despite the fact that English and Welsh law is based on common law, it is legislation that is more and more often responsible for new regulations. “The old common law usually forms the basis for the statute, but the legislature takes the opportunity to amend and update the old law” (Gubby 2016, 28). Hence the corpus under analysis comprises 12 employment-related acts passed by the UK Parliament (Figure 1).

This paper understands a corpus as “a collection of pieces of language text in electronic form, selected according to external criteria to represent, as far as possible, a language or language variety as a source of data for linguistic research” (Sinclair 2005: 16). The corpus tool is Sketch Engine. The relevant corpus is expected to depict the language of UK employment legislation. The texts were selected based on information from UK government websites and commercial legal websites offering advice on employment regulations in the UK. The corpus comprises 12 legal acts (1.2 million tokens and over 760 thousand words) that experts recognise as the most crucial for regulating employment relations in the UK, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The corpus has already been used in other studies on employment law terminology (Rzepkowska 2023, 2024).

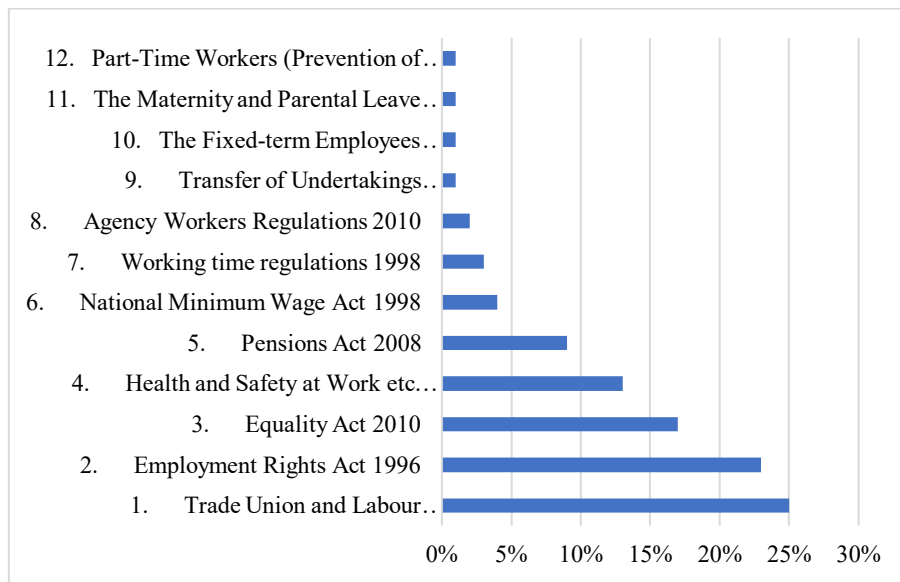


Figure 1. UK Employment Law corpus percentage structure. Source: own work

Each document in the corpus regulates a different aspect of UK employment law and thus each is also a source of information about language specific to that field. The texts differ in terms of size: the two largest make up nearly half of the corpus; another three are relatively extensive too, from 17% to 9% each; and the remaining 7 are small, making up 4% of the corpus or less. The act that is often referred to in this paper is Agency Workers Regulations 2010, which, with a share of 2% in the corpus, is among the smallest documents taken into account in the analysis. Agency Workers Regulations 2010 is particularly important because it is the act of law that governs temporary agency work, an area where two terms analysed in the study, *hirer* and *temporary work agency*, operate. The terms are also found in Employment Rights Act 1996 – about 30% of absolute frequency of each of the two terms – and in the Trade Union and Labour Relations (Consolidation) Act 1992 – only *temporary work agency* is found there (four instances). On the other hand, the term *employer* is among the key terms used throughout the corpus (19th place in

the list generated with a simple search for nouns with Wordlist function in Sketch Engine [non-words excluded])⁹.

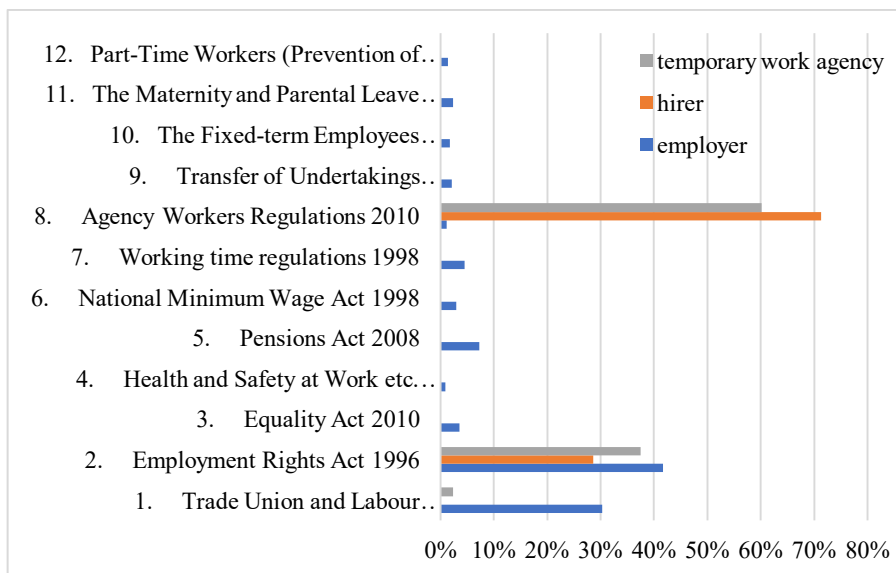


Figure 2. Percentage distribution of the terms *employer*, *hirer* and *temporary work agency* in the corpus. Source: own work

Due to its rudimentary character in this LSP, the average frequency of *employer* (2,599) is strikingly higher than that of *hirer* (199) and *temporary work agency* (168), which doubtless affects the number of collocates they appear with and the number of collocations they form with them. Nonetheless, it has been assumed that the legislator uses a certain verb with a given term because the concept expressed by the collocation is important in the context of the whole act. Even if a collocation is used only once in the corpus, it does not mean that it will not become a key phrase in second-order genre if the idea expressed through that word combination is the topic of discussion there.

5.3. Collocations with *Employer*, *Hirer* and *Temporary Work Agency*

The study analyses and compares the collocations found in the corpus by looking at the context in which they appear illustrated by examples from the corpus. The analysis first looks into the verb collocates where the terms, acting as the nodes of the collocations, are objects of the verbs (Tables 1–3) and then continues with those verb collocates where the terms are subjects of the verbs (Tables 4–9). The analysis focuses on the verbs that collocate with more than one of the terms, but verbs that collocate only with one are also discussed to show the differences in the use and meaning of the terms. The tables present alphabetically

9 Other nouns preceding it in the list were mainly words of text organisation typical of legislative documents such as *paragraph*, *section*; an exception was made for the term *employment*, placed 10th.

organised verbs that collocate with individual terms with excerpts from the corpus (in italics) illustrating the real use of the terms.

Verb Collocates of Employer, Hirer and Temporary Work Agency as Objects

The verb collocates of *hirer* (2) and *temporary work agency* (2) where the terms are objects of the verbs fully overlap with those of *employer*. Yet, the verb collocates of *hirer* do not coincide with those of *temporary work agency*. This signals that the meaning of the two terms may not have much in common.

Table 1: Collocates of *employer* and *hirer* as objects with examples from the employment law corpus. Source: own study

NODE	NO	EMPLOYER (2,599)	HIRER (199)
NODE as an object	(1)	notify + EMPLOYER <i>a penalty notice must notify the employer of the review process</i> <i>requirement for employee to notify the employer of intention to return to work</i> <i>an employee notifies her employer of her pregnancy/ of the date specified in</i> <i>the CAC [Central Arbitration Committee] must (...) notify the employer</i>	notify + HIRER <i>an agency worker has notified the hirer in writing/that (...)</i>
	(2)	require + EMPLOYER + to <i>the employer is not required to make work available</i> <i>a contract of employment requires the employer to provide a (shop) worker with (shop) work</i> <i>provision requiring the employer to offer alternative employment</i> <i>regulations may require employers to publish information</i> <i>a notice requiring the employer to pay</i> <i>a statutory instrument require (...) employers</i> <i>the Secretary of State may require the employer to do (sth)</i> <i>the jobholder/the worker may require the employer to do (sth)</i>	require + HIRER + to <i>the hirer is required to take/ maintain an action in relation to an agency worker</i>

Employer and *hirer* collocate with *to require* and *to notify*. The verb *to notify* is used only in an active form with the terms under analysis. In the case of *hirer*, the agent is a person, an agency worker, who does work for the *hirer*. The collocation with *employer* is preceded with an agent that is either a document (a notice) or a person (an employee). An employee and an agency worker are people who work for the employer and hirer, respectively, and consequently are in the position to notify them of their plans that could affect their work e.g. pregnancy, return to work, etc., e.g. *a penalty notice must notify the employer of*

the review process, an employee notifies her employer of her pregnancy, an agency worker has notified the hirer in writing. The verb *to require* collocates with *hirer* only in a passive structure in the corpus, which suggests that the requirement is imposed by the legislator. *Employer* collocates with that verb in both active and passive structures. The agent that requires an *employer* to do something can be either a document (e.g. a contract of employment, a notice, a provision) or a person (a jobholder, a worker, the secretary of state), e.g. *a contract of employment requires the employer to provide a (shop) worker with (shop) work, and the hirer is required to take an action in relation to an agency worker.*

Two verb collocates of *employer* coincide with those of *temporary work agency (TWA)*. These are the only verb-plus-node collocates of *TWA* found in the corpus. The first one is *to inform*. The context shows that an employer is informed by an employee, the regulator or the union, while a TWA is informed by the hirer. This illustrates the information flow between the employer and TWA and other entities, e.g. *the employee must inform the employer, the hirer shall without delay inform the TWA.* The other verb, *to order*, indicates superiority over the person that is ordered to do something. In the case of both, *employer* and *TWA*, the verb is preceded with the tribunal, which has the power to impose an obligation on them to do a particular thing, here to pay or to take certain steps, e.g. *the tribunal may order the employer to pay, the tribunal shall order the TWA to pay the agency worker the amount of remuneration.*

Table 2: Collocates of *employer* and *temporary work agency* as objects with examples from the employment law corpus. Source: own study

NODE	NO	EMPLOYER (2,599)	Temporary work agency (TWA) (168)
NODE as an object	(1)	inform + EMPLOYER <i>an employer is informed by the CAC/ under paragraph 25</i> <i>the employee must inform the employer</i> <i>the regulator informed the employer</i> <i>the union informs the employer</i>	inform + TWA <i>the hirer shall without delay inform the TWA</i>
	(2)	order + EMPLOYER <i>the tribunal may order the employer to pay/to take such steps</i>	order + TWA <i>the tribunal shall order the TWA to pay the agency worker the amount of remuneration/ compensation</i>

The term *employer* is an object of five other verbs. Each of them adds more details to what can be done to an employer. He/she can be enabled to do something (*probationary period is intended to enable the employer to assess the worker's suitability for the employment*), entitled to do something (usually in passive structures, e.g. *an amount the employer is entitled to recover*), given something (*a worker has given his employer an opting-in*), prosecuted (*the employer was prosecuted for an offence*), and represented by someone (*organisations representing employers*).

Table 3: Collocates of *employer* as an object with examples from the employment law corpus. Source: own study

NODE	NO	EMPLOYER (2,599)
NODE as an object	(1)	enable + EMPLOYER <i>probationary period is intended to enable the employer to assess the worker's suitability for the employment, (...) to enable the employer to consult (sb)</i>
	(2)	entitle + EMPLOYER <i>an amount the employer is entitled to recover</i> <i>entitling the employer to terminate the contract</i> <i>circumstances which entitle the employer to treat the contract of employment as terminable</i> <i>her employer is entitled to postpone her return to a date</i> <i>his employer is entitled to deduct sums from remuneration</i>
	(3)	give + EMPLOYER <i>a worker has given his employer an opting-in/ written/ objection/ further notice/ a document/ a declaration/ an opportunity</i>
	(4)	prosecute + EMPLOYER <i>the employer was prosecuted for an offence</i>
	(5)	represent + EMPLOYER <i>organisations representing employers</i> <i>a panel of persons to represent employers</i>

Verb Collocates of Employer, Hirer and Temporary Work Agency as Subjects

The same as with the verb collocation where the terms are the objects, here the data relating to *employer* is much more extensive owing to the high absolute frequency of the term in the corpus (31 verb collocates in total, compared with 10 verb collocates of *hirer* and 8 of *temporary work agency*). Node-plus-verb collocations are particularly important for deducting the meaning and characteristics of the terms as here the verb collocates inform directly what the terms can and cannot do.

The first to analyse are six verbs that collocate with all three terms. i.e. *to employ*, *to fail*, *to infringe*, *to make*, *to permit*, and *to request*. The verb *to employ* is usually used in passive with all three verbs. The cotext (a term used by Halliday for the immediate context of use [1993: 3]) of the collocation is a source of information about the persons that an employer, hirer and TWA employ. Through the collocation one can learn that an employer employs employees and workers, and a TWA, agency workers. Interestingly, the verb *to employ* with *hirer* in fact does not refer to a hirer as a party to a temporary agency work contract because in this relationship the hirer does not employ, but to a hirer as an employer of other individuals who are not agency workers (an analogical situation is in the case of the verb *to recruit* discussed further in the paper). The verb *to fail* is interesting as whenever it appears there is also mentioned what was supposed to be achieved. Its cotext shows us what obligations rest upon a given person, like the employer's obligation to give a pay statement, the hirer's, to comply with a recommendation, or the TWA's, to pay the agency worker. The verb *to make* derives its meaning from the nouns it collocates with as an object. The list of typical phrases with *to make* inform about the range of actions that can be taken by the employer, hirer and TWA, like making a payment (*employer*, *hirer* and *TWA*), making a proposal, and making arrangements (only *employer*). The verb *to infringe* is used with all three terms in collocation with *a right*. The right that is infringed is that of a subordinate, an employee or an agency worker, respectively. This shows

the interdependence of the persons involved in specific employment relationships. The verb *to permit* suggests that the three entities, the employer, hirer and TWA, have some power over their subordinates, the power delimited by the meaning of the verb that follows and its cotext, e.g. *the agency worker is entitled to be permitted by the temporary work agency or the hirer to take time off*. The verb *to request* suggests that the other party involved in a respective relationship can make an independent decision and, additionally, that the employer, hirer and TWA are aware of that but still have the right to ask their subordinates to do the thing that is requested.

Table 4: Collocates of *employer*, *hirer* and *temporary work agency* as subjects with examples from the employment law corpus. Source: own study

NODE	NO	EMPLOYER (2,599)	HIRER (199)	Temporary work agency (TWA) (168)
NODE as a subject	(1)	EMPLOYER + employ <i>employees employed by the employer</i> <i>an employer who employs individuals</i> <i>the employer employs workers</i>	HIRER + employ <i>individuals (...) employed by the hirer</i>	TWA + employ <i>the agency worker who has a contract with a TWA shall be treated as being employed by that TWA</i>
	(2)	EMPLOYER + fail <i>[the employer fails to:]give a pay statement, pay the employee, comply with section/the notice/ the requirements, permit to take time off, offer to provide (sb) with work, give notice, attend before the tribunal, fulfil a duty</i>	HIRER + fail <i>the hirer fails to comply with a recommendation</i>	TWA + fail <i>[the TWA fails to:]comply with a recommendation, pay the agency worker, pay (...) any amount, offer to propose the agency worker to a hirer</i>
	(3)	EMPLOYER + infringe <i>the employer has infringed such a right/the right in question/ a right conferred on him</i>	HIRER + infringe <i>a TWA or the hirer has infringed a right conferred on the agency worker</i>	TWA + infringe <i>a TWA or the hirer has infringed a right conferred on the agency worker</i>
	(4)	EMPLOYER + make <i>employer making the deduction</i> <i>any arrangements the employer makes</i> <i>a change that has been made by the employer</i> <i>the employer has made him an offer</i> <i>the employer makes the proposal</i> <i>a demand for a payment made by the employer</i> <i>an application which is made by an employer</i>	HIRER + make <i>the tribunal orders that payment under section (5) be made by the TWA and the hirer</i>	TWA + make <i>the tribunal orders that payment under section (5) be made by the TWA and the hirer</i>

NODE	NO	EMPLOYER (2,599)	HIRER (199)	Temporary work agency (TWA) (168)
NODE as a subject	(5)	(EMPLOYER + permit) <i>an employee (...) is entitled to be permitted by the employer to take reasonable time off</i> <i>an employer who permits an employee to take time off</i>	HIRER + permit <i>the agency worker is entitled to be permitted by the TWA or the hirer to take time off</i>	TWA + permit <i>the agency worker is entitled to be permitted by the TWA or the hirer to take time off</i>
	(6)	EMPLOYER + request <i>the employer requests the employee to do (sth)</i> <i>the employer requests the employee the production of any relevant records</i>	HIRER + request <i>if the TWA or the hirer requests the agency worker to give (sb) a declaration</i>	TWA + request <i>if the TWA or the hirer requests the agency worker to give (sb) a declaration</i>

Four verbs collocate with *employer* and *hirer*: *to agree*, *to inform*, *to provide* and *to refuse*. The verb *to agree* reveals the decision-making characteristic of the employer and hirer alike. The former may agree or not to pay a redundancy payment or to give the employee time off, and the latter may agree or not to agree to have a given agency worker on board. *To inform* is another verb that stresses the relationship between the employer and employee, and the hirer and agency worker, and their mutual dependence, e.g. *the employer agrees to permit the employee to take time off*, *the hirer has agreed to the supply of that agency worker*. The verb *to provide* appears in passive participle clauses and is used to provide information about the things that the employer or hirer should give their subordinates. Similarly to the verb *to agree*, the verb *to refuse* indicates the persons free will and the possibility of deciding within a given scope.

Table 5: Collocates of *employer* and *hirer* as subjects with examples from the employment law corpus. Source: own study

NODE	NO	EMPLOYER (2,599)	HIRER (199)
NODE as a subject	(1)	EMPLOYER + agree <i>the employer agrees to pay a redundancy payment/ to permit the employee to take time off</i>	HIRER + agree <i>the hirer has agreed to the supply of that agency worker</i>
	(2)	EMPLOYER + informs <i>the employer informs an employee in writing</i> <i>the employer informs the union</i> <i>an employee has the right to be informed by his employer</i>	HIRER + inform <i>an agency worker has (...) the right to be informed by the hirer of any relevant vacant posts</i>
	(3)	EMPLOYER + provide <i>benefits provided by the employer</i> <i>training entitlement/ information/ work/facilities provided by the employer</i>	HIRER + provide <i>facilities and amenities provided by the hirer</i>
	(4)	EMPLOYER + refuse <i>the employer refuses the application</i> <i>the employer has unreasonably refused to permit the employee to take time off</i>	HIRER + refuse <i>the hirer has reasonably refused to permit the agency worker to take time off</i> <i>he hirer has reasonably refused to let the agency worker take time off</i>

The next two verbs: *to have* and *to pay*, collocate with *employer* and *TWA*. The verb *to have* is used in the meaning “to possess” in the case of *to have work*, which is used both with *employer* and *hirer*, and to *have employees*, used with *employer*. The verb *to pay* is usually seen in passive. Its cotext informs us what kind of sums an employer and TWA pay and to whom.

Table 6: Collocates of *employer* and *temporary work agency* as subjects with examples from the employment law corpus. Source: own study

NODE	NO	EMPLOYER (2,599)	Temporary work agency (TWA) (168)
NODE as a subject	(1)	EMPLOYER + have (= to possess) <i>[the employer has:] a legal responsibility, available suitable alternative work for an employee, employees, the right to, a view about</i>	TWA + have (= to possess) <i>the TWA has available suitable alternative work</i>
	(2)	EMPLOYER + pay <i>compensation to be paid by the employer to the employee/to the complainant/to each person/to the worker, under section</i>	TWA + pay <i>actual remuneration paid by the TWA to an agency worker the TWA pays for the services of the individual</i>

The verbs that collocate with only one of the terms in the corpus form a large group in the case of *employer*. For reasons of space, only some of them will be analysed below:

Employer collocates with a number of verbs that show the relation with the employee, for instance *to dismiss*, *to give*, *to notify*, *to offer*, *to receive*, *to require*, *to terminate*, *to treat*. There are verbs collocating with *employer* referring to various regulations they need to follow, for instance *to comply*, *to contravene*. One verb indicates the state in which the employer may be – *to become*. There are verbs that suggest the employer’s power to adjust the world around to their needs – *to arrange*, *to determine*.

There are two collocates of *hirer* that do not collocate with other verbs under analysis. The first one, *to breach*, suggests that there are regulations and rules that the hirer may breach and thus is obliged to follow. The second, *to recruit*, is quite misleading because it in fact shows what a hirer does not do (the use of second conditional): they do not recruit agency workers but only their own employees.

There is only one verb collocating only with TWA: *to supply*. It is quite specific, and shows the role that a TWA has in the provision of agency workers to hirers.

Table 7: Collocates of *employer* as a subject with examples from the employment law corpus. Source: own study

NODE	NO	EMPLOYER (2,599)
NODE as a subject	(1)	EMPLOYER + arrange <i>the first meeting arranged by the employer to discuss services arranged by employer an employer arranges for another person to provide a service</i>
	(2)	EMPLOYER + become <i>the employee’s employer became insolvent</i>
	(3)	EMPLOYER + believe <i>the employer believes (or suspects) that</i>

NODE	NO	EMPLOYER (2,599)
NODE as a subject	(4)	EMPLOYER + comply <i>the employer has (not) complied with the terms of an order/ with that duty/ with paragraph</i>
	(5)	EMPLOYER + contravene <i>an employer who contravenes that subsection/regulation 3/this section</i>
	(6)	EMPLOYER + determine <i>the number of representatives to be elected to be determined by the employer if the employer so determines</i>
	(7)	EMPLOYER + die <i>the week in which the employer died</i>
	(8)	EMPLOYER + dismiss <i>an employee (is) dismissed by his employer</i>
	(9)	EMPLOYER + give <i>[the employer gives:] a document, a statement, a letter of engagement, a contract, a copy of a contract, notice (of termination), a period of notice, a counter-notice, consent, names and addresses, evidence</i>
	(10)	EMPLOYER + notify <i>the employer has notified the worker in writing the employer has notified the employee that the employer notifies the employee of the employer's decision</i>
	(11)	EMPLOYER + offer <i>the employer has offered to provide alternative work an employer offers to pay a sum</i>
	(12)	EMPLOYER + proposes <i>when an employer is proposing to dismiss as redundant employees the employer is proposing to dismiss the employer as redundant dismissals have been proposed by the employer</i>
	(13)	EMPLOYER + receive <i>the employer receiving the payment the employer receives the request/an application a payment received by the employer</i>
	(14)	EMPLOYER + recognise <i>a trade union recognised by the employer</i>
	(15)	EMPLOYER + require <i>the employer requires the worker a worker is accordingly required to work</i>
	(16)	EMPLOYER + show <i>reasons shown by the employer the employer shows that</i>
	(17)	EMPLOYER + suspect <i>the employer believes (or suspects) that</i>
	(18)	EMPLOYER + terminate <i>employment with his employer terminated or began at that time the contract of employment is terminated by the employer the employer terminates the contract</i>
	(19)	EMPLOYER + treat <i>the employer rightfully treats the breach as terminating the contract a part-time worker has the right not to be treated by his employer less favourably than the employer treats a comparable permanent employee</i>

Table 8: Collocates of *hirer* as a subject with examples from the employment law corpus. Source: own study

NODE	NO	HIRER (199)
NODE as a subject	(1)	HIRER + breach <i>a TWA or a hirer has breached these Regulations</i>
	(2)	HIRER + recruit <i>(...) had (the agency worker) been recruited by the hirer</i> <i>if (the agency worker) had been recruited directly by the hirer</i>

Table 9: Collocates of *temporary work agency* as a subject with examples from the employment law corpus. Source: own study

NODE	NO	Temporary work agency (TWA) (168)
NODE as a subject		TWA + supply <i>an agency worker/an individual (...) is supplied by a TWA to work temporarily</i> <i>the TWA supplies the individual/agency worker</i>

6. Findings and Conclusions

The presented study is another step towards learning more about the language of employment law, an area that has not been studied much so far. It depicts the differences in the meanings of *employer*, *hirer* and *temporary work agency* through an analysis of verbal collocations of the terms. The review of the corpus has shown that the last two terms appear in a limited number of acts, which makes them very specific to the area of employment law on temporary agency work. This explains their low frequency compared to *employer*, which is present throughout the employment law corpus. The low frequency of *hirer* and *temporary work agency* translates into them having fewer collocates compared to *employer*: the majority of verbs *hirer* and *temporary work agency* appear with are also used with *employer*: six are collocates of all three terms, six are collocates of *hirer* and *employer*, and four are collocates of *TWA* and *employer*. The rest of verbs (*hirer* – 2, *temporary work agency* – 1, and *employer* – 24) collocate with only one of the terms under analysis.

Incidental learning of collocations tends to be slow when the text is authentic and has not been modified for learning purposes due to low frequency of multiword items. Frequency is a substantial factor affecting the acquisition process, as scholars prove (Peters 2014, see also the review of studies in Conklin 2020). The corpus study presented in this paper may serve as an example of how infrequent collocations may be when compared with the total frequency of the node. The three terms analysed in the corpus of UK employment law show that terms may vastly differ in terms of frequency, from less than 200 (*hirer* and *temporary work agency*) to over 2.5 thousand (*employer*). The absolute frequency translates into the number of collocates of the terms and the number each of the collocations appear in the text, but still the frequencies of occurrence of whole multiword items are low compared to the absolute frequency of individual terms. That makes detecting such word combinations without additional stimuli very difficult for learners. An answer to that can be the aforementioned ‘easification’ (Bhatia 1983) and focused intervention (Boers 2020).

The use of unabridged statutes is particularly important for pinpointing the meaning of terms and showing legal collocations in context. As scholars stress, familiarising learners with different legal genres should be one of the components of legal language teaching at any level, because learners need to be able to understand and interpret legal texts. Legislature comes to the fore here, being the source of law in any of its areas. Easification techniques adjusted to learners' level of English may help focus students' attention on the selected terms and collocations that are particularly important for illustrating the meaning of terminological units.

The best way to acquire a new word or phrase is through specific context in which the word or phrase appears. It is the context which has the potential of revealing and teaching the true meaning of a term and of showing how terms are used in practice. This results from the fact that the meaning of legal terms is system-bound. A term in a specialist text is semantically related to other terms in that text immersed in a given system of law, and legal collocates mirror that relationship. The presented data show how much information the verb collocations may help deduct about the meaning of terms when properly analysed. The lists of verbs on their own depict what can be done to the persons represented by the three terms and what they can do. The study has revealed that the verb collocates found in the corpus reflect the meaning of the terms presented in the definitions of the terms from legal sources, including dictionaries and the relevant legal documents. Yet, what they show goes one step further and adds details to specific features of the terms, letting learners place the terms in the complex terminological system of employment law. When the listing is supported with additional context, for instance extracts from the source texts, the concepts represented by the terms become much more transparent. This can be used in teaching specialist terminology as information in encyclopaedias and dictionaries is often limited due to space restrictions and short of examples of use, invaluable for LSP learners. In the same vein, learning about collocations in real legal texts may also reveal the nuances of the meaning of terms, which dictionaries and encyclopaedias often lack. The nuances may be those aspects of meaning that can be deduced from the cotext and context that the collocations are part of.

The study has proven that unabridged legislative documents are a source of a breadth of information about the use of the terms and, in particular, their collocates. This in turn may be useful in the course of legal language learning by facilitating the acquisition of legal collocations and the meaning of legal terms through such multiword items. Considering the interest in the area of employment law for legal language teaching, worth recommending are further studies towards the way of including statutes in the teaching materials in coursebooks and the easification techniques that can be applied at different language levels. Additionally, owing to the system-bound nature of legal terminology, it would be worth investigating the differences in legal collocations in various legal systems. This might also carry some implications for teaching legal English and translation.

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10 A correction to "assymetries", the spelling used by the author of the original article.

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Received:

13.03.2024

Reviewed:

10.06.2024

Accepted:

30.06.2024

SERENA SAPIENZA

Sapienza University of Rome/Charles University in Prague
serena.sapienza@uniroma1.it

Atlantis from the Anthropocene: Anja Kampmann's Poems in *der hund ist immer hungrig*

Abstract

The article examines how the three classically intended timelines (past, present, future) merge into the images of various landscapes (e.g. contaminated landscapes, scenarios of remnants), profoundly modified by human action and will. This subject matter will be addressed through the literary analysis, grounded on ecopoetic and ecocritical theory, of a selection of poems recently published within the collection *der hund ist immer hungrig* (2021) by a German writer and poet, Anja Kampmann.

Keywords: poetry in the Anthropocene, Anja Kampmann, contaminated landscape, Atlantis, Ark

1. “die zukunft und alles / was war”: an Introduction

The concept of “landscape” is commonly, though synthetically, interpreted as a portion of natural elements, gathered by the gaze into a harmonious *unicum*, which, from a subjective perspective, appears as a frameable unit (“Landscape” OED online): it is not incidental that this term was first used in art to indicate a particular painting genre, depicting views of pleasant natural scenarios (Jakob 2022: 14; Grisoli & Xie 2023; 343). In a way, it represents the visual declination of a *locus amoenus*, as well as an idealized image through which it seems possible to restore, at least artistically, the balance between human life and its environment. The contemporary era might be interpreted as “landscape’s age”, or more accurately as “omni-landscape’s age”, according to Michael Jakob, who adopts this term to characterize the high degree of its replication and diffusion (Jakob [2008] 2009: 7). However, while on a daily basis we are subjected to landscape reproductions with aestheticizing tendencies, or a harmonizing “*Stimmung*”, the atmosphere or tonality conferring a sense of unity to the observed elements (Simmel 1913), Anja Kampmann, German poet and writer born in 1983, brings to life a multifaceted scenario, in which a highly poetic use of lights

and contrasts lets emerge scenes of personal and collective memories, often troubled by disturbing (or disturbed) environmental subjectivities. The traversed landscape is often constituted of barren soils, unnatural heat, intoxicated living beings, problematic historical events, or genetically modified animals and clones.

Rather than unveiling an idyllic topography, her poetry gradually reveals the deadly reality of the Anthropocene, a new geological era marked by human activity and its worldwide effects on the environment. The term “Anthropocene”, coined in the 1980s by biologist Eugene Stoermer, and later used together with Dutch Nobel Prize-winning chemist Paul Crutzen (2000: 17–18), refers to “the epoch of geological time during which human activity is considered to be the dominant influence on the environment, climate, and ecology of the earth, a formal chrono-stratigraphic unit with a base which has been tentatively defined as the mid-twentieth century” (“Anthropocene” OED online). The by now indelible trace of human activities on earth, destined to be visible for millions of years to come (Lewis, Maslin 2015: 171), obliges us to modify our conception of time and “our understanding of pasts, presents, and futures” (Wenzel 2018: 502) in order to reflect on the proximity to events that are reshaping the Earth’s face. Hence, “[r]ather than being a mere technical question of stratigraphy, [...] humanity’s geological agency and the nature and extent of the changes we have wrought on the Earth system raise problems of scale for the human imagination, necessitating new ways of thinking that are vastly more global and historical in scope than the narrow spatio-temporal confines of our ordinary daily lives tend to allow” (Craps 2018: 499). Instead of a straightforward flowing and homogenous progression, we assist to the coexistence of a “plurality of moments”, to quote Bergson ([1896] 1991: 219), that inhabit a peculiar *timespace* (Bal 2020: 122), observable in the structure of Earth, in atmospheric components or in the lithosphere, material archives and predictive sediments for the environment. As a consequence, on such a “palimpsestic planet” (Wenzel 2018: 503), human lives are involved “in a kind of deep-time negative capability, inducting us into the strangeness of a temporality that vastly exceeds both personal experience and intergenerational memory” (Farrier 2019: 5). In a viscous inhomogeneous shape, the contemporary moment encapsulates memory and prophecy, past and future, inseparable layers of the same reality.

The extension of human impact on a global scale, both intended in spatial and temporal terms, as well as the redefinition of the human subject, “as co-constituted through its intra-actions with the vibrant matter of the non-human” (Goodbody 2017: 266) constitute some peculiar characteristics of the poetic expression proper to the current geological era, as in Axel Goodbody’s theorization of ‘Poetry in the Anthropocene’. Within her collection of poems *der hund ist immer hungrig*, published by Carl Hanser Verlag in 2021, Anja Kampmann has addressed the ongoing intersection of human history with geological time (Morton 2013: 37) not only thematically, but also by means of stylistic devices, highlighting the porosity in time’s matter through the use of a peculiar verb tense. It is the German future perfect, known as “Futur II”¹, which expresses what, in a future time, will constitute the past. The semantic structure of this grammatical form encompasses several timelines not only from a conceptual perspective, but also by its formal features, since it consists of the juxtaposition of the verb *werden* (‘to become’) conjugated in the present tense (though functioning as an auxiliary to indicate a future action), the past participle of the main verb, and the infinitive of the auxiliary *to be* or *to have*. The past, present, and future merge into one another, highlighting a specific topic of the collection: the imprint that current human life is

1 Anja Kampmann during her speech for *Eventi letterari del Monte Ventoso* (2 April 2023), introduces the topic of *Futur II*. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nt7bCX0RwI> on 30 June 2023.

leaving on earth's surface, and what is going to be left to future generations. In this context, calling back to a quotation from Roger Willemsen's *Zukunftsrede* (2018: 25), Anja Kampmann wonders in one of her poems, *ganz in weiß*, "was wird man sagen / falls man fragt wer / wir mal waren" (Kampmann 2021: 59, ll. 35–37), "what will one say / if asked who / we once have been"². As from a rear-view mirror, she looks at the present life, gazing at ruins from the past or at predictive rubbles of some future times³, she looks at "die zukunft und alles / was war" (Kampmann 2021: 13), "the future and everything that has been".

As Roger Willemsen (2018) has theorized, "future has become the perspective on my vision of the present", and such a renewed vision of current events has unsettled the temporal distinctions concerning representation. In pursuing the following analysis within Anja Kampmann's collection *der hund ist immer hungrig*, three key concepts will be addressed, namely contamination, ark, and Atlantis, in the attempt to establish a link between a palimpsestic conception of time and its recognizability in the landscape.

2. Fractals of Time in "Contaminated Landscapes"

The understanding of temporal stratification in landscape's conceiving, especially in what concerns the retrieval of traces from the past, crosses the concept of "contamination" in the sense theorized by Martin Pollack in his study on European landscapes, which, despite an unspoiled and pristine appearance, hide mass graves dating back to collective murders conducted during the Second World War by the related regimes (Pollack [2014] 2016: 26). Behind the perpetration of such massacres there was a precise will to erase memory, as testified by the choice of remote places, and by the accuracy in deleting completely or covering up any trace that could have revealed the position of the buried corpses, their identity or the execution itself (*ivi*). In this sense, contamination affects various levels of territorial life: firstly, it causes the modification of landscape's features, since the executors would conceal graves' locations through the camouflage with natural elements of the area, through implantation of new vegetation or by rearranging the turned over soil; secondly, the memory of buried people is forever compromised and made inaccessible, with consequent corruption of the place's spiritual connotation; thirdly, the mutation in soil's components can affect the life and balance of the whole ecosystem, including human and non-human life, vegetal and inorganic elements. What emerges from Pollack's study is that, in an attempt to restore the memory of victims, massacres, and landscapes, it is necessary to focus on forgotten territories, and on human stories appearing in the books merely as cumulative numbers: the answers for future generations lay on the rim of time.

In *der hund ist immer hungrig*, contamination of temporal layering emerges in a visual sense already from the paratextual element of the volume's cover, verbally reflected in the first poem as well as in the author's footnotes. What the cover presents is the partial reproduction of a fresco set in a grove, with trees and bushes of different kinds (sycamore, ash, apple or cherry tree, reed and rose bushes), spreading out in a fractal scheme, in a repetition and progressive expansion within the painting's space. Embedded in the foliage, a man, apparently a hunter, advances accompanied by his hound which grabs, or rather rips through, another not clearly identified non-human animal, perhaps a deer, partly overlapping with it. This

2 Unless otherwise indicated, translations are those by the author.

3 'To "see" is a really common verb within the collection, mostly occurring in past tenses, and both referred to the lyrical-I, and to a more comprehensive *we* (Kampmann 2021: 10, 55, 74, 36, 82, 92).

hunting scene is a detail from the *Chambre du cerf* (“Deer Room”), located in Avignon Papal Palace, where Pope Clement VI, who had commissioned the fresco, had spent the year 1348 (Kampmann 2021: 113). Back to that time, two events had recently and profoundly shaken the life and shape of the continent: an earthquake in Friuli and the Eastern Alps, and the outbreak of bubonic plague: “hungrily the black breath spread across the land” (Kampmann [2021] 2022: 1, l. 20), through soil’s folds, being carried by tiny, quite imperceptible beings, always relegated to the margins of social life: fleas and mice, which threatened to penetrate even those woods-walls behind which Clement sought protection.

The verses of the first poem, entitled *es war das jahr* (“it was the year”, *ivi*), not only *re-construct* these scenarios through an ekphrastic poetic translation, but they also reveal the deep temporal stratification underlying it.

es war das jahr

es war das jahr in dem sich alles
beugte wars schlechte luft ein gas
vielleicht von jenem großen beben im friaul

was solls er hörte sagen hörte zahlen
der schwarze schlechte garten pest
war nun herangedrängt bis an die mauern des palasts

und es war sommer heiß
und clemens saß zwischen zwei feuern
er blieb er ließ sich bringen holz

und wein. und saß
zwischen zwei feuern
in manchen nächten stahl er sich hinein

sah alle jagd und sah den hunger
an den wänden hunde falken hirschjagd
kritzeleien es war das jahr der pest

ein jahr das keines war die flammen
nur als farbe stiegen auf

ein negativbereich vor dem die spuren
dieser träume seltsam schwankten

und hungrig strich der schwarze atem übers land

im negativbereich verzerrt zwischen zwei feuern
saß clemens um ihn leuchtete die angst

gib mir ein bild gib mir die hohen
wände gib mir ein spiel gib mir die jagd

und jenen dunklen wald in dem sich
unergründlich suchen lässt
der weg

und der vorangeht kennt die spur

und der vorangeht kennt das schicksalslied der wünsche
das ich sang.⁴ (Kampmann 2021: 5–6)

The fairytale incipit of the poem (“es war”, l. 1) introduces right from the beginning its prevalent verbal tense, the *Präteritum*, which aims to express actions having taken place in remote pasts and theoretically having exhausted their consequences in the present. However, the narrated events hide a peculiar bond between 1348 – the year that was not (“das keines war”, l. 16), unspecified in the text but indicated in the footnotes –, and the writing time: the pandemic. The elements connecting the Black Death with Sars Covid-19 can be recognized in different occasions such as the reference to *bad air* (“schlechte luft”, l. 2), or the *heard* numbers and counting (l. 4), or the voluntary Clement’s isolation in the *Chambre*, which echoes the lockdown experience. As declination of contaminated landscapes (as in Pollack’s definition), the Covid-19 and Black Plague pandemics additionally pose comparable problems when it comes to the burial of deceased infected bodies. If in 14th century corpses would have commonly been buried in mass graves (Haensch *et al.* 2010: 3), during Covid pandemics, they were, at least partially, deprived of their identity, packed in specific anti-infection obscuring bags and declared untouchable ever after (Umair 2021: 84–85). Kampmann’s poetic *tableau* thickens the sense of time and distance through content and formal devices, as the overlapping of Clement’s direct speech in the present tense with the voice of narration in *Präteritum* demonstrates. Timelines’ multiplication permits to distinguish subjective visions and encounters in a collective event, it detaches individual experiences from a *symbiotic*, undefined surrounding, echoing the *Chambre du cerfs* technique, rare in the period, where human and non-human figures merge with and emerge from a dark, arborical background: “Man is not the dominating, often exclusive element anymore; nature is not reduced to an almost abstract indication anymore. It envelops human activity, which gets unfolded but by nature” (Roques 1960: 280).

If past and present events clearly appear in the poem’s verses, the sense of futurity may be detected with the aid of paratextual elements. In the footnotes Kampmann cites, in fact, a passage extracted from Francesco Petrarca’s epistolary poem on the plague, entitled *Ad seipsum*, in which he expresses his concerns about the future mnemonic legacy of those tragic, deathly events devastating Europe in that period, as well as the overwhelming feeling of powerlessness brought on by the epidemic: “The reason is probably God’s wrath, for I am convinced that our sins merit it; but perhaps it is only the disfavor of heaven as a result of a change in nature?” (Kampmann [2021] 2022: 1). In 1348, nature had registered some changes for which humans were recognized as responsible and these mutations manifested already through the strange and alienating perception of air, an omen of misfortune: air corruption was considered to be a cause of the plague during the 14th century. The prophecy *motiv* is directly evoked in the poem’s last lines, by referring to the ‘fateful song of desire’ (l. 29), intonated by the lyrical-I and known by who is conducting the expedition in the woods, preceding the lyrical-I both in time and space.

4 “it was the year” (Kampmann [2021] 2022: 1): “it was the year in which everything/ bowed was it bad air a gas/ perhaps from that great quake in friuli// so what he heard it said heard the numbers/ the black bad garden plague/ had now advanced to the walls of the palace// and it was summer hot/ and clement sat between two fires/ he stayed he had wood brought// and wine. and sat/ between two fires/ some nights he stole into the hall// saw all hunt and saw the hunger/ on the walls ho-hounds falcons stag hunt/ scribblings it was the year of the plague// a year not here the flames/ rose only as color// a negative range where traces/ of these dreams staggered strangely// and hungrily the black breath spread across the land// in negative range torn between two fires/ clement sat around him flickered fear// give me an image give me the high/ walls give me a game give me the hunt// and that dark wood/ where it can be mysteriously sought/ the way/ and who leads catches the scent// and who leads knows the fateful song of desires/ that I sang.”

A similar pattern in terms of contaminated timelines and sights is retrievable in the poem entitled *duvenstedter brook* (Kampmann 2021: 15), which emphasizes the need to comprehend historical events in the present the way they may affect our perception of the surroundings. In Hamburg “they say it wasn’t so bad” (*ivi*, l.1), since a Nazi Party official, close to Hitler and Göring and called “good *Gauleiter*”, Karl Kaufmann was administrating the city as *Reichstatthalter* (Kampmann [2021] 2022: 3). As Kampmann points out, however, there is no historical evidence of his generosity or kindness: as a matter of fact, he was among those in charge of sending Jews, opponents of the regime, homosexuals, and Romani to the first concentration camp, Konzentrationslager Fuhlsbüttel (Diercks 2005: 113), which he had personally authorized (*ivi*) in September 1933.

“Beginning in 1937, Kaufmann dedicated great effort to introducing red deer into the Duvenstedter Brook” (Kampmann [2021] 2022: 3), a park in Hamburg, for hunting reasons, by eradicating the animals from various European countries (such as Poland and France). If the attitude towards the deer, addressed as “vieh”, l.2, “livestock”, and “das wild” (l. 14), “game”, “wild animals”, reveals his will to preserve them only to satisfy his pleasures, humans are forced to face a similar cruel destiny and, deprived of their “worth” (ll. 10–11), they are uprooted, deported, chased, killed. Under his responsibility, as *Reich* commissioner for the navy traffic, almost 9000 people, already displaced in concentration camps, and then temporarily hidden on ships “Cap Arcona” and “Thielbeck”, died after the Ally bombing of Lübeck in 1944, burnt alive or executed by Germans before they could escape (Schawe 2010: 45). The “*soul gasps*” (l. 8), quoted after Paul Celan’s poem *Schneepart*, remain imperceptible to ear and sight, unknown to nowadays visitors of a paradisiac landscape that complements the still ongoing “splendid” multiplication of the deer (l. 19).

3. A Question of Naming: The Ark for an Altered, Mutated Posterity

If in *duvenstedter brook* land and landscape’s signs have let the secret and inaccessible stratification of events emerge, leading, or at least aspiring, to a *contaminated* resignification of the surrounding and of its understanding, poetry itself welcomes Anthropocene material changes and becomes the terrain for a specular resemantization, an alteration in language and imagery. The way Scaffai reconsiders the role of literature in such a context, namely as the “possibility of interpreting both ancient and present times, succeeding in being part of a continuum in which natural images acquire new meanings” (2017: 187), is thematized in a specific group of poems in *der hund ist immer hungrig*. The title of this section is *ein anderes blau*, “another blue”, which recalls a verse from Rolf Dieter Brinkmann’s *Gedicht* (1975: 41), “Ich gehe in / ein anderes Blau” (“I go into another blue”). In Brinkmann’s poem the lyrical-I wanders among the rests of a “[z]erstörte Landschaft” (‘collapsed landscape’, *ivi*, l. 1), experiencing otherness also through the estranging exposure to the profoundly altered metaphorical range of the colour “blue”. From Novalis’s “blue flower” to David Bowie’s “electric blue” (Röhnert 2017: 345), its chromatic experience works as a “Südwort” in Benn’s sense (for whom blue represents the South-Word “schlechthin”, *par excellence*, and which is evoked by Brinkmann’s verse as well), letting emerge “a primitive dimension, [...] an anamnesis” (Di Noi 2011: 136), the fragmented residues of a mythical reminiscence, multiplied by Brinkmann’s addressing to contemporary changes and by his glancing towards the future (“Das blaue Futur”, Brinkmann 1975: 102).

The poem opening Anja Kampmann's mentioned section unfolds a similar multifaceted anamnesis, it thickens "the present with an awareness of the other times and places" (Farrier 2019: 9). Its title, *deep blue* (Kampmann 2021: 29), conceals the identity of the first IBM computer capable of defeating the back then chess world champion Gary Kasparov ("unser held" "our hero" *ivi*: 114). In depicting the challenge disputed between humanity and machine, the reader witnesses the alterations in referentiality of metaphoric images inspired by a spiritual understanding of the surroundings: "they called him deep blue / maybe because they still believed / in the ocean and its ancient power" (Kampmann [2021] 2022: 5, ll. 1–3). The act of attributing a name embodies the estranging experience of an unprecedented relationship between environment, and new products of human action. Considered as an archetypical act, the Religions of the Book entrust the process of denomination to the hypothesis of Adam's infused science, expressing – as Beer discerns in *Darwin's Plots* – a close relationship between the role of language and anthropocentrism:

If the material world is not anthropocentric but language is so, the mind cannot be held truly to encompass and analyse the properties of the world that lie about it. Only by giving up the will to dominate the material world and to relate it to our own needs, conditions, and sensibilities will it be possible for us to find a language that gives proper attention to the nature of things. (Beer 1983: 45)

Hence, poetry, language and literature are invested in a fundamental responsibility: they must gradually abandon the desire to dominate the world and move away from what has long been regarded as the centre of the world, humankind. It invites us to welcome the margins, and their inhabitants, the "Randfiguren"⁵; human, non-human, inorganic. What is also true is that the commonality of destinies shared with non-human otherness had already been explored, among many, by Lucretius in the 1st century b. C., who did "nothing but repeat that the world was not made for us. Man is not its ruler. He is not superior to animals, his soul dies with his body" (Anedda 2022: 133). Notwithstanding this early warning, the future echo of his *lectio* remains forgotten and unheard. Similarly, the Anthropocene reveals how the progressive technological imposition of human needs damages the planet's other inhabitants, the sign of an apparently irreversible abandonment of the interspecies *kinship* Donna Haraway wrote of, especially referring to our connection and responsibility towards other life forms on earth (Haraway 2016: 2). To adequately face the danger of a centripetal tendency and progressive detachment from environmental elements, it appears necessary to reframe space as something "traversed, populated, occupied by a multitude of living beings endowed with different intentions" (Besse [2018] 2020: 23). Such an attitude reflects the protective scheme of the Ark, Noah's Ark, thanks to which most of the animals inhabiting earth during the Flood managed to survive (metaphorically) in the Genesis, until the present day. Through its defensive structure the ark "gathers and saves voices from the abyss of events" (Miglio 2022: 154), while its open side enables connections and "exchanges of (internal and external) spaces, of (past and future) times" (*ivi*: 158). As a consequence, the ark represents a bond among beings and a promise of bridging different timelines, of letting various voices – including the forgotten or inaudible ones –, and residues of a changing reality overcome the troubling contemporary moment. The possibility of the ark, intended as future legacy, is nurtured, contained, questioned within the arch of existence of the species, "mosaiksteinchen der arten"

5 Anja Kampmann expressed her interest in figures, usually marginalized by social life and literary representation, in her novel *Wie hoch die Wasser steigen* (2018), which deals with the workers' experience on oil drilling platform in the Atlantic.

(“tesserae of the species”, Kampmann 2021 [2022]: 110, l. 102) composing a world intended as a “knot in motion” (Haraway 2003: 6).

I understand species as ‘flight ways’ [...], something like a ‘line of movement’ through evolutionary time. But it is much more than an empty trajectory, [...] species are engaged in an ongoing intergenerational process of *becoming* [...] in which individual organisms are [...] ‘participants’ in an ongoing and evolving way of life. [...] What is tied together is not ‘the past’ and ‘the future’ as abstract temporal horizons, but real embodied generations – ancestors and descendants – in rich but imperfect relationships of inheritance, nourishment, and care. These are knots *of* and *in* time. (Van Doreen 2014; 27–29)

Species are knots of a constantly negotiated thread that connects inheritance and future modifications when viewed through the prism of the present. Along this *flight way*, however, the Anthropocene has been troubling “temporal patterns of life and death, of being and becoming” (Bastian, Van Doreen 2017; 6), by playing with *immortality* in an unprecedented way.

