BEYOND PHILOLOGY

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
OF LINGUISTICS, LITERARY STUDIES
AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

13

BEYOND PHILOLOGY 13

Contents

LINGUISTICS

Beats-and-binding topics in the (mor)phonology of {ex-} in English and Spanish

MAŁGORZATA HAŁADEWICZ-GRZELAK

Abstract

This paper discusses an example of a lenitive scenario in a case study of voicing of the Latinate /ks/ cluster in the prefix {ex-} and the <x> of some other English forms. The analytical problem under discussion is part of a larger issue of /s/ voicing in English, criss-crossing with another intricate topic: English prefixation (cf. Haładewicz-Grzelak 2014a, b, c, 2015a, b). Here I concentrate on the aspect whereby the cluster /ks/ denoted graphically as <x> is voiced [gz] when stress follows, but not in productive <ex-> formations or in certain derivatives of forms with [ks]. The process is contrasted with the homophonic realizations in Castilian Spanish. The analysis proceeds within the paradigm of Beats-and-Binding phonology (cf. e.g. Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 1995, 2002, 2009), which is a syllable-less model in the paradigm of Natural Phonology. I propose that the tonic beat in Prototypical Stress Timed languages contains a stress concentrator (Σ) which can propagate onto a binding to the pre-tonic consonant, causing lenition. In the first stage of the analysis seven phonological algorithms are identified. In the subsequent stages of the study they are narrowed to only four, and in the last stage, to account for the encountered regularities, I show that what actually happens is a question of activating one and the same lenitive process. The database for the study is a corpus of the realizations of prefixes ending with a consonant + /s/ collected from various English and Spanish pronunciation dictionaries (RP English and Castilian Spanish) as well as recorded realizations of two native speakers.

(Mor)phonologie de {ex-} en anglais et en espagnol
dans le cadre de phonologie de battements et liaisons

Résumé

L'article concerne un exemple de lénition dans une étude du
voisement de <x> (/ks/) dans le préfixe d'origine latine {ex-} et dans
d'autres réalisations de ce groupe consonantique dans l'anglais
contemporain. Le phénomène analysé fait partie d'un thème plus
large qui concerne le voisement du /s/ dans la langue anglaise. Par
exemple, quand il y a une voyelle accentuée après le groupe en
question, le /ks/ devient un [gz] voisé, mais cela n'a pas lieu dans le
même environnement phonotactique pour les lexèmes avec {ex-}
qui sont créés en tant que processus synchroniquement actif.
L'interprétation phonologique présentée ci-dessous est basée sur la
phonologie des battements et des liaisons (*Beats and Binding
Phonology*) de Dziubalska-Kołaczyk (p.ex. Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 1995,
2002, 2009) : un modèle phonologique sans syllabes qui s'inscrit
dans le paradigme de la Phonologie Naturelle. Selon la présente
étude, le battement tonique dans les langues accentuelles
prototypiques comporte un concentrateur d'accent (Σ) qui peut être
introduit dans la liaison avec la consonne pré-tonique, en
provoquant sa lénition (adoucissement). Dans la première étape de
l'étude, je propose, en tant qu'un problème descriptif, une typologie
de sept algorithmes phonologiques concernant le thème du préfixe
{ex-}. L'analyse permet de réduire le nombre des types de
changements à quatre et dans un second temps, à deux manières
dont la phonologie réagit à un environnement phonétique donné :
soit la lénition est incluse, soit le processus n'est pas activé. La base
de donnés pour l'analyse est constituée par le corpus des réalisations
des préfixes terminant par une consonne + /s/ recueilli des
dictionnaires de prononciation de la langue anglaise (RP) et espagnol
(castilien). J'utilise aussi deux enregistrements des personnes
anglophones (anglaises).

Morfonologia przedrostka {ex-}
w angielszczyźnie i hiszpańszczyźnie
z perspektywy fonologii bitów i wiązań

Abstrakt

W artykule zajmuję się przykładem lenicji w studium udźwięcznienia <x> (/ks/) w przedrostku łacińskiego pochodzenia {ex-}, jak również w innych realizacjach tej zbitki we współczesnej angielszczyźnie. Analizowane zagadnienie stanowi część szerszego kontrowersyjnego tematu udźwięcznienia /s/ w angielszczyźnie. Na przykład, gdy po docelowej zbitce występuje akcentowana samogłoska, następuje udźwięcznienie /ks/ do [gz], jednakże nie ma tego udźwięcznienia w produktywnych derywatach z {ex-} w takim samym fonotaktycznym środowisku. Przedstawiona poniżej interpretacja fonologiczna ugruntowana jest w fonologii uderzeń i wiązań (*Beats-and Bindings Phonology*) opracowanej przez Dziubalską-Kołaczyk (np. Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 1995, 2002, 2009): bezsylabowym modelu fonologicznym, wpisującym się w paradygmat Fonologii Naturalnej. W badaniu postuluję, że uderzenie toniczne w prototypicznych językach taktowanych akcentem zawiera koncentrator akcentu (Σ), który może być wyprowadzony na wiązaniu do spółgłoski pre-tonicznej powodując jej lenicję (osłabienie). W pierwszym etapie badania, jako problem opisowy, wyszczególniam siedem algorytmów fonologicznych odnoszących się do tematu przedrostka {ex-}. Przeprowadzona analiza pozwala na stopniowe zawężenie ilości typów zmian do czterech, a następnie do dwóch sposobów, na jakie fonologia reaguje na dane środowisko fonotaktyczne: włączenie procesu lenicji lub brak aktywacji tego procesu. Bazę danych do analizy stanowi korpus realizacji przedrostków kończących się na spółgłoskę + /s/ wyekscerpowany ze słowników wymowy języka angielskiego (RP) i hiszpańskiego (kastylijski). Korzystam również z własnych nagrań dwóch osób anglojęzycznych (Anglików).

Słowa kluczowe

fonologia bitów i wiązań, lenicja, przedrostek {ex-} w angielszczyźnie, uderzenie toniczne, udźwięcznienie

1. Introduction

> Thus in the interface of phonology and morphology, criteria can be used to assign rules either to phonology or morphology, although morphologization of phonological rules is not of an all-or-nothing type
>
> (Dressler 1985: 47)

This article contributes to a wider phonological discussion on the relation between stress and lenition processes (as voicing) in English.[1] The analytical problem that the paper seeks to address is in an attempt to conflate various issues in the morphophonology of {ex-} which have so far not been related in one scenario. In particular, it concentrates on words prefixed with the morpheme {ex-} as a subset of the more complex phenomenon of /s/ voicing in English and the morphophonology of Latinate prefixation in RP English.

The special phonological property that I propose to account for is the lenitive stress-dependent voicing that is implied in English cluster /ks/ denoted by the grapheme <x>. This Latinate cluster is voiced ([gz]) when stress follows, but not in productive <ex-> formations or in certain derivatives of forms with [ks]. This fact means extending the analysis beyond the

---

[1] The present discussion is part of a larger project on English Latinate prefixation and on /s/ voicing in English. Some aspects of the research were presented at the Olomouc Linguistic Colloquium (Olinco 2013, 6-8 June) and 47th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea (11-14 September 2014, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland) and the LXXIV Zjazd PTJ (Zielona Góra, 12-13 September 2016). I would like to thank the participants for their comments and suggestions. This analysis builds on the insights on the pronunciation of {ex-} in English in Sobkowiak (1997: 66). All translations in the paper are mine, MHG.

mere prefixal status of *ex.* Pursuing a hypothesis of lenition of the basic voiceless realization as entailed by the vicinity of the stressed vowel, I collapse the collected data into a set of seven types, which are then reduced into four patterns, based on their phonological behaviour. Finally, I show that in all the observed phenomena only two algorithms are operative: one where stress-dependent lenition is triggered, and one in which lenition does not occur.

This stress-driven lenition is phonologically attributed to the fact that the binding relation in English has an additional property, formalized here as a *stress concentrator*. In other words, it is proposed that Stress-Timed languages (such as e.g. English) are able to propagate certain irregularities in the binding structure (formalized as stress concentrators – Σ) that can influence the phonological behaviour of the cluster in tonic beats. Additionally, the analysis captures some issues of the pronunciation of the glottal fricative in these contexts. The analysis is couched within the Beats-and-Binding framework, a branch of Natural Phonology, and the notion of a stress concentrator is my epistemological proposal for the model.

I am aware that /s/ voicing in English is a vast and controversial topic, in particular when coupled with the conundrum of the stress sensitivity of English prefixes. The work can thus be placed at the intersection of three larger phonological topics: i) lenition and voicing (see e.g. Keating 1984, for an exhaustive cross-linguistic overview of voicing), ii) English prefixation (cf. Chomsky and Halle' s SPE; see also Scheer 2011; Rakić 2007 for an overview) and iii), stress and morphononological change (e.g. Largeberg 1999).[2] There are also implications from diachrony: which patterns have been borrowed from French, which directly from Latin and which are idiosyncratic

---

[2] The discussion reported below is purely morphonological, although the results point to the need to pursue the analysis for the phonetic (acoustic) as well as quantitative perspective (e.g. with productivity measures). For phonetic work on the voicing status of fricatives in English, see e.g. Smith (1997); Stevens et al. (1992).

English developments. It is thus understandable that not all the issues that have arisen can be analytically attended to at this stage of the research. Crucially, the research has shown the multilayered nature of the processes affecting Latinate {ex-}: on the one hand, it seems to be a morphonological issue (there is definitely no phonological active process in contemporary English that regularly voices obstruent groups in the position after the stressed vowel), on the other hand, no other prefix that ends in /s/ shows this pattern of stress-related lenition (as opposed to SPE).

Finally, Chomsky's canonical generative analysis subsumes /-ks-/ voicing under a more general set of laxing rules for /s/ voicing (cf. *SPE* 229 ff.). Since the relevant SPE rule (119) does not conflate the three distinct environments into one coherent explanation, but only lists disjunctive contexts, and secondly, there have been notable attempts to concentrate exclusively on the Latin /ks/ cluster (e.g. Hall 1946), so this discussion focuses solely on the {ex-} prefix as part of a larger project of B&B insights into English /s/ voicing in the context of English Latinate prefixation (cf. Haładewicz-Grzelak 2014).

The discussion makes use of Spanish cognates for the English target lexemes. There are two main reasons for adducing Spanish data in the analysis. First of all, both English and Spanish have a large Latinate component in their respective lexica, hence there is an opportunity to trace and compare the divergent phonological processes operative in the respective languages. Secondly, these two languages stand in opposition in a variety of accepted linguistic taxonomies, the most crucial for this study being the division introduced by Dauer (1983) into stress-based (SB) and non-stress based languages (NSB), which constitutes a modification of an earlier division into stress-timed and syllable-timed languages respectively. From such a perspective English, in all its diachronic development, has displayed features of being stress-based, achieving in its modern version the status of a paradigmatic representative of the group. Spanish, in turn, is placed close to the other end of

the scale, being classified as a typical non-stress based language.

None of the generative phonological studies accessible to me which deal with English affixation mention where they took the data from for their phonological claims. The material for this phonological analysis comes primarily from a variety of dictionaries, in both paper and electronic form. Also used were online sources for checking pronunciation (e.g. Forvo) and for in-depth specialized vocabulary searches. Most of these sources are listed at the end of the References under "other sources". As additional support, recordings of realizations by a native speaker were used for concatenations which did not appear in dictionaries (e.g. *ex-Hitlerian with ex-immigrant*), for nonce words (e.g. *rhinegress*), and to corroborate basic, dictionary versions. Since the research presented here relates to phonology rather than phonetics, dictionaries appeared to offer an ideal source of data, and had the added advantage that the lexicographers' transcriptions indicated whether a given realization was the only acceptable one or whether there were other options as in the case of many items with {trans-}). Besides, asking a native speaker to pronounce such an item would not eliminate the possibility of their producing an idiosyncratic realization at odds with a more valid dictionary entry. For this reason, there was no attempt to solve ambiguities in dictionary entries by checking for idiosyncratic pronunciations from NS informants.[3]

---

[3] As proposed during the discussion after this presentation at the SLE session on prefixes, there is a possibility to use material excerpted from corpora. I see two potential problems with this strategy. First, there is a scarcity of spoken corpora which are also accessible in audio format (although, the Forvo website I used, could in a sense be thought of as a sort of a corpus, where volunteers leave recordings of their own pronunciation of lexemes). Secondly, I was interested 'in compliance with the NP tenets' in the existence /absence of process as such, or rather: in preference of the occurrence of a process. This is why 'external evidence' was much more valuable: a list of nonce words I devised, which could not be encountered in any corpus. Also, as Prof. Dziubalska-Kołaczyk suggested, of merit would be preparation of a psycholinguistic experiment to check the assimilations. I fully agree with

2. The analytical problem:
   {ex-} as an instance of /s/ voicing in English

The core descriptive fact in the paper is not new: the fact that in RP English /s/ becomes [z] before stressed vowels has been described in phonological literature before from many different perspectives. An acclaimed example of a diachronic analysis of <ex>, although not on English data, is Hall (1942), who examines the geographical distribution of words whose Latin etyma contained -*ks*- across Italian dialects. In that analysis he uses 11 main etymological types from Italian maps of isoglosses: (Lat.) *axale* – (It.) *sala, axe – asse, coxa coscia, examen – sciame, ex-sūcāre – asciugare, fraxinu – frassino, laxāre – lasciare, saxu – sasso, sexaginta –sessanta, taxu- tasso, tessere – texere* (Hall 1942: 118). Crucially, Hall concludes there is a similarity between the /ks/ cluster and the /kt/ one.

Westbury and Keating (1986) provide an overview and discussion on the natural aspects of voicing as such. These scholars address the question of whether it is more natural for stop consonants to be voiced or voiceless through a breath stream control model ("an explicit model of the articulatory mechanism to simulate the likely effects of voicing of a variety of articulatory conditions" , Westbury and Keating 1986: 146). The key assumption is to consider stops in a variety of contexts (word medially, initially and word finally). For example, "relatively high and steady subglottal pressure in medial position [...], makes voicing more natural than voicelessness" (Westbury and Keating 1986: 157).

A particularly exhaustive coverage of the issue of /s/ voicing in English has been given in SPE (Chomsky and Halle 1968: 228). The rule is stated as follows:

---

this comment yet this issue, as a purely phonetic investigation, is left to be pursued in future projects.

[1]

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cor} \\ +\text{strid} \\ +\text{cont} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{voice}] \qquad / \qquad \begin{bmatrix} V = \_V \\ [+\text{tense V}] \_V \\ Vk\_V \end{bmatrix} \begin{array}{l} \text{(a)} \\ \text{(b)} \\ \text{(c)} \end{array}$$

Briefly, in [1] Chomsky and Halle basically describe the three environments in which English /s/ can be voiced. One is intervocalically following the "=" boundary - (a), the next context (b) is intervocalically and intra-morphemically following a tense vowel and (c), in the environment:), in the environment vowel /k/ _ and stressed vowel. The rule given here as [1] is nothing but a concise description of the observed facts, without any attempt to find any common denominator of the observed phenomena.[4] The discussion reported below does in-

---

[4] There is of course a plethora of generative contemporary work on the topic, e.g. proposing that {ex} in hyphenated words is a separate phonological word, or a phase-head. For example, Booij (2012[2005]) says the following: "we might explain this by assuming that the domain of this rule of assimilation is the phonological word. The prefix *in-*can be considered as a cohering prefix and the prefix *non-* as a non-cohering prefix. Hence, the rule of assimilation will apply only to the prefix in- since it forms one phonological word with the stem, a domain in which the assimilation rule can apply" (Booij 2012 [2005]: 303, notations as in the original) (cf. e.g. Scheer 2011; Rakić 2007 for an overview and critique of a phonological word). From an NP perspective, this is not really an explanation but a type of heuristic post hoc description. The statement that a given prefix is a separate phonological word or a phase head, or is cohering / stress-shifting, does not entail at least an attempt to say *why* it should be a separate phonological word or a phase head. The difference between a description and an interpretation is that a description cannot be falsified; a description, however, is not a scientific theory but data seeking an explanation. Zirkel (2010) crucially points out that although prefixes could be assigned to various strata, a number of prefixes, such as for example re-, de-, sub- and others, "are assumed to belong to strata 1 and 2 at the same time. As a consequence, the vast majority of potential prefix-prefix combinations do not violate level ordering and only very few combinations of prefixes can actually be ruled out. Stratal models are not considered any further in the present study, as they are assumed to be even less successful in explaining the distribution of attested versus unattested prefix combinations than they have proven to be with regard to suffixes" (Zirkel 2010: 241). Follow the same reference for an exhaustive review of parsability in English suffixes, as well as a discussion on the relation of the distribution of attested versus unattested prefix combinations via selec-

deed assume that the processes affecting the morpheme {ex-} in English are connected to the topic of English /s/ voicing. This stage of the analysis only concentrates on one small aspect of English /s/ and hopes to capture regularities and generalizations which have so far not been proposed in phonological analyses within this fragment of the /s/ voicing issue.

3. The analytical paradigm

In order to describe the role of rhythm in the behavior of the prefixes under study, I have chosen the Beats-and-Binding model (B&B henceforth) as a functional paradigm which allows for a capturing of preferential shades in phonological processes.[5] Beats-and-Binding Phonology, developed by Dziubalska-Kołaczyk (e.g. 1995, 2002, 2009) is a syllable-less phonological model, grounded in Natural Phonology.[6] As an explanatory model based on Natural Linguistics, it necessarily presupposes a functional epistemology. The model assumes two basic func-

---

tional restrictions. Her results suggest that "prefixes are structurally less heavily restricted than suffixes. If two-prefix combinations are problematic in terms of selectional restrictions, this is almost always due to semantic reasons. The vast majority of prefix combinations found to be attested are structurally and semantically acceptable, but as a high proportion of acceptable combinations is unattested, it is assumed that selectional restrictions alone cannot account for the combinability of prefixes. Thus, there must be further factors at work that prevent speakers from combining prefixes" (Zirkel 2010: 260).

[5] The same analytical architecture was used in the studies reported in Haładewicz-Grzelak (2014b, 2015). The following section is a recapitulation of some of the theoretical underpinnings exposed in those works.

[6] A comprehensive account of B&B theory can be found in e.g. Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2009 (see also Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 1995, 2002), hence I will limit myself here to remarks of a very general nature which will facilitate the understanding of the analytical framework used in this study. For example, B&B assumes that "[t]he structure usually referred to as "the syllable" in standard syllable models here is epiphenomenal or indeed emergent due to principled phonotactic forces. The latter are responsible for different degrees of intersegmental cohesion which, in turn, determines the behaviour of segments and creates the impression of syllable structure" (Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2009: 57). See also references to classic studies/theories of the syllable within the domain of Natural Phonology in Donegan and Stampe (1978).

tions of language – communicative and cognitive. The communicative function subsumes two main expedients of phonology: perceptibility and pronunciability.

In B&B the diverging phonotactic preferences of languages are regarded as originating at the level of rhythmic preferences – Level 0. Since such preferences constitute the framework of the phonological structure, they are of crucial importance for phonological analysis. According to B&B, the type of isochrony in a given language conditions the binding preferences of that language. "Languages have a wide spectrum of choices ranging from the simplest beat-timing to more complex stress-timing, against the background of a universally preferred trochaic rhythm" (Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 1995: 66). In B&B, Spanish belongs to Non Prototypical Beat Timed languages (henceforth NPBT) while English is a Prototypical Stress Timed language (henceforth PST); this taxonomy will be used throughout the paper.

According to B&B, the smallest functional unit of phonology is the beat. "A beat is a unit rather than a measurement or device (...) and as such needs some referent in phonetic reality (...). In Beats-and-Binding phonology a beat is *a regularly recurring skeletal prosodic unit of phonological representation, of a size corresponding to that of a segment*" (Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2002: 86). The primary rhythm units are feet, the beats being their constituents. The universal preference is a trochaic pattern consisting of two beats, the first beat being preferably strong and the second weak. The preference for a binary foot pattern can be subsumed under the universal preference for binary paradigmatic and syntagmatic contrasts. The next level beyond rhythmic (Level 0) preferences is that of binding preferences, which are posited as Level 2 of the phonological architecture.

The three phonotactic positions in B&B Phonology – word-initial, word-medial and word-final – cannot be considered on an equal basis due to the semiotic foundations of this model of phonology. Even if the cluster space for finals on Level 2 is

a mirror image of the space for initials, there is a preference for a word initial n→B and word final B←n. The salience of word onset has priority and may also conflict with other preferences, and the morphological structure of the word may subdue binding preferences (Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2002: 95, 107). The B&B concepts that this presentation will make use of, are:

(i)   Level 0 preferences (rhythmic preferences)
(ii)   Level 1 preferences (binding preferences)
(iii) n →B a rightward binding
(iv) B←n a leftward binding

One of the landmarks of Natural Phonology is the claim that language is "a natural reflection of the needs, capacities, and world of its users" (Donegan –Stampe 1979: 127), rather than a conventional institution. Stampe assumes that the underlying segments "are mental representations of sounds which are, at least in principle, pronounceable" (Stampe 1979: 35). Thus it follows that explanations in phonology cannot be theory internal but must be based on phonetic facts and on the nature of human communication: "if a given utterance is naturally pronounceable as the result of a certain intention, then that intention is a natural perception of the utterance" (Donegan and Stampe 1979: 163). As stated concisely by Nathan,

> Because phonemes are sounds as perceived, this means that they are auditory/ motor images of sounds per se, not abstract specifications for sounds. Thus contrary to what is usually believed in most (but not all) generative phonologies, phonemes are not 'merely' lists of features. And particularly, they are not underspecified lists of features. It is important to how NP works that phonemes are real (although mental) sounds, fully specified. What makes them phonemes, rather than just records of how speakers actually speak, is the existence of processes.
>
> (Nathan 2009: 142)

There is also a basic and essential distinction in NP between morphonological rules and phonological processes, which, it

should be noted, were used widely in pre-generative approaches to phonology. Natural Phonology places a strong emphasis on operationalizing these two epistemological categories. The active, living pattern is thus described as a (phonological) process and the (partially) morphologized situation is an example of a (morphonological) rule (as e.g. in the distinction between the umlauted and plain vowel in German). Summarised briefly,

> [w]hile processes are natural, rules are conventions (though they basically originate from processes. Although they both operate on phonological material and produce phonological output, only processes are sensitive to phonological environment: rules must be conditioned outside of phonology. Thus, though both processes and rules have to do with phonology, they have different ontological status. The following differences obtain between processes and rules: *Processes*: 1. Possess synchronic motivation 2. are inborn. *Rules*: 1. Have no synchronic motivation 2. Have to be learned.
>
> (Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2002: 25)

As Dziubalska-Kołaczyk (1995: 46f) points out, "[t]he explanatory model of noncoventionalist, natural linguistic must be functional". Of seven basic properties of such functionalist explanations the scholar mentions, I would like to recall here two, of most direct importance for the present paper: the hierarchy of functions which stipulates that the highest functions of language are its communicative and cognitive function, and the remaining ones subordinated to it, and most important still, "functional predictions have the form of preferences. This means that naturalist linguistic universals, founded on functional and semiotic principles, have the form of preferences and not of absolute statements" (Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 1995: 47). This preferential aspect is of key importance to the analysis that follows.

The phonological interpretation proposed in the paper will rely on my extension to the B&B model, namely a suggestion that the so-called 'stress-basedness' of a language is phonologically grounded in the property of a binding relation prevailing

in a given synchronic state of a language. As Dziubalska-Kołaczyk observes, on the level of Language Universals, each language has the potential to be either stress-timed or sylla-ble-timed. In other words, each language has elements of both types, which are shown, for example, in the differences be-tween casual and careful speech. It is only on language-specific levels that the final type is determined for a given syn-chronic state (Katarzyna Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, p. c., 2004).

To formalize the difference between binding types, I propose that stress-timed languages, of which English is one, can de-velop *stress concentrators* as a property of their bindings. The term is borrowed from mechanics, where it is denoted by the letter sigma (σ). In technical terms, σ describes concentrations of high stresses in a given material which arise from the struc-tural features (holes, grooves etc.) of the material. The stress concentration factor (*K*), which is a dimensionless unit, quali-fies how concentrated the stress is. It is defined as the ratio of the highest stress in the element to a reference stress (nominal stress). The reference stress is the 'default' stress in the same element under the same loading conditions but without the stress concentrators (cf. e.g. Pilkey and Pilkey 2008). The term *reference stress factor* will be useful in my analysis because stressed beats occur in both languages. A stressed beat in Spanish can be assumed (with some degree of analytical ideal-ization) to be a nominal one. There is then something addi-tional that 'sits' on an English stressed beat and to which phonology reacts. I propose that this 'something' is a stress concentrator: an irregularity in the binding.[7]

The phonological stress concentrator can be denoted, just like the one used in mechanics, by the letter sigma. To avoid confusion with the already well-established symbol for a sylla-ble, however, it might be better to use a capital letter (Σ). Sig-ma values are directionless, hence they can be a feature of

---

[7] It is possible, if analyzed using a visual speech-analysis program, that not much difference between the intensity of a stressed vowel in English and Spanish would be found. The difference is thus purely phonological: not visible directly, but observable through its effects.

both n→B and B←n bindings. In the case at issue here, it is the B←n binding that carries the Σ. I will denote this binding as B← ^{Σ}n. The sigma is near the nonbeat to denote that it is the consonant that is affected.

It must be reiterated here that Σ does not denote simply stress. If that was the case, Σ would be a diacritic. Stressed beats are present in both English and Spanish, but the Spanish stress does not encounter a concentrator within the beat, and thus, as pointed out above, Spanish stress is the nominal, sigma-less one. The concept of sigma can thus make predictions and it can formalize and phonologically explain the well-known distinction between syllable-timed and stress timed languages by resorting to a property which ensues from the B&B model: the property of a binding relation.

4. The data

The first step of the analysis involved compiling a list of Greek and Latinate prefixes in English which end in /s/ to check whether any of them share the same stress-dependent lenitive propensity with {ex-}. A tentative list of such prefixes (formatives) in given under (1).

(1) a.   {abs-}   /əbˈs, ˈæbs/ 'from', 'away from'
      b.   {as-}   /əˈs, ˈæs/ 'to','towards'
      c.   {bi(s)-} /baɪ/ 'two', 'twice'
      d.   {cis-}   /sɪs/ 'on this side of '
      e.   {dis-}   /dɪs/ 'away from', neg.
      f.   {ex-}   /ɪˈgz, ˈɛks,ɪˈks/ 'out from', 'off', 'away from'
      g.   {hex-}   /ˈhɛks(ə)/'six'
      h.   {mis-}   /mɪs/ 'bad, 'wrongly'
      i.   {sex-}   /sɛks/ 'six'
      j.   {sus-}   /ˈsʌs, ˌsʌs, səsˈ/'under', 'in addition to'
      k.   {tox-}   /tɒks/ 'poison'
      l.   {trans-}/trænz, træns/ 'through'

Next, a database of vocabulary involving these prefixes was created, with the analytical criterion being the presence of the voicing of /s/ in an intervocalic position (or a final prefixal obstruent cluster involving /s/). Relevant examples with {cis-} involve: (Sp.): *cispadana, cispadano, cismontano* (situated in the yonder part of the mountains), *cisalpino*, (E): *cispadane, cisnormality, cisman, cismontane, cisalpine* /sɪs ˈælpaɪn/. Only the last of these examples involves the intervocalic context with the following tonic beat. However, no voicing of /s/ is effectuated. Examples with {dis-} and {mis-} follow basically the same pattern: there is no stress conditioning of the realization (in fact, no item with the prefix stressed was found at all), nor any voice assimilation related to the succeeding obstruents (e.g. *disgruntle, disdain, disbelieve, misjudge, misguide*).[8]

As far as concatenations involving *sex-* as a prefix are concerned (disregarding contexts where it is followed by a voiceless stop, e.g. *sextile, sextet*), I was able to find the following examples with potential relevance for the analysis: (E): *sexes, sexagenarian, sexagenary, sexagesima, sexagesimal*; (Sp.): *sexagesimal, sexagenario, sexagésimo* 'sixtieth', *sexenio* 'six-year period'. Nothing of phonological interest arises here, however: all the Spanish items behave according to the general voicing rules for Spanish (i.e. [s] intervocalically, and before voiceless consonants, and [z] before any voiced consonant). The English pronunciation is equally regular, with /ks/ throughout, regardless of the stress pattern. The compounds with {tox-} fall into the same category: *toxin, toxaemia* and *toxicology* are all pronounced with a voiceless cluster. {hex-} is quite productive, but in fact the allomorph in question seems to be {hexa-} (/ˈhɛksə/ with either primary or secondary stress on the initial /e/), e.g. *hexa· emeron, hexangular, hexapod, hexahedral*, hence it might be of no relevance to the discussion. The realization is voiceless regarding the stress pattern.

---

[8] Assuming that English has a lenis-fortis contrast instead of a voiced-voiceless one, we should not expect assimilation here as /g, d, b/ in English are only passively voiced.

Additionally, {sus-} did not produce any clusters of relevance to the analysis.

The phonological situation in the case of {trans-} seems to be different however. First of all, the basic form of this prefix, as given in dictionaries, involves both realizations (a voiced or voiceless alveolar fricative).[9] Sobkowiak explicitly assumes that "the phonetic form of the prefix in isolation is /trænz-/. This form is retained before vowels and voiced consonants (including sonorants) but assimilated to /træns-/ before voiceless sounds with the exception of *transcontinental, transpolar, Trans-Siberian*" (Sobkowiak 1996: 56).[10] Yet, intervocalic contexts in fact involved ambiguities because dictionary entries could give both realizations as possible in particular words (with the voiced and voiceless fricative). [11] Since the variation seems to be in fact independent of stress patterns, this prefix cannot contribute evidence to the argument forwarded. Another fact is that the concatenation is not an obstruent cluster and the focus is on voicing dynamics for obstruent groupings.

The situation with the {abs-} prefix is somewhat more complicated. All vocabulary items in relevant contexts point to a morphological boundary after /b/ and not after /s/, because there is no voice assimilation at all between the obstruents of the resulting clusters (e.g. in *abscond, abscess, abstergent* the

---

[9] /nz/ seems a more 'natural' realization, since there is a common natural process voicing consonants after nasals - /ns/ is rare; usually a stop is inserted, or the nasal consonant is deleted leaving the preceding vowel nasalized.

[10] Although for example *Longman dictionary of contemporary English* 2005 gives both versions under *translation* or *transliteration*.

[11] A good example of the problem is the realization as given at one of the internet pronunciation platforms, Forvo (<http://pl.forvo.com/word/transitive_verb/#en>, accessed 12 September 2011) for the entry *transitive*. There were two realizations for the *transitive verb*, and one of them was voiceless and another, voiced. The Spanish correspondents are perfectly regular. In clusters such as e.g. *transcendencia* the /n/ is usually elided and the fricative is voiceless (/tra (n)sθen-/). Intervocalically the elision does not apply, and the /s/ always remains voiceless regardless of stress placement (the direction of voicing, as has been mentioned, is regressive in Spanish), e.g. *tránsito*/ˈtransito/, *transído*/tranˈsido/ 'racked with pain'.

realization is unanimously /-bs-/). However, when /-bs-/ occurs in an intervocalic position with the primary or secondary stress falling on the beat following the /s/, as in *absolve*, *absurd*, *absorb*, there is an option for the voiced realization of /s/.

There is no <ex-> in Latinate English vocabulary before voiced consonants for diachronic reasons. Cummings (1988: 182) provides a list of all the possible assimilations that have occurred in these environments for centuries. Not a trace of /ks/ ([gz]) remains, even in the orthography in words of the type, e.g. *ebractate, elegant, event, erudite* etc.: the assimilation into the root consonant has been total. The closest I could find to a vestige of a voiced 'ex-exword' was *eczema*, which seems to follow a stress-dependent lenitive pattern because two pronunciations of the word are licit. If stressed on the first vowel, the realization is /ks/, and when stressed on the penultimate, the /gz/ realization occurs: /ˈɛksəmə/ versus /ɪgˈzimə/.

{exo-} is a Latinate prefix, meaning 'outside' or 'outward'. It is not enumerated in the list in (1) as it does not have a final /s/. Nevertheless, a vocabulary check on items containing this morpheme was also run because, theoretically, <ex> is in an intervocalic position in {exo-}. Obvious examples of the {exo-} prefix are words of the *exoskeleton* type, but sometimes it is problematic to classify <o> as belonging to {exo-}, being an infix, or to the root. This etymological ambiguity, however, turns out to be of minor importance: all the words seem to conform to the pattern presented above. In cases where <o> is under stress, primary or secondary, the cluster is realized as /gz/, e.g. *exonerate, exorbitance, exotic*. Words of the type *exoskeleton* or *exoteric* have secondary stress on *ex* and primary stress on the vowel following <o>, e.g. /ˌɛksoˈskɛlətn̩/, hence no stress occurs on the vowel following <x>and the cluster surfaces as voiceless.

This step in the analysis shows that the focus in the subsequent discussion on {ex-} is not ad hoc as there are morphono-

tactic and morphophonological grounds for excluding other Latinate prefixes terminating in /s/ from the overall discussion.[12] Nevertheless, this stage of the research also reveals a certain ambiguity: in some prefixed words stress-driven lenition is not triggered, even if the metric pattern parallels those forms with triggered voicing, e.g. realizations of concatenations of the type *ex-immigrant* never show voicing, as in *executive.*[13]

5. Analysis

This section attempts to critically address some of the conundrums revealed by the referential research. First, instances of the pronunciation of <x> in {ex-} were inspected (in the types of database sources described in the introductory section), and typologically synopsized in Table 1.

While compiling the database it also became evident that the voicing pattern seems to occur in all instances where <x> is word-initial, in the lexicon involving borrowings from Greek (e.g. *xenophobia).* It must be admitted that all the items that could be found had stress on the vowel following the <x>, either primary (*xylophone*) or secondary (*xenophobia*). These words were also entered in the table.

---

[12] On the other hand, there seem to be problems with establishing the exact form of the prefix: it is not entirely certain that dictionary forms such as {abs-} and {hex-} are legitimate, because there may well be basic forms as {ab-} only and {sexa-} and {hexa-} (with an infix). Regretfully, this issue cannot be pursued further within the scope of the present discussion.

[13] This difference is addressed in e.g. Haładewicz-Grzelak (2015b), who proposes that there is a different cognitive status for Latinate vocabulary. For example, the Latinate {ex-} with all its original plethora of meanings is no longer semantically transparent and there is a synchronically productive prefix, with only the meaning 'former', as in *ex-husband.*

Table 1

Juxtaposition of some general types of the pronunciation
of <x> in English and Spanish

	English		Spanish	
	Types	Examples	Types	Examples
1	V/ks/ S⁻ᵛ**V** (…) **V**	exclude expectations extract	V /(k)s/ S⁻ᵛV S**V**..	excluir extraer expectar
2	V/gz/ <h>**V**S	exhibit exhort exhausted exhilarate	V/(k)s/V S**V**(S**V**)..	exhibición exhorter exhaust
3	V/gz/**V**S (VS)	exam exist auxiliary exiguous	V/ɣs/(**V**)S(**V**) (S**V**)	examen existir auxiliar exiguo
4	**V**/ks/VS(VS)	exodus exile toxic hexagon axiom	**V** /ɣs/VS…	éxodo tóxico
			V /ɣs/ **V** S**V**(S**V**)	exilio axioma hexágono
5	/z/**V**SVS..	xylophone	/s/VS**V**SV	xilófono
6 .	V/gz/ ˌ**V**S…	exhibitionism exercitation exemplification		
7	V/ks/<c>V̱	excess excerpt excite	V/(k)sθ….	exceso excitar

The table gives specifications according to stress patterns in
English with their Spanish counterparts, thus illustrating
a phonology that does not react to a stress pattern with
a homophone. In Spanish, as can be seen, the changes are
purely due to phonotactic factors: before a consonant, /k/ is
usually elided orspirantized (e.g. *experto* → /esˈpeɾto/ 'expert')
and intervocalically it is usually realized as [ɣ]. /s/ is always
voiceless in both cases (Navarro-Tomas 1991: 140). Since <h>

is always mute is Spanish, it is not heeded by the phonology of the language at all.[14] This pattern is obeyed by any NAD ratio of this type, i.e. it is decided solely by phonotactics and the optimization of Level 2 preferences.

Let us next consider the English part of the table. For clarity of exposition, I mark the tonic vowel in bold and underline. The data is subcategorized into seven types. [1] describes a situation where <x> is followed by another consonant. Regardless of the placement of stress, (whether it directly follows the cluster or is placed further right), the realization of <x> is always voiceless.[15] [2] involves contexts where the cluster is followed by <h>, which is not realized phonetically. In practice, then, [2] is tantamount to [3]: <x> if placed in intervocalic position in pre-tonic position (the primary stress falls on the beat following the cluster). [4] also involves <x> placed between vowels, but in the post-tonic position (the stress falls on the beat preceding the cluster). [5] includes <x>s which do not come from the prefix, but the situation seems to follow the paradigm operative in the {ex-} case (patterns [2–3]): the stress falls immediately after the cluster (with the prior elision of /k/ due to unpropitious NAD preferences for a word-initial cluster in English) and the remnant /s/ becomes voiced. [6] implies an intervocalic pattern (as in [2–3]), with the difference being that the stress operative in the immediate vicinity of the cluster is secondary and not primary.

I suggest that what happens in data collected as [7] is lenition of the basic voiceless realization.

The data categorized into seven types in Table 1 can be further collapsed into four types (algorithms). They are summarized briefly below:

---

[14] In difference to e.g. French, where in some words the underlying /h/ can still influence phonological processes (*h muet* versus *h aspiré*).

[15] Although sometimes two versions are possible, as in the word *exit*, two alternative versions were given in the dictionaries consulted: /gz/ and /ks/. This fact only supports the preferential and natural nature of the phonological regularities.

Algorithm 1. The intervocalic <x> cluster is not in a pretonic position (no information from Level 0 is fed into the phonology), nothing happens. The B←n binding is weak and not able to host any stress concentrators nor, hence, to transfer stress. The realization is /ks/ (type 4, e.g. *toxic*).

Algorithm 2. Worst-case scenario. The <x> cluster is in a pretonic position, which means that /s/ is bound by the n→B binding with the following V. According to my analysis, this binding carries a stress concentrator, to which the phonology reacts.[16] I will denote this binding as n$^\Sigma$→B. The sigma is near the nonbeat (consonant /s/ in this case) to denote that it is the consonant that is affected. Lenition spreads to the next occlusive as voice assimilation, giving the realization /gz/. This is the case with types (3), (5) and (6) (e.g. *auxiliary* or *xylophone*), where, in the latter, phonotactic preferences additionally enter the picture and the first stop is deleted. If it were to be pronounced, the stop would be voiced. In (6), in all cases (e.g. *exemplification*), the trigger is secondary stress, which confirms the sensitivity to the stress factor of the particular phonological process: in the absence of the 'main' trigger, the algorithm is driven by the secondary one.

Algorithm 3. The cluster precedes the tonic beat, which is bound with the n$^\Sigma$→B binding, as in the worst case scenario (algorithm 2), but bound with the following voiceless stop, which means the preceding fricative is not bound at all but sustained only by Level 2 preferences. Nothing happens in these cases: the pretonic "worst-case scenario" is neutralized. Hence, algorithm (1) applies (cf. type 1, e.g. *expect*). The data classified in Table 1 under (7) at first glance seem to contradict the results obtained so far: e.g. in *excess* <c> is not pronounced, just as in *exhibit* or *exist*, <x> seems to be intervocalic with the stress following, hence it should be pronounced as voiced (i.e. it should belong to algorithm 2). Assuming compliance with the general thesis of the paper, that orthography

---

[16] Stress concentrators are directionless; hence, according to my analysis, they can affect both the n→B and B←n bindings.

can be important as external evidence, let us take a closer look at the whole of the row in (7).

It can be noticed that the Spanish realizations retain the phonetic content of <c> in the form of a voiceless interdental fricative: /e(k)s ˈθeso/. This scenario is hence proposed to have arisen as follows. At some time in the past, when the voicing in question started operating as a stress-conditioned natural process (cf. previous subsection), this <c> in English still had its phonetic content, as a voiceless lenited variant of /k/ before front vowels. Accordingly, the cluster behaved like any in type (1): a voiceless consonant following /ks/ prevented voicing of the cluster. Since the English articulation was probably much closer to /s/, the two segments coalesced, leaving <x> in the intervocalic position. The irrefutable fact is that synchronic phonology still retains this earlier pattern. The question thus arises of why words such as *except* /ɪkˈsept/ still pattern like e.g. *expect* and have not come within algorithm (2). Several explanations are possible, the most plausible being that phonology somehow still sees this /s/ as being without melodic content and thus triggers the algorithm as if it was still there. The standard NP interpretation might imply that the phenomenon in question might not in fact be operating as an exceptionless phonological process but has passed to the level of a rule, and this passage happened after the elision of the /s/ in *except*, which complies with the ontology proposed in the previous subsection.[17]

---

[17] For a canonical generative analysis of the issue see SPE p. 221, a derivation of e.g. *exceed*, *excite* from underlying stems as /kēd/, /kīt/, with /k/ turning to /s/ by Velar softening (this would actually be [kᵈ]). Then there will be an intermediate stage of the derivation, [eks=sīyd], [eks=sāyt], and finally a rule of cluster simplification would apply (a rule eliminating the first identical consonant in the geminate). There is thus no voicing in *excel* due to the fact that the rule voicing prestress consonants is blocked by the cluster of three consonants (Chomsky and Halle 1968: 221f). We can clearly see the epistemological gist of generative grammar: the assumption that the underlying representations do not basically change but have to become more and more dissociated from any reality to account for the changes. This results in disregarding language diachrony and not bothering with whether the process in question might still be active or not. In short, this means that morphologi-

Algorithm 4. The situation involving /h/ is somewhat more complex than the previous phonotactic concatenations. It is assumed that /h/ is the weakest consonant in English.[18] Dictionaries often give two alternative pronunciation options (e.g. the Collins Cobuild dictionary gives the pronunciation of *exhume* as /ɛkshᵒ**juː**m/. The Oxford Spanish-English Dictionary gives, in addition to this, the realization /ɪgˈzuːm/ as well. The latter, voiced version is given in the Forvo online spelling dictionary as the only realization (<http://photactic_concatenations.l.forvo.com>). Both versions are in fact justified by the analytical frame adopted here: in the realization with /-ksh-/ algorithm 1 is operative: V/ks/ S⁻ᵛ**V**. In other words, if English phonology happens to "see" the *h*, it is 'recognized' as a voiceless consonant and the algorithm for the position preceding voiceless stops is triggered. If the phonology does not see the *h*, i.e. if the /h/ is too weak to matter for phonological processing (which is mostly the case with *h* being placed before the tonic beat), algorithm (2) applies (worst-case scenario – execution with a voiced cluster). Hence, this algorithm is practically tantamount to (3) (when *h* is realized) or to (2) (when it is not realized).

In functional terms another explanation of the /h/ conundrum is thus possible. In utterances where /h/ is able to resist the tonic beat pressure, the algorithm given in (1) is triggered. In cases where the tonic beat (level 0 preferences) with the stress concentrator are stronger than Level 1 preferences, the nᶻ→B 'overwhelms' the /h/ (induces the lenition of /h/ to ø.). In such cases nothing protects the /ks/ cluster and the situation is clear, as in algorithm (2). This analysis also confirms the key status of the binding as a carrier of certain mental information, in this case the active nature of a stress con-

---

cal rules are thrown into the mind of a competent speaker who has, in real time, to do all the concatenations, as in *correlate,* which, according to SPE, has an underlying representation with /koN=/. In Chomsky and Halle's words, "[i]t is a widely confirmed empirical fact that underlying representations are fairly resistant to historical change, which tends, by and large, to involve late phonetic rules" (Chomsky and Halle 1968: 49).

[18] See Zabrocki (1960 [1980: 56]).

centrator on n→B in stress-timed languages. Additional evidence comes from the fact that /h/ is not normally mute in English in initial position (when supported by an n→B binding). For example, in *hilarious* the /h/ is regularly pronounced, yet it gets elided in *exhilarate.*[19] Moreover, the elision does not occur in any other Latinate compounds, as a check of the forms with {co-, mis-, dis-} confirmed. But if the words are used without the /h/ in their basic forms, as in *honour* and *honest,* no derivatives feature the sound, either, in these compounds; if the basic version does involve the form with the /h/, the compounded form does not eliminate it, e.g.

(2) a.   *disharmonious* /ˌdɪshɑrˈmonɪəs/ (AE)
     b.   *mishap* /ˈmɪshæp/
     c.   *cohesion* /koˈhiʒən/
     d.   *disheartening* /dɪsˈhɑːtn-ɪŋ/
     e.   *mishandle* /mɪs ˈhændl̩/
     f.   *cohortative* /koˈhɔrtətɪv/ (AE)
     g.   *anhydrous* /ænˈhaɪdrəs/

The algorithms proposed above can also explain the issue of the pronunciation of /h/ in some derivatives. For example, in *exhortative* the /h/ is elided according to the procedures above, but in *cohortative*the /h/ remains. The basic form is of course that of the form without suffixation, where the velar fricative is pronounced; hence there is ground to posit elision in {ex-} derivatives (cf. *hilarious* versus *exhilarate*). Furthermore, there is no voice assimilation at all in the remaining suffixes ending in /s/, e.g. *misguide, misnomer, disburden, disgruntle.* Looking deeper into the data, it becomes evident that the last two types are in fact superfluous: the phonological behaviour of the concatenations does not show any new variables: it is either a lenitive process that is triggered or it is not.

---

[19] From *ex* 'thoroughly' and Lat. *hilarare* 'to make cheerful', versus Lat. *hilarus* 'cheerful'. Source: <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=ex hilarate>.

Then, what first emerged as descriptive in seven different types, collapses into four scenarios which are still reducible to two algorithms: trigger lenition or do not trigger it.

The study has shown that the initial seven observable contexts, reducible in the first step of the analysis to four algorythms, in fact boil down to one basic phonological lenition context for the Latinate {ex-}. In traditional notation the situation can be described as follows:

$$(/ks/ \text{ in } \{ex\text{-}\}) \; \rightarrow \; \begin{cases} [gz] \_ \begin{cases} \text{'V} \\ \text{,V} \end{cases} \\ [ks] \;/\_ \text{ all other environments} \end{cases}$$

Figure 1
A traditional description of the regularities encountered
on the basis of the juxtaposition in Table 1 for the English data

It reads thus: the /ks/ cluster in {ex-} becomes voiced when immediately followed by a vowel with primary or secondary stress (in *SPE* the secondary stress is not taken into account, hence this is another contradistinction of my analysis to *SPE*). Simply, lexemes, e.g. *exemplification,* are not considered in the sections on /s/ voicing. As can be seen from Figure 1, the pretonic position (with primary or secondary stress) is the only environment that is different from all the remaining ones, which is an exact parallel to the one shown in my previous work on *angma* assimilation with the {con-} prefix.

The discussion thus shows that, in English, in cases not previously decided by the morphology, the tonic beat can induce lenition of the /ks/ cluster. The process can clearly be seen in derivatives, as in the case of, e.g., *execute*, where the basic realization is /ks/ and word-initial stress, versus *execu-*

tive, where the shift in stress implies lenition into /gz/.[20] The lenitive process is also indicated by the fact that <h> in cases with the lenitive algorithm triggered is lost. In the algorithms without lenition it is seen as a standard voiceless vowel, but in the binding carrying the stress concentrator, any psychological reflection of <h> is lost: concatenations such as *exˈhilarate* are straightforward instances of pattern (3) [V/gz/ ˈVS(VS)]. In such cases the lenitive process has operated as far as possible: it voices the intervocalic cluster and has eliminated the weak /h/.[21]

As a final step in the discussion I would like to address the suggestion of reversing the scenario, and positing that all that happens here involves the protection of intervocalic /ks/ by word-initial stress. Basically, I see no reason to do this. The B&B discussion is coherent in its present form and, additionally, it explains other related phonological issues, such as the elision of /h/ in derivatives, the velar versus alveolar nasal opposition in {con-}, the issue of *except* where <x> is in an intervocalic position and always realized as voiceless, and the voicelessness of the cluster in *ex officio* or *exhume* (as /ɛkshˈjuːm/ or /ɛgzˈjuːm/). Adopting the suggestion of "in intervocalic position, *gz* everywhere except if preceded by a stressed vowel, in which case *ks* occurs" would mean that all these generalizations are lost and independent explanations would have to account for these issues. Furthermore, it would

---

[20] This is also the case with another Latinate prefix, showing similar sensitivity to stress- {con-}, e.g. *congress* versus *congressional* and additionally, a possibility of dyadic stress patterns on *conglobate* which entailed concomitant changes in the nasal realization.

[21] Some dictionaries, e.g. the *Pronunciation dictionary of American English* or *Merriam-Webster*, give two possible realizations for<exh>**V**S types with /gz/ and /ks/. However, most online sources, e.g. *Forvo*, give the version confirming the pattern proposed here. It might be concluded that the above analysis is stated in terms of preferences and tendencies rather than general laws, which is also congruent with B&B tenets. The tendency is thus that phonology tends to classify cases with <h> to follow an algorithm ruled by stress preferences.

have to be explained why, if a post-tonic position protects against lenition in <ex>, it induces lenition in {con-}.[22]

Let us now address some issues implied in other possible proposals. Assume that the scenario "in intervocalic position, *gz* everywhere except if preceded by a stressed vowel, in which case *ks* occurs" would run into several problems. First of all, the isolated form, as corroborated by current English dictionaries, is voiceless (e.g. *ex officio*). Secondly, contemporary morphological activity with {ex-} in English, as shown in the preceding subsection, clearly involves the voiceless form, even in concatenations such as *ex-immigrant, ex-girlfriend.* Finally, French vocabulary of type (F.) *luxe* 'luxury', *luxueux* 'luxurious', *luxurieux* 'lascivious', *axiome* 'axiom', *axiété* 'anxiety' involves only voiceless realization.[23] In English voiced realization is allowed or preferred, as in e.g. *luxurious* or *anxiety.* This voicing would thus be unaccounted for, and it would seem that the parallel with French is not that fortunate. In voiceless contexts, as in *expect,* the cluster is always voiceless. If the basic form were voiced, the cluster should behave as concatenations with {ab-} do, e.g. *abscond*, where the resulting morpheme contact is preserved without voice assimilation: /-bsk-/.

As Zabrocki points out, in the Germanic languages, groups of obstruents did not undergo crucial changes during the lenitive process, the obstacle being an augmented consonantal mass of a group of consonants.[24] This last fact also influenced another process, namely, voicing assimilation. These groups in their totality resisted this process. Increased lenition and what follows, assimilation, was also resisted in the case of a single

---

[22] Most crucially, it is not usually the case that a tonic position protects from lenition. A random example is an analysis Mascaró proposes for Servigliano (2011), where "in Tonic Metaphony a final vowel causes raising of the stressed vowel (ε→e, ɔ→o, e→i, o→u)"(Mascaró (2011: 22). See also examples from English, where both flapping and the creation of syllabic consonants occurs exclusively after the tonic beat.

[23] *Multimedialny słownik francusko-polski PWN* (2006).

[24] Groups of obstruents of type *pst, sks* changed according to the rules of articulatory mechanics, as established by Zabrocki, and the only change was the spirantization of the first element (Zabrocki 1980 [1951]: 31 [135]).

consonant, namely long *s*. This clearly shows not only that the consonantal group as such resisted assimilation, but the augmented consonantal mass was supplied by the cluster (Zabrocki 1980 [1951]: 57 [171]. Examples given by Zabrocki include *giwahsan*, *gifohtan* (OE *gefohten*), *Gun-wiss.*[25] Since the analysis reported in this section deals with obstruent clusters and such clusters are not at all affected by Verner's Law, I conclude that this option is not relevant to the discussion.

It should also be pointed out that two factors are usually cited as hindrances to lenitive voicing under Verner's Law: one is stress and the other word-initial position. The data shown in Table 1 actually shows that the word-initial position is affected just as much as the word-medial one (cf. *xylophone*), and unlike all other Greek loans (e.g. *pterodactyl*) it has voicing after the elision[26], so neither preservation of the cluster nor the influence of preceding stress can be posited. Hence, if we adopt the scenario of "in intervocalic position, *gz* everywhere except if preceded by a stressed vowel, in which case *ks* occurs" or the underlying version as coming directly from French, we would have in addition to explain the voicing of /s/ from <x> in word-

---

[25] As evident from an example from Reszkiewicz (1973: 42), clusters involving a preceding liquid could also be affected: "[w]hen the original /-rs-/ was voiced to /-rz-/ through Verner's Law, Gmc. */-rz-/ resulted in /-rr-/ in Old English, cf. OE *i(e)rre* 'angry' and Goth. *aírzeis*". See the detailed discussion of the lenitive development of clusters involving liquids and nasals in Zabrocki (1980[1951]:58ff [172ff]). Reszkiewicz also mentions the devoicing of voiced consonants that took place before /s/. "In this way, IE*/aks/ (L. *axis* (...) > PG */aks-/ (cf. OS *aksa*), which in Old English, after the regular shift back from /xs/ to /ks/ appears as *œx, eax*. Likewise (...) IE */uks-/ (Skt. *ukṣa*) PG * /uxsōn-/ (OS *ohso*) > OE *oxa*'ox'" (Reszkiewicz 1973: 44).

[26] The French realizations (e.g. *xénophobie* or *xérographie*) are pronounced with a full /ks-/ cluster – according to *Multimedialnysłownikfrancusko-polski PWN* (2006) and *Dictionnaire General de la Langue Française*(1964) (e.g. (*xiphoïde, xérasie*). Although it must be admitted that the contemporary *Dictionnaire Culturelen Langue Francaise* (2005) gives both forms (/gz/ / /ks/) as licit in this phonotactic environment. Definitely the inspection of French data merits further research, which is left for further, diachronic study. For the present mainly synchronic analysis, of importance is the fact that in French all intervocalic occurrences of /ks / custer from {ex-} (e.g. *exo- exi- exa -*) are voiced, and so is the realization involving orthographically (<h>). All realizations involving *exc-* are, just as in English, voiceless. The phrase *ex libris*is also voiceless in French, just as in English.

initial positions. It must also be recalled at this point that the previously mentioned SPE rule explicitly assumes an /s/ voicing rule and nota/z/ devoicing one.

Recapitulating the discussion so far, the prefix {ex-} (just like {con-} and {in}) is unusual in English, in the sense that it shows a sensitivity to stress, in which it patterns with the cluster denoted by <x> and not with any other prefixes, even these ending in <x>.[27] However, the nature of this lenitive process seems to be elusive. It seems to entail only those lexemes where the original prefix is still detectable in orthography as a sort of phonological *corpus delicti*,[28] even if the lexemes involved have now acquired an entirely new meaning with only loose semantic ties to their original components and do not entail 'living' concatenations with {ex-}, nor with any other /s/-final prefix.

6. Conclusions

The study in question conducted a Beats-and-Binding exploration into some areas of the influence of stress within the general architecture of phonology, as exemplified in a case study of the {ex} prefix in English. Spanish lexemes were assumed to be the reference level for homophonous English ones, i.e. not influenced phonologically by the stress placement. A notion of stress concentrator was proposed as a critical variable to ac-

---

[27] It might be recalled that for SPE the difference between the voicing in *exam* and the lack of such voicing in *toxemia* is that in *tox* the <x> is final in the formative. Chomsky and Halle disregard here the fact that *ex*, just as *pre-, tele-, -tion, mini-* (as in *mini + ster*) etc. is also formative. The fact that *ex* in SPE goes with a [–FB] boundary is unfortunately not a teleology of the lack of the formative status of *ex.* Cf. also this passage: "There are many verbs in English that are morphologically analyzable into one of the prefixes (trans, per, connect, followed by a stem such as –fer, -mit, -cede, -cur or –pel (...) The stress placement rules must assign primary stress to the final **formative** [emphasis mine, MHG] in these words, regardless of whether it contains a weak or a strong cluster" (Chomsky and Halle 1968: 94).

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

count for the empirical findings, this was conceptualized as a possible property of the binding in PST languages, to which phonology reacts. The phenomenon in question was identified as lenition in the tonic-beat environment in English: the voicing of /s/ to [z], which in turn falls within the broader intricate topic of /s/ voicing in English. In Spanish, this type of lenition never occurs, as long as the first consonant is pronounced as a voiceless stop. We can see this as a clear advantage of B&B analysis: the four-layered architecture helped to account for the different status of word-medial cluster voice assimilations in Spanish and English: in Spanish they are effectuated only by Level 2 preferences: in *isla*, /s/ is voiced to [z] and in English they can be triggered on Level 1 (due to underlying Level 0 preferences).

The difference of the present analysis with the traditional SPE-based notation (cf. Fig. 1) is clear. Theoretically, nothing prevents the 'rule' to be written the other way round (see Scheer 2011 on that point): , that is e.g., with devoicing in the post-tonic position. The 'rule' is still a description, and does not make any predictions; nor does it influence the rest of the phonological architecture. The present analysis was a bottom-up procedure, where only the pre-assumed phonological units were able to make predictions, where explanations for the described situation were sought.

In the case of *ex*, as e.g. in (E.) *exam,* I propose the following binding scenario: /ɪ←g z $^{\Sigma}$ → æ ← $^{(\Sigma)}$ m/, /æ/ being the tonic vowel, stress concentrators develop in its bindings.

The n→B binding is directed at the fricative involved in a cluster, hence it can be affected by a stress concentrator. Following the work of Zabrocki on Verner's law, we can posit that both consonants bound by the sigma beat are indeed lenited (/k/ with the leftward binding and /s/ with the rightward one), but only in spirants is lenition visible in the form of voicing. To compare, lenitive processes in the case of the Spanish cognate (identical tonic beat) are as follows: Sp. *exámen* [e ←ɣˈ s → a m →e ← n]. The lenition in that language is pure-

ly phonotactic and it can be interpreted as ensuing from the fact that the B←n binding in this language is very weak *per se* and can only support less salient (weaker) consonants, hence there is a preference for word-final lenition and elision.

The phenomenon of stress-conditioned voicing certainly applies to monomorphemic /ks/ clusters (cf. *luxury – luxurious*, see also the SPE rule in [1]), just as in all morpheme internal concatenations with <ing> (e.g. *Ingham*) the /n/ obligatorily undergoes velar assimilation. Hence, the patterning of {ex-} with these lexemes points to the obliteration of the morpheme boundary. The process is not activated in the contemporary lexicon with hyphenated {ex-} where the boundary is still present (morphology, as BB assumes, has priority over phonology, hence the stress pattern does not matter in these cases).

Yet there is a lot of evidence to suggest that the phenomenon only seems to affect /ks/ clusters and that no other fricative-obstruent clusters or fricatives seem to follow this rule. On the other hand, there is practically no material in contemporary English to compare with (there is the aforementioned *eczema* which, as shown in the preceding section, seems to confirm the analysis; but in isolated /ps/ clusters with stress following, as in *psychic*, *capsize,* the process does not occur). This issue cannot be resolved at this stage of the research, I will simply point out that in Hall's study on Italian data, cited above, the process also applied only to this type of cluster and Hall (1942) implies that these clusters show a pattern rather similar to /kt/ clusters. On the other hand, Zabrocki's structural phonetics (Zabrocki 1980[1960]) accounts for the diverging scope of an operation of a given phonological process.[29]

---

[29] For Zabrocki, a structure represents an ordering based on inherent features, such as the degree of aperture. A system, as opposed to a structure, is an ordering based on functional features. Zabrocki further defines structural mass as a potential element of force in a given consonantal group. Its value is determined by the structure of a given process. Differences in the values of the structural mass depend on the character of the structural binding with respect to the structure of the process. Hence it can be concluded   that language-specific parameters determine the minimal requirements for the structural mass involved in specific clusters, both in terms of

The issue which this discussion attempts to disentangle thus seems to lie at the intersection of several topics replete with caveats: i) the morphonology of English prefixes, ii) /s/ voicing in English and iii) stress-related processes. Another problematic matter is the status of word initial <x> (a context not covered in SPE at all). On the one hand, it shows voicing, which is in accordance with my theory, but on the other, this voicing seems to be independent of stress placement (e.g. the word *Xantippa* is also voiced while the initial beat is under neither primary nor secondary stress). It could be explained as a tendency for assimilation in monomorphemic clusters (i.e. the 'natural' situation with assimilation), and in an intramorphemic context there is no need for the support of stress to trigger the process; but on the other hand, the difference from the /s/ in *psychic* would not be accounted for unless the scope is precisely narrowed to <x> clusters, as was the case in Hall's (1942) analysis which patterned *ks* explicitly only with *kt* clusters. One way or another, one statement from SPE still seems to carry weight: "clearly there is a great deal more to the matter of voicing of [s] (and probably [f] and [θ] as well [...] that deserves more careful investigation" (Chomsky and Halle 1968: 228f.). This discussion can thus be treated as a form of heuristic exploration of a fragment of the maze of phenomena at the intersection of English prefixation, /s/ voicing and stress-induced lenitions. Within this exploratory scope and in light of the evidence I have managed to gather so far, the B&B scenario seems to congruently explain the phonological behaviour of the {ex-} prefix and also to relate this behaviour to other aspects of the phonology of English, disclosing new purlieus for further investigation.