Cloning experiments certainly represent an example of anthropogenic alteration of a lineage. This topic is addressed by Kampmann’s poem *an aiken cura* (“to aiken cura” *ivi*: 6), which deals with the story of the Argentinian polo horse Aiken Cura. After its death in 2006 due to a fall, the horse *owner*, Adolfo Cambiaso, decided to clone Aiken Cura, by recurring to the process of nuclear transfer from cells extracted out of the horse’s chest (the same technique used for Dolly, the first sheep clone). Aiken Cura is considered one of the first horse-clones in history.

an aiken cura

I
 du wirst besessen immer noch
 und ob du weißt was dir geschah
 die frage nach dem rand aus dem man kommt
 du zwiebelchen, du stück aus deiner haut
 ich weiß nicht ob du weißt du bist nun du-du du-du du
 was wundert. dein ende nach dem sturz
 kein ende. wurd per pipette annulliert
 ich denk mich in die mitte deiner was – im stall
 acht mal dieselbe blässe nüstern pferdekopf und bein
 wie eine halluzination auf stroh
 wo keine krippe und kein sternenlicht
 doch lass – dann trittst du vor die kamera
 im schwung im schwung du weißt acht mal
 und auf dem feld macht das keinen unterschied
 wie krieg wo acht soldaten einer werden
 wenn sie fallen ich sah
 dich ja. ich sah dich schnell und donnernd
 weit entfernt von tante dolly auf dem polofeld
 aus mikroskop pipette und geduld
 wurd gold. und die medaille treuer freund
 wer nahm sie an? der ahn
 das hautstück brust

oder der nachfahrfahr fahrfahr-fahrfahr-fahrfahr
 (du hörst, es klingt schon wie galopp)
 mit seiner schönen blässe? ich frag
 wer stand denn da
 warst du's
 warst du nun da
 an dem medaillentag?

II

ach lieber nachfahrfahr
 und dein galopp hält worauf zu?⁶ (Kampmann 2021: 115–116)

The existence of a cloned being generates a parallel direction of the *flight way*, blurring the lines that separate past, present and future, now mingled into an indefinite nimbus. The present appears uncanny and paradoxical due to the existence of a cloned horse, which, according to past events, should have been dead. The future, in addition, is completely dubious, and uncertain, when it comes to Aiken Cura's potentially infinite lineage.

Cloning processes and the consequent ethical issues invest various communicative levels of the poem. In the first place, a precise rhythmic structure, characterized by the reiterated and prevalent use of iambus, replicates the image and sound of the disyllabic word "galopp" (ll. 27, 34). The insisted repetition of this rhythm and of the gallop gait reaches the last verse, with the meaningful and rhetorical question "und dein galopp hält worauf zu?" (l. 34), which echoes and contradicts the poem's incipit "du wirst besessen immer noch" (l.1).

Besides its rhythmic reflection, the cloning procedures emerge in *an aiken cura* through a careful repetition of sounds and words, as the case of the pronoun "du", "you" (lines 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 13, 27, 28), and of the noun "nachfahrfahr", translated by Anne Posten as "descendantant" (Kampmann [2021] 2022: 6–7). Even though in German the term "Nachfahr" indicates the concept of posterity, the repetition of the word's second element, "-fahr", represents Kampmann's intention of giving resonance to the particular life status of the horse. Within the collection, the term "nachfahrfahr" recurs every time the author deals with the cloning processes⁷, although it is in *an aiken cura* that the word appears for the first time. The internal composition of the German word for "descendant" reveals a further link with the topic of the poem, since it implies a movement ("fahren") towards a direction ("nach", which also means "after" and "according to"), echoing the dynamism of a horse race, and an action that survives time to reach the future.

6 "to aiken cura" (Kampmann [2021] 2022: 6-7): "I//you still belong/ whether or not you know what they did to you/ the question of the edge from which one comes/ dear bulblet, dear piece of your own skin/ I don't know if you know you're now you-you you-you you/ a wonder. your end after the fall/ no end. annulled by a pipette/ I think myself into the middle of your what—in the stall/ eight times the same pale nostrils horsehead and leg/ like a hallucination on straw/ with no manger and no starlight/ leave it—then you're in front of the camera/ going going you know eight times/ and on the field it makes no difference/ like in war where eight soldiers become one/ as they fall yes I/ saw you. I saw you thundering fast/ far from aunt dolly on the polo field/ from microscope pipette and patience/ pays off. and the medal faithful friend/ who accepted it? the forebear/ the piece of breastskin/ or the descendantant antant-antant-antant/ (listen, it already sounds like a gallop)/ with its beautiful pallor? I'm asking/ who stood there/ was it you/ were you there/ on that day with the medal?//II// Ah dear descendantant/ and your gallop is heading towards what?"

7 Some examples of the term may be detected in the following poems: *chase* (36–37); *das blaue seigel (pleistozänpark)* (47–50); *ganz in weiß* (58–60).

As in *deep blue*, the reader witnesses the necessity to invent a new word that can describe an unprecedented phenomenon, the issue of attributing a name to “an animal or (theoretically) a person that is developed asexually from its parent to whom it is genetically identical” (‘Clone’ OED online). Again, mutation is reflected in language and imagery, profoundly contaminated by this technological *birth*. Scientific lexicon, related to the cloning process (e.g., “pipette” ll. 7, 19; “dolly” l. 18; “mikroskop” l. 19; “hautstück” l. 22), or to horse races (“stall” l. 8; “polofeld” l. 11; “schwung” l. 13; “medaille” ll. 20, 29; “galopp” ll. 24, 31), is juxtaposed to religious expressions referred to birth, nativity, and death: the reminded cloned animals, for example, are generated through breast skin, in analogy to Eve creation from Adam’s rib; the poem mentions the manger and the starlight (l. 11), or the horse’s “thundering” pace (l. 17), adjective with biblical and mythic resonances.

Lexical choices and sound structures lead to the last two lines, which conceal the ethical implications of a potentially infinite gallop gait: how can human beings genetically modify the *flight ways* of other species? How should the product of their technique be named, if it consists of replication and generation of new, yet paradoxical, descendants? By amplifying the inquiry uttered at the end of *deep blue* (“which blue do you believe / we’ll see today?”; *ivi*: 5, ll. 16–17) in light of an uncertain and potentially catastrophic future, Kampmann hopes that humans will be able to assume a defensive and protective stance toward other forms of life to forge a caring and sensitive kinship that will allow them to survive anthropogenic derangement.

4. An Atlantis from the Anthropocene: Conclusion

To gradually conclude our study, we will review the idea in the paper’s title – that is, the concept of Atlantis, the legendary land that has more than any other captivated scientists, philosophers and explorers, inspiring them to search for its vestiges (Eco 2013: 182). The *motiv* of a sunken island hiding mysterious realities is peculiarly evoked within Kampmann’s collection. As a matter of fact, besides weakening time boundaries, it is interpreted as a warning, for present and future generations, about the image of our world and society that is destined to survive and transcend our lives: it represents an omen, the author’s “fateful song” evoked in the first poem. However, if the relicts of the future sunken island traditionally hide golden palaces and statues, the future Atlantis of Anthropocene unfolds an industrial rotten and spoiled reality.

In a poem, which pairs the title’s collection, *der hund ist immer hungrig* (Kampmann 2021: 33, “the dog is always hungry” [2021] 2022: 8), this scenario becomes perceivable, framed by a resigned lyrical-I. The landscape emerging from the verses is literally contaminated, poisoned, due to fracking activity that has been polluting freshwater in Fort McMurray, Alberta, Canada (Kampmann 2021: 114), while in the nearby Six Nations Reservation, Nestlé has been extracting millions of liters of water. Inhabitants of the area are deprived of their access to drinking water. The terrain is soaked with chemical agents; any living being is prevented from touching fracking surfaces (the population would shoot in the air to drive birds away from the polluted area); the deprivation of the only “good stuff” (“gute pump”, l. 6), which has ended up “bottled by a swiss company” (*ivi*), endangers the whole biosphere. The resignation towards a spoiled ecosystem and a damaged social life is expressed through the repeated monosyllabic word “tja” (ll. 4, 5, 10, 18, translated by Posten as “huh”), which marks the abandonment of any hope for change. The poem’s title is inspired by the story of Michael David Beamish, appearing in the documentary film “*Dark Eden*”, and his dog, which, injured by a shot, rapidly lost its understanding of the surrounding reality.

An archeological vision of our current, *thick* time is pursued in the poem *atlantis*. In a persisting present, the land appears flat, still, totally covered with industries, wastes, products of anthropic activity. The surface becomes the subject of a doubly directed perspective: it is glanced at from above in an undefined predicting vision of the environmental characteristics, and it is crossed from below in a horizontal movement that allows the landscape elements to be distinguished in the spatial perception of an unnamed subject (e.g., “close to” l. 4 or “away from here” l. 10). The poem provides context for what’s left of our planet – a land disfigured by wounds and scars, a contaminated atmosphere.

atlantis

noch mal verschnaufen vor der wanderschaft
 die hunde flach am tankstellenrand
 den buckel aufgeheizt in frühjahrssonne und alte
 paare neben abgerollten kabeltrommeln
 das personal der luft sitzt schwarzgefiedert weiter oben
 drei schafe trinken
 braunes flaches land
 und die laternen stehn mit langer kordel
 angebunden als wäre pilgerschaft der plan
 fort von hier die hütten ganz in sich verschlossen still
 und ohne namen, nur pappelflackern richtung donau
 brücken frachter ladekran
 noch ein paar hohe schlote (silberluft) chemie
 und alles scheint im gegenlicht
 erschlossen. keksdosen goldene kanister
 irgendwo am rand von einem öl aus sonnenblumen
 man fragt ob alles längst vergossen
 und eingesickert in den grund partikel
 in der luft wie reste von atlanten
 und doch
 die hunde schlafen
 und braten sich das fell.⁸ (Kampmann 2021: 104)

In *atlantis*, Anja Kampmann permeates her poetic discourse with the effect of *estrangement*, defined as “the unattended perspective on a reality which, under other light, was or appeared known and familiar” (Scaffai 2017: 26). We therefore witness the juxtaposition of elements referring to a deeper connection with nature (“wanderschaft” l.1; “frühjahrssonne” l. 3; “pilgerschaft” l. 9; “pappelflackern” l. 11) and terms related, instead, to urban and industrial landscape (“tankstellenrand” l. 2; “kabeltrommeln” l. 4; “bracken frachter ladekran” l. 12; “schlote (silberluft) chemie” l. 13; “öl aus sonnenblumen” l. 16). This

8 “taking a breather again before wandering/ the dogs stretched on the rim of a service station/ hump heated in early year sun and old/ couples close to unrolled cable drum/ the air crew/ sits black-feathered further up/ three sheep drink/ brown flat land/ and the street lights tied up with a long cord/ as by planning of a pilgrimage/ away from here huts locked in themselves still/ and nameless. just poplars’ flicker towards Danube/ bridges freighter loading crane/ still a pair of chimneys (silver air) chemistry/ and in backlight everything seems/ tapped. cookies boxes golden cans/ somewhere on the rim of sunflower oil/ it is asked if everything spilled long ago/ and seeped into the ground particles/ in the air like remnants of atlantes/ and yet/ the dogs are sleeping/ and roasting their fur.”

alienating process produces a split in the readers' certainties: which of the two semantic groups appears more familiar? Is it the vocabulary linked to nature, although its conceiving results closer to an idealized idyllic past or some reflection of *wilderness*, inaccessible to many (Morton 2018), or is it the *wastescape*, which frequently populates, instead, the gaze over our surroundings? With its spatial traits and peculiar perceiving modalities, the poem *atlantis* constitutes a "literary landscape" (Jakob [2008] 2009), whose subject shows the catastrophe faced by nature and its representations during the Anthropocene, the transformation in their features from those pertaining a *locus amoenus* to the images of a daily ecocrisis. The reference to Atlantis, as legacy of our time, is connected to that of the atlas (l. 19), a cartographical instrument of territory's visualization, which is however destructed and dispersed in the environment. Both Atlantis and atlantes, objects and tools of representation, are but "remnants" (l. 19), corrupted "particles" of reality dripping in the ground, suspended in the air. The legacy of our time is this slow and constant pervading of exogenous elements in every form and aspect of life, it is pollution.

If there is a material, technological, and industrial pollution, which exposes weather to conceivable risks, then there is also a second pollution, invisible, which puts time in danger, a cultural pollution that we have inflicted on long-term thoughts, those guardians of the Earth, of humanity, and of things themselves. (Serres [1990] 1995)

Ecological crisis inevitably endangers the mnemonic and prophetic legacy of time, compromising both the possibility of dipping into a mythic past, whose imagery must be reconsidered and thought of along with environmental changes and human responsibility of their origin, and the hope to survive an uncertain future. Anja Kampmann appears to address the need to produce a multifaceted and dialogic temporal dimension, which, when broadened and thickened, is frequently prompted by a scene or environment that has been observed, reproduced, and reshaped. Deprived of idealizations, depictions of nature are investigated in terms of historical contaminations concerning their birth, in their potentiality of salvation or death for Earth species, and finally in their ability to represent the contemporary moment in futurity. "In a substantially altered world, when sea-level rise has swallowed the Sundarbans and made cities like Kolkata, New York and Bangkok uninhabitable, when readers and museumgoers turn to the art and literature of our time, will they not look, first, and most urgently, for traces and portents of the altered world of their inheritance?" (Ghosh 2016). If Ghosh is concerned about contemporary literature's failure in addressing the consequences of the ecocrisis and that our time will be, for this reason, recalled as the *Great Derangement* in the future, then Anja Kampmann, through her poetic language, profoundly altered by anthropic hybris acts, reflects on the urge to subvert human besieging of surrounding life and space. *der hund ist immer hungrig* might be interpreted as an appeal for solidarity among living beings, as well as an invitation for the Atlantis that will endure into our time, both past and present, and in the future as part of a community of never-separable or separate destinies.

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ANNETTE SIEMES

Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Instytut Dziennikarstwa i Komunikacji Społecznej

annette.siemes@uwr.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0001-6129-0900

Zmiany w obliczu zmian. Globalne ocieplenie z perspektywy młodych osób studiujących. Wyniki badania

Changes in the Light of Change. Global Warming from the View of Young Students. Research Outcomes

Abstract

The article presents the outcomes of a questionnaire survey concerning climate change and global warming, looked at from the perspective of young students. The study is part of a series of surveys, each realized on the occasion of UN Climate Change Conferences (COP). Questionnaire issues were the knowledge about the summit event and (the bias of) its media sources, the relevance of the problem and required change as well as responsibility in different societal fields. Results show high awareness of the urgent nature of the problem and a differentiated view of various options and fields for needed change, but also a lack of common positions regarding who has to act and how. As the leading interest of the study is to gain insight into how the possibilities and limits of communication affect the negotiation of a complex problem, outcomes are discussed in regard to this wider question.

Keywords: communication, questionnaire survey, young people, climate change, transformation design

0. Problem i cel badania

Omawiane w niniejszym artykule badanie stanowi kontynuację projektu, w ramach którego z okazji międzynarodowych szczytów klimatycznych zbadano wybrane kwestie związane z problematyką zmiany klimatu.¹ W rezultacie przeprowadzanego od 2018 roku co dwa/trzy lata badania powstała stabilna baza

1 Dla wcześniejszych edycji zob. Siemes (2020a) oraz (2023).

wiedzy o analizowanych zagadnieniach, która była w ostatnich latach sukcesywnie rozbudowywana przez dodawanie pytań dotyczących kolejnych aspektów istotnych dla badanego problemu. Zastosowanie (prawie) identycznie skonstruowanego kwestionariusza pozwoliło na długofalową obserwację rozwoju podejścia do zagadnienia oraz ogólnej oceny problematyki, jak i wpływu różnych czynników na konkretną znajomość wydarzenia szczytu – jak na przykład (w 2018 roku) bliskości miejsca odbywania się obrad (w Katowicach).

Celem tych badań jest nie tyle uzyskanie wglądu w to, czy oraz jak młode osoby widzą problem zmiany klimatu (w perspektywie klasycznych badań opinii), lecz przede wszystkim uzyskanie danych świadczących o tym, jakie możliwości oferuje nam komunikacja jako jedyny wehikuł, jakim dysponujemy na poziomie społecznym, dla zainicjowania zmian, by odnieść się do tak egzystencjalnej problematyki jak zmiana klimatu, wymagającej daleko i głęboko idących przemian systemowych.² Niemniej jednak skupię się tu na perspektywie (wybranej) grupy młodych osób, gdyż to one będą siłą rzeczy dłużej niż starsze generacje musiały żyć w tej nowej sytuacji i (dalej) nią się zajmować.

Problem badawczy został określony na tle systemowej teorii komunikacji (Fleischer 2007), w ujęciu której komunikacja rozumiana jako proces negocjowania znaczeń wyznacza pewną przestrzeń możliwości, jednocześnie ją określając i ograniczając. W tym sensie komunikacja może stanowić narzędzie inicjowania i wdrażania zmian, będąc jednak dla jej kontynuacji i jej perpetuowania zależna od już istniejących podstaw i przesłanek, w sensie komunikacyjnych konstruktów, conceptów, scenariuszy itd., ogólnie rzecz biorąc – obszarów normalności oraz, szerzej, nawiązywalności na jej obszarze.³ Powstaje zatem pytanie, w jaki sposób możliwości oraz konkretnie manifestujące się sposoby mówienia o tak kompleksowym zagadnieniu jak globalne ocieplenie organizują i warunkują możliwości zmian – czy to systemowych czy w obrębie różnych obszarów społecznych? W badaniu nie chodzi zatem tylko o to, czy sama problematyka jest (nadal) istotna z punktu widzenia młodych osób oraz jakie opinie i nastawienia się w tym kontekście pojawiają, lecz również o to, jakie aspekty, tematy oraz modele odpowiedzialności są w ogóle widziane względnie *pojawiają się w komunikacjach, manifestując się w formie wypowiedzi*, gdyż to decyduje o ramach, w obrębie których jesteśmy na poziomie społecznym dopiero w stanie cokolwiek negocjować i ustalać, by móc (potem lub potencjalnie) przejść od komunikacji do działań.

Punktem wyjścia (do tej pory trzech) przeprowadzonych ankiet była każdorazowo kwestia znajomości odbywających się w czasie realizowanego badania szczytów klimatycznych COP (Conference of the Parties), na których negocjowano i ustalano na arenie międzynarodowej dalsze działania w zakresie dążenia do kontroli oraz redukcji emisji gazów cieplarnianych w celu zatrzymania globalnego ocieplenia na poziomie umożliwiającym jeszcze przetrwanie ludzkiego gatunku.⁴ Ankieta dotyczy poza tym również posiadanych źródeł wiedzy o szczycie oraz wybranych kwestiach ogólnych: istotności samej problematyki, obszarów oraz rodzajów (w 2023 roku) wymaganych zmian jak i codziennych kontekstów (nie-)mówienia o problemie. W celu uzyskania wyników pozwalających na analizę opisanego wyżej szerszego zakresu problemu, to znaczy, wyników świadczących również o *sposobach mówienia* lub możliwościach stojących

2 Zob. przykładowo Herrmann (2022), Welzer (2013/2016).

3 Dla teoretycznych podstaw zob. szerzej Link (2013) oraz Siemes (2015, 2020b i 2024).

4 Szczyty klimatyczne COP (Conference of the Parties) odbywają się na bazie Ramowej Konwencji Narodów Zjednoczonych w sprawie Zmiany Klimatu z 1992 roku – umowy międzynarodowej ratyfikowanej przez 198 państw. Zob. UNFCCC – United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, zob. <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-convention/what-is-the-united-nations-framework-convention-on-climate-change> [data dostępu: 15.02.2024].

do dyspozycji komunikacji, pytania dotyczące źródeł wiedzy o szczycie oraz zmian miały formę otwartą; po realizacji dwóch pierwszych ankiet jedno z pytań (kto powinien coś zmienić, aby ograniczyć zmianę klimatu) zostało sprowadzone do formy pytania zamkniętego, gdyż wyniki dotyczące tej kwestii były już stabilne, dodano natomiast jeszcze jedno pytanie otwarte (*jakie zmiany są wskazane*). W badaniu zadano respondentom i respondentkom sześć następujących pytań:⁵

1. Czy słyszał Pan/Pani coś o szczycie klimatycznym w Dubai? Tak/Nie.
2. Jeśli tak, to gdzie/w jakich źródłach? [pytanie otwarte]
3. Jak istotna jest według Pana/Pani zmiana klimatu/globalne ocieplenie? [ocena na skali]
4. Kto według Pana/Pani powinien coś zmienić, aby ograniczyć zmianę klimatu/globalne ocieplenie? [lista dziedzin z oceną na skali]
5. Jakie zmiany są według Pana/Pani najbardziej wskazane? [pytanie otwarte]
6. Czy Pan/Pani w ostatnim czasie rozmawiał/-a z kimś o zmianie klimatu/globalnym ociepleniu? [kafeteria z wielokrotnym wyborem]

1. Miejsce i termin realizacji, charakterystyka badanej grupy

Kwestionariusz rozdawany był na zajęciach w dwóch miejscach, na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim oraz na Uniwersytecie SWPS we Wrocławiu, wypełniły go przede wszystkim osoby studiujące z pierwszego roku studiów licencjackich oraz magisterskich dwóch kierunków studiów – Komunikacja Wizerunkowa oraz Grafika (tabele 1–3).

Tabela 1 – miejsce przeprowadzenia ankiety

	N	%
Uniwersytet Wrocławski	142	82,1
Uniwersytet SWPS we Wrocławiu	31	17,9
ogółem	173	100,0

Tabela 2 – rok i tryb studiów

rok	N	%	tryb	N	%
I rok lic	72	41,6	dzienne	126	72,8
II rok lic	35	20,2	zaoczne	47	27,2
I rok mgr	39	22,5	ogółem	173	100,0
II rok mgr	27	15,6			
ogółem	173	100,0			

Wszystkie ankiety (również te z poprzednich lat) przeprowadzone zostały krótko (tydzień) po zakończeniu szczytów. W aktualnym badaniu dodano jeszcze jeden termin realizacji, a mianowicie

⁵ Formę kwestionariusza zastosowanego w aktualnym badaniu (2023/24) podaje w aneksie.

miesiąc po zakończeniu szczytu, aby uzyskać więcej odpowiedzi oraz sprawdzić, jak po nieco dłuższym czasie przedstawia się znajomość wydarzenia i to wśród osób nieco dłużej studiujących (II rok studiów licencjackich/magisterskich). Uzyskane w ten sposób wyniki były zaskakujące, ale o tym niżej.

Tabela 3 – termin przeprowadzenia ankiety

	N	%
tydzień po szczycie	111	64,2
> miesiąc po szczycie	62	35,8
ogółem	173	100,0

Z uwagi na ogólny skład grupy studentek/-ów wspomnianych kierunków studiów wśród respondentów zdecydowanie przeważają kobiety. Wiek ankietowanych mieści się w głównej mierze w przedziale 18-23 lat (niecałe 80 % resp.), ze średnią wieku 21 lat.

Tabela 4 – płeć ankietowanych

	N	%
kobieta	136	78,6
mężczyzna	33	19,1
inna odp.*	4	2,3
ogółem	173	100,0

*osoba niebinarna 3, brak odp. 1

Tabela 5 – wiek ankietowanych, ugrupowany i kumulowany

lat	N	%	% kum.
18-20	81	46,8	46,8
21-23	56	32,4	79,2
24-26	29	16,8	96,0
27-30	6	3,5	99,4
brak odp.	1	0,6	100,0
ogółem	173	100,0	

2. Analiza wyników

2.1. Znajomość szczytu i źródła

(Deklarowana!) znajomość szczytu sytuuje się w aktualnej edycji badania na stosunkowo niskim poziomie. Tylko co trzecia osoba spośród ankietowanych twierdzi, że słyszała coś o wydarzeniu. Obserwujemy tym samym w ciągu ostatnich lat wśród osób studiujących znaczny i stały spadek znajomości kolejnych szczytów, a nawet odwrócenie się sytuacji w porównaniu z rokiem 2018, kiedy to o szczycie *nie* wiedziała

co trzecia osoba, co z pewnością częściowo zawdzięcza się zwiększonej uwadze medialnej poświęconej wydarzeniu z powodu bliskości miejsca jego odbywania się.

Tabela 6 – czy słyszał Pan/Pani coś o szczycie klimatycznym w...? Wyniki aktualnego badania w porównaniu do lat poprzednich

czy słyszał(a) o szczycie	2023 r. (COP28, Dubai)		2021 r. (COP26, Glasgow)		2018 r. (COP24, Katowice)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
tak	53	30,6	140	48,4	130	66,0
nie	120	69,4	149	51,6	67	34,0
ogółem	173	100,0	289	100,0	197	100,0

Dodatkową różnicę i jeszcze wyraźniejsze odchylenia widzimy, dzieląc grupę ankietowanych według roczników – jak pokazuje to tabela (6a). Wśród osób studiujących na pierwszym roku nawet tylko (mniej niż) co czwarta osoba podaje, że słyszała o szczycie. Natomiast ankietowani na II roku studiów licencjackich i magisterskich nieco częściej twierdzą, że o wydarzeniu słyszeli – i to nawet w drugim terminie realizacji badań, trochę ponad miesiąc po zakończeniu szczytu. Większa znajomość zagadnienia w tej grupie może być związana z dłuższym czasem studiowania, a konkretniej – z programem studiów specjalności communication design na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim, gdzie tematy te stanowią integralną część zajęć. Niemniej jednak także w tej grupie stopień znajomości szczytu jest niski oraz mieści się w ogólnym trendzie spadkowym.

Tabela 6a – czy słyszał Pan/Pani coś o szczycie klimatycznym w Dubai? Wyniki według roku studiów

	I rok lic i I mgr (= termin I, tydzień po szczycie)		II rok lic i II mgr (= termin II, miesiąc po szczycie)	
	N	%	N	%
tak	26	23,4	27	43,5
nie	85	76,6	35	56,5
ogółem	111	100,0	62	100,0

Jeśli chodzi o źródła znajomości wydarzenia, to biorąc pod uwagę poprzednie edycje badań powtarzają się dwa na pierwszy rzut oka sprzeczne ze sobą trendy. Z jednej strony obserwować można dość duże rozproszenie odpowiedzi dotyczących różnych platform internetowych oraz konkretnych profili osób wskazanych jednorazowo. W obrębie tej tendencji jedyną nieco częściej pojawiającą się kategorię stanowi Instagram. Z drugiej strony podane źródła mają charakter dość rozmyty, ogólnikowy, to znaczy najczęściej pojawiają się same nazwy portali/platform czy też odpowiedź „internet” lub dodatki typu „nie pamiętam dokładnie” (zob. tabela 7).

Tabela 7 – osoby, które słyszały o szczycie (N = 53) – Jeśli tak, to gdzie/w jakich źródłach? (Proszę określić możliwie dokładnie). Pytanie otwarte, odpowiedzi skategoryzowane

kategoria	odpowiedzi	N odp.	% odp.	% resp.
instagram	instagram 11, instagram – ...: @eko.paulinagorska, – konta informacyjne, konto ig poświęcone odpowiedzialnej modzie, – lasotellia (Dominika Lasota), – nie pamiętam na jakim kanale, – profile ekologiczne, – Salam Lab, – WWF	19	19,4	34,0
internet, social media – ogólnie	internet 6, internet – ...: – post narzekający na wybór miejsca szczytu, – proponowane artykuły, portale internetowe, media społecznościowe 2, social media, social media – np. ..., grupy fandomowe, memy, nagłówki wiadomości w przeglądarce, strona internetowa	16	16,3	22,6
znajomi	znajomi 4, – aktywiści, rozmowa ze znajomymi, grupa przyjaciół, od bratka, siostra	9	9,2	17,0
telewizja	telewizja 3, – wiadomości, – kanały informacyjne, telewizja TVN, tvn 24	7	7,1	13,2
twitter	twitter 4, twitter (x) 3	7	7,1	13,2
wiadomości, portale/programy informacyjne	wiadomości/artykuły internetowe, wiadomości (nie pamiętam), wiadomości yahoo, program informacyjny, portal z wiadomościami, portale informacyjne, serwis informacyjny w ...	7	7,1	13,2
facebook	facebook 5, facebook – grupa młodzieżowy strajk klimatyczny	6	6,1	11,3
podcasty	podcast raport o stanie świata 2, podcast (nie pamiętam nazwy), – dział zagraniczny, – ekologiczny, raport o stanie świata D. Rosiaka	6	6,1	11,3
youtube	youtube 4, youtube (nie pamiętam kanał)	5	5,1	9,4
tik tok	tik tok 3, jakiś tiktok	4	4,1	7,5
inne (poniżej 4 i pojedyncze)	KiKŚ 3, MLH 2, audycja Anty-Radia, gazeta, ale nie pamiętam jaka; inne media, książki, radio zet ankieta studenta, na wycieczce w Dubaju pilot wspominał i w samolocie można było obejrzeć film o tym; nie wiem dokładnie gdzie mi się doszła do uszy, po prostu wiem, że jest	12	12,2	22,6
suma		98	100,0	

Mamy zatem do czynienia z nasilaniem się tendencji obserwowanych już w poprzednich edycjach badania: klasyczne media i konkretne kanały lub programy informacyjne itp. nie są już dla tej grupy istotne, w ich miejsce pojawiają się platformy internetowe. Na tle nieskończenie dużej liczby ofert komunikacyjnych dostarczanych w szeroko rozumianych mediach cyfrowych, internetowe odsłony mediów tradycyjnych odgrywają co najwyżej marginalną rolę. Platformy natomiast pojawiają się przeważnie w postaci ogólnego sformułowania (sama nazwa) lub w ich roli jako platformy właśnie, stanowiącej nośnik dla potencjalnie mocno zróżnicowanych kanałów tak zwanych content creatorów. Zaś to, w jakim celu oraz na tle jakich interesów ów content jest kreowany i prezentowany tak zwanym użytkownikom, pozostaje niejasne lub nietransparentne.

Wynika z tego ciekawy dla dalszych badań problem zanikania wspólnej (identyfikowalnej dla empirycznej obserwacji) bazy komunikacji i podstaw interdyskursu w takim sensie, że nie ma już wspólnych *przesłanek* co do tego, gdzie pojawiają się społecznie relewantne (istotne, ważne, wiążące...) informacje oraz kto za nie odpowiada i jak oceniać ich wiarygodność. Utrzymywana jest co prawda iluzja, że korzystamy (nominalnie) z tych samych źródeł (a jej podstawa to – już na wejściu mylna – maksyma „wszyscy jesteśmy w świecie social mediów”), ale informacje pojawiające się dla konkretnego użytkownika stanowią mozaikę niekoherentnych elementów wybranych przez algorytmy w celu utrzymania tego typu użytkownika możliwie długo na danej platformie. Co gorsza, informacje te mogą nawet być diametralnie sprzeczne z tymi, które otrzymuje ktoś inny jakoby w tym samym miejscu (na tej samej platformie). Inne skutki tej sytuacji – która sama z kolei jest skutkiem kierunku rozwoju internetu w ostatnich dwóch dekadach, a mogłaby wyglądać inaczej, gdyż sieć jako taka nie posiadała charakteru wyznaczonego odgórnie lub samą technologią (zob. Zuboff 2018) – można obserwować w odpowiedziach na kolejne pytanie ankiety, przy ocenie istotności problematyki zmiany klimatu. Poniższe zestawienie danych uzyskanych w aktualnym oraz w poprzednich badaniach ilustruje ten stan rzeczy oraz rozwój zagadnienia w czasie, wyraźnie wskazując na znaczny brak dominantnie reprezentowanych wspólnych kategorii (poza Instagramem) w aktualnym badaniu.

Tabela 7a – słyszał(a) o szczycie – gdzie/w jakich źródłach? Lista rankingowa dla badań z różnych lat (obok nazwy kategorii – procent respondentów podających dane źródło)

2023 (N=53, 31% resp.)	ranga	2021 (N=140, 48% resp.)	2018 (N=130, 60% resp.)
instagram 34,0	1	internet (ogólnie) 38,6	facebook 36,9
internet, social media (ogólnie) 22,6	2	instagram 27,9	internet 36,2
znajomi 17,0	3	facebook 23,6	telewizja/TV 33,1
telewizja 13,2	4	telewizja 20,0	kontekst prywatny 28,5
twitter 13,2	5	kontekst prywatny 12,9	TVN 17,7
wiadomości, portale informacyjne 13,2	6	social media (ogólnie) 9,3	radio 15,4
facebook 11,3	7	twitter 9,3	instagram 13,9
podcasty 11,3	8	kontekst edukacyjny 7,9	Gazeta Wyborcza 8,5
youtube 9,4	9	prasa 7,1	wiadomości, strony/ serwisy inform. 8,5
tik tok 7,5	10	TVN 7,1	kontekst edukacyjny 6,9
	11	radio 6,4	gazety 6,2
	12	youtube 5,0	onet.pl 5,4
	13	onet 4,3	aktywiści/NGO (strony organizacji) 3,8
	14	aktywiści/NGO 3,6	social media, memy 3,8
	15	tik tok 3,6	Twitter 3,8

Podstawa: skategoryzowane odpowiedzi na pytanie otwarte – 2023: odp. udzielane przez min. N = 4 resp. (87,8% odp.), N resp. = 53, N odp. = 98; 2021: odp. udzielane przez min. N = 5 resp. (87,6% odp.), N resp. = 140, N odp. = 298; 2018: odp. udzielane przez min. N = 4 resp. (84% odp.), N resp. = 130, N odp. = 365.

2.2. Istotność problematyki

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Skoro wydarzenie „szczyt klimatyczny” także w aktualnej ankiecie stanowiło głównie okazję, by móc szerzej zapytać o problem zmiany klimatu/globalnego ocieplenia, przejdę już do omówienia wyników w tym szerszym zakresie. Pierwsze pytanie na ten temat odnosi się do istotności zmiany klimatu/globalnego ocieplenia, która oceniana jest na podobnie wysokim poziomie jak w poprzednich badaniach. Zdecydowana większość osób biorących udział w ankiecie wybiera trzy najwyższe wartości na skali od 1 (minimalnie istotna) do 10 (maksymalnie istotna), co staje się widoczne już na podstawie prostej listy częstości wybranych ocen oraz skumulowanych wartości procentowych pokazanych w tabeli (8). Dla porównania prezentuję także wyniki z badania przeprowadzonego w 2021 roku.

Tabela 8 – istotność zmiany klimatu/globalnego ocieplenia. Ocena na skali od 1 (minimalnie istotna, inne kwestie są ważniejsze) do 10 (maksymalnie istotna, wymaga natychmiastowych działań)

	2023				2021		
ocena	N	% resp.	% kum.		N	% resp.	% kum.
10	69	39,9	39,9		155	53,6	53,6
9	33	19,1	59,0		46	15,9	69,5
8	35	20,2	79,2		47	16,3	85,8
7	19	11,0	90,2		23	8,0	93,8
6	9	5,2	95,4		7	2,4	96,2
5	5	2,9	98,3		5	1,7	97,9
4	-	-	-		4	1,4	99,3
3	2	1,2	99,5		1	0,3	99,6
2	-	-	-		-	-	-
1	1	0,6	100		-	-	-
brak odp.	-	-	-		1	0,3	100
suma	173	100,0			289	100,0	

Objaśnienia: Ze względu na częsty wybór wysokich ocen wartości w tabeli zaprezentowane są dla lepszego oglądu w kolejności od najwyższej oceny na skali w dół.

Wyraźną różnicę widzimy w grupie osób wybierających najwyższą ocenę na skali; podczas kiedy w ostatnim badaniu stanowiły one więcej niż połowę ankietowanych, to aktualnie co prawda nadal ich udział jest najwyższy spośród wszystkich, lecz nie sytuuje się już na tak wysokim poziomie (39,9 % do 53,6 %). W związku z tą różnicą również ogólna średnia jest nieco niższa niż w ostatniej ankiecie (2023 – 8,53, 2021 – 8,98) i bardziej zbliżona do uzyskanej w pierwszej edycji badania w 2018 roku (8,51). Także w podgrupie pierwszych roczników studiów, będącej, pod kątem etapu studiowania, strukturalnie identyczną z grupami ankietowanych badanych w poprzednich edycjach ankiety, potwierdza się tendencja spadkowa w ocenie istotności. I nawet jeśli obserwowaną różnicę uznać można za mało znaczącą, gdyż ogólny obraz ocen pozostaje porównywalny z wcześniej uzyskanymi, dodatkowe zwrócenie uwagi na tendencje w wybranych podgrupach odsłania nam widok na to, jakie są potencjalne przyczyny tego spadku (o czym niżej).

Tabela 8a – istotność zmiany klimatu/globalnego ocieplenia. Średnia arytmetyczna z ocen na skali od 1 (minimalnie istotna) do 10 (maksymalnie istotna)

średnia arytmetyczna	ogółem	znajomość wydarzenia		rok studiów	
rok		słyszeli o szczycie	nie słyszeli o szczycie	I rok lic i mgr	II rok lic i mgr
2023	8,53	8,87	8,47	8,55	8,66
2021	8,98	9,19	8,79	8,98	-
2018	8,51	8,81	7,93	8,51	-

Podstawa: 2023: N = 173 resp. (w tym: słyszeli 53, nie słyszeli 120), 2021: N = 289 resp. (w tym: słyszeli 140, nie słyszeli 149); 2018: N = 197 resp. (w tym: słyszeli 130, nie słyszeli 67).

W aktualnych danych najważniejsze różnice obserwujemy bowiem w odniesieniu do kwestii znajomości szczytu. Wśród osób deklarujących, że słyszały o szczycie, średnia ocena jest nieco wyższa niż u pozostałych ankietowanych, aczkolwiek różnica jest niewielka i może być statystycznie nieistotna. Ponadto w grupie ankietowanych, którzy słyszeli o szczycie, odnotowujemy mniej spójne oceny – na co wskazuje większe odchylenie standardowe (1,716), świadczące o tym, że gama wybieranych ocen jest szersza (oceny bardziej odbiegają od siebie) niż wśród respondentów, którzy o szczycie nie słyszeli (1,543). Potwierdza to także mediana, która wynosi 10 wśród osób twierdzących, że słyszały o szczycie, to znaczy, więcej niż połowa osób w tej grupie wybiera tę ocenę, a wśród tych, którzy nie słyszeli o szczycie, mediana wynosi tylko 9 (co jest oczywiście także wysoką wartością).

Ogólny obraz uzyskanych wartości dotyczących centralnej tendencji odpowiedzi w różnych podgrupach świadczy więc o większej polaryzacji względnie mocniej różniących się ocenach w grupie osób, które wiedzą o wydarzeniu.⁶ To, że ktoś słyszał o szczycie, nie idzie zatem w parze z jednoznaczną tendencją co do oceny istotności problematyki, lecz, wręcz przeciwnie, wykazuje większą polaryzację ocen. Ta ciekawa sytuacja może być związana z opisanym wyżej problemem pojawiania się coraz bardziej rozbieżnych, niespójnych przesłanek medialnych źródeł informacji o szczycie (jak również, co gorsza, o całej problematyce), w których obok siebie pojawiają się komunikaty różnej jakości, istotności i pochodzenia: rzeczowa informacja o wydarzeniu w równym stopniu co fake newsy, kompleksowa prezentacja tematu co prześmiewcze memy lub krótkie komunikaty itd. Rzecz w tym, że sprzeczności te stają się widoczne głównie z perspektywy zewnętrznej (obserwatora tych tendencji), natomiast spoglądając na rzecz z perspektywy poszczególnych użytkowników oraz w obrębie danej bańki (filter bubble) – niekoniecznie muszą być istotne lub są widoczne. Sytuację utrudnia to, że przy aktualnej edycji zarówno miejsce organizacji szczytu, jak i obecność największej w historii tych wydarzeń liczby przedstawicieli grup interesów oraz lobbystów przemysłu paliw kopalnych, stanowiły dodatkowy powód kontrowersji, mogących poważnie uszkodzić zarówno reputację wydarzenia, jak również i tak już kruchą czy dopiero rozwijającą się globalną solidarność w obliczu problematyki zmiany klimatu.

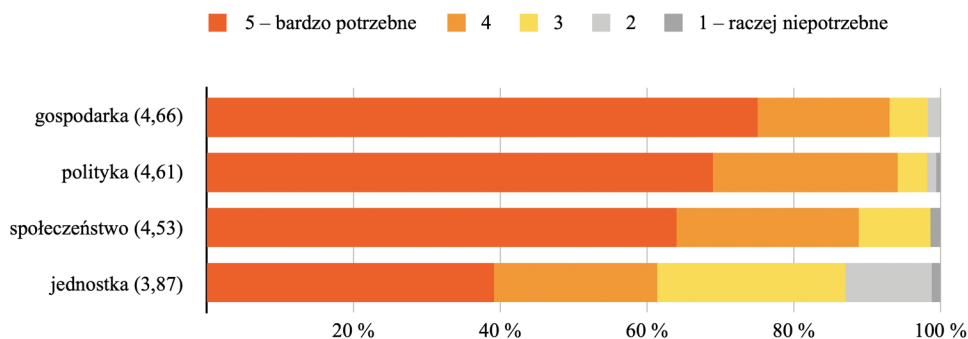
Faktycznie w szczycie klimatycznym jeszcze nigdy nie uczestniczyło tyle przedstawicieli i przedstawicieli przemysłu węglowego, paliwowego oraz gazowego: łącznie 2456 [osób], czterokrotnie tyle ile w zeszłym roku. Tak informuje zrzeczenie "Kick Big Polluters Out". [...]

6 Największe odchylenie standardowe a zatem największą polaryzację obserwujemy w (jednak bardzo małej na tle ogólnej liczby osób biorących udział w ankiecie) grupie mężczyzn (1,919; kobiety – 1,519).

Według analizy [tej] organizacji środowiskowej, lobbyści nośników energii kopalnych dostali razem więcej uprawnień wstępu („badges”) na szczyt niż delegaci dziesięciu najbardziej zagrożonych zmianą klimatu krajów łącznie.⁷

2.3. Odpowiedzialność za zmiany

Kolejne pytanie dotyczy kwestii odpowiedzialności za zmiany. Po dwóch edycjach ankiety z otwartym pytaniem o to, kto powinien coś zmienić, by ograniczyć zmianę klimatu, tym razem zaprezentowano respondentom kafeterię, która została opracowana na podstawie wyników uzyskanych z poprzednich badań. Skoro bowiem wymiary, do których się odnoszono, pozostawały stabilne w czasie, a implikacje otrzymanych wyników, dotyczące podstawowego zagadnienia problemowego badania, jakim są same możliwości mówienia o tej kwestii oraz ich uwarunkowania językowo-komunikacyjne, były już analizowane w wyczerpujący sposób z perspektywy jakościowej, tym razem główny nacisk położyłam na obserwację porównawczą z uwagi na oceny dotyczące potrzeby zmian w różnych sferach: gospodarka, polityka, społeczeństwo, jednostka, inne (otwarte)⁸, patrz – diagram niżej; tabela w aneksie prezentuje szczegółowe wyniki.



Podstawa: N = 173 ankietowanych.

Rysunek 1 – ocena potrzeb zmian w różnych dziedzinach na skali (5 – zmiany są bardzo potrzebne, 1 – zmiany są raczej niepotrzebne). Wykres pokazuje procent respondentów wybierających daną ocenę. Obok kategorii w nawiasie – średnia arytmetyczna wybranych ocen (pojedyncze braki odpowiedzi – patrz tabela w aneksie).

7 „Tatsächlich waren bei einem Klimagipfel noch nie so viele Vertreterinnen und Vertreter der Kohle-, Öl- und Gasindustrie dabei: insgesamt 2.456, viermal so viele wie vergangenes Jahr. Das meldet das Bündnis 'Kick Big Polluters Out'. [...] Laut der Analyse des Umwelt-Bündnisses haben die Lobbyisten der fossilen Energieträger zusammen mehr Eintrittsberechtigungen („badges“ für den Gipfel erhalten als alle Delegierten der zehn am stärksten vom Klimawandel bedrohten Länder zusammen.“ Dalsze szczegóły zob.: <https://www.br.de/nachrichten/deutschland-welt/lobbyismus-beim-klimagipfel-wichtig-oder-unerwunscht,Ty1GHnA> [data dostępu: 29.04.2024].

8 Odpowiedzi w ramach otwartej kategorii „inne” udziela co piąta osoba biorąca udział w badaniu, a ocena sytuacji się w większości wypadków najwyżej na skali (czego można było się spodziewać, skoro zostały aktywnie dodane przez respondentów): N = 35 odpowiedzi (20,2 % resp.), 33 z oceną 5 na skali, 2 z oceną 4). Dalsze szczegóły patrz niżej.

Ogólna tendencja w ocenach jest ewidentna – dla większości ankietowanych wymagane są zmiany we wszystkich obszarach. Niemniej jednak potwierdza się wynik obserwowany już we wcześniejszych edycjach ankiety, zgodnie z którym pewnym obszarom poświęca się więcej uwagi – tym razem staje się to widoczne w wyższej ocenie na skali (i większej zgodzie wśród ankietowanych co do tej oceny), w poprzednich badaniach można było to obserwować nie tylko w postaci procentowego udziału respondentów, którzy – w odpowiedziach na wtedy jeszcze otwarte pytanie – w ogóle nawiązywali do danych dziedzin, lecz także w postaci liczniejszych odniesień do danego obszaru, czyli większej liczby wielokrotnych odpowiedzi go dotyczących. A zatem – według trendu rozpoczętego już w ramach ostatniej ankiety z 2021 roku, wzrastające (a teraz już wiodące) znaczenie przypisywane jest gospodarce, podczas kiedy polityka i społeczeństwo pozostają na porównywalnym, stosunkowo wysokim poziomie. W odniesieniu do gospodarki panuje przy tym wśród ankietowanych najwyższa zgodność, na co wskazuje porównywalnie niskie (najniższe w relacji do pozostałych dziedzin) odchylenie standardowe.⁹ Natomiast najmniejszą potrzebę zmian ankietowani postulują w odniesieniu do jednostki (tu też różnice wybranych ocen są największe).¹⁰

Stosunkowo mało znacząca rola jednostki stała się dużo wyraźniej widoczna już w poprzednich edycjach badania w bardzo niskiej aktualizacji odpowiedzi mieszczących się w tej kategorii: odpowiadając na pytanie otwarte, swego czasu mniej niż 10 procent ankietowanych wskazało jednostkę, a odpowiedź „ja” (powinienem coś zmienić) pojawiła się tylko pojedynczo. Z jednej strony odpowiada to, w pewnej mierze, realnym możliwościom wpływu względnie odzwierciedla stanowisko, według którego zmiany zachowań jednostek są mniej skuteczne w relacji do społeczeństwa i jego systemów funkcyjnych. Z drugiej strony zaś wyniki wskazują na nierozwiązywalny dylemat dotyczący przejścia od komunikacji, będących procesem negocjowania znaczeń, do konkretnych, zmienionych działań. Ujmując ten proces z perspektywy teoretycznej, rozpoczyna się on, czyli sama komunikacja, już generowaniem różnicy,¹¹ wprowadzaniem dyferencji, co z kolei wiąże się z kontyngencją samego procesu i zjawiska oraz, procesualnie rzecz biorąc, z pojawieniem się nowego punktu bifurkacyjnego. Nieistotne jest przy tym, kto zaczyna i od czego, oraz, w którym miejscu rozpoczyna się owo „robienie różnicy”, lecz istotne jest, aby proces ten mógł w ogóle zostać uruchomiony. Czekanie na to, że (jakakolwiek) „druga strona” uczyni pierwszy krok, oznacza, że uzależniamy się od niej. To, że jednostka (sama) nie jest w stanie zrealizować zmian systemowych, nie ulega kwestii. Niemniej jednak przypisywanie jej mniejszego znaczenia niż pozostałym obszarom jest błędem nie tylko logicznym lecz także strategicznym: logicznym, gdyż kto miałby realizować zmiany wprowadzane na owych „innych” obszarach, jeśli nie jednostki, skoro obszary te jako systemy funkcyjne kierują swe oferty do jednostek właśnie; strategicznym, gdyż debatując o tym, że zmiana ma się zacząć <там, ale nie u mnie>, nie jesteśmy w stanie czegokolwiek zmienić, gdyż wiecznie możemy czekać na to, że „там” ktoś właśnie zacznie. Spoglądając na kwestię z perspektywy komunikacji, obserwujemy (w pewnej mierze nieuniknionej) zabieg, za pomocą którego odpowiedzialność przenoszona jest na stosowne instancje społeczne czy systemy funkcyjne, nie uwzględniając, że owe systemy funkcyjne bazują na społeczeństwie oraz, jeśli chodzi o działania, są zależne od tego, że także jednostka jest gotowa do zmian i działań. W odniesieniu do tego dylematu chodzi(łoby) o zaufanie, a zatem o odpowiedź na pytanie – kto rozpoczyna zmianę, polegając na tym, że inni oraz inne instancje będą współdziałały? Dla projektowania

9 Wynosząc 0,658, to znaczy ok. 68% ocen waha się w zakresie plus/minus tej wartości wokół średniej.

10 Z odchyleniem standardowym 1,097.

11 W rozumieniu Gregory’ego Batesona – „An information is a difference which makes a difference” (Bateson 1983: 408).

komunikacji powstaje ciekawe wyzwanie – czy oraz w jaki sposób jesteśmy w stanie budować to zaufanie oraz unikać czy wręcz uniemożliwiać jego nadużywanie ze strony instancji posiadających przewagę organizacyjną?

Analiza dalszych wyników w ramach tego pytania wskazuje jeszcze na niewielkie różnice odnośnie podgrup ankietowanych, przy czym potwierdzają się już wcześniej obserwowane tendencje: różna jest ocena przedłożonych kategorii wśród tych, którzy twierdzą, że słyszeli o szczycie, oraz tych, którzy o wydarzeniu nie słyszeli. Pierwsi widzą (bardziej niż pozostali) gospodarkę i politykę szczególnie w obowiązku. Natomiast kto nie słyszał o szczycie, jako nieco istotniejszą ocenia potrzebę zmian (także na) obszarze społecznym oraz u jednostki. Różnice są jednak stosunkowo niewielkie i nie oddalają się od wspólnej, centralnej tendencji (zob. tabela 9).

Tabela 9 – średnia ocena potrzeby zmian na skali od 1 (raczej niepotrzebne) do 5 (bardzo potrzebne) w podgrupach

średnia arytmetyczna	ogółem	znajomość wydarzenia	
dziedzina		słyszeli o szczycie	nie słyszeli o szczycie
gospodarka	4,66	4,79	4,61
polityka	4,61	4,73	4,55
społeczeństwo	4,53	4,44	4,57
jednostka	3,87	3,69	3,94

Podstawa: N = 173 resp. (w tym: słyszeli 53, nie słyszeli 120).

Kolejnym ciekawym aspektem są (nieliczne, ale pojawiające oraz powtarzające się) odpowiedzi uzyskane w ramach otwartej opcjonalnej kategorii „inne”.¹² Co trzecia osoba w grupie tych, którzy słyszeli o szczycie, podaje dodatkowe aspekty, wśród pozostałych ankietowanych tylko co szósty respondent (15%), przy czym większość tych dodatkowych wskazań otrzymała na skali dotyczącej potrzeby zmian najwyższą ocenę. Wyodrębniają się tu następujące kategorie wiodące: koncerny i przemysł, edukacja i media oraz osoby bogate. Tabela (9a) przedstawia uzyskane odpowiedzi z uwagi ich stosunkowo małą liczbę w postaci prostej listy częstości.

Tabela 9a – kto ... powinien coś zmienić? Otwarta kategoria „inne”

odpowiedzi	N
wielkie/duże korporacje 4, wielkie korpo [sic!], wielkie firmy, największe firmy o charakterze globalnym, ogromne korpo, przedstawiciele firm	9
edukacja 5, edukacja (szkoła), system edukacji, wychowanie dzieci w duchu ekologii	8
przemysł 3, przemysł modowy, produkcja, fabryki, firmy produkujące np. ubrania, przetwory	7
celebryci 2, bogaci, miliarderzy, najbogatsi ludzie, dysponujący największym majątkiem (cudzym lub własnym)	6
media 3, informacja publiczna	4
kultura, dyskurs	2

12 N = 35 odpowiedzi, 33 z oceną 5 na skali, 2 z oceną 4.

odpowiedzi	N
wszyscy, terriany	2
zmiany systemowe, system kapitalistyczny	2
Unia Europejska	1

Podstawa: Osoby wskazujące inne dziedziny zmian (N = 35).

Ponieważ część dodatkowo podanych odpowiedzi pojawia się już w bardziej rozbudowanej wersji w kolejnym pytaniu, przejdźmy do jego omówienia.

2.4. Potrzebne zmiany

Najbardziej pod kątem objętości uzyskanych odpowiedzi rozbudowanym elementem aktualnej ankiety jest (nowe) pytanie o to, jakie zmiany są najbardziej wskazane dla ograniczenia zmiany klimatu/globalnego ocieplenia. Zgodnie z celem przewodnim wszystkich edycji badania główne zainteresowanie także w tym wypadku poświęcone jest uwarunkowaniom komunikacyjnym funkcjonującym w ramach komunikacyjnego negocjowania tak złożonej kwestii. Chodzi więc nie tylko o to, jakie opinie ankietowani wyrażają nawiązując do tematyki lub jakie konkretne propozycje i obszary odniesienia pojawiają się w odpowiedziach, lecz również o możliwość (pośredniej) obserwacji konceptów i przesłanek leżących u podstaw wypowiedzi. Niemniej jednak dla pierwszego oglądu pokazuję w poniższej tabeli przegląd obszarów odniesienia, wyłaniających się z materiału w rezultacie stypologizowania odpowiedzi w grupy tematyczne. Dla czytelności tabela (10) zawiera nazwy kategorii na podstawie najczęstszych wskazań.

Tabela 10 – jakie zmiany są według Pana/Pani najbardziej wskazane? (*Proszę podać kilka przykładów.*) Pytanie otwarte, wyniki stypologizowane

obszary zmian	N odp.	% odp.	% resp.
emisje, ograniczenie zużycia energii, paliw kopalnych, wydobycia surowców (ogólnie)	41	8,2	23,7
samochody, transport publiczny, lotniczy	40	8,0	23,1
odnawialne źródła energii, energia ogólnie	37	7,4	21,4
segregacja śmieci, recykling, wielokrotne używanie, obieg zamknięty	36	7,2	20,8
plastik	30	6,0	17,3
fast fashion, ubrania	27	5,4	15,6
uświadamianie, świadomość	27	5,4	15,6
konsumpcja	26	5,2	15,0
odpady, śmieci, zanieczyszczenia (redukcja)	26	5,2	15,0
mięso, hodowla zwierząt, produkty odzwierzęce	25	5,0	14,5
prawo, sankcje, regulacje, kontrola	23	4,6	13,3
produkcja (ograniczenie, zmiana)	22	4,4	12,7

obszary zmian	N odp.	% odp.	% resp.
edukacja	19	3,8	11,0
kapitalizm, korporacje, system gospodarczy	15	3,0	8,7
woda	14	2,8	8,1
loty i konsumpcja bogatych	12	2,4	6,9
ochrona środowiska	12	2,4	6,9
polityka	12	2,4	6,9
[zmiany zauważane]	10	2,0	1,7
wsparcie (finansowe)	9	1,8	5,2
energia atomowa	6	1,2	3,5
inne (<5 wskazań)	26	5,2	12,7
brak odp.	8	1,6	4,6
suma odpowiedzi	503	100,0	

Podstawa: N = 173 ankietowanych.

Z analizy obszernego materiału w perspektywie tematycznej wyprowadzić można parę ciekawych wniosków. Jak widać w tabeli (10), zakres wskazywanych zmian jest bardzo szeroki i zróżnicowany. Sięga od szerokich i kompleksowych zagadnień (jak redukcja emisji czy odpadów, zmiana zwyczajów konsumpcyjnych czy ograniczenie produkcji), przez co prawda konkretniejsze, ale nadal szerokie zagadnienia (jak segregacja śmieci i obieg zamknięty, odnawialne źródła energii, plastik/tworzywa sztuczne), po wytypowanie konkretnych zjawisk, nad którymi trzeba według ankietowanych pracować lub które należałoby zlikwidować (fast fashion, hodowla zwierząt). Kluczowym zagadnieniem, zauważanym przez respondentów, a składającym się z kilku obszarów, jest także nierozzerwalnie związana z komunikacją kwestia uświadamiania samej problematyki, czy to ogólnie, na poziomie społecznym i wśród jednostek, czy to w postaci koniecznej wzmoczonej edukacji i komunikacji medialnej.

Nie ma jednak na liście potrzebnych zmian żadnej kategorii wiodącej, wyróżniającej się na tle pozostałych, lecz każda z nich wskazywana jest tylko przez stosunkowo małą część respondentów. Gama tematów pojawiających się w tabeli jest zatem co prawda szeroka, obejmując dużą część istotnych dla problematyki perspektyw i aspektów, niemniej jednak trzeba wziąć pod uwagę, ilu ankietowanych wskazuje na każdy z nich. Pierwsze dwa obszary odniesienia widoczne w tabeli (emisje, transport) są co prawda nieco mocniej reprezentowane (blisko 40 wskazań), ale nawet to oznacza, że tylko mniej więcej co czwarta osoba wśród ankietowanych do nich się odnosi. Natomiast na kolejne obszary (na przykład: odnawialne źródła energii, segregacja śmieci, plastik) wskazuje już tylko co piąta lub co szósta osoba. Równocześnie kategorie te nie są dużo mniejsze niż pierwsze dwie w tabeli, a zestawiając je nieco inaczej (segregacja/śmieci oraz plastik łącznie), są równie liczne jak te, które w tu wybranej wersji przodują.

Tym samym obserwować można, na konkretnym materiale empirycznym, zasadniczą trudność związaną z komunikacyjnym negocjowaniem podejmowanej w badaniu problematyki zmiany klimatu i wymaganych w jej obliczu działań: nawiązując do niej komunikacyjnie nie ma(my) ani prostych odpowiedzi ani prostych rozwiązań; te ostatnie dotyczą bowiem nie tylko poziomu działań, lecz opracowywane są także i najpierw na poziomie komunikacji. Już samo mówienie o problemie w ramach

krótkiej ankiety produkuje tak kompleksowy materiał i obraz, że jego zebranie i prezentacja zajmuje ponadproporcjonalnie dużo czasu lub wiąże się z wysiłkiem wydającym się nieadekwatnym w stosunku do uzyskanego rezultatu, którym jest/może być uspołeczniona wiedza o tym, co myślą inni, jakie widzą możliwości i potrzeby działania itp. Jednak ustalenie takiej wspólnej wiedzy, w sensie wspólnej podstawy dla dalszej komunikacji, stanowi niezbędny krok w procesach transformacji. W ramach badania uzyskujemy taką bazę poprzez eksplorację empiryczną za pomocą ankiety, natomiast na szerszym tle stanowi ona wynik debaty społecznej realizowanej na poziomie interdyskursu, w mediach czy w komunikacjach codziennych. Dopiero na takiej, wspólnej podstawie, generowanie której nie może odbywać się na innej drodze, niż poprzez komunikacyjne negocjowanie danej kwestii, można ustalić pożądany kierunek zmian i podejmować decyzje oraz, wychodząc od nich, przechodzić do działań pilnie wskazanych w obliczu egzystencjalnego zagrożenia. Droga do zmian na poziomie społecznym jest więc o wiele dłuższa niż w wypadku indywidualnych zachowań, a konsekwentne i stałe uświadamianie tego – w gruncie rzeczy znanego – dylematu, mogłoby być pomocne dla uniknięcia pojawiających się często frustracji lub rozczarowań z powodu pozornych niepowodzeń przedsięwzięć dążących do zrównoważonego rozwoju.

Listę, którą otrzymujemy podsumowując wszystkie odpowiedzi wszystkich ankietowanych, czyta się, patrząc na całość, jak agendę zadań (to do-list) dla wszechstronnej pracy nad transformacją w kierunku zrównoważonej moderny. Należy jednak brać również pod uwagę to, że patrzymy tu na empirycznie wypracowany obraz, to znaczy widzimy coś w rodzaju inteligencji roju (inteligencji rozproszonej), a ani szerokość gamy podejmowanych tematów, ani ich słuszność nie stają się (bez dodatkowych elementów) widoczne dla pojedynczych uczestników, czy to ankiety, czy, szerzej, komunikacji społecznej. Rozpatrując problem na tym tle, zarówno przeprowadzanie ankiet, jak i możliwie częste nawiązywanie do tej problematyki w innych kontekstach komunikacyjno-społecznych są sensowne, gdyż stanowią element wspólnie generowanego obrazu i wiedzy o temacie. Z takiej perspektywy można by zatem również wnioskować, że już dość dobrze wiemy, *co* należy zmienić, ale nie wiemy jeszcze dokładnie, *jak* tego dokonać. Mowa jest tu oczywiście o wymiarze ogólnospołecznym, to znaczy o interdyskursie, a nie o dyskursach specjalistycznych, w ramach których obydwie kwestie już od lat są negocjowane oraz badane na zaawansowanym poziomie, i gdzie również praktyczna realizacja zmian już teraz odbywa się na wiele sposobów. Problemem i wyzwaniem dla projektowania komunikacji jest więc szerokie dalsze uspołecznianie tej wiedzy, a jednocześnie praca nad skutecznymi priorytetami w odniesieniu do poszczególnych tematów, to znaczy inne, odpowiednie traktowanie problemów szczegółowych stanowiących obecnie punkt skupienia uwagi medialnej (na przykład: fast fashion, loty samolotami czy konsumpcja wśród bogatych), ale należących do objawów systemu uzależnionego na każdym jego poziomie od niezrównoważonych form produkcji i konsumpcji.

2.5. Konteksty mówienia o problemie

Ciekawą, a do tej pory mało zbadaną, kwestię stanowią też konteksty komunikacyjne, w sensie miejsc i sytuacji, w których temat zmiany klimatu/globalnego ocieplenia pojawia się (lub też nie) w rozmowach. Ostatnie pytanie kwestionariusza było więc, tak jak już w ostatniej edycji ankiety, poświęcone temu zagadnieniu. Celem było poznanie zakresu oraz wagi poszczególnych, potencjalnych kontekstów komunikacyjnych, jak również relewancji obydwu zagadnień problemowych w codziennej komunikacji. Ze względu na możliwość odgórnego wyróżnienia potencjalnych kontekstów komunikacyjnych pytanie

miało formę zamkniętą, zawierającą sześć opcji odpowiedzi oraz jedną otwartą kategorię dla dodania własnych określeń.¹³

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Tabela 11 – konteksty mówienia o zmianie klimatu/globalnym ociepleniu. Pytanie zamknięte z wielokrotnym wyborem

odpowieź	N	% resp.	% resp. w 2021 r.
w gronie przyjaciół/znajomych	134	77,5	72,3
w kontekście edukacji (na zajęciach na uczelni lub w szkole)	97	56,1	51,9
z osobami w rodzinie	89	51,4	48,1
z osobami w pracy	24	13,9	24,6
z nikim (w ogóle)	9	5,2	9,0
z innymi osobami/przy innej okazji:	7	4,0	3,5
z osobami na ulicy (w sklepie, na spacerze z psem, w tramwaju itp.)	5	2,9	1,4
suma	365		

Podstawa: 2023 r.: N = 173, 2021 r.: N = 289.

W gronie przyjaciół i znajomych zmiana klimatu i globalne ocieplenie stanowią, jak pokazuje tabela, (deklarowany) temat rozmów dla stosunkowo wielu ankietowanych. Prawie ośmioro z dziesięciorga respondentów podaje, że w ostatnim czasie rozmawiało o temacie z kimś w danej grupie osób. Tym samym, w porównaniu do ankiety z 2021 roku, obserwujemy lekki wzrost w odniesieniu do tej kategorii jak również z uwagi na kolejne dwa punkty na liście częstości: dla więcej niż połowy respondentek i respondentów temat pojawił się w kontekście uczelnianym oraz w rozmowach z rodziną; w pracy natomiast, problem podejmowany jest już zdecydowanie rzadziej (także w porównaniu z poprzednią edycją ankiety).¹⁴ Nieco zmalał udział osób twierdzących, że z nikim nie rozmawiali o temacie.

Wyniki te są zatem w równym stopniu dające nadzieję jak i zadziwiające: z jednej strony widzimy, że problem zmiany klimatu i globalnego ocieplenia są zauważane i komunikacyjnie aktualizowane (przy czym oczywiście nie wiemy, w jaki sposób lub w nawiązaniu do jakich aspektów zagadnienia), z drugiej strony jednak, już na tak ogólnym poziomie oglądu, okazuje się, że najczęściej dla co najmniej połowy respondentów tematy te *nie* pojawiają się w większości potencjalnych kontekstów komunikacji codziennej. Daje to do myślenia zwłaszcza w odniesieniu do rzadkiej aktualizacji tematyki w kontekście pracy, która na poziomie indywidualnym stanowi przecież miejsce realizacji dokładnie tego obszaru, z uwagi na który ankietowani wcześniej widzieli największą potrzebę zmian (gospodarka). Zdaje się, że brakuje tu połączenia tej sfery praktycznej (własna praca) z abstrakcyjną kategorią gospodarki. Innymi słowy – gospodarka, którą respondenci mieli na myśli oceniając potrzebę zmian na skali, nie jest z jakiegoś względu tą samą, w której biorą udział, będąc w miejscu pracy. Może to w niektórych przypadkach brać

13 Czy Pan/Pani w ostatnim czasie rozmawiał/-a z kimś o zmianie klimatu/globalnym ociepleniu? (Proszę zaznaczyć pasującą opcję). Sformułowanie „w ostatnim czasie” zostało wybrane, gdyż chodzi ogólnie o kwestię pojawienia się w pamięci respondentów wspomnianych zagadnień w komunikacjach, a nie o dokładne określenie momentu.

14 Tu należy oczywiście uwzględnić, że tylko część studentów pracuje zawodowo, aczkolwiek praca choćby dorywcza raczej jest standardem niż wyjątkiem dla większości osób studiujących, zwłaszcza na studiach niestacjonarnych.

się stąd, że potrzeba zmian w zakresie gospodarki widziana jest głównie po stronie tak zwanych „global playerów” (czyli dużych korporacji i koncernów), aczkolwiek tylko nieliczni respondenci nawiązujący do gospodarki odnoszą się do tego (korporacyjnego) poziomu. Stało się to widoczne w poprzednich ankietach, gdzie większość odpowiedzi (wtedy jeszcze – na pytanie otwarte) w wymiarze gospodarki świadczyła o dość staromodnym podejściu do zagadnienia (mówienie o „właścicielach fabryk” czy „ograniczeniu produkcji w fabrykach”), a globalne współzależności były uwzględniane znacznie rzadziej.

Odchylenia między podgrupami, które są wystarczająco duże, by uznać je za trend, są nieznaczne, więc zreferuję je tu tylko: osoby, które słyszały o szczycie, częściej (niż osoby, które o nim nie słyszały) podają, że rozmawiały o zmianie klimatu/globalnym ociepleniu z osobami w rodzinie (64,2 % do 45,8 %) oraz w pracy (28,3 % do 7,5 %); wśród mężczyzn mniej osób niż wśród kobiet podaje, że rozmawiały w rodzinie o tym temacie (33,3 % do 55,9 %). Należy jednak pamiętać, że ostatnia podgrupa (mężczyzn) jest stosunkowo nieliczna, więc wynik ten należy traktować jako ewentualnie ciekawą tendencję do sprawdzenia w kolejnych badaniach.

Podsumowując, analiza wyników aktualnej ankiety oraz ich zmian na przestrzeni lat potwierdza daleko idące implikacje procesu komunikacyjnego dla negocjowania złożonej problematyki zmiany klimatu, wskazując na współoddziaływania obydwu zagadnień. Za pomocą badań ankietowych możemy więc nie tylko sprawdzić znajomość określonych zagadnień lub śledzić ich rozwój w wymiarze aksjologicznym, tak jak ma to miejsce w tradycyjnych badaniach opinii publicznej, lecz możemy również skierować uwagę dodatkowo (czy nawet głównie) na to, jak dany temat przedstawia się w ogóle w komunikacjach w odniesieniu do negocjowania znaczeń. Wtedy główny nacisk skierowany jest na rekonstrukcję conceptualnych podstaw oraz na proces komunikacyjnej semantyzacji zjawisk, tak jak zostało to wyżej pokazane, analizując dane pod kątem dostrzeganych odpowiedzialności i obszarów odniesienia z uwagi na zmiany oraz konteksty komunikacyjne, w których mówi się o problemie. Na takiej podstawie z kolei można formułować wnioski dotyczące uwarunkowań komunikacyjnych, którym podlegamy, chcąc nawiązać do tak kompleksowej problematyki.

3. Aneks

Tabela A1 – Kto według Pana/Pani powinien coś zmienić, aby ograniczyć zmianę klimatu/globalne ocieplenie? (Proszę ocenić tę kwestię na skali, gdzie 1 oznacza, że zmiany w danej dziedzinie są raczej niepotrzebne, a 5, że są bardzo potrzebne)

obszar / średnia ocena		1	2	3	4	5	brak odp.	suma
gospodarka	%	0,0	1,7	5,2	17,9	74,6	0,6	100,0
4,66	N	0	3	9	31	129	1	173
polityka	%	0,6	1,2	4,0	24,9	68,2	1,2	100,0
4,61	N	1	2	7	43	118	2	173
społeczeństwo	%	0,6	0,0	9,8	24,9	64,2	0,6	100,0
4,53	N	1	0	17	43	111	1	173
jednostka	%	1,2	11,6	25,4	22,0	38,7	1,2	100,0
3,87	N	2	20	44	38	67	2	173

obszar / średnia ocena		1	2	3	4	5	brak odp.	suma
inne	%				1,2	19,1		20,2
4,94	N				2	33		35

Kwestionariusz zastosowany w 2023/24 roku.

Szanowni Państwo,
Niniejsza ankieta jest prowadzona w celach naukowych.
Proszę o spontaniczne odpowiedzi, każda odpowiedź jest dobra. Ankieta jest anonimowa.

1. Czy słyszał/-a Pan/Pani coś o szczycie klimatycznym w Dubai?

☐ tak ☐ nie → proszę kontynuować z pyt. 3

↓

2. Jeśli tak, to gdzie/w jakich źródłach? (Proszę określić możliwie dokładnie.)

.....

3. Jak istotna jest według Pana/Pani zmiana klimatu/globalne ocieplenie?

Proszę ocenić tę kwestię na skali, gdzie 1 oznacza, że jest minimalnie istotna (inne są ważniejsze) oraz 10, że jest maksymalnie istotna (wymaga natychmiastowych działań).

minimalnie istotna	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	maksymalnie istotna
(inne kwestie są ważniejsze)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	(wymaga natychmiastowych działań)

4. Kto według Pana/Pani powinien coś zmienić, aby ograniczyć zmianę klimatu/globalne ocieplenie? (Proszę ocenić tę kwestię na skali, gdzie 1 oznacza, że zmiany w danej dziedzinie są raczej niepotrzebne oraz 5, że są bardzo potrzebne.)

w tej dziedzinie / tu zmiany są ...	raczej niepotrzebne	1	2	3	4	5	bardzo potrzebne
polityka		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
społeczeństwo		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
jednostka		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
gospodarka		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
inne (proszę określić):		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	

5. Jakie zmiany są według Pana/Pani najbardziej wskazane? (Proszę podać kilka przykładów.)

.....

6. Czy Pan/Pani w ostatnim czasie rozmawiał/-a z kimś o zmianie klimatu/globalnym ociepleniu? (Proszę zaznaczyć pasującą opcję.)

☐ z osobami w rodzinie
☐ w gronie przyjaciół/znajomych
☐ w kontekście edukacji (na zajęciach na uczelni lub w szkole)
☐ z osobami w pracy
☐ z osobami na ulicy (w sklepie, na spacerze z psem, w tramwaju itp.)
☐ z nikim (w ogóle)
☐ z innymi osobami/przy innej okazji: (proszę doprecyzować)

7. Proszę jeszcze podać swój wiek: _____

pleć: _____

Dziękuję za udział w ankiecie!

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ROBERT SKOCZEK

Universität für Wirtschaft und Humanwissenschaften in Warschau

r.skoczek@vizja.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-1495-7116

Pedifizierungsmodell als Konzept zur Markierung der Akzentstufen in der Deutschen Aussprachedatenbank

Pedification Model as a Concept for Marking Accent Levels in the German Pronunciation Database

Abstract

This article deals with the concept of the pedification model. It is compared to the current notification of accent levels in the German Pronunciation Database (DAD). First, the basic terms such as phonological syllable, foot and phonological word are explained and embedded in the context of the previous codification work. The relevance for German as a stress timed language is then outlined. The pedification model is exemplified using some lemmas. Finally, the possible application of this model in the research work on the DAD is discussed.

Keywords: pedification, phonological foot, syllable, pronunciation, German

1. Einleitung

Die prosodische Gestaltung sprechsprachlicher Äußerungen umfasst viele akustische Parameter, die instrumentalphonetisch bis ins Detail gemessen und beschrieben werden können. Für alle Sprechenden fallen ihre Werte bei demselben Ausspruch unterschiedlich aus. Selbst derselbe Sprecher vermag nicht ein Wort oder einen Satz exakt gleich zu realisieren, d.h. die akustischen Parameter sind in gewissen Bereichen variabel, sofern ihre Verzerrung das Dekodieren des Sprechsignals nicht verhindert oder zu Fehlinterpretationen führt. Auf der Ebene des Sprachsystems wird versucht, nur die phonologischen Merkmale zu erfassen, die über diese individuellen Merkmale hinausgehen und eine informative Relevanz besitzen. Sprachliche Äußerungen können aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven beobachtet, analysiert,

beschrieben und in Modellen dargestellt werden. Hierbei ist es nur möglich, einen Ausschnitt aus einem Original in einem Modell abzubilden.

Zur Abbildung der prosodischen Gestaltung von Äußerungen werden ebenfalls unterschiedliche Modelle angewendet. Die Tonhöhenverläufe werden mit Linien, Bögen und Kurven illustriert. Bei Markierung von Tonhöhengipfeln werden z. B. Akute über bzw. neben die Grafeme gesetzt. Hingegen kommen in der Literatur zum Widerspiegeln der rhythmischen Struktur verschiedene Größen von Punkten, Buchstaben, Farbtönen zum Einsatz.

Wissenschaftliche Modelle finden auch in Aussprachekodizes Anwendung. Im Rahmen dieses Beitrags wird der Versuch unternommen, die Verteilung der Sprechenergie innerhalb der phonologischen Lemmata, die als Stichwörter in der Deutschen Aussprachedatenbank (DAD)¹ eingetragen werden, modellhaft darzustellen. Im Hinblick auf die fortlaufenden Kodifizierungsarbeiten wird auf das bisher angewendete Akzentstufen-Modell eingegangen und seine Modifizierung im Kontext der metrischen Phonologie diskutiert. Dabei liegt der Fokus auf dem Pedifizierungsmodell.

2. Prominenz als akzentrythmisches Merkmal

Der Akzent als eine akustische Erscheinung kann zur Markierung der höchsten Prominenz in einem abgeschlossenen Sprachsignal durch eine Kombination verschiedener physikalischer Eigenschaften zum Ausdruck kommen. Grundsätzlich wird die Akzentsilbe erst in der Nachbarschaft anderer Silben als betont wahrgenommen. Die Differenzen umfassen in erster Linie die Veränderungen in der Frequenz des Grundtons. Phänomenbegleitend treten, besonders im Rahmen einer größeren Rhythmusgruppe, gesteigerte Lautheit, temporale Veränderungen der akzentuierten Lautsegmente und erhöhter bzw. niedrige Sprechspannung auf. Die einzelnen Komponenten werden in den Sprachen unterschiedlich funktional genutzt und miteinander kombiniert. Da es sich hier nur um kontextlose Wörterbucheinträge handelt, wird primär die Änderung des F_0 -Wertes als akustisches Parameter für die prosodische Struktur des jeweiligen Wortes verantwortlich gemacht.

Die Unterschiede zwischen betonten und unbetonten Silben im Sprachsignal machen sich auditiv erst dann besonders bemerkbar, wenn eine Redesequenz zumindest aus zwei Silben besteht. Die dem Energieentzug unterworfenen Silben werden allerdings nicht in gleichem Ausmaß abgeschwächt. Neben den hauptbetonten Silben lassen sich prosodische Differenzen zwischen den Silben beobachten, deren Sprechenergie eine hierarchische Struktur aufweist. So zeichnen sich die Sprechsilben im Sprachsignal durch unterschiedliche phonetische Prominenz aus.

Prominenz bezeichnet die graduell wahrgenommene Stärke einer prosodischen Einheit, die mindestens eine Silbe umfassen muß, relativ zu ihrer Umgebung. Kommt der Prominenz innerhalb einer prosodischen Einheit eine bedeutungsrelevante Funktion innerhalb der Kommunikationskette zu, erhält sie den linguistischen Status einer Betonung. (Wagner 2002: 11)

Prominenz ist also eine immanente Eigenschaft jeder Silbe in einer Lautsequenz (Fuhrhop/Peters 2023: 108). Erst in einem abgeschlossenen Ausspruch mit Anfangs- und Endgrenzsignalen kann ihre relative

¹ Deutsche Aussprachedatenbank ist eine digitale Version des Deutschen Aussprachwörterbuchs, das seit 2022 unter <https://dad.sprechwiss.uni-halle.de/dokuwiki/doku.php/start> zugänglich ist.

Größe wahrgenommen und durch benachbarte Silben bestimmt werden. Je länger eine Redesequenz zwischen Sprechpausen vorliegt, umso feiner fallen die Prominenzabstufungen aus. Grundsätzlich wird in der Fachliteratur von drei Abstufungen ausgegangen: vom Hauptakzent über den Nebentakzent bis zu nichtbetonten Signalsequenzen. Selbstverständlich reicht die 3-Stufen-Skala für das hier behandelte Konzept zur Markierung der Akzentstufen in der Deutschen Aussprachedatenbank (DAD) nicht aus. Da in den Wörterverzeichnissen der meisten Referenzwerke Einträge in Grundformen vorliegen, die keine komplexen syntaktischen Strukturen abbilden, wurde bislang eine begrenzte Zahl von Akzentgraden im Modell vorausgesetzt.

3. Deutsch als akzentzählende Sprache

Das Deutsche gehört zu den so genannten akzentzählenden Sprachen (vgl. Hirschfeld/Reinke 2018: 66; Hakkarainen 1995: 151). Sie weisen eine Tendenz auf, dass der Rhythmusschlag, sog. Beat in einer abgeschlossenen Lautsequenz in etwa zeitgleichen Abständen fällt. Diese Schläge liegen meist auf den Silben der Wörter mit dem größten Sinngehalt.

Den deutschen Wortakzent charakterisiert eine besonders hohe Sprechspannung, die „durch erhöhten Atemdruck und durch die Anspannung der Muskulatur im Kehlkopf und in den Artikulationsorganen“ (Hirschfeld/Reinke 2018: 61) die akustischen Eigenschaften der betonten Silbe prägt. Dabei konzentriert sich die gesamte Sprechenergie auf die Silbe, die über die ganze Lautsequenz als akustischer Beat emporragt und die rhythmische Struktur der anderen Silben in der Lautsequenz gestaltet. Dies verleiht dem Deutschen einen staccatohaften Sprechrhythmus. Betonte Silben sind viel dynamischer und lauter im Vergleich zu den unbetonten Silben, denen hingegen die Artikulationsenergie entzogen wird. Damit die zeitlichen Abstände zwischen Akzentsilben trotz variierender Anzahl der dazwischen befindlichen unbetonten Silben möglichst gleichbleiben, werden die Lautsegmente in den nichtakzentuierten Redesequenzen abgeschwächt und sind Reduktionsprozessen unterworfen. Durch die Trägheit der Sprechorgane werden artikulatorische Bewegungen weniger präzise ausgeführt. Rues (1997: 121) spricht von einer allgemeinen Zentralisierungstendenz der Vollvokale durch den Entzug der Artikulationsenergie in den unbetonten Silben. Allerdings bedeutet es nicht, dass allen unbetonten Silben gleichermaßen die Artikulationsenergie entzogen wird. In den akzentzählenden Sprachen werden auf Wortebene, besonders in mehrsilbigen Lautsequenzen, neben dem Iktus weitere Prominenzgipfel rhythmisch markiert. Der zweitprominenteste wird als Nebentakzent bezeichnet. Zur euphonischen Wohlgeformtheit der prosodischen Strukturen können sekundäre Prominenzgipfel in manchen Fällen verschoben werden; in anderen Silben der längeren Lautsequenzen kommt es sogar zur Deakzentuierung. Demnach kann den volltönigen Vokal [a] im Suffix *-schaft* jeweils eine andere Prominenz kennzeichnen wie etwa in Lemmata *Gewerkschaft* und *Sprechwissenschaft*.

4. Akzentstufen in der Deutschen Aussprachedatenbank

Zur nominalen Darstellung von Prominenz wurden schon verschiedene Maßstäbe vorgeschlagen. Laut Arnold (2013: 22-25) werden dabei von binären über graduelle bis zu kontinuierlichen Skalen

angewendet. Sie fußen auf subjektiven Höreindrücken der Probanden, auf instrumentalphonetisch erfassbaren Korrelaten oder phonologischen Ansätzen, die Prominenz mit dem Silbenbau oder der Sonorität der Segmente in Verbindung setzen.

Das Konzept der Prominenzabstufung wurde in der halleschen Sprechwissenschaft schon bei den Neukodifizierungsarbeiten für das Deutsche Aussprachewörterbuch (DAWB) diskutiert (vgl. Hirschfeld/Stock 2006). Die Unterscheidung zwischen akzentuiert und nicht akzentuiert, also eine binäre Skala kann nur in einfachen Wörtern ausreichen. Laut Autoren ist für komplex zusammengesetzte Komposita selbst die dreistufige Einteilung nicht differenziert genug. Besonders in komplexen Wörtern zeigt sich nicht nur das Problem mit der Bestimmung des prominentesten Rhythmusschlags, sondern auch einer numerischen Notation, die für alle Lemmata in der DAD anwendbar wäre. Für das Beispiel *Meerwasserentsalzungsanlage* schlagen Hirschfeld und Stock folgende Prominenzstufen vor (vgl. ebd., 101):

Meer	Was	ser	ent	sal	zungs	an	la	ge
2	1	0	0	3	0	2	1	0

Mit 3 wird hier die hauptakzentuierte Silbe im Kompositum bezeichnet. 2 steht für nebenakzentuierte Silben, 1 ist nicht akzentuiert, 0 ist akzentlos mit zusätzlichen Schwächungen (Reduktionen, Elisionen, Assimilationen). Unverständlich bleibt, weswegen die Silbe *zungs* die Akzentstufe mit Wert 0 erhält. Diese Silbe wird generell nicht betont. Der Silbenkern enthält allerdings den Vollvokal [ʊ], der zweifelsfrei keinen Reduktionen im wortphonetischen Kontext unterliegt.

2022 wurde eine frei zugängliche Aussprachedatenbank der Abteilung Sprechwissenschaft und Phonetik der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg veröffentlicht. Die Untersuchungen zu verschiedenen anwendungsorientierten und metadatenbezogenen Aspekten werden fortgeführt. Die Deutsche Aussprachedatenbank (<https://dad.sprechwiss.uni-halle.de/dokuwiki/doku.php/start>) ersetzt somit das DAWB (Krech et al. 2010) in Printversion und bietet ihren Nutzenden bereits zu den IPA²- und SAMPA³-Transkriptionen noch zusätzliche Informationen zu den darin eingepflegten 130.000 Stichwörtern.

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- 2 IPA – Internationales Phonetisches Alphabet ist das meistverbreitete Lautschriftsystem, dessen Zeichen auf den lateinischen Graphemen basieren und dessen Laut-Buchstaben-Beziehungen auf Bijektivität beruhen.
 - 3 SAMPA - Speech Assessment Methods Phonetic Alphabet ist ein Lautschriftsystem, dessen Lautsymbole sich auf gängigen Zeichen stützen, die direkt durch Kombinationen auf den gängigen Computertastaturen abrufbar sind.

Suche

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Marionettenregierung

Index:	M
Aussprache:	[maʁiən'etnɐg̊iːʁʊŋ]
Silbenzahl:	8
Akzentmuster:	22241232
SAMPA:	ma.Ri.o.n"E.tn = .Re.g%i:.RUN

Abb. 1: Darstellung des Stichwortes *Marionettenregierung* in der Deutschen Aussprachedatenbank. [At:] <https://dad.sprechwiss.uni-halle.de/dokuwiki/doku.php/de/M/Marionettenregierung> [Zugriff am: 3 Mai 2024].

Die Aussprache wird in zwei Transkriptionssystemen wiedergegeben. In der DAD sind die Angaben in SAMPA vorhanden, in denen mit Punkten die Silbengrenzen markiert werden. Die Berücksichtigung von Schwa-Elisionen, Reduktionen bei homorganen Konsonanten und von progressiven Stimmlosigkeits- und Ortsassimilationen spiegelt sich in den IPA-Transkription wider, die von den halleschen Sprechwissenschaftler:innen schon für den Bedarf des DAWB modifiziert wurden. Diese Lautumschrift schafft somit eine Grundlage für die künftige sprachsynthesegestützte Vertonung der darin befindlichen Stichwörter.

Im Vergleich zu den bisherigen deutschen Aussprachewörterbüchern und Datenbanken werden zu den Stichwörtern überdies Informationen zu Silbenzahl und -grenzen sowie zu Akzentmustern angegeben. In der DAD werden mithilfe von Zahlen die Silbenbeschwerung kodiert und die Prominenz einzelner Silben abgestuft. In dem achtsilbigen Beispielwort *Marionettenregierung* ist die Notation 22241232 folgendermaßen zu lesen:

- mit Stufe 4 wird die prominenteste Silbe im Wort gekennzeichnet → Hauptakzent,
- Stufe 3 erhalten nebenbetonte Silben, die in den Ausspracheangaben in längeren Wörtern und infolge der Akzentverschiebung transkribiert werden → Nebenakzent,

- Stufe 2 wird für alle Silben mit unbetonten Vollvokalen vorgesehen,
- Stufe 1 kommt den Silben mit der niedrigsten Prominenz zu, die einen Schwa-Laut enthalten oder weiteren Abschwächungsprozessen unterliegen.

Wie eingangs erwähnt, ist die Prominenz der Silbe eine relative Größe, die erst im Kontext der benachbarten Silben in der Lautsequenz, im Zusammenhang mit den intrinsischen Relationen bestimmbar ist. Für die Beispielwörter *Gewerkschaft* und *Sprechwissenschaft* werden in der DAD folgende Akzentstufen angegeben:

- [gəv'ɛʁkʃaft] 142
- [ʃpɪç'ɛçvɪʃtʃaft] 4212

Für das Suffix *-schaft* wird unabhängig von der Position des Hauptakzents immer wieder derselbe Prominenzgrad gegeben. Stellt man diese Angaben den bewährten Modellen der metrischen Phonologie gegenüber, stellt man einige konzeptionelle Unterschiede fest. Die Notation in diesem in der DAD verwendeten Modell ist aus meiner Sicht nicht optimal, denn:

- die euphonische Wohlgeformtheit wird beim Akzentzusammenstoß nur in bestimmten Fällen beachtet, vgl. *Musikhochschule* [muz'i:kho:xʃ,u:lə] 24231, eine potenzielle Akzentverschiebung wie in etwa *Sprechwissenschaft* wird im Akzentmuster nicht wiedergegeben,
- für komplexe Komposita ist die vierstufige Einteilung der Prominenz nicht differenziert genug. Mit der Notation wird auch suggeriert, dass die Sprechenergie auf den ersten drei Silben des Beispielwortes *Marionettenregierung* gleichwertig bleibt. Das widerspricht den Annahmen der metrischen Phonologie, nach denen die Artikulationsenergie in den akzentzählenden Sprachen wie im Deutschen in verschiedenem Maße auf einzelne Silben verteilt wird. Dabei entfernen sich die einzelnen Prominenzgipfel bei günstigen Betonbarkeitsstrukturen voneinander.

Die Schwierigkeit, die Prominenzstufen mit kodexgerechten Maßeinheiten zu bestimmen, liegt darin, dass deren Festlegung vorwiegend von der Silbenzahl im Wort abhängt. Die rhythmische Struktur eines Wortes prägt neben der Position des Hauptakzentes die Beschaffenheit der anderen Silben in der Lautsequenz. Dies bewirkt, dass eine graduelle Darstellung der Prominenz im Stichwort in numerischer Notation eine gewisse Variabilität voraussetzt. Je länger das Wort ist, umso differenzierter ist die anzuwendende Prominenzskalierung, worauf noch im weiteren Teil des Beitrags eingegangen wird. Aufgrund der variablen Silbenzahl scheint daher die vierstufige Graduierung der Prominenz in der DAD für das beispielhafte Kompositum *Kurzfristenergieversorgungssicherungsmaßnahmenverordnung* nicht genügend zu sein. Vorausgesetzt, dass die Silbe *maß* in dem Wort am prominentesten und somit hauptbetont ist, wäre nach den in der DAD angewandten Kodierung der Akzentstufen mit der folgenden Abstufung zu rechnen:

Kurz	fris	ten	e	ner	gie	ver	sor	gungs	sich	che	rungs	maß	nah	men	ver	ord	nung
3	2	1	2	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	2	4	2	1	1	3	2

Betrachtet man die Prominenz in der dritten Konstituente *Energie*, so fällt es auf, dass die nach dieser Regel beschriebene Abstufung 223 die tatsächliche Verteilung der Sprechenergie in diesem Wort nicht exakt abbildet. Nach der metrischen Phonologie müsste die erste Silbe *e* prominenter sein als die zweite Silbe

ner, in der es demzufolge oft zu weiteren Reduktionismen kommen kann. Ein ähnliches Akzentmuster für das isolierte Stichwort *Energie* liegt in der DAD vor.

[de:.a:d'e:]

Deutsche Aussprachedatenbank
 MARTIN-LUTHER-UNIVERSITÄT HALLE-WITTENBERG

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Energie

Index:	E
Aussprache:	[enɛˈgʲi:]
Silbenzahl:	3
Akzentmuster:	224
SAMPA:	e.nER˘.gʲi:

Abb. 2: Darstellung des Stichwortes *Energie* in der Deutschen Aussprachedatenbank. [Auf:] <https://dad.sprechwiss.uni-halle.de/dokuwiki/doku.php/de/E/Energie> [Zugriff am 3 Mai 2024]

Daraus ist zu schließen, alle unbetonten Vollvokale würden mit der gleichen Artikulationsenergie realisiert. Dies widerspricht der Sprechrealität. Aus diesem Grunde wird zurzeit ein neues Konzept zur Kennung der Akzentstufen unter den halleschen Kodifizierern diskutiert.

5. Fuß als prosodische Einheit

Tauchen prosodische Einheiten im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs auf, denkt man vor allem an Silben und Wörter, die prosodisch intuitiv abgrenzbar sind. In der Tat ist die Silbe (σ) die kleinste segmentübergreifende prosodische Einheit, die schon im Kindesalter leicht ermittelt wird (vgl. Grassegger 2010: 66). In der prosodischen Hierarchie wird allerdings zwischen Silbe und Wort noch eine weitere metrische Stufe kategorisiert, nämlich der Fuß (F), der als Zwischenstufe zwischen Silbe und Wort weniger gut zugänglich ist (vgl. Domahs 2016: 64). Erst auf der nächsten Stufe befindet sich das phonologische Wort (ω). Oberhalb der Wortebene folgen noch weitere prosodische Einheiten wie phonologische Phrase (ϕ), Intonationsphrase (IP) und phonologische Äußerung (PÄ). Für den Bedarf der analysierten Wörterbucheinträge beschränke ich mich auf die wortprosodische Hierarchie. Allerdings erweist es sich bei mehrgliedrigen Komposita als günstig, eine weitere prosodische Einheit einzuführen, um das Rekursivitätsverbot zu beachten. Da es Prominenzdifferenzen auf der Ebene des phonologischen Wortes gibt, wird eine weitere prosodischen Kategorie impliziert, die dem Linksköpfigkeitsprinzip folgt und sich zwischen dem prosodischen Wort und der Intonationsphrase befindet. Unter Bezug auf das Akzentstufen-Modell in der DAD könnte sie hier als prosodisches Lemma (λ) bezeichnet werden.

In den akzentzählenden Sprachen wie etwa dem Deutschen ist der phonologische Fuß eine rhythmuskonstituierende Größe, mit der sich nicht nur suprasegmental bedingte Prozesse im segmentalen Bereich sprachsystemisch erläutern, sondern auch die Prominenzgrade darstellen lassen. Nach Peters/Fuhrhop (2023: 106) wird diese prosodische Einheit wie folgt definiert:

Der phonologische Fuß (engl. Foot) ist eine Silbenfolge, die genau eine prominente und optional eine oder mehrere nicht-prominente Silben, die der prominenten Silbe vorausgehen oder nachfolgen.

Füße gelten als Bausteine der phonologischen Wörter. Diesem hierarchischen Bau folgend besteht jedes phonologische Wort (w) zumindest aus einem Fuß (F) und jeder Fuß zumindest aus einer Silbe (σ).

Das phonologische Wort ist die kleinste prosodische Einheit, deren Grenzen stets mit den morphologischen Grenzen zusammenfallen. (Peters/Fuhrhop 2023: 117)

Obgleich dieser Zusammenfall mit den morphologischen Grenzen in Bezug auf Klitika in der Literatur strittig ist (vgl. Wiese 2000), ist die Definition für das in dem Beitrag behandelte Prominenzmodell ausreichend.

Um Wörter zu pedifizieren, also in Füße zu zerlegen, kommt man nicht um die kategorialen Eigenschaften der Silben herum, die die kleinsten Lautfolgen darstellen, auf denen prosodische Merkmale aufbauen und als Ganzheiten geäußert werden (vgl. Grassegger 2010: 66). Im Deutschen werden sie nach der Klangfülle in betonbare und nichtbetonbare Silben eingeteilt. Ihre Abfolge in Wörtern bilden sog. Betonbarkeitsstrukturen. In den betonbaren Silben bilden die Vollvokale ggf. Diphthonge ihre Silbenkerne, in den unbetonbaren Silben die Reduktionsvokale oder Sonoranten. Diese Anordnung im Wort impliziert hingegen, dass sich auf der Fußebene die ersten Prominenzgrade erkennen lassen. Somit werden in der metrischen Phonologie auf der Silbenebene starke Silben (σ_s) von den schwachen Silben (σ_w) unterschieden. Durch diese binäre s/w-Einstufung (strong – weak) kommt es zu Kombinationen, in denen optionale σ_w vor oder nach der σ_s auftreten können. Die σ_s wird als Kopf des Fußes bezeichnet. Handelt es sich um zweisilbige Füße, redet man in der klassischen Verslehre bei einem rechtsköpfigen Fuß von einem Trochäus und im Fall eines linksköpfigen Fußes von einem Jambus. Nach Domahs (2016: 67) lassen sich alle akzentzählenden Sprachen entweder trochäisch oder jambisch klassifizieren.

Mit Blick auf die phonetische Realisierung von starken und schwachen Silben wird angenommen, dass die prominente Silbe im Vergleich zu den schwachen Silben in Trochäen mit größerer Intensität oder Tonhöhe hervorgebracht wird und die prominenten Silben in Jamben mit einer größeren Dauer. (Domah 2016: 68)

Da die Prominenz im Deutschen auf Wortebene durch größere Artikulationsenergie markiert wird, wird ferner angenommen, dass das Deutsche bei der Fußzuweisung eher zum Trochäus-Sprachtypus gehört, weil die Unterschiede in der Sprechenergie auch auf der Fußebene getreu abgebildet werden.

6. Pedifizierung als Gerüst für das Akzentstufenmodell in der DAD

Das Zusammenspiel zwischen Prominenzstufen beschränkt sich nicht nur auf die Unterschiede zwischen den Silben. In komplex zusammengesetzten Wörtern, die mehrfüßige Lautsequenzen bilden, erstrecken sich die Prominenzdifferenzen auch auf die höheren prosodischen Ebenen. Analog zu den Silben können starke und schwache Füße ($F_s = s$ und $F_w = w$) in der prosodischen Hierarchie die Prominenzstruktur

der Wörter mitgestalten. Nach Peters / Fuhrhop (2023: 114) können für das Standarddeutsche bei der Pedifizierung im einfachsten Fall Trochäen und Daktylen als Fußtypen angesetzt werden. Abgesehen von extrametrischen Füßen dominieren im Kernwortschatz eher linksköpfige Füße, die meist als Trochäen oder deren implizite Varianten sog. degenerierte Füße bei der Fußzuweisung vorliegen, z. B. Brot ($\sigma_s(\sigma_w)$)F $\rightarrow$ Brote ($\sigma_s \sigma_w$)F.

In zweigliedrigen Komposita unterliegt die Akzentuierung fixen Regeln. Sie bestehen meistens aus zwei Lexemen, die separate phonologische Wörter sind. Das phonologische Wort und das morphologische Wort sind laut Wiese (2000) nicht immer isomorph. Zu den phonologischen Wörtern zählen neben Lexemen auch Wortbildungsmorpheme mit schweren Silben CVC(C), also Präfixe mit Vollvokalen (Glottisschlag wird als Silbenonset gewertet) wie etwa *un-*, *an-*, *ent-*, *zer-*, *ver-* und Suffixe mit Vollvokalen, z. B. *-bar*, *-haft*, *-chen*, *-heit*, *-lein*, *-lich*, *-ling*, *-nis*, *-sam*, *-schaft*, *-tum* (vgl. Peters / Fuhrhop 2023: 124).