---

the ability to develop a particular binding and the resistance of these clusters to a given process (cf. Zabrocki 1980 [1960]: 57).

References

Booij, G. E. (2005). "Compounding and derivation: Evidence for Construction Morphology". In: Wolfgang U. Dressler, Dieter Kastovsky, Oskar E. Pfeiffer, Franz Rainer (eds.). *Morphology and its demarcations*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 109–32.

Chomsky, Noam, Morris Halle (1968). *Sound Pattern of English.* New York: Harper and Row.

Cummings, D. W. (1988). *American English Spelling.* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Dauer, R. M. (1983). "Stress timing and syllable timing reanalyzed". *Journal of Phonetics* 11: 51-62.

Denning, Keith, Brett Kresler, William Leben (2007 [1995]). *English Vocabulary Items.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Donegan, Patricia, David Stampe (1978). "The syllable in phonological and prosodic structure". In: Alan Bell, Joan B. Hooper (eds.). *Syllable and Segments.* Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 24-34.

Donegan, Patricia, David Stampe (1979). "The study of Natural Phonology". In: Daniel A. Dinnsen (ed.) (1979). *Current Approaches to Phonological Theory.* Bloomington: Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 126-173.

Donegan, Patricia, David Stampe (2009). "Hypotheses of Natural Phonology". *PSiCL* 45(1): 1-32.

Dressler, Wolfgang U. 1985. "On the definite Austrian and Italian articles". In: Edmund Gussmann (ed.) (1985). *Studies in the Interaction of Phonology and Morphology.* Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 35-47.

Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, Katarzyna (1995). *Phonology without the Syllable: A study in the Natural Framework.* Poznań: Motivex.

Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, Katarzyna (2002). *Beats-and-Binding Phonology.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, Katarzyna (2009). "NP extension: B&B phonotactics". *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 45/1: 55-71.

Franch, Juan A., Jose M. Blecua (2001). *Gramática española.* Barcelona: Editorial Ariel S.A.

Hall, Robert A. Jr. (1942). "Latin -*ks*- in Italian and its dialects". *Language* 18/2: 117-124.

Haładewicz-Grzelak, Małgorzata (2014a). "Reanalysis and saliency in English Latinate prefixation: A case study of the prefixal POA assimilation in English". *BPTJ* LXX: 79-93.

Haładewicz-Grzelak, Małgorzata (2014b). "Beats-and-Binding explorations into /s/ voicing in English". *Beyond Philology* 11: 25-66.

Haładewicz-Grzelak, Małgorzata (2014c). "Zabrocki's structural phonetics in the case study of velar POA assimilation in Latinate prefixation in RP English". *Lingua Posnaniensis* 56/2: 19-28.

Haładewicz-Grzelak, Małgorzata (2015a). "Velar POA assimilation in Latinate prefixation in contemporary English: A study in Beats-and-Binding phonology". *Beyond Philology* 12: 9-56.

Haładewicz-Grzelak, Małgorzata (2015b). "Segmentability and transparency in English Latinate prefixation". *Academic Journal of Modern Philology* 4: 51-64.

Keating, Patricia (1984). "Phonetic and phonological representation of stop consonant voicing". *Language* 60/2: 286-319.

Nathan, Geoffrey (2009). "Where is the Natural Phonology phoneme in 2009?". *PsiCL* 45/1:141-148.

Navarro, Tomas (1990). *Manual de pronunciación española* [Manual of Spanish pronunciation]. Madrid: C.S.I.G.

Partirige, Eric (2006 [1958]). *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*. London: Taylor and Francis Group.

Pilkey, Walter, Deborah Pilkey (2008). *Stress Concentration Factors.* New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.

Prins, Allen (1974). *A History of English Phonemes.* Leiden: Leiden University Press.

Rakić, Stanimir. 2007. "A note on the Latinate constraint in English affixation". *SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics* 4/3: 45-56. Available at <http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL10/pdf_doc/4.pdf>.

Reszkiewicz, Alfred (1998). *Synchronic Essential of Old English.* Warszawa: PWN.

Scheer, Tobias (2011). *A Guide to Morphosyntax-Phonology Interface Theories.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Smith, Caroline L. (1997). "The devoicing of /z/ in American English: effects of local and prosodic context". *Journal of Phonetics* 25/4: 471-500.

Sobkowiak, Włodzimierz (1996). *English Phonetics for Poles.* Poznań: Bene Nati.

Stampe, David (1979). *A Dissertation on Natural Phonology*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Stevens, K. N., S. E. Blumstein, L. Glicksman, M. Burton, K. Kurowski (1992). "Acoustic and perceptual characteristics of voicing in fricatives and fricative clusters". *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 91/5: 2979-3000.

Westbury, John, Patricia Keating (1986). "On the naturalness of stop consonant voicing". *Journal of Linguistics* 22 (March): 145-166.

Zabrocki, Ludwik (1980 [1951]). "Usilnienie i lenicja w językach indoeuropejskich i w ungrofińskim" [Fortition and lenition in Indo-European languages and in Ungro-Finnish]. In: Jerzy Bańczerowski (ed.). *Ludwik Zabrocki: U podstaw struktury i rozwoju języka* [Ludwik Zabrocki: At the foundation of language structure and development]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 106-413.

Zabrocki, Ludwik (1980 [1960]). "Zagadnienia fonetyki strukturalnej" [Problems of structural phonetics]. In: *Sesja Naukowa Komisji Filologicznej*. Poznań: Polskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 165– 185. Reprinted in Jerzy Bańczerowski (ed.). *Ludwik Zabrocki: U podstaw struktury i rozwoju języka* [Ludwik Zabrocki: At the foundation of language structure and development]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 52-74.

Zirkel, Linda (2010). "Prefix combinations in English: Structural and processing factors". *Morphology* 20: 239-266.

Other sources

Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (1988). London: Klett.

Dicconario de uso inglés-español Spanish-English (1993). Madrid: SGEL-Educación.

El Diccionario Oxford/The Oxford Spanish Dictionary (1994). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hatzfeld, Adolphe, Arsène Darmesteter, Antoine Thomas Delagrave (1964 [1890]). *Dictionnaire general de la langue française.* Paris: Libraire Ch. Delagrave.

Jones, Daniel (2003). *Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary*. Sixteenth Edition.

Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (1978/1981). Bath: Longman.

Multimedialny słownik języka francuskiego. (2006). Warszawa: PWN.

Oxford English Dictionary on CD-ROM. (1992). 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rey, Alain (2005). *Dictionnaire culturel en langue francaise.* Paris: Le Robert.

<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/>.

<http://dictionary.reference.com>.

<http://melodict.com/>.

<http://pl.forvo.com/>.

<http://www.encyclo.co.uk>.

<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/>.

<http://www.yourdictionary.com/>.

Małgorzata Haładewicz-Grzelak
Studium Języków Obcych
Politechnika Opolska
ul. Prószkowska 76 (P-6)
45-758 Opole
Poland
Email: m.haladewicz-grzelak@po.opole.pl

British and American recruitment propaganda posters in World War I

MICHAŁ GOLUBIEWSKI

Abstract

The following article is an attempt to present the main ideas and tendencies which characterize British and American propaganda posters which were used during World War I. Posters were among the most common and effective means of propaganda at that time, and they are also very interesting from the sociolinguistic perspective. The authors of the presented posters made use of different methods of persuasion, and their works reflect the ideas and relations within British and American societies at the beginning of the 20th century.

Key words

manipulation, persuasion, propaganda, posters, World War I

Affiches de recrutement britanniques et américains à l'époque de la Grande Guerre

Résumé

L'article essaie de présenter les idées et les tendances principales dans les affiches de recrutement utilisées pendant la Grande Guerre. Les affiches étaient parmi les moyens de propagande le plus souvent utilisés et les plus efficaces à cette époque-là, elles sont aussi particulièrement intéressantes de point de vue sociolinguistique. Les auteurs des affiches présentées ont recouru à des moyens de persuasion très divers et leurs œuvres représentent les idées et les

relations au sein des sociétés britannique et américaine au début du XXème siècle.

Mots-clés

affiches, Grande Guerre, manipulation, persuasion, propagande

Brytyjskie i amerykańskie rekrutacyjne plakaty propagandowe w I wojnie światowej

Abstrakt

Artykuł stanowi próbę przedstawienia głównych idei i tendencji cechujących brytyjskie i amerykańskie plakaty propagandowe wykorzystywane podczas I wojny światowej. Plakaty należały do najczęściej wykorzystywanych i najskuteczniejszych środków propagandowych owego czasu i są również niezwykle interesujące z punktu widzenia socjolingwistyki. Autorzy przedstawionych plakatów wykorzystywali różnorakie środki perswazji, a ich prace odzwierciedlają idee i stosunki panujące w brytyjskim i amerykańskim społeczeństwie na początku dwudziestego stulecia.

Słowa kluczowe

I wojna światowa, manipulacja, perswazja, plakaty, propaganda

1. Introduction

On the eve of the Great War, both Great Britain and the USA differed from other major powers of the period in having abandoned conscription in favor of a smaller, but professional army. However, it quickly became clear that the belligerent countries were facing an armed conflict which required the participation of a great many soldiers. Britain, after joining the conflict in 1914, had to rely on volunteers who had to be persuaded to offer their services (and lives) for their country. All avail-

able means of propaganda were used for this purpose, and posters played a key role throughout the recruitment campaign.

According to Steve Thorne (2016: 41), the word *propaganda* comes from the Modern Latin "congregatio de propaganda fide", which means "congregation for propagating the faith", and was first used in reference to a committee of cardinals responsible for foreign missions, founded by Pope Gregory XV in 1622. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) provides the following definition of *propaganda* in its current sense: it is "the systematic propagation of information or ideas by an interested party, especially in a tendentious way in order to encourage or instill a particular attitude or response". Until the Second World War, however, the word had not acquired truly pejorative connotations, and was often used as a synonym of *publicity.* Propaganda is currently associated with totalitarian regimes, such as Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union, which often obscures the fact that democratic counties relied on propaganda to a similar extend as the Nazi or the Communists in order to discredit their enemies, manipulate public opinion, or achieve other desired ends.

2. Propaganda and techniques of manipulation

In order for propaganda to be successful, it has to meet some essential requirements. Indeed, as C. W. Mills put it:

> To change opinion and activity, they say to one another, we must pay close attention to the full context and lives of the people to be managed. Along with mass persuasion, we must somehow use personal influence; we must reach people in their life context and *through* other people, their daily associates, those whom they trust: we must get at them by some kind of "personal" persuasion. We must not show our hand directly; rather than merely advise or command, we must manipulate.
>
> (Mills 1995: 92)

This method, as we shall see later on, was frequently used by authors of posters. Manipulation of this kind involved appealing to the personal feelings of a potential recruit, such as love for their families, pride, respect for authority, but also fear of being shamed. Well known public figures and fictional characters, images of family members and of British women urging their men to join in the fight were employed by the authors of posters.

The importance of propaganda was quickly noticed. In his work on the language of war, Thorne (2006: 50) quotes Dave Saunders, who states in his book *Twentieth Century Advertising*:

> By the end of World War One, governments of the leading powers had realized the   potential role of advertising in the dissemination of information and the rallying of support. Posters were the primary medium of mass communication and many artists and designers were called on to reverse their usual role of promoting products and use their persuasive talents to encourage the public to spend less and to conserve resources. The creative process required was much the same, but the sense of urgency that war brings created a crop of innovative ideas and high quality artwork that was frequently copied and had a major effect on later advertising.

The only arguable point in this quotation is the information that the role of advertising was realized only by the end of the war; innovative and ingenious artwork appeared much earlier, and it used very sophisticated techniques of manipulation. According to Pabijańska (2007) all such techniques "are founded on very simple patterns and social mechanisms which are rooted in our minds on a certain level of our lives". Most of the principles use the notion of conformism, which is a tendency to change one's behavior, views or beliefs as a result of other people's influence. It is present in two kinds of situations: if we have no knowledge of the current situation so we

follow the opinion of others and when we feel the need to be socially accepted and appreciated (Pabijańska 2007: 26).

Anthony Pratkanis and Elliot Aronson distinguish between four major techniques of manipulation. The first one concerns gaining control over the situation, which means creating an atmosphere favorable to communication. This process is called preliminary persuasion or pre-persuasion which refers to the way we present the issue. An effective pre-persuasion establishes what is assumed "we all should know" and "what everyone considers obvious", though in reality it may not be the case. A manipulator who is able to formulate the issue in a clever way and define the method of discussing it may influence our cognitive reactions. The sender of the persuasive message can make us agree or do something he or she wishes without giving the impression of having such an intention.

The second stage consists of creating an appropriate image of the situation in the receiver's perception, which is called derivation plausibility. The key issue is the autopresentation of the sender, who should seem to be sympathetic, trustworthy and well-informed. The third technique is to create a message which would focus the listeners' attention exactly on what the sender intends. The aim of this is to distract their attention from arguments against the presented stance.

The last method mentioned by the authors is based on controlling the emotions of the receivers and intends to arouse certain emotions and then prompt a way to deal with them, the prompted behavior being the one desired by the manipulator.

Manipulation techniques work in a concealed way, as sometimes it is enough to use a certain word in a given context or put the words in the right order to make the utterance persuasive. The person who is being manipulated does not know about it and therefore the action is subconscious. Dantalion Jones writes: "Language patterns work for many reasons, a primary one being that they bring about an emotional state and then suggest an action to accompany the emotion. The

truth is that someone can be talked into bed, a business partnership, or sold a product or service – just with words" (Jones 2008: 2).

The fact that effective propaganda is a matter of effective manipulation, not of reasoning or persuasion, and that it must appeal to the feelings of the manipulated person, was widely used by many types of totalitarian regimes. As one of the most notorious propagandists of all time, Joseph Goebbels, said:

> Success is the important thing. Propaganda is not a matter for average minds, but rather a matter for practitioners. It is not supposed to be lovely or theoretically correct. I do not care if I give wonderful, aesthetically elegant speeches, or speak so that women cry. The point of a political speech is to persuade people of what we think right. I speak differently in the provinces than I do in Berlin, and when I speak in Bayreuth, I say different things than I say in the Pharus Hall. That is a matter of practice, not of theory. We do not want to be a movement of a few straw brains, but rather a movement that can conquer the broad masses. Propaganda should be popular, not intellectually pleasing. It is not the task of propaganda to discover intellectual truths.
>
> (www.wiki quote.org)

Goebbels' leader, Adolf Hitler, perceived effective propaganda in a similar way: "Its effect for the most part must be aimed at the emotions and only to a very limited extent at the so-called intellect. All effective propaganda must be limited to a very few points and must harp on these slogans until the last member of the public understands what you want him to understand by your slogan" (quoted in Pratkanis and Aronson 1991: 250f.).

In his text on the relationships between language and power, Rajend Mesthrie (2009: 323) notices that "emotional language, creation of associations and connotations, repetition and simplification of reality are the key elements of propaganda". In Nazi propaganda, for instance, most popular were constructions using terms such as honour and nobility. "Labour enobles" (*Arbeit adelt*) was a popular slogan repeated continu-

ously on radio, in film and the press. Other constructions connected the area of work to the area of war: "Soldier of work" (*Arbeitsarmeen*) and "German Labour Front" (*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*). This brings to the fore the idea of different orders of discourse which were applied in the manipulation, a method which shall be discussed further on in this article.

When analyzing the theoretical background of the main techniques of propaganda and manipulation, one should mention Dorwin Cartwright, who in his famous article "Some principles of mass persuasion" (1947), wrote about the main conditions for such techniques to be effective:

– The message must be received by those who are to be influenced by it.
– The message must be accepted by the receiver as a constituent part of his/her cognitive structure.
– If the message does not correspond to the pre-existing cognitive structure, it will either be rejected or changed in such a way that it does correspond, or there will be a change in the cognitive structure.
– The behavior which the propagandist wishes to encourage in the receiver must be recognized by him/her as a means of achieving an aim which is in his/her own interests.
– To bring about a specific behavior the receiver's behavioral patterns must be controlled by an adequate motivational system, which, at the decisive moment, leads the receiver to the intended behavior.

Another scholar who investigated the methods and principles of mass persuasion was Dantalion Jones, who in the book *Mind Control Language Patterns* (2008: 31-34) enumerates several methods which can be applied in order to achieve one's desired goals. The first of these is using presuppositions. He understands presupposition as implicit information which is not directly uttered by the speaker. In other words, as a result of an utterance we presuppose that something will happen or someone will behave in a desired way.

Another technique is connected with the use of verb tenses. It has been noticed that people unconsciously tend to talk about certain actions, feelings or emotions using the verb tense that indicates whether the problem still belongs to the present or if it already pertains to the past. Another, and a particularly effective mind-controlling method is the use of a "weasel phrase". This term refers to a considerable amount of phrases "which evoke the feeling of something personal and meaningful, but in reality their purpose is to avoid the use of a direct command while setting up a strong suggestion".

There are also embedded commands; these are commands which are not expressed directly, but somehow concealed in the utterance. The efficacy of this technique is based on the merging of the command with the rest of the sentence, which is usually not connected semantically with the hidden message. In spoken language, the key words may be uttered in a slightly louder voice or a tone different from the rest of the sentence. In writing, especially in the case of posters, they should be visible, yet not intrusive. The command itself should be as simple as possible.

Another effective method is the "I-You" pattern, often used in everyday speech in order to evoke certain emotions in the interlocutor. Basically, the idea is to use the second person "you" instead of the first person "I" while giving an account of an event or talking about some experience.

There is also the values elicitation technique. The goal of this method is to reach the set of deepest values of the person who is the object of manipulation. Finally, there are several words used every day which may have significant impact on the interlocutor. Examples of such words are *but* (it negates everything that has been said before and diverts attention from it), *because* (it introduces an explanation or justification; even if it is unfounded, it may be convincing to many people), or *not* (which is especially effective in the imperative mood).

3. Recruitment propaganda posters

Let us now pass to some examples of recruitment propaganda posters created in Great Britain and the USA during World War I.

3.1. Examples

When we compare the first two posters, we can see the difference between the early approaches to propaganda posters and their fully developed versions. The "Why Aren't You in Khaki" poster still looks quite primitive, although it already displays some of the features which will become typical of future propaganda of a similar kind. The first and obvious feature is the direct address to the addressee. Moreover, in this particular case, the intention of the question asked is to evoke a feeling of guilt and shame in the person who has not yet contributed to the military effort. The connotations brought by the word *khaki* are obvious: that was the color of British Army uniforms on the eve of World War I (a great contrast to the traditional red jackets, so iconic of the Victorian era and before).

The second poster is a classic of the genre. It was designed by Alfred Leete, a former designer who turned his hand to wartime propaganda. Leete's famous Lord Kitchener poster design first appeared on the front cover of the weekly magazine *London Opinion* in September 1914, a month after Britain had declared war on Germany.

To the British public in 1914, Kitchener's face and his famous moustache were instantly recognizable, so his name was omitted from the poster. Currently, this somehow grotesque figure, symbolic of the greatness of the British Empire, would probably be unrecognizable to the younger reader, but at the beginning of the 20th century Lord Kitchener enjoyed the status of a British national hero. After the Battle of Omdurman (2 September 1898), where he crushed the Mahdist Rebellion in Sudan (a historical event Polish readers are familiar with

thanks to the book *W pustyni i w puszczy* by Henryk Sienkiewicz) and successful further participation in the Boer wars, he was perceived to be the right person to take over the post of Secretary of State of War in order to organize the biggest volunteer army in the history of Britain.

In the poster he points at the reader and addresses him in a very straightforward way. He wants YOU (personally) in YOUR country's army. The poster is also filled with patriotic clues ("Britons", which addresses all inhabitants of the country, regardless of ethnic origin, plus the "God save the King" slogan, so often used and abused in literature, songs, and official propaganda).

The British poster might have been an inspiration for the extremely successful poster issued after the American government's decision to join World War I. Indeed, the "I Want You for the US Army" poster proved to be so effective that it was reproduced when the following great conflict broke out, just after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The symbolic Uncle Sam, dear to so many Americans as the personification of the United States, points at you and tells you what to do: go to the nearest recruitment station. The message is clear and concise, with no unnecessary information to distract the reader's attention.

After Lord Kitchener's death on 5 June 1916,[1] new British recruitment posters had to be designed. One of the most famous was the one presenting the fictitious character John Bull, once again pointing directly at the viewer. This time, however, the message is different: "Who's absent? Is it you?". The idea is to evoke a feeling of shame or guilt, and in this respect this poster is similar to the first one presented in this article ("Why aren't you in khaki?"), although it bears a superficial resemblance to the American "Uncle Sam" poster.

---

[1] Kitchener drowned en route to Russia to take part in Allied negotiations. The cruiser he was sailing on, HMS Hampshire, struck a mine and sunk.

Figure 1
"Why Aren't You in Khaki ?"

Figure 2
"Britons…"

Figure 3
"I Want You for the U.S. Army"
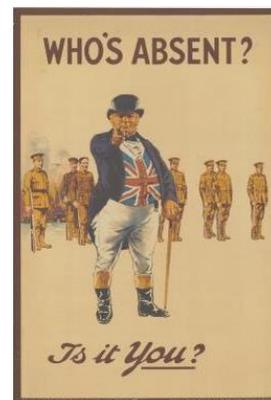
Figure 4
"Who's Absent ?"

Figure 1 source: <http://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-world-war-one-british-recruiting-and-propaganda-poster-issued-in-1915-29341846.html>. Accessed 20.04.2016.
Figure 2 source: <http://pw20c.mcmaster.ca/case-study/british-first-world-war-recruiting-posters>. Accessed 20.04.2016.
Figure 3 source: <http://www.authentichistory.com/1914-1920/2-homefront/1-propaganda/>. Accessed 20.04.2016.
Figure 4 source: <http://www.firstworldwar.com/posters/uk.htm>. Accessed 20.04.2016.

3.2. The role of women in World War I war posters

The role of women is an interesting issue with regard to re-cruitment propaganda in World War I. Generally speaking, the picture of British or American women in posters of that time is still ambiguous, being as yet undefined. There is still a long time to wait for typical World War II propaganda, urging wom-en to contribute directly to the war effort (not on the front line, but in all sorts of auxiliary military services and, above all, in weapon and equipment production as factory workers). There are, however, several World War I posters depicting women as wives/mothers/daughters/fiancées, whose task is to motivate and encourage men to join the military and participate in the war. A very good example of such propaganda is the "Women of Britain Say: Go" poster. Two women (and a child) look through a window at a marching troop. They seem passive and powerless, but their safety is the true motivation that makes their men join the passing soldiers. The poster, therefore, evokes a feeling of duty which has to be fulfilled.

The "Daddy, what did YOU do in the Great War" poster makes use of the portrayal of children instead of women, but is of particular interest nonetheless. Again, it appeals to the feeling of duty, but also of shame. We can speculate that the scene takes place after the war, two children are playing with their father; the daughter is reading a book (maybe about the war) and the son is playing with toy soldiers. The question about their father's participation in the great conflict is left without an answer. He seems, however, to feel uneasy about it. Maybe he avoided military service when everybody else was fighting for their country and now he does not know what to say? The message is: if you do not want to find yourself in such an embarrassing situation in the future, do your duty now, be a patriot, do not disappoint your family by bringing shame on them.

Figure 5
"Women of Britain Say: Go !"

Figure 6
"Daddy, What Did YOU Do in
the Great War ?"

Figure 7
"Queen Mary's Army
Auxiliary Corps"

Figure 8
"Wake Up America"

Figure 5 source: <http://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/patriotism-and-nationalism>. Accessed 20. 04. 2016.
Figure 6 source: <http://cristianaziraldo.altervista.org/propaganda-world-war-one/>. Accessed 20.04. 2016.
Figure 7 source: <https://ieper.wikispaces.com/WW23+Impact+on+ Women>. Accessed 20.04.2016.
Figure 8 source: <http://time.com/3881351/world-war-i-posters-the-graphic-art-of-propaganda/>. Accessed 20.04.2016.

The "Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps" poster introduces a new kind of woman character. These ladies are encouraged to "enrol to-day" and to participate in the conflict in a more active way than merely motivating men. Still, however, the place of woman is quite clearly specified: she is "the girl behind the man behind the gun". In other words, weapons are not the sort of toy a lady should play with. On the other hand, the US poster "Wake up America" depicts a woman resembling Freedom leading people to the barricades similar to the famous French painting by Eugene Delacroix. In one hand she holds a lamp, which gives light, makes things clearly visible and shows the way. In the other hand she holds the American flag. The message is clear: "Americans, follow me!" As a symbol of freedom and a personification of liberty, the figure of a heroic woman is a far better choice than Uncle Sam could ever be.

3.3. The appeal to patriotism
and spirit of adventure in World War I propaganda

Patriotic attitudes were enhanced by military propagandists who stressed the values of tradition and community of all citizens of the Empire. In "The Veteran's Farewell" one can see an old former soldier, still wearing the traditional British Army red jacket, encouraging a young recruit by reassuring the lad that only his old age prevents him from going to the front line again. Now it is the young man's task to show he is worthy of the glorious tradition of the old veterans. The following two posters are attempts to increase the number of enlisted men by either appealing to minorities, some of which were traditionally in opposition to British rule (like the Irish), or by persuading people of British origin living in other parts of the world (like the USA) to join the army. None of these campaigns, however, were particularly successful.
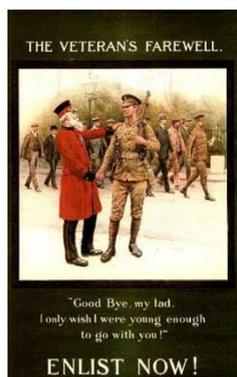
Figure 9
"The Veteran's Farewell"
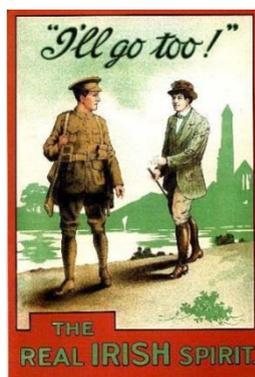
Figure 10
"I'll Go"

Figure 11
"Britishers – You Are Needed"

Figure 9 source: <https://pl.pinterest.com/pin/331155378821220019/>.
Accessed 20.04.2016.
Figure 10 source: <https://pl.pinterest.com/pin/361906520030293635/>.
Accessed 20.04.2016.
Figure 11 source: <https://pl.pinterest.com/greathistory/wwi-
propaganda-posters/>. Accessed 20.04.2016.

Finally, posters that appealed to young people's fascination with adventure and modern technology should be mentioned. The poster "The Navy Needs You" suggests that by joining the military we are not just reading American history, but creating it. Such a statement would give a young recruit the perspective of becoming someone important, maybe famous – like the people he used to read about in books or newspapers as a boy. It can be speculated that such motivation would have been quite effective, especially if we consider the fact that the poster was made for a Navy recruitment campaign, and that the Navy was usually associated both with adventure (e.g. trips to distant countries, which otherwise people from the lower classes, who constituted the vast majority of ordinary seamen, could have never afforded on their own), and with technological advancement. There is a common belief too that "boys like toys", even if by "toys" we mean weapons and other military equipment. The cartoon-like poster "Join the Tanks" seems to fulfill these expectations. It is not about war and death, but rather about "treating them rough"; we are not talking about suffering, therefore, because we join the army to have fun and punish the enemy.

When analyzing the final two posters we can also refer to the concept of varied orders of discourse. In his article on different orders of discourse in the language of politics, Paul Chilton calls attention to the obvious fact that

> types of talking and writing play different parts in different institutions of a society (an   entire society can be thought of as being constituted from several interconnected "orders of discourse", referring to education, political institutions, law, religion, medicine, journalism, commerce, and so forth; and this structuring of a social and political entity has also been called "an order of discourse" – a set of codes, conventions, and norms which are structured in a particular way).

(Chilton 2001: 588)

Norman Fairclough (1995: 94-102) goes further and introduces the distinction between *congruent* and *metaphorical* orders of discourse. He claims that such a distinction is an extension of a terminology used by Halliday (2003). A congruent application is "the use of a discourse to signify those sorts of experience other than that which it most usually signifies". Further, he claims that "metaphorical applications of discourse are socially motivated, different metaphors may correspond to different interests and perspectives, and may have different ideological loadings". Fairclough's argumentation is based on a selection of newspaper reports from the First Gulf War, especially in relation to the way in which the Iraqi side, especially Saddam Hussain are depicted. He notices that when talking about the war a selection of different orders of discourse was used by the press, such as the authoritarian discourse of family or school discipline ("More than 100 Allied jets... gave tyrant Saddam Hussain a spanking", "The allies launched 114 war planes to teach defiant Saddam a lesson"), religious ("Retribution in the Gulf"), medical ("Removing the Iraqi cancer"), and many others. Although Fairclough's analysis referred to a war which took place at the end of the 20th century, his method may also apply to the way in which much earlier events were presented. As such, the application of the same principles that Fairclough describes when analyzing information provided by the press during the First Gulf War also seems to apply when we refer to recruitment and propaganda posters issued in the first half of the 20th century. Instead of an order of discourse typical to war, they offer orders of discourse associated rather with adventure stories or types of games (maybe also street fights), respectively.