In dem viersilbigen Wort *Klassenarbeit* kann man von vier Prominenzgraden, jeweils einem anderen in jeder Silbe reden. Das Beispielwort besteht aus zwei phonologischen Wörtern: (Klassen) ω 1 (Zimmer) ω 2, die gleichzeitig zwei trochäische Füße im Kompositum sind. Potenziell sollte jedes phonologische Wort einen starken Schlag bekommen. Auf der Fuß-Ebene wird dennoch ein Trochäus angesteuert, denn gleiche Prominenzgrade (s-s, w-w) auf einer Ebene kann es innerhalb einer prosodischen Einheit nicht geben. Solche Konstellationen werden getilgt (vgl. Fery 1986: 21 u. 29). Mithilfe eines metrischen s/w-Baumes kann die Prominenzverteilung folgendermaßen dargestellt werden:

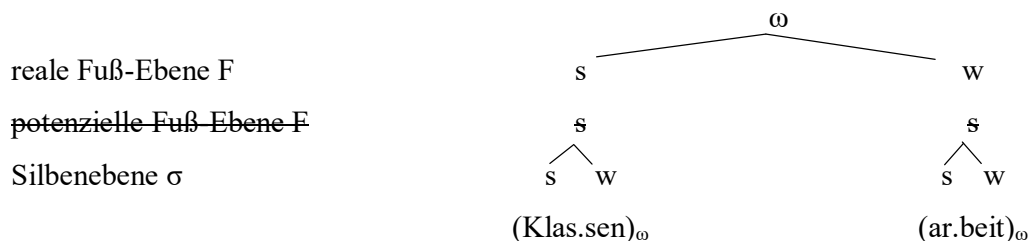


Abb. 3: s/w-Baum des Lemmas *Klassenarbeit* (vom Autor erstellt)

Die Prominenzabstufungen der einzelnen Silben werden in unterschiedlichem Maße durch die Füße dominiert und gestärkt: ($\sigma_s \sigma_w$)F ($\sigma_s \sigma_w$)F $_w$. In zweigliedrigen Komposita wird durch die prominenteste Silbe *-klas-*, die zusätzlich von dem Fs gestärkt wird, der primäre Wortakzent (Hauptakzent) markiert. Die zweitprominente Silbe *-ar-*, deren Prominenz durch den schwachen Fuß nicht gestärkt wird, erhält den sekundären Wortakzent, der in der Literatur auch als Nebenakzent bezeichnet wird. Für zweiteilige Komposita mit gerader Silbenzahl erfolgt die Verfußung noch recht unkompliziert. Am Beispielwort ist auch die Tendenz zur Linksköpfigkeit und zur Bildung von Trochäen gut zu erkennen. Selbstverständlich können bei der Pedifizierung auch andere Fußtypen entstehen, wenn man beispielsweise das Wort *Geschenkpapier* betrachtet. In der ersten Konstituente entsteht der Jambus durch die Auftaktsilbe *ge-* und den degenerierten Fuß *schenk* und in der zweiten durch die Betonung der letzten Silbe *pier* (vgl. Peters / Fuhrhop 2023: 115 ff.). Im vorliegenden Beitrag beschränke ich mich auf die Lemmata aus dem deutschen Kernwortschatz. In dem obigen Baumdiagramm werden zwei Füße illustriert, die auf der Fuß-

Ebene mal mit dem s-Knoten, mal mit dem w-Knoten zusammengebunden sind. Von der tiefsten bis zur höchsten Ebene ergeben sich für die einzelnen Silben folgende Konstellationen.

Tab. 1: Konstellationen von Stärkungsgraden der Silben in *Klassenarbeit* (vom Autor erstellt).

Silben	Konstellationen
Klas	s-s
sen	w-s
ar	s-w
beit	w-w

S-Knoten über der Silbenebene wirken verstärkend, w-Knoten sind in der Hinsicht neutral und stellen eine Hemmschwelle für die Wirkung der s-Knoten auf höheren Ebenen dar. Betrachtet man die obigen s/w-Kombinationen, so ist auf den ersten Blick zu erkennen, dass sich die wachsende Prominenzabstufung, die auch aus der Betonbarkeitsstruktur hervorgeht, wie folgt darstellt: sen < beit < ar < klas.

Um diese Prominenzgrade in Form von Zahlen anzugeben, wie das auch in der DAD gemacht wird, beziehe ich mich auf die Formel von Peters / Fuhrhop (2023: 118):

„Ist n die Anzahl der s-Knoten, durch die die Position einer Silbe unmittelbar dominiert wird, so erhält jede Silbe $n+1$ Schläge.“

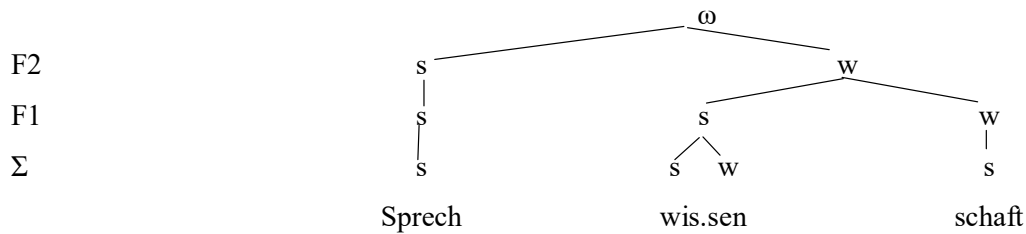
In diesem Fall werden die nacheinander folgenden s-Schläge mit folgenden nominalen Prominenzwerten (Akzentstufen) versehen.

Tab. 2: Berechnung der Akzentstufen (vom Autor erstellt)

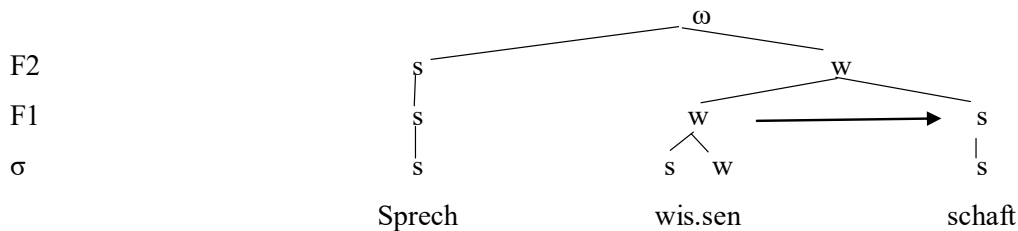
Silben	Konstellationen	Akzentstufe
Klas	s-s	$2 + 1 = 3$
sen	w-s	$0 + 1 = 1$
ar	s-w	$1 + 1 = 2$
beit	w-w	$0 + 1 = 1$

Aus dieser arithmetischen Formel ergibt sich für das Lemma *Klassenarbeit* folgendes Akzentmuster: 3121. In der DAD liegt für diesen Eintrag ein anderes Akzentmuster vor: 4132, das mit den fixen Werten in der Betonbarkeitsstruktur zusammenhängt.

Anders verhält es sich mit Lemmata, in denen es zum Zusammenstoß der Silben mit der höchsten Prominenz der phonologischen Wörter, also zum sog. Akzentzusammenstoß kommt. In dem Beispiel *Sprechwissenschaft* gibt es drei phonologische Wörter, die an sich jeweils eine betonbare Silbe enthalten: (Sprech)_w (wissen)_w (schaft)_w. Mithilfe des s/w- Baumes könnte man nach der Regel der Linksköpfigkeit die Prominenz im Wort so veranschaulichen:

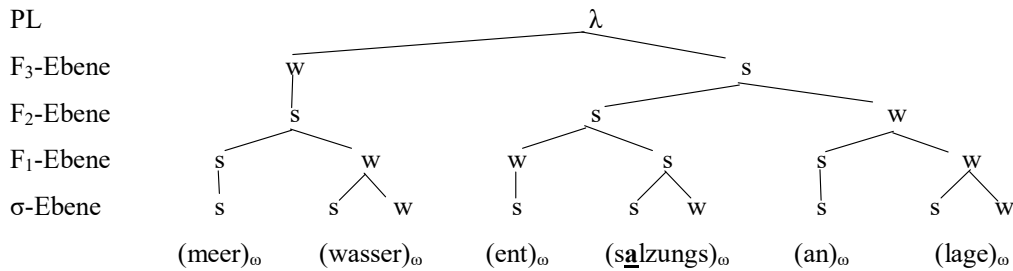

 Abb. 4: s/w-Baum von *Sprechwissenschaft* (vom Autor erstellt)

Hier wird das Wort auf zwei Ebenen gefußt. Dieser Abstieg der Prominenz wäre schon akzeptabel. Aus euphonischen Gründen kann die rhythmische Struktur allerdings verbessert werden. Da weitere betonbare Silben in der Lautsequenz vorhanden sind, wird die Prominenz durch die Verschiebung der nächstgrößten Prominenz auf eine möglichst rechtsentfernte Vollsilbe restrukturiert. „Die Rhythmusregel ist eine postzyklische Euphonie-Regel, die angewandt werden kann, wenn ihre Strukturbeschreibung erfüllt ist.“ (Fery 1986: 24).


 Abb. 5: s/w-Baum von *Sprechwissenschaft* mit der Verschiebung der zweitgrößten Prominenz (vom Autor erstellt)

Für das Lemma *Sprechwissenschaft* ergibt sich nach der o. g. Regel zur Berechnung der Prominenzgrade folgendes Akzentmuster: 4213. Diesem Beispiel steht in der DAD das dort genannte Akzentmuster 4212 gegenüber, das das Prinzip dieser rhythmischen Alternation nicht widerspiegelt.

Je komplexer die Zusammensetzungen sind, umso mehrstufiger und komplizierter ist die Gradation der Prominenz im Wort. In Skoczek (2024) wurde darauf hingewiesen, dass die Akzentregeln bei fünf- und mehrteiligen Komposita nicht mehr so eindeutig sind und die Zuweisung des Hauptakzents auch kontextuell variieren kann. In mehrgliedrigen Komposita gibt es demnach mehrere Nebenantzente, die sich je nach der Stärke des Fußes und des phonologischen Wortes durch unterschiedliche Prominenz auszeichnen. Expliziert wird die so entstandene Hierarchie der prosodischen Einheiten am Beispiel von dem eingangs genannten vierteiligen Kompositum *Meerwasserentsalzungsanlage*. Nach den Akzentregeln in mehrgliedrigen Komposita (vgl. Skoczek 2024) erhält die Silbe *-sal-* den Hauptakzent und gilt als Ausgangspunkt zur Bildung der linksköpfigen Füße im Lemma. Das λ wird in sechs phonologische Wörter untergliedert: (meer) $_{\omega}$ (wasser) $_{\omega}$ (ent) $_{\omega}$ (salzungs) $_{\omega}$ (an) $_{\omega}$ (lage) $_{\omega}$. Wie bis jetzt gehandhabt bekommt jede Vollsilbe, die in den phonologischen Wörtern betont wäre, einen starken Schlag.

Abb. 6: s/w-Baum von *Meerwasserentsalzungsanlage* (vom Autor erstellt)

Innerhalb des phonologischen Wortes werden auf der Silbenebene zuerst Trochäen gebildet, falls es die Silbenzahl und die Betonbarkeitsstruktur zulassen. Auf der F₁ werden Konstituenten gefußt, die ein Kompositum oder ein Derivat bilden, aus dem das mehrfach zusammengesetzte Wort besteht. Hier bekommen einen starken Schlag die Konstituenten, die in dem gebildeten Wort isoliert **hauptbetont** sind: [(meer)_ω (wasser)_ω], [(ent)_ω (salzungs)_ω], [(an)_ω (lage)_ω]. Auf der F₂ wird die übergeordnete Zusammensetzung gefußt, die den **Hauptakzent** in dem phonologischen Lemma trägt: [[(ent)_ω (salzungs)_ω], [(an)_ω (lage)_ω]]. Auf F₃ werden alle Zusammensetzungen zu einem phonologischen Lemma zusammengefügt: [[(meer)_ω (wasser)_ω], [[(ent)_ω (salzungs)_ω], [(an)_ω (lage)_ω]]].

Greift man auf die Formel zur Berechnung der Prominenzgrade (Akzentstufen) zurück, korreliert die Prominenzabstufung mit der steigenden Silbenzahl im Lemma positiv. Für *Meerwasserentsalzungsanlage* müsste sich das Akzentmuster nach dem in der DAD angewendeten Prinzip folgendermaßen gestalten: 321142321. Bei der Angabe von Akzentmustern werden in dem Referenzwerk nur die Betontheits- und Betonbarkeitsstrukturen berücksichtigt. Bei der Betrachtung der Lemmata wurden die phonologischen Wörter als prosodische Einheiten außer Acht gelassen. Die nach der n + 1 Formel ermittelten Prominenzgrade führen hingegen zu einem abweichenden Akzentmuster: 421251321.

Für die Zusammensetzung *Kurzfristenergieversorgungsmaßnahmenverordnung* müsste noch mit höheren nominalen Prominenzwerten gerechnet werden, denn das siebenenteilige Kompositum besteht aus zehn phonologischen Wörtern, die jeweils mit einem starken Schlag bereits auf der Silbenebene versehen werden. Derartige Lemmata werden in den Aussprachekodizes und Aussprachdatenbanken nicht aufgeführt, deswegen erübrigt sich, die Akzentstufen auf okkasionelle Wortschöpfungen anzuwenden.

Fazit

Das dargestellte Pedifizierungsmodell als Konzept zur Markierung der Akzentstufen in der Deutschen Aussprachdatenbank scheint auf den ersten Blick recht komplex zu sein. Dabei wurden im vorliegenden Beitrag nur Beispiele aus dem deutschen Kernwortschatz angeführt. Nichtsdestotrotz löst es m. E. einige Probleme, die das bis jetzt in der DAD angewendete Akzentstufenmodell nicht nur bei komplexen Wörtern mit sich bringt. So werden beispielweise Anhäufungen von Prominenzgraden mit demselben nominalen Wert vermieden. Derartige Akzentmuster wie in *Energie* (224) oder in *Marionettenregierung* (22241232) widersprechen in der Form den euphonischen Prinzipien. Das behandelte Pedifizierungsmodell bringt

die Akzentmuster der Sprechwirklichkeit näher. Als Nachteil kann der variierende Akzentstufenwert der prominentesten, also der hauptbetonten Silben in Lemmata gelten. So funktioniert Akzentstufe 3 in *Energie* als Hauptakzent, in *Sprechwissenschaft* als Nebenakzent. In fünf- und mehrgliedrigen Komposita kann dieser Wert funktional als ferner untergeordnete Prominenzstufe gelten.

Für die DAD müsste somit ein Algorithmus konzipiert werden, der automatisch Akzentmuster generiert. Dabei sollten viele Aspekte in Betracht gezogen werden. Neben den Betontheits- und Betonbarkeitsstrukturen der Lemmata müssten die Grenzen zwischen den phonologischen Wörtern berücksichtigt werden. Auch die morphologische Hierarchie der Lemmata spielt eine wichtige Rolle. Ziel wäre, dass das Programm bei der Benennung der hauptbetonten Silbe parate Akzentmuster ausgibt, die bei der Vertonung der Lemmata nutzbar sind und die Tonqualität und Authentizität der Hörbeispiele in der DAD fördert.

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Received:
11.12.2023
Reviewed:
27.02.2024
Accepted:
03.05.2024

MARTIN TESTA

University of Warsaw, Faculty of Modern Languages

m.testa@uw.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0001-6086-2073

Beyond the Literal: Refining Text Typology through the Lens of Denotation and Connotation

Abstract

Text typology, a focal area of text linguistics since the 1970s, still faces a fragmented landscape with diverse typologies each analysing distinct parameters. Although some approaches (particularly those by Werlich and Sabatini) have yielded significant insights, they often fall short in identifying specific text types like irony, humour and metaphors – these texts, while superficially resembling other texts, possess inherent semantic characteristics. This article introduces a novel approach by positioning a *denotative/connotative* semantic parameter at the top of the typological hierarchy. Beginning with a critical overview of current text typologies, the article justifies the inclusion of such a parameter with references to speech act theory, poetic language and the general theory of verbal humour based on script opposition. Integrated with other surface-level parameters, this model may help effectively classify a broad spectrum of text genres, in the light of contemporary linguistic theories.

Keywords: text linguistics, text types, text typology, textual sign, denotation and connotation, irony and humour

Introduction

The significance of recognising and understanding text types and genres in our everyday lives cannot be overstated, for textual competence is essential for both creating and comprehending texts within our social contexts (*cf.* Conte 1977; Schmidt 1978; Mortara Garavelli 1991; Koch 2009; Sabatini & Camodeca 2016). This becomes especially relevant in modern assessments like the OECD's PISA test, which emphasises the necessity of these skills for personal and academic achievement (*cf.* Fiorentino 2020).

However, despite extensive discussions on text typologies, certain texts – such as those that are humorous or ironic – defy easy classification within existing frameworks. Moreover, current typologies often overlook critical concepts like denotation and connotation, which are essential for distinguishing

these types of texts; instead they tend to focus primarily on surface text phenomena (cf. Palermo 2013: 236). Additionally, the field of linguistics offers a fragmented view of text types. Most analyses reveal a disarray of definitions, criteria and terminologies with only partial overlaps, leading to significant conceptual ambiguity (cf. Adamzik 2016; Aumüller 2014; Heinemann 2000). This inconsistency poses a substantial challenge in harmonising theoretical perspectives with practical applications, particularly in comprehending how sentence properties contribute to a text's overall characteristics.

This article aims to introduce a new approach to text typology. It proposes a fundamental semantic criterion (*i.e.*, denotation vs. connotation) at the top of the typological hierarchy, striving to provide a universally applicable framework for text classification. This effort seeks to promote a more systematic and comprehensive understanding that connects modern linguistic theory with practical applications in textual analysis.

Understanding Text Types and Genres

A crucial clarification must be made regarding the terminology. Although *text types* and *text genres* are sometimes used interchangeably, especially in everyday language, Adamzik (2016: 327) stresses the importance of distinguishing between these terms.¹ Broadly speaking, *text types* are theoretical constructs defined by linguistic features – such as lexical choices, syntactic structures and logical relationships – whereas *text genres* represent an open-ended list that refers to the sociocommunicative characteristics of concrete textual forms encountered in daily life. These characteristics are shaped by their content, functional properties, style and structure (Marcuschi 2003: 22–23). Furthermore, a single text type can manifest across multiple genres. For instance, the *narrative* type is prevalent in genres like short stories, fairy tales, novels, biographies and historical surveys; similarly, the *argumentative* type is commonly found in genres such as academic articles, dissertations, reviews, editorials and political speeches (Renkema & Schubert 2018: 69–70).

Another crucial differentiation to consider is that *genres* evolve over time, whereas *types* are regarded as timeless constructs (cf. Weinrich 1972: 161; Bernárdez 1982: 212). For instance, scientific texts are frequently analysed from a contemporary viewpoint, neglecting the fact that earlier forms of scientific discourse, like the works of Galileo (cf. Altieri Biagi 2010) or Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe* (cf. Halliday 1993), were presented in a dialogical format, a practice not prevalent in today's scientific writings. An interesting case is Francesco Redi's *Osservazioni intorno alle vipere* from the 17th century, which uniquely blends scientific narrative with poetic verses (Marazzini 1993: 252–253; in Palermo 2013: 254–255) – a combination that would be unimaginable by today's standards.

1 Adamzik (1995) reports about 4000 colloquial terms for “text types” in German. She also highlights the complexity of German text classification terminology, emphasising the use of terms like *Textsorte* (“text genre”, also: Textmuster [“text pattern”], Textklasse [“text class”] and Text-Typ [“text type”]) to denote varying levels of text groupings (Adamzik 2016: 331–332). Despite criticisms of the broad use of *Textsorte*, Adamzik (2016) supports its flexibility for communicative needs. Heinemann & Heinemann (2002: 143) introduce a structured approach with *Textsorte* for intuitive grouping (e.g. weather report), *Textklasse* for general descriptors (e.g. written text; newspaper text) and *Text-Typ* for abstract categorisation (e.g. informative text), plus an intermediate level, *Textsortenklasse*, for added granularity. This approach aims to serve as flexible tools for researchers to adapt to their specific needs.

Moreover, as Aumüller (2014) points out, genre classification operates on a binary system – a text either belongs to a genre or it does not – whereas text types are defined on a comparative basis, emphasising a text's *dominant* semantic properties. This means that although a complex text may display a variety of semantic traits, it is the presence of certain primary properties that prevails over others (cf. Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: § IX.6); consequently, the classification of a text into a specific type depends on the prominence of these characteristic properties.

The distinction between text types and genres is significant as it underscores the focus on *structural* analysis for genres versus the *semantic* analysis for text types (cf. Bieber & Conrad 2009: 15–19). Genres are characterised by their conventional structures and purposes, aligning with Bakhtin's definition ([1979] 1986) of genres as *relatively stable sequences of utterances*, highlighting their social recognisability (cf. Adam 2008; Koch 2009; Swales 1990; Renkema & Schubert 2018; Sousa 2012). This social recognition, often referred to as *genre knowledge* (Renkema & Schubert 2018) or *competência metagenérica* (cf. Koch 2009), is crucial for discursive proficiency – understanding how different genres operate within specific contexts. For example, it is important for first-year students to learn how to effectively produce academic genres, such as term papers and oral presentations, to navigate academic contexts successfully (Renkema & Schubert 2018: 75).

Systemic Functional Linguistics (cf. Martin & Rose 2007, 2008) views genre as a dynamic interplay among *field*, *tenor* and *mode*, aligning with Halliday's (1978) metafunctions of language: ideational, interpersonal and textual, respectively. This approach is illustrated in Halliday & Martin's (1993: 33–36) analysis of the "Popular science" genre. This genre melds a specific scientific *field* (e.g., Paleontology), with a *tenor* that balances technical language with accessibility, incorporating expressive elements (e.g., *wonderful*). It also adopts an abstract *mode*, characterised by a nominal style and the use of grammatical metaphor. In contrast, strictly scientific writing primarily differs in *tenor*, tending towards more technical language, providing fewer explanations and omitting expressive language.

The study of text types requires precise classification criteria, particularly since genres are regarded as open-ended and evolving, shaped by social and cultural contexts, in contrast to text types, which are viewed from a perspective of higher theoretical abstraction, aiming for universal applicability akin to that of speech acts or language functions. In this context, the introduction of Isenberg's (1978) criteria for textual typology represented a notable development, addressing the demand for clarity and precision.

Isenberg's criteria, recognised for significantly contributing to a coherent classification system, encompass *homogeneity*, *monotypy*, *rigor* and *exhaustiveness*. These principles ensure that texts within a typology are uniformly categorised (*homogeneity*), a text cannot belong to multiple types at the same hierarchical level (*monotypy*), classifications must be precise to eliminate ambiguity (*rigor*), and every conceivable text within its scope must be classifiable into at least one specified type (*exhaustiveness*) (cf. Isenberg 1987: 106–119). These criteria have sparked debates and undergone refinement within academic discussions (cf. Sousa 2012: 360; Adamzik 2016: 327), reflecting on the balance between formal and functional definitions of text and the evolving approach to text analysis that favors a broader understanding of texts as dynamic entities shaped by their contexts. Despite these discussions, Isenberg's criteria remain foundational to developing a coherent text typology.

A Brief Overview of Textual Typologies

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Aumüller (2014: §3) traces the history of text type evolution back to ancient philosophy, notably Plato's Republic's concepts of *diegesis* (narration) and *mimesis* (description), and his distinction between 'author-driven' and 'character-driven' narratives, prefiguring modern narratological concepts of *extradiegetic* and *intradiegetic* levels (Genette [1972] 1980: 161ff.). As Aümuller further notes, this early classification system was advanced by Goethe in the early 19th century, who identified three core forms of poetry – Epic, Lyric and Drama – based on intrinsic textual qualities, all of them more or less prominently manifesting across various 'surface' genres like novels and parodies.²

In the early stages of text linguistics, the focus on "text grammar" largely revolved around analysing texts through linguistic features such as the frequency of nouns and verbs and sentence length (cf. Sousa 2012: 347, and references therein). This period in the 1970s saw researchers predominantly engaging with these descriptive statistical differences; however, this methodology was limited by its failure to consider the semantic aspects of texts crucial for grasping their communicative intents and purposes (cf. Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: §IX.3). Sandig's (1975) model, for example, differentiated texts based on *twenty* binary characteristics, including spontaneity, modality (spoken or written), and the use of non-linguistic elements like gestures. Despite its ambition, the model has been critiqued for its complexity, making it challenging to apply to everyday texts such as letters or family conversations (cf. Bernárdez 1982: 223–228). Additionally, Isenberg (1978: 570) highlighted its lack of homogeneity due to the model's criteria spanning from pragmatic to syntactic features. Despite such criticisms, it is important to acknowledge that Sandig's contribution recognised the multidimensional nature of texts.

As the field of text linguistics has evolved, so too have the approaches to text typologies. The focus has broadened from an exclusive emphasis on linguistic features to encompassing the intentions behind text creation and the interpretive liberties granted to readers. Texts have been categorised based on various criteria³, including the medium through which the text is conveyed, its primary pragmatic function, the interpretative role assigned to the addressee and the distinction between reality and fiction⁴ (cf. Lala 2011; Palermo 2013; Ferrari 2014). I shall now focus on the most discussed typologies, offering a brief overview before delving into the specific proposal of this contribution.

The distinction between oral and written forms of communication – known as diamesic typology – has always been deemed crucial, emphasising significant differences in syntax, lexicon and structure (cf. Lala 2011; Palermo 2013: 238; Renkema & Schubert 2018: 65–67). While any written text can be read aloud, it remains distinct from spoken language due to these distinct features. For instance, oral language tends to be more paratactic and structurally complex, whereas the complexity of written

2 It is noteworthy that Goethe refers to Homer's epics as examples of "pure" Epic (cf. Aumüller 2014: §3).

3 Lala (2011) also discusses Manzotti's (1990) text typology for educational settings. This typology differentiates between *autonomous texts*, which facilitate free intellectual creation without rigid structures, and texts that *re-process* existing content, such as summaries and paraphrases. This distinction is expected to become increasingly relevant with the advancement of artificial intelligence-generated texts.

4 This distinction aims to differentiate, for example, between scientific/didactic texts and literary texts (see: Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: §IX; also Lala 2011: §2). However, the notion of truth in text creation proves elusive. Recent studies on memory (e.g., Phelps & Hofmann 2019) have shown that our recollections are substantially "edited" or fictionalised, which complicates the clear demarcation between factual and fabricated narratives. In psychology, this phenomenon is referred to as 'flashbulb memories' (see: Hirst *et al.* 2015).

language often lies in lexical density and the use of heavier constituents (Halliday 1989). De Mauro (1993) further delineates *oral* texts on characteristics such as directionality, spontaneity and the presence of interlocutors, ranging from intimate face-to-face conversations to formal conference presentations. Regarding contemporary *written* language, the emergence of digital communication has introduced unique features such as hypertext and non-linear discourse, underscoring the significance of hyperlinks in fostering interconnected text structures (*hypercohesion*, Schubert 2017) across different nodes⁵ of a hypertext. This aspect is central to the structure of *digital* discourse (Eisenlauer 2013; Renkema & Schubert 2018: 87–88).

Among the most widely acknowledged text typologies, Werlich's (1975, [1976] 1982) classification organises texts into five main types: descriptive, narrative, expository, argumentative and instructional, each with its unique speech act purpose. *Descriptive* texts aim to portray scenes or objects (cf. Roggia 2011a), *narrative* texts tell stories (cf. Roggia 2011b), *expository* texts provide information (cf. De Cesare 2011), *argumentative* texts seek to persuade (cf. Cignetti 2011a) and *instructional* texts give directions or commands (cf. Cignetti 2011b).⁶ Werlich ([1976] 1982: 39, 93) highlights that descriptive texts often focus on static, timeless elements, whereas narratives prioritise the progression of time and events. This impacts the use of connectives and modal verbs, as well as the balance between nouns and verbs, underscoring stylistic distinctions among text types.⁷ Additionally, Werlich's typology accommodates genres within each text type, suggesting that fairy tales, epics and scientific reports align with the foundational narrative and argumentative types but follow genre-specific conventions (cf. Lala 2011). The typology also aligns with the oral and written distinction, suggesting that each text type can manifest distinctly in spoken or written form (e.g., oral/written narratives, oral/written argumentatives, etc.; cf. Lavinio 2004: 148).

While Werlich's typology is broadly recognised for its comprehensive approach to classifying text types by their specific contextual foci – e.g., descriptive texts focus on “factual phenomena in space” (cf. Werlich [1976] 1982: 39) – it has not been without its critiques and suggestions for refinement. Isenberg (1987: 113) praises the typology for its exhaustiveness and its method of defining text types based on distinct contextual foci. However, Mortara Garavelli (1991: §3) posits that certain hypothetical text types – like an “optative” type, envisioned for expressing wishes, curses and prayers – do not seamlessly fit into Werlich's predefined categories. Moreover, Bernárdez (1982: 221) raises concerns about the typology's adherence to monotypy, since a single text may contain more than one type. However, this critique might be more aptly applied to the notion of *genres*, which, while capable of incorporating multiple text types, often demonstrate a *predominant* one (cf. Sabatini & Camodeca 2016). Despite these considerations,

5 Hyperlinks can be intranodal (e.g. within one article in Wikipedia), internodal (e.g. between different articles in Wikipedia) and extranodal (e.g. between Wikipedia and other websites) (cf. Renkema & Schubert 2018: 89).

6 A similar approach by Koch & Fávero (1987) categorises texts using three interconnected dimensions: *pragmatic* (macro-speech acts), *global schematic* (akin to van Dijk's 1980 “macrostructures”) and *linguistic* (surface features), thus considering both internal and external factors in text production. They identify *six* textual types: narrative, descriptive, expository, argumentative, directive and predictive (cf. Sousa 2012: 356–360).

7 Halliday & Martin (1993: 36) show that temporal sequences (or “temporal scaffolding”) can extend beyond the mere use of verbs. This can be achieved through the utilisation of time adverbs, prepositions and time-centric expressions (e.g. *in the 100-million-year wink of a geological eye...*). In their analysis of a 139-word passage from popular science literature, which contains only three verbs, they illustrate how the passage maintains the attributes of a narrative type despite its minimal verb usage.

Werlich's framework continues to serve as a foundational structure in the exploration and understanding of text types.

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Adam's (1991, [1992] 2017, [2005] 2020) exploration into text composition (Fr. *typologie séquentielle*) builds on Bakhtin's genre theories, proposing that basic genres support more complex ones. Adam posits that texts should not be rigidly classified as 'narrative' or 'argumentative' (as suggested by Werlich): "[t]ales and fables can be considered narrative genres if we focus on their sequential storytelling structure; however, they can also be viewed as argumentative genres when we consider the moral lesson they convey" (2020: 259).⁸ In fact, *genres* are complex and often consist of identifiable sequences that can be recognised as narrative, argumentative, descriptive and so forth. This *sequential* level of analysis focuses on the organisation of utterances within the text, how ideas (or micropropositions) are structured into broader concepts (macropropositions), and the arrangement of these concepts in a sequence throughout the text.⁹ For example, texts typically categorised as 'argumentative' often feature a sequence of macropropositions including a thesis statement, supporting evidence, limitations and a conclusion, which may be arranged in a non-linear order to allow for different structural configurations (cf. Sousa 2012: 359). According to Adam, *genre* analysis should primarily determine whether a specific type of sequence *predominates* within a genre, rather than defining texts by strict *types* ([2005] 2020: 259–260).

Sabatini's (1990, 1999) typology stands as a pioneering and invaluable framework within the realm of Italian linguistics, shedding light on the interplay between an author's intent and the interpretive freedom granted to addressees. Sabatini's classification outlines three main approaches authors might take: (1) aim to convey extremely precise concepts about a topic, expecting the reader's interpretation to closely align with their own; (2) target readers who are unfamiliar with the topic, aiming for their interpretation to be relatively close to the author's; or (3) share personal expressions, allowing readers a broad interpretive leeway, enabling them to blend their experiences with the text (Sabatini 1990: 634).

This categorisation hinges on the balance between two parameters, namely *rigidity* and *elasticity* – terms that describe various aspects of a text, like its structure, cohesive devices, lexical choices and sentence length.¹⁰ Rigidity in a text is characterised by features such as uniform and brief paragraphs, repetitive use of technical terms and a lack of exclamatory or interrogative sentences. On the other hand, elasticity is marked by the use of synonyms, exclamations, questions, figurative language and forms that suggest the presence of the author or the reader, making the text more "interactional" (cf. Hyland 2005). Texts can thus be grouped into three types based on the level of interpretive freedom allowed: (1) *rigid texts*, which include scientific, legal and technical documents, require strict adherence to the author's intended meaning; (2) *semi-rigid texts*, such as expository and informative works, maintain a balance

8 Unless otherwise indicated translations are those of the author. Orig.: "Les genres du conte et de la fable sont des genres narratifs si l'on considère le type séquentiel narratif comme enchâssant. Il peuvent être considérés comme des genres argumentatifs si l'on prend en compte l'enchâssement argumentatif dans la maxime de morale."

9 Adam's discussion of the enunciative dimension parallels Halliday's concepts of mode and tenor, while his treatment of the semantic dimension mirrors Halliday's notion of field. Furthermore, the introduction of micro and macropropositions echoes Martin's (1993) categorisation into macro-theme/rheme, hyper-theme/rheme and theme/rheme, as well as Ferrari's (2014) delineation of *unità informativa* and *unità comunicativa*. In a similar vein, Adam's concept of *séquences textuelles* echoes Swales' (1990, 2004) framework of rhetorical moves and steps, alongside Ferrari's notion of *movimento testuale*.

10 For a table aiding in text identification through the lens of rigidity versus elasticity, see: Sabatini *et al.* (2014: 224–225).

between constraints and expressive freedom; and (3) *elastic texts*, including prose and poetry¹¹, offer the greatest freedom in terms of language, sound and rhythm – they encourage active participation in interpretation, contrasting sharply with texts that confine readers to rigid interpretations (cf. Lala 2011; Sabatini & Camodeca 2016).

In conclusion, the field of text typology, explored through these various classification systems, remains complex and continually evolving. The term *text* itself carries multiple meanings – traditionally associated with sequences of sentences (as discussed in the context of “transphrastic grammar”), it can also refer to elements not immediately visible on the surface text, such as the invisible “sense” of a given text (Coseriu [1980] 1998). This complexity is further amplified by the advent of the internet, which introduces new dimensions to text classification, including hyperlinking and digital non-linearity (see Renkema & Schubert 2018). Moreover, the classification of texts can be complicated by factors such as humour and double entendres, which, as we shall see, illustrate that texts can defy straightforward categorisation within the current typologies.

Denotation and Connotation: A Contribution to Text Typology

Coseriu ([1980] 1998) was among the first to articulate a vision for text linguistics grounded in the concept of *sense* rather than *meaning*. He posited sense as a property of the *textual sign* – namely, the Saussurean linguistic sign contextualised – contrasting with meaning, which pertains to the Saussurean dyad of signifier and signified.¹² For instance, the linguistic sign *snake* denotes its literal representation as a serpent; however, as a textual sign, it can also carry connotations of “evil”. This distinction becomes particularly pronounced in high-context cultures (cf. Hall & Hall 1990), which rely on implicit communication, in contrast to the more explicit communication preferred in low-context cultures (cf. Wurtz 2005).¹³ For instance, Everett (2017: 274) provides a compelling illustration of the importance of culture in language through the following interaction between two linguists:

A: Colourless green ideas sleep furiously.

B: They sure do.

As Everett notes, while the general population of English speakers may have no idea what A’s utterance means, if A and B are linguists, they may both understand the reference to Chomsky’s famous

11 Nevertheless, Lala (2011) highlights that despite its “linguistic freedom”, traditional poetry is structured around specific norms and traditions, especially rhythm and sound effects, to guide interpretation. However, she notes a trend in modern Italian poetry towards more flexible composition, deviating from traditional strictures to embrace looser cohesion and variable use of punctuation, capitalisation and rhyme.

12 For a related discussion on *sense* and *reference*, see Crystal (2010: 106–111). For an in-depth exploration of the distinction between denotation and reference, see: Lyons (1995: 78–82). Although this distinction is meaningful, it is not upheld in this article; instead, both concepts are encompassed under the notion of “denotative texts”.

13 Several intriguing hypotheses may emerge from these considerations. For instance, it could be hypothesised that communication difficulties, such as those encountered in foreigner talk (cf. Yule 2010: 192), lead to the creation of more denotative texts for easier interpretation by the interlocutor. Additionally, it might be posited that the closer the relationship between the interlocutors, the more connotative texts are produced in conversations.

example. Thus, this short dialogue could serve a phatic function (*i.e.* its sense), essentially conveying, “Hey, we are both linguists”.

This phenomenon of meaning displacement, where a linguistic sign is interpreted in a context-specific manner diverging from its standard denotation, extends beyond the realm of poetic language to permeate everyday language (Coseriu ([1980] 1998: §2). This indicates that the denotation/connotation difference is a crucial aspect of text typology, relevant to texts encountered in everyday life. Moreover, this parameter aligns with Isenberg’s criterion of exhaustiveness, as it applies to texts at both the micro and macro levels (*cf.* Bieber & Douglas 2009: 5): short texts can be concisely identified as either denotative or connotative, with more complex texts tending towards one of these classifications (*cf.* Adam, above).

Furthermore, the concepts of rigidity and elasticity, as discussed by Sabatini, can be recontextualised in terms of semantics and form. Texts may exhibit semantic rigidity (*i.e.*, denotation) or elasticity (*i.e.*, connotation), which then interacts with their formal characteristics. For instance, the semantic content of a Spenserian sonnet can be elastic, allowing for a breadth of interpretations, while its structure remains highly rigid. This perspective diverges from Sabatini *et al.* (2014: 117), who consider all poetic texts as inherently “elastic”, and highlights the critical need for accurate interpretation, especially on platforms like social media where the intended meaning of humorous memes can often be misconstrued as denotative.

To justify this proposal, let us examine several key arguments, such as speech act theory, the theory of verbal humour, poetic language, specific language registers and the concept of text allusion. These points collectively support the inclusion of a denotation/connotation parameter in text typology.

Beginning with *speech act theory* (Austin 1962), this theory categorises the communicative functions of utterances into actions like requesting, commanding, questioning or informing (*cf.* Yule 2010: 133–135). *Direct* speech acts align sentence type with function straightforwardly, such as using the interrogative *Can you ride a bicycle?* to genuinely ask a question. Conversely, *indirect* speech acts employ a structure typically associated with one function to fulfill another, as in *Can you pass the salt?*, where an interrogative sentence form is used to request an action, rather than to ask a question (*cf.* Crystal 2010: 125). Significantly, this also encompasses *illocutive* (or performative) *verbs*, that is, verbs that ‘enact the action they denote’ (Ferrari 2014: 301): in such instances, the text produced is denotative, as illustrated by expressions like *I would like to ask you how much it is* – for asking a question – or *I’m afraid I need to reject your proposal* – for indicating rejection.¹⁴

Humorous texts (*cf.* Crystal 2010: 64–67) – particularly through the General Theory of Verbal Humor (Attardo & Raskin 1991; Attardo 2001) and script-based Semantic Theory of Humor (Raskin 1985) – provide a strong case for the distinction between denotative and connotative texts. According to these theories, humour often emerges from *script opposition*, such as the clash between reality and fantasy, or from ambiguity. For example, consider a joke in which a customer, aiming to take advantage of a “Buy 1 Coffee, Get 1 Free” offer, is told by the barista, “Yes, the second coffee is indeed free *after* you buy the first one for \$3.” To which the customer replies, “In that case, *I’ll start with the second coffee*”, thereby exploiting the ambiguity of the offer’s wording. Similarly, Jonathan Swift’s *A Modest Proposal* might

14 Indirect speech acts have traditionally been regarded as more “polite” (*cf.* Everett 2017: 258–259), a perspective that Wierzbicka (1985) challenges as Anglo-centric. Wierzbicka emphasises that perceptions of politeness and the preference for indirectness vary across cultures.

seem like a straightforward economic proposal initially¹⁵ but reveals its satirical nature only through connotative interpretation. While humorous texts might be classified as elastic according to Sabatini's typology, they are not completely so; some demand a specific interpretation to be fully appreciated, as shown in Swift's work or humour arising from script opposition.¹⁶ An illustrative case cited by Mortara Garavelli (1988: 161) involves identity cards – typically an example of highly rigid, descriptive text; when used humorously, however, they can transition into connotative texts.¹⁷

Something similar occurs with irony, particularly when analysed from a polyphonic perspective. Ducrot (1984) argues that utterances can contain multiple voices, allowing speakers to distance themselves from certain perspectives within the same utterance. Ferrari (2014: 244) emphasises this in the context of irony. In such cases, the speaker simultaneously adopts and distances themselves from a statement that becomes ironic due to contextual contradictions. For instance, a person might declare it a sunny day while standing in pouring rain, thereby mocking their own previous weather prediction (e.g., *È davvero una giornata in cui splende il sole!* 'It really is a day when the sun is shining'). In this case, the speaker essentially splits into two: one who previously held an absurd viewpoint and one who comments on it at the moment of utterance. The result is a communicative paradox that irony resolves by highlighting the contextual evidence; through intonational choices, the speaker triggers the intended ironic effects.

Poetic language is renowned for its rich use of metaphors and connotative expressions. This is vividly illustrated in the intricate use of kennings within Old Norse and Old English poetry, where complex metaphors describe objects or concepts without naming them directly, thus creating richly connotative texts. For instance, "hostile monster of the mast" (O. N. *jötunn vandar*) metaphorically describes the stormy wind, while "the prow beast" (O. N. *stafnkvígs*) and "Gestil's [a sea-king] swan" (O. N. *Gestils ölp*) symbolise the ship (cf. Bernárdez 1982: 255). Similarly, Old English kennings – like "whale-road" (O. E. *hronrād*) for the sea and "bone-house" (O. E. *bānhūs*) for the body (Crystal 2003: 23) – demonstrate the depth of connotative language by imposing on readers a multi-layered understanding that goes beyond the literal (cf. Crystal 2010: 65). Francesco Petrarca's Sonnet 148 from his *Canzoniere* (14th century) offers another compelling illustration of the distinction between denotative and connotative language. This sonnet transforms a simple list of rivers (*Non Tesin, Po, Varo, Arno, Adige et Tebro, / Eufrate, Tigre, Nilo, Hermo, Indo et Gange*) into a text imbued with emotional and symbolic resonance, reflecting the intense passion of love and the comforting, yet ultimately insufficient, solace of nature (...*poria 'l'foco allentar che 'l cor tristo ange* '[Not even those rivers] could quench the fire that the sad heart torments'). The opening lines could ostensibly belong to a denotative text merely cataloguing rivers (e.g., "Examples of rivers in Italy include *the Ticino, Po, Arno, Adige and Tiber*"). However, a comparison between the original and the hypothetical denotative example reveals differences not so much on the surface of the text but in

15 Swift's satirical essay masterfully employs argumentative style to propose a shocking solution to Irish poverty: selling children as food. Starting with a rational analysis of economic woes, it abruptly presents this outrageous solution.

16 This complexity becomes especially pertinent when considering individuals with Asperger Syndrome (AS), who may have intact language abilities but struggle with nonliteral language, such as irony, due to their difficulty with pragmatic language use in social contexts (cf. Martin & McDonald 2004).

17 For instance, consider the following fictitious Italian ID card for the actor Chuck Norris, humorously filled with whimsical entries fitting the genre's categories, such as *Cittadinanza: Tutte. Ad Honorem* ("Citizenship: All. Honorary") and *Capelli: Tantissimi e bellissimi* ("Hair: Very abundant and beautiful") (https://x.com/chuckkk_norris/status/437680596077125632?lang=eng) [date of access: 28.03.2024].

their ideational functions: the constructed example is denotative, focusing on direct information, while Petrarca's sonnet is distinctly connotative.¹⁸

Certain *language registers*, including specialised forms like Cockney rhyming slang and secretive linguistic codes used in criminal circles, demonstrate vividly how denotative and connotative meanings can differ significantly within various contexts. For example, Cockney rhyming slang ingeniously transforms everyday objects into complex, indirect expressions – e.g. *Cain and Abel* becomes a synonym for “table” and *Hampstead Heath* creatively denotes “teeth” (Crystal 2010: 55). In a similar vein, criminal codes introduce a level of secrecy by attributing unconventional meanings to conventional words, making them comprehensible solely within their own community (Crystal 2010: 60–61). These instances underscore the adaptive nature of language, demonstrating how the denotative (literal) meanings of words can be cloaked in connotative (implied) interpretations, thereby erecting a linguistic divide that distinguishes insiders from outsiders.

Lastly, *text allusion* – a form of intertextuality – provides a further argument for classifying texts into denotative versus connotative categories. Beaugrande & Dressler (1981: §IX.12) shed light on this by exploring how texts evolve and reference each other over time. They discuss how Christopher Marlowe's 1599 poem *The Passionate Shepherd to His Love* inspired Sir Walter Raleigh's response, which both emulated and critiqued Marlowe's original work. John Donne later adapted the theme to a fisherman's perspective, while Cecil Day Lewis's 1935 version reflected the 1930s economic challenges, contrasting sharply with Marlowe's idealism. This sequence of adaptations highlights how texts can both rely on and deviate from their predecessors, consistently “echoing” the original reference. Coseriu ([1980] 1998: §2.2.2) further illustrates how the sense of a text can change dramatically based on cultural and linguistic contexts. He contrasts how an Italian phrase – merely suggesting an unnamed location in a southwestern German region – is very likely to be understood denotatively (1a), against its Spanish counterpart (1b), instantly recognisable to Spanish speakers as an allusion to the opening of *Don Quixote*. Moreover, Coseriu argues that even a simple relative clause phrase like *X, de cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme*, can, in Spanish, evoke this literary reference. Similarly, an Italian professor's remark about being “in the middle of our course” (2a), meant to indicate the halfway point of the semester, could be perceived by Italian students as an allusion to the opening line of the *Divine Comedy* (*Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita...*); however, the English translation of this observation (2b) might not evoke the same literary connection.¹⁹

(1)

(a) *In un luogo della Svevia, il cui nome non voglio ricordare...*

(b) *En un lugar de la Suebia, de cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme...*

“In a place in Swabia, the name of which I have no desire to call to mind...”

(2)

(a) *Siamo nel mezzo del cammin del nostro corso...*

(b) *We are in the middle of the journey of our course...*

18 For other literary examples, cf. Coseriu ([1980] 1998: §2.6).

19 Coseriu points out that these are not just *potential* references but are actively and commonly recognised by those familiar with the cited texts. This is particularly evident in humorous texts, where allusions do not merely suggest interpretations – they *compel* them, ensuring the text's coherence.

One could argue that all texts inherently possess connotative meanings due to the principle of intertextuality. Indeed, Coseriu ([1980] 1998: §2) highlights that texts often reference other texts, as illustrated by traditional openings such as *Once upon a time...* in fairy tales. However, speech act theory distinguishes clearly between direct and indirect acts of speech: illocutionary verbs – as well the overlap between sentence type and speech act – represent direct speech acts. Similarly, the theory of verbal humor, which draws on script opposition, requires the simultaneous understanding of two distinct, contrasting scripts for a humorous interpretation, thus serving as a clear example of connotative texts. While analysing longer, complex texts might present challenges, it is important to remember that the denotative or connotative nature of a text is determined by its *dominant* function, a key aspect of text typology rather than genre classification. Consequently, all poetic language is *predominantly* connotative, while all scientific texts are *predominantly* denotative.

While denotative texts may be viewed as “rigid” discourse and connotative texts as “elastic” discourse, such categorisation risks oversimplifying the intricate dynamics between reader and text. Literary and poetic works, offering a wider margin for interpretation, in fact depend on the reader’s ability to deduce the author’s intended meaning in order to ensure textual coherence – a fundamental aspect of textuality (Conte [1989] 1999). This also extends to prescriptive “rigid” texts like recipes, which, despite their intent to reproduce an original purpose, may serve as adaptable guides for personal interpretation.

Furthermore, defining a text solely by its structure would be an oversimplification. The argumentative sequences (see: Adam, above) of prescriptive or scientific texts can be the subject of satire (as exemplified by Swift), challenging their categorisation as strictly denotative (argumentative) texts. Instead, although their form may resemble that of argumentative texts, they are distinguished by their connotative semantics. Additionally, while poetic language is predominantly connotative as a text type, the sonnet as a genre is characterised not only by its connotative semantics but also by its specific form. Therefore, it is the complex interplay of these features, rather than isolated characteristics, that enables accurate classification of both types and genres.

Consequently, the differentiation between denotation and connotation serves as a crucial parameter in the typology of texts, fundamentally grounded in linguistic principles. Moreover, this distinction can be further enriched through a meticulous analysis of surface structures (for instance, by applying Sabatini’s rigidity/elasticity parameters), thereby facilitating the classification of a diverse range of text genres, as illustrated in Table 1 below:

Table 1. The denotation/connotation parameter applied to genres

Semantics	Form	Examples
DENOTATIVE	<i>rigid</i>	prescriptive; legal; scientific genres
	<i>semi-rigid</i>	popular science; school textbooks
	<i>elastic</i>	everyday spontaneous information exchanges (excluding highly routinised expressions)
CONNOTATIVE	<i>rigid</i>	sonnets; ironic use of rigid denotative texts
	<i>semi-rigid</i>	less structured expressions of poetic and artistic texts
	<i>elastic</i>	stream-of-consciousness; postmodern poetry

Finally, at a more granular level, texts can be evaluated based on their sequential structures (*cf.* Adam [2005] 2020) to empirically determine which type of sequence – narrative, descriptive, argumentative, *etc.* – predominates in specific texts under examination. This approach would allow for a more in-depth understanding of textual composition and function, while simultaneously paying attention to the deeper semantic elements of texts.

Conclusion

This paper proposes a hierarchical model of text analysis that incorporates existing typologies while foregrounding the critical distinction between denotative and connotative meanings, positioning this semantic criterion at the apex of the hierarchy. By reintegrating Coseriu's concept of the *textual sign*, the model presented in this paper offers a re-evaluation of text analysis – it not only aligns with Sabatini's typology but also advances it and integrates Adam's refinements to Werlich's classic contributions.

The proposed hierarchy is structured to facilitate a layered analysis of texts. Following the primary semantic typological differentiation at the top level, the model classifies text genres based on their structural rigidity, thus allowing for a sequential examination from the abstract to the specific. Adam's criterion for dominant sequential types is considered at subsequent levels, thereby providing a comprehensive framework for text analysis.

In sum, this proposal advocates for an integrated approach to text analysis, presenting a robust analytical tool that is adaptable to the complexity of human texts. Employing this framework promises deeper insights into textual dynamics, enhancing our understanding of human expression and interaction. In the digital era, where effective communication hinges on the ability to discern and interpret layered meanings, recognising text types has never been more essential.

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JACEK TOMASZCZYK

Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach, Instytut Nauk o Kulturze

jacek.tomaszczyk@us.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-9199-659X

AGNIESZKA GOŁDA

Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach, Instytut Nauk o Kulturze

agnieszka.golda@us.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0001-6571-5304

Język opisu bibliograficznego jako język specjalistyczny

The Language of Bibliographic Description as a Special Language

Abstract

The bibliographic description language is both a type of information retrieval language and a special language that is used to create bibliographic descriptions for documents. Over the centuries, the ways of registering the features of documents reproduced in bibliographic descriptions have evolved. These descriptions are created by international bibliographic standards and citation styles, which are essential for bibliographers and authors of academic, popular science, and popular texts. The paper presents the theory of the language of bibliographic descriptions, its functions (cognitive, communicative, and search), vocabulary (paranatural notation with uncontrolled vocabulary), grammar rules, various methods of notation, and the diverse groups of users.

Keywords: language of bibliographic description, special language, bibliographic description, bibliographic method, bibliography

Słowa kluczowe: język opisu bibliograficznego, język specjalistyczny, opis bibliograficzny, metoda bibliograficzna, bibliografia

Wprowadzenie

Jednym z elementów umożliwiających rozwój nauki są – często niedoceniane – spisy bibliograficzne, te tradycyjne, w postaci drukowanej, jak i bibliograficzne bazy danych. Bez znajomości rejestrów

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osiągnięć nauki trudno wyobrazić sobie jakiegokolwiek warsztat uczonego. Każdy piszący i publikujący prace o charakterze naukowym, popularnonaukowym, a bywa, że także popularnym (poradnikowym, promocyjnym), wykorzystuje w swoich działaniach metodę bibliograficzną. Należy przez nią rozumieć szereg czynności – mechanicznych, koncepcyjnych i analitycznych. Dzięki nim dokonuje się atomizacji już istniejących wykazów, czyli analizy spisów dokumentów i cytowań bibliograficznych, tworzy się też opisy bibliograficzne różnych typów dokumentów, układając z nich zestawienia bibliograficzne (Bednarska-Ruszałowa 1989: 39; Bieńkowska 1989: 332–333). Dobra znajomość wskazanej metody umożliwia sporządzanie, przetwarzanie i wykorzystywanie rejestrów bibliograficznych, pozwala na gromadzenie materiału badawczego (opisy źródeł i opracowań) oraz pomaga tworzyć prawidłową dokumentację własnych osiągnięć, zapobiegając problemom o charakterze etycznym, a nawet prawnym. Jak podkreśliła Jadwiga Woźniak-Kasperek „bez działań bibliograficznych i informacji bibliograficznej nie dało się uprawiać nauki” (Woźniak-Kasperek 2015: 518) – i oczywiście nie da nadal, ale umiejętność bibliografowania w świecie opanowanym przez informacje staje się masowa, dotyka, jak wspomniano, już nie tylko grono badaczy. Opisy bibliograficzne – na różnym stopniu ich poprawności i dokładności – można odnaleźć w serwisach społecznościowych, i to nie wyłącznie tych współtworzonych przez naukowców, ale również na blogach oraz w różnego typu raportach i sprawozdaniach.

Dokumentacja bibliograficzna nabiera szczególnej wymowy w czasach, gdy łatwość „zdobywania” informacji i ich przetwarzania znacznie wzrasta. Abstrahując od metainformacyjnej, identyfikacyjnej, historycznej, archiwizacyjnej, kulturowej i statystycznej funkcji bibliografii, jest ona jednym z podstawowych narzędzi stosowanych po to, by zgromadzić dane bibliograficzne (por. np. Kamińska 2014: 154; Seweryn & Swoboda 2013: 3), odpowiednio je skomponować i następnie ujawnić dotychczasowe wyniki publikacyjne. Ułatwia też tworzenie siatek powiązań między naukowcami i ich dokonaniem. Ranga metody bibliograficznej jest więc niebagatelna, a poznanie zagadnień związanych z prawidłową budową opisu bibliograficznego jest nieodzowne: „Trudno przecenić rolę i znaczenie bibliografii, ładu bibliograficznego i związanego z nim ładu informacyjnego, zwłaszcza w naszych czasach, w których problem stanowi nadmiar informacji, a nie jej niedostatek” (Woźniak-Kasperek 2014: 14).

Stworzenie prawidłowo skonstruowanego opisu bibliograficznego jest wynikiem znajomości języka opisu bibliograficznego. Jest on integralną częścią systemów informacyjnych, stanowiąc podstawę pracy z informacjami podczas realizowania potrzeb indywidualnych, społecznych, a nawet narodowych, w procesie zdobywania informacji o charakterze naukowym, edukacyjnym i technologicznym (Савина 2020: 161). To właśnie on stanowi główny przedmiot naszych rozważań. Nie będziemy natomiast zajmować się językiem opisu katalogowego, ponieważ opis ten – jakkolwiek wykazujący znaczne podobieństwa strukturalne do stosowanego w bibliografiach – zaznajamia z szeregiem odmiennych cech dokumentów. Zadaniem opisu katalogowego jest bowiem wskazanie nie tylko cech wydawniczych, a więc cech wrodzonych dokumentów, ale też cech indywidualnych, nabytych przez nie w toku użytkowania (np. znaki proveniencyjne, w tym zapiski własnościowe, pieczęcie, marginalia, komentarze czytelnicze, ekslibrisy, a ponadto ślady uszkodzeń i zniszczeń) oraz cech inwentarzowych, powstałych wówczas, gdy dokument staje się częścią większego zbioru (np. kolekcji prywatnej lub instytucjonalnej, jak bibliotecznej, archiwalnej, muzealnej).

W świetle ustaleń międzynarodowych z 1978 roku, a mianowicie ISBD(M): *International Standard Bibliographic Description for Monographic Publications*, ze zmianami z 1987 roku, opis bibliograficzny jest to „uporządkowany zespół danych o dokumencie służących do jego identyfikacji, z reguły przejmowanych

z opisywanego dokumentu w nie zmienionej postaci, oraz informacji uzupełniających i interpretujących te dane” (PN-82/N-01152.01 1982: 2). Stanowi więc zbiór metainformacji niezbędnych do rozpoznania opisywanego dokumentu (Bojar [red.] 2002: 111).

Od kilkudziesięciu lat spotykamy się ze wzmiankami o języku opisu bibliograficznego w kontekście teorii i praktyki języków informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych¹. To jeden z najważniejszych i najstarszych języków informacyjnych, definiowany jako środek przechowywania i przekazywania informacji o dokumentach, a także środek rozumienia ludzi, czyli narzędzie komunikacji (Berestova 2020: 45–46). Wykazuje on cechy charakterystyczne dla każdego języka, tj. słownictwo, gramatykę, funkcje, użytkowników i pragmatykę, pełniąc kluczową rolę w komunikacji między zasobami informacyjnymi a użytkownikami (Dobreski 2020: 49–66).

Język opisu bibliograficznego zaliczany jest więc przez badaczy do języków informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych², czyli języków sztucznych, których „wyspecjalizowaną funkcją jest funkcja metainformacyjna polegająca na odwzorowywaniu cech informacji i/lub cech nośników informacji, na których są one utrwalone, przez tworzenie ich reprezentacji zwanej charakterystyką wyszukiwawczą dokumentu oraz funkcja wyszukiwawcza polegająca na wyrażaniu zapytań informacyjnych i umożliwianiu ich odnalezienia w zbiorze wyszukiwawczym tych informacji, które spełniają warunki wyrażone w zapytaniu” (Bojar [red.] 2002: 104–105). Od tysiącleci, by zorganizować informacje i zarchiwizować je, zapisywane były w postaci opisów cech formalnych/fizycznych/zewnętrznych obiektów informacyjnych. Te opisy są substytutem dokumentów zawierających informacje (Svenonius 2009: 53). W tym miejscu warto przypomnieć, że zgodnie z poglądem Ludwiga Wittgensteina, język służy do odwzorowywania świata: nazwy odwzorowują przedmioty, zdania – stan rzeczy, zdania prawdziwe – fakty (Stróżewski 2003: 31). Język opisu bibliograficznego również odwzorowuje świat, przy czym jest to świat dokumentów. Opisy bibliograficzne reprezentują obiekty (publikacje), ich cechy oraz relacje wyrażające sprawczość (autorstwo), miejsce, czas wydania itp. Są to zdania prawdziwe, gdyż identyfikują istniejące dokumenty, a dodatkowo informują przykładowo, że dane wydawnictwo zostało wykorzystane i zacytowane w pracy. W ten sposób, podobnie jak w języku naturalnym, język opisu bibliograficznego odtwarza zjawiska materialnego świata jako dokumenty w ludzkim umyśle (Berestova 2020: 46). Każdy element opisu bibliograficznego, od autora po datę wydania, pełni określoną funkcję w odwzorowaniu

- 1 Dowodem tego są dociekania z 1982 roku Eugeniusza Ścibora, który przybliżył polskiemu czytelnikowi szereg typologii języków informacyjnych. Wśród nich znalazła się ogólna klasyfikacja, a jednym z rodzajów języków okazał się język cytowań bibliograficznych (autorem omówionego podziału był Аркадий Иванович Черный) (Ścibor 1982: 63). Jadwiga Sadowska i Teresa Turowska niemal ćwierć wieku temu wyraźnie wskazały z kolei, że „Odtwarzanie treści i formy dokumentu oraz zapisywanie tego w pewien skrócony i symboliczny sposób, to tworzenie charakterystyki wyszukiwawczej dokumentu” (Sadowska & Turowska 1990: 9). Dzięki językowi opisu bibliograficznego możliwe jest odzwierciedlenie cech formalnych dokumentu, choć bywa, że i treściowych (jeśli autor, tytuł czy nazwa serii wskazują zawartość). Terminem język opisu formalnego posługiwały się w 1991 roku Ewa Chmielewska-Gorczyca i Barbara Sosińska-Kalata prezentując narzędzia organizacji dokumentalnych źródeł informacji (Chmielewska-Gorczyca & Sosińska-Kalata 1991: 167).
- 2 W świetle definicji zamieszczonej w *Encyklopedii językoznawstwa ogólnego* za pomocą języka informacyjno-wyszukiwawczego można odwzorować jedynie treść dokumentu i treść zapytań informacyjnych (ZS [Saloni] 1999: 271). Jednak według E. Ścibora do języków informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych należy zaliczać nie tylko tego typu języki, ale i te, które „dysponują wyłącznie środkami umożliwiającymi odwzorowanie formalnych cech dokumentów” (Ścibor 1998a: 139–140). Jako przykład takiego języka podał język katalogu alfabetycznego. Również inny teoretyk języków informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych, Wiesław Babik, uznał, że języki informacyjno-wyszukiwawcze „odtworzą” cechy formalne dokumentów, oraz wymienił ich rodzaje: języki opisu bibliograficznego (katalogowego) oraz języki cytowań bibliograficznych (Babik 2006: 191, 213).

tego świata, umożliwiając dokładne i jednoznaczne zidentyfikowanie zasobów wiedzy. Zatem język używany do sporządzania opisów bibliograficznych to język specjalistyczny, który jest projektowany i stosowany zgodnie ze specjalnym zestawem reguł (metodyką bibliograficzną) (Svenonius 2009: 53).

Hanna Batorowska i Barbara Czubala włączyły języki opisu bibliograficznego i katalogowego dokumentu (wraz z językami opisu rzeczowego dokumentu) do grupy języków informacyjnych dokumentacyjnych, w opozycji do języków informacyjnych faktograficznych, biorąc pod uwagę to, czy języki służą do opisu informacji dokumentalnej czy też faktograficznej³ (Batorowska & Czubala 1997: 55). Z podobnego założenia wyszła Diana Pietruch-Reizes, która dodatkowo rozgraniczyła języki wyspecjalizowane w odzwierciedlaniu cech formalnych dokumentów pisząc o językach opisu bibliograficznego i oddzielnie o językach opisu katalogowego (Pietruch-Reizes 1998: 234). Rozważania te połączył Wiesław Babik, który uznał język opisu bibliograficznego za język hybrydowy, a więc taki, którego struktura zawiera elementy różnych języków informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych. Badacz dopatrywał się dwóch odmian języka opisu bibliograficznego – języka dokumentacyjnego i języka faktograficznego. Hybrydowość dotyczy więc funkcji pełnionych przez ten język (Babik 2013: 98), o których będzie mowa w dalszej części artykułu.

Język opisu bibliograficznego, stosowany przez stulecia przez bibliotekarzy, bibliografów i autorów publikacji, można uznać w kontekście rozważań Franciszka Gruczy⁴ oraz Beaty Jarosz (Jarosz 2018: 85–108), Bronisławy Ligary (Ligara 2011: 163–181) i Stanisława Szadyki (Szadyko 2012: 185–212) za język specjalistyczny. Języki specjalistyczne definiuje się jako „specyficzne języki ludzkie tworzone przez specjalistów na potrzeby komunikacji profesjonalnej w obrębie odpowiednich wspólnot specjalistów” (Grucza S. 2008: 66). Oczywiście, język opisu bibliograficznego będąc językiem sztucznym, nie wykazuje wszystkich cech języka specjalistycznego, jednak pełni funkcję narzędzia komunikacyjnego, jest skonwencjonalizowany, jednoznaczny i ograniczony do specyficznego kontekstu – fachowego. Dowodzi tego choćby fakt wykorzystywania bibliografii przez naukowców, a także przez specjalistów różnych dziedzin i branż (Bojar [red.] 2002: 111), a więc zasięg ich użytkowania jest zawężony (KP [Polański] 1999: 273). Również z punktu widzenia teorii komunikacji język opisu bibliograficznego może być uznany za język specjalistyczny, gdyż jest narzędziem służącym do tworzenia i odbierania tekstów specjalistycznych (Grucza 2013: 56), jakimi są opisy bibliograficzne, o których mowa w dalszej części artykułu.

Funkcje języka opisu bibliograficznego

Prymarnymi funkcjami języka specjalistycznego są funkcja kognitywna oraz funkcja komunikacyjna. Mając na uwadze, że „Każdy wyraz spełnia jakąś funkcję kognitywną już choćby przez to tylko, że coś

3 Przez informację dokumentacyjną należy rozumieć informację dotyczącą dokumentów w postaci opisu formalnego dokumentów, charakterystyki formalnej, charakterystyki słownej, charakterystyki wyszukiwawczej itd. Informacją faktograficzną jest z kolei wszelka informacja o rzeczywistości, która nie jest dokumentem (Bojar [red.] 2002: 89–90).

4 Potwierdzeniem tego jest następujące sformułowanie: „Języki specjalistyczne to pewne zbiory elementów językowych artykułujących pracę tych ludzi, opisujących przedmiot ich pracy, wyrażających ich stosunek do niego, nazywających wytwory (wyniki, produkty) ich pracy – to zbiory wyrażań odzwierciedlających (reprezentujących) ich specjalistyczną wiedzę” (Grucza F. 2008: 14).

wyróżnia i tym samym to coś od czegoś innego odróżnia, albo mówiąc dokładniej: każdy wyraz spełnia określoną funkcję kognitywną przez to, że umożliwia, a przynajmniej ułatwia coś od czegoś innego odróżnić i jednocześnie kategoryalnie zakwalifikować” (Grucza 1991: 34) to funkcja kognitywna języka umożliwia tworzenie, reprezentację i organizację wiedzy. Gdy przyjrzymy się językowi opisu bibliograficznego, zauważymy, że pełni on funkcję kognitywną niejako w pośredni sposób, ponieważ utworzone w nim teksty (opisy bibliograficzne) są wykładnikiem funkcji metainformacyjnej. Desygnatami są obiekty informacyjne (dokumenty – artykuły, książki, strony internetowe, bazy danych i in.), dzięki którym specjaliści mogą pozyskiwać i przetwarzać wiedzę.

Opisy bibliograficzne pełnią równocześnie funkcję komunikacyjną, która służy nadawaniu i odbieraniu tekstów specjalistycznych, będących reprezentacją wiedzy. Jej istotą jest przede wszystkim jednoznaczne, kompletne i zrozumiałe dla odbiorców przekazanie w formie krótkiego komunikatu cech dokumentów (Bajor & Seweryn 2007: 183). Dzięki temu specjaliści uzyskują informacje o tym, co już zostało ogłoszone, jakie publikacje wykorzystał (zacytował, sparafrazował) autor w danym tekście, a także informacje na temat różnych powiązań, np. między tematami prac naukowych, badaczami i instytucjami (indeksy cytowań bibliograficznych).

Charakterystykę funkcji pełnionych przez język opisu bibliograficznego można przeprowadzić również na gruncie teorii informacji naukowej, której częścią są zagadnienia związane z funkcjami języków informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych⁵. Pamiętając, że język opisu bibliograficznego zapewnia prawidłowy przebieg procesów informacyjnych (Babik 2006: 191), należy mu przypisać funkcję metainformacyjną, dzięki której za pomocą tego języka zapisuje się informacje o cechach dokumentów, co powoduje, że powstające teksty stają się metainformacjami (Bojar [red.] 2002: 65–66; Bojar 2005: 76–77). Za pomocą języka opisu bibliograficznego, tak jak zresztą każdego innego języka informacyjno-wyszukiwawczego, odwzorowuje się – jak wspomniano wcześniej – jedynie rzeczywistość dokumentacyjną, a nie jak w językach naturalnych rzeczywistość obiektywną. Dzięki jego użyciu odnotowuje się informacje o formie dokumentów, rzadziej o ich treści, by następnie te metainformacje przechowywać (Sadowska 2013: 131). Istotne jest zatem, że język opisu bibliograficznego służy do „opisu poszczególnych typów dokumentów z uwzględnieniem ich cech relewantnych dla użytkowników” (Babik 2006: 213).

Funkcja metainformacyjna języka opisu bibliograficznego determinuje w konsekwencji przebieg procesu wyszukiwawczego (Babik 2006: 195). Trzeba w tym miejscu wyraźnie zaznaczyć, że bezpośrednio z omówioną wcześniej funkcją komunikacyjną języka opisu bibliograficznego związana jest kolejna immanentna dla języków informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych, a mianowicie wyszukiwawcza, zwana też heurystyczną (Sadowska & Turowska 1990: 7, 9; Bojar [red.] 2002: 68) – tak istotna z punktu widzenia użytkowników języka. Umożliwia ona odszukanie opisu dokumentu w zbiorach opisów bibliograficznych (np. w bibliografiach, bibliograficznych bazach danych), zidentyfikowanie go (dzięki odwzorowanym w opisie cechom, głównie formalnym, ale zdarza się, że i treściowym/rzeczowym/wewnętrznym), a następnie wykorzystanie, zgodnie z potrzebami. Dzięki funkcji wyszukiwawczej można sterować procesem odnajdowania informacji na podstawie takich wyrażań, które charakteryzują „warunki, jakie powinien spełniać szukany podzbiór wiadomości” (Bojar [red.] 2002: 68).

5 W opracowaniach można też spotkać się z charakterystyką innych funkcji języków informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych, a mianowicie organizującej (porządkującej – jest pochodną funkcji metainformacyjnej) oraz określania zakresów tematycznych zbiorów i systemów informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych (tę sprawują przede wszystkim klasyfikacje tematyczne i tezaursy nadrzędne) (Babik 2006: 195).

Tak więc zgodnie z teorią języków informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych język opisu bibliograficznego umożliwia opis cech dokumentów – formalnych i w mniejszym stopniu treściowych, dając tym samym sposobność ich odnalezienia w systemach informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych.

Słownictwo języka opisu bibliograficznego

W świetle dotychczasowych spostrzeżeń język opisu bibliograficznego służy do tworzenia i przekazywania informacji o dokumentach – ich cechach formalnych i rzadziej treściowych (Babik 2011: 24–25). Do tego celu nie jest wymagane specjalne słownictwo, dlatego jest on zaliczany do języków o notacji paranaturalnej z niekontrolowanym słownictwem. Należy przyjąć, że „Wyrażenia oznaczające wartości poszczególnych cech formalnych obiektów [w znaczeniu dokumentów – przyp. aut.] nazywa się *słownictwem języka opisu formalnego*, natomiast zasady ich porządkowania i łączenia w obrębie całego opisu formalnego stanowią *gramatykę* tego języka” (Chmielewska-Gorczyca & Sosińska-Kalata 1991: 167). Słownik języka opisu bibliograficznego jest niejawnym (Babik 2006: 198, 213), w przeciwieństwie na przykład do języków klasyfikacyjnych, języków deskryptorowych czy języków haseł przedmiotowych (Nahotko & Nahotko 2004: 111–130; Sadowska 2003: 149; Sadowska & Turowska 1990: 13–15; Ścibor 1998b: 43–68).

Jednostkami leksykalnymi języka opisu bibliograficznego są: wyrazy i wyrażenia języków naturalnych, w tym takie, którym nadano określone, symboliczne znaczenie (stosowane jedynie w przypisach bibliograficznych: *ibidem*, *idem*, *eadem*, *eaedem*, *eidem*, *tamże*, *tenże*, *taż*, *tychże*) i ich funkcją jest zastąpienie części opisu bibliograficznego, a także skróty (jak przykładowo: *cop.*, *cz.*, *dz.cyt.*, *il.*, *k.*, *kolor.*, *loc.cit.*, *nauk.*, *nr*, *op.cit.*, *oprac.*, *popr.*, *poszerz.*, *przejrz.*, *przekł.*, *przeł.*, *r.*, *red.*, *s.*, *szp.*, *t.*, *tl.*, *uaktual.*, *uzup.*, *wol.*, *wyd.*, *wydaw.*, *z.*, *zm.*) i znaki interpunkcyjne (kropka, średnik, przecinek, dwukropek, nawias okrągły i kwadratowy, ukośnik, myślnik, cudzysłowy). W zakres leksyki wchodzi również terminy obecne w idiolektach specjalistycznych.

Samor Grucza (Grucza 2013: 74) dzieli języki specjalistyczne na rzeczywiste języki specjalistyczne, czyli języki konkretnych specjalistów, oraz na ogólne języki specjalistyczne. W takiej dychotomii język opisu bibliograficznego nie jest rzeczywistym językiem specjalistycznym, ponieważ jest to język znormalizowany i nie powinno być różnic w opisach bibliograficznych tworzonych w nim, bez względu na to, kto je sporządza. W tym miejscu należy jednak poczynić uwagę, że opis bibliograficzny, odzwierciedlający zmieniające się przez wieki cechy dokumentów, ewoluował i nadal ewoluuje. To powoduje, że choć współcześnie co prawda wypracowano międzynarodowe standardy opisu bibliograficznego (ISBD w bibliografiach ogólnych i specjalnych), ale jednocześnie, w wyniku procesu masowości publikacji w przestrzeni cyfrowej, powstały tysiące odmian opisów, zwanych stylami bibliograficznymi, wykorzystywanymi w bibliografiach załącznikowych (np. APA, MLA, Chicago, ISO 690, Harvard, Oxford, Vancouver)⁶. Opisy bibliograficzne tego samego egzemplarza dokumentu

6 Normy bibliograficzne są tworzone przez International Organization for Standardization, a następnie włączane do zespołu norm krajowych lub tłumaczone na języki krajowe, co zapobiega dowolności sporządzania opisów bibliograficznych w takich typach bibliografii, jak przykładowo narodowe, terytorialne czy osobowe. Innymi zasadami bibliograficznymi kierują się kreatorzy stylów bibliograficznych wykorzystywanych do dokumentacji bibliograficznej towarzyszącej tekstom naukowym, popularnonaukowym, rzadziej popularnym. Wiele oficyn wydawniczych i redakcji czasopism opracowuje własne instrukcje bibliograficzne, które mogą różnić się między sobą, zarówno gdy idzie o szczegółowość opisu, kolejność podawania elementów, jak i stosowane znaki interpunkcyjne oddzielające strefy opisu bibliograficznego. To jednak nie zmienia faktu, że od

sporządzane w tym samym rodzaju opisu (rejestracyjnym lub szczegółowym/rozwiniętym), według tych samych norm bibliograficznych czy w tym samym stylu bibliograficznym będą jednak wyglądały identycznie, ponieważ język opisu bibliograficznego nie umożliwia jakichkolwiek form odstępstw od przyjętych zasad.

Język opisu bibliograficznego możemy zatem zakwalifikować do ogólnych języków specjalistycznych, które S. Grucza rozumie jako intelektualne konstrukty czy idealne modele, będące językami wspólnot specjalistycznych.

Gramatyka języka opisu bibliograficznego

Rozumienie języka opisu bibliograficznego jest możliwe dzięki znajomości nie tyle jego słownictwa, ale – co najbardziej charakterystyczne dla tego języka – gramatyki. Ona to wpływa na kolejność elementów opisu bibliograficznego. Słowa nabierają znaczenia dopiero wówczas, gdy stają się częścią schematu. Stojąc w odpowiednim miejscu struktury opisu bibliograficznego oznaczają zawsze to samo – np. wskazują, że jest to tytuł publikacji, tytuł czasopisma czy data jego wydania.

Gramatyka języka opisu bibliograficznego – w świetle teorii języków informacyjno-wyszukiawczych – jest więc gramatyką bezkontekstową i pozycyjną, co podkreśla, że właśnie miejsce/kolejność elementów tego języka decyduje o ich roli (Bojar [red.] 2002: 72–74), a przedstawienie powoduje zmianę sensu. Posługiwanie się językiem opisu bibliograficznego wymaga zatem przede wszystkim poznania wspomnianego schematu, na który składają się: przypisanie danym bibliograficznym stałego miejsca, system znaków interpunkcyjnych oddzielających elementy lub strefy opisu, sposób zapisu graficznego poszczególnych informacji (np. kursywa). Konkatenacja tego języka jest więc tworem sztucznym (Babik 2011: 29), będącym wynikiem przyjętej konwencji. Struktura opisu bibliograficznego jest narzucona wykonawcom opisów przeznaczonych do konkretnych typów bibliografii, dla redakcji czasopism czy oficyn wydawniczych.

Ze względu na słownictwo i gramatykę język opisu bibliograficznego jest językiem uniwersalnym, co oznacza, że nie trzeba znać języka narodowego, w którym został stworzony opis bibliograficzny, ani języka, którym posługują się reprezentanci konkretnych dziedzin i dyscyplin naukowych, by móc właściwie zidentyfikować dokument, którego cechy zostały odzwierciedlone w opisie bibliograficznym. Z uwagi na tę właśnie cechę zwykle nie sprawia problemów w międzynarodowej komunikacji naukowej w przeciwieństwie do naturalnego języka naukowego: „Ludzie nauki – podobnie zresztą jak każde znaczące społecznie środowisko – posługują się charakterystycznym dla nich językiem. Sprawia to, że niejednokrotnie są niezrozumiani lub źle rozumiani przez tych, którzy nie opanowali tego języka” (Drozdowicz 2012: 53). Profesjonalne słownictwo swoje tylko dla pewnych grup badaczy, brak ustalonej terminologii używanej w obiegu globalnym, coraz bardziej rozrastające się słowniki pojęć naukowych, zapożyczenia z języków obcych, powstawanie nowej nomenklatury – są charakterystyczne dla języka nauki (Herden & Łubocki 2021: 150), ale nie dla takiej jego odmiany, jaką jest język opisu bibliograficznego.

Teksty języka opisu bibliograficznego⁷

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Język opisu bibliograficznego służy, jak zaznaczono, do tworzenia tekstów zwanych opisami bibliograficznymi. Na opis bibliograficzny składają się dane będące najmniejszymi jednostkami informacji bibliograficznej, reprezentującymi określone cechy dokumentu. Dane wyrażone są słownie, cyfrowo lub literowo-cyfrowo. Są one grupowane w elementy, a więc podstawowe składniki struktury opisu bibliograficznego, a te z kolei w strefy powiązane funkcjonalnie lub formalnie: strefę tytułu i oznaczenia odpowiedzialności, strefę wydania, strefę specjalną, strefę adresu wydawniczego, strefę opisu fizycznego, strefę serii, strefę uwag, strefę międzynarodowego znormalizowanego numeru. Dodatkowo, elementy i strefy opisu bibliograficznego oddzielone są od siebie znakami umownymi (interpunkcyjnymi) (PN-82/N-01152.01 1982: 2–3).

Jak wcześniej zaznaczono, język opisu bibliograficznego służy do opisywania rzeczywistości ograniczonej do dokumentów – jest to wynik pełnionych przez ten język funkcji przypisanych językom informacyjno-wyszukiwawczym. Cechy dokumentów są egzemplifikowane w kolejnych strefach opisu bibliograficznego. Stają się one częścią opisu bibliograficznego pozbawioną wieloznaczności. Ich znaczenie jest determinowane przez miejsce zajmowane w szeregu danych bibliograficznych, odpowiednio pogrupowanych. Wyrażenia użyte w strefach opisu bibliograficznego symbolizują zatem cechy opisywanych dokumentów. Denotują nie tyle przedmioty rzeczywistości, ale własności informacji pochodzących z zasobów tradycyjnych czy elektronicznych (por. rozważania na temat denotowania przedmiotów nauki: Stonert 1964: 50–52).

W zależności od przeznaczenia opisu bibliograficznego, czy będzie zamieszczony w bibliografii ogólnej, specjalnej, bibliografii załącznikowej lub przypisach bibliograficznych, może być on rejestracyjny (orientacyjny) bądź też szczegółowy (wyczerpujący). Pierwszy rodzaj obejmuje wykaz tylko najważniejszych cech dokumentu, które umożliwiają jego identyfikację, jak autor (jego pełna nazwa z imieniem/imionami, względnie inicjałem/inicjałami i nazwiskiem), tytuł, miejsce wydania i data publikacji. Ten typ opisu jest charakterystyczny przede wszystkim dla takich rodzajów bibliografii, jak wykazy nabytków, wykazy nowości czy – co istotniejsze z punktu widzenia publikujących – w bibliografiach załącznikowych (Ilustracja 1, Ilustracja 2, Ilustracja 3) i przypisach bibliograficznych.

Szulc, A. (2018b). O tłumaczeniach greckich *skēnōma*, *skēnē* i innych odzwierciedlonych w cerkiewnosłowiańskich redakcjach Księgi Psalmów. *Slavia Meridionalis*, 18, Article 1610. <https://doi.org/10.11649/sm.1610>

Ilustracja 1. Opis bibliograficzny z bibliografii załącznikowej jednego z artykułów z czasopisma „Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej”. Źródło: <https://ispan.waw.pl/journals/index.php/sfps/article/view/sfps.2269/7511> [data dostępu 6 czerwca 2024].

7 Na potrzeby rozdziału przyjęto, że tekst to „struktura utworzona z wyrażen danego języka, zorganizowana zgodnie z regułami gramatyki” (Bojar [red.] 2002: 271).

Celiński, P. (2019). Automatyzacja procesów kwerendy i akwizycji danych do analiz Big Data (in:) A. Opolska-Bieleńska (ed), Logistyka i administrowanie w mediach. Zarządzanie Big Data, "Media początku XXI wieku". Wydział Dziennikarstwa, Informacji i Bibliologii, Warszawa: Uniwersytet Warszawski.

Ilustracja 2. Opis bibliograficzny z bibliografii załącznikowej jednego z artykułów z czasopisma „Journal of Modern Science”. Źródło: <https://www.jomswsge.com/The-postpandemic-reality-and-the-security-of-information-technologies-ICT-Big-Data,156912,0,1.html> [data dostępu 6 czerwca 2024].

Szałkowski Artur, *Tragedia na kartkach papieru*, „Panorama Wałbrzyska” z 7 sierpnia 2007, <https://walbrzych.naszemiasto.pl/tragedia-na-kartkach-papieru/ar/c1-6709165> (dostęp: 1.12.2020).

Ilustracja 3. Opis bibliograficzny z bibliografii załącznikowej jednego z artykułów z czasopisma „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”. Źródło: <https://czasopisma.kul.pl/index.php/abmk/article/view/12619/12453> [data dostępu 6 czerwca 2024].

Drugi rodzaj opisu bibliograficznego rozszerzony jest o takie elementy, jak m.in.: tytuł oboczny, współautorstwo, określenie kolejności wydania, nazwa oficyny wydawniczej, określenie typu dokumentu, opis fizyczny, międzynarodowe numery wydawnictw, seria i podseria. Spotyka się go w bibliografiach ogólnych i specjalnych (Ilustracja 4, Ilustracja 5, Ilustracja 6). Bywa i tak, że opis ten uzupełniany jest rozbudowanymi uwagami, adnotacjami, abstraktami czy słowami kluczowymi, które identyfikują treść dokumentu, afiliacjami autorów, a nawet źródłami, z których skorzystali podczas pisania tekstu (skopiowane bibliografie załącznikowe).

Opis formalny	Brożek, Andrzej (1933-1994).
Etykiety WWW	Drugie powstanie śląskie i plebiscyt na tle sytuacji międzynarodowej / Andrzej Brożek. - Katowice : Śl. Inst. Nauk., 1981. - 29 s. ; 20 cm. - (Seria Odczyty: 60-lecie Powstań Śląskich). - Bibliogr. s. 29.
MARC	
Hasła związane	HASŁA PRZEDMIOTOWE: Powstanie 1920 r. śląskie
Klasyfikacja	Plebiscyt na Górnym Śląsku (1921) Śląsk, Górny - polityka międzynarodowa - 1918-1939 r.

Ilustracja 4. Opis bibliograficzny z *Bibliografii Śląska* Biblioteki Śląskiej w Katowicach. Źródło: https://bibliografia.bs.katowice.pl/cgi-bin/wspd_cgi.sh/wo2_opbib.p?ID1=FKNLIHHIRPGJOLNJKHGDCBI DHGL&ln=JP&RODZAJ=-100&ID=32302776290&widok=3&N1=W17687734&N2=14&N3=3&N4=200,205,210,215,220,225,235,240&srt=t00 [data dostępu 6 czerwca 2024].

Szczegóły	
Tytuł	Drames polonais d'Adam Mickiewicz : les Confédérés de Bar, Jacques Jasinski ou Les Deux Polognes / de Adam Mickiewicz ; [avec préf. de Ladislas Mickiewicz].
Twórca	Mickiewicz, Adam (1798-1855) > Mickiewicz, Władysław Józef (1838-1926). Przedm. > Mickiewicz, Adam (1798-1855). >
Zawartość	Les confédérés de Bar ; Jacques Jasiński ou les Deux Polognes ; Lettres de George Sand, d'Alfred de Vigny, d'Albert Grzymala, de F. Mallefille, de Marie d'Agout.
Inny tytuł	Tytuł oryginału: Konfederaci barscy Tytuł oryginału: Jakób Jasiński czyli Dwie Polski
Opis fizyczny	85 s. ; 24 cm.
Wydawca	Paris : Hachette livre : BnF
Data publikacji	2013
Uwaga	Rok wyd. na podstawie informacji z: katalogu wydawniczego - https://www.librairie-obliques.fr . ABES online. Faks., oryg.: Paris, Librairie du Luxembourg, 1867.
Forma i typ	Książki
Temat	1801-1900 > Dramat polski -- 19 w >
Identyfikator	ISBN : 9782012182356
Bibliografia	PZ 2013
UKD	821.162.1-1/-9(0.054)
Język	francuski

Ilustracja 5. Opis bibliograficzny z katalogu Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie pełniącego funkcje bibliografii narodowej. Źródło: [https://katalogi.bn.org.pl/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991038489879705066&context=L&vid=48OMNIS_NLOP:48OMNIS_NLOP&lang=pl&search_scope=Bibliografie_Search_Profile&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=Bibliografie_Slot&query=any,contains,mickiewicz%20adam,AND&facet=lds19,include,Mickiewicz,%20Adam%20\(1798-1855\)&mode=advanced&offset=20](https://katalogi.bn.org.pl/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991038489879705066&context=L&vid=48OMNIS_NLOP:48OMNIS_NLOP&lang=pl&search_scope=Bibliografie_Search_Profile&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=Bibliografie_Slot&query=any,contains,mickiewicz%20adam,AND&facet=lds19,include,Mickiewicz,%20Adam%20(1798-1855)&mode=advanced&offset=20) [data dostępu 6 czerwca 2024].

INFORMACJE SZCZEGÓŁOWE O ZAPISIE

Dział bibliografii: Teoria literatury
- Kulturowa teoria literatury
Rodzaj zapisu: książka w haśle rzeczowym
Dział bibliografii: Proza (1945-1989)
Tytuł: **Prywatne/publiczne. Gatunki pisarstwa kobiecego**
Osoby współtworzące: Pod red. Ingi Iwasiów
Wydawnictwo: Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu
Szczecińskiego
Rok wydania: 2008
Opis fizyczny książki: 240, [1] s., Na s. tyt. także t. 797 oznaczający nr kolejny serii Rozprawy i Studia do nr 74 wydawanej przez Wyższą Szkołę Pedagogiczną w Szczecinie., Streszcz. ang.
Seria wydawnicza: (Rozprawy i Studia / Uniwersytet Szczeciński, t. (797) 723)
Adnotacje: Inga Iwasiów: Studia kobiece - między "ja", światem a literaturą (wstęp). * Agata Zawiszewska: Międzywojenna felietonistyka kobieca. Casus: Irena Krzywicka. - Arleta Galant: "Pośluczone klisze?" Eseistyka Marii Kuncewiczowej. - Inga Iwasiów: Powieść w obiegach. Lata osiemdziesiąte i kontynuacje [dot. powieści politycznych]. - Tatiana Czarska: Historia rodziny - rodzina w historii.
Proweniencja: Rekord powstał w oparciu o otwarte dane bibliograficzne Biblioteki Narodowej (<https://data.bn.org.pl>)
Numer zapisu: 1362779 (IMP)

Ilustracja 6. Opis bibliograficzny z *Polskiej Bibliografii Literackiej* Instytutu Badań Literackich PAN Pracowni Bibliografii Bieżącej w Poznaniu. Źródło: http://pbl.ibl.poznan.pl/dostep/index.php?s=d_biezacy&f=zapisy_szczeg&p_zapis=1362779 [data dostępu 6 czerwca 2024].

Zadaniem opisu bibliograficznego, zastosowanego w bibliografiach różnych typów, w przypisach bibliograficznych i bibliografiach załącznikowych, jest przede wszystkim jednoznaczne, kompletne i zrozumiałe dla odbiorców przekazanie w formie krótkiego komunikatu cech dokumentów (Bajor & Seweryn 2007: 183). Dokumentacja bibliograficzna powinna mieć wobec tego najwyższą jakość i przede wszystkim nie powinna zawierać jakichkolwiek błędów uniemożliwiających identyfikację tych cech (por. analizę błędów w opisach bibliograficznych: Bajor & Seweryn 2007: 188–201).

Użytkownicy języka opisu bibliograficznego

Język opisu bibliograficznego – jak dotychczas dowiedziono – służy do przekazywania użytkownikom informacji o informacjach. Jest swego rodzaju „mostem” łączącym język naturalny, w którym zostały zapisane dokumenty, z językiem użytkowników, którzy poszukują informacji (Svenonius 2009: 53). Wspomniana wcześniej wielość standardów i stylów opisów bibliograficznych powoduje, że użytkownicy języka opisu bibliograficznego są zobowiązani do gruntownego poznania jego gramatyki – poprzez zaznajomienie się z normami opisu bibliograficznego, opisami stylów bibliograficznych lub z instrukcjami bibliograficznymi zamieszczonymi zazwyczaj na stronach WWW oficyn wydawniczych i redakcji periodyków.

Z uwagi na to, że wykonawcami opisów bibliograficznych są osoby o zróżnicowanym poziomie kompetencji informacyjnych (Dziak & Rozkosz & Karciarz & Wiorogórska 2013), w tym kompetencji bibliograficznych, polegających m.in. na przyswojeniu zasad konstruowania zdań za pomocą języka opisu bibliograficznego (a więc gramatyki), inaczej są one przygotowywane. Normy bibliograficzne dedykowane są twórcom opisów spotykanych w bibliografiach ogólnych i specjalnych, a opisy stylów i instrukcje bibliograficzne dla wszystkich tych, których obowiązkiem jest potwierdzanie faktów, cytatów i powołań w napisanych przez siebie tekstach. W tym miejscu warto zaznaczyć, że różnorodność stylów bibliograficznych wynika z odmiennego zestawiania elementów opisu bibliograficznego, a tym samym można powiedzieć, że gramatyka każdego z nich jest inna.

Używający języka opisu bibliograficznego muszą posiadać czynne kompetencje językowe. Powinni znać „słownictwo i gramatykę danego języka i [...] utworzyć poprawne teksty oraz interpretować je i wyszukiwać” (Sadowska 2013: 128). Od kompetencji językowych, a w szczególności kompetencji gramatycznych i semantycznych użytkowników czynnych, zależy jakość opisów bibliograficznych. Dlatego też można wyróżnić dwie podstawowe grupy zainteresowanych językiem opisu bibliograficznego. Do pierwszej z nich należy zaliczyć profesjonalistów, a więc osoby, które zawodowo zajmują się sporządzaniem opisów bibliograficznych dostępnych w bibliografiach publikowanych tradycyjnie lub – co obecnie częściej – w postaci bibliograficznych baz danych (por. np. Olkowska 2021). Te osoby legitymują się zazwyczaj odpowiednim przygotowaniem zawodowym, w tym kompetencjami bibliograficznymi, zdobywanymi podczas studiów uniwersyteckich oraz szkoleń i kursów. W tej grupie mieszczą się również bibliografowie, którzy stosowne umiejętności nabyli nie tyle podczas klasycznej edukacji, ale w trakcie praktyki bibliograficznej.

Zdecydowanie większą grupą tworzących opisy bibliograficzne są ci, którzy nie są zawodowymi bibliografami, ale konstruują dokumentację bibliograficzną w kreślonych przez siebie tekstach, by wykazać się znajomością literatury podmiotu i przedmiotu. Tak więc każdy piszący staje przed obowiązkiem

poznania zasad opracowania opisu bibliograficznego, który „w pracy naukowej [ale nie wyłącznie – przyp. aut.] musi być nie tylko wystarczająco szczegółowy, aby można było odszukać źródła, ale musi także spełniać pewne formalne wymagania, które mogą się różnić w zależności od czasopisma, serii książek, konferencji czy wydawnictwa” (Szczepaniak 2013: 57). To powoduje, że coraz większa grupa osób powinna poznać język opisu bibliograficznego (Jaskowska & Korycińska-Huras & Próchnicka 2009: 300–307; Krakowska 2009), w zasadzie jego gramatykę, a tymczasem można spotkać się z opinią, że „Przypisy to trudne zagadnienie. Nie są problemem jedynie studentów. Wielu badaczy próbuje znaleźć odpowiedni sposób na poradzenie sobie z nimi, lecz już na zdecydowanie bardziej zaawansowanej płaszczyźnie” (Rajewska & Tułowska 2017: 178). Dlatego tak istotna jest obecnie edukacja informacyjna w zakresie akrybii bibliograficznej.

Pragmatyka języka opisu bibliograficznego

Jak już wcześniej zaznaczono, język składa się ze słownictwa, semantyki, składni i pragmatyki. Ta ostatnia cecha obejmuje specyfikacje i warunki stosowania języka, w tym specyfikację określającą, jak szczegółowy powinien być opis lub okoliczności, w jakich dany termin może być stosowany do opisu dzieła (Svenonius 2009: 55).

Biorąc pod uwagę to, że utrwalanie informacji bibliograficznych prowadzi do powstawania opisów bibliograficznych, a następnie tekstów i publikacji bibliograficznych, to należy podkreślić, że te ostatnie wykazują obecnie znaczną różnorodność. Istnieją w formie tradycyjnej (drukowanej, wcześniej też w postaci mikrodokumentów), jak i elektronicznej (bibliograficzne bazy danych, pliki pdf itp.). Język opisu bibliograficznego stał się formą komunikacji mającą na celu implementację interakcji między publikacjami, ich autorami i konsumentami. Funkcjonalne możliwości języka opisu bibliograficznego okazały się bardzo duże i stopniowo przeniknęły wszystkie obszary funkcjonowania dokumentu w czasie (Berestova 2020: 48). Jako że jest to język sztuczny, pozbawiony „anomalii” języka naturalnego, zapewnia systematyczny, a nie przypadkowy dostęp do informacji w formie zapisanej (Svenonius 2009: 53). To dowodzi pragmatyki języka opisu bibliograficznego⁸.

Język opisu bibliograficznego wykazuje zatem relacje pragmatyczne (Savina 2001: 62). Są one odpowiedzialne za opracowywanie opisów bibliograficznych dokumentów podporządkowane kilku zasadom. Należą do nich: maksyma ilości (użycie odpowiedniej ilości informacji, adekwatnie do cech dokumentu), maksyma jakości (ujęcie tylko informacji sprawdzonych i wiarygodnych – najlepiej przejętych z autopsji czyli oglądu dokumentu), maksyma związku (zaindeksowana informacja musi być łatwa do zidentyfikowania przez użytkownika; to także konieczność dostosowania języka opisu bibliograficznego do rzeczywistych potrzeb odbiorców) oraz maksyma sposobu (dopasowanie języka opisu bibliograficznego do kompetencji użytkowników, unikanie polisemii i homonimii, zwięzłość komunikatu – opis bibliograficzny nie może być „przeładowany” informacjami, odpowiednie uporządkowanie słownictwa, czyli elementów opisu bibliograficznego) (Hys 2009: 44–45).

Przykładem pragmatyki języka opisu bibliograficznego jest więc reguła bibliografowania (tworzenia opisu bibliograficznego zgodnie z wytycznymi metodyki bibliograficznej), która wymaga

8 Elaine Svenonius uważa jednak, że większość języków informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych jest słabo rozwinięta pod kątem pragmatyki, za wyjątkiem Klasyfikacji Dziesiątej Deweya (Svenonius 2009: 55).

od sporządzającego opis pewnego typu zachowania. A mianowicie, jeśli na opisywanym dokumencie brakuje jakiegokolwiek informacji, jak autora, numeru wydania, miejsca publikacji czy daty, tworzący opis bibliograficzny nie może zastąpić jej danymi sfingowanymi przez siebie. Regułami określającymi warunki pragmatyki języka opisu bibliograficznego, są także i te, które określają liczbę elementów koniecznych do uwzględnienia w opisie (szczegółowość opisu) (Svenonius 2009: 58). Wpływ na to ma przyjęty schemat opisu bibliograficznego. Co istotne, bez względu na normę bibliograficzną czy przyjęty styl bibliograficzny, zawsze w opisie bibliograficznym dąży się do jak największego uproszczenia i skrócenia go do danych niezbędnych podczas procesu identyfikacji, prowadzącego do „wyodrębnienia” konkretnego obiektu informacyjnego spośród innych spisanych w bibliografii czy bibliograficznej bazie danych.

Podsumowanie

Język opisu bibliograficznego to język specjalistyczny, informacyjno-wyszukiwawczy, quasi-naturalny. Zaprojektowano go po to, by w zwięzły i ustandaryzowany sposób „przekazywał” informacje o cechach formalnych (w mniejszym stopniu treściowych) dokumentów. Język opisu bibliograficznego jest też mocno sformalizowany, zwięzły i precyzyjny. Unika się w nim redundancji i stosuje konsekwentnie ustalone zasady – nie ma w tym względzie pola do jakiegokolwiek interpretacji. Każda zmiana kolejności elementów, ich pominięcie lub błędne zanotowanie powoduje powstanie chaosu informacyjnego i niemożność zidentyfikowania/odszukania dokumentu w zbiorze opisów bibliograficznych.

Język opisu bibliograficznego – co trzeba wyraźnie podkreślić – wzorowany jest na językach naturalnych, sięga do ich leksyki, a jedynie jego składnia jest sztuczna. O ile język opisu katalogowego podlega międzynarodowym ustaleniom, o tyle język opisu bibliograficznego, stosowany w rejestrach bibliograficznych różnego typu, a zwłaszcza w bibliografiach załącznikowych i przypisach bibliograficznych, jest językiem zróżnicowanym pod względem stosowanych w nim, i jak wspomniano, najważniejszych dla tego języka, struktur, sposobów zapisu i miejsc poszczególnych jednostek leksykalnych w schematach. Istnieją normy opisu bibliograficznego zalecane do stosowania przez twórców bibliografii ogólnych i specjalnych, ale w zależności od stopnia opanowania metodyki bibliograficznej, są one implementowane, bądź – niestety – nie. W przypadku bibliografii załącznikowych i przypisów bibliograficznych można zauważyć większą różnorodność stylów bibliograficznych, uzależnionych od dziedzin nauki i potrzeb redakcji czasopism. Za każdym razem jednak to projektanci stylu opisu bibliograficznego odpowiadają za jego czytelność i funkcjonalność, a wykonawcy – za zgodność z przyjętą gramatyką, a więc konwencją, i konsekwencję, tak istotną dla opisu bibliograficznego. Bez znajomości gramatyki języka opisu bibliograficznego nie da się stworzyć poprawnej dokumentacji bibliograficznej.

Reasumując, język opisu bibliograficznego jest jednym z tych, które są łatwe do odkodowania, a więc zidentyfikowania dokumentów, gdy znane są zasady tworzenia opisu bibliograficznego, a więc jego gramatyka. Im bardziej jest więc ona intuicyjna, tym lepiej dla użytkownika, a jak wskazano, niemalą grupą twórców opisów bibliograficznych są nie tyle bibliografowie, ale osoby, które nabywają kompetencje bibliograficzne w trakcie praktyki publikacyjnej.

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AGNIESZKA ŻUREK

Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Kolegium Doktorskie Wydziału Filologicznego

agnieszka.zurek@uw.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0003-2280-6665

Antoni, król Polski. Epizod z dziejów angielskiej satyry politycznej w ujęciu literaturoznawstwa i nauk społecznych

Anthony, King of Poland. An Episode From the History of English Political Satire in Literary and Social Perspective

Abstract

This paper investigates the nickname of “king of Poland” given to Anthony Ashley Cooper, 1st Earl of Shaftesbury (1621–1683), in pamphlets produced by his Tory adversaries. The research subject is primarily the source of the nickname, its role in the propaganda war between Tories and Whigs and its consequences for the image of Poland in English discourse. An interdisciplinary research perspective combines literary studies (especially close reading supplemented by tools developed by new historicism), history, social and political studies. The research material covers 32 verse and prose pamphlets printed between 1681–1684 which attribute the nickname “king of Poland” to Shaftesbury. The conclusion is that although the pamphleteers did not show interest in actual intricacies of Polish politics, their works demonstrate stereotypes about social and religious issues of Poland and, reversely, they influence the English opinions about Poland.