Figure 12
"The Navy Needs You"

Figure 13
"Treat Them Rough"

Figure 12 source: <https://pl.pinterest.com/pin/325385141803583672/>.
Accessed 20.04. 2016.
Figure 13 source: <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/world-war-propaganda-posters/>. Accessed 20.04. 2016.

4. Conclusion

As was mentioned at the beginning of the article, both Great Britain and the United States entered the First World War with small professional armies and scarce reserves; none of these countries had conscription, which at first put them at a disadvantage compared to countries such as Germany, France or Russia. Volunteers had to be motivated and persuaded to join the military services. Recruitment propaganda posters, meanwhile, were one of the most important tools in achieving that goal; in fact, they turned out to be extremely effective, as millions of Britons and Americans voluntarily decided to fight in the war.

Many of them regretted it.

References

Aronson E., A. Pratkanis (2004). *Nasz wiek propagandy*. Trans. J. Radzicki, M. Szuster. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

"British First World War recruiting posters". Available at <http://pw20c.mcmaster.ca/case-study/british-first-world-war-recruiting-posters>. Accessed 20.04.2014.

Cartwright, Dorwin (1949). "Some principles of mass persuasion". *Human Relations* 2/3: 253-267. Available at <http://hum.sagepub.com>. Accessed 10.04.2016.

Chilton, Paul A (2001). "Politics and Language". In: Rajend Mesthrie (ed.). *Concise Encyclopedia of Sociolinguistics.* Oxford: Elsevier, 584-591.

Cosgrove, Ben. "World War I posters: The graphic art of propaganda". Available at <http://time.com/3881351/world-war-i-posters-the-graphic-art-of-propaganda/>. Accessed 20.04.2016.

Fairclough, Norman (2008). "Analysis of discourses in newspaper texts". In: Peter Stockwell. *Sociolinguistics: A Resource Book for Students.* London: Routledge, 146-152.

Fry, Stephen. "Propaganda during World War One." Available at <http://cristianaziraldo.altervista.org/propaganda-world-war-one/>. Accessed 20.04. 2016.

Haste, Cate (1995). "The machinery of propaganda". In: Robert Jackall (ed.). *Propaganda.* London: Macmillan, 74-101.

Jones, Dantalion (2008). *Mind Control Language Patterns.* Manchester: Mind Control Publishing

"Joseph Goebbels: Quotes". Available at <www.wikiquote/wiki/joseph_goebbels.org>. Accessed 10.03.2016.

Mesthrie, Rajend (ed.) (2009). *Introducing Sociolinguistics.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Mills, C. Wright (1995). "The mass society". In: Robert Jackall (ed.). *Propaganda.* London: Macmillan, 74-101.

Pabijańska, Monika (2007). *Psychomanipulacja w polityce.* Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Astrum.

Pinterest. Available at: <https://pl.pinterest.com/pin/331155378821220019/>. Accessed 20.04.2016.

Propaganda Posters. Available at: <http://www.firstworldwar.com/posters/uk.htm>. Accessed 20.04.2016.

Stockwell, Peter (2008). *Sociolinguistics: A Resource Book for Students.* London: Routledge.

Thorne, Steve (2006). *The Language of War*. London: Routledge.

Welch, David. "Propaganda for patriotism and nationalism". Available at: <http://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/patriotism-and-nationalism>. Accessed 20. 04.2016.

World War I. Available at: <http://ieper.wikispaces.com/World+War+I>. Accessed 20.04.2016.

World War I: The Home Front. Available at <http://www.authentichistory.com/1914-1920/2-homefront/1-propaganda/>. Accessed 20.04.2016.

World War One British Recruiting and Propaganda Poster issued in 1915. Available at <http://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-world-war-one-british-recruiting-and-propaganda-poster-issued-in-1915-29341846.html>. Accessed 20.04.2016.

World War Propaganda Posters. Available at <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/world-war-propaganda-posters/>. Accessed 20.04.2016.

Michał Golubiewski
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: mgolubiewski@vp.pl

Classical Greek borrowings
in contemporary colloquial American English

ALEKSANDRA HOŁOMEJ
MICHAŁ GOLUBIEWSKI

Abstract

The aim of this article is to provide a brief analysis of the influence of borrowings from Classical Greek on contemporary American English, not with regard to formal language (including mainly different varieties of professional jargon, or professiolects), but to colloquial and unconventional English, especially slang. The Classical languages, Latin and Greek, are among the languages which have exerted the most influence upon English vocabulary, but is this process continuing in the area of informal parlor? The authors try to answer this question with respect to contemporary American English slang.

Key words

American English, borrowing, Greek borrowings, jargon, slang

Emprunts au grec classique
dans le registre familier
de l'anglais américain contemporain

Résumé

L'objectif de l'article est de présenter une brève analyse de l'influence des emprunts au grec classique sur l'anglais américain contemporain, non pas dans le cadre formel, comprenant plusieurs variétés des jargons professionnels, mais dans le registre familier, surtout dans l'argot. Les langues classiques, c'est-à-dire le latin et le grec,

sont parmi celles qui ont le plus influencé le lexique anglais. Pourtant, cette influence, est-elle toujours visible dans le registre familier? L'auteur essaie de répondre à cette question en se basant sur l'argot américain contemporain.

Mots-clés

anglais américain, argot, emprunts, emprunts au grec, jargon

Zapożyczenia z klasycznej greki
we współczesnym potocznym amerykańskim angielskim

Abstrakt

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest przedstawienie krótkiej analizy wpływu zapożyczeń z klasycznej greki na współczesny amerykański angielski, nie w odniesieniu do języka formalnego, obejmującego głównie różne odmiany prefesjolektów, ale w odniesieniu do angielszczyzny potocznej, zwłaszcza slangu. Języki klasyczne, łaciński i grecki, należą do tych, które wywarły największy wpływ na angielskie słownictwo, czy jednak wpływ ten jest nadal zauważalny w języku potocznym ? Autor stara się udzielić odpowiedzi na podstawie współczesnego amerykańskiego slangu.

Słowa kluczowe

amerykański angielski, slang, zapożyczenia, zapożyczenia z greki, żargon

1. Introduction

In her book *Lingua Latina: Łacina bez pomocy Orbiliusza* (1975), Lidia Winniczuk states that among the 20000 most commonly used English words at that time scholars found about 10,400 deriving from Latin origin, about 2,200 deriving from Greek, and only about 5,400 of Anglo-Saxon origin. The question arises whether the process of borrowing from classi-

cal languages continues to the same extent. The continuing influence of classical languages on English, meanwhile, has been highlighted by John Algeo, the editor of *Fifty Years among New Words. A Dictionary of Neologisms, 1941-1991.* As he says,

> Ever since the Renaissance, English has raided the classical languages for impressive-sounding root words. So extensive has such borrowing been that a large number of   Greek and Latin roots are now a part of English, used as any other elements to make compounds and affixed derivatives. However, we still sometimes go back to the classical sources to borrow roots when we need a fancy term, especially in medicine or technology.
>
> (Algeo 1991: 4)

In this article, however, the authors are not concerned with Classical Greek influence on formal American English lexicon (mostly technical, academic or scientific vocabulary, some of which, being professional jargon, is only used by specialists in particular fields), but with very informal, colloquial language, mainly slang. The question which needs to be answered is whether Classical Greek constitutes a significant source of borrowings in contemporary colloquial American English.

2. Jargon vs. slang

Despite being frequently misused and frequently perceived as synonyms by laymen, the terms 'slang' and 'jargon' refer to two distinct varieties of language. Jargon, often associated with certain professiolects, may display a very high level of formality, like medical, legal, academic or, more recently, IT jargon, for instance. Slang, on the other hand, represents the most informal and, at the same time, the fastest changing variety of language. While scientific vocabulary often remains unchanged for centuries, slang words may have a surprisingly short lifespan, sometimes lasting for only a few years. It may be connected with two important facts. First of all, slang is a variety of language which appears mostly in spoken form, while

jargon may be either spoken or written. Indeed, considering the amount of legal, academic or technical literature, one could claim that the written form prevails. Secondly, slang is often connected with specific subcultures, fashion, trends in music and other phenomena which easily undergo deep and abrupt changes.

There are also significant differences in the motivations for the use of jargon and slang. One of the most important motivations for the use of jargon (in the sense of a specific professiolect) is the necessity for maximum precision, along with brevity, in certain fields of knowledge. In the case of slang, such motivation is much less common since it often refers to such areas of life as sex, drugs or crime rather than medicine or technology. On the other hand, group membership – one of the chief motivations for the use of slang – also plays a certain role in the use of jargon. Since both slang and jargon tend to be highly unintelligible to 'outsiders', they are used to exclude people who do not belong (for example) to a certain subculture or a professional group, respectively.

Widawski (2003) enumerates several further motivations for the use of slang, such as opposition to authority, reverse morality, expressing emotions, humor, toughness, deliberate imprecision, etc. Neither of them seems to play a significant role with reference to jargon.

One more issue which needs to considered in discussing the differences between jargon and slang are the typical user groups. In the case of jargon they are usually people of the same profession, sharing the same hobby, interests, etc. With slang the situation is much more complex. According to Widawski (2003), among the most typical slang user groups are soldiers, criminals, prisoners, African Americans, students, teenagers, musicians, sportsmen, drug abusers, etc. In other words, rather than being members of clearly defined professional groups, they tend to belong to certain social groups using their own sociolects. This fact significantly influences the kind of new vocabulary they coin and, in the case of borrowings, the choice of the source language. In New York City

slang, for instance, one can find numerous examples which were borrowed from Italian or Yiddish, a result of the influence of numerous people of Italian or Jewish origin living in that area.

3. The subject of analysis

When it comes to the selection of vocabulary analyzed, the first step to be taken is to define the kind of words which shall be taken into consideration. In his book *Foreign Words and Phrases in English*, Marek Kuźniak proposes a simple typology of lexical borrowings, classifying them (after Haugen, 1953) into loanwords (pure loanwords and loanblends) and loanshifts. Quoting Katamba (2006, cit. in Kuźniak 2007: 132), he explains:

> A loanword is a word belonging to one language which is IM-PORTED or ADOPTED by another , e.g. *catamaran* was imported into English from Tamil and *shopping* was imported into French *le shopping.* By contrast, a loanshift involves taking on board the meaning represented by a word in a foreign language, but not the word-form. Loanshifts are also called LOAN TRANSLATIONS or CALQUES.

In this article, the focus of attention is on loanwords and loanblends which were formed with the use of morphemes borrowed from Classical Greek. The Authors have chosen 54 common Greek roots and prefixes, which appear in the formation of a huge number of words which can be found in General English dictionaries (in this case, *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language*), and checked their occurrence in one of the most comprehensive dictionaries of colloquial American English – Tom Dalzell's (2009) *The Routledge Dictionary of Modern American Slang and Unconventional English*. Presented below is a list of chosen Classical Greek morphemes along with their original Greek transcription

and English meaning (transcriptions according to Jurewicz 2000):

   acro (Gk. ἄκρος – highest, farthest, deepest; topmost; extreme);
   aero (Gk. ἀήρ – air; of air);
   amphi (Gk. ἀμφί – around; on both sides);
   anemo (Gk. ἄνεμος – wind);
   antho (Gk. ἄνθος – flower);
   anthropo (Gk. ἄνθρωπος – man);
   anti (Gk. ἀντί – opposite; against);
   apo (Gk. ἀπό – from, after; away; apart);
   archaeo (Gk. ἀρχαῖος – primitive; primordial; old; ancient);
   auto (Gk. αὐτός – same; self);
   bio (Gk. βίοσ – life);
   broncho (Gk. βρόγχος – windpipe; throat);
   caco (Gk. κακός – bad; evil; ugly; vicious);
   cata (Gk. κατά – down from, against, over);
   cephalo (Gk. κεφαλή – head);
   chloro (Gk. χλωρός – light green; emerald; yellowish);
   chrono (Gk. χρόνος – time; age; lifespan);
   deca (Gk. δέκα – ten);
   dyna (Gk. δύναμις – power, strength, force);
   dys (Gk. δυσ-, a prefix expressing negative or pejorative force);
   endo (Gk. ἔνδον – inside; within);
   epi (Gk. ἐπί – on; over; in);
   eu (Gk. εὖ – well; precisely; correctly);
   geo (Gk. γῆ – land; earth; country; countryside);
   geno (Gk. γένος – tribe; origin; descendance; descendant);
   grapho (Gk. γραφή – drawing; writing; letter; picture);
   helio (Gk. ἥλιος – sun; light; day; sunrise);
   hemi (Gk. ἡμι – half);
   hetero (Gk. ἕτερος – different; apart);
   hippo (Gk. ἵππος – horse);
   holo (Gk. ὅλος – whole; entire);
   homo (Gk. ὁμός – same; similar; common);
   hydro (Gk. ὕδωρ – water);
   hyper (Gk. ὑπέρ – beyond; over; farther; higher; exceeding);
   idio (Gk. ἴδοις – private; personal; own);
   iso (Gk. ἴσος – equal; same);
   litho (Gk. λίθος – stone; rock);

logo- (Gk. λόγος – word; speech; order; reason);
macro- (Gk. μακρός – long; high; huge; big);
mega- (Gk. μέγας – large; broad; high; tall);
megalo- (Gk. μεγάλη – large);
meta- (Gk. μετά – between; among; together; [often expressing change]);
micro- (Gk. μικρός – tiny; a little);
mono- (Gk. μόνος – alone; single; only);
morpho- (Gk. morfή – form; image);
neo- (Gk. νέος – new; young; fresh);
neuro- (Gr. νεῦρον – nerve; force);
pan- (Gk. πᾶς, πᾶσα, πᾶν – all; entire; whole);
para- (Gk. παρά – from; against; along; aside);
peri- (Gk. περί – around);
philo- (Gk. φίλος – dear; loved; desired);
phisio- (Gk. ʹфύσιj – nature; origin; look; appearance; growth);
poly- (Gk. πολύς – numerous, common, long, large; much, many);
theo- (Gk. θεός – god, goddess, deity).

The list above may be judged as selective, yet should be representative enough so as to give an overall picture of the impact of Classical Greek on the formation of the new lexicon of colloquial American English. Additionally, morphemes were chosen so as to allow for the consideration of both pure loanwords and loanblends in the analysis.

4. Prestige as one of the primary factors motivating borrowings from Classical Greek into English

In such a short article there is not enough space for a thorough analysis of the most important reasons for borrowing. At this point, however, it is worth quoting Mirosława Podhajecka, who wrote:

As language is primarily a social phenomenon, linguists have claimed that two extralinguistic factors have been responsible for the transfer phenomenon: the prestige motive and the need filling motive. If speakers of a language take over new cultural

items, such as new technologies or religious or social concepts, there is an obvious need for the vocabulary naming the concept.

(Podhajecka 2013: 27)

Obviously, these two factors play a key role in borrowing from classical languages to all varieties of professiolects. Both the prestige motive (which has been present throughout the entire history of the English language, as shall be demonstrated) and the need filling motive (new inventions, drugs, and ideas need to be named, and borrowing is a much easier process than coining entirely new words) are present in the case of jargon. The question remains, however, whether these two extralinguistic motives would also make Classical Greek the source of borrowings for contemporary American English slang.

In terms of the possible attitude language users may feel towards the language the borrowings come from (and to the culture it represents), another quotation from Podhajecka is insightful:

> the view that borrowings always show a superiority of the nation or culture from whose language they are taken, as argued by Jespersen (1964: 2009), seems far too exaggerated, particularly when relations between the languages involved are those of 'adstratum', i.e. equal prestige. Many countries experienced periods of strong resistance to the borrowing of foreign words and expressions, presumably a dangerous phenomenon both for the identity of the nation and its language.
>
> (Podhajecka 2013: 26)

There is no doubt that for centuries the educated elites of European countries treated the Greco-Roman civilization as a point of reference, and consequently treated Latin and Classical Greek accordingly, so that the relation between these two languages and the local ones were hardly of 'equal prestige'. Moreover, English, unlike some other European languages, seldom offered 'strong resistance to the borrowing of foreign words and expressions'. In the case of colloquial parlor, however, the question of prestige and any alleged superiority clear-

ly differs from the point of view followed by scholars. In the case of contemporary colloquial Polish, for instance, most of the newest borrowings come from English, which (in this particular case) seems to be connected rather with the omnipresence of English on the Internet and the popularity of British and American pop-culture rather than with aspirations to elite-born 'high culture'. In the case of American English coiners and users of slang, their perception of the Greco-Roman civilization as a desired model remains arguable. The importance of prestige as a factor motivating the process of borrowing, however, has had an important influence on some tendencies in the history of borrowings from classical languages into English.

5. Tendencies in the history of borrowings from classical languages into English

Before we take a look at the current influence of Classical Greek on English lexicon, it is worth taking a short look at some stages of the history of the mentioned process, which may cast some light on the present day situation. When talking about Greek borrowings in English one cannot avoid mentioning the role of Latin, since it was often through Latin that many loans entered the English lexicon in a process of indirect borrowing.

In a chapter devoted to English vocabulary in the book *A History of the English Language*, Dieter Kastovsky stresses that

> if the vocabulary of a language reflects the perception of the world by a speech community, it will have to be constantly adapted to its changing needs. (...) The history of the vocabulary of a speech community is a reflection of its general history, since both innovations and losses document changes in the social needs of this community, arising from the pressure to adapt to changing external circumstances. The vocabulary of a language thus is also a link to the material and spiritual culture of its speakers.
>
> (Kastovsky 2006: 201f.)

He notices too that many changes in English vocabulary are the result of numerous borrowings from languages with which English came into contact in the course of its history. As he states,

> a massive amount of borrowings has occurred since the tenth and eleventh centuries – first from Latin, then from Scandinavian, then from French, then again from Latin and Greek, and finally from almost every language English came into contact with [...] About 70 per cent of present-day English vocabulary consists of loans, with loans from French and/or Latin (including Greek and Neo-Latin) taking up the lion's share.
>
> (Kastovsky 2006: 202)

If we consider Old English, Latin was the dominant source of influence, along with words of Greek origin which had been incorporated into Latin much earlier. Kastovsky (2006: 202f.) distinguishes the following groups of borrowings:

(1) continental borrowings (about 170 lexemes, mainly from Vulgar Latin);
(2) borrowing during the settlement period (many coming from Vulgar Latin, possibly through Celtic transmission);
(3) borrowings in connection with the Christianisation of the Anglo-Saxons and the development of Anglo-Saxon civilisation and learning (there are more loans from Classical Latin, as a result of the Church being the main agent of their introduction).

Another important issue that Kastovsky (2006: 202) mentions is that

> loans coming in during the late tenth and the eleventh centuries in connection with the Benedictine Reform probably never entered the spoken register at all and remained confined to the written language.

The fact that even at this stage most of the borrowings from classical languages belonged to some sort of professional,

'scholar' jargon is worth noticing, as it seems that this trend has remained unchanged until now.

Kastovsky also emphasises the role of the introduction of the Benedictine Reform at the end of the tenth century, which according to him was a crucial dividing line as to the type of loans that would be most acceptable, since that was the beginning of a preference for borrowing rather than loan translation. Moreover, as he clearly states, "loans of this period mainly fill gaps relevant to the concerns of the educated people dealing with religion and other scholarly concerns" (Kastovsky 2006: 202). He also notices that the overwhelming majority of the loans are nouns; adjectives and verbs are relatively scarce. Kastovsky summarizes his findings in the following way:

> Considering the impact that Roman culture and Christianisation had on the way of thinking and on the material culture of the Anglo-Saxons, the number of loans is remarkably small, especially in comparison to the number of loans that happened later in the Middle English and Modern English periods.
>
> (Kastovsky 2006: 220)

As far as the Middle English period is concerned, at that time English had been subject to significant foreign influence, mainly from French (the importance of the Royal Court and the aristocracy was the key factor in this process) but also to a certain extent from Latin. Apart from increasing substantially the amount of vocabulary, the influence of Latin also had repercussions for the phonological and morphological systems of the language. "Unlike French, Latin, being the language of the Church, scholarship, and to a certain extent of the law, was more frequently used in writing than in speaking" (Kastovsky 2006: 202). In his opinion, Latin (including a significant number of lexemes that had been formerly incorporated into Latin from Greek) was the dominant source of loans in early Modern English.

Again, there is no place here or need to analyse all the stages in the history of the English language; the important issue

is that borrowings from Greek and Latin have been very significant since the beginning of its history. Equally important is the fact that the process of borrowing from classical languages into English from the very beginning showed two important and consistent tendencies: the loans were mainly confined to the language of highly educated people, seldom becoming part of everyday speech, and they were often used in writing rather than in spoken language. These tendencies would make such borrowings very unlikely to occur in such a colloquial variety of language as slang, which is seldom used in writing and is not usually associated with the parlor of educated people.

6. Loans from Classical Greek
in contemporary American English slang

As has already been stated, the authors' analysis is based on the occurrence of words derived from some of the most common Classical Greek roots and coined with the use of the most typical Greek prefixes. *The Routledge Dictionary of Modern American Slang and Unconventional English* provides the following examples of modern American slang created in such a way:

   acro- : none;
   aero- : none;
   amphi- : none;
   anemo- : none;
   antho- : none;
   anthropo- : none;
   anti- : *anti-frantic* (adj.) (= calm, collected, 1983);
   apo- : none;
   archaeo- : none;
   auto- : *automagically* (adv.) (= in computing, in an automatic but
      explanation-defying fashion, 1981);
      automaton (n.) (= in poker, a player who bets and plays in an
      extremely predictable manner, 1996);
   bio- : none;
   broncho- : none;

caco- : none;

cata- : *catalog man* (n.) (= a gambling cheat whose superficial knowledge of cheating is acquired by studying catalogues of cheating devices,1945);
catatonia (n.) (= in computing, the condition that exists when a computer is in suspended operation, unable to proceed, 1981);
catatonic (adj.) (= of a computer: caught in an inextricable operation and thus suspended beyond reach or response, 1991);

cephalo- : none;

chloro- : none;

chrono- : *chronic* (n.) (= potent marijuana, 1993; = marijuana mixed with crack cocaine, 1998);
chronic bubonic (n.) (= marijuana that is more potent than simple 'chronic' or simple 'bubonic', 2001);

deca- : none;

dyna- : *dynamite* (n.) (= powerful alcohol or drugs, 1919; = nitroglycerine tablets prescribed to cardiac patients,1975; = any amphetamine, methamphetamine or other central nervous system stimulant, 1975; = cocaine, 1959; = a blend of heroin and cocaine, 1937; = something that is very good, 1902; = in an illegal betting operation, money that one bookmaker bets with another bookmaker to cover bets that he does not want to hold, 1951);
dynamite (adj.) (= excitingly excellent, 1922);
dyn-no-mite ! (used to express strong approval, 1978);
dyno (n.) (= a derelict, 1918; alcohol, 1962);
dyno (adj.) (= excellent, 1962);

dys- : none;

endo- : none;

epi- : *epic* (adj.) (= excellent, outstanding, 1957);
epidottle (n.) (= epidural anesthesia, 1994);
eppis (n.) (= nothing, 1966);
epsilon (n.) (= a very small amount, 1983);

eu- : *euphoria* (n.) (= the illegal drug 4-methylaminorex, a relatively uncommon central system stimulant, 2005);
Eurotrash (n.) (= rich foreigners living in the US, 1980);

geno- : none;

geo- : *geologist* (n.) (= a physician who considers his patients to be as intelligent as a rock, 1978);

grapho- : none;

helio- : *helium head* (n.) (= an aviator in a lighter-than-air airship, 1952);

hemi- : none;

hetero- : *hetero* (n.) (= a heterosexual, 1933);
hetgirl (n.) (= a heterosexual female, 1995);

hippo- : none;

holo- : none;

homo- : *homo* (n.) (= 1. a homosexual, especially a male homosexual, 1922; 2. Used as an insulting term of address to someone who is not homosexual, 1993);
homo heaven (n.) (= a public area where homosexuals congregate in hopes of quick sex,1965; = the upper balcony in a theatre patronized by homosexual men, 1966);
homosexual adapter (n.) (= a computer cable with either two male or two female connectors, 1991);

hydro- : *hydro* (n.) (= marijuana which is grown hydroponically, 1996);

hyper- : none;

idio- : *idiot blocks* (n.) (= options placed at the end of a staffing paper designed to allow the reader simply to tick the option which describes his decision, 1986);
idiot board (n.) (= a teleprompter, 1952);
idiot box (*n.*) (= the television, 1955);
idiot card (*n.*) (= in the television and movie industries, a poster board with the dialogue written in large letters for actors to read, 1957);
idiot juice (n.) (= any alcoholic beverage brewed in prison, especially a nutmeg/water mixture, 1974);
idiot loop (n.) (= an aerial maneuver used to avoid disruption after dropping a load of bombs, 1961);
idiot pill (n.) (= a barbiturate or central nervous system depressant, 1953);
idiot's delight (n.) (= in dominoes, the 5-0 piece, 1959);
idiot's sheet (n.) (= any published summary used for quick overview, 1956);
idiot stick (n.) (= a rifle, 1962);
idiot tube (n.) (= a television, television, 1968);

iso- : none;

litho- : none;

logo- : none;

macro- : none;

mega- : a prefix used for intensifying (*megaboredom*, *megababe*, etc.);

megablast (n.) (= a dose of crack cocaine, 1993);

megabuck (adj.) (= very expensive, 1992);

megabucks (n.) (= one million dollars; any large amount of money, 1946);

mega dirtball (n.) (= a hospital patient with an appalling lack of hygiene,1988-1989);

megalicious (adj.) (= very good, 1992);

megapenny (n.) (= ten thousand dollars – one cent times ten to the sixth power, 1991);

megillah (n.) (= all of something, 1954);

megalo- : none;

meta- **:** none;

micro- : none;

mono- : *mono* (*n.*) (= *mononucleosis, glandular fever, 1960*);

monolithic (*adj.*) (= *extremely drug intoxicated, 1971*);

mono-rump (*n.*) (= *the buttocks formed into a single mass by garment; 1974*);

morph(o)- : *morph* (v.) (= to create an electronic message in a manner that gives the appearance of having been sent by someone else, 1997);

morphodite (n.) (= a homosexual, 1796);

neo- : none;

neuro- : *neuron* (n.) (= a neurologist, 1994);

pan- : none;

para- : none;

peri- : none;

philo- : none;

phisio- : none;

poly- : none;

theo- : none.

As can be seen, borrowings from Greek in American slang are surprisingly scarce; indeed, most of the quoted words can be classified simply as a meaning extension of vocabulary already existing in General English. The overwhelming majority of the mentioned loans are nouns (note that such a tendency for nouns to dominate among loans from Classical Languages has

existed since the beginning of the process of borrowing from Latin and Greek into English).

When talking about the insignificant number of Classical Greek borrowings in American slang, it should be mentioned that in the book *Fifty Years Among New Words. A Dictionary of Neologisms,1941-1991* one can find a list of traditional prefixes which are still commonly used in the creation of new words. In the most representative list of 50 prefixes there are 7 analyzed previously in the article: *anti, hydro, hyper, mega, micro, mono, neo* (after Algeo 1991: 5). Their significant impact on General English, however, has no equivalent in American slang. Algeo (1991: 5) notices that

> new prefixes or new senses of old prefixes often develop to augment the list of traditional ones. For example, *aer*(*o*)- is a form meaning 'air' that combines with other word parts, as in *aerate* and *aerobic.*

The same prefix, being associated with such words as *aeronautics* or *aeroplane,* acquired the sense 'aviation' in words like *aeropause* or *aeropolitics.* Nevertheless, regardless of the fact how productive such processes may be and how many Greek prefixes are still used in forming new English vocabulary, their influence on coining new American slang has been insignificant.

6. Conclusion

In his classic work on language contact, Uriel Weinreich (1970: 56-61) distinguishes the following factors which are independently or mutually responsible for introducing foreign elements into a language:

(1) low frequency or rare words, which makes them susceptible to oblivion and replacement;
(2) homonymy (sometimes words are taken from another language to resolve the clash of homonyms);
(3) tendency of affective words to lose their force of expression;

(4) constant need for synonyms (lexical expansion tends to be inherent in most languages, especially in the case of their more informal varieties);

(5) insufficiently differentiated semantic fields;

(6) symbolic associations with the donor language, which can be either positive or negative.

All these factors have contributed to the amount of Greek borrowings in formal English language. The same factors, however, seem to have little or no influence in making Classical Greek a source of any significant borrowings in contemporary colloquial American English, especially slang. In the opinion of the authors, the key factor may be connected with symbolic associations with the donor language. Among the users of slang such associations seem to be very feeble, neither positive nor negative, but possibly non-existent. As a result, the prestige factor does not play an important role in motivating the process of borrowing from Classical Greek to English. Another important factor, of course, is that since there are no native speakers of any of the classical languages, no significant group of users tends to include Greek vocabulary into colloquial American speech.

References

Algeo, John (ed.) (1991). *Fifty Years Among New Words: A Dictionary of Neologisms,1941-1991.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dalzell, Tom (2009). *The Routledge Dictionary of Modern American Slang and Unconventional English.* New York: Rout-ledge.

Hogg, Richard, David Denison (eds.) (2006). *A History of the English Language.* New York: *Cambridge* University Press.

Jurewicz, Oktawiusz (2000-2001). *Słownik grecko-polski.* Vols 1-2. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN.

Kastovsky, Dieter (2006). "Vocabulary". In: Richard Hogg, David Denison (eds.). *A History of the English Language.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 199-270.

Kuźniak, Marek (2009). *Foreign Words and Phrases in English.* Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

Podhajecka, Mirosława (2013). *Russian Borrowings in English: A Dictionary and Corpus Study.* Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego.

Webster's Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language (1989). New York: Portland House.

Weinreich, Uriel (1979). *Languages in Contact.* The Hague – Paris – New York: Mouton Publishers.

Widawski, Maciej (2003). *The Anatomy of American Slang.* Warszawa: Ex Libris.

Winniczuk, Lidia (1975). *Lingua Latina: Łacina bez pomocy Orbiliusza.* Warszawa: PWN.

Aleksandra Hołomej
Katedra Filologii Klasycznej
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: filola@ug.edu.pl

Michał Golubiewski
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: mgolubiewski@vp.pl

Quarrel:
On some characteristics
of the speech genre

JELENA KIREJEVA

Abstract

The present article focuses on the sphere of conflict in human communication. The aim of the research is to identify a number of tactics of conflict communication and the means of their verbal expression applied by interactants within the speech genre of the quarrel on the basis of conflicts or quarrels identified in contemporary British drama. Plays written by representatives of in-yer-face theatre have been chosen as the materials for the present research. Both the secondary speech genre of drama and the primary speech genre of the quarrel it absorbs tend to render the peculiarities of human interaction precisely. The foundation upon which the discussion develops is provided by G. Leech's (1983, 2014) ideas concerning the Politeness Principle and the maxims it embraces, as well as P. Brown and S. Levinson's (1987) notion of positive and negative face. The research data revealed that the interactants tend to violate the maxim of Approbation, Opinion-reticence, Modesty and Generosity as tactics of conflict communication; both the negative and positive faces of the interactants become threatened in the course of conflict communication.

Keywords

maxim of the Politeness Principle, negative face, positive face, speech genre, tactic of conflict communication

Une dispute:
sur quelques caractéristiques de ce genre du discours

Résumé

Le présent article se concentre sur la sphère du conflit dans la communication humaine. L'objectif de cette étude est d'identifier quelques tactiques de communication en cas de conflit et les moyens de son expression verbale employés par les intervenants dans le genre de la dispute, en s'appuyant sur des conflits et des disputes identifiés dans le théâtre britannique contemporain. Les pièces écrites par les représentants du théâtre « in-yer-face » ont été choisies pour constituer le corpus de la présente étude. Le genre second du théâtre, ainsi que le genre premier de la dispute qu'il comprend, tendent à rendre les particularités de l'interaction humaine de manière très précise. La discussion est fondée sur les idées de G. Leech concernant le principe de la politesse et les maximes qu'il comprend (1983, 2014) et sur la notion de la face positive et négative de P. Brown et S. Levinson (1987). Le corpus analysé a montré que les intervenants tendent à violer les maximes d'approbation, de réticence d'opinion, de modestie et de générosité comme des tactiques de communication en cas de conflit. Les faces positives, ainsi que les faces négatives des intervenants sont menacées au cours de la communication conflictuelle.

Mots-clés

face négative, face positive, genre du discours, maximes de politesse, principe de politesse, tactiques de communication en cas de conflit

Kłótnia:
O niektórych cechach charakterystycznych
tego gatunku mowy

Niniejszy artykuł omawia sferę konfliktu w ludzkiej komunikacji. Badanie miało na celu identyfikację taktyk komunikacyjnych stosowanych w sytuacji konfliktu oraz charakterystycznych dla nich środków językowych używanych przez uczestników interakcji w ramach kłótni jako gatunku mowy. Jako materiał badania wybrano konflikty

i kłótnie przedstawione we współczesnych brytyjskich dramatach przedstawicieli nowego brutalizmu. Zarówno dramat jako wtórny gatunek mowy, jak i zawarta w nim kłótnia jako pierwotny gatunek mowy, dokładnie oddają specyfikę ludzkiej komunikacji. Podstawę teoretyczną wywodu stanowią koncepcje zasady uprzejmości i wynikające z niej maksymy zaproponowane przez G. Leecha (1983, 2014), jak również pojęcie pozytywnej i negatywnej twarzy P. Brown i S. Levinsona (1987). Badanie wykazało, że uczestnicy interakcji naruszają maksymy aprobaty, powstrzymania się od wydawania opinii, skromności oraz szczodrości; podczas sporu zagrożona była zarówno pozytywna jak i negatywna twarz jego uczestników.

Słowa kluczowe

gatunek mowy, maksymy zasady uprzejmości, negatywna twarz, pozytywna twarz, taktyka komunikacji w sytuacji konfliktu

1. Introduction

In the works of such scholars as Paul Grice (Grice 1991), Geoffrey Leech (Leech 1983, 2014), Penelope Brown and Steven Levinson (Brown and Levinson 1987), human communication has been extensively studied from the perspective of a person's desire to cooperate and the inclination towards harmonious interaction. However, it would seem that further investigation is needed in the sphere of so-called disharmonious or conflict communication. Conflicts defined as situations "in which actors use conflict behaviour against each other to attain incompatible goals and/or to express their hostility" (Bartos and Wehr 2002:13) are an indispensable feature of human existence; they are ubiquitous, unavoidable and multi-faceted; whether grounded biologically or socially, they permeate every sphere of our life and are inevitably explicated verbally. That is why in the present study human interaction is viewed through the prism of its immanent conflictual nature.

The present article aims at defining certain characteristics of the speech genre of the quarrel in terms of the conflicting tactics applied by interactants and the verbal means of their

expression within the realms of conflicts, or quarrels, realized in contemporary British drama. The novelty of the research lies in the fact that the speech genre of the quarrel has never been studied from the perspective of the tactics that comprise it and through the prism of the characteristics pertaining to Anglo-Saxon speech practices.

2. Theoretical background

The theoretical foundation upon which the discussion develops is provided by Grice's Cooperative Principle with its constitutive maxims (quantity, quality, relation and manner), which, if observed, ensures the achievement of the primary purpose a spoken exchange is adopted to serve, i.e., a maximally effective exchange of information; by the Politeness Principle, which postulates that "interactants, on the whole, prefer to express or imply polite beliefs rather than impolite beliefs" (Leech 2014:34), polite beliefs being favourable to the other person and impolite beliefs being unfavourable to the other person; the maxims of Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement, Sympathy it embraces, as well as second-order Irony and Banter Principles alongside with the maxims of Obligation, Opinion-reticence and Feeling-reticence later added by Leech, and Brown and Levinson's ideas concerning a person's "negative" and "positive" face being the two aspects of the person's "face", the so-called public self-image every adult member of a society wants to claim for himself. According to these scholars, "people cooperate in maintaining face in interaction, such cooperation being based on the mutual vulnerability of face" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 63) and the desire to minimize the threat exerted by certain face-threatening acts, such as, e.g., expression of strong negative emotions, insults, accusations, criticism, etc., since, according to Brown and Levinson, "any rational agent will seek to avoid these face-threatening acts, or will employ certain strategies to minimize the threat" (1987: 68).

3. Some notes on previous research into speech genres

The problem of speech genres was first articulated by Mikhail Bakhtin (Bakhtin 1987) and since then has been a perennial source of inspiration for such linguists as Vadim Dementiev (Дементьев 2010), Konstantin Sedov (Седов 1997, 2003, 2009), Jana Rytnikova (Рытникова 1997) and Anna Wierzbicka (1997).

According to Bakhtin, relatively stable types of utterances whose use is determined by the specific nature of the particular sphere of communication should be referred to as speech genres (Bakhtin 1986:61). Another Russian linguist Konstantin Sedov compares communication within a speech genre to the scenario of a *commedia dell'arte*, "which implies a certain degree of improvisation despite the fact that the parts of the actors are defined quite precisely" (here and further all translations from Russian in the paper are mine, JK) (Седов 1997).[1]

The genre of drama should be included among secondary speech genres which in the process of their formation "absorb and digest various primary (simple) genres that have taken form in unmediated speech communion" (Bakhtin 1986: 62). Within the context of the present study, the speech genre of the quarrel defined by Sedov as "a speech genre which reflects and shapes typical situations of domestic socio-psychological conflicts in terms of verbal and non-verbal signs" (Седов 2007)[2] appears to be the primary speech genre absorbed in drama, which in its turn tends to render the peculiarities of human interaction accurately. According to Dementiev, the speech genre of the quarrel should be regarded as a phatic speech genre directly contributing to the deterioration of hu-

---

[1] Жанры общения в этой связи уместно сравнить со сценарием комедии дель арте, в которой роли актеров заданы дотаточно четко, однако развитие действия предполагает различную меру импровизации.

[2] Ссора – это речевой жанр, который отражает и оформляет в знаковых (вербальных и невербальных) формах типические ситуации бытовых социально-психологических конфликтов.

man relations and aiming at the expression of certain nuances of interpersonal relationships rather than at exchanging information (Дементьев 2010: 215). The study of a particular speech genre can contribute to the understanding of the peculiarities of a particular speech practice within a particular culture, since "all speech-genres are culture-specific and provide an important source of insight into communicative routines most characteristic of a given society" (Wierzbicka 1985: 2). Sedov expresses a similar idea by saying that "the system of speech genres formed in a particular language situation reflects the system of socio-psychological norms and principles of behaviour within the realms of a particular culture (ethnos) (Седов 1997)[3].

4. The definition of terms used in the paper

By a *conflict*, or a *quarrel*, we mean an episode of confrontational or disharmonious interaction among personages, which is initiated by the addresser demonstrating his/her hostile or aggressive intention towards the addressee, or when the addresser sends a signal to the addressee concerning the incompatibility of certain his/her and the addressee's cognitive structures. In her attempt to define a quarrel in terms of a universal set of semantic primitives, Wierzbicka suggests the following set of formulas: "I know that you think of Z something different from what I think// I say: you think in the wrong way// I am saying that because I want you to tell me that you were saying the wrong things" (Вежбицка 1997),[4] which clearly demonstrate that a quarrel originates from a sit-

---

[3] Система речевых жанров, сложившихся в той или иной языковой ситуации, в полной мере отражает систему социально-психологических норм и принципов поведения в рамках той или иной культуры (этноса).

[4] Знаю, что ты думаешь о Z нечто другое, чем я говорю: ты думаешь плохо говорю это, потому что хочу, чтобы ты сказал, что ты говорил плохо.

uation where the mental representations of the interactants do not coincide.

Since, according to Leech, "the Principle of Politeness (PP) – analogous to Grice's CP – is a constraint observed in human communicative behavior, influencing us to avoid communicative discord or offence, and maintain or enhance communicative concord or comity" (Leech 2014: 87), we regard conflict interaction as being deprived of the interactants' polite intentions. Thus, by the *conflict tactic* applied within the genre of the quarrel we mean a move within an episode coinciding with the breach of one of the aforementioned maxims and usually accompanied by an attack on face.

5. The materials

A non-experimental method of data collection has been applied in the study. Plays by David Eldridge and Philip Ridley, representatives of In-Yer-Face theatre, have been chosen as the materials for the present study. In-Yer-Face theatre is characterized by blatant language, heightened emotions, the questioning of moral norms, the smashing of taboos, and mention of the forbidden. According to Sierz (2000: 6), "In-Yer-Face theatre always forces us to look at ideas and feelings we would normally avoid because they are too painful, too frightening, too unpleasant or too acute". All domestic quarrels identified in the plays result from a pre-conflict stage; the relationships among the interactants, therefore, imply a certain degree of intimacy and freedom from ethical constraints.

6. The tactics applied by the interactants

On the basis of the quarrels identified in the plays of the aforementioned playwrights the following conflict tactics have been detected.

In the majority of cases under analysis the interactants tend to demonstrate their inclination toward a conflict mode of interaction by means of violating the Maxim of Approbation, whose essence is formulated as "(a) Minimize dispraise of *other* [(b) Maximize praise of *other*]" (Leech 1983: 132) accompanied by the breach of the Maxim of Opinion-reticence, which, when observed, implies avoiding the imposition of one's opinion, since "there is a low tolerance of opinionated behavior, where people express themselves forcefully, as if their opinions matter more than others" (Leech 2014: 97). Consider the following examples:

> (1) *NICK:* *You're the most important person to me in the world.*
> *But I don't know if I love you. I don't know if I can love*
> *you. If I'm capable of loving you.*
>   *HELEN:* *You arsehole. You fucking arsehole. Why are you tor-*
> *turing me like this?*
> *I can't talk any more. I feel so exposed.*
>   (David Eldridge, *Under the Blue Sky*, Act 1, Scene 1, p. 201)

> (2) *BETH:* *That's your bloody fault! I was trying to help you and*
> *you have to go and cause an argument!*
>   *SHERRY: Why can't you just let me get on?*
>   *BETH:* *You bloody pig-headed cow!*
>   *SHERRY: You can't just let me get on with my life!*
>   *BETH:* *I was just trying to help you.*
>   (David Eldridge, *Summer Begins*, Act 1, Scene 2, p. 104)

In examples (1) and (2) the addresser trades derogatory remarks, such as insults, accusations, and complaints, performs an expressive act aimed at the conveyance of negative emotions towards the addressee, his/her actions, abilities, thoughts, etc., thus threatening the addressee's positive face,

whose essence can be accounted for as "the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61). Such swear words as *arsehole,* or animal metaphors and obscene expletives, such as a *bloody pig-headed cow*, are used to express a range of negative emotions – anger, irritation, annoyance, and add an aggressive emotive charge. They contribute to the addresser's attack on the addressee's positive face and should be regarded as emotional aggravators.

The breach of the Maxim of Approbation alongside the violation of the maxim of Opinion-reticence can have a very strong conflict-escalating effect and might even lead to a physical encounter as a non-verbal equivalent of confrontational interaction, as in:

(3)   *JACKIE: Once in a blue moon you come and see us, and you don't even take your coat off and sit down. You don't never have anything to eat when I offer it. You don't take no interest in anything me or Barry's got to say. We have to watch what you want on the telly when you come round. Or you switch it off. Our telly. In our home. And do you think I don't know what you said about me when Barry told yer we was getting married. And even when your Uncle Len was dying you never bothered to come and see him. Above Basildon I expect. Waltzing about the place like your shit don't stink. You're a stuck up cunt, that's all you are and that's all you'll ever be.*
Shelley goes for Jackie and the family struggles to pull them apart.

(David Eldridge, *In Basildon*, Act 3, p. 80)

In example (3) the addresser performs illocutionary acts of reproach, an accusation and an insult, thus creating an atmosphere dangerous to positive face. By using taboo terms alluding to bodily excretion, e.g. *shit*, and physical sex, e.g. *cunt*, the addresser achieves a most aggravated effect and exacerbates the threat to face.

   In the following example the addresser signals her confrontational intention by the violation of the maxim of Generosity, which in this particular quarrel takes the form of a threat:

   (4) *HELEN: You're not leaving me. I'll kill you. I'll kill you right here*
   *   and now.*
   *   NICK: No, you won't.*
   *   HELEN: I will. I'll put this right through your heart.*
   *   NICK: If you really loved me you wouldn't hurt me like this.*
   *   (David Eldridge, Under the Blue Sky, Act 1, Scene 1, p. 209)*

Not only does the addresser flout the maxim of Generosity, but she also attacks the addressee's negative face, referred to as "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61). It appears that the value of personal autonomy defined as a premium value in modern Anglo-Saxon culture (Wierzbicka 1985: 54) is no longer upheld within the realms of a quarrel and conflict communication in general.

   It has been observed that the breach of the maxim of Modesty can also be applied by interactants as a conflict tactic. According to the maxim of Modesty, we should give low value to our own qualities and tend to self-devaluate (Leech 2014: 91), whereas, in the following conflict episode, the addresser is boasting of the immense benefit her husband has gained in marrying her, thus lowering his self-esteem:

   (5) *JACKIE: You're no fun anymore Barry. There's a lot of men*
   *   would love it on a plate like you get it. I never turn you*
   *   down. Even when I'm on the blob.*
   *   Barry shakes his head.*
   *   JACKIE: I'm always up for it. And at one time so were you.*
   *   I don't know what's happened to you Barry.*
   *   Silence.*
   *   JACKIE: And don't think I don't get offers. Men always fancy*
   *   me. I could go out and get sex like that –*

She clicks her fingers.
BARRY: Well fucking go and get it then and see what happens.
<div align="right">(David Eldridge, *In Basildon*, Act 2, p. 29)</div>

By giving high value to her qualities the addresser commits the social transgression of boasting, simultaneously attacking the positive face of the addressee.

In the quarrels analyzed above the addresser sends direct unambiguous signals concerning his/her confrontational intentions, whereas conflict episode (6) illustrates the application of an indirect conflict tactic, that is, the Irony principle, which "boosts the face of the ironist while attacking the face of the target *O*" [*O* = other person(s), mainly the addressee] (Leech 2014: 235):

(6) *COUGAR: You're only jealous – Oww! There you go again. What is this? The baldy's revenge?*
    CAPTAIN: Don't, Cougar. Please.
    COUGAR: You must walk round with a pair of tweezers in your pocket. Then, when you see a man with a healthy head of hair, on a bus or something, or when you're walking through the park, or in your junk shop – sorry! antique shop! – you creep up behind them and pluck out a few hairs.
    CAPTAIN: Stop it, Cougar. It's not funny. It's hurtful.
    COUGAR: You should set up your own little society. You know, the Bald Phantom Hair Pluckers or something like that. You get together once a month – when the moon is full, or something – and compare how many hairs you've managed to pluck.
    CAPTAIN: I'm not laughing.
    COUGAR: Well, I am! It's fucking hilarious! I can imagine it now. When … when you become a member you're given – not a comb, but a piece of cloth and some polish and … and you all sit there having skin-polishing contests.
<div align="center">(Philip Ridley, *The Fastest Clock in the Universe*, Act 1, p. 17)</div>

Having in mind the close relationships the interactants are involved in, one might think that the case under analysis might be indicative of banter which could lead to a "polite" (or rather "camaraderic") (Leech 2014: 238) interpretation of the overt impoliteness. But, as a matter of fact, the addressee's reactions prove the fact that the addresser is intentionally expressing a mocking, scornful and contemptuous attitude, thus causing offence by applying the Irony principle, "which maintains courtesy on the surface level of *what is said*, but at a deeper level is calculated to imply a negative evaluation" (Leech 2014: 100). Thus, alongside the application of the principle of Irony, or mock politeness, the addresser also violates the maxim of Approbation, since he mocks the addressee's baldness; flouts the maxim of Quality by giving insincere advice and at the same time damages the addressee's positive face.

6. Conclusions

On the basis of the analysis of thirty quarrels identified in contemporary British drama, the following conclusions concerning the characteristics of the speech genre of the quarrel can be drawn:

- The breach of the maxim of Approbation and the maxim of Opinion-reticence applied as conflict tactics are prevalent. By flouting the aforementioned maxims the addresser does not tend to minimize the "dispraise" of the addressee; the expression of disapproval, criticism, contempt or ridicule, accusations and insults inevitably threaten the addressee's positive face and initiate confrontation.
- The violation of the maxim of Modesty, when the addresser does not avoid being complacent and attacks the addressee's positive face; and the breach of the maxim of Generosity in the cases when a threat to perform a harmful physical action towards the addressee is provided by the addresser as the last and strongest argument thus creating a dangerous-to-negative-

face atmosphere, have also been detected in the plays under analysis.
– The application of the Irony principle alongside the flouting of Grice's maxim of Quality accounts for the indirect strategies applied within the speech genre of the quarrel.

To sum up, the socio-psychological background against which quarrels unfold implies heightened emotions and the transgression of social codes. What is more, the speech genre of the quarrel can be characterized by the extreme vulnerability of the interactants' both positive and negative faces, and the fact that the value of personal autonomy, being the premium value of modern Anglo-Saxon culture, is rarely implemented.

It is undeniable that the present research cannot boast completeness or depth and should be regarded as a modest attempt to delve into the complexity and versatility of the issue under discussion.

References

Bartos, Otomar J., Paul Wehr (2002). *Using Conflict Theory.* Camridge: CUP.

Bakhtin, Mikhail (1986). *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays.* University of Texas Press, Austin.

Brown, Penelope and Stephen Levinson, 1987). *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage.* Cambridge: CUP.

Grice, Paul (1991). *Studies in the Way of Words.* Harvard University Press.

Leech, Geoffrey (1983). *Principles of Pragmatics.* London – New York: London Group Ltd.

Leech, Geoffrey (2014). *The Pragmatics of Politeness.* Oxford: OUP.

Sierz, Alex (2000). *In-Yer-Face Theatre. British Drama Today.* London: Faber and Faber Limited.

Wierzbicka, Anna (1985). "A semantic metalanguage for crosscultural comparison of speech acts and speech genres". *Language and Society* 14/4. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4167689>.

Вежбицкая, Анна (1997). «Речевые жанры». *Жанры речи* 1. Саратов: «Колледж». Available at <http://www.sgu.ru/structure/

philological/linghist/sbornik-zhanry-rechi/materialy-vypuskov/vy pusk-1> [Wierzbicka, Anna (1997). "Recheviye zhanri [Speech genres]". *Zhanry rechi* [Speech genres] 1. Saratov: "Kolledzh"].

Дементьев, Вадим (2010). *Теории речевых жанров*. Москва: Знак [Dementiev, Vadim (2010). *Teorii rechevih zhanrov* [Theories of speech genres]. Moskva: Znak].

Рытникова, Яна (1997). «Семейная беседа как жанр повседневного речевого общения». *Жанры речи* 1. Саратов: «Колледж». Available at <http://www.sgu.ru/structure/philological/linghist/sbornik-zhanry-rechi/materialy-vypuskov/vypu sk-1>. [Rytnikova, Iana (1997). "Semeinaya beseda kak zhanr povsednevnogo rechevogo obshchenija [Family talk as a genre of everyday communication]". *Zhanry rechi* [Speech genres] 1. Saratov: "Kolledzh".

Седов, Константин (1997). «Внутрижанровые стратегии речевого поведения: «ссора», «комплимент», «колкость»». *Жанры речи* 1. Саратов: «Колледж». Available at <http://www.sgu.ru/structure/philological/linghist/sbornik-zhanry-rechi/materialy-vypuskov/vy pusk-1> [Sedov, Konstantin (1997). "Vnutrizanrovije strategii rechevogo povedeniya: 'ssora', 'kompliment', 'kolkost' [The strategies of speech behaviour within a genre: 'quarrel', 'compliment', 'twit']". *Zhanry rechi* [Speech genres] 1. Saratov: "Kolledzh".

Седов, Константин (2003). «Агрессия как вид речевого воздействия». *Прямая и непрямая коммуникация: Сб. науч. статей.* Саратов: «Колледж». Available at <http://www.sgu.ru/structure/philological/linghist/sbornik-zhanry-rechi/materialy-vypuskov/pryamaya-i-nepryamaya-kommunikaciya> [Sedov, Konstantin (2003). "Agressija kak vid rechevogo vozdeistvija [Aggression as a kind of speech imposition]". *Priamaja i nepriamaja kommunikacija*: *Sb. nauch. statei.* [Direct and indirect communication: A collection of scientific articles]. Saratov: "Kolledzh

Седов, Константин (2009). «Языкознание. Речеведение. Генристика». *Жанры речи* 6. Саратов: «Наука». Available at <http://www.sgu.ru/structure/philological/linghist/sbornik-zhanry-rechi/materialy-vypuskov/vypusk-6> [Sedov, Konstantin (2009). "Jazykoznanije. Rechevedeniye. Genristika [Linguistics. Genre linguistics. The study of genres]". *Zhanry rechi* [Speech genres] 6. Saratov: "Nauka".

Materials

Eldridge, David (2005). *Under the Blue Sky*. In: *Plays* 1. London –
    New York: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama.
Eldridge, David (2005). *Summer Begins*. In: *Plays* 1. London – New
    York: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama.
Eldridge, David (2012). *In Basildon*. London: Methuen Drama.
Ridley, Philip (2013). *The Fastest Clock in the Universe*. London – New
    York: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama.

Jelena Kirejeva
Vilnius University
Institute of Foreign Languages
Universiteto St. 5
Vilnius
LT-01131
Lithuania
E-mail: kirejevalena@hotmail.com

Can weep lure?
An analysis of a controversial
Slavico-Germanic pair of cognates[1]

MIKOŁAJ RYCHŁO

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to suggest an analysis of one controversial Slavico-Germanic group of cognates represented by Polish *wabić* and English *weep*. The analysis presents the diachronic perspective of both the semantic and the phonological development in two descending lines: the Germanic, leading to modern English; and the Slavic, leading to modern Polish. Even though, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "outside Teutonic no certain cognates are known" (of E *weep*), the connection between the Germanic **wōpjan* and the Slavic **vabiti* is much closer than appears prima facie. The phonological difference between them can be explained in terms of regular sound changes. Moreover, the Gothic cognate *wopjan* has a remarkably similar, if not the same, meaning as in Old Polish and in some of the modern senses of *wabić*. Consequently, having analysed the relevant material in Old Church Slavonic, Gothic, Old Polish and Old English, it is argued that P *wabić* and E *weep* are cognate and an attempt is made at explaining which semantic and phonological changes are responsible for their differentiation.

Key words

Polish-English cognates, semantic change, Slavico-Germanic cognates, sound change

---

Les pleurs peuvent-ils leurrer?
Analyse d'un pair de cognats
slavo-germanique controversé

Résumé

L'objectif du présent article est de proposer une analyse d'un groupe slavo-germanique des mots apparentés controversé, représenté par *wabić* polonais et *weep* anglais. L'analyse présente une approche diachronique envers le développement sémantique et phonologique des deux lignées : slave, menant au polonais contemporain, et germanique, menant à l'anglais contemporain. Bien que, selon *Oxford English Dictionary* « en dehors du groupe germanique [il n'y ait] pas de mots apparentés [de l'anglais *weep*] », la liaison entre *wōpjan proto-germanique et *vabiti proto-slave est plus étroite qu'il ne semble à première vue. Les différences entre les structures sonores peuvent être expliquées par les changements phonétiques réguliers. De plus, *wopjan* gotique a une signification très proche de *wabić* en vieux polonais. Suite à des études comprenant le vieux-slave liturgique, le vieux polonais, le gotique et l'ancien anglais, la thèse sur la parenté entre *wabić* polonais et *weep* anglais est confirmée. L'article propose aussi une explication des changements phonétiques et sémantiques qui ont influencé leur divergence.

Mots-clés

changements sémantiques, changements phonétiques, cognats polono-anglais, cognats slavo-germaniques

Czy płacz wabi?
Analiza pewnej kontrowersyjnej
słowiańsko-germańskiej pary wyrazów pokrewnych

Abstrakt

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zaproponowanie analizy dla jednej kontrowersyjnej słowiańsko-germańskiej grupy wyrazów pokrewnych, reprezentowanej przez pol. *wabić* i ang. *weep*. Analiza ta przedstawia diachroniczną perspektywę zarówno semantycznego, jak

i fonologicznego rozwoju dwóch ścieżek: słowiańskiej, wiodącej do współczesnej polszczyzny, oraz germańskiej, prowadzącej do współczesnej angielszczyzny. Mimo że według słownika *Oxford English Dictionary*, "poza grupą germańską, nie są znane żadne pewne wyrazy pokrewne (dla ang. *weep*)", związek między pgerm. *wōpjan* i psł. *vabiti* jest bliższy niż to się z początku wydaje. Różnice w strukturze dźwiękowej można wyjaśnić w kategoriach regularnych zmian dźwiękowych. W dodatku goc. *wopjan* ma zaskakująco zbliżone znaczenie do stpol. *wabić*. W rezultacie badań uwzględniających materiał starocerkiewno-słowiański, staropolski, gocki oraz staroangielski, poparta zostaje teza o pokrewieństwie pol. *wabić* i ang. *weep* oraz podjęta zostaje próba wyjaśnienia zmian fonetycznych oraz semantycznych, które wpłynęły na ich zróżnicowanie.

Słowa kluczowe

polsko-angielskie wyrazy pokrewne, słowiańsko-germańskie wyrazy pokrewne, zmiany dźwiękowe, zmiany semantyczne

1.   The earliest attestations and the semantic proximity

1.1. Gothic

The earliest attestation of the words under investigation is the Gothic (henceforth Go.) form *wopjan*, whose meaning can be glossed as 'call, call out'. The semantic field covered by Go. *wopjan* seems to be fairly wide, which will be illustrated by a selection of quotations from the Gothic Bible (Streitberg 1919[2]) with parallel English text from the King James version:[3]

>John 11:28
>jah þata qiþandei galaiþ jah **wopida**[4] Marjan, swistar seina, þiubjo qiþandei: laisareis qam jah haitiþ þuk. (And when she had so

---

[2] Quoted from the online version provided by Project Wulfila 2004, University of Antwerp, Belgium at <http://www.wulfila.be>.

[3] Downloaded from the Oxford Text Archive, <http://ota.ahds.ac.uk> by the authors of the Wulfila Project.

[4] The bold (in this and all subsequent texts) is mine.

said, she went her way, and called Mary her sister secretly, say-
ing, The Master is come, and **calleth** for thee.)

Mark 15:34
jah niundon hveilai **wopida** Iesus stibnai mikilai qiþands: ailoe
ailoe, lima sibakþanei, þatei ist gaskeiriþ: guþ meins, guþ meins,
duhve mis bilaist? (And at the ninth hour Jesus **cried** with a loud
voice, saying, Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani? which is, being inter-
preted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?)

Mark 15:35
jah sumai þize atstandandane gahausjandans qeþun: sai, Helian
wopeiþ. (And some of them that stood by, when they heard it,
said, Behold, he **calleth** Elias.)

Mark 14:68
iþ is afaiaik qiþands: ni wait, ni kann hva þu qiþis. jah galaiþ faur
gard, jah hana **wopida**. (But he denied, saying, I know not, nei-
ther understand I what thou sayest. And he went out into the
porch; and the cock **crew**.)

Mark 14:72
jah anþaramma sinþa hana **wopida**. jah gamunda Paitrus þata
waurd, swe qaþ imma Iesus, þatei faurþize hana hrukjai twaim
sinþam, inwidis mik þrim sinþam. jah dugann greitan. (And the
second time the cock **crew**. And Peter called to mind the word
that Jesus said unto him, Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt
deny me thrice. And when he thought thereon, he wept.)

The last example shows that wide as the semantic field of Go.
wopjan was, it did not include 'weep', which is expressed by
greitan. In the framework of cognitive linguistics, the cognitive
model of Go. *wopjan*, which was formed on the basis of the
experience of the language users, contained a certain concep-
tion of sounds and speech that were symbolized by the lexeme
wopjan. The sounds and speech that formed one cognitive
model represented by Go. *wopjan* correspond to several cogni-
tive models in modern English that are represented by such
lexemes as *call, cry, crow* but not *weep*. Consequently, it can

be inferred that the speakers of Gothic perceived these sounds ('call', 'cry', 'crow') as related, which does not mean that they had equal status in the cognitive model.