Keywords: Anthony Ashley Cooper (1621–1683), Restoration satire, English political satire, Restoration pamphlets, Exclusion Crisis, John III Sobieski

Słowa kluczowe: Anthony Ashley Cooper (1621–1683), restauracja Stuartów, angielska satyra polityczna, druki ulotne, Jan III Sobieski

Wprowadzenie

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Anthony Ashley Cooper (1621–1683), pierwszy hrabia Shaftesbury i założyciel stronnictwa wigów, był przez swoich przeciwników nazywany prześmiewczo „królem Polski”. Ten zaskakujący wątek w relacjach polsko-angielskich okresu restauracji Stuartów nie został dotąd zadowalająco zbadany¹. Niniejszy artykuł wypełnia tę lukę, koncentrując się zwłaszcza na źródłach przydomka „króla Polski”, jego roli w wojnie propagandowej między torysami a wigami w okresie tzw. Exclusion Crisis (1679–1681), wreszcie – obecności w analizowanych tekstach stereotypów dotyczących Polski, a także ujawniającej się w nich recepcji wydarzeń z polskiej polityki.

Podstawę źródłową stanowią 32 druki z lat 1681–1684, w których odnotowano frazę „król Polski”, odnoszącą się do Shaftesbury’ego. Ich pełna lista znajduje się w aneksie. Około 10 z nich zostanie omówione szerzej, bądź z uwagi na ich szeroki zakres oddziaływania, bądź dlatego, że są one reprezentatywnym przykładem tendencji przewijających się w całym korpusie, lub wreszcie ze względu na odniesienia do Polski wykraczające poza jednorazowe wymienienie jej nazwy. Niektóre z nich stanowią świadectwo powszechnych w owym czasie opinii i stereotypów na temat Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów (zwłaszcza panujących w niej stosunków społecznych i religijnych) i tym zostanie poświęcona szczególna uwaga.

Teksty odczytywane są przede wszystkim przez pryzmat badań z kręgu nowego historyzmu. Zgodnie z założeniami Catherine Gallagher i Stephena Greenblatt (2001: 9) na równi traktowane są teksty uznawane za ważne czy dobre literacko (takie jak dzieła Johna Drydena czy Aphry Behn) z tymi, które dotąd były marginalizowane jako wtórne czy pozbawione wartości artystycznej. Dla utworów z kręgu ulotnego piśmiennictwa politycznego szczególnie prawdziwe staje się zdanie Louisa Montrose’a (1996) o historyczności każdego tekstu, niedającego się oddzielić od kontekstu polityczno-społecznego. Utwory te nie są tu postrzegane jako wyraz indywidualnej ekspresji artystycznej, ale jako produkt nastrojów i oczekiwań panujących w ówczesnym społeczeństwie.

Perspektywa literaturoznawcza przeplata się z historyczną oraz pochodzącą z nauk politycznych i społecznych. Druki te powstały w reakcji na konkretne wypadki historyczne i zawierają liczne odniesienia do osób i wydarzeń budzących żywe zainteresowanie ówczesnej opinii publicznej, które dla czytelnika końca XVII w. były całkowicie przejrzyste, dzisiejszemu jednak mogą sprawiać znaczące trudności. Dlatego warsztat historyczny zostanie wykorzystany do odszyfrowania aluzji do wydarzeń z okresu Exclusion Crisis, a tym samym kontekstu, w którym powstawały omawiane teksty. Celem jest jednak odtworzenie wycinka dyskursu polityczno-społecznego, którego piśmiennictwo ulotne jest dobitnym świadectwem, a nie ustalenie faktów historycznych.

1 Zagadnienie zostało zasygnalizowane przez Beatę Cieszyńską (2002, 2003) w dwóch (w znacznej mierze pokrywających się) artykułach. Prace te zawierają wiele cennych spostrzeżeń, szczególnie o egzotyzacji Polski dokonującej się poprzez uznanie jej za metonimię obcości, omijają jednak wiele kluczowych zagadnień, a autorka omawia tylko kilka tekstów. Niniejszy artykuł nie tylko waloryzuje ustalenia poczynione przez Cieszyńską przez wykorzystanie dodatkowych źródeł, ale też uzupełnia je o takie zagadnienia jak prawdopodobne źródła tytułu „króla Polski” w pamiętnikach hrabiego Ailesbury, skojarzenie Polski z Holandią czy wreszcie kluczową kwestię przedstawienia Shaftesbury’ego jako negatywnego analogonu Jana III Sobieskiego. W angielskojęzycznej literaturze przedmiotu temat rozpoznano dość powierzchownie, a autorzy ograniczają się zwykle do stwierdzenia, że ówcześni publicyści używali nazwy „Polska” jako określenia Anglii w krzywym zwierciadle (Rabb 2007; Schless 1968). Anglocentryzm tych prac powoduje, że koncentrują się wyłącznie na wykorzystaniu motywu Polski w angielskiej polityce wewnętrznej.

Tło historyczne

Na początku lat osiemdziesiątych XVII w. związani z torysami angielscy satyrycy stworzyli ideę „Whiglandii” – kraju na opak, rządzonego przez wigów, w którym odbijają się jak w krzywym zwierciadle instytucje społeczne ówczesnej Anglii. Whiglandia, często kojarzona z krainą pigmejów lub elfów (Harth 1993: 170), jest krajem wiecznych saturnaliów, z błazeńskim królem i absurdalnymi urzędami, w którym następuje odwrócenie wartości moralnych, a warcholstwo urasta do rangi głównej cnoty. Liczne pamflety czynią królem tego niby-państwa Anthony’ego Ashleya Coopera (1621–1683). Niemal w tym samym czasie, kilka miesięcy przed pierwszym wystąpieniem w prasie nazwy „Whiglandia”², po raz pierwszy wobec Shaftesbury’ego użyto ironicznego określenia „król Polski” (Harth 1993: 311). W publicystyce tego okresu „Polska” oznaczała to samo, co „Whiglandia” (Rabb 2007), a sama nazwa, tracąc odniesienia do rzeczywistego obrazu Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów, stała się figurą retoryczną używaną przez torysowskich pamflecistów w walce z wigami.

Zagadką pochodzenia tytułu „króla Polski”, przydanego hrabiemu Shaftesbury, zainteresował się już Julian Krzyżanowski. W 1947 r. wysłał on do brytyjskiego czasopisma „Notes and Queries” zapytanie: „Jak można wyjaśnić, że Shaftesbury był w pamfletach atakowany jako Antoni, Król Polski?” (Krzyżanowski 1947: 326)³. Krzyżanowski nie powrócił do tego tematu, mimo że jeszcze w tym samym roku otrzymał odpowiedź: „Anthony, pierwszy hrabia Shaftesbury, miał wrzód w boku (a może na nodze?), z którego musiano odciągać ropę za pomocą srebrnej rurki [*tap*] na stałe umieszczonej w ciele. Dlatego wrodzy pamfletyści wykpiwali go jako <<Hrabięgo Tapskiego>>. To mogło nielogicznie wyewoluować w <<Antoniego, Króla Polski>>. Choć z drugiej strony, być może to jakieś fałszywe skojarzenie z Polską sprawiło, że pamfletyści połączyli polską końcówkę nazwiska ze swoim ulubionym tematem (rurką)?” (Moncrieffe 1947: 437)⁴.

Jednak źródeł skojarzenia Shaftesbury’ego z Polską należy szukać nie tyle w jego biografii, co w angielskiej polityce wewnętrznej tego okresu. Burzliwa debata nad zakresem kompetencji króla oraz prawem sukcesji, a także wieloletni konflikt między królem a parlamentem, który ostatecznie miał doprowadzić do przewrotu w 1689 roku, rozbudziły zainteresowanie innymi europejskimi modelami władzy, w tym również polskim. W piśmiennictwie tego okresu znajdziemy liczne opisy procesu wolnej elekcji, zwykle przedstawianej jako egzotyczna alternatywa dla monarchii dziedzicznej. Wreszcie, osoba i zwycięstwa króla Jana III Sobieskiego nad Turkami wzbudziły żywe zainteresowanie opinii publicznej,

2 *Oxford English Dictionary* łączy pierwsze użycie terminu „Whigland” (w znaczeniu: „fikcyjna kraina zamieszkała przez wigów”) z grudniowym numerem ukazującego się cyklicznie w latach 1680-2 torysowskiego pisma satyrycznego *Heraclitus Ridens* [20 grudnia 1681 r.] („Whigland, n., sense 1”. *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, July 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/2954106358>, ostatni dostęp: 12.11.2023). W tym samym tekście Shaftesbury został też określony jako „król Polski”.

3 Jeśli nie podano inaczej, tłumaczenia pochodzą od autorki artykułu.

4 Szczegóły choroby znamy m.in. z notatek Johna Locke’a, który w tym czasie był osobistym medykiem i sekretarzem Shaftesbury’ego. Opis objawów i leczenia, wraz z transkrypcją notatek Locke’a i innych medyków, znajduje się w artykule Petera R. Ansteya i Lawrence’a M. Principe’a (2011). Choroba została zidentyfikowana jako bąblowica. Wiele pamfletów sugeruje związek między odsączaniem ropy za pomocą srebrnej rurki a sączeniem trucizny, to jest buntu przeciwko królowi. Aluzje do srebrnej rurki można znaleźć nie tylko w piśmiennictwie ulotnym, ale również w dramatach tego okresu (Beljame [1881] 2007: 148-151).

przejawiające się w dziesiątkach oryginalnych i tłumaczonych tekstów ulotnych⁵. W tym świetle nie powinno dziwić, że Polska, z jednej strony podziwiana za obronę chrześcijańskiej Europy przed zagrożeniem tureckim, z drugiej obserwowana z rezerwą ze względu na różnice wyznaniowe i społeczne, stała się popularnym tematem satyry politycznej, traktowanym jednak czysto instrumentalnie. Nawet ballady uliczne dotyczące bitwy pod Wiedniem w 1683 r., zwykle więcej uwagi poświęcają atakom na „chrześcijańskich Turków” (czyli wigów) a nie samej wojnie tureckiej (Ingram 2014).

Już od momentu wejścia do polityki – w latach czterdziestych XVII w. – hrabia Shaftesbury był osobistością kontrowersyjną. Oskarżano go o oportunizm, w szczególności o kilkakrotne zmiany stronnictw w trakcie wojny domowej i instrumentalne traktowanie religii. Jego obecność w piśmiennictwie ulotnym wzmaga się w okresie tzw. Exclusion Crisis z lat 1679–1681, kiedy to stał on na czele frakcji domagającej się odsunięcia od dziedziczenia królewskiego brata Jakuba (ponieważ był on katolikiem). Pierwsi wigowie wskazywali wtedy jako następcę tronu niesłubnego syna Karola II, Jamesa Scotta (1649–1685), księcia Monmouth. Jednak ich przeciwnicy podkreślali, że Monmouth jest w rzeczywistości narzędziem w rękach Shaftesbury’ego, który za pośrednictwem słabego władcy będzie mógł realizować własne ambicje.

Restauracja Stuartów to czas szczególnego rozkwitu piśmiennictwa ulotnego, również tego zorientowanego politycznie, duża część debaty toczyła się właśnie w kolportowanych szeroko pamfletach czy balladach ulicznych⁶. Shaftesbury jest negatywnym bohaterem co najmniej kilkudziesięciu druków ulotnych z początku lat osiemdziesiątych XVII w., które zazwyczaj przedstawiają go jako nieudolnego, ale chytrego polityka, którego ostatecznym celem jest obalenie dynastii Stuartów i osadzenie na tronie swojej marionetki. W 1681 r. Shaftesbury był czasowo aresztowany pod zarzutem zdrady stanu, a rok później miał przygotowywać zbrojne powstanie, w wyniku czego zmuszony został do ucieczki z kraju. Umarł na wygnaniu w Amsterdamie 21 stycznia 1683 r., a bezpośrednio po jego śmierci opublikowano kolejne kilkadziesiąt broszur, niekiedy przybierających formę ironicznego „testamentu” (np. *The Last Will and Testament of Anthony King of Poland*), mowy pogrzebowej lub lamentu (np. *Dagon’s Fall or the Whigs Lamentation for the Death of Anthony King of Poland*).

Charakterystyka tekstów z motywem „króla Polski”

Przychylna Shaftesbury’emu biografia wydana niemal natychmiast po jego śmierci wspomina, że ironiczny przydomek „króla Polski” pojawił się w okresie jego uwięzienia w Tower (a zatem pomiędzy lipcem a listopadem 1681 r.) i natychmiast stał się tak popularny, że „nie dało się wypić szklanki wina w gospodzie, aby nie słyszeć jednej z tych obelg” (1683: 159). Istotnie, pierwszy drukowany pamflet z tym motywem, *A Modest Vindication of the Earl of S...y: In a Letter to a Friend concerning his being Elected*

5 Zagadnienie to jest przedmiotem przygotowywanej przeze mnie rozprawy doktorskiej.

6 Rola piśmiennictwa ulotnego w polityce okresu restauracji Stuartów została szeroko opisana (zob. m.in. Weber 1996, Raymond 2003, Knight 2006). Szczególną uwagę badacze poświęcili balladom ulicznym, ponieważ ze względu na kształt wersyfikacyjny, wartości melodyczne i przekazywany w nich uproszczony obraz świata miały one bardzo szeroki zakres oddziaływania (zob. m.in. Würzbach [1981] 1990, Fumerton 2020). Nathaniel Thompson, jeden z prominentnych drukarzy tego okresu i wielki przeciwnik Shaftesbury’ego, pisał we wstępie do jednej ze skompilowanych przez siebie antologii poezji ulicznej (1683), że ballada jest najlepszym sposobem dotarcia do prostych ludzi, zatem jej drukarz staje się kluczowym obrońcą króla i rządu przed wicherzycielami chcącymi zniszczyć porządek społeczny (*A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs*, s. II-IV).

King of Poland, został opublikowany we wrześniu 1681 r. (Harth 1993: 311). Jego początków można upatrywać znacznie wcześniej; w pamiętnikach Thomasa Bruce'a (1656–1741), drugiego hrabiego Ailesbury i jednego z zajadłych przeciwników politycznych Shaftesbury'ego, znajdziemy następujący fragment:

Po śmierci króla Polski, poprzednika Jana III Sobieskiego, ów wielki człowiek [Shaftesbury – A.Ż.] rozpowiadał szeroko, że Republika posłała do niego z prośbą, aby przyjął koronę. Pewni żartownisie wymyślili już cały dwór tego wymagowanego króla. Widziałem kompletną listę, ale ją zapomniałem, przypominam sobie jedynie dwóch sług najniższej rangi – George'a Bridgesa i Williama Bridgmana, dwóch krzepkich osobników mianowanych lektarzykami jako Bridgeski i Bridgmański. Jego urzędnicy i dworzanie pochodzili z szeregów naszej niezadowolonej szlachty. (Bruce 1890: 26)

Ponieważ pamiętniki wydano drukiem dopiero w XIX w., a kontekst wskazuje jasno, że ten fragment powstał już po śmierci Shaftesbury'ego, trudno dowieść, czy rzeczywiście Ailesbury był autorem tej plotki, czy tylko ją przytoczył. Wymienione w memuarze zjawisko tworzenia wymagowanego dworu „króla Polski”, jak również przekręcania autentycznych angielskich nazwisk, aby wydawały się bardziej „polskie” (przez dodawanie końcówki *-ski*, *-itz*, *-isko* lub *-ensko*), znajduje potwierdzenie w wielu tekstach. *A Modest Vindication...* wymienia aż trzydziestu dostojników i dowódców wojskowych mianowanych przez „króla Polski”, których w większości łatwo zidentyfikować jako angielskich polityków sprzyjających Shaftesbury'emu. Wśród fikcyjnych urzędów znajdują się takie jak: „dowódca oddziału tolerowanych bandytów do ściągania arbitralnych kontrybucji” (1681: 3), „przeorysze dwóch protestanckich klasztorów utworzonych dla użytku naszego i naszego dworu” (3) czy „ambasador do sułtana, wysłany z grupą pięknych protestanckich chłopców dla jego nawrócenia” (3), ten ostatni nosi zresztą znaczące imię Sodomito. Satyra wskazuje również, że Shaftesbury widząc głupotę własnego syna adoptował i wyznaczył jako swojego następcę „księcia Prettymana Perkinskiego”⁷, które to przezwisko często nadawano księciu Monmouth⁸. Jego głównym obowiązkiem miało być leczenie kołtuna (1681: 3), co dowodzi zakorzenienia niepochlebnego stereotypu o *plica polonica* w świadomości ówczesnych Anglików.

Z uwagi na polityczne powiązania Shaftesbury'ego z Monmouthem ten ostatni był często wskazywany jako jego sukcesor na polskim tronie, np. w *The Last Will and Testament of Anthony King of Poland* Shaftesbury pozostawia polską koronę Monmouthowi, gdyż ta „lekka i powietrzna korona” (1682: 1) idealnie pasuje na pustą głowę księcia. *Tyburns Groans: or, a Hue and Cry after a Polish Renegade* to żartobliwa odezwa do poddanych króla Polski, podpisana przez „Perkina, adoptowanego następcę” (1682: 1). Z kolei *Great News from Poland: being an Impartial Account of the Election of a New King, in the Room of Anthony, by the Grace of God lately Deceased* (1683) stwierdza, że Monmouth był rozważany jako następca Shaftesbury'ego, ale uznano go za będącego *non compos mentis*, gdyż mimo nieprawego urodzenia próbował uzyskać dziedziczną koronę (tj. angielską). *Great News...* wymienia też kilkunastu

7 Sugestia, że rodzony syn Shaftesbury'ego, Anthony Ashley Cooper, drugi hrabia Shaftesbury (1652–1699) jest zbyt głupi na dziedziczenie, jest motywem powtarzalnym w omawianych pamfletach (m.in. w *The Last Will and Testament of Anthony King of Poland* stwierdza się, że młodzieniec ten nie ma duszy i ojciec musi mu zapisać w testamencie własną).

8 Imię Perkin nawiązuje do Perkinsa Warbecka, który za czasów Henryka VII wzniecił powstanie podając się za księcia Ryszarda, syna Edwarda IV. Przydomek okazał się proroczy po rebelii z 1685 r., kiedy to Monmouth usiłował zrzucić z tronu Jakuba II. Monmouth jest nazywany „Perkinem” w przynajmniej kilkunastu balladach ulicznych oraz wierszowanych i prozatorskich pamfletach z epoki (McShane 2011).

dostojników „króla Polski”, których nazwiska są w większości zbieżne z osobami wskazanymi w *A Modest Vindication*, choć tu pełnią oni inne urzędy. Satyra ta ostatecznie wskazuje jako kolejnego króla Polski Arthura Annesleya, pierwszego hrabiego Anglesey (1614–1686). Jako jego główną kwalifikację do władania Polską nieznany autor określa elastyczność poglądów religijnych, cytując ukute już na przełomie XVI i XVII w. powiedzenie „kto zgubił swoją religię, z pewnością znajdzie ją w Polsce”⁹.

Motyw tolerancji religijnej, interpretowanej negatywnie, jako wyraz społecznego i moralnego chaosu, pojawia się również w tekście *The Saints Liberty of Conscience in the New Kingdom of Poland. Proposed for the Consolation of the Distressed Brethren* (1683), będącym satyrycznym opisem ustroju „Polski” (czy też faktycznie „Whiglandii”). Podstawową cechą „Polski” ma być tu „wolność sumienia” [*liberty of conscience*] rozumiana jako prawo do wygłaszania i praktykowania wszelkich form buntu i zdrady stanu. Pamflet ten wymienia 20 Komisarzy Wolności Sumienia (podobnie jak w *A Modest Vindication*... czy *Great News*... są to nazwiska autentycznych polityków związanych z wigami zniekształcone za pomocą końcówki *-ski*), którzy na podstawie określonej taryfy opłat udzielają prawa do głoszenia m.in. kwakrom, Żydom, muzułmanom czy jezuitom. Zgromadzone w ten sposób sumy miały być przekształcone w fundusz przeznaczony na finansowanie spisków przeciwko królowi. Działania wspierane z tego funduszu nie są jednak przypadkowe, a bezpośrednio odnoszą się do wydarzeń z okresu Exclusion Crisis i procesu Shaftesbury’ego, m.in. znajdziemy tam takie pozycje jak „sprzeciwianie się sukcesji”, „wykluczenie prawowitego następcy” czy „obrona praw bękarta” („bękartem” jest tu oczywiście książę Monmouth). Najwyższą sumę (w wysokości 500 000 funtów) przeznaczono na „uniewinnienie zdrajcy”, co sugeruje, że oczyszczenie Shaftesbury’ego z zarzutów było postrzegane jako bardziej niebezpieczne niż jakiekolwiek inne działania wymierzone w króla i rząd. Tekst ten stanowi zarazem ciekawą ilustrację przekonania, że tolerancja religijna implikuje również pełną tolerancję w sferze politycznej (co musi prowadzić do rozpadu instytucji społecznych), które przewija się w piśmiennictwie tego okresu.

Obszerny opis wyboru Shaftesbury’ego na króla Polski znajdziemy w *A Modest Vindication*... Według anonimowego pamflecisty, w czasie elekcji z 1674 r. Polacy poszukiwali takiego monarchy, który zdołałby nawrócić sultana imperium osmańskiego. Zwrócili się ku Anglii, jako krajowi o najlepszym ustroju i najbardziej zdyscyplinowanym kościele (co stanowi ironiczny komentarz do nieustannych rozłamów dręczących ówczesny kościół anglikański), i w tajemnicy wysłali do Shaftesbury’ego poselstwo, przynosząc mu polską koronę. Według dalszej relacji korona ta o mało nie wpadła w ręce Thomasa Blooda (1618–1680), znanego z próby kradzieży insygniów koronacyjnych Karola II, który wraz z grupą łotrzyków przygotował na posłów zasadzkę w tawernie, ale ustąpił ze względu na „starą przyjaźń” z elektem (1681: 2)¹⁰. Ostatecznie Shaftesbury miał jednak zrezygnować z zaszczytu, aby poświęcić się tłumieniu tzw. Popish Plot.

Najdłuższym utworem zawierających motyw „króla Polski” jest *Scandalum Magnatum: or, Potapski’s Case. A Satyr Against Polish Oppression* (1682). Genologicznie satyra imituje typ mów *scandalum magnatum*

9 Powiedzenie to jest przytaczane w co najmniej kilkunastu tekstach, z których najbardziej rozpoznawalnymi jest relacja z podróży Fynesa Morysona (1617; 1903) oraz *Microcosmos* Petera Heylyna (1621), niezwykle wpływowy opis geograficzno-historyczny Europy, mający w XVII w. aż 19 wydań.

10 Wzmianka o przyjaźni z niedoszłym złodziejem insygniów ma zapewne na celu sugestię, że Shaftesbury, podobnie jak Blood, chce ukraść angielską koronę, choć w sposób znacznie mniej dosłowny (uzurpując sobie władzę należną królowi).

skierowanych przeciw osobom publicznym¹¹; podobnie jak wiele pamfletów przedstawia Shaftesbury'ego jako makiawelicznego polityka kierującego się wyłącznie żądzą władzy, podkreślając przede wszystkim jego oportunizm. Znajdziemy tu sugestię, że „król Polski” wkrótce zostanie powieszony¹²: „by rozum był w dobrej kondycji, musisz trzymać głowę w obręczy, niczym Boroski, aby mózg był w ciągłym ruchu” (II). Konieczne jest wyjaśnienie, że Jerzy Borowski był płatnym mordercą, wynajętym przez Karla Johanna von Königsmark (1659–1686) do zamordowania Thomasa Thynne'a (1647–1681). Wydarzenie to było bardzo głośne, ponieważ Thynne był prominentnym członkiem stronnictwa wigów i jego zabójstwo uznano za akt polityczny (Schless 1968: 15–17). Sprawcy zostali ujęci i skazani na śmierć, a Borowski usiłował się bronić, twierdząc że w Polsce w analogicznych przypadkach odpowiada jedynie zleceniodawca, co dało asumpt do kolejnego stereotypu na temat polskich stosunków społecznych (Schless 1968: 27).

Największą rolę w szerzeniu plotki o powiązaniach Shaftesbury'ego z Polską odegrał jednak John Dryden, który w wielu utworach zawarł mniej lub bardziej czytelne aluzje do polityki okresu Exclusion Crisis (Zwicker 1984). W poemacie *Absalom and Achitophel* sportretował on Monmoutha jako Absaloma, buntowniczego syna króla Dawida, a Shaftesbury'ego jako Achitofela, jego doradcę. Wpisuje się to w ogólny trend przedstawiania Monmoutha jako naiwnej, choć nie niewinnej ofiary manipulacji, co jest bardzo widoczne m.in. w balladzie *A New Song Upon the King of Poland, and the Prince of the Land of Promise* (gdzie Monmouth opłakuje łatwowierność, która kazała mu uwierzyć w kłamstwa „polskiego potwora” – v. 1). Ze względu na biblijny kostium, *Absalom and Achitophel* nie zawiera odniesień do Polski, ale znajdują się one w innym kolejnym, wymierzonym bezpośrednio w Shaftesbury'ego, poemacie Drydena, *The Medall* (1682)¹³. Utwór ten powstał w reakcji na uwolnienie Shaftesbury'ego od zarzutów zdrady w 1681 r., z której to okazji jego zwolennicy wybili pamiątkowy medal. Częścią dekoracji tego numizmatu jest łacińskie słowo *Laetamur* („radujmy się”), ale w wierszu Drydena tłumaczy się, że to napis po polsku (Schless 1968: 47)¹⁴. Paradoksalnie, w *A Modest Vindication...* Dryden jest wymieniony jako dworski poeta „króla Polski” (pod przekreślonym nazwiskiem Jean Drydenutritz) uhonorowany „za pisanie panegiryków na cześć Oliwiera Cromwella i pamfletów przeciwko obecnemu królowi Anglii Karolowi II” (4).

Obok Drydena rolę w rozszerzeniu plotki o królewskich ambicjach Shaftesbury'ego odegrała też poetka i dramatopisarka Aphra Behn w komedii politycznej *The City-Heiress* (1682). Główna męska postać tego dramatu, sir Timothy Treat-all, jest satyrycznym portretem Shaftesbury'ego (Hughes 2004:

11 *Scandalum magnatum* to również nazwa pozwu kierowanego przez osoby publiczne przeciwko autorom takich oskarżeń. Liczba pozwów tego typu gwałtownie wzrosła w XVII w. Sam Shaftesbury wniósł *scandalum magnatum* przeciw hrabiemu Digby i uzyskał znaczne odszkodowanie (Lassiter 1978). Oskarżenia kierowane przez Digby'ego (inspirowanie rozruchów przeciwko królowi i państwu) są zbliżone do tych z *Potapski's Case* i powtarzają się w większości pamfletów skierowanych przeciw Shaftesbury'emu.

12 To motyw bardzo częsty, ponieważ powieszenie, odcięcie żywcem i poćwiartowanie było egzekucją przewidzianą dla zdrajców. Karę tę ponieśli istotnie niektórzy bliscy zwolennicy Shaftesbury'ego, m.in. Thomas Armstrong, wymieniany zarówno w *A Modest vindication...*, jak i w *Great News from Poland...*, jako członek dworu „króla Polski”. W *The Last Will and Testament of Anthony King of Poland* Shaftesbury rzekomo zapisuje swoje odzienie Jackowi Ketch, niesławnemu katu Londynu (zgodnie z prawem katu przypadają ubrania straconych). Odniesienia do Ketcha i egzekucji za zdradę (wraz z przewleczeniem ofiary z Tower do Smithfield) znajdują się również w *The Polititian's Downfall...*

13 Medal ten opisał również polski numizmatyk, Paweł Kaptur (2014).

14 Antologia wymienia również sześć innych wierszy poświęconych temu medalowi, ale w żadnym nie pojawiają się wzmianki o Polsce.

40). W trzecim akcie siostrzeniec Sir Timothy'ego, Tom Wilding, podając się za polskiego ambasadora incognito, wmawia wujowi, że Polacy wybrali go na króla, a nawet mierzy mu obwód głowy, aby dopasować do niej koronę.

Tytuł „króla Polski” stał się uzupełnieniem często padającego (m.in. w *Scandalum Magnatum* i *A Modest Vindication...*) porównania hrabiego do Oliwiera Cromwella. Podczas gdy nazwisko przywódcy rebelii uwypuklało przede wszystkim zagrożenie, jakie Shaftesbury miał stanowić dla państwa i dynastii (a także przypominało o jego przeszłości w czasie republiki), tytuł „króla Polski” miał dodatkowo okryć go śmiesznością. Nawet w ramach wyjątkowo pojemnych konwencji gatunkowych, jakimi posługuje się satyra, nie dałoby się utrzymywać, że Shaftesbury chciał zostać królem Anglii lub jakiegokolwiek innego kraju z monarchią dziedziczną. Natomiast wolna elekcja teoretycznie umożliwiała każdemu szlachcicowi, również spoza Polski, zdobycie tego tytułu – łatwo było zatem sugerować, że rojenia o władzy królewskiej mogły prowadzić właśnie do takich przechwałek. Motyw „króla Polski” i porównanie do Cromwella często współistnieją w ramach tego samego tekstu, np. wspomniana już ballada *A New Song Upon the King of Poland...* pochodząca z roku 1682¹⁵, jest umyślnie antydatowana na 1648, a zatem rok egzekucji Karola I¹⁶. W przypadku tekstów przeznaczonych do śpiewania analogie rysują się również na płaszczyźnie muzycznej: ballada *The Conspiracy, or, The Discovery of the Fanatick Plot* (1683) opatrzona jest adnotacją „to the Tune of Let Oliver Now be Forgotten”¹⁷.

Pamfleściści zauważali także podobieństwo między ustrojem Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów a Republiką Zjednoczonych Prowincji Niderlandzkich, a fonetyczna bliskość między nazwami *Poland* i *Holland* zachęcało do tworzenia dalszych porównań. Niezwykle ważnym podobieństwem między Polską a Holandią jest też wolność wyznania, a zacytowane już powiedzenie „kto zgubił swoją religię, znajdzie ją w Polsce” pojawia się również w wariacie, gdzie Polskę zastępuje Amsterdam. Być może właśnie to skojarzenie przyczyniło się do rozpowszechnienia plotki o „królu Polski”, ponieważ bardzo wiele pamfletów powstało w reakcji na ucieczkę Shaftesbury'ego do Holandii w 1682 r.¹⁸ Jednym z nich jest ballada *The Conspiracy...*, gdzie fonetyczne podobieństwo między *Poland* i *Holland* zostaje uzupełnione o kolejny rym *no-Land*, a zatem „kraj-nic” lub „kraj, którego nie ma”, raz jeszcze podkreślając bezsensowność rzekomych ambicji Shaftesbury'ego: „But now He's gone into Holland,/To be a King of no-Land,/Or else must be/Monarch of Poland”. „Holenderskimi” skojarzeniami posługuje się też autor *A Modest Vindication...*, pisząc, że Shaftesbury odesłał ofiarowaną mu polską koronę w kawałku holenderskiego sera. Autorzy tych utworów zwykle należeli do stronnictwa opowiadającego się za silną

15 Oprócz treści świadczy o tym ręczny dopisek z epoki na jednym z egzemplarzy, pochodzącym ze zbiorów słynnego bibliofila Narcissusa Luttrella.

16 Karol I został ścięty 30 stycznia 1649 r. – pozorna niezgodność wynika z tego, że w Anglii tego okresu nowy rok liczono od święta Zwiastowania Pańskiego, a więc od 25 marca.

17 Aluzje do Cromwella znajdują się również w treści – w szóstej strofie wspomina się o „Old Cause”, co było częstym eufemizmem na określenie zwolenników parlamentu w czasie wojny domowej.

18 Porównania Polski do Holandii znajdziemy również w tekstach niepoświęconych Shaftesbury'emu, m.in. satyrze *Iter Boreale or Tyburn Mourning for the Loss of a Saint*, wymierzonej w szeryfa Londynu Slingsby'ego Bethela (który tak jak Shaftesbury ratował się przed oskarżeniami o zdradę ucieczką za granicę). „Polska lub Holandia” (ang. „Polland or Holland”, v. 11) są tam wymienione jako przytułek dla wszystkich zdrajców, mimo że w rzeczywistości Bethel spędził ostatnie lata życia w Hamburgu (Schless 1968: 346). Skojarzenie między Bethelem a Polską sugeruje również wierszowana satyra *A Bill and answer, betwixt Jack Catch plaintiff, and Slingsby Bethel...* (1686), która stwierdza, że w Warszawie wybrano go miejskim katem.

pozycją monarchy i osłabieniem roli parlamentu¹⁹, więc z upodobaniem opisywali republikański ustrój Holandii i częściowo demokratyczny Polski jako źródło wewnętrznej destabilizacji, a nawet jako sprzeczny z boskim porządkiem rzeczy. *The Polititian's Downfall...* stwierdza, że piekło, podobnie jak Holandia, jest republiką. Inny tekst o podobnej tematyce, *A Congratulation of the Protestant-Joyner to Anthony King of Poland...*²⁰, opisuje, jak Shaftesbury zaraz po przybyciu do piekła został obwołany królem, a z powodu nienawiści do władzy królewskiej, zaakceptował tylko tytuł cesarski. Według niektórych badaczy już John Milton częściowo wzorował Szatana z *Raju utraconego* na Shaftesburym, zatem wizerunek władcy królestwa niezgody nawiązuje do wcześniejszych etapów kariery tego polityka (Freedman 1959).

„Król Polski” a Polska w debacie politycznej IV ćwierci XVII w.

Obraz Polski, który wylania się z większości tych utworów, jest wyjątkowo niepochebny, przedstawia się ją bowiem jako kraj politycznych i religijnych sporów, buntowniczy i rozdarty wewnętrznie, dodatkowo kojarzony z głośnym płatnym mordercą, jakim był Jerzy Borowski. Jednak bliższa ich lektura wyraźnie wskazuje, że ostrze satyry nie jest skierowane przeciw Polsce, ale raczej „Whiglandii”²¹. Bardzo niewiele utworów (przede wszystkim *A Modest Vindication...*) zawiera odniesienia do Polski inne niż przekształcenia nazwisk lub ewentualnie nazwy Krakowa i Warszawy (m.in. wszystkie wymieniane urzędy są typowo angielskie), co wskazuje na małą wiedzę autorów o sprawach polskich lub brak zainteresowania nimi. Wykorzystanie „Polski” jako wygodnej metonimii wszystkiego, co obce i dziwaczne, nie wynika jednak wyłącznie z dystansu geograficznego i kulturowego czy przypadkowych fonetycznych skojarzeń, jak zdaje się to sugerować B. Cieszyńska (2003). Równie istotną przyczyną są dwie fundamentalne cechy polskich stosunków polityczno-społecznych, mające niewiele analogii w innych krajach europejskich, które znaczna część angielskiej publicystyki traktowała jako odstępstwo od normy – monarchia elekcyjna oraz tolerancja religijna.

Ustrój Polski pojawia się jako argument w angielskiej debacie politycznej przez cały XVII w., jednak częstotliwość tego motywu wzrasta w okresie restauracji Stuartów. Zwolennicy ograniczenia kompetencji króla i rozszerzenia władzy parlamentu wskazywali na Polskę jako pozytywny wzorzec, podczas gdy jej przeciwnicy podkreślali, że monarchia elekcyjna powoduje chaos, wewnętrzną niezgodę i naraża kraj na ataki z zewnątrz. Gilbert Burnet, autor traktatu *A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland in Four Conferences* (1673) stwierdza, że „nikt nie jest takim ignorantem, by twierdzić, że król Polski jest prawdziwym suwerenem” (98). W piśmiennictwie całego XVII w. przeważają opinie negatywne, jednak elekcja Jana III Sobieskiego i jego późniejsze sukcesy

19 Spór między Shaftesburym a Karolem II w dużej mierze obracał się wokół doktryny o boskim prawie królów, za pomocą której torysi usiłowali osłabić pozycję parlamentu (Rose 2011). W broszurze politycznej *A Letter from a Person of Quality to His Friend in the Country* (1675), Shaftesbury przestrzegał przed arbitralną, a przez to tyrańską władzą, którą dałoby królówi zespolenie prawa boskiego i ludzkiego. Odpowiedzią jego przeciwników były oskarżenia o chęć obalenia monarchii i przypomnienia o jego karierze politycznej za rządów Cromwella.

20 Oba teksty opisują spotkanie w zaświatach pomiędzy Shaftesburym a Stephenem Collegem, straconym za zdradę w 1681 r.

21 Zob.: *Tyburn Groans...* jest adresowany z „our Court at Poplar, nigh our Colony of Anti-Episcopia, in the Dominion of Whigland” (1682:1), co wskazuje na tożsamość „Polski” i Whiglandii, i wymienia takie prowincje Whiglandii jak Rebellonia i Delusia.

w wojnie z Turcją spowodowały, że angielska opinia publiczna mogła przychylniejszym okiem spojrzeć na taki model ustrojowy.

W 1674 r. wydano broszurę poświęconą elekcji Sobieskiego, przetłumaczoną z łaciny przez samego Johna Miltona (*A Declaration or Letters Patents of the Election of this Present King of Poland*). Zdaniem Paula Stevensa (2008) nie jest to jedynie przykład częstych w owym czasie tłumaczeń podejmowanych – nawet przez uznanych literatów – w celach zarobkowych, ale ważny element debaty o źródłach legitymizacji władzy królewskiej. Broszura przedstawia Jana III Sobieskiego jako idealnego władcę, przypisując mu zalety takie jak odwaga, skromność czy powściągliwość. Retrospektywnie rysuje się zatem wyraźny kontrast między prawdziwym królem Polski – heroicznym obrońcą chrześcijaństwa – a karnawałowym królem-błaznem, Shaftesburym, którego wady (żądza władzy, oportunizm i instrumentalne wykorzystanie religii) stanowią przeciwieństwo cnót cechujących Sobieskiego (Freedman 1991: 695).

Jednocześnie *A Declaration or Letters Patents...* podkreśla, że Sobieski władzy królewskiej nie odziedziczył, ale został wybrany przez szlachtę, co może sugerować, że monarchia elekcyjna jest efektywnym sposobem na uzyskanie pewności, że władca dysponuje odpowiednimi walorami moralnymi. Ustrój Rzeczypospolitej może zatem posłużyć jako źródło potencjalnie rewolucyjnych przemian w myśleniu o legitymizacji władzy królewskiej. Taka myśl jest zdecydowanie przeciwna doktrynie boskiego prawa królów, zatem propagandziści silnej monarchii stanęli przed zadaniem usunięcia tego wątku z debaty politycznej lub obrócenia go na swoją korzyść. Wybrali drugie rozwiązanie: zamiast przytaczać argumenty przeciwko monarchii elekcyjnej, związani z torysami pamphleciści ośmieszyli ją, kreując błazeńską postać „króla Polski”. Popularność tej postaci w ówczesnym piśmiennictwie ulotnym sprawiła, że każda próba powoływania się na Rzeczpospolitą jako potencjalne źródło przemian ustrojowych w Anglii musiała wywołać niepożądane komiczne skojarzenia.

Wnioski

Pamfleciści, którzy określili Shaftesbury’ego mianem „króla Polski” w rzeczywistości nie interesowali się polskim ustrojem czy stosunkami społecznymi, odwołali się jednak do powszechnych wówczas opinii, chociażby o negatywnym wpływie tolerancji religijnej na porządek w państwie czy o chaosie spowodowanym przez nadmierną polityczną swobodę, przyczyniając się tym samym do ich utrwalenia. Fenomen „króla Polski” miał miejsce w okresie wzmożonego zainteresowania naszym krajem: Shaftesbury zmarł w 1683 r. i wtedy też ukazało się większość ośmieszających go publikacji, a w tym samym roku rozpowszechniono w Anglii dziesiątki oryginalnych i tłumaczonych druków poświęconych bitwie pod Wiedniem, z których wiele podkreśla zasługi polskich wojsk. Tym sposobem do angielskiego czytelnika dociera obraz dwóch Polsk: jednej, heroicznej obrończyni chrześcijaństwa; drugiej, karnawałowego kraju na opak, w którym wszelkie wartości ulegają odwróceniu. Mimo że ten drugi obraz nie był w istocie wymierzony w Polskę, ale w wewnętrznych przeciwników politycznych, nie pozostał on obojętny dla późniejszej recepcji Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Zacytowane wyżej zdanie, że przydomek „króla Polski” dało się usłyszeć w każdej londyńskiej gospodzie, nawet jeśli przesadzone, sugeruje, że przedostał się on do świadomości szerokich mas społeczeństwa – z potencjalnie destrukcyjnym skutkiem dla wizerunku Polski. Zaledwie ćwierć wieku później nasz kraj był już przywoływany w angielskiej publicystyce jako ostrzeżenie przed społecznym i ustrojowym rozkładem, a więc krańcowo inaczej niż

w literaturze towarzyszącej elekcji Jana III Sobieskiego. Przyczyny takiego stanu rzeczy są złożone, od reakcji na burzliwą elekcję lat 1696–7 do charakterystycznej dla oświecenia krytyki regionu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej (Wolf 1994), ale nie należy lekceważyć również wpływu błazeńskiej figury „króla Polski”.

Analiza motywu „króla Polski” ujawnia wątek nieobecny w dotychczasowych badaniach nad nowożytnymi stosunkami polsko-angielskimi: źródła przemian wizerunku Rzeczypospolitej leżące w polityce wewnętrznej Anglii. Otwiera to pole do dalszych badań nad wykorzystaniem wątków polskich w zachodnioeuropejskim piśmiennictwie.

Aneks. Lista zidentyfikowanych tekstów, w których pojawia się motyw „Antoniego, króla Polski”:

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A Breif Account of Many Memorable Passages of the Life & Death of the Earle of Shaftsbury (1683), London: J. Coniers.

The Case is Alter'd Now: or, the Conversation of Anthony king of Poland. Published for the Satisfaction of the Sanctified Brethren (1683). London: J.P.

The Compleat Statesman Demonstrated in the Life, Actions, and Politicks of that Great Minister of State, Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury... (1683), London: Benjamin Alsop and Thomas Malthus.

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- Northleigh, John (1682). *A Gentle Reflection on the Modest Account, and a Vindication of the Loyal Abhorrrers from the Calumnies of a Factious Pen by the Author of the Parallel*. London: Benjamin Tooke and Thomas Sawbridge.
- Oates's Manifesto; or, the Complaint of Titus Oates Against the Doctor of Salamanca; and the Same Doctor Against Titus Oates (1683). London: R.L.
- The Polititian's Downfall; or Potapski's Arrival at the Netherlands: And the Congratulation of the Protestant Joyner At their Meeting* (1684). London: Walter Davis.
- The Quakers Prophetie: or, Strange and Wonderful News from Spittle-Fields, Humbly Dedicated to the Queen of Poland* (1684). London: Absalon Chamerlain.
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BARTOSZ JUSZCZAK

Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Wydział Filologiczny

bartosz.juszczak@uwr.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-7058-0384

Miejsce gwary warszawskiej w XXI wieku (kultura, język, przestrzeń miejska)

Warsaw Urban Dialect in the 21st Century (Culture, Language, Urban Space)

Abstract

The subject matter is the Warsaw urban dialect and its contemporary impact in the sociolinguistic, identity and cultural perspective. The author, using the method of qualitative analysis of diverse sources – the textual sphere, linguistic analysis of the urban space of contemporary Warsaw (urbanonymy) and various Internet-multimedia manifestations (social networks, streaming portals), attempts to answer questions about the role of the Warsaw dialect in the 21st century. The main premise of the article is to answer the questions: what is the role of the Warsaw dialect and its awareness among the residents of today's Warsaw? Are we encountering a type of reactivation of this language formation? Can the Warsaw urban dialect be treated as a determinant of regional identity? The outlined issues may be a rise for further sociolinguistic and cultural analyses.

Keywords: Warsaw urban dialect, urban dialect, sociolinguistics, urban space, urbanonym

Słowa kluczowe: gwara warszawska, dialekt miejski, socjolingwistyka, przestrzeń miejska, urbanonim

W XIX i XX w. następowały burzliwe zmiany społeczno-gospodarcze, mające wpływ na wiele aspektów życia ludzkiego, w tym również języka (por. Nietyksza 1971: 5). Wśród czynników sprzyjających takiemu zjawisku wymienia się szeroko rozumiane zmiany struktur społecznych, wydarzenia historyczne i kulturalne, które wpływały na migrację ludności w związku np. ze zmianami granic ówczesnej Polski lub z przyczyn bardziej prozaicznych – zarobkowych. Jak pokazuje wiele badań lingwistycznych,

zarówno samej polszczyzny jak i w ujęciu globalnym, procesy takie miały duży wpływ na kształtowanie się zróżnicowanych grup społecznych, czego następstwem było konstituowanie się specyficznych odmian języka ogólnonarodowego, które stanowiły determinant przynależności socjalnej i terytorialnej. O zmianach tych w kontekście polszczyzny pisał Antoni Furdal: „w związku z przemianami społecznymi w Polsce występują przesunięcia w rozwarstwieniu socjalnym języka” (Furdal 1966: 156). Procesy te były na przełomie XIX i XX wieków obserwowalne zwłaszcza w dużych miastach Polski i nie tylko, przede wszystkim ze względu na możliwości rozwojowe tych ośrodków (przemysł, handel, budownictwo). Warszawa w tej materii odegrała znaczącą rolę. Jak podkreślała Maria Nietyksza: „Jako ośrodek wielobranżowego przemysłu przeżywała burzliwy rozwój [...] jednocześnie stawała się centrum kształtującego się wokół niej okręgu przemysłowego” (Nietyksza 1971: 5). Tkanka miejska stała się dla użytkowników języka miejscem pozwalającym na realizację potrzeb społeczno-socjalnych człowieka.

Zarys zagadnienia dialektów miejskich

W sferze językowej, opisane przeze mnie zjawiska wpływały na kształtowanie się specyficznych (ze względu na uwarunkowania zarówno terytorialne jak i socjalne) odmian języka ogólnonarodowego, dla nazwania których w lingwistyce używa się terminów *dialekt miejski* i *gwara miejska*. Dialekty/gwary miejskie we współczesnych podziałach języków słowiańskich sytuowane są przez badaczy wśród różnych odmian języka ogólnonarodowego. Do dziś nie ustalono nawet jednej definicji tej odmiany językowej, co zapewne wynika z faktu, że wraz z dynamicznym rozwojem języka zmienia się również i stan faktyczny dialektu/gwary miejskiej. Swoista luka definicyjna i dyskusja nad miejscem dialektów miejskich w dyferencjach języków narodowych trwa tak naprawdę od początku zainteresowania się lingwistów tą problematyką. Halina Kurkowska w 1981 r. wskazywała, że termin ten nie został jednoznacznie zdefiniowany, choć zainteresowanie tą problematyką trwało od kilkudziesięciu lat:

mimo wielu dyskusji nad zawartością terminu *gwara miejska* nie został on dotychczas jasno zdefiniowany, co oczywiście utrudnia korzystanie z wyników badań materiałowych i uniemożliwia ich syntezę. (Kurkowska 1981: 27)

Po ponad 25 latach – w 2007 – Andrzej Dyszak powraca do tego zagadnienia, dając w swoim artykule (Dyszak 2007) zestawienie istniejących definicji i poglądów, proponowanych przez znanych badaczy języka, jak Danuta Buttler, Antoni Furdal, Zenon Klemensiewicz, Bogdan Walczak i wielu innych. W przedstawionym opisie widoczne są znaczące dysproporcje w zakresie zarówno definicyjnym (zakres pojęciowy) jak i umiejscowieniem tej odmiany w dyferencjach współczesnej polszczyzny proponowanych przez poszczególnych lingwistów. Stan podobny zaobserwować możemy również w lingwistyce czeskiej, w której jednak większą uwagę skupia się na sferze fonetyczno-strukturalnej, co stoi poniekąd w opozycji do polskiego rozumienia terminu *dialekt miejski* (por. Juszcak 2021: 70). Co ciekawe, dialektologia rosyjska wyróżnia kategorię gwary miejskiej, jednakże nie w stosunku do dialektu miejskiego Moskwy. Z moich wcześniejszych obserwacji wynika jednak, że poszczególne elementy języka Moskwy przełomu XIX i XX wieku, spełniają kryteria definicyjne dialektu miejskiego w rozumieniu polskiej i czeskiej dialektologii socjalnej (zob. Juszcak 2021: 81–82).