The overwhelming majority of the occurrences of Go. *wopjan* corresponds to E 'call'. This is true for twelve occurrences (Matthew 11:16, 27:47; John 11:28, 12:17, 13:13, 18:33; Luke 7:32, 8:54, 19:15; Mark 10:49 (twice), 15:35). One of them (John 13:13) can be paraphrased as 'name': *Ye **call** me Master and Lord: and ye say well; for so I am.* Four occurrences translate as 'cry': Luke 3:4 and Mark 1:3 – *The voice of one **crying** in the wilderness*; Luke 18:7 – *And shall not God avenge his own elect, which **cry** day and night unto him*; Mark 15:34 – *And at the ninth hour Jesus **cried** with a loud voice, saying, Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani?* Another two occurrences refer to the cock crowing (Mark 14:68, 14:72). These last two appear to have the sense 'crow' by extension because Matthew and John use the verb *hrukjan* 'crow'. Also Mark, in the last of the fully quoted sentences above, uses *hana hrukjai* and *hana wopida* interchangeably.

1.2. Old English and Polish

As far as the earliest attestation of Old English (OE) *wēpan* is concerned, we can already see the effect of the semantic change in the earliest texts, as the overwhelming majority of examples in the *OED* reveal contexts connected with tears, moans and cries. Also the Latin original, as in the case of the gospels, contains the verb *ploravit*:

> c900 Bæda's Hist. iii. xiv. (1890) 198 *He ongon wepan hluttrum tearum.*
> c1000 Ags. Gosp. Matt. xxvi. 75 *And he eode ut & weop [Vulg. ploravit] bityrlice.*

It is also worthwhile to quote the definition of E *weep* from the *OED*, which seems to refer both to people and to animals:

To manifest the combination of bodily symptoms (instinctive cries or moans, sobs, and shedding of tears) which is the natural, audible, and visible expression of painful (and sometimes of intensely pleasurable) emotion; also, and in mod. use chiefly, to shed tears (more or less silently).

The dictionary of Polish (Dubisz 2008: 331) also includes reference to animals in the definition of P *wabić*: "to call another animal, emitting a characteristic sound or smell: *the male lures the female with cooing and puffing out the throat*".[5]

1.3. Old Church Slavonic

The Old Church Slavonic (henceforth OCS) cognate *vabimo* is glossed by Derksen (2008: 511) as 'being lured'. It is attested only in Codex Suprasliensis in folio 334 or 167v,[6] in line 3033206[7] and translates Greek ἀνδραποδίζειν 'to enslave'. The original fragment containing the word is quoted below: first, the reproduction of the manuscript, and below, the transcript together with parallel Greek text:[8]

---
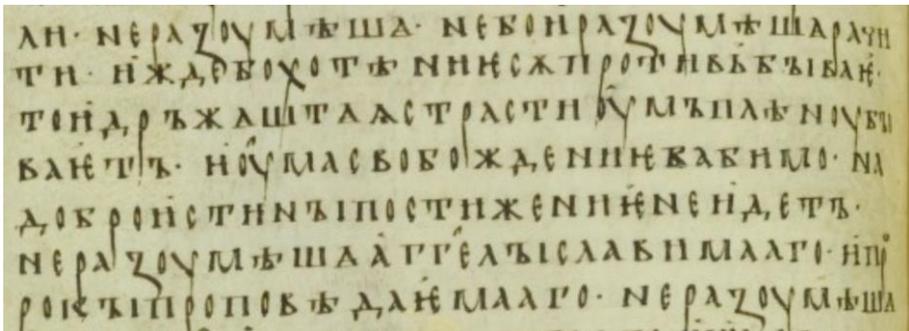
[5] The translation is mine. The original text: "przyzywać drugie zwierzę, wydając charakterystyczny głos lub wydzielając charakterystyczny zapach: *Samiec wabi samiczkę gruchaniem i nadymaniem gardła*".

[6] <http://suprasliensis.obdurodon.org/pages/supr167v.html>.

[7] Corpus Cyrillo-Methodianum Helsingiense: An Electronic Corpus of Old Church Slavonic Texts. Based on Sergey Severyanov's edition, available at: <http://www.helsinki.fi/slaavilaiset/ccmh/SUPR.TXT>.

[8] <http://suprasliensis.obdurodon.org/pages/supr167v.html>.

3. ли· не разоумѣша· не бо й разоумѣша рачи-
   ρωσαν. Οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπιγνῶναι ἠβουλήθησαν·

4. ти· йжде бо хотѣниѥ сѫпротивь бъιваѥ·
   ἔνθα δὲ βούλησις ἀντιπράττεται

5. то й дръжаштаа страсти ѹмъ плѣноу бъι-
   καὶ τοῦ κατασχόντος παθήματος ἡ γνώμη λάφυρον γίνε-

6. ваѥтъ· й ѹма свобождение вабимо· на
   ται καὶ τὸ τῆς διανοίας ἐλεύθερον ἀνδραποδιζόμενον πρὸς

7. добро йстинъι постижениѥ не йдетъ·
   τὴν εὐγενῆ τῆς ἀληθείας κατάληψιν οὐκ ἀνάγεται.

8. не разоумѣша аг͠гелъι славимааго· й про-
   Οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὸν ὑπ' ἀγγέλων δορυφορούμενον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν προ-

9. рокъι проповѣдаѥмааго· не разоумѣша
   φητῶν κηρυττόμενον. Οὐκ ἔγνωσαν

The form of the verb *ВАБИМО* is the present passive participle and the phrase to which it refers: ѹма свобождениѥ means 'the liberation of the mind'. The meaning 'the liberation of the mind is called' actually makes better sense than 'the liberation of the mind is enslaved/lured', although it should be emphasized that the verb *ВАБИМО* is attested only once in Old Church Slavonic and the context does not determine what the precise meaning of the word was. Therefore, we cannot exclude approximate translation.

1.4. Old Polish

What makes the connection between Slavic and Germanic more salient is one of the senses found among others in Polish: 'to call an animal with its name', which is often used in modern Polish in questions about the name of a dog: *Jak się wabi?* 'What's it called?'

The sense 'call' appears to have been more common in older periods in the history of Polish, attested as early as in Kazania świętokrzyskie (the Holy Cross Sermons), which is the oldest extant prose text in the Polish language, dating probably from

the late 13th or the early 14th century. In the opening lines of the sermon on the occasions of St Catherine's Day (the only complete sermon), we can find the verb *wabić* as many as three times, the first is the declined present participle, and the remaining two contain the prefix *po-*.

> @ stands for a nasal vowel
> ^ stands for an abbreviated nasal consonant
> ~ signals an abbreviation of the following letters
> \ precedes a single raised or superscript letter
> \\ precedes a sequence of raised or superscript letters
> è, ì, ù replace (e)\, (i)\, (u)\
> `n, `r, `t replace (n)\, (r)\, (t)\
> & stands for 7 (et)

> 301 *(S)urge p~rop~era amica m(e)a & ue^i* Ta sloua pise m@d`ri salo(mon) . as@
> 302 slo(ua) si(na) bo(ze)\\go t@to s(u@)t@ d\euic@ katèrin@ vslau@ c`ro(la) . neb\es(ke)\\go **vab@**
> 303 **cego** . vstan p`ra(ui) . pospeys@ milut/cka m(oia) ypoydy (.) yzmouil
> 304 sin bo\\zi sloua uelmy zna(meni)\\ta . gimis casd@ dus@ zbosn@ pobu
> 305 da pon@cha y **pouaba** . pobucha . reca vstan [pon@](cha)
> 306 rek@ ta . pospeys@ . **pouaba** reca . y poydy . (y)[moui sin bozi]
> 307 vstan .
>
>   (Kortlandt 2001)

In view of the fact that it is *sin bozi* 'son of God', who *wabi* and *powabia*, it seems to be more adequate to gloss the sense of *wabić* as 'call' rather than 'lure'. This meaning is remarkably similar to the meaning of Go. *wopjan*, illustrated above, which makes the etymological connection between the two more conspicuous.

In spite of this, however, it would be inappropriate to conclude that the semantic change responsible for the emergence of the sense 'lure' occurred only in the recent history of Polish. The arguments against such a conclusion come from several

Slavic languages, which exhibit cognates with the sense 'lure': Czech *vábiti* 'lure', Slovakian *vábit'* 'lure', Russian *vábit'* 'lure, decoy', Serbo-Croatian *vábiti* 'lure, attract', 1sg. *vâbīm*; Slovene *vábiti* 'lure, invite', 1sg. *vábim*, OCS *vabimo* 'being lured'.[9] It seems highly unlikely that the semantic change from 'call' to 'lure' occurred independently in all these languages. It appears to be more plausible that the meaning 'lure' already developed in Proto-Slavic (PSl) but remained marginal as part of the polysemy of PSl *vabiti. Still it is remarkable that Polish seemed to preserve the earlier meaning much longer.

Also the Dictionary of Old Polish (Nitsch, Klemensiewicz and Urbańczyk 1953-2002, vol. X: 32) defines *wabić* using several verbs including 'summon' and 'call',[10] as well as the Latin 'vocare' and illustrates the use with the following examples:

> 1423 MPKJ II 301, *Yze Stanek Woythka* **wabil** *ku sgedzenj, a Woythek ne chczal gicz.*
> 1424 Kościan nr 1239, *Jaco Wanczencz… nass nye* **wabyl** *ku obliczanv do[p]bythka, kedy nam nass dobythek wypusczal.*
> 1426 KsMaz II nr 2358, *Iacom ya nye syepal Pyotra w sødze silø, alem gi* **wabil** *do swathcow.*

The examples above and the glosses demonstrate that the semantic field of Old Polish (henceforth OP) *wabić* was much wider than in modern Polish. They also show remarkable areas of overlap between Go. and OP, especially in the sense 'call'.

2. Reconstructions

2.1. Proto-Germanic

On the basis of Go. *wopjan* 'call out', Old Norse *œpa* 'cry, scream, shout', OE *wēpan*, Old High German *wuofan* 'bewail'; *wuoffen* 'whine', Old Saxon *wōpian* 'to bewail' and Old Frisian

---

[9] The forms are quoted from Derksen (2008: 511-12).
[10] The original text: *namawiać do przyjścia (do kogoś lub czegoś), zachęcać do czegoś, przywoływać, wzywać, vocare (ad aliquem vel aliquid), arcessere, appellare.*

wēpa 'to shout, to cry aloud', the Proto-Germanic **wōpjan* does not seem surprising. Yet Go. *wopjan* is a weak verb (Lehmann 1986: 409) as opposed to the remaining cognates (except for ON *œpa* and OHG *wuoffen*). Probably because of these three weak verbs, Orel (2003: 470) lists two entries for PGmc **wōpjanan*. Yet Kroonen (2013) does not have such an entry. He derives OE *wōpan* (which seems to be a misprint) and OHG *wuoffan* from **wōpan-*; and Go. *wopjan,* ON *œpa* from **wōpjan-*, both at the entry **hrópan-* (Kroonen 2013: 249).

OE *ē* results from regressive vowel harmony (or umlaut), which was caused by **j* in the following syllable, whose presence is attested in Gothic *wopjan.* (Old) High German *f(f)* is the effect of the Second Consonant Shift and is an example of regular sound correspondence when the consonant appears after vowels (cf. OE *scip* vs. OHG *scif* > G *Schiff*; OE *slǣp* vs. OHG *slâf* > G *Schlaf*).

2.2. Proto-Slavic

Czech *vábiti* 'lure', Slovakian *vábit'* 'lure', Russian *vábit'* 'lure, decoy', Serbo-Croatian. *vábiti* 'lure, attract', 1sg. *vâbīm*; Slovene *vábiti* 'lure, invite', 1sg. *vábim*, OCS *vabimo* 'being lured' lead to PSl. **vabiti.* The West and South Slavic evidence points to Accent Paradigm (b) and therefore to a lengthened grade of the root (Derksen 2008: 511-12).

2.3. Proto-Indo-European

According to Derksen (2008: 511f.), on the basis of West and South Slavic evidence, we may reconstruct **uōb-* (with loss of **ʔ* after a long vowel in BSl. **uōʔb-* from Winter's law?). If the East Slavic accentuation is old, however, the root may have been **ueh₂b-* or **ueh₃b-*".

The reconstructions of the Proto-Indo-European (henceforth PIE) form and meaning, available in Watkins (2011: 97), Boryś (2005: 675), Mann (1984/87: 1483), Pokorny (2002 [1959]: 1109), and Mallory and Adams (2006: 355), have the following

shapes. The differences are mainly due to the variety of conventions and the different theoretical proclivities of the authors:

Watkins:	PIE *$wāb$- 'to cry, scream' (suffixed form *$wāb\text{-}eyo$)
Pokorny, Boryś:	PIE *$u̯āb$- 'rufen, schreien, wehklagen'
Mann:	PIE *$u̯ābi̯ō$- 'shout, call'
Mallory and Adams:	PIE *weh_ab- 'cry, scream'

Even though the reconstructed forms are found in some[11] dictionaries of PIE, it is not without doubt that the common etymon is postulated for PIE. One reason for this is that it is attested only in two Indo-European branches. Another problem stems from the highly unusual bilabial voiced plosive, which favours assumptions of dialectal forms (cf. Lehmann 1986: 409). Important as these problems are for the assertion of the PIE origin, they are quite secondary for the purpose of the current investigation as long as a common origin can be established. Whether it was as early as PIE or in later common proto-languages, before finally Balto-Slavic and Germanic became differentiated, is of secondary consideration. If the word goes back to a younger proto-language than PIE, then the reconstructions with *$ā$ may be more accurate and justifiable than those with *eh_2 (or *eh_a), even if we assume that there was no *$ā$ in PIE.

3. Semantic change

The semantic proximity between Go. *wopjan* and OP *wabić*, in contrast to the oldest senses in Old English, indicates that the main semantic change responsible for the difference between P *wabić* and E *weep* must have occurred in two steps: (a) in the descending line from Proto-Germanic (PGmc) *$wōpjan$ 'call' to OE *wēpan* 'shed tears', and (b) the Slavic change from 'call' to 'lure'.

---

[11] The word is not listed by Rix (2001).

In order to be more precise about the time of the semantic shift, let us compare the glosses of the Germanic cognates: Go. *wopjan* 'call out', Old Norse *œpa* 'cry, scream, shout', Old High German *wuofan* 'bewail'; *wuoffen* 'whine', Old Saxon *wōpian* 'to bewail', Old Frisian *wēpa* 'to shout, to cry aloud'. From this juxtaposition, it seems that the sense 'cry' started to appear in North-West Germanic, but the examples from the Gothic Bible quoted in section 1.1 demonstrate that Go. *wopjan*, was also used to refer to the last cries of Jesus on the cross. Possibly, the meaning 'cry' was not a coded meaning in Gothic. In Levinson's (2000) terminology, it seems adequate to analyse this stage of semantic development as utterance-type meaning, which consists in generalized invited inferences. For Old Norse *œpa*, the OED includes only the senses 'to scream, shout', but the famous Icelandic-English Dictionary (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874) besides these two, also has 'cry'. If we assume the following line of descent: PGmc > North-West Gmc > West Gmc > Ingvaeonic > Anglo-Frisian > Old English > Modern English, we can also see the gradual highlighting of the semantic features connected with crying and the gradual eclipsing of the spoken element.

It is not easy to capture the semantic change demonstrated by P *wabić* / E *weep* in terms of the traditional categories of narrowing, broadening, metaphoric and metonymic extensions. Some elements of all four can be detected on the way from 'shout, call' to E *weep* 'shed tears'; the least adequate seems to be broadening: (1) in terms of narrowing: some of the calls and shouts were accompanied by shedding tears and eventually the word *weep* became reanalysed in this narrower sense; (2) broadening – although it is possible to shed tears without calling, which suggests extension, the range of referents covered by E *weep* is not really wider because it does not include most of the prototypical screams or calls, (3) metaphoric extension – the sound of weeping may resemble calling (and also the purpose of both may be the same), so there is some relation of similarity; hence, 'call' may have become the metaphor of 'weep', (4) metonymic extension – there is also the

relation of contiguity – because emitting the sound, which is part of calling and crying may have begun to be interpreted as crying and weeping itself.

Searching for the explanation of why and how the meaning may have changed from 'call' to 'weep', we can use an approach based on reanalysis (Fortson 2005), like in the case of E *bead* < OE *gebed* 'prayer'. Reanalysis is said to arise from ambiguous context (Jespersen 1921: 175-177). In order to envisage such an ambiguous context, let us think of a baby crying. In such a context, the etymon of E *weep* may easily have been reanalyzed, as the crying of an infant is often interpreted as calling. Therefore, if, at a certain stage of development (say PGmc **wōpjan* 'call'), the word was used with reference to a baby crying in the sense 'the baby is calling' it may have started to be understood as 'the baby is crying'. Gothic preserves the earlier meaning 'call', but generalizes invited inferences 'cry'. The North-West Gmc languages eclipsed the sense 'call' and highlighted the sense 'cry', making it a coded meaning.

Similarly, the semantic shift from 'shout, call' to Modern Polish *wabić* 'lure' can be analysed using several traditional categories, the least adequate again seems to be broadening: 1) narrowing – not all calls aim at luring, 2) broadening – although it is possible to lure without calling, which suggests extension, the range of referents covered by P *wabić* is not really wider because it does not include most of the prototypical cries, screams or calls, 3) metaphoric extension – luring is as if calling (the purpose may be the same) so there is the relation of similarity – 'call' became the metaphor of 'lure', 4) metonymic extension – there is also the relation of contiguity – this is because once the semantic change was under way, the sense 'call', which was part of 'lure', may have started to represent the whole of 'lure', which is typical of metonymic extensions.

In terms of the Aristotelian categorisation (cf. Taylor 2003: 22-24) based on the distinction between the essence and the accidence, we can notice a semantic shift: what used to be es-

sential in the common ancestor language, namely 'emitting the sound', is now accidental, if more prominent in English. In modern use, E *weep* contrasts with E *cry* in terms of loudness, with E *weep* chiefly meaning 'to shed tears'. In Slavic cognates, no sound needs to be emitted for luring to occur, but the sound may accompany. In other words, sound used to be the essential, defining feature of PIE *$u\bar{a}b$-*, and remains such in Germanic, but in the course of time became an accidental feature, especially in Slavic. There is probably the last vestige of the presence of sound, and even speech, as the essential features in one of the Polish senses (Dubisz 2008: 331): *nazywać zwierzę nadanym mu imieniem; także: przywoływać zwierzę jego imieniem: Psa wabiono Reks* (to call an animal with its name: the dog was called Rex).

Using the model developed by Kleparski (1996, 1997), the change of meaning from 'call' into 'lure' can be accounted for in terms of a highlighting of some values and an eclipsing of others. If we assume that the P *wabić* 'lure' goes back to the meaning 'call', which is in keeping with the definition from the dictionary of Old Polish, quoted above, we might distinguish the following components in the original meaning: to SAY something (usually in a loud voice) in order to SUMMON someone or ATTRACT someone's attention. The value which must have been highlighted in Slavic is ATTRACT, which became focused so much that it developed into TEMPT, LURE, whereas the value which has become eclipsed is connected with SAYing, and, in some senses eclipsing goes so far as to eliminate emitting any sound, as in the Polish: *wabić kogoś zalotnym uśmiechem* 'to lure someone with a flirtatious smile'.

4. Phonological change

The difference in the sound structure between P *wabić* and E *weep* can be explained with regard to the following sound changes:

(1)   PIE *u [w] > Polish /v/
(2)   PIE *b > PGmc *p
(3a) PIE (*eh_2, *eh_3, *$ō$ >) *$ā$ > PSl *a
(3b) PIE (*eh_2 >) *$ā$ > PGmc *$ō$ > OE $ē$ (by i-Umlaut) > EModE /i:/
     (by the Great Vowel Shift)

The first of these sound changes can be illustrated with many Polish-English cognates in which E preserves the PIE *[w], whereas P shows the effect of the change from *u [w] to /v/. NB The P letter <w> is pronounced as the voiced labiovelar fricative /v/. The Slavic forms come from Derksen (2008) and the Germanic forms from Kroonen (2013). Yet the cognacy of the words in each set is rarely doubted, the differences in the reconstructed forms are mainly either due to different conventions or because of different apophonic grades:

1. P *wilk*, Cz. *vlk*, Ru. *volk*, OCS *vlъkъ* < PSl *$vьlkъ$ < PIE *ulk^w-o-
   E *wolf* < OE *wulf*, Go. *wulfs* < PGmc *$wulfa$- < PIE *ulk^w-o-

2. P *woda*, Cz. *voda*, Ru. *vodá*, OCS *voda* < PSl *$vodà$ < PIE *uod-r/n-
   E *water* < OE *wæter*, OS *watar*, Go. *wato* < PGmc *$watar$ < PIE *uod-r/n-

3. P *wdowa*, Cz. *vdova*, Ru. *vdová*, OCS *vъdova, vъdovica* < PSl *$vьdowà$ < PIE *h_1ui-d^hh_1-(e)u-o/eh₂-
   E *widow* < OE *widuwe, widewe* < PGmc *$widuwō$ < PIE *h_1ui-d^hh_1-uh₂-

4. P *wełna*, Cz. *vlna*, Ru. *vólna*, OCS *vlъna* < PSl *$vьlna$ < PIE *$Hulh_1$-$néh_2$-
   E *wool* < OE *wul(l)* < PGmc *$wullō$- < PIE *$Hulh_1$-$néh_2$-

5. P *wola*, Cz. *vůle*, Ru. *vólja*, OCS *volja* < PSl *$vòļa$ < PIE *uol(H)-(e)ih₁
   E *will* < OE *willa* < PGmc *$wiljōn, *weljan$- < PIE *$uelh_1$-ion-

6. P *wosk*, Cz. *vosk*, Ru. *vosk*, OCS *voskъ* < PSl *$voskъ$ < PIE *$uoḱ$-ko-m?
   E *wax* < OE *wæx, weax* < PGmc *$wahsa$- < PIE *$uoḱ$-o-

Similarly:

> 7. P *wabić*, Cz. *vábiti*, Ru. *vábit'*, OCS *vabimo* 'being lured' < PSl
> *vabiti* < PIE *ueh₂b-* (**uōb-*, *ueh₃b-*)
> E *weep* < OE *wēpan*, Go. *wopjan* < PGmc *wōpjan* < PIE
> *ueh₂b-eyo-*

In contrast to many reconstructions which use PSl *v* (e.g.
Derksen 2008, Boryś 2005), the change of PIE *u* [w] > Polish
[v] cannot have occurred as early as Proto-Slavic as some Slav-
ic languages still preserve the glide, for example Sorbian and
East Ukrainian, and some display alternations [w/v], e.g.
Standard Ukrainian, Southern Russian. For details, see
Stieber (2005 [1979]: 86-87). The precise distribution of the
reflexes of Proto-Slavic *w* in modern languages is discussed in
Cyran and Nilsson (1998), who define the reasons for as well
as the results of the shift in the framework of Government
Phonology. They also pay attention to the alternations, such as
the Polish [v/f] ([f] in e.g. *twój* [tfuj] 'your', *słów* [swuf] 'words,
gen.pl.' or *ławka* [wafka] 'bench').

The next change of PIE *b* > PGmc *p*, which belongs to
Grimm's Law, has so few examples that some Indo-
Europeanists doubt whether *b* existed in the PIE phonological
system. There are, however, some serious arguments in de-
fense of PIE *b*, which are based, for example, on the integra-
tion of prehistoric Semitic loanwords into pre-Germanic (Ven-
nemann 2006). With regard to the Germanic *apple* word, the
author argues that "since the word appears with *b* in Balto-
Slavic and Celtic (and probably in a Latin place name), it is
safe to assume that it was borrowed with ⁺b into pre-
Germanic, too, and thus to instantiate the shift of ⁺b to ⁺p"
(Vennemann 2006: 140).

The Polish-English cognates in which Polish preserves the
controversial PIE *b* and English shows the effect of Grimm's
Law (PIE *b* > PGmc *p*) include the following cases:

1. P *jabłko*, OP *jabło*, Cz. *jablko*, *jablo*, Ru. *jábloko*, OCS *ablъko*
   < PSl * àblъko, *àblo < PIE *$h_2$eb-l-k-
   E *apple* < OE *æppel* < PGmc *ap(a)laz < PIE *$h_2$eb-ol-

2. E *scrape* < OE *scrapian* 'to scratch', ON *skrapa* 'to scrape, to
   clatter', MDu. *schrapen*, MHG *schraffen* < PGmc *skrapòjanan:
   ← PIE *skrob-
   P *skrobać*, Cz. dial. *škrobat*, Slovene *škróbati*, Belorussian
   skrobat' < PSl *skrobati ← PIE *skrob-

3. P *słaby*, Cz. *slabý*, Ru. *slábyj*, OCS *slabъ* < PSl *slàbъ < PIE
   *slob-o-
   E *sleep* < OE *slēp* (n.), *slǣpan* (v.), Go. *sleps* (n.), *slepan* (v.) "ult.
   connexions are doubtful" (Onions 1966: 834) < PGmc *slēpan,
   *slēpaz ← PIE *slēb-, 'be weak, sleep' a hypothetical base *slē-
   contracted from *sleh₁-

4. P *wabić*, Ru. *vábit'*, OCS *vabimo* < PSl *vabiti ← PIE *ueh₂b-
   (*uōb-, *ueh₃b-)
   E *weep* < OE *wēpan*, Go. *wopjan* < PGmc *wōpjan ← PIE
   *ueh₂b-eyo-

Furthermore, the change of PIE *b > PGmc *p can also be sub-
stantiated with Latin contrasting with English: e.g. L *labium* /
E *lip*. There is also a possibility that the *b* sound should be
interpreted as an extension (Lehmann 1986: 409), or an en-
largement from the root *weh₂ [wa:] expressing a sound of la-
ment. Polomé (1999: 135) juxtaposes it with OE *wā* (E *woe*),
Go. *wai*, and OHG *wē*, which appears to be phonologically
problematic because OE *ā* derives from the diphthong *ai*.

The difference between the vowels in the pair of cognates
P *wabić*, E *weep* can be explained with reference to the merger
of the late PIE *ā and PIE *ō as well as two typical vocalic
changes in the history of English: i-Umlaut and the Great
Vowel Shift.

The merger of long non-high back vowels – late-PIE *ā and
late-PIE *ō shows different effects in Slavic than in Germanic.
In Proto-Germanic, the result is PGmc *ō, whereas in Proto-
Slavic, the result is PSl *a. This sound change can be substan-
tiated with the following examples. Nota bene, most occurrenc-

es of late-PIE *$\bar{a}$ can be derived from *eh_2, which makes some Indo-Europeanists question the existence of PIE *$\bar{a}$.

1. P *matka*, OCS *mati* ← PSl *$m\grave{a}ti$ < PIE *$m\acute{e}h_2$-ter-
   E *mother* < OE *m\={o}dor* < PGmc *$m\bar{o}dar$- < PIE *meh_2-t\'er-
2. P *paść*, Ru. *pastí*, 1sg. *pasú*, OCS *pasti*, 1sg. *pas\c{o}* < PSl *$pasti$ ← PIE *peh_2s-
   E *food* < OE *f\={o}da* < PGmc *$f\bar{o}d$- < PIE *peh_2t-
3. P *brat*, Ru. *brat,* OCS *bratrъ, bratъ* < PSl *$br\grave{a}trъ$, $br\grave{a}tъ$* < PIE *b^hreh_2-tr-
   E *brother* < OE *br\={o}þor* < PGmc *$br\bar{o}þar$* < PIE *b^hreh_2-ter-
4. P *wabić*, Ru. *vábit'*, OCS *vabimo* < PSl *$vabiti$* ← PIE *ueh_2b-(*$u\bar{o}b$-, *ueh_3b-)
   E *weep* < OE *w\={e}pan*, Go. *wopjan* < PGmc *$w\bar{o}pjan$* ← PIE *ueh_2b-eyo-

As a result of the two mergers, we have the contrast between PGmc *$\bar{o}$ (Go. *wopjan*[12] < PGmc *$w\bar{o}pjan$*) and PSl *a (P *wabić*, Cz. *vábiti*, Ru. *vábit'* < PSl *$vabiti$*). Next, in prehistoric Old English, *$\bar{o}$ underwent i-mutation, and changed into OE *$\bar{e}$ under the influence of the high front vowel (or semivowel) in the following syllable (for an outline cf. Hogg 1992: 121-138, or Lass 1994: 59-71). In other words, what happened can be understood as regressive vowel harmony because the back vowel *$\bar{o}$ became assimilated to the front *j. There are many further examples, which show similar vocalic developments, such as: Go. *fodjan,* OE *f\={e}dan* > E *feed*; Go. *sokjan,* OE *s\={e}\'can* > E *seek*; Go. *domjan,* OE *d\={e}man* > E *deem* to name but a few.

In the 15th century, the Middle English long vowel /eː/ succumbed to the Great Vowel Shift (for an outline cf. Lass 1999: 72-85), which is responsible for the Modern quality /iː/ in the present-day E *weep*. The vowel in the past and past participle forms *wept*, having undergone pre-cluster shortening, remained impervious to the charm of the Great Vowel Shift and survives intact. Further examples include *keep/kept*, *bleed/bled*, *feed/fed*, *sleep/slept*, to name but a few.

---

[12] There is no need to apply a macron above Go. *o* because Gothic did not have a short *o*.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that the reconstruction of both the form and the meaning of the common etymon for P *wabić* and E *weep* is based on a comparison and should be approached with care. Similarly, all attempts at understanding and accounting for the semantic and phonological developments at these early stages are hypothetical.

There are several arguments in favour of the cognacy however. Firstly, P *wabić* has cognates in many Slavic languages, including OCS, and E *weep* is attested in many Germanic languages, including Gothic; the phonological differences between them reflect regular sound correspondences. Secondly, there is semantic proximity between Go. *wopjan* 'call' and Old P *wabić* 'call' as well as one of the senses of Modern P *wabić*, present in *Jak się ten pies wabi?* 'What's this dog called?' Thirdly, the phonological differences P *wabić* and E *weep* can be explained in terms of regular sound changes.