Zainteresowanie lingwistów dzisiejszymi dialektami miejskimi w Polsce w odniesieniu do ich występowania i wykorzystywania środków językowych jest nadal żywe, co można odnotować m.in.

w środowisku poznańskim. Wymienić tu należy obszerną publikację leksykograficzną pod red. Moniki Gruchmanowej i Bogdana Walczaka – *Słownik gwary miejskiej Poznania* (Gruchmanowa 1999). Co ważne, poznańskie lingwistki – Anna Piotrowicz i Małgorzata Witaszek-Samborska dziś skupiają się na aspektach nie tyle opisowych, gramatycznych, leksykalnych i funkcjonalnych, a przede wszystkim tożsamościowych i ujmowania dialektu miejskiego jako szerszej kategorii niż sama warstwa językowa wraz z jej wszystkimi cechami i funkcjami. Traktują dialekt miejski Poznania, jak wskazuje tytuł jednego z ich artykułów jako – „narzędzie wzmacniania poczucia lokalnej tożsamości”, czego dowodem jest m.in. fakt, iż jest ona (gwara miejska): „od dziesięcioleci [...] chętnie wykorzystywana [...] świadomie i celowo w tekstach publicystycznych i artystycznych” (Piotrowicz, Witaszek-Samborska 2016: 20). Dodatkowo wiele jej elementów jest używanych do dziś w przestrzeni miejskiej Poznania w różnych celach. Do przejawów gwary miejskiej Poznania współcześnie zaliczają one: występowanie nazw z komponentem gwarowym w przestrzeni lokali gastronomicznych, sklepów, punktów usługowych oraz obiektów miejskich – m.in. onimia, ale także nominacje prioprialne, oraz instytucji metropolitalnych w różnego rodzaju reklamach itp. Problematyką tą interesują się również badacze dialektów miejskich Bydgoszczy (Dyszak 2015), Krakowa (Przybylska, Ochmann 2017), a także Łodzi (Bieńkowska, Cybulski, Umińska-Tytoń 2007). Zainteresowanie dialektami miejskimi nie dotyczy wyłącznie żywiołu polskiego. Od wielu lat również grupa badaczek zajmuje się opisem lingwistycznym i leksykograficznym dialektu miejskiego Lwowa w różnych perspektywach, czego pokłosiem jest m.in. wydanie słownika: *Лексикон львівський: поважно і на жарт* (Хобзей *et al.* 2009).

Głównym założeniem niniejszego artykułu jest próba odpowiedzi na pytania: Jaka jest rola gwary warszawskiej wśród mieszkańców dzisiejszej Warszawy? Czy mamy do czynienia z jej swoistą reaktywacją? Czy gwara warszawska może być traktowana jako indeks tożsamości regionalnej? Postaram się odpowiedzieć na nie przez pryzmat analizy jakościowej współczesnego wykorzystania gwary warszawskiej w życiu codziennym dzisiejszej stolicy. Materiałem służącym do realizacji tego celu będą źródła pisane (m.in. współczesne stylizacje gwary warszawskiej), różnego rodzaju środki materialne kultury (jak plakaty itp.), elementy przestrzeni miejskiej Warszawy (m.in. onimia), które odnoszą się do gwary warszawskiej, a także analiza publicznych nagrań i różnego rodzaju przedsięwzięć organizowanych przez varsavianistów i miłośników stolicy, które są dostępne w przestrzeni internetowej. Badanie publicznej przestrzeni wirtualnej wydaje się w tym zakresie niezwykle ważne, gdyż to tam współcześnie przeniosło się wiele aktywności różnego rodzaju podejmowanych przez człowieka, w tym także obecność gwar miejskich i wiejskich w przestrzeni internetowej (Por. Osowski 2018).

Gwara warszawska historycznie

Historycznie, utrwalenie gwary warszawskiej na piśmie zawdzięczamy szeregowi pasjonatów i „piewców” tej odmiany języka. Najstarszymi źródłami gwary są oczywiście zapiski sądowe i prasowe z początków kształtowania się gwary, upowszechnione przez Stefana Wiecheckiego – Wiecha, który pełniąc funkcję sprawozdawcy sądowego nabył gwarę, zaczął wykorzystywać ją w swojej twórczości, która następnie wyznaczała kierunek jego działalności pisarskiej. Warto w tym miejscu wspomnieć, że Witold Doroszewski zaproponował w ogóle nazywać gwarę warszawską *wiechem*, za sprawą Wiecheckiego, który ją upowszechnił (Doroszewski 1948: 11). Artykuły prasowe stanowiły również podstawę powstania

niezwykle cennego z perspektywy lingwistycznej *Słownika gwary warszawskiej XIX w.* Bronisława Wieczorkiewicza (Wieczorkiewicz 1966) i innych jego opracowań. Nie sposób nie wspomnieć o piewcach gwary, wykorzystujących w swoich utworach „syreni zaśpiew” – Stanisławie Grzesiuku, Leopoldzie Tyrmandzie, Julianie Tuwimie w *Kwiatach polskich* i innych.

Swoje rozważania nt. gwary warszawskiej w XXI w. rozpocznę ciekawym opisem/oceną jej stanu faktycznego w publikacji *Olgerda Budrewicza Słownik Warszawski*. Autor słownika we wstępie definicji terminu *gwara warszawska* zostawił dopisek: „której już nie ma”. Dalszy opis można interpretować poniekąd jako wyraz swoistej nostalgii za gwarą warszawską: „Kiedyś śpiewano: «Gdy zagrają tango, tango szemrane/W trumnę szarpane te/To faktycznie, owszem, nogi się proszą/Same poniosą mnie»». A dzisiaj? Dzisiaj byłoby to w połowie po angielsku i w rytmie techno” (Budrewicz 2011: 121). W dalszych rozważaniach postaram się nakreślić stan i miejsce dzisiejszej gwary warszawskiej.

Gwara warszawska współcześnie

Wykorzystywanie środków gwary warszawskiej współcześnie można obserwować na wielu płaszczyznach działalności kulturalno-społecznej człowieka. Pasjonaci tej historycznej gwary posiłkują się jej zasobami we własnej twórczości. Znanym przedstawicielem, nazwijmy to, młodego pokolenia twórców w gwarze warszawskiej są m.in. Przemysław Śmiech oraz rysownicza i tłumaczka Maria Bulikowska, autorka *Jak bum cyk cyk. Powiedzonka warszawskiej* (Bulikowska 2015) oraz *Małej książki o gwarze warszawskiej* (Bulikowska 2013). Nie można zapominać tu o innych autorach, którzy poświęcają swoje opracowania Warszawie w perspektywie historycznej i współczesnej. Mam tu na myśli chociażby *Legendy Warszawskie*, wydane przez Muzeum Warszawy, które, niestety, spisane zostały językiem normatywnym, jednakże wskazują na związek emocjonalny ich twórców ze stolicą i wyrażają potrzebę tworzenia tego typu publikacji (Odnous, Zdanowska, Pawliński 2022). W zakresie tekstów, w których bezpośrednio pojawiają się elementy historycznej gwary, wyróżniają się felietony Przemysława Śmiecha, które publikowane są na jego fanpage’u na Facebooku – *Mowa z Grochowa*; notabene cieszy się on sporą popularnością (ponad 4100 obserwujących) oraz w formie książki (Śmiech 2014; 2019). Cechują się one swoistym językiem zawierającym elementy historycznej gwary (nawiązania do elementów fonetycznych i strukturalno-leksykalnych), a także innowacjami – tworzeniem nowych jednostek na bazie chociażby j. angielskiego i nie tylko. Felietony dodatkowo nie są pozbawione typowych dla historycznych warszawiaków żartów i wszechobecnego dowcipu. Podczas pracy nad artykułem zainteresował mnie warsztat autora, który, co istotne, nie jest rodowitym warszawiakiem, dlatego też zwróciłem się bezpośrednio do niego z następującym pytaniem:

Interesuje mnie sfera języka Pana felietonów. Mianowicie czym się Pan posiłkuje, pisząc je? Są w nich, wiadomo, elementy gwary warszawskiej jak i innowacje. Czy korzysta Pan z Wiecha// Słownika Wieczorkiewicza? Jak po prostu wygląda Pana warsztat pisarski?

W odpowiedzi na tak postawione zapytanie rozpoczął żartobliwie, gwarowo: *Serwus, pardons za obsuwe* i kontynuował:

Tak, korzystam ze słownika Wieczorkiewicza i z Wiecha, ale nie tylko. Na swój użytek zrobiłem sobie swój słownik. Tam wrzucam słówka, o których sędzę, że mogą mi się przydać. Korzystam też z innych pisarzy: Grzesiuk, Marek Nowakowski. Korzystam też z tekstów piosenek warszawskich,

tu książka Wieczorkiewicza o balladach podwórzowych i śpiewnik Wielanka. Staram się tak pisać, żeby czytelnik nie musiał korzystać ze słownika, więc jeśli pada słowo trudniejsze tłumaczę je od razu w opowiadaniu. Na przykład ktoś mówi, że jadł kadryla, rozmówca go pyta: Czyli co?, czyli czarny salceson. Chętnie korzystam z innych cech gwary warszawskiej, czyli zdrobnień, aków, przekręceń wyrazów czy błędów gramatycznych.

Z przytoczonej odpowiedzi jasno wynika, że gwara warszawska autora jest „nabyta”, o ile można w ogóle użyć takiego sformułowania, gdyż w mojej ocenie byłoby niezwykle karkołomnym zadaniem nauczyć się od zera gwary miejskiej, funkcjonującej dziś fragmentarycznie, zwłaszcza na płaszczyźnie fonetycznej, w sytuacji braku jej bezpośrednich nosicieli. Potwierdzeniem tego są również słowa o tworzeniu słowniczka na własne, twórcze potrzeby. Ciekawym zabiegiem, polegającym poniekąd na kontakcie edukacyjnym pomiędzy autorem a czytelnikiem, jak wskazał sam P. Śmiech, jest tłumaczenie niektórych jednostek bezpośrednio w tekstach mogących być niezrozumiałymi. Z jednej strony autor sam nauczył się leksyki gwary warszawskiej, z drugiej – uczy czytelnika. Zarówno samą twórczość jak i poniekąd dydaktykę „gwary”, zwłaszcza w jej aspekcie leksykalnym, można traktować jako próbę reaktywacji jej elementów w języku codziennym czytelników. Zakładać można, że niektóre wyuczone słowa i wyrażenia mogą funkcjonować jako bon moty i stanowić w ocenie nadawców komunikatów środek kreatywny i niespotykany wśród ich interlokutorów. W perspektywie językoznawczej, przykład twórczości P. Śmiecha taktować jednak należy jako połączenie stylizacji na gwarę warszawską i jej nowej kreacji.

Kolejnym propagatorem gwary warszawskiej, nie w sferze twórczej, a historycznej jest współcześnie varsavianista Janusz Dziano. Prowadzi on m.in. fanpage na Facebooku *Jestem z Woli*, bierze udział w seminariach i spotkaniach, a także jest członkiem Stowarzyszenia Gwara Warszawska. Ważnym jego osiągnięciem jest opublikowana w 2019 roku pod patronatem Stowarzyszenia pozycja *Ech, Panie Wiech* (Dziano, Koper 2019), której jest autorem tekstu głównego. Poświęcona jest życiu i twórczości S. Wiecheckiego, która przeplata się z życiem ówczesnej stolicy. Odnajdziemy tam również wiele historycznych fotografii z życia kulturalnego Warszawy.

Ważne działania propagujące gwarę podejmuje wspomniane Stowarzyszenie Gwara Warszawska, która jest obecna nie tylko w sferze wirtualnej. Zadania Stowarzyszenia zostały sformułowane na stronie internetowej następująco: „Chcemy zainteresować warszawiaków, zarówno tych rodowitych, jak i «flancowanych», gwarą warszawską. Ocalić od zapomnienia język Warszawy, pokazać, że «warszaska nawijka» zasługuje na uwagę” (Stowarzyszenie Gwara Warszawska 2016). Wśród podejmowanych przez nie akcji nie sposób wymienić tu wszystkich. Skupię się na tych największych:

- prowadzenie strony internetowej i fanpage’u na Facebooku – promowanie akcji, urywki historycznej gwary warszawskiej, słowniczek internetowy gwary;
- turniej wypowiedzi satyrycznej o laur Wiecha – prowadzony w duchu warszawskiego folkloru i gwary warszawskiej; do dziś odbyło się sześć edycji;
- organizacja i współprowadzenie przez członków Radosława Potraca i Janusza Dziano XXXI Seminarium Warszawskiego w 2024 r., pt. *„Chociaż było po alfabecie, wszyscy, jak to u nasz, czekali do ostatniego dnia...”*. *Gwara warszawska*, w którym również jako ekspert wystąpiła prof. Monika Kresa z UW; zostały tam przedstawione cechy ogóle gwary i ich realizacja, a także elementy kulturowe i tożsamościowe;
- organizacja lekcji gwary warszawskiej, m.in. *Jak mówi cwaniak warszawski? Gwara warszawska dla kłajniaków* (Jak mówi cwaniak warszawski?) wraz z Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego

i Instytutem Stefana Starzyńskiego; tu szczególną rolę odgrywa prezes Stowarzyszenia R. Potrac, który podobnie jak P. Śmiech nie jest rodowitym warszawiakiem;

- partnerstwo w organizowanym od 2016 roku Festiwalu S. Grzesiuka, w którym elementy gwary warszawskiej odgrywają znaczącą rolę; wywnioskować można to z samych nazw wydarzeń: spektakl *Ferajna* wystawiany przez TeatrBAZA na podstawie Grzesiukowego *Boso, ale w ostrogach*; Alegancko i z faszonem – warsiaski korowód do Parku Sieleckiego czy występy Justyny Jary i Aleganckiej Kapeli, którzy w swojej twórczości balladowej: „Jak niegdyś Stanisław Grzesiuk, w autorskich utworach ukazują stolicę poprzez dawne i współczesne dzielnicowe opowieści” (Justyna Jary i Alegancka Kapela).
- współorganizacja konkursu o spersonalizowaną kartę miejską Klawego Warszawiaka; konkurs polegał na odgadnięciu znaczeń słów z gwary warszawskiej i odpowiedzi na pytanie: Dlaczego Warszawa jest kława? – możliwe jest więc łączenie promocji miasta wraz ze wspomnieniami gwary warszawskiej.

Jak wynika z powyższego zestawienia, działalność Stowarzyszenia jest bardzo rozległa. Włącza się ono w wiele akcji, a części jest głównym pomysłodawcą. W przyszłości warto byłoby z punktu widzenia socjolingwistycznego i kulturowego dowiedzieć się więcej o funkcjonowaniu tej jednostki, a zwłaszcza: kim są głównie uczestnicy tych spotkań, warsztatów i lekcji, jaki jest ich wiek, skąd zainteresowanie gwarą, jaki jest zasięg ich oddziaływania i wreszcie czy i w jaki sposób wykorzystują oni gwarę w codziennym życiu? Jak można wnioskować z nagrania spotkania Seminarium Warszawskiego, sale są „pełne”, a wiek uczestników jest różny.

W zakresie wskazanej działalności Stowarzyszenia istotne są również wypowiedzi jego członków nt. współczesnego statusu gwary. Podczas Seminarium Warszawskiego R. Potrac tak odniósł się do tego, czym gwara jest:

Gwara to temat szerszy. Trwają usilne prace z Urzędem Miasta w kontekście potraktowania jej jako niematerialnego dziedzictwa kulturowego. To nie sam język, ale również zachowanie... system kulturowo-językowo-zachowaniowo-różny. Gwara miała w sobie moc.

Swoje zdanie wyraził również J. Dziano: „gwara to charakter, warszawski humor. Te elementy zamykały się ze sobą, były ze sobą wspólne”. Z przytoczonych wypowiedzi jasno wynika, że gwara warszawska w aspekcie funkcjonalnym nie jest środkiem codziennej komunikacji warszawiaków. Bardzo trafnym wydaje się określenie jej jako niematerialne dziedzictwo kulturowe.

Kolejnym, niezwykle ważnym przedsięwzięciem mającym na celu promocję gwary warszawskiej i Warszawy historycznie jest zapoczątkowany w 2010 roku projekt *Praga Gada*. Autorzy zarejestrowali rozmowy z seniorami z warszawskiej Pragi (rozmowy te są dostępne na platformie internetowej) i zaadoptowali je na język komiksu. Dostępne są również materiały nie tylko dźwiękowe, także wideo. Oprócz historii żyjących warszawiaków, przedstawionych w postaci komiksu, autorzy dokonali również adaptacji wybranych felietonów S. Wiecheckiego – *Praga Gada Wiechem* (do dziś ukazały się trzy serie). Co ciekawe, mają oni świadomość, że dla współczesnego czytelnika gwara warszawska może stanowić problem w zakresie jej zrozumienia, co wyrażone zostało opisem publikacji: „Dla czytelników zaś wyzwaniem będzie zmierzenie się z gwarą warszawską, którą posługują się bohaterowie” (Komiks

Wiechem dwa!, Praga Gada). Można pokusić się o stwierdzenie, że informacja o istnieniu tego projektu przekroczyła granice Polski, gdyż w br. w czeskim radiu – Český rozhlas Radiožurnál można było usłyszeć audycję poświęconą prezentacji założeń przedsięwzięcia oraz stolicy Polski w perspektywie historycznej (I Polsko má svou Prahu 2024).

Urbanonimia Warszawy

Jednym z elementów nawiązujących dziś do gwary warszawskiej mogą być urbanonimy w obrębie tkanki miejskiej stolicy. Należą do nich nazwy takich miejsc w przestrzeni onimicznej Warszawy, jak np. Kława księgarnia na Pradze; Kława Szama (restauracja). Niestety są już dziś zamknięte. Inaczej ma się sprawa, jeżeli chodzi o nazewnictwo innych obiektów przestrzeni miejskiej, tych z nadania administracyjnego. Wyróżnić w tym zakresie można dwa typy obiektów miejskich: ulice oraz parki/skwery: Skwer Gwary Warszawskiej, Park im. Stefana Wiecheckiego „Wiecha”; Pasaż Stefana Wiecheckiego „Wiecha”; Ulica Stanisława Grzesiuka, Ulica Bronisława Wieczorkiewicza czy targowisko Bazar Różyckiego. Interesująca jest jeszcze jedna nazwa ulicy Warszawy – Teofila Piecyka – bohatera felietonów Wiecha. Dalej, nieoficjalne nazwy samej stolicy, które, co prawda nie są bezpośrednio elementem gwarowym, ale ukazują poniekąd silną więź emocjonalną warszawiaków ze stolicą (podobnie jak w relacjach międzyosobowych), np.: Syreni Gród; Gród nad Wisłą. Widoczne one są w przestrzeni miejskiej Warszawy, zwłaszcza w formie graffiti/murali (w tym wypadku powiązane dodatkowo z motywami klubu sportowego Legia Warszawa), zob. poniższe fotografie:



Obraz 1. Graffiti „Syreni gród” przy ul. Kędzierskiego, autor: Piotr Baczewski



Obraz 2. Graffiti na Bemowie, autor: jancio

Zainteresowanie nazwami miejskimi stolicy i kreatywność językowa jej mieszkańców jest żywe w zakresie nazw nieoficjalnych, czego dowodem jest zorganizowany w 2023 przez Obserwatorium Językowe Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego konkurs *Mapa warszawskich nazw*, którego celem było „wskazanie nazwy identyfikującej dowolny obiekt warszawski, która nie pozostawia nas obojętnymi (wywołuje wspomnienia, emocje, wzbudza ciekawość itp.), oraz uzasadnienie wyboru” (Zwycięzcy konkursu „Mapa warszawskich nazw” 2023). Do rywalizacji zostało nadesłanych 130 zgłoszeń. Wśród nich pojawiły się nieoficjalne urbanonimy, które były przeze mnie rejestrowane wcześniej m.in. *Toporki* (Siekierki) oraz *Pekin* (Pałac Kultury i Nauki)¹. Zaskakująca jest nazwa *Pekin*, która nominowała blok mieszkalny na Warszawskiej Pradze, a w 2023 r. była zgłoszona jako nominacja PKiN. Mamy tu zatem do czynienia z ciekawym zjawiskiem w nieoficjalnej urbanonimii – bezpośrednią importacją danej jednostki do oznaczenia innego obiektu, co też, dodatkowo, ukazuje specyfikę nazw nieoficjalnych – nietrwałość i możliwość importacji.

Podsumowując zagadnienie urbanonimii Warszawy, należy wskazać, że nazwy te – zarówno wariantie oficjalnym, jak i nieoficjalnym – pełnią bardzo ważną rolę w życiu warszawiaków, są jednym z elementów, w których „wyraża się” społeczność miejska w danej przestrzeni (por. Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska 2011: 139). Jak wskazywała wybitna onomastka Kwiryna Handke: „Nazewnictwo miejskie jest zbiorem bogatym i różnorodnym, o długotrwałej historii. Tym samym stanowi niezwykle cenne świadectwo terytorialnego rozwoju miasta oraz dziejów jego przestrzeni społecznej” (Handke 1998: 8). W mojej ocenie, urbanonimy warszawskie niewątpliwie pełnią taką rolę. Warto również dodać, że warianty urzędowe, odnoszące się bezpośrednio do gwary warszawskiej czy jej twórców, nie są przypadkowe, a ich istnienie wynika z działań zaangażowanych osób, np. *Skwer Gwary Warszawskiej* z inicjatywy Stowarzyszenia (Skwer Gwary Warszawskiej coraz bliżej 2024).

¹ Nazwy te pojawiły się w zgromadzonym przeze mnie materiale empirycznym do artykułu wydanego w 2018 roku (Juszczak 2018).

Podsumowanie

Konkludując, chciałbym odnieść się do pytania postawionego na początku: czym jest gwara warszawska w perspektywie historycznej, a czym dziś? Niewątpliwie nie jest dzisiaj środkiem komunikacji codziennej warszawiaków, co należy wyraźnie podkreślić, choć jej elementy mogą występować w minimalnym stopniu, okazjonalnie. Podobna sytuacja nie dotyczy wyłącznie gwary warszawskiej, a i innych dialektów miejskich, np. Poznania, Lwowa czy Brna². Usłyszeć ją można zwłaszcza na spotkaniach i wydarzeniach, które zostały przeze mnie zaprezentowane i omówione. Społeczność, która „żyje” gwarą warszawską, może być potraktowana jako przykład grupy rodzimej, zasadzającej się na kontraście swój vs. obcy, gdzie podział ten, jak wskazywał Roman Gawarkiewicz na podstawie różnych badań socjologiczno-językowych, „jest warunkiem koniecznym i niezbędnym dla procesu samookreślenia się, kształtowania tożsamości, poczucia spójności, solidarności i emocjonalnej stabilności grupowej” (Gawarkiewicz 2019: 10). Z pewnością gwara warszawska dziś pełni taki determinant społeczno-kulturowy wśród jej pasjonatów. Poszczególne jej elementy są również przykładami opisywanych przez etnolingwistykę kulturemów³, w węższej sferze pojęciowej – nienarodowej, a lokalnej (terytorialnej, ograniczonej, choć wschodzącej ponad granice – np. cwaniak warsiaski), składających się na historyczny autostereotyp warszawiaka⁴.

W mojej ocenie, gwarę warszawską należy traktować dodatkowo jako determinant tożsamości regionalnej, lecz nie w pełnym tego określenia zakresie, ze względu na dzisiejsze uwarunkowania demograficzne Warszawy i dodatkowe procesy szersze – wszechobecną globalizację. Jednakże globalizacja i dynamiczna sytuacja demograficzna Warszawy nie pozbawią gwary warszawskiej takiego miana. O podobnej sytuacji hantecu pisała w swoim czasie Maria Krčmová:

Fenomenální je na něm to, že se v situaci dnešní globalizace světa rozvíjí, prohlašuje svou specifičnost, plní stále funkci jazyka sjednocujícího dnes již velmi početné společenství obyvatel města, připojuje k němu nové lidi, identifikuje Brňana a Brňan se ochotně identifikuje s ním. (Krčmová 2005: 97)

Ciekawym wydaje się zatem przeprowadzenie ogólnych badań socjologicznych i socjolingwistycznych, które pozwoliłyby określić, czy gwara warszawska w ogóle istnieje w świadomości warszawiaków, czy również jak hantec⁵ zyskuje nowych „użytkowników” i zwolenników, a także przez jej pryzmat ocenić przywiązanie warszawiaków do ich małej ojczyzny.

Trudno wyobrazić sobie również dziś reaktywację tej odmiany języka do postaci środka codziennych kontaktów warszawiaków, z tego powodu, że m.in. duży procent mieszkańców Warszawy stanowi ludność nieautochtoniczna, a XXI-wieczne migracje społeczne są rzeczą powszechną, co znajduje swoje potwierdzenie nawet w faktach językowych polszczyzny. Popularne w swoim czasie

- 2 Warto dodać, że podobne działania promocyjne obserwuje się również w dialektach terytorialnych, czego przykładem może być chociażby gwara cieszyńska (zob. Bogoczová, Bortliczek 2023).
- 3 Termin ten rozumiem za Alicją Nagórko – „ważne dla samoidentyfikacji jakiejś społeczności słowa klucze, charakteryzujące zarówno jej stosunek do tradycji, dziedziczonych wartości, jak i radzenie sobie z czasem teraźniejszym, aktualne przeżywanie świata” (Nagórko, Łaziński, Burkhardt 2004: XIX).
- 4 Maciej Rak twierdzi, że kulturemy w ujęciu etnolingwistycznym składają się na autostereotyp. Do ich zasobu włącza m.in.: nazwy wartości, narodową topografię oraz wykładniki tożsamości kulturowej (Rak 2015: 313).
- 5 Przedwojenny socjolekt grupy społecznej mieszkającej w Brnie – brneńskiej plotny, którego elementy są współcześnie wykorzystywane w stylizacjach literackich, a także w przestrzeni miejskiej Brna (reklamy, plakaty itp.). Jest, jak pisała Maria Krčmová, swoistym reprezentantem miasta Brna (zob. Krčmová 1995).

pojęcie tzw. *słoika*, z definicji odnosi się przede wszystkim do osób wybierających na swoje nowe miejsce zamieszkania Warszawę⁶. Dużym zaskoczeniem jest, że kultywacją i reaktywacją zajmują się w dużej mierze nierodowici warszawiacy, a najbardziej zasłużeni w tej kwestii, jak m.in R. Potrac, mówi po prostu: „zakochałem się w gwarze”. Niewątpliwie powinna ona zostać uznana za element niematerialnego dziedzictwa kulturowego.

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Received:
21.06.2024

Reviewed:
05.07.2024

Accepted:
21.08.2024

LESZEK PUŁKA

Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Instytut Dziennikarstwa i Komunikacji Społecznej

leszek.pulka@uw.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-8606-2100

Notes recenzenta. Wokół *Śmiesznego staruszka* Tadeusza Różewicza we Wrocławskim Teatrze Lalek

The Reviewer's Notes: Around *Śmieszny staruszek* by Tadeusz Różewicz at Wrocław Puppet Theater

Abstract

A critic of a performance phenomenon is typically a flawed, imprecise observer. For instance, they may use a notebook to ensure accurate documentation of the plot, characters, strengths, and artistic merit or shortcomings of the production or acting, but they are still more complete than someone watching a recording on DVD. While the latter offers useful documentary context, it impoverishes the perception of the stage performance, stripping it of auditory, phonetic, or olfactory nuances and framing the spatiotemporal aspects of the spectacle according to the preferences of the recording's director. Both forms of communication are therefore imprecise. The first disrupts the phenomenon of seeing, breaks spatiotemporal continuity, undermines the phenomenon of co-participation, and preempts the event with prior knowledge of the text – if the critic is well-read (even when the playwright or director abandons narrative structures). The second activates processes of participation, observation, and memory that differ from those of the theater, influenced, for instance, by the popularity of speed-watching and the solitude of viewing on a screen.

Keywords: Tadeusz Różewicz, Wiesław Hejno, puppet theater, reviewer's workshop

Słowa kluczowe: Tadeusz Różewicz, Wiesław Hejno, teatr lalek, warsztat recenzenta

1.

Po latach wiem, że było to nieuzasadnione, lecz niektórzy z moich rówieśników niechętnie obcowali z tekstami Tadeusza Różewicza. Zapewne z powodu szkolnego przymusu lekturowego, ale i opresyjnych działań polityki, grzęznącej w oparach sowieckiego absurdu i skłaniającej ku szarzyźnie *nomen omen* małej stabilizacji. Można rzec, iż szukaliśmy prawdy o świecie w innych konstelacjach kultury niż proponowany przez Różewicza „świat rozrzucony”. Nie burzyliśmy jak on arkadyjskiego obrazu Italii, skoro teleportowano stamtąd ortalionowe płaszcze i filmy Felliniego – obiekty powszechnego zachwyty, a słuchając popu w Radiu Luxembourg uciekaliśmy od demonów wojny i powojennego śmietnika w *Kartotece* ([1960] 1961), gdyż zafascynowały nas wizje Lema i *A Hard Day's Night*, a niebawem winyle z zapisem festiwalu w Woodstock. Odczuwaliśmy dysonans pomiędzy praktykowanymi językami – kultury socestablishmentu (jednak) i zamerykanizowanej popkultury. Postawa politycznego outsidera – jakim wydawał się Różewicz – nas nie inspirowała. Wystarczająco konformistyczna okazywała się codzienność. Oczywiście, są to nikle przyczyny, arbitralne i na tle całości dzieł pisarza wręcz pełne arogancji, lecz oddające w jakiejś mierze klimat tamtych lat.

Różewicz ze spisu lektur wydawał się kimś przesłoniętym przez błyskotliwych, choć martwych rówieśników, a na ekscytującym tle poczyniń i charyzmy Bursy, Komedy czy Wróblewskiego – nudnawym. Ponadto rozrzucający zmediatyzowane puzzle Różewiczowski bohater zdawał się nam kosmosem zbyt odległym od imaginarium teatru ubogiego Grotowskiego czy magicznej pantomimy Tomaszewskiego. Autor *Śmierci w starych dekoracjach* (1970) jawił się artystą o generację odsuniętym w czasie i przestrzeni, paradoksalnie zbyt literackim, a za mało radykalnym w chwili, w której pokolenie związane z Nową Falą szukało gorączkowo odmiennego, progresywnego konceptu świata – w znacznej mierze wywołanego przez polityczne wydarzenia 1968 roku.

Dziesięć lat po publikacji *Śmiesznego staruszka* ([1964] 2005) Różewicz ([1969–1976] 2010) pisał o swoim rozumieniu teatru:

Współczesny teatr jest częścią naszej rzeczywistości. Jest rzeczywistością, a nie zwierciadłem, które odbija rzeczywistość. Może to być – w zależności od twórcy – „rzeczywistość” pozorna, fałszywa, wykrzywiona, pozbawiona sensu, absurdalna, groteskowa... Mówiąc „teatr współczesny”, ciągle jeszcze myślę o teatrze i pisarzu. Pozwólcie mu zostać w teatrze obok reżysera, aktora, scenografa, kompozytora, elektryka, krawca, rady zakładowej, cenzora, fryzjera, kierownika artystycznego... [...] Teatr organizuje, ogniskuje, skupia i wzmacnia rzeczywistość. Integruje. „Rzeczywistość” bez teatru jest niepełna¹.

Być może w tym i innych autokomentarzach twórczości – choć pisarz wspomina o cenzurze – zabrakło klarownej deklaracji politycznej. Barańczak, Krynicki, Zagajewski, Kornhauser, Moczulski – tak się nam zdawało – porzucili jakkolwiek dekonstruowaną scenę pudełkową dla publiczności fabryk, wzburzonych

1 Fragment tekstu z cyklu *Margins, ale...*, „Odra” nr 5, 1974 cyt. za: <https://www.biuroliterackie.pl/biblioteka/ksiazki/margins-ale/> [dostęp 20.02.2023].

ulic i sklepów mięsnych. Wezwanie do rekonstrukcji ciągłości kultury narodowej łączyło się – w naszym mniemaniu – z czynnym udziałem w kulturze niezależnej, w której teksty Różewicza nie pojawiły się.

Młoda kultura teatralna także oferowała odmienne od profesjonalnych teatrów fenomeny – estetycznym i intelektualnym wstrząsem stała się w dziedzinie sztuk teatralnych wizyta niezwyklego Bread and Puppet Theater z *Wołaniem ludu o mięso* we Wrocławiu (1969), podobnie zaistniało (przecież czerpiące z poematu Różewicza) *Spadanie* Teatru STU (1970) – lecz oba projekty dla publiczności niestudenckiej były tylko trudno dostępną, kontrkulturową legendą. Zafascynowani rewelacjami literackimi Nowej Fali i potęgą intelektu Czesława Miłosza przywoływaliśmy w rozmowach słynną frazę z *Traktatu moralnego* ([1947] 1982), nie znajdując łączności – przeciwnie niż wobec Witkacego – pomiędzy *drapieżnością umysłu* a paradoksalnym *obowiązkiem* nieczytania tekstów autora Śmiesznego staruszka ([1964] 2005). Guru intelektualnego dyskursu pokolenia wydawali nam się jednak obok Miłosza – Herbert z *Panem Cogito* ([1962–1974] 1974), Barańczak i Krynicki, a w teatrze repertuarowym Mrozek czy Iredyński, nie Różewicz.

2.

Pierwsze wnikliwe czytanie dramaturgii Różewicza zawdzięczam inscenizacji *Do piachu* ([1955 – 1972] 1979) w reżyserii Kazimierza Kutza (1989) (ale to zupełnie inna historia) i dekadę później *Śmiesznemu staruszkowi* ([1964] 2005) Wiesława Hejny i Jadwigi Mydlarskiej-Kowal oraz Piotrowi Machalicy. Machalica bowiem przywiózł do Wrocławia monodram *Eddie E.* Dennisa Lumborga w reżyserii Grzegorza Warchoła (1998) – wstrząsającą historię przemocy instytucji państwa prawa, sprowokowaną przez ówczesny purytanizm i pornografizujące widzenie zachowań innego/obcego. Maski plugawego podglądactwa nakładane odbiorcom przez kulturę wizualną XX wieku na wiele lat przed *Big Brotherem* stawiały na równi – w tym spektaklu – troskliwą miłość ojca i przekraczanie norm seksualnych wobec dziecka. Jakby aksjologia epoki hipisów nagle wywróciła się na nice – niewinne zabawy wychowawcze i wolność w miłości stawały się występkiem. W narracji Machalicy relacja pomiędzy psychiką i ciałem dorosłego a ciałem i psychiką dziecka uwikłana w opresję prawa uwrażliwiła moje patrzenie na cielesność – na swoistą aberrację patrzenia. Bohater monodramu musiał bowiem lawirować pomiędzy rolą kozła ofiarnego a niezbywalnym prawem do prywatności. Spektakl Różewicza w interpretacji Hejny przywołał w jakiejś mierze podobny podział pomiędzy opresją wizerunku publicznego a prawem do prywatności, pomiędzy normą a jej domniemanym przekroczeniem, choć – jak pisał Józef Kelera (1988: 28): „Sfera patologii nie jest wszakże przedmiotem uwagi autora, ani racją zaistnienia tej sztuki”. Także Wiesław Hejno (2013) przywołał podobny argument w reżyserskiej analizie spektaklu.

Tej skromnej, wyimaginowanej rekonstrukcji spektaklu towarzyszyły dość groteskowe, pandemiczne okoliczności źródłowe – otóż w archiwum Wrocławskiego Teatru Lalek zawieruszyły się materiały dokumentujące spektakl, a w moim archiwum tekstów napisanych dla wrocławskiej edycji „Gazety Wyborczej” odnalazłem tylko informacyjną notkę reklamującą przedstawienie. I szczęśliwie zachowany notes recenzencki. Wskazuję zatem w tym szkicu zaledwie ułamki przemyśleń, które dało się odtworzyć w granicach zdrowego rozsądku, na temat możliwego scenicznego odczytania Śmiesznego staruszka ([1964] 2005). Tekstu zdumiewającego po latach świeżością poruszanych problemów.

W istocie rzeczy nie przedstawiam zatem nowej eksplikacji „komedii w dwóch odsłonach”, lecz zapis wrażeń, rekonstrukcję notatek poczynionych na jednym ze spektakli WTL, swoiste *pierwsze postrzeganie* po latach szczęśliwie poszerzone o dyskurs reżyserski, udokumentowany w intrygującej autoanalizie Hejny (2013) *Przemiana i zmierzanie do niej* oraz złożony ze strzępów informacji dyskurs scenograficzny Jadwigi Mydlarskiej-Kowal z *Teatru plastycznej metafory* (Sylwia Ryś, Elżbieta Spadzińska-Żak [red.] 2022: 432). Rekonstrukcję przebiegu spektaklu oraz całości wygłaszanego tekstu Śmiesznego staruszka z pewnością ułatwia także rozprawa *Wielowymiarowość postaci scenicznej – rola Staruszka w spektaklu „Śmieszny staruszek” Tadeusza Różewicza w reżyserii Wiesława Hejny* Krzysztofa Grębskiego (2006) oraz teksty recenzyjne.

Śmieszny staruszek w inscenizacji Hejny ma trzy zapisy – dokumentalny (fotograficzny), klasycznie mnemoniczny (dokumenty naukowe i publicystyczne) i digitalny. Pierwszy i drugi można zrekonstruować na podstawie wspomnianych źródeł pisanych i archiwalnych. Trzeci został wydany jako wydawnictwo bezpłatne WTL (2016) w toku starań Wrocławia o miano ESK.

Dodajmy, że przywołane powyżej źródła implikują zakłócenia rekonstrukcyjne – dość wspomnieć, iż reżyser informuje o 8 obrazach scenicznych, konstruujących spektakl, gdy aktor w swoim dokumencie wymienia 13 scen, wskazując także 9 lalkowych postaci i pięciu aktorów, podczas gdy Hejno przekonuje, że z 8 figurami–lalkami tytułowego staruszka współpracowało sześcioro aktorów, co potwierdzają zapisy dokumentalne. Istnieją nadto rozbieżności pomiędzy świadectwami scenografiki i widzów na temat organizacji czasoprzestrzeni a zdigitalizowanym zapisem spektaklu opublikowanym w 2016 roku (z inną obsadą niż podczas premiery).

Wspomnijmy również, że premiera Śmiesznego staruszka (10 lutego 2001 r.) zdarzyła się w przededniu utraty teatru przez Wiesława Hejnę, a zatem nie był to czas dobrych emocji zarówno dla reżysera, który w rozmowach z dziennikarzami chętnie lokował swoją aktywność twórczą na tle działań teatralnych gigantów (Tomaszewski, Grotowski), jak i urzędnika, który go odwołał. Nadto Śmieszny staruszek Tadeusza Różewicza ([1964] 2005) miał we Wrocławskim Teatrze Lalek dwie odsłony – premierę w 2001 oraz wznowienie w 2009 roku. Jest jeszcze życie po życiu – spektakl studentów Akademii Sztuk Teatralnych z 2022 roku. Sporo powikłań, by tę krótką restytucję spotkania z lalkową inscenizacją tekstu Tadeusza Różewicza uznać za spełniającą historyczne czy teatrologiczne standardy opisu fenomenu trwania i znaczenia dzieła scenicznego. To zaledwie przyczynek.

3.

Po latach krytyk portalu teatralny.pl określił Śmiesznego staruszka jako spektakl półlegendarny. O składnikach tej semi–legendarności należy wspomnieć. Tekst powstał – jak określił to Józef Kelera (1988) – w serii siedmiu dramatów „napisanych i ogłoszonych w ciągu pięciu lat (1959–1964), jakby jednym długim biegiem, jednym okresem owocowania nagromadzonych wcześniej impulsów, pomysłów, obrazów” (Józef Kelera 1988: 55). Czerpiąc z myśli Kelery (1988), wskazującego na dynamikę form ówczesnych dzieł Różewicza, moglibyśmy uznać, że procedura *przepoczwarzania* tekstu – wspomnianego przez krytyka „szkicowania”, „notowania”, „zarzuceń” i „wyświetleń od nowa” – jest nie tylko kolekcją chwytów pisarskich autora, kosmiczną kartoteką mikroobrazów i mikrokomunikatów, lecz i fundamentem zapisu świata–kartoteki czy też świata–śmietnika, choć lepiej rzec: wielokrotnie złożonej

konstelacji zachowań jednostki na tle niezbornej, acz zinstytucjonalizowanej zbiorowości, jaką wydaje się wyrażać pierwodruk tekstu Śmiesznego staruszka ([1964] 2005) w warstwie wątków fabularnych i wypowiedzianych przez bohatera opisów obrazków obyczajowych czy pełnych ekspresji, konfesyjnych wyznań na temat kultury i cywilizacji. Nieskładna „spowiedź z całego żywota” ujawniana przed sądem złożonym z manekinów jest zatem kolekcją wspomnień, narracją przerywaną, czerpiącą z odmiennego od współczesnych modelu pamięci subiektywnej.

Ważny zda się także fundament ontologiczny tego kosmosu. Zdaniem Kelery (1988) po Holokauście i totalitarnych opresjach II wojny światowej Różewicz poskładał go z „tworów wyobcowanych”, z pospiesznego mitologizowania „językowych abstrakcji” (z owej upolitycznionej „mowy-trawy” – jak pisał o tym Adam Ważyk), z instrumentalizowania i mediatyzowania przez zideologizowaną popkulturę elementarnych ludzkich wartości². Wśród elementów składowych dramatów Różewicza odnajdziemy zatem konkret doświadczenia eksplikowany wśród obiektów realistycznych, ale „niekoniecznie mimetycznych³”, podobnie jak język poetycki czerpiący z tego, czym jest „mowa quasi-potoczna, wyposażona wszakże w intensywny kontekst poetycki”. W końcu poznajemy w lekturze „teatr wewnętrzny” – przeciwieństwo „dramatu, teatru fabuły, intrygi, perypetii tudzież zawiązania, rozwiązania, kulminacji, retardacji, katastrofy et cetera” oraz „teatr otwarty” na różnorodność form – jako koncept i typ przestrzeni scenicznej. Dodajmy nakreślone przez Kelerę (1988) impulsy genologiczne: „satyra środowiskowa” (*Kartoteka*), „pozory komedii obyczajowej” (*Grupa Laokoona*), „komedio-esej” (*Akt przerywany*), „komedia” (*Śmieszny staruszek*) wskazujące na swoistą syntezę poetyckiej przenikliwości oraz anty-groteski jako mechanizmu porządkowania nieciągłego, postrzępionego świata lat 60. ubiegłego stulecia.

Reżyserskie procedury adaptacji czy też opracowania dramaturgicznego oddalają literacki oryginał od widza, niedopełniając go przecież aktu poznania dzieła scenicznego partyturą reżyserską. To znaczy uznajemy samoistny tekst dramatu za pretekst do formatowania czasoprzestrzeni, która pojawi się na scenie, ale – recenzując – niekoniecznie przywołujemy kompletną wiedzę historyczno-literacką czy też globalne diagnozy kulturowe i zapisane w partyturze koncepty reżysera. Sporadycznie także uczestniczymy w próbach (choć miało to miejsce np. podczas pracy nad *Kartoteką rozrzuconą*), aby opisać fenomen wieczoru. Wśród współczesnych obowiązków recenzenta zazwyczaj nie wymienia się również koniecznej znajomości tekstu sztuki i historycznych okoliczności jego powstania, choć w dykcji wiążącej dramat z literaturą (czy też literackością) nakazuje ową powinność krytyczna wola porównywania literackiego oryginału do reżyserskiej inscenizacji oraz intelektualna przyzwoitość (o czym sarkastycznie wspominał na marginesie analizy twórczości autora *Kartoteki* Kazimierz Wyka)⁴.

Recenzent może zatem postrzegać dzieło sceniczne i jego bohaterów jako jednorazowy, ulotny akt komunikacyjny, może zeń – niekiedy równocześnie – wyprowadzać uniwersalizującą metaforę ludzkiej egzystencji, wreszcie może się nim współbawić (co w jednej ze scen spektaklu Hejny sugerowały karnawałowe czapeczki lalki bohatera i animujących ją aktorów). Wspomnijmy także, iż adaptacja Wiesława Hejny właściwie pomija didaskalia oraz poetycki *Prolog albo epilog* dodany przez dramaturga jako uzupełnienie pierwodruku w „Dialogu”, nieoczywiście sygnalizując w projekcie WTL-u ułomność psychicznego statusu Staruszka poprzez animującą go postać na biało ubranej Pielęgniarki (ale czy

2 Zob. także Stanisław Burkot (1987: 88 i nast.).

3 Określenia w cudzysłowach z Józefa Kelery (1988: 11 i nast.).

4 Zob. Kazimierz Wyka (1975: 68).

na pewno pielęgniarce), niejako czerpiąc tę figurę z interpretacji Kelery (1988) ze wstępu do *Teatru Różewicza*.

Kelera uwypuklił rozbrat „zgiełkliwego strumienia życia” i biologicznej idiosynkrazji Staruszka. Najkrócej rzecz ujmując – w zapisie Różewicza Śmieszny staruszek ([1964] 2005) jest konfesją „nie takiego jednak fiksata, jakby się zdawało”:

[...] osobiwa intymność obdarzona głosem to ów Śmieszny Staruszek, a jego mowa – ostatnie słowo oskarżonego przed sądem złożonym z atrap i manekinów to studium »samotności w tłumie«. [...] Staruszek [...] trochę melancholijny fiksata (co nie znaczy, że całkiem »wariat«), trochę smutny fetyszysta (co nie znaczy, że całkiem »zboczeniec«), z ostrymi zahamowaniami w sferze biologii, płci i seksu, nie bez objawów patologicznych [...], z nieco dwuznaczną wreszcie skłonnością do małych dziewczynek, które są przecież »jak lalczki«, ale potrafią Staruszkowi dokuczyć. Ta ostatnia okoliczność sprawia, że Staruszek staje przed sądem i ma okazję wygłosić swoją mowę. (Józej Kelera 1988: 28)

Tak wielowarstwowe odczytanie postaci bohatera przez Józefa Kelere (1988) – zdaniem jednej z krytyczek – uległo w omawianym spektaklu swoistemu „spłaszczeniu” czy strywalizowaniu:

[...] zadziorny staruszek Mydlarskiej–Kowal i Hejny ma wiele wcieleń, których można się dopatrzeć w dyskretnie podmienianych lalkach. Kryje w sobie i lubieżnego starucha, i dobrodusznego dziadka, i nieporadne dziecko. (Liliana Bardijewska 2002: 81–83)

Wyka (1975) słusznie przestrzegał – niewykluczone, że powodem takiej akurat interpretacji był brak aksjologicznej precyzji: lubieżność, dobrodusność, nieporadność są pojęciami publicystycznymi, dość trudno wpisać je w jednoznaczne wykładnie kulturowe czy psychologiczne. W wierszu *zawsze fragment* Tadeusz Różewicz (1996) wyraził podobnie sugestywną myśl „z nadmiaru gorliwości / niszczyć delikatną tkankę poezji”, która recenzentki w żadnej mierze nie usprawiedliwia.

4.

Na początku tego stulecia fundament emotywny i poznawczy wizyty w teatrze to – przywołując antropologię Rocha Sulimy – dyskurs niecodzienności lub przystąpienie do codzienności magicznej, której kluczem wydaje się wspomniana przez Hejnę (i fascynująca Różewicza) *przemiana* – bohatera i odbiorcy, gdyż to zabieg równoczesny. Powtórzmy zatem krytyczne klucze do interpretacji tego spektaklu: *przepoczwarzanie* oraz *przemiana*. Wizytę w teatrze–wehikule sztuki (ale i skrypcie kultury teatralnej zarazem) konstytuują rzecz jasna statusy i rangi artystów oraz obiektów, a niekiedy gry środowiskowe. W naszym przypadku WTL trwał obdarzony dość bezkrytyczną etykietą wyjątkowości mentalnej (wzbudził ją m.in. tryptyk *Fenomen władzy*) oraz teatru, „który hipnotyzuje”.

Generalizując, krytyk spektaklu–fenomenowi jest zazwyczaj widzem ułomnym, niedokładnym, np. kiedy korzysta z notesu, aby nie uchybić wiedzy o fabule, postaciach, atutach i arcydzielnosci lub niedoskonałości inscenizacji czy wykonania zadań aktorskich, ale pełniejszym niż oglądaczu zapisu na płycie dvd, który co prawda zapewnia stosowny *background* dokumentalny, lecz zubaża postrzegany obraz sceniczny o niuanse audialne, foniczne czy olfaktoryczne, kadrując nadto czasoprzestrzeń widowiska według upodobań realizatora wizji. Obie relacje komunikacyjne są zatem nieprecyzyjne. Pierwsza zakłóca fenomen widzenia, zrywa ciągłość czasoprzestrzenną, dewastuje fenomen współuczestniczenia, uprzedza

zdarzeniowość wiedzą o tekście – jeśli krytyk jest czytany (nawet gdy autor dramatu lub inscenizacji rezygnuje z fabularności); druga uruchamia odmienne – od teatralnych – procedury uczestniczenia oraz widzenia i zapamiętywania, choćby z powodu popularności *speed-watchingu* i samotności przed monitorem.

W świadectwach krytycznych uwypuklano przede wszystkim polifoniczność i polimorficzność spektaklu, lecz objaśnienie wyjątkowego statusu ontologicznego lalki wydaje się w tych opisach skrótowe i nieprecyzyjne. Małgorzata Koch–Butryn (2001) relacjonowała:

Postać staruszka wyobrażona została przez kilka odrębnych lalek jednakowych pod względem tożsamości, ale rozmaicie animowanych: przez pięć, trzy, dwie, wreszcie – jedną osobę (marionetka). Taka różnorodność umożliwia niezwykle interesujące ustawienie relacji lalka – animator. W przypadku animacji pięcioosobowej wypowiedź postaci staruszka przeradza się w specyficzny „wielogłos rozczłonkowany”, raz brzmiący harmonijną polifonią, kiedy indziej jednorodnym chórem. (Małgorzata Koch–Butryn 2001: 29)

Także Krzysztof Grębski ([2006] 2007), pisząc o kłopotach z technikami animacji w spektaklu „zmodyfikowanych odmian” postaci Staruszka, potwierdzał niejasność statusu aktora–lalki:

Elementem wspólnym każdej z nich jest niemal identycznie wyglądająca, wykonana z szarej butafory głowa z wieloma kępkami włosów, charakterystycznymi obwisłymi płatkami usznymi, z lekko podmalowaną farbami twarzą, w której dominują odbijające światło szklane oczy.

Dwie lalki posiadają także mechanizmy umożliwiające poruszanie ustami i brwiami – to lalki ze sceny pierwszej i trzynastej. Oprócz marionetki – występującej w scenie siódmej – nie reprezentują klasycznych technik lalkowych; są raczej ich zmodyfikowanymi odmianami.