By and large, P *wabić* and E *weep* seem to belong to those cognates which appear prima facie semantically unrelated, like P *syty* and E *sad* or P *początek* 'beginning' and P *koniec* 'end'. In addition to this, however, not only do they turn out to have a common origin, but they also indicate a connection which characterised the perception of our ancestors.

References

Boryś, Wiesław (2005). *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego.* Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Cleasby, Richard, Gudbrand Vigfusson (1874). *An Icelandic-English Dictionary.* Online version from <http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~kurisuto/germanic/oi_cleasbyvigfusson_about. html>. Accessed May–June 2013, May 2016.

Cyran, Eugeniusz, Morgan Nilsson (1998). "The Slavic [w > v] shift: A case for phonological strength". In: Eugeniusz Cyran (ed.). *Structure and Interpretation – Studies in Phonology.* Lublin: Folium, 89-100.

Derksen, Rick (2008). *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexicon.* Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Dubisz, Stanisław. (2008). *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego PWN.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Fortson IV, Benjamin. W. (2005). "An approach to semantic change". In: Brian D. Joseph, Richard D. Janda (eds.). *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 648-666.

Hogg, Richard (1992). *A Grammar of Old English.* Vol. 1: *Phonology.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Jespersen, Otto (1921). *Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin.* New York: Macmillan.

Kleparski, Grzegorz A. (1996). "Semantic change in onomasiological perspective". In: G. Persson, M. Ryden (eds.). *Male and Female Terms in English.* Umeå: Acta Universitatis Umensis, 41-91.

Kleparski, Grzegorz A. (1997). *The Theory and Practice of Historical Semantics: The Case of Middle English and Early Modern English Synonyms of GIRL/YOUNG WOMAN.* Lublin: Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego.

Kortlandt, Frederik (2001). *Kazania Świętokrzyskie. An electronic text edition.* Available at <http://www.kortlandt.nl/editions/kazsw.html>. Accessed May–June 2013, May 2016.

Kroonen, Guus (2013): *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic.* Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Lass, Roger (1999). "Phonology and morphology". In: Roger Lass (ed.). *The Cambridge History of the English Language.* Vol. 3: *1476-1776.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 56-186.

Lass, Roger (1994). *Old English: A Historical Linguistic Companion.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Lehmann, Winfred P. (1986). *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary.* Leiden: Brill.

Levinson, Stephen C. (2000). *Presumptive Meanings: The Theory of Generalized Conversational Implicature.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, Bradford.

Mallory, James P., Douglas Q. Adams (2006). *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mann, Stuart E. (1984/87). *An Indo-European Comparative Dictionary.* Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

OED: *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd ed. in progress: *OED Online*, March 2000-. Ed. John A. Simpson. Available at <www.oed.com>. Accessed May–June 2013, May 2016.

Nitsch, Kazimierz, Zenon Klemensiewicz, Stanisław Urbańczyk et al. (eds). (1953-2002). *Słownik staropolski.* Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk.

Onions, Charles Talbut (1966). *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Orel, Vladimir (2003). *A Handbook of Germanic Etymology.* Boston, Leiden: Brill.

Pokorny, Julius (2002 [1959]). *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Bern and Munich: Francke.

Polomé, Edgar. C. (1999). "Some comments on the vocabulary of emotion in Germanic". In: G. F. Carr, W. Harbert, L. Zhang (eds.). *Interdigitations: Essays for Irmengard Rauch.* New York: Peter Lang, 129-140.

Project Wulfila (2004). University of Antwerp, Belgium. Available at <http://www.wulfila.be>. Accessed May 2016.

Rix, Helmut (2001). *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben.* Reichert, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Rychło, Mikołaj (2014). "Gothic *wopjan,* Polish *wabić* and English *weep*". In Grzegorz A. Kleparski, Ewa Konieczna, Beata Kopecka (eds.). *The Subcarpathian Studies in English Language, Literature and Culture.* Vol. 1. Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 121-132.

Stieber, Zdzisław (2005 [1979]). *Zarys gramatyki porównawczej języków słowiańskich.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Streitberg, Wilhelm (1919). *Die gotische Bibel. Erster Teil: Der gotische Text und seine griechische Vorlage. Mit Einleitung, Lesarten und Quellennachweisen sowie den kleineren Denkmälern als Anhang.* Herausgegeben von Wilhelm Streitberg. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. Carl Winter: Heidelberg. (Germanische Bibliothek, 2. Abteilung, 3. Band). Quoted from the online version provided by the Wulfila Project at <http://www.wulfila.be>. Accessed May–June 2013, May 2016.

Taylor, John R. (2003). *Linguistic Categorization.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vennemann, Theo (2006). "Grimm's Law and loanwords". *Transactions of the Philological Society* 104/2: 129-166.

Watkins, Calwert (ed.) (2011). *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots.* Boston – New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Mikołaj Rychło
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: mrychlo@wp.pl

Conceptual metaphors
in linguistic metalanguage
– Polish case names

OLGA SOKOŁOWSKA

Abstract

Polish linguistic metalanguage comprises some terms of figurative character, apparently determined by metaphorical thinking, i.e. by construing one, abstract notion in terms of another, more concrete, accessible to sensory perception. Some of these terms are calques from Latin and preserve the mappings involved therein, but otherwise more refined and independent inspirations behind the names of linguistic categories can be recognized, especially in regard to the terms for the seven Polish cases.

Key words

case, grammar, metalanguage, metaphor, semantic roles

Métaphores conceptuelles
dans le métalangage de la linguistique
– les noms des cas dans la déclinaison polonaise

Résumé

Dans le dictionnaire de la terminologie linguistique utilisée en polonais, on peut remarquer des mots à caractère figuratif dont la signification semble s'appuyer sur le procédé métaphorique, c'est-à-dire sur la construction de la conception d'un phénomène abstrait avec une conception d'un phénomène plus concret, perceptible par

les sens. Certains de ces termes ont été calqués du latin avec leurs valeurs métaphoriques de départ, d'autres ont été créés, paraît-il, à partir des associations métaphoriques originales qui n'avaient pas été copiées ou qui avaient été développées de manière novatrice. Cela concerne surtout les noms des sept cas polonais.

Mots-clés

cas, grammaire, métalangage, métaphore, rôles sémantiques

Metafory konceptualne w metajęzyku lingwistyki – nazwy przypadków w polskiej deklinacji

Abstrakt

W słowniku terminologii lingwistycznej używanej w języku polskim rozpoznać można wyrazy o charakterze figuratywnym, których znaczenie wydaje się być oparte na myśleniu metaforycznym, tj. na budowaniu koncepcji zjawiska abstrakcyjnego w oparciu o inną koncepcję, zainspirowaną zjawiskiem bardziej konkretnym, poznawalnym za pośrednictwem zmysłów. Niektóre z takich terminów zostały przekalkowane z łaciny z zachowaniem orygi- nalnych odwzorowań metaforycznych, jednak są też takie, które, jak się wydaje, zostały utworzone na podstawie oryginalnych, nieskopiowanych lub nowatorsko rozwiniętych skojarzeń meta- forycznych. Dotyczy to szczególnie nazw większości z siedmiu polskich przypadków.

Słowa kluczowe

metafora, metajęzyk, przypadek, role semantyczne, składnia

1. Polish linguistic nomenclature

The present paper is an extended version of a text written on the basis of a presentation delivered during the 50th Linguis- tics Colloquium in Innsbruck, Austria, in September 2015. It

has been inspired by a consideration of the terminology used in Polish to talk about various linguistic phenomena. It must be emphasised that this terminology is predominantly native, and did not emerge as a result of a simple adaptation of the Latin linguistic glossary, which itself was principally composed of translations from Ancient Greek. Some languages, like English, used the adaptation method to establish its linguistic metalanguage, which is why the conceptual motivations behind particular terms may have become recognizable only to those with some command of Latin. Polish grammarians engaged in the study of their native language have not followed the same easy route. They have, on some occasions, created calques of Latin terms to describe certain phenomena, but have also devised a large number of their own, native words to refer to grammatical categories found in the language. Doing so, they apparently employed the strategy of thinking about certain abstract linguistic phenomena in terms of something else, more concrete. Thus, in accordance with Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) claim that not only literary but also casual and technical language is abundant with evidence of the fact that human thinking is to a good degree metaphorical in nature, a closer look at Polish grammatical terminology reveals that it often applies figurative construals when fathoming the intricacies of the language.

Therefore, as has been indicated, Polish linguistic nomenclature is principally Polish. The present paper is focused on metaphorical mappings apparently underlying Polish linguistic vocabulary, specifically case names. The theoretical framework employed is based on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) idea that figurative expressions are but instantiations, external manifestations of conceptual metaphors, in terms of which human thought is structured. A most important point made by the proponents of the theory, also relevant to the present study, is the observation that the general tendency recognized in metaphorical thinking construes abstract (target) domains in terms of concrete, mundane phenomena and experiences (source domains). Applying this assumption to the subject matter of

the present work means that such elusive, unspecific, abstract notions as general semantic roles performed by entities participating in conceptualized scenes, which case forms are indicative of, are understood in terms of common, well-known material objects or physical activities, as appears to be suggested by the case names marking those roles.

2. The Polish case system

The role of case in Polish is similar to that recognized in other languages that possess this grammatical category, i.e., it is indicative of the semantic role performed by the referent of a noun assuming a given form, and, especially, to mark it as figure or ground in the conceived scene described by a linguistic expression. Therefore, it should be pointed out that, in accordance with the general assumptions of cognitive linguistics, case in not considered to be merely a matter of form determined by syntactic rules of government and agreement, but, rather, a semantic phenomenon, a conventionalized means to represent a specific mental construal, i.e., meaning. Polish has seven case forms which mark the most common, in a way prototypical semantic roles performed by conceived entities (construed as *things* in the sense described by Langacker 1987) which are referred to by respective nouns. The case in Polish is marked not only on nouns and pronouns but also on determiners and adjectives.

The case terms in Polish are, as in Latin, morphologically complex words composed of a derivational suffix (*-ik* or *-acz*), whose semantic function is similar to that of the Latin *-ivus* '-ive', i.e., to mark a lexeme as a member of the grammatical class of nouns. It is the meaning of the root morphemes that is symptomatic of the application of metaphorical mappings in the process of coining the terms to name specific word forms. This meaning is closely connected with the character of the semantic roles recognized to be performed by entities referred to by nouns in specific case forms. Considering it may therefore be helpful in reconstructing the motivations behind coin-

ing a specific term to refer to a specific semantic role, i.e., the name of a case.

Before the actual case terms are discussed with regard to their meaning, it should be indicated that the actual declensional forms determined by the same case may vary considerably from one nominal expression to another not only due to the fact that, just like in Old English, the Polish nouns, marked for different grammatical genders (masculine, feminine and neutral), decline with regard to numerous different patterns. It is also possible for two nouns of the same gender inflected for the same case to adjoin different inflectional case suffixes. This is due not only to morphology, but it may also be the meaning of a noun that decides about a case form. For example, masculine animate and masculine inanimate nouns are inflected according to distinct patterns; also inflectional forms may differ depending whether a given, the very same, word is used as a common noun or as a proper name.

2.1. The nominative – the "naming" case (mianownik)

The Polish term *mianownik* (derived from the noun *miano* – 'name') is a calque of the Latin *nominativus*, and seems to instantiate, similarly as in Latin, the conceptual metaphor: EXISTING IS BEING NAMED. This mapping, also involved in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of language as the shaper of ideas, seems to be well-established in European culture, and is reflected in the philosophical thought of Aristotle, who did not differentiate between *real* and *nominal* definitions (cf. Grzegorczykowa 1996: 14). That conflation of concepts appears to have derived from the realist Aristotelian philosophy of identifying category universals in things (*in re*). Therefore, the philosopher's alleged belief that defining the name of an entity, i.e., the meaning of the word referring to it was tantamount to defining the entity itself, indicates that the metaphor EXISTING IS BEING NAMED must have been a constitutive one for him. Evidence of the same mapping re-appears later in the Judeo-Christian tradition, where naming is concurrent with

creation (calling into existence). Thus, in the Bible, the Book of Genesis (1.7-9) presents the works of God in the following way:

> [...] So God made the expanse and separated the water under the expanse from the water above it. And it was so. God *called* the expanse "sky."
> And God said, "Let the water under the sky be gathered to one place, and let dry ground appear." And it was so.
> God *called* the dry ground "land," and the gathered waters He *called* "seas." And God saw that it was good. [...]

Also, in the later course of Biblical events, when God introduces the first human into the world He has made, He puts Adam in charge of it by respecting the names the man would give to all creatures he was superior to, having been created "in [God's] own image". Again, the assumption of the concurrence of calling into existence and naming can be observed in the following fragments of the Book of Genesis.

> [Genesis 2:19] So out of the ground the Lord God formed every animal of the field and every bird of the air, and brought them to the man to see what he would *call* them; and whatever the man *called* every living creature, that was its *name.*

> [Genesis 2:20] The man *gave names* to all cattle, and to the birds of the air, and to every animal of the field; but for the man there was not found a helper as his partner.

It may be concluded that the privilege of naming was granted to Adam to make him aware of the various phenomena of the world he was to live in, and to enable him to understand them on his own terms. In this way, bearing names, these phenomena became part of Adam's reality. Although the language of Eden is unknown, it may be hypothesized that the words that Adam coined to distinguish things were nouns and that those naming nouns occurred in their basic, i.e., nominative forms.

The nominative is always enumerated as first in a system of cases, which is iconic because this form is assumed by the

subject, i.e., the head of a sentence; it is also the citation form of nouns in dictionaries. Moreover, the nominative seems to be language universal, as all languages, also those that lack declensions and other inflections in general, name things and use nouns for this purpose, which must assume a certain form, even if it is always steady. Thus, every instance of using this base form in the course of linguistic communication can be understood as a little act of creation, giving rise to a conception in the mind of a language user. The Latin and the Polish case terms alike seem to refer to this act. Concomitant to naming, i.e., calling a conception into existence is putting it, as figure (topic, theme), in a newly opened mental space – to make it eligible for being commented upon by the predicate. The fact that the nominative form is assumed by the subject of a sentence referring to a cognitive figure, i.e., the most outstanding element of a conceptualized scene, about which some information is provided, supports the general assumption of cognitive linguistics that form is interpretive to meaning (rather than the other way round, as assumed in the early models of generative grammars).

2.2. The genitive – the "filling up" case (*dopełniacz*)

The Polish term *dopełniacz* (derived from the verb *dopełniać* 'fill up') seems to involve a metaphorical mapping broader than the one instantiated in the Latin name of the same case, as *genitivus* is the origin-marking case (*genus*). The Polish term highlights the fact that this specific form is assumed by nouns which provide completing information about the nominative-marked subject/head (of which the specification of origin is a type). The metaphorical mappings that seem to have engendered the Polish term for the genitive case are: A CONCEPTION IS A CONTAINER; INFORMATION IS CONTENT; SUPPLYING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IS FILLING UP A CONTAINER.

The role of a noun in the genitive is to supply its meaning to complete (fill up) the semantic information provided by the head noun referring to the cognitive figure specifying, among

others: origin, e.g., *ludy **Afryki*** 'the peoples of Africa', relation (including possession), e.g., *królowa **Anglii*** 'the queen of England'; *pies **Baskervillów** 'the hound of the Baskervilles'*; ownership, e.g., *dom **Jana*** 'John's house'; amount, e.g., *funt/torba **jabłek*** 'pound/bag of apples'; *dużo/mało **pieniędzy*** 'much/ little money'; absence, e.g., *brak **wody*** 'lack of/no water'. To say that the meaning of a genitive-marked noun is but a complement of the meaning supplied by its antecedent (subject, head noun) undoubtedly amounts to downgrading its relevance in the description of a specific cognitive input, whereas considering the above-specified examples leads to the conclusion that it is the modifiers that supply more detailed and important information. The semantic role of a head noun seems to consist in providing a conceptual scaffolding to support (in the form of a container with little content) the meaning supplied by the genitive-marked modifier. This scaffolding metaphor (recognized by Lakoff) has been thoroughly described by Ungerer and Schmid (1996: 95, 144).

It is interesting to observe that a noun in the genitive case can function as a logical subject in negative sentences reporting absence or insufficiency, such as ***Marii** nie ma w domu* 'Mary is not home'; *Nie ma **czasu** do stracenia* 'There is no time to waste'; or ***Pieniędzy** jest mało* 'There is little money'. In such instances the container metaphor still seems to be involved, even though the genitive marked noun cannot "fill up" the information provided by the absent nominative one. Since what is at issue in such cases is total absence or insufficiency, the noun meant as a complement takes on the role of the sentence head representing the, in a way, faulty cognitive figure within the scene it describes. It is, therefore, like a simple arithmetic operation; adding to zero is possible, but the result is equal to the addition, and adding to almost nothing leads to a very similar outcome.

2.3. The dative – the "target" case (*celownik*)

The Polish term for the dative case, *celownik*, whose root is the noun *cel* 'target', highlights an aspect of the relevant set of metaphorical mappings that is different from the one referred to in Latin: DIRECTING AN ACTION IS SENDING; THE GIVER IS A SOURCE and THE RECIPIENT IS A TARGET. The Latin *dativus* involves the stem *datus* 'given' and, indeed, the verbs that prototypically govern this case are "verbs of giving". Therefore, the term is based on the conception of an object set in purposeful, one-directional motion – from the giver to the recipient.

The Polish term does not refer to the object "given", as in Latin, but to the target of schematic (physical or non-physical) motion, i.e., the recipient (target) of the action. The "recipient" is prototypically an entity physically or potentially gaining control over the object of the action, as in *Jan dał/wysłał **Marii** kwiaty* 'John gave/sent flowers to Maria', but it can just as well be the target of an action not involving physical spatial progress, though, nevertheless, involving one-directionality, as in *Opowiedziała **dzieciom** bajkę* '[She] told the children a story'; *Obiecaliśmy **córce** nowy komputer* '[We] promised a new computer to our daughter'; *Pokazała **nam** swój dom* '[She] showed us her home'; *Zrobił **nam** kawał* '[He] played a joke on us'.

Therefore, the Polish name of the case form in question is different to that of Latin in terms of its interpretation of the prototypical, schematic scene of transfer of an entity from a source to a target. This interpretation gives priority to the final destination of the path covered by an object, rather than the object itself.

2.4. The accusative – the "taking" case (*biernik*)

The Polish term for the accusative case – *biernik* (derived from the verb *brać* 'take', 'grasp', or the adjective *bierny* 'passive', 'that can be taken', 'takeable') highlights the passive partici-

pant involved in an unidirectional relation, and seems to be based upon the metaphor: BEING AFFECTED IS BEING TAKEN (GRASPED).

The metaphor is different to the one involved in the Latin *accusativus*, which is derived from the verb *accusare* 'to accuse'. However, the presently used name of the fourth Latin case is the result of a medieval mistranslation of the original Greek word Αιτιατική, which more correctly should be *causativus* – a derivative of *causare* 'to cause', i.e., the causative case, as it was originally called by the Roman grammarian Priscian (cf. the explanation provided by WNWDAL). Thus, the Latin term highlights (or was meant to highlight) an entire, schematically understood, action of one entity (agent) affecting another entity (patient), while the Polish one directly refers to the change of the state of one participant – the patient. The Polish term, thus, reveals a re-interpretation of a general scene focusing on its more detailed aspects than the Latin one.

2.5. The instrumental case (*narzędnik*)

The term *narzędnik* is derived from the noun *narzędzie* 'tool', 'instrument'. The case that it names has no exact counterpart in Latin, and its form is assumed in Polish by nouns whose referents perform the semantic role of a means accompanying in accomplishing some action, e.g., *Otworzył dzwi **kluczem/kopniakiem*** '[He] opened the door with a key/a kick'; *Policjant tropił przestępcę **z psem*** 'The policeman tracked the criminal with a dog'; *Dorobił się **oszustwem*** '[He] made money by fraud'; *Weszli **frontowymi drzwiami*** '[They] entered by the front door'; *Przyszła **z mężem*** '[She] came with her husband'. Thus, the metaphor apparently instantiated by this Polish case term is A MEANS (METHOD) TO DO SOMETHING IS AN INSTRUMENT (TOOL). A place of an activity may also be construed as an instrument "participating" in it by determining its direction or manner, as in: *Szli **ulicą*** '[They] walked down the street', *Przybyli **morzem*** 'They arrived by the sea', which is a more active role than that of a mere location.

2.6. The locative case (*miejscownik*)

The term *miejscownik* is a derivative of the noun *miejsce* 'place', and, accordingly, refers to the case form generally determined by the semantic role of location. Like the instrumental (*narzędnik*), it has no exact counterpart in Latin, and in Polish refers to the noun form following locative prepositions. The inspiration for the term cannot be compared to that behind the name of the Latin sixth case, as *ablative* is derived from the verb *ablego* 'send away', and this form is in Latin applied to nouns to express removal, deprivation, direction from, as well as source, causation, agency (cf. WNWDAL). It seems, therefore, that *ablativus* is a "hold-all" case combining a number of different semantic roles, many of which are distributed among other Polish case categories.

As suggested by the name of the case, nominal expressions assuming this form prototypically refer to physical, spatial locations, e.g., *w **mieście*** 'in town'; *na **stole*** 'on the table'; *przy **płocie*** 'by the fence'; but also to mental ones, i.e., to "places" where thoughts are "held": *w **myśli*** 'in the mind'; *w **pamięci*** 'in memory'; *w **poważaniu*** 'in esteem'. It is also assumed by nouns referring to objects of mental relations symbolized by nouns following the preposition *o* 'about': *Myślą o **wyprowadzce*** '[They] are thinking about removal'; *Zapomiał/Pamiętał o **spotkaniu*** '[He] forgot/remembered about the meeting'; *Lubię filmy o **zwierzętach*** '[I] like films about animals'. Apparently, the prepositions preceding this case form generally refer to locations, physical or mental. The name of the case was probably determined by the semantic role prototypically assumed by nouns representing physical locations, following spatial prepositions, but it may also involve the conceptual metaphor THE MIND IS A CONTAINER (LOCATION) FOR IDEAS described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). This assumption agrees with the idea of *mental spaces* understood as thought structures dynamically opening up as we think and talk, i.e., as it were, mental locations in which thoughts occur (cf. Fauconnier 1985).

2.7. The addressing case (*wołacz*)

The term *wołacz* is derived from the verb *wołać* 'yell', 'call', 'summon'. Since nouns in this case form are used exclusively in appeals (the vocative marker only occurs in nouns of singular number), as in, e.g., the poem by the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz: **Kobieto***! **Puchu** marny! Ty wietrzna **istoto***! 'Woman! Down sleazy! You pox being!', or in the Polish version of the popular song *Frère Jacques*, *Frère Jacques*, i.e., **Panie Janie***, **Panie Janie**. The etymology of the corresponding Latin term, *vocativus*, is similar, since it is derived from the verb *vocare* 'call', of which *wołać* is the Polish equivalent. It could be claimed, therefore, that the metaphor that inspired the term for the case in question is ADDRESSING IS CALLING/SHOUTING TO SOMEONE.

It must be stated, however, that, out of all the considered case terms, *wołacz* and *vocative* seem to be the least metaphorical, if metaphorical at all, as nouns in this form are literally used in addresses, either to real people, e.g., **Mario**, **Janie***, posłuchajcie* 'Mary, John, listen' or to personified entities, as in another quote from Mickiewicz: **Litwo**, **ojczyzno** *moja!* 'O Lithuania, my country!', or in Cicero's famous exclamation *O tempora! O mores!*

3. Conclusions

Grammatical terms seem to have been engendered by cognitive strategies generally used by humans to cognize the world and to express their knowledge in language. Metaphor appears to lie at the foundation of comprehension in general, and the comprehension of language is no exception. The Polish (and Latin) case terms have apparently arisen as a result of thinking about the abstract, general, prototypical semantic roles that the referents of nouns in particular forms perform within conceptualized scenes in a metaphorical way. Construing those roles (target domains) in terms of everyday, concrete, physical objects and activities (source domains), might have

inspired the terms for case forms of nouns referring to the phenomena performing those roles when such terms were coined by grammarians.

References

Grzegorczykowa, Renata (1996). "Filozoficzne aspekty kategoryzacji". In: Renata Grzegorczykowa, Anna Pajdzińska (eds.). *Językowa kategoryzacja świata.* Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 11-26.

Fauconnier, Giles (1985). *Mental Spaces.* Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Lakoff, George, Mark Johnson (1980). *Metaphors We Live By.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Langacker, Ronald W. (1987). "Nouns and verbs". *Language* 63: 53-94.

Ungerer, Friedrich, Hans-Jörg Schmid (1996). *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics.* London – New York: Longman.

Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language (1979). William Collins Publishers, Inc.

Olga Sokołowska
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: angos@ug.edu.pl

Basic categories
for a theory of language

KAZIMIERZ A. SROKA

Abstract

The present paper makes reference to its author's work *The Dynamics of Language* (1976) and presents three basic and indispensable categories for a theory and description of language, namely form, signification, and location, with special emphasis on the last two. After a short introduction, the following problems are considered: (1) language theory and semantics, (2) language sign and the dichotomy *significans* : *significatum*, (3) (morpho)semanteme and the trichotomy: form, signification, location, (4) form, signification, and location in the process of encoding and decoding, (5) context and the contextual theory of meaning according to J. R. Firth, (6) the influence of context and speech situation on the signification of the element of text. The conclusion (7) summarizes the presentation of the trichotomy of the defining categories for the (morpho)semanteme, i.e. form, signification, and location, and of their role in the description of language and of the process of verbal communication. It also draws attention to the relation that holds between context in the broad sense and location in the sense defined in the paper and shows the advantages following from the introduction of the latter concept into the theory and description of language.[1]

Key words

context, decoding, encoding, form, language sign, language theory and description, location, (morpho)semanteme, (morpho)semantics, signification, speech situation, textual element/entity

Catégories fondamentales dans la théorie du langage

Résumé

L'article fait référence à l'ouvrage de son auteur intitulé *The Dynamics of Language* (1976) et il présente trois catégories de base essentielles dans la théorie et la description du langage, c'est-à-dire la forme, la signification et l'emplacement, en particulier les deux dernières. Après une courte introduction, on examine les questions suivantes : (1) la théorie du langage et la sémantique, (2) le signe linguistique et la dichotomie *signifiant / signifié*, (3) le (morpho)-sémantème et la trichotomie : forme / signification / emplacement, (4) la forme, la signification et l'emplacement dans le processus de codage et de décodage, (5) le contexte et la théorie contextuelle du sens selon J. R. Firth, (6) l'influence du contexte et de la consituation sur la signification d'un élément du texte. La conclusion (7) résume la présentation de la trichotomie des catégories définitionnelles du (morpho)sémantème, c'est-à-dire : forme, signification et emplace-ment, et leur rôle dans la description du langage et du processus de la communication verbale. On souligne aussi la relation entre le contexte au sens large et l'emplacement dans le sens défini dans l'article et on présente les bénéfices qui viennent de l'introduction de cette dernière notion dans la théorie et dans la description du langage.

Mots-clés

codage, consituation, contexte, décodage, élément du texte, em-placement, forme, (morpho)sémantème, (morpho)sémantique, signe linguistique, signification, théorie et description du langage

Podstawowe kategorie teorii języka

Abstrakt

Artykuł nawiązuje do pracy jego autora pt. *The Dynamics of Language* (1976) i omawia trzy podstawowe i niezbędne kategorie teorii i opisu języka, a mianowicie formę, sygnifikację i lokację, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem tych dwu ostatnich. Po krótkim wstępie rozważane są następujące zagadnienia: (1) teoria języka a semantyka, (2) znak językowy i dychotomia *significans* : *significatum*, (3) (morfo)semantem i trychotomia: forma, sygnifikacja, lokacja, (4) forma, sygnifikacja i lokacja w procesie kodowania i dekodowania, (5) kontekst i kontekstualna teoria znaczenia według J. R. Firtha, (6) wpływ kontekstu i konsytuacji na sygnifikację elementu tekstu. Zakończenie (7) podsumowuje prezentację trychotomii kategorii definicyjnych (morfo)semantemu, czyli formy, sygnifikacji i lokacji i ich roli w opisie języka i procesu komunikacji werbalnej. Zwraca też uwagę na stosunek zachodzący pomiędzy kontekstem w sensie szerokim a lokacją w ujęciu zdefiniowanym w artykule oraz podaje korzyści wynikające z wprowadzenia tego ostatniego pojęcia do teorii i opisu języka.

Słowa kluczowe

dekodowanie, element tekstu, forma, kodowanie, konsytuacja, kontekst, lokacja, (morfo)semantyka, (morfo)semantem, sygnifikacja, teoria i opis języka, znak językowy

0. Introduction

In *The Dynamics of Language* (1976), the present author speaks of three basic and indispensable categories (or, parameters) for a theory and description of language, viz. form, signification and location. Because of the continuing validity of that distinction as well as of the whole work,[2] the author

---

[2] *The Dynamics od Language* was its author's habilitation work. Although it was published in 1976, because of unfavourable external circumstances, its author obtained the degree of Habilitated Doctor in general and English linguistics only in 1990 after the habilitation colloquium which took place at the University of Wrocław. The theory of language proposed in the disserta-

wishes to take a closer look at the essence of these categories with special attention given to signification and location and to the importance of the latter for a unified interpretation of particular varieties of modern linguistics (or domains of language description), among others, such as pragmatics, psycholinguistics, or sociolinguistics.

1. Language theory and semantics

Language theories with regard to the role they assign to semantics can, as shown in Figure 1, be divided into semantic (*B* + *C*) and asemantic (*A*), this division intersecting with the division into (post)Saussurean (*C*) and non-Saussurean (*A* + *B*).

   (Post)Saussurean theories (*C*) (e.g. Hjelmslev 1953, Zawadowski 1966) and asemantic theories (*A*) (e.g. Harris 1951 (1961)) are contradictory, and their negations make a common part (*B*), viz. a theory which is semantic but simultaneously non-Saussurean (such as is represented by Firth 1935 (1951)) (cf. Sroka 1976: 11–18).

tion was the basis of his lecture courses in general linguistics, which he gave at universities and other schools, and an important lodestar in his lecture courses and classes in phonology and English historical grammar as well as in master seminars. It was also the point of departure of his successive theoretical and descriptive research, whose results were presented at numerous conferences in Poland and abroad and published in the form of papers. The topics discussed concern, among others, the theory and description of grammatical categories mainly with reference to the category of gender (e.g. Sroka 1983, 1988, 1998a), the category of role (e.g. Sroka 1981, 1984, 2011), and particularly the category of definiteness (e.g. Sroka 2003, 2015 and the references given there, as well as the author's paper submitted for publication). The material for analysis and illustration is taken from the languages: English, Hungarian (which is the object of the author's special interest mainly because of the category of definiteness), French, German, Swedish, Bulgarian, Polish, as well as Latin, Greek, and Gothic. Many of his analyses, including the comparative ones, are carried out on the basis of the texts of the New Testament of the Bible in the Greek original, its translation into Latin (the *Vulgate*), and in translations from Latin or Greek into other languages.
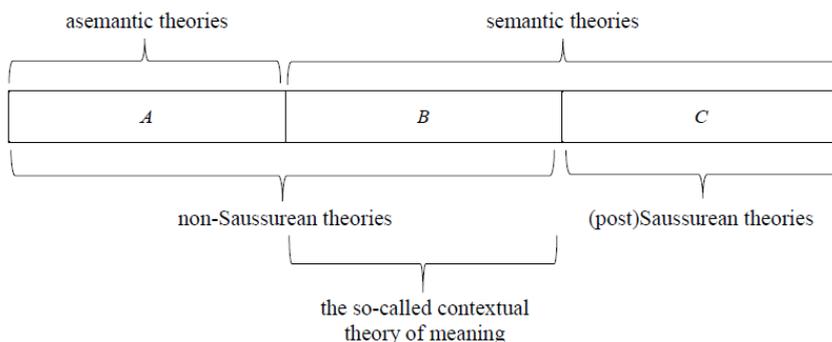
Figure 1
A classification of language theories
with regard to their approach to semantics

2. Language sign and the dichotomy
significans : *significatum*

The category Fr. *signifiant*, L. *significans*, i.e. the signifying element, and Fr. *signifié*, L. *significatum*, i.e. the signified element, make the basic dichotomy of (post)Saussurean linguistics and of, coming from it, functional linguistics, whose variety is, in many aspects, also cognitive grammar, e.g. its foundations formulated by R. W. Langacker 1987 and 1991 (see Kalisz 2001: mainly 9 and 36–43).[3]

According to F. de Saussure (1916 (2005): 97–102), *signifiant* (the signifying element) is an acoustic image (Fr. *image acoustique*), and *signifié* (the signified element) is a concept (Fr. *concept*). These are arbitralily connected parts of a language sign (Fr. *signe linguistique*) situated in the human mind. Such a conception of the language sign is bilateral and psychologistic (mentalistic). A conception opposite to that, viz. unilateral and non-psychologistic (non-mentalistic), is proposed by Leon Zawadowski (1966: 79–130).

---

[3] The problem of the relation between cognitive linguistics and pragmatics is discussed by R. Kalisz (2016).

In Zawadowski's approach, attention is focused not so much on the language sign as on the textual element (*T*) which performs a representative function, i.e. an element which, owing to its characteristic set of features (which is at the level of the Saussurean *signifiant*) conventionally (arbitrarily) corresponds to a given element of the (extrasegmental) reality (*R*) in the latter's characteristic set of features (i.e. meaning, which is at the level of the Saussurean *signifié*). A language sign is only a concrete realization of such a textual element. Between *T* and *R* there holds the relation of implication: $T \rightarrow R$, which means that the presence of *T* always results in the presence of *R*, but not in the opposite way (see Zawadowski 1966: 84f.).

3. (Morpho)semanteme and the trichotomy: form, signification, location

3.0. In the present author's approach, similarly as in Zawadowski's, what is in focus is the textual element (or, textual entity) which has a representative value. Such an element (or, entity) is, however, considered in three basic categories, viz. form (*F*), signification (*S*), and location (*L*). We propose to call it a morphosemanteme but for practical reasons we shall use a shorter form corresponding only to the second part of this name, i.e. semanteme. It may be a morpheme, i.e. a simple textual entity with a representative value (simple semanteme) as well as a word, phrase, clause, or sentence/ uttereme (complex semanteme).

3.1. Form

The form (*F*) of a semanteme is the shape or structure of a segment of an articulatory-phonic continuum or visual continuum (in the case of writing). What is relevant here is its characteristic set of features, i.e. the set of its essential, and not accidental, features.

Form is a category whose values are intrasegmental features of the semanteme while signification and location are categories whose values are its extrasegmental features.

3.2. Signification

3.2.0. The signification (*S*) of a semanteme, in most general terms, is the property of its form consisting in representing a given (extrasegmental) reality (*R*). The (extrasegmental) reality (*R*) as such includes everything that may be the object of representation and communication, and, therefore, besides the objects of the real world, also mental objects, fictitious objects, etc.

In order to show the problem of signification in detail, we shall present the participation of the form of the semanteme in the relation of signification and in morphosemantic functions.

3.2.1. Participation of form in the relation of signification

The signification of a semanteme is a relational category connected with the (extrasegmental) reality. It follows from the participation of its form in the relation of signification, whose members are: the signifying element (*significans*), i.e. the active member, and the signified element (*significatum*), i.e. the passive member. The form of the semanteme participates namely in the relation of signification as its active member, i.e. the signifying element (*significans*), whereas the passive member of the relation, i.e. the signified element (*significatum*), is the (extrasegmental) reality.

The signification of a given semanteme is, therefore, the connection between a given form of the semanteme and a given (extrasegmental) reality, as the *significatum*; this connection has its source in the linguistic convention, i.e. in morphosemantic rules accepted by a given community. In other words, the signification (*S*) of a given semanteme consists in the fact that its form represents a given (extrasegmental) reality, or that the form in question is the representation, or sym-

bol, of that reality. Representation itself, however, concerns only the essence (i.e. the characteristic set of features), and not the existence, of the reality.

Thus, if a given semanteme has a given form, then it has also a given signification, and possessing a given signification means that a given form represents a given (extrasegmental) reality. This belongs to the morphosemantic rules of a given language, i.e. to the language system. It finds also its application in the process of verbal communication and is realized in the following way: if, in the text constructed and produced (i.e. uttered or written) in the communication schema, there appears a given form, then, owing to its representative value, it evokes in the decoder's mind the concept (i.e. mental representation) of a given (extrasegmental) reality, and at the same time communicates, i.e. assigns existence to, that reality, which, however, does not mean that the reality in question in fact exists (in the case of an assertive sentence, is true) because the encoder may, for example, commit a mistake or may lie.

The view expressed above differs from what is maintained by Leon Zawadowski in the sentences: "One should note that assignment does not need to involve implication. Thus in the case of connections between textual segments and elements of R [= reality] there is not an assignment of whatever kind but just assignment and implication: if there is a specimen of a given class T [= text], there is always also a specimen of a c o r r e s p o n d i n g class R" (Zawadowski 1966: 84f., translation by K. A. S.). The differences between Zawadowski's and the present author's approach consist, among others, in that (1) Zawadowski speaks of connections between segments of text (T) (whose counterpart is our form (F)) and elements of the reality (R), whereas the present author speaks of the connection between form (F) and signification (S), i.e. the state of representing such a reality, and (2) Zawadowski speaks of the relation of implication between T and R, i.e. $T \rightarrow R$, while the present author speaks of the relation of unidirectional system of selections between particular values of F and particular values of S, i.e. $F => S$ (where the symbol '=>' indicates that we

deal here with a system of selections, and not a single selection, for which we would use the symbol '–>'). This means that the fact that a semanteme has a given form selects the state of representing the essence of a given reality, and that form used in the schema of communication can assign existence to that reality but there is no guarantee that the reality in question does exist.

3.2.2. Participation of form in morphosemantic functions

3.2.2.1. Semasiological function (realized in decoding)

One can also, using the concept of a function extending over a homogeneous set of semantemes, say that the signification of a semanteme follows from the participation of its form in a morphosemantic function of type *B*, i.e. semasiological function, in the role of an argument, i.e. a value of the independent variable *x*, in which case the value of the dependent variable *y* and the value of the function is the state of representing a given (extrasegmental) reality. For the semasiological function we shall use the symbol *Sem*, and its full formula will have the following shape:

$$Sem\ (x) = y.$$

In the realization of that function, the independent variable *x* takes its values from the set of forms, and the dependent variable *y* takes its values from the set of states of representing particular elements of the (extrasegmental) reality.

The basis of the morphosemantic function of type *B*, i.e. of the semasiological function *Sem*, is a **selectional system**, whose essence is a unidirectional (and thus, dynamic) correlational arrangement, in a homogeneous set of semantemes, between particular forms, as selecting elements, and particular states of representing the (extrasegmental) reality, as selected elements. This system is realized as basic at the stage of de-

coding. It is system *B*. Briefly: a value of *F* selects a value of *S*, i.e. $F_x \Rightarrow S_y$.

3.2.2.2. Onomasiological function (realized in encoding)

The reverse of the selectional system described above is a system in which the selecting elements belong to the set of states of representing particular elements of the (extrasegmental) reality, and the selected elements belong to the set of forms of the semantemes. The latter system is realized at the stage of encoding. It is system *A*. It is the basis of the morphosemantic function of type *A*, i.e. onomasiological function, *Onom*, formalized as:

Onom (x) = y,

in which the independent variable *x* takes its values from the set of states of representing particular elements of the (extrasegmental) reality, and the dependent variable *y* takes its values from the set of forms of the semantemes. Briefly: a value of *S* selects a value of *F*, i.e. $S_x \Rightarrow F_y$.

3.3. Location

The (actual or potential) location (*L*) of a semanteme is the (actual or potential) occurrence of its form in a given environment.

We distinguish two types of location depending on the type of the environment. If the environment is an accompanying textual entity, i.e. context (in the narrower sense), then location is **intratextual** (distributional**).** If, however, the environment is the speech situation (Pol. *konsytuacja*, Fr. *consituation*, G. *Konsituation*), i.e. consists of the extratextual phenomena which accompany the speech process, then location is **speech-situational**.

Speech-situational location involves many factors, such as the place and time of the process of speech, i.e. of the process

of verbal communication, events accompanying that process as well as the persons who directly participate in the process (speakers and those addressed to) or are only its observers – along with their social status, knowledge, views, expectations etc.

Speech-situational location involves also the presence or absence of personal and extrapersonal conditions of efficient, or felicitous, communication (cf. e.g. Searle 1975: 60f. and Kalisz 1993: 11) including as well the observance, or its lack, on the part of the encoder, of H. P. Grice's (1975: 45–47) co-operative principle with its maxims of quantity, quality, relevance, and manner.

Among the factors relevant to establishing location, one can to some extent find place for the components of J. R. Firth's context of situation, which includes both verbal and non-verbal phenomena (see the account of Firth's theory given below, 5.1–2). According to our approach, however, one should exclude at least that part of verbal action, i.e. that part of text, which is the object of actual analysis (description), and which, as Firth puts it, is also part of the situational context.

3.4. Central vs. peripheral categories in the definition of the semanteme

3.4.0. One should note that, according to the definitions given above, signification and location are not categories which are outside of the semanteme but such ones as include its features – features which make part of the essence of the semanteme although, which is true, they are its relational features, i.e. features which follow from a relation to something situated outside of the semanteme.

3.4.1. Figure 2 shows the characteristic features of the semanteme. In the figure, the categories of form (F), signification (S), and location (L), which are the essential components of the semanteme, occupy the central position. The types of reality connected with signification and location, i.e. represented real-

ity (*RR*) and environment (*E*), repectively, occupy peripheral positions. These peripheral elements shown in the present figure make a supplement to the original figure proposed by the present author (see Sroka 1976: 8).

3.4.2. The central elements are the defining nucleus of the semanteme, whereas the peripheral ones, although indispensable for the former, stay outside. Hence one should not identify signification simply with meaning in the sense of the signified element (*significatum*) and thus in the sense of the represented (extrasegmental) reality although the signified element must here be taken into account as the object of signification. As shown above (see 3.2.1), the term *signification* is used here in the sense of the participation of form in the relation of signification in such a way that form is the active member (*significans*), i.e. the signifying (representing) element, whereas the passive member (*significatum*), i.e. the signified (represented) element, is a given (extrasegmental) reality.
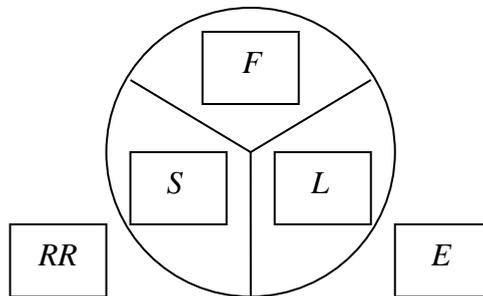
Figure 2
Semanteme
Component categories: *F* = form, *S* = signification, *L* = location
Types of reality connected with *S* and *L*: *RR* = represented reality,
E = environment, respectively

Analogously, the location of the semanteme is the **occurrence** of its form in a given environment, and it is not the environment itself.

4. Form, signification, and location
in the process of encoding and decoding

4.0. Form, signification, and location play the essential role in the operations taking place in the process of speech, i.e. in the process of verbal communication. In this process, there are two basic stages: those of encoding and decoding. From the point of view of form, signification, and location, the two stages basically differ in the direction of the operations involved but in both cases there is a choice of a feature which is a value of one of the three categories by a feature which is a value of one of the other categories.

4.1. At the stage of encoding, a given signification (i.e. the state of representing a given (extrasegmental) reality) selects a given form, and then a given location may make a further choice between possible variants of the form. E.g., the speaker, when addressing his listener, will have, in Polish, to choose between *Ty* ('you' in sing., i.e. 'thou') and *Pani/Pan* ('Mrs./Miss/Mr.' without a name); then speech-situational location will dictate him which of the two possibilities he should use. In this case, location is active. It should, however, be noted that if location is a grammatical formative, i.e. if the occurrence of a given form in a given environment has a given significational (semantic) value at the grammatical level, then at the stage of encoding, the choice of the base of the grammatical construction is followed by the choice of a proper location. Here location is passive. Such a case can be exemplified by the choice of the position (and thus, location) of the noun in relation to the verb in the active voice in English depending on whether the noun should appear in the role of the agent or patient, e.g. *John visited Mary* vs. *Mary visited John* (for location as a grammatical formative, see Sroka 1981).

4.2. At the stage of decoding, a given form selects a given signification, whereas a given location may make a further choice among possible variants of the signification or among possible elements of the set of various significations of a polysemous semanteme, e.g. Pol. *zamek* representing, among others, (1) castle, (2) lock, (3) zip. If, however, location is a grammatical formative, then its value selects a given significational value of the formative, e.g. agent or patient (see above, 4.1).

5. Context and the contextual theory of meaning according to J. R. Firth

5.0. The category of location proposed by the present author was intuitively taken into account in linguistics much earlier. It is namely connected with what was called "context" irrespective of the way in which this term was understood. And its understanding varied. In Polish linguistics, Pol. *kontekst* is, first of all, the textual environment of the textual element (entity) which is under description (cf. English "co-text") and it is distinguished from Pol. *konsytuacja* (Fr. *consituation*, G. *Konsituation*) 'speech situation;' yet the term Pol. *kontekst* is used also in the broader sense including both the textual environment and the speech situation (cf. English "context").

5.1. Context was understood in a different way by a, rather isolated in his views, British linguist, John Rupert Firth.[4]

---

[4] Firth rejected much of de Saussure's theory but took from him the concept of value (Fr. *valeur*) (see Palmer (ed.) 1968: 7).

Although his contribution to linguistics was enormous, Firth was misunderstood and largely ignored by almost all his contemporaries except those, but not all, either, of his immediate circle. He rejected Hjelmslev's theory as a mere "linguistic philosophy" and had little contact with the American linguists of the forties and fifties of the past century, whose "mechanical procedures" were not worth attention to him and who had no interest in his theories or in objections he had to theirs. Firth was himself largely to blame for being so misunderstood both during his lifetime and later because, apart from the works on prosodic analysis by his younger colleagues, there are few examples of the application of his theories (see Palmer (ed.) 1968: 1f.)

As regards prosodic analysis (see Firth 1957 (1968)), its starting point was essentially the complete rejection by Firth of the phoneme as a satisfac-

Firth represents a semantic but non-Saussurean approach to language. He wanted to create some objective principles of studying language in terms of meaning, some objective principles of semantics. He rejects de Saussure's concept of the language sign as a basis of language theory and semantics not

---

tory basis for phonological analysis. The prosodic approach has two major characteristics: (1) its elements are not confined to the narrow segments of the phoneme but may extend to parts of the syllable, the syllable, the word, or even the 'longer piece', (2) it rejects the rigid division between morphology and phonology of, contemporary to Firth, American linguistics (see Palmer (ed.) 1968: 8).

Firth's name was associated with M. A. K. Halliday's 'neo-Firthian' 'scale and category grammar', which, as Halliday explicitly stated in his "Categories of the theory of grammar" (1961), derived from Firth. However, as Palmer (ed.) (1968) says, Halliday's essentially monosystemic categorization seems to have little in common with Firth's approach which, as Firth constantly stressed, was essentially polysystemic, and, most significantly, Halliday's theory retains the phoneme, a linguistic unit so typical of the kind of segmentation and classification that Firth rejected; the terminology used by Halliday is in its form largely Firth's but in what it stands for it departs from the latter's theory (see Palmer (ed.) 1968: 8f.).

According to Palmer (ed.) (1968), some of Firth's viewpoints seemed to be similar to those represented by the transformational-generative school, but in a negative sense, i.e. in what he rejected. Hence, the first American edition of *Studies in Linguistics Analysis* (1957) containing, among others, "A synopsis of linguistic theory" obtained an uncomprehending and almost utterly negative review whose author was R. T. Stockwell (*IJAL* 25.4: 254–259 (1959)) before his conversion to transformational-generative grammar. Yet when the second edition of this collection appeared, it was thoughtfully and favourably discussed by a scholar from M.I.T, D. T. Langendoen (*Language* 40.2: 305–321 (1964)) (see Palmer (ed.) 1968: 9).

The present author, under the influence of Firth, made an attempt to give a locational interpretation of semantic meaning, i.e. an interpretation of that meaning as the use of a textual element (entity) in relation to some environment (see Sroka 1971), but later, as can be seen in *The Dynamics of Language* and papers following it (including the present one), he gave up that attempt, coming to the conclusion that meaning (and, more exactly, signification) and location (i.e. occurrence in a given environment) are two different matters and that, according to what is said by L. Zawadowski (1966), meaning (and, more exactly, signification) is connected with the fact that a given element of text (or, its form) represents a given (extrasegmental) reality.

Firth's approach to meaning, because of emphasizing the role of context and sociological aspect, might, with appropriate modifications, be taken into account in linguistic pragmatics and in sociolinguistics. However, in the case of the British linguist, S. C. Levinson's, *Pragmatics* (1983), the name of Firth appears neither in the main text nor in the attached bibliography although many times, for example when possible types of definitions of pragmatics are discussed, context is mentioned.

only because of its being mentalistic (psychologistic) but also because of its structure involving the dichotomy of *signifiant* and *signifié*. Rejecting also the dualism of body and mind, he calls his approach monistic, in contrast to dualistic. He proposes a linguistic theory which he calls a contextual theory of meaning. Central in that theory is the concept of meaning or function (these terms being used by him interchangeably), which he describes as the "use of some language form or element in relation to some context" (Firth 1935 (1957): 19; see also Sroka 1976: 12f.).

5.2. From the definition of meaning or function quoted above it follows that context belongs to the core of Firth's approach. In his understanding, however, context is not the environment of the textual element under description but a structure of which this element is part. He distinguishes various types of context, connecting them with the levels of analysis and levels of meaning. There are as many general types of context as there are levels of analysis and levels of meaning. They make a series, one type of context including another. Starting with the narrowest type and proceeding towards broader ones, they yield the phonetic, phonological, lexical, morphological, syntactic, collocational, and situational contexts; these are followed by a still broader context, viz. the context of culture. Analogously, there are the phonetic, phonological, lexical, morphological, syntactic, collocational, and semantic functions or meanings. The semantic function is connected with the situational context or, as it is most frequently referred to, the context of situation (for a critical and documented study of Firth's contextual theory of meaning, see Sroka 1972a; see also Sroka 1972b and 1976: 12–14).

Firth's context of situation includes the following constituents: (1) participants: persons, personalities and relevant features of these, (a) verbal action of the participants, (b) non-verbal action of the participants, (2) relevant objects and non-

verbal and non-personal events, (3) effect the verbal action (see Firth 1957 (1968a: 177).[5]

6. The influence of context and speech situation
on the signification of the element of text

The influence of context and speech situation upon the meaning of the element of text attracted the attention of linguists already in the nineteenth century. One of such linguists was P. Wegener who in his work *Untersuchungen über die Grundfragen des Sprachlebens* (1885) created a theory of "situation" (G. *Situation*) (accompanying a text) which makes a given expression change its meaning. There are three types of situation: (a) the situation of consideration or point of view (G. *die Situation der Anschauung*), (b) the situation of memory or remembering (G. *die Situation der Erinnerung*), and (c) the situation of awareness or consciousness (G. *die Situation des Bewusstseins*) (see Wegener 1885: 21–27 as discussed by Firth 1957 (1968): 147 in connection with his concept of context of situation).

The role of context and speech situation continues to be the object of interest in modern linguistics irrespective of its orientations. In this respect, special attention is due to the approach by Leon Zawadowski, mainly in his paper "Rzeczywisty i pozorny wpływ kontekstu na znaczenie" (= Real and apparent influence of the context upon meaning) (1951). In that paper, Zawadowski is right to claim that context, and, more exactly, its meaning, does not change the meaning of the element of text which is under attention but only **selects** that meaning from among the meanings the element of text possesses. It

---

[5] Firth owed his 'context of situation' to the ethnographer, Bronisław Malinowski, and he speaks about that in the paper "Ethnographic analysis and language with reference to Malinowski's views" (Firth 1957 (1968b). The paper not only discusses Malinowski's contribution to linguistics but also indicates that, deriving his theory of context of situation from Malinowski, Firth nevertheless developed it in his own way and produced essentially quite a different theory (see Palmer (ed.) 1968: 4). Firth insisted that for him context of situation involved abstraction, and was not, as it had been for Malinowski, 'in rebus' (see Palmer (ed.) 1968: 6).

should be noted that Zawadowski uses here the term Pol. *znaczenie* 'meaning' in the sense of *significatum*, and, more specifically, in the sense of the represented reality. His statement, however, keeps its validity when the viewpoint is shifted from meaning understood in that way to signification in the sense proposed by the present author.

Context in the broad sense (in our approach: (intratextual and speech-situational) location) plays an essential role in establishing the so-called "indirect (implied or understood) meaning" of an utterance, which belongs to the domain of pragmatics, although here, too, that meaning is chosen (selected) from a certain set of meanings, namely the meanings which are the consequence of the basic meaning of the utterance (i.e., in our approach, the meaning corresponding to the signification of the uttereme). Such a solution was proposed by the present author in the paper "Lokacja jako kategoria opisu w semantyce i pragmatyce" (= Location as a category of description in semantics and pragmatics) given at the 70th Meeting of the Polish Linguistic Society in Bydgoszcz in 2012 (in the References below: Sroka 2012b).

Pragmaticists, when discussing the essence and scope of pragmatics, take also context into consideration. For example, Levinson (1983), after having discussed various possible definitions of pragmatics, including those which take context into account, comes to the following conclusion:

> The most promising are the definitions that equate pragmatics with 'meaning minus semantics', or with a theory of language understanding that takes context into account, in order to complement the contribution that semantics makes to meaning.[6] (Levinson 1983: 32)

---

[6] I would like to thank the Author of the monograph *Pragmatics,* S. C. Levinson, and the Cambridge University Press for permitting me to quote from this work.

Levinson's (1983) as well as Kalisz's (1993) treatment of the essence and scope of pragmatics is discussed by Sroka (2010: 125–134, 2012a and 2012b).

7. Conclusion

7.1. Summing up, we have proposed a trichotomy of the defining categories of a textual element which has a representative value, i.e. of a (morpho)semanteme, a trichotomy consisting of form, signification, and location and we have defined each of these components.

The form of a semanteme is the shape (or, structure) of a segment of an articulatory-phonic continuum or visual continuum (in the case of writing).

The signification of a semanteme, which is a relational category, follows from the participation of its form in the relation of signification as its active member, i.e. as the signifying element (*significans*), the (extrasegmental) reality being its passive member, i.e. the signified element (*significatum*). Briefly: the signification of a semanteme is the property of its form consisting in the fact that it represents some (extrasegmental) reality.

The location of a semanteme is the occurrence of its form in a given textual environment or in a given speech situation.

There are interdependences among the three components of the trichotomy described, i.e. form, signification, and location, which actualize in the process of communication according to the selectional systems proper to the stages of encoding and decoding. At the stage of encoding, a given signification, i.e. the state of representing a given (extrasegmental) reality, selects a given form, and a given location selects a corresponding variant of the form. If location is a grammatical formative, then a given grammatical signification selects a given location for the base. At the stage of decoding, basically, a given form selects a given set of significations, and a given location selects a particular element of that set. If location is a grammatical

formative, then a given location selects a given significational value of the formative.

7.2. The term "location" proposed by the present author takes into account the category whose forerunner in earlier linguistics was the concept of context in the broader sense. In the present approach, however, location is one of the defining components of the semanteme; it is the **occurrence** of a given form in a given environment (i.e. context or speech situation) while the environment itself is situated beyond the semanteme. The advantages of location understood in that way are the following: (1) we have at our disposal one common term which covers the scopes of both the term *context* in the narrower sense and the term *speech situation* (Pol. *konsytuacja*), (2) location becomes a participant of operations taking place in functions working on the basis of selectional systems characteristic of a homogeneous set of semantemes.

7.3. The category of location permits to look in a unified way at all external conditionings of language and to determine the relation between morphosemantics (covering a reorganized area of former morphology, syntax, and semantics)[7] and such

---

[7] Morphosemantics is a domain of language description postulated now by the present author and requiring an empirical verification. It would include (1) morphology and syntax, which should be treated together as morphosyntax (such a term occurs in linguistic literature) and concentrate on form but also take signification into account, and (2) semantics putting stress on signification but not separated from form, and including lexicology and lexicography (those necessarily taking also into consideration the morphological structure of a word and the syntactic structure of a phrase). Morphosemantics understood in that way would be situated between phonology and pragmatics but the two latter should be in close relationship with the former.

To exemplify modern divisions within morphology, syntax, and semantics, we shall briefly review the approach represented by Antoni Furdal (2000). In his monograph *Językoznawstwo otwarte* (= Open linguistics) (3rd ed.), he devotes Part Four (pp. 100–140) to language structure and includes three chapters: IX. Units and elements of language, X. Syntactic system, and XI. Semantic system. Chapter IX deals, among others, with the problem of a message (its essence, types, and internal structure). Chapter X presents, among others, three scopes of syntax, viz. (1) relations between the encoder and the content of a sentence, (2) relations among sentences, and (3) inter-

varieties of linguistics (or domains of language description) as, among others, pragmatics, psycholinguistics, or sociolinguistics. Pragmatic, psychological, or sociological conditionings of the language system and of the process of speech can be reduced to location combined, however, with form and signification (see Sroka 2012b).

References

Firth, John R. (1935 (1957)). "The technique of semantics". In: John R. Firth. *Papers in Linguistics 1934–1951*. London: Oxford University Press, 7–33.

Firth, John R. (1957 (1968a)). "A synopsis of linguistic theory, 1930–55". In: F. R. Palmer (ed.) (1968). *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth 1952–59*. London: Longmans, 168–205.

Firth, John R. (1957 (1968b). "Ethnographic analysis and language with reference to Malinowski's views". In: F. R. Palmer (ed.) (1968). *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth 1952–59*. London: Longmans, 137–167.

Furdal, Antoni (2000). *Językoznawstwo otwarte* [Open linguistics]. Wydanie trzecie poprawione i uzupełnione [3rd ed. corrected and completed]. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo.

Grice, H. Paul (1975). "Logic and conversation". In: P. Cole, J. L. Morgan (eds.). *Syntax and Semantics*. Vol. 3: *Speech Acts*. New York etc.: Academic Press, 41–58.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1961). "Categories of the theory of grammar". *Word* 17: 241–292.

Harris, Zellig S. (1951 (1961)). *Structural Linguistics*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press (Originally published as *Methods in Structural Linguistics*, 1951).

---

nal structure of a sentence. Chapter XI discusses, among others, such problems as: a word in, and outside of, a message, relations among concepts, word-formation derivation, phraseological derivation, semantic vs. lexical system. From the descriptions given in the chapter, it follows that word-formation derivation and phraseological derivation are connected with the morphological structure of a word and the syntactic structure of a phrase, respectively.

Hjelmslev, Louis (1953). *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*. Trans. J. Whitfield. Baltimore: Indiana University (Danish original: *Omkring sprogteoriens grundlaeggelse*. København, 1943).

Jaszczołt, Katarzyna (2006). "Pomiędzy semantyką a pragmatyką" [Between semantics and pragmatics]. In: *Metodologie językoznawstwa: Podstawy teoretyczne*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 131–154.

Kalisz, Roman (1993). *Pragmatyka językowa* [Linguistic pragmatics]. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.

Kalisz, Roman (2001). *Językoznawstwo kognitywne w świetle językoznawstwa funkcjonalnego* [Cognitive linguistics in the light of functional linguistics]. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.

Kalisz, Roman (2016). "Językoznawstwo kognitywne a pragmatyka językowa" [Cognitive linguistics and linguistic pragmatics]. In: M. Kurpaska, T. Wicherkiewicz, M. Kanert (eds.). *Thesaurus gentium & linguarum: A Festschrift to Honour Professor Alfred F. Majewicz*. Poznań, 177–197.

Langacker, Ronald W. (1987). *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. Vol. 1. *Theoretical Prerequisites.* Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press.

Langacker, Ronald W. (1991). *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. Vol. 2. *Descriptive