Najczęściej w spektaklu pojawia się tzw. lalka poziomowa, której nazwa przyswojona została przez rodzime teatry z nomenklatury występującej w czeskim teatrze lalek. Do niedawna lalki te określane były jako typu bunraku. (Krzysztof Grębski [2006] 2007: 38)

We wspomnianej recenzji Koch–Butryn (2001) fraza o „niekoherencji poszczególnych części ciała” wprawiających „w osłupienie samego ich posiadacza” – jak rozumiem – oznaczała w istocie ruch sceniczny aktorów, którzy łamią oczekiwane, klasyczne konwencje animacji, współkreując postać Staruszka, przy równoczesnej wizualnej autosemii lalki, w czym zasługa scenografki–projektantki lalki oraz reżyserskiego konceptu, odmieniającego status ontologiczny bohatera (i widzów). Staruszek jako podsądny „gra dla siebie i przed sobą”, będąc „osobliwie wyobcowaną intymnością [...] obdarzoną głosem” jak wspomina Hejno, wspierając swój koncept cytatem z Kelery (1988).

Recenzentka „Teatru Lalek” podkreślała odmienne intencje interpretacyjne partytury autorskiej i reżyserskiej:

Różewicz, konstruując plan sceniczny, przydzielił widzom rolę niemych świadków przesłuchania, stawiając ich tym samym po stronie domniemych winowajców, przyszłych oskarżonych zagrożonych przez tak zwany wymiar sprawiedliwości. Staruszek bowiem zwrócony tyłem do publiczności spowiada się ze swego losu, mając za plecami rzeszę ludzi o podobnie mizernych dowodach przewinień. Reżyser wrocławskiego przedstawienia postanowił zachwiać takim porządkiem rzeczy. Kierując wypowiedź oskarżonego w stronę widzów, zmienia jednocześnie ich status. Powołuje ich do roli sędziów, którzy poprzez penetrację ludzkiej duszy mają orzec o istotności oskarżenia. (Małgorzata Koch–Butryn 2001: 30)

Zdaniem autorki Hejno zmodyfikował nie tylko układ scenicznych zdarzeń oraz status bohatera, lecz i pierwotny Różewiczowski projekt inscenizacyjny:

Według koncepcji inscenizacyjnej Różewicza, staruszek grany przez żywego aktora otoczony jest naturalnej wielkości manekinami, niemymi imitacjami człowieka. Z ich martwoty wysnuć można wnioski dotyczące przedmiotowego charakteru składu sędziowskiego, reifikacji, która rozlewa się lawą, ogarniając coraz szersze obszary. Hejno łamie i ten schemat. W jego przedstawieniu jedynie postać staruszka jest lalką. Przynależy więc do świata bezprzykładnego posłuszeństwa. (*Ibidem*)

Ostatnie zdanie zaprzecza – jak się zdaje – późniejszej o akapit konkluzji o samoistnym budowaniu znaczeń przez sugestywną formę autofabularyzacji maski–lalki Staruszka animowanej i niejako *się animującej*:

Animator usytuowany w pozycji istoty kreującej, posiadającej moc sprawczą, powołującą do życia, wchodzi w zależności chwiejące stabilnością jego statusu. Lalka niejednokrotnie spoufala się z animatorem, »szepcząc« mu na ucho pewne intymne treści. Innym razem walczy o prawo do wypowiedzi, domaga się wysłuchania swoich racji. Wdaje się tym samym w nieartykułowana polemikę z własnym kreatorem, a nierzadko wręcz z samą sobą. Ten swoisty dwugłos wewnętrzny, reprezentowany przez poszczególne członki lalki, sublimuje jej istnienie na scenie, dając złudzenie autoekspresji i samowyróżnienia. (*Ibidem*)

Tok adresowanych ku widowni wykonań aktorskich – zdaniem recenzentki – ma swój reżysersko–scenograficzny logos i ewokuje nieustanny tok reinterpretacji. Spektakl uzewnętrznia klasycznie rozumianą strukturę symboliczną lalki i jej niejako autonomiczną autoekspresję równocześnie.

W (*Nie*)śmiesznym staruszk (recenzja wznowienia z 2009 roku) uwypuklono z kolei m.in. napięcia generacyjne. Wymowę spektaklu wpisano w dyskurs „juwenalizacji kultury” (kult „młodości, zdrowia i piękna”):

[...] motyw starości został zepchnięty na margines twórczości artystycznej i stał się tematem tabu, choć starzejące się społeczeństwo jest poważnym problemem współczesnej cywilizacji. Ludzie w podeszłym wieku tworzą w sztuce zaledwie tło, rzadko natomiast odgrywają role pierwszoplanowe. Cóż, schyłek życia wydaje się mało widowiskowy, ale unika się go nie z powodu jego rzekomej nieatrakcyjności – temat ten jest po prostu niewygodny i nieprzyjemny dla widza, ponieważ wywołuje w nim niepokój oraz zmusza do refleksji, tak jak pokrewne starości zagadnienia choroby czy śmierci. (Ilona Matuszczak 2020)

Podłożem kulturowym interpretacji Hejny autorka uczyniła „tragikomiczny ton” porównywany „z humorem z czeskich filmów, w których żart stokroć bardziej potrafi obnażyć tragizm egzystencji niż dramatyczny patos”. Nie padł przy tym konkretny adres filmograficzny; nie jesteśmy (jako czytelnicy) pewni, o jaką część dyskursu na temat czeskiego poczucia humoru chodzi – np. jakże odmiennych kontekstów kulturowych, politycznych i historycznych ekranizacji dzieł Haška, Hrabala czy filmów Zelenki. Tak niekonkretnie uniwersalizująca paralela skutkuje brakiem precyzji w definiowaniu funkcji Staruszka:

[...] nie rozrywce służy ten zabieg, a wyjaskrawieniu przedmiotowości i społecznej degradacji człowieka w podeszłym wieku: niegdyś szanowanego mędrca, dziś – często lekceważonego „ignoranta”. (*Ibidem*)

Nieprecyzyjna zda się także kontekstualizacja charakterystyki bohatera. Oprócz klasycznych dystynkcji („osamotniony emeryt”, „być może Staruszek jest fetyszystą, przede wszystkim jednak cierpi na samotność

podszytą mizantropią i nie potrafi się odnaleźć w zmieniającej go rzeczywistości”, „niewyczerpanie wolny czas spędza w towarzystwie lalek, których jest pasjonatem i kolekcjonerem”) pojawia się kwantyfikator niewiarygodny. Realizowany – zdaniem recenzentki – na scenie „władca marionetek” odsyła nas w dowolny kosmos skojarzeń: powieść Heinleina i jej adaptacja filmowa, płyta Metalliki, powieści Schwartza czy Owen. Sporo możliwych dopełnień popkulturowych nie pozostających w łączności z oryginałem Różewicza w żaden sposób. Krytyczna, metaforyczna figura „marionetki” nie jest bowiem tożsama z wielopostaciowym aktorem–lalką Hejny ani z konfliktem – wpisanym w didaskalia – z „manekinami wielkości naturalnej”.

Dla wymowy spektaklu nie jest ważne to, gdzie dzieje się akcja, ile – czym ona jest. Hejno, rozbijając literacki monolog na sceniczny dialog, przekształcił zeznanie sądowe w osobiste wyznanie. Z tej koncepcji reżyserskiej wyrosła plastyczna, acz dość skromna scenografia Jadwigi Mydlarskiej-Kowal, której głównym elementem są usytuowane w otworach czarnego parawanu cztery popiersia lalek z twarzą tytułowej postaci. Każda z nich jest groteskowo wykrzywiona pod wpływem innej emocji. Taka oprawa plastyczna już na początku ustanawia kontekst sytuacji dramatycznej: tekst wypowiedzany jest przez Staruszkę do siebie, jest jego spowiedzią przed sobą i rozmową ze sobą, co potęguje osamotnienie postaci, ale też zamyka spektakl w poetyckim nawiasie. (*Ibidem*)

Tak opisany monolog wewnętrzny czy też konfesja „lustrzana” mogłaby przeczytać zapiskom Hejny (2013) a także Grębskiego ([2006] 2007), którzy w swoich tekstach przywołują pierwotny, ujawniany w monologu Staruszka kontekst „sądowy”; aktor w swojej dysertacji cytuje fragmenty monologu, w którym pojawia się właściwa przesłuchaniu oskarżonego retoryka (Grębski [2006] 2007: 74), z kolei Wiesław Hejno (2013) opowiada się za swoistym autorskim *stand-upem* aktora–lalki utrzymanym w konwencji teatralnej *true story* czy też dramatu sądowego:

Żadna z postaci składu sędziowskiego nie wypowiada się – to Staruszek wkłada wypowiedzi w usta prokuratora, sędzi i adwokata. W ten sposób prowadzi grę z samym sobą. [...] Tłem tej rozprawy z samym sobą nie jest seksualność Staruszka, lecz jego starzenie się. [...] Przyjmuję – za autorem tekstu – że mamy do czynienia z teatrem w teatrze. (Wiesław Hejno 2013: 210)

Uwzględniając kontekst czasu publikacji poszczególnych publikacji można wysnuć hipotezę, iż autorska rozprawa Hejny na temat realizacji spektaklu w jakiejś mierze uwzględnia interpretacje recenzentów spektaklu.

W innym z tekstów recenzyjnych pojawiają się odmienne paralele kulturowe – bohater spektaklu Wiesława Hejny stawiany jest obok Kafkowskiego Józefa K. We *Wzruszeniu i gorzkim śmiechu* Karolina Augustyniak (2011) pisała z lekką manierą romansową:

Tytułowy bohater przedstawienia niczym Kafkowski Józef K. zostaje postawiony w stan oskarżenia. W obliczu sędziów decyduje się na spowiedź ze swego życia, by uzasadnić swą niewinność. Nastrój osaczenia i alienacji bohatera utrzymuje się przez cały czas dzięki dekoracjom i gwałtownym zmianom światła. Sędziowie, przed którymi staje Staruszek, to postacie potężne, stojące w umieszczonych na wysokości wyłomach; mają groźny wyraz twarzy i rozwiane (niczym Meduza) włosy. (Karolina Augustyniak 2011)

W tekście odnajdujemy kolekcję upoetyzowanych fraz aprobatywnych dla konfesji bohatera („światny tekst Różewicza płynie z jego ust w przepełnionym uczuciami rytmie”, „poznajemy smutny obraz jego

samotności i dzieciennienia” itp.). Autorka uwypukla również wielogłosowość narracji oraz precyzję animacji:

Narracja rozpisana jest zatem na pięć różnych głosów – co widać szczególnie w scenie pierwszej, gdy lalką poruszają wszyscy aktorzy (uzyskując efekt nieskoordynowania ruchów starca). To właśnie precyzja animacji sprawia, że bohater „ożywa” na scenie i wzbudza żywe reakcje publiczności. Samotność Staruszka i jego życiowe zagubienie metaforycznie ukazują też krótkie sceny, w których drewniane, nagie marionetki wspinają się po drabinie, by dotrzeć wprost przed oblicze któregoś z okrutnych sędziów – za każdym razem następuje nieuchronny upadek w dół, wzmocony potężnym hukiem. (*Ibidem*)

Apologetka spektaklu przedstawia skontrastowane i silnie zmetaforyzowane klucze interpretacyjne – „akcenty tragicomiczne” zostały skojarzone z „wieloma odcieniami ludzkiej śmieszności”, „ludzka niewinność okazuje się iluzją, a sprzeciw wobec życia – ponurym faktem”, „Staruszek staje się obrazem prozy życia, w której inni ludzie nie są w stanie przeniknąć naszej samotności”. Rekonstrukcja znaczeń tych fraz bynajmniej nie jest oczywista, a upoetyzowanie opisu postaci bohatera nie wsparte choćby strzępami dialogów.

W historyzującej (*Za*)maskowanej *lalcie* Sylwii Ryś (2022) czytamy o swoiście autonomicznym statusie i niezwykłości projektu Staruszka jako lalki–maski Jadwigi Mydlarskiej–Kowal:

[...] lalka i współczesny teatr lalkowy to kompilacja różnych środków wyrazu – znaków, których zadaniem jest stworzenie plastycznej metafory. Lalka pochodzi ze świata sztuki i przemawia językiem symbolicznym. Jakiegokolwiek naśladownictwo w jej wykonaniu jest z założenia przetworzeniem. Wprowadza do spektaklu nie tylko nieosiągalną dla aktora wartość artystyczną, ale i nieosiągalną dla człowieka wartość egzystencjalną. „Lalka jest tym, czym nie jest” – konkluduje Monika Augustyniak. Nie ma swojej twarzy – nosi „ludzką” maskę. Wymyślona, nienaturalna, dzięki sztuczności podkreśla swoją odrębność. Nie tylko jej twarz jest maską, ona sama pełni taką funkcję. Jest obca zarówno wobec porządku natury, jak i własnego ciała–maski. Wyrażając się poprzez postać, zdejmując kolejne maski, ale nigdy nie dociera do prawdy o sobie. Egzemplifikacja tej funkcji lalki znalazła wyraz w spektaklu *Śmieszny staruszek* zrealizowanym na macierzystej scenie scenografki. [...] lalka to nie tylko postać sceniczna, ale także forma plastyczna, której „aktorstwo” to system znaków składający się na jej własne, oryginalne cechy. Stanowiąc znak plastyczny, lalka, choćby bardzo odzwierciedlała człowieka, nie jest inną wersją aktora. A zatem punktem odniesienia dla teatru lalkowego nie może być w żadnej mierze teatr aktorski. Jadwiga Mydlarska-Kowal [...] przesunęła tę granicę, stawiając tezę, że za pomocą lalek można wyrazić przestrzeń w żadnym stopniu nieodwołującą się do realnego świata, będącą natomiast odbiciem psychiki postaci, przejawem ich podświadomości w świecie materii. Tym różni się ona od tej budowanej na deskach teatrów dramatycznych, że nie istnieje w niej podział na dekorację, lalkę, kostium, aktora – wszystko stanowi bowiem aspekt tej samej rzeczywistości na równych prawach. (Sylvia Ryś 2022: 43)

Jak można domniemywać teatr Hejny i Mydlarskiej–Kowal był swoistym kosmosem nierealistycznych znaków plastycznych rzutujących psychikę bohatera na subtelą tkankę materii – maski, lalki, elementów scenografii. W tak rozumianym teatrze zanika potrzeba rekonstruowania logicznej fabularności czy też spójnej narracji uwikłanej w historyczno – didaskaliowe realia. Widz siada na krześle – i to jest jedyna racjonalna przesłanka opisu obcowania z materią teatru lalek. Wszystko inne jest subiektywną bajkosferą, spsychologizowanym postrzeganiem „wistości tych rzeczy”, samoistnych, jakby rzekł Witkacy.

5.

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Wyprodukowany na Węgrzech z liniowanego papieru, szczęśliwie ocalały notes⁵ z zapisem spektaklu wydaje się partyturą *a rebour* – zapisaną dla pamięci wizualnej i dla ułamków interpretacyjnych swoistą deskrypcją indywidualnego postrzegania, a więc kolekcją niezręcznych piktogramów i strzępów zdań, które nawet po latach mogłyby zainicjować tekst recenzyjny. Oto fragment rekonstrukcji notatek i piktogramów:

Mansjon jest klatką – może szkicem grobowca / altaną – znakiem ograniczonej wolności. Animacje zaczynają umundurowane w czerń figury – grabarze / funkcjonariusze zakładu pogrzebowego / raz agresywni manipulanci, raz służebnicy.

Zaczyna się od kwestii: – *Ta starsza...*

Usta lalki poruszają się asynchronicznie / autonomia mowy czarnych figur – czy to sygnał, czego? – duża ekspresja nieruchomej maski–twarzy.

Tekst R. przerwany „zamarzniętym obrazem” – niczym policyjny obrys trupa kredą – sygnał statusu ofiary? / mini-kontrapunkt wzmocniony sygnałem muzycznym.

Polifonia skargi (animatorzy mówią równocześnie)

Drżąca stopa (mikroepizod) podczas wyrzekania się kobiet – mizoginistyczny lęk przed kobietą, ale i początek studium samotności (tekst powstał w epoce ciasnoty mieszkaniowej – klatka mansjonu to np. dzielone nakazowo mieszkania / agresja lokatorów / por. *Lokator* Polańskiego).

Przez całe życie Bóg mnie chronił od istot płci żeńskiej / Nie znośm obcych dużych organizmów.

Dzieci / dziewczynki jako nosicielki opresji.

Duża ekspresja słowa, lecz nieruchoma maska.

Grzech łakomstwa – spowiedź: samotność kontrastowana narracją o 50 rurkach z kremem – metafora rurki–pustki życia? Nienasycenia?

Syndrom samotności głodu – wgniatanie rurek w twarz (jedzenie dla śmierci, zob. *Odrażający, brudni, źli*).

Co mi po kremie całego świata?

Marzenie o byciu Napoleonem

(powiastka o pokoleniu / nasza mała stabilizacja / ciekawe czy to jakaś reminiscencja pamiętników Rzeckiego)

Jedyna twarz (w lustrze)

Doszedłem do wniosku, że jednak taka twarz jest tylko jedna na świecie.

Żyłem jak wszyscy ludzie (w milczenie? / pokora)

Mówi do aktorów (dialog form i technik)

Drzwi do wielkości

Przemiana w szmatę w sensie organicznym.

Fizjologia to szmacenie się.

5 Recenzencki notes w prywatnym archiwum autora.

Wyjście: lalka „zasypia”.

Blackout / pierwsza śmierć / swoisty udar? / Góralczyk w bieli wynosi lalkę, podest znika.

Groteskowa/burleskowa gra pomiędzy nim a animatorami – on nimi steruje ubrany w fiolet („biskupio” to wygląda)

Nigdy niczego nie próbowałem do końca

W tle obrazy jesieni.

Opowieść o zimie / ślady na śniegu jako dokument samotności / lalka jest tylko torsem.

Sekwencja o poezji wucetowej i rysunkach w WC,

Na tropach pornografii stosowanej. Wraca w czapce pajacyka

Dymy

Wraca postument.

Biała koszula, krawat.

Przypowieść o MPO – „piękno i czystość obowiązkiem każdego obywatela” na beczie nieczystości.

Powrót do WC.

– *Mam cię bratku.*

Biała postać oczyszcza proscenium.

Znów w fioletach – cd traktatu o WC.

Mowa obrończa o lęku politycznym

Finał to wywrócenie lalki na nice – destrukcja.

(muzyka snuje swoją opowieść)

wchodzą w czapeczkach jak Batignolles (ciemno)

On w ciepłym płaszczu (męski płaszcz z futerkiem – pelisa?)

Mowa o lęku / lot na księżyc / perspektywa kosmiczna?

Spacerując opowiada o kolekcjonowaniu lalek.

Ubierałem i rozbierałem lalę

Czasem je karałem po Przebierałem... out.

Zaciemnienie

Wspina się szkieletor po drabinie jak pająk

Zaciemnienie

Na leżaczku

– *jak spędzam czas?*

sugestia podglądactwa

– *na kolano spuścić majtki*

półton na wyjście / po co tyle zerwać?

Staruszek w szelkach jakby autonomiczny / aktor obok

Opowieść o sarniej nóżce

O Ameryce

Fizjologia spalonej lalki / wzruszające?

Zaciemnienie – porzucenie

Nikt już nie ma współczucia dla starego człowieka.

Opresyjność dzieci.

Intrygujący dialog lalki z animatorem / gesty.

– *Ale ja nie będzie świata.*

Biała wynosi lalkę.

W gieźelku jest Hiobem / z Frymetem

Dochodzą inni

cd. o dzieciach

– *Gdy dziewczę ma lat 5* – śpiewają

znów obrys policyjny

chłopcy / dziewczynki

– że plotę i plotę

– a gdzie ty masz ptaszka?

Zawody sportowe. Uprawia i podgląda gimnastykę.

Znów obrys policyjny.

Ćwiczy do lewitacji (animatorzy), gdy opowiada o popisach gimnastycznych.

Piosenka: *Gdy dziewczę ma lat 5*

Umiera? – truchło wynosi Biała.

Wraca jakby niesiony przez kelnera.

O zdrowym rozsądku w garniturze / o złych uczuciach / o perfidnym kłamstwie dzieci”.

To zaledwie fragment notatek recenzenta. Jak się zdaje nawet po latach, stanowią one wcale obfity punkt wyjścia do rekonstrukcji atmosfery spektaklu, jego plastyczności dostrzeganej przez *userów*, jak się dziś mówi, i kreatorów. Z tekstem Różewicza pod ręką dałoby się spektakl powtórnie opisać. Dostrzeżone konteksty mogą posłużyć do pytań o popkulturę. Autonomia bohatera ma w tych notatkach wiele interesujących odcieni, jednak można zauważyć w zapiskach narastającą irytację z powodu zrywanego wewnętrznego rytmu spektaklu – liczne blackouty, impulsy foniczne, akty wnoszenia–wynoszenia postaci, animacja miniaturowych Staruszków niczym mini Pinokiów spowolniają wydarzenia. Warstwa fabularna i interpretacyjna zyskuje na wspomnianych zabiegach niewiele. Zrozumiała wszakże jest intencja reżysera – ukazanie postaci w zmianach. Znikanie i pojawianie się lalki Staruszka w różnych formach bywa niekiedy emocjonalnie nieumotywowane, a przemiany kostiumowe niekonieczne – np. rozpadająca się na dwoje postać z „dziewczynką na trawie” przeczy subtelności możliwej interpretacji.

6.

Filozofując niczym pantokrator na temat relacji autor–reżyser oraz fenomenu lalki i magicznej istoty teatru lalek w *Śmiesznym staruszku*, Wiesław Hejno (2013) napisał:

Staruszek przeżywa różne wydarzenia ze swego życia. Jego »ja« uzyskuje formę w lalce i staje się realne na scenie. Wchodzący widzowie widzą niewielki stolik. Znajduje się na nim ciemna bryła, z której wystają duże stopy, a między nimi opuszczona głowa. To pozostawiona na stoliku figura lalki. Stolik tkwi w przestrzeni wyznaczonej przez konstrukcję sześcioboku z listew, pozbawionego ścian. Z przodu sześcioboku widać półkoliste zwieńczenie – luźne nawiązanie do ołtarza. Z tyłu górują cztery figury znacznej wielkości, umieszczone w gablotach. Wokół czerń. Z głębi wychodzi pięciu aktorów w czarnych ubraniach. Na dłoniach mają białe rękawiczki. Skupiają się wokół stolika. Zbliżają dłonie w kierunku spoczywającej na nim bryły, ujmują gabity i na stoliku wyrasta postać Staruszka. (Wiesław Hejno 2013: 212)

Z tak krótkiego cytatu jak i z całości rozdziału przede wszystkim dowiadujemy się, co należy „widzieć”, bowiem w tę swoistą instrukcję obsługi spektaklu reżyser wpisał także powinności „wchodzących”. Ponadto rozumiemy, jak ustrukturyzowano czasoprzestrzeń, by usamodzielnic byt lalki, autonomizującej się wobec animatorów. Wskazano kierunki interpretacyjne oraz rangę teatru, o której recenzent, czyli widz nie powinien zapominać – w jakiejś mierze nawet zmanipulowano możliwe postrzeganie sensów. Ale do *przepoczwarzania*, *przemiany* i *pantokratyzmu* dodajmy nadto *plastyczność* metafor w Śmiesznym staruszk. Mniejsza o pewną egzaltację mentalną w enuncjacjach na temat pracy Jadwigi Mydlarskiej-Kowal, ważna jest charakterystyka roli i funkcji lalki-maski spod ręki scenografki: nienaturalność rysów, groteskowość, karykaturalność, odbicie psychiki bohaterów (cokolwiek to znaczy), wydobywanie mrocznych zakamarków ich dusz (cokolwiek to znaczy), bezradność wobec przemijania i śmierci, immanentna interakcja z aktorem.

Interesuje mnie teatr angażujący zarazem realizatorów i widzów, teatr magiczny, rytualny [...]. Teatr, który hipnotyzuje. Teatr, gdzie słowo traci nadrzędność. Teatr, który działa na zmysły, intelekt i nerwy. (Jadwiga Mydlarska-Kowal 1988: 31)

A zatem niekonwencjonalność, sztuczność i byt uwolniony, samoistny lalki – oto napięcie inspirujące semiozę spektaklu według komedii, która nie jest komedią, Tadeusza Różewicza.

Konkluzje wydają się oczywiste. Otóż nie ma jednej narracji na temat konkretnego widowiska teatralnego. Nie ma także sposobu, aby spektakl utrwalić na tyle wieloformatowo, by zapis dawał szansę wiarygodnej rekonstrukcji. Magiczne słowo *według* być może zda się jedynym sposobem realizacji tekstu dramatycznego. Wiarygodność krytyka teatralnego powinna być wsparta aktywnością historyczno-detektywistyczną. Teatr lalkowy to niezwykle narzędzie estetyczne i intelektualne. Bogactwo semiotyczne tekstu Różewicza w interpretacji Wiesława Hejny zdumiewa także po latach. A przecież nie wspomnieliśmy słowem o udziale muzyki Zbigniewa Piotrowskiego czy o reżyserii światła. Nie powiedzieliśmy także niczego o zmieniającym się paradygmacie kultury, który uruchamiając konteksty #MeToo czy przemian kulturowych, które zaistniały po eksplozywniej dynamizacji współczesnego feminizmu oraz rekonfiguracji konstruktów osobowości związanych z nowozdefiniowaną seksualnością, pozwoliłby na nowe odczytanie spektaklu, czego w ubiegłym roku dokonała Ewelina Ciszewska ze studentami wrocławskiej filii AST.

Nowa inscenizacja, „zapalając czerwone lamki w naszych głowach” – jak napisał Henryk Mazurkiewicz (2001) na portalu teatralny.pl – dotyczy starości na tle nowej seksualności, ale i odmiennego, społecznościowego modelu uczestniczenia w kulturze, jak się zdaje ze względów politycznych nadal powszechnie patriarchalnej.

Wiesław Hejno dobitnie wyeksponował kręgi piekielne samotnej i bezradnej starości. Proces nieubłagalnie postępującego odklejania się od świata coraz bardziej obojętnego na twoje

cierpienia i przeżycia. Na ten mikrokosmos, którym jesteś w środku. Więc określenie „śmieszny” nieprzypadkowo zniknęło z tytułu wrocławskiej premiery. Z pewnością nie jest to już – jak ironicznie nazwał sztukę autor – komedia w dwóch odsłonach, tylko „monolog rozłożony / na / 19 obrazów / narratora, / 7 mężczyzn i 3 kobiety, / dźwięki, / wokale, / ruchome obrazy / i światło. [...] Staruszek jednak nie wzbudza w początkujących aktorach i aktorkach pogardy czy obrzydzenia, tylko szczere zainteresowanie, może nawet rodzaj troski. Dla nich starość to dość egzotyczny artefakt. [...] W spektaklu panuje oniryczna logika odbić, zniekształceń i multiplikacji. Staruszek, niczym postać z *Alicji w Krainie Czarów*, cały czas zmienia rozmiar. Rozpada się na części, dematerializuje się do samego głosu. (Henryk Mazurkiewicz 2001)

Szczęśliwie jako nosiciel *dość egzotycznego artefaktu* wciąż mogę kupić tom *Teatr 1* z tekstem Tadeusza Różewicza, otworzyć wspomniany notes i ułożyć się ze Staruszkim Różewicza/Hejny na nowo.

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WOJCIECH SOLIŃSKI

Professor emeritus

University of Wrocław, Institute of Polish Philology

zalew.solinski@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0001-8244-3101

**Knapik, Aleksandra R., Piotr P. Chruszczewski
(red.) (2023) *Między tekstem a kulturą. Z zagadnień
interpretacyjnych*. Seria: *Beyond Language* Vol. 7.,
San Diego, CA: Æ Academic Publishing; ss. 943**

A comprehensive volume entitled *Między tekstem a kulturą. Z zagadnień interpretacyjnych* [Between Text and Culture. On Interpretative Issues] edited by Aleksandra R. Knapik and Piotr P. Chruszczewski significantly aligns with contemporary reflection on broadly understood interpretation which seemed to have no limits (cf. Eco 1990; Eco, Rorty, Culler, Brooke-Rose 1992). Yet, it is the same Umberto Eco who seemed to be somewhat confused, if not terrified, by the very expansion of all kinds of overinterpretation or paranoid interpretations. However, the editors of this volume perceive the issue of interpretation not in its “excesses”, but rather in the broad scope of its occurrence.

Keywords: text, culture, interpretation, translation, language

Słowa kluczowe: tekst, kultura, interpretacja, przekład, język

Obszerny, liczący niemal tysiąc stron, tom studiów zatytułowany *Między tekstem a kulturą. Z zagadnień interpretacyjnych*, zredagowany przez wrocławski duet anglistyczny Aleksandra R. Knapik i Piotr P. Chruszczewski, wydany w mającej już pewną renomę serii *Beyond Language*, jako jej tom siódmy, przez Æ Academic Publishing w San Diego, wpisuje się znacząco we współczesną refleksję nad szeroko rozumianą interpretacją, która to zdawała się nie mieć granic (por. Eco 1990; Eco, Rorty, Culler, Brooke-Rose 1992), a to przecież ten sam Umberto Eco zdawał się być ową ekspansją wszelkiego rodzaju *nadintereptacji* (*overinterpretation*), czy *interpretacji paranoicznych* (*paranoid interpretations*) nieco skonfundowany, by nie rzec, przerażony. Jednakże duet redaktorski tego tomu postrzega problematykę interpretacji nie w jej

„ekscesach”, ale raczej w szerokim zakresie jej występowania. Wystarczy przyjrzeć się tytułom siedmiu podstawowych rozdziałów, by dostrzec, że tylko w dwóch z nich nie pojawia się to słowo, ale tylko w tytule, bo już w poszczególnych pracach znajduje się ono zwykle w uwikłaniu z pojęciem szeroko rozumianej translacji nierzadko w rejonach znacznie odległych od poetyckich światów i (za)światów.

Oto, na przykład, w rozdziale VI *O metaforze – przenoszeniu i niedosłowności* owe uwikłania metafory w świat zgola niepoetycki prezentują: Anna Drogosz, *Język jako przekład rzeczywistości na przykładzie teorii Karola Darwina*; Anna Chudzik, *Bolesna energia, toksyczni ludzie. O kreacyjnej sile metafory w opisie emocji i relacji międzyludzkich*; Aleksandra Szwedek, *Co przenosimy w przenośni?*; Rafał Szubert, *Metaforyczna podstawa konstrukcji pojęcia osoby w czystej teorii prawa Hansa Kelsena*, a Władysław Chłopicki próbuje dowieść, że humor może pełnić funkcje, swego rodzaju katalizatora interpretacji biorącego udział w procesie interpretacji rzeczywistości. Przemysław Żywicznyński łączy problematykę komunikacji polisemiotycznej w jej niełatwych związkach szczególnie z filologiczną tradycją studiów nad przekładem. Do zamykającego ten rozdział polemicznego eseju (recenzji) pióra Elżbiety Tabakowskiej jeszcze tu powrócimy.

W tytule rozdziału siódmego *Porozmawiajmy o języku* próżno szukać słowa *interpretacja*, ale jeśli są tam teksty, w których omawia się problematykę bardzo szeroko rozumianej translacji, to jest tam ona obecna, chce się rzec, immanentnie, poczynając od trafnie wybranego fragmentu *Przygód dobrego wojaka Szwejka czasu wojny domowej*, niedokończonej powieści Jaroslava Haška, która, *nota bene*, doczekała się trzech przekładów na język polski. A przecież owa rozmowa o języku zaczyna się od tekstu Janusza Malaka, *Rzeczywistość a język*, w którym pyta o owe zależności odwołując się do klasyków, tu wymienionych w porządku alfabetycznym: Chomsky, Frege, Jakobson, de Saussure. Nieco inną rozmowę proponuje Agnieszka Kocel-Duraj, *Porozmawiajmy o języku... czyli krótka historia całkiem długiej opowieści o dialekcie północnym w kontekście jego statusu i pozycji, a także roli w tłumaczeniu*; a Michał Szawerna, odwołuje się do C. S. Peirce’a by przyjrzeć się komiksowi, *Omówienie komiksowych środków wyrazu jako narzędzi przekładu multimodalnego z punktu widzenia teorii znaków C. S. Peirce’a*. Dominika Topa-Bryniarska wybiera się na wycieczkę w świat filmu, by porozmawiać *O retorycznej funkcji movere w recenzji filmowej, czyli jak tytuł może „tłumaczyć” rzeczywistość*, a Konrad Klimkowski wykracza daleko poza ramy sztuki w kierunku „mowy mediów”: *Media o koronawirusie, czyli o terminologii pośredniej. Implikacje dla tłumaczy pisemnych i ustnych*. Elżbieta Biardzka idzie bodaj jeszcze dalej badając coraz masywniej obecne w sieci dyskursy cyfrowe, rzucające wezwanie tradycyjnie rozumianej lingwistyce (*O tekście w sieci. Poza językiem i dyskursem?*).

W recenzowanym tomie mamy rozdziały nienumerowane, nierzadko całkowicie „centoniczne” jak *Tytułem wstępu* opracowanym przez redaktorski duet, z dialogicznym panelem (Olgi Tokarczuk, Josifa Brodzkiego, Zbigniewa Herberta). *Rozrywki umysłowe* z jedynym tekstem Stanisława Barańczaka, któremu towarzyszą cytaty z Dubravki Ugrešić, Ryszarda Kapucińskiego i Jerzego Wojciechowskiego. Kiedy się weźmie pod uwagę, że tekst Barańczaka ujrzał światło druku w roku 1972, to jego zaduma nad pozorną „łatwością” niektórych wytworów kultury masowej, porównywanych z pozorną nierzadko „trudnością” artefaktów kultury wysokoartystycznej, pozwoli uważnemu czytelnikowi uznać za swego rodzaju antycypację tego, przed czym ostrzega w innym nienumerowanym rozdziale zatytułowanym *Ergo* Timothy Snyder w krótkim eseju, opublikowanym po polsku w roku 2012, pt. *Wierz w prawdę*, który kończy autor pozornie tylko oczywistym i niechronologicznym dla „mieszkańców masowej wyobraźni” naszych czasów, stwierdzeniem, że „Postprawda jest przedfaszyzmem” (s. 831). Ową nie-

chronologiczność „prostują” redaktorzy opatrując tytułem *Faszyzm, który nadchodzi...* następny i ostatni rozdział tomu, którego treść zbudowana jest z samych cytatów, a ich wagę podkreśla lista cytowanych autorów (Roger Griffin, Jan Borowicz, Tamir Bar-On, Jacek Żakowski, Zbigniew Mikołajko i wspomniany wyżej Timothy Snyder).

A skoro o cytowanych nazwiskach mowa: Redakcja łączy te ze świata nauk (literaturoznawstwa, lingwistyki, nauk społecznych, teologii) z tymi ze świata szeroko rozumianej literatury, filozofii, publicystyki. Masywna obecność cytatów – poprzedzających, uzupełniających, okalających poszczególne rozdziały – to cecha wyróżniająca zawartość tego tomu, który sami redaktorzy nazywają antologią i to taką, która przybiera postać centonu konstruowanego wokół dominanty kompozycyjnej, którą stanowią różne przejawy interpretacji. A to oznacza, między innymi, że teksty dobierane są według pewnego klucza, albo nawet *excusez le mot*, wytrycha, albo, łagodniej rzecz ujmując, klucza uniwersalnego, bo owa dominanta ewokuje natychmiast takie pojęcia jak tłumaczenie, wy-tłumaczenie (termin E. Balcerzana), komentarz, wszelkie przejawy przekładu (by pozostać tylko w kręgu tych, wyróżnionych przez R. Jakobsona), interlingwalnego, intralingwalnego i intersemiotycznego. Bo też wśród wspomnianych wyżej rozdziałów numerowanych prym wiodą właśnie translatologiczne. Wspomniany wyżej centon buduje się od początku do końca z antologii z cytatów wyróżnionych drukiem koloru magenta. I dlatego nie można pominąć bogatej szaty ikonograficznej, inwencji edytorskiej graniczącej z tym, co określa się dzisiaj mianem liberatury, bo nawet tasiemeczki służące jako zakładki nieprzypadkowo, jak wolno mniemać, są w kolorach flagi Ukrainy.

Pierwszy z rozdziałów numerowanych *O reportażu – interpretacji rzeczywistości* zawiera prace praktyków/klasyków: Hanny Kral, *Cztery miliony szachistów*, Ryszarda Kapuścińskiego, fragment z *Imperium*, i praktyków/teoretyków/historyków reportażu: Wojciech Góreckiego, *Reportaż jako narzędzie poznawania świata: luźne obserwacje reportera*, Jędrzeja Morawieckiego, *Tłumacz się z reportażu – o ile istnieje* Jacka Hugo-Badera, *Reporter – tłumacz z drogi i Szamańskie stosy*, Piotra Chruszczewskiego, *Reportaż narracyjny pióra Jacka Hugo-Badera jako interpretacja*, Urszuli Glensk, *Literatura gorsza – o trzech założeniach interpretacyjnych*, Igora Borkowskiego, *Reportaż. Fenomen mediacji*. Problematyka w nich poruszona da się zapewne zakwalifikować do kategorii faktów literackich określanych często, nie tylko przez semiologów, mianem *czytania świata*, ale też służy wysubtelnieniu problemów genologicznych gatunku piśmiennictwa wcześniej określanych mianem *pogranicza literatury*. Tutaj tylko gwoli przypomnienia „funeralne rozterki” Oriany Fallaci: umarła reporterka czy (powieść)pisarka?

Za taką *lekturę świata* można, całą rzecz znacznie upraszczając, uznać teksty zebrane w rozdziale piątym zatytułowanym *O rzeczywistości – w literackiej interpretacji*, którego tytuł może wydać się mylący, bo nie wskazujący bezpośrednio na dominującą w tym tomie problematykę translacji i translatologii. A przecież esej Tadeusza Sławka „Trzymać mowę”. *Przekład, literatura i świat realny*, czy Hansa Sauera, *Tłumacz samego siebie. Deklaracja ego i autobiografia w angielskim średniowieczu: między konwencją a indywidualizmem*, wreszcie Joanny Esquibel, *Granice autorstwa a wolność przekładu: o swobodzie interpretacyjnej twórców historii w Anglii średniowiecza*, prezentują janusowe oblicze różnych praktyk translacyjnych i różnych teorii translatologicznych. Całość rozdziału twórczo rozwijają i uzupełniają prace badaczy wrocławskich: Macieja Gorczyńskiego na temat specyficznego pojmowania *historii i powtórzenia* w prozie W. G. Sebald, pisarza nieźle już polskiej publiczności czytającej znanego, ale wciąż mało poznanego, Wojciecha Browarnego o tym jak tzw. marginalne prozy T. Różewicza uzupełniają jego życiopisanie, czy Leszka Pułki próbującego nakreślić konterfekt pisarza w XXI wieku. Zamykający ten

rozdział *Rekonesans metodologiczny* Konrada Dominasa na temat zależności między mitem, literaturą a popkulturą wyprowadza poruszaną w nim problematykę, już to kierunku uwag Barańczaka, już to prowadzi do zadumy nad interdyscyplinarnością całego tomu.

Rozdziały drugi, trzeci i czwarty to domeny bardzo szeroko rozumianej translacji i translatologii. Bo to właśnie refleksja przekładoznawcza, która od pewnego czasu znana jako *Translation Studies*, nie tylko dlatego, że też od pewnego czasu – również w tzw. humanistyce – wszystko jest *studies*, zajmuje miejsce szczególne. I to właśnie owe studia, w naturalny sposób wchłaniające problematykę interpretacji, zdają się patronować zawartości tej antologii (bo nią w istocie jest, choćby z uwagi na liczne, ważne, przedruki). Ma to, jak wolno mniemać, między innymi związek z żywiołowym rozwojem przekładu, do niedawna jeszcze określanego mianem *przekładu maszynowego*, czyli aktywności, by ją tak nazwać, praktycznej, wiążącej się z przekładem rozumianym głównie jako czynność tłumaczenia, mająca zmierzać do wszechstronnego udoskonalenia efektu końcowego owej czynności. Dzisiejsze studia nad przekładem wchłonęły też tradycyjną teorię, historię i krytykę przekładu, szczególnie kiedy myśli się o *przekładzie literackim*, często zwanym także *artystycznym*, przez długie lata dominującym, obok przekładu ksiąg natchnionych i filozoficznych w refleksji translatologicznej. By rzecz ująć krótko: nad całością owych studiów swego rodzaju patronat sprawuje od pewnego czasu, czy się to komuś podoba, czy nie, tzw. *sztuczna inteligencja*. Ale skoro już o „metamorfozach” translatologii mowa, to trzeba koniecznie zwrócić uwagę na obecny w tomie tekst Elżbiety Tabakowskiej, dobitnie akcentujący, że przerzucanie mostów komunikacyjnych między lingwistyką kognitywną, przekładoznawstwem i teorią literatury, bywa czasem, łagodnie rzecz ujmując, nieproste (por. *Kłopoty komunikacyjne na moście. Przekładoznawstwo, językoznawstwo i teoria literatury*, s. 706–712).

Tak, czy inaczej, nie tylko o przekładzie ksiąg wszelakich mowa jest w recenzowanym tomie. Wystarczy przyjrzeć się bliżej zawartości rozdziału IV *O obrazie – w języku, przekładzie, sztuce*, w którym elitarne grono autorek i autorów wyprowadza problematykę translatologiczną daleko poza ramy nakreślone kiedyś przez Romana Ingardena, którego interesował wyłącznie przekład ksiąg. Wolno sądzić, że autorkom i autorom tego tomu patronuje raczej Roman Jakobson, który wyprowadził refleksję nad przekładem i tłumaczeniem z „systemu książki” w „ikonosferę”, szeroko tu rozumianego przekładu intersemiotycznego, godnie tu reprezentowanego pracami Elżbiety Tabakowskiej, Ewy Rajewskiej, Agaty Hołobut, Jerzego Jarniewicza, Miry Żelechower-Aleksion, Moniki Piechoty, Justyny Bajdy, Małgorzaty Tryuk. Do ich prac przyjdzie nam tu jeszcze powrócić.

Przy czym podkreślić należy, że redaktorzy postarali się o to, by mniej więcej symetrycznie obsłużyć wszystkie instancje komunikacji translatorskiej: nadawcę/autora – tłumacza/„drugiego autora” – badacza/krytyka – odbiorcę/odbiorcę „fachowca”. Bo też czytający zgromadzone w tomie teksty, nie tylko zresztą, translatolog zada sobie zapewne, odwieczne, chce się rzec, pytanie: dlaczego się tłumaczy i dla kogo się tłumaczy? Czy przekład „zastępuje” czytelnikowi oryginał, czy też czytany jest „obok” oryginału? Bo przecież inne są priorytety tłumaczy i czytelników ksiąg natchnionych (por. w rozdziale III *O Biblii – w przekładzie i interpretacji*, (por. Aleksandry R. Knapik, *Rogaty Mojżesz w przekładzie św. Hieronima – pomyłka w tłumaczeniu czy uzasadniona decyzja tłumacza?*; Tomasza P. Krzeszowskiego, *Żydzi w Biblii, czyli uporczywy anachronizm*; Isaiaha Grubera, *Język Biblii a relacje polsko-żydowskie*), inne zaś odbiorców tłumaczeń ksiąg „bez aureoli”. Monikę Opalińską i Marcina Majewskiego kulturowe zależności modlitwy *Ojczy nasz* w tradycji łacińskiej i semickiej. Na marginesie tych dwóch prac warto

zauważyć, że tylko Opalińska odwołuje się do monumentalnej pracy Jana Choroszego, *Ojciec nasz – nasz. Przekłady, parafrazy i inne literackie opracowania Modlitwy Pańskiej* (Choroszy 2008).

Przekład jest, jak się rzekło, protagonistą tego tomu. Prace zawarte w rozdziale drugim *O przekładzie – i (nie)przykładowej interpretacji*, prezentują jego przeróżne oblicza, poczynając od pytań zasadniczych Karola Zielińskiego, *Czy przekładanie autorów antycznych ma sens?* A kończąc, pobrzmiewającym echem znanego tekstu Jonasza Kofty, pytaniem Aleksandra Szwedka czy *Tłumaczyć każdy może?* Że odpowiedź na to drugie pytanie nie jest, co było do udowodnienia, oczywista, przekonują: Teresa Szostek, *O przekładzie słów kilka. Obraz twórczego wpływu przekładu na kulturę literacką, zilustrowany pracą paru translatorów oraz kilkoma dziełami powstałymi na przestrzeni dziejów*; Magdalena Kizeweter i Anna Wojtyś, *Dramat Szekspira i Fletchera w adaptacji scenicznej. Przekład The Two Noble Kinsmen na język polski*; Paweł Bąk, *O dobrym przekładzie. Refleksja na temat kreatywności tłumacza na przykładzie warsztatu Karla Dedeciusa*; Tomasz Piekot, *Upraszczenie tekstu jako tłumaczenie* i Agata Kowalska Szubert, *Traktat o duszonej marchewce. Próba typologii błędów w tłumaczeniach*.

O zawartości rozdziału trzeciego, poświęconego przekładom i interpretacjom Biblii była tu już mowa. W tym miejscu powtórzyć można jeszcze, że rozdział ten w oczywisty sposób lokuje się w sferze przekładu międzyjęzykowego. Podobnie jak omówiony wyżej rozdział drugi, w którym podobnie jak w rozdziale trzecim mamy do czynienia z „wycieczkami” w kierunku przekładu wewnątrzjęzykowego. Zresztą przyjdzie się zgodzić, że granice pomiędzy trzema wyróżnionymi przez Jakobsona sferami, obecnymi w tym zbiorze, trudno wytyczyć granice; są to raczej „kresy”, czyli – idąc za terminologią Jacka Kolbuszewskiego – tereny właściwie „bezkresne”, bo przecież także w rozdziale IV nie wszystkie eseje poświęcone są „klasycznej” ekfrazie. Wyraźnie zaznacza się tam myśl przekładoznawcza Elżbiety Tabakowskiej nie tylko w jej pracy *Obraz gramatyki i gramatyka obrazu*, ale także w artykule Ewy Rajewskiej, *Przekład słowa, przekład obrazu: Myśl przekładoznawcza Elżbiety Tabakowskiej*, której wprowadza w lekturę antologii prac „mistrzyni studiów nad przekładem w ujęciu kognitywnym” (s. 323). Nie sposób nie zauważyć (wystarczy zajrzeć do Indeksu postaci), że Elżbieta Tabakowska na swój sposób patronuje całemu przedsięwzięciu). Jerzy Jarniewicz pyta *Jak zobaczyć jądro ciemności, czyli o intersemiotycznym przekładzie powieści Conrada*, a Małgorzata Tryuk *Czym jest tłumaczenie audiowizualne*. Wierne problematyce dość szeroko rozumianej ekfrazy pozostają: Agata Holobut, *Tłumacząc Picassa*; Mira Żelechower-Aleksion i Monika Piechota, które rozmawiają *O sztuce przekładu i przekładzie w sztuce*, ilustrując rozważania reprodukcjami dzieł wrocławskiej artystki. Bodaj najbliższa „klasycznej” problematyce ekfrazy jest Justyna Bajda badająca zależności między obrazem, słowem a dźwiękiem w transpozycjach *Wyspy umarłych* Arnolda Böcklina w świetle badań interdyscyplinarnych, wzbogacającą przecież ową problematykę o udział dźwięku.

Wśród autorek i autorów cytowanych w ramach wspomnianego wyżej centonu znajdują się poeci o wielkich nazwiskach (Josif Brodski, Zbigniew Herbert, Wisława Szymborska, Tadeusz Różewicz), ale najczęściej cytowany jest urodzony w 1957 roku Jerzy Wojciechowski, obecny niemal we wszystkich rozdziałach. Wśród autorów centonu nie brak prozaików, przy czym rzuca się w oczy znacząca obecność piór różnorodnych (Jaroslav Hašek, Anthony De Mello, Wiesław Myśliwski, George Orwell, Olga Tokarczuk, Dubravka Ugrešić, Liao Yiwu). Owa, wspomniana wyżej „bezkresność” powoduje we współczesnej refleksji humanistycznej rozpoznaną już jakiś czas temu interdyscyplinarność, ale też wspomnianą wyżej „bezkresność”, albo – jeszcze inaczej – mieszanie się zakresów poszczególnych *studies*.

W tej pracy, jak w przysłowiowej już niemal soczewce, widać, że tłumaczenie, przekład oraz interpretacja stanowią istotne elementy naszego funkcjonowania w rzeczywistości¹. I pewnie dlatego znalazł się w tym tomie wspomniany już poetycko-prozatorski centon. Czy jest to jednak, jak głosi definicja słownikowa tej hybrydycznej formy „utwór skomponowany z cytatów wyjętych z innych dzieł, najczęściej klasycznych, dobrze znanych odbiorcy i łatwo rozpoznawalnych” (Okopień-Sławińska 1998, 74-75), tu mający łączyć „wszystko ze wszystkim”?

Dlatego też, na zakończenie uważam za konieczne dodać, że nie zazdroszczę Redakcji tomu mozołu, z jakim przychodziło im przypisywać poszczególne prace poszczególnym rozdziałom. Uznaję te starania za poszukiwanie kresów (bo przecież nie granic) w świecie bez kresów. A taki wydaje się być świat współczesnej/ponowoczesnej refleksji humanistycznej/posthumanistycznej.

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1 * Piszący te słowa zatytułował prowadzone przez siebie, przed laty, seminarium magisterskie „skromnie” *Przekład czyli ... wszystko*.

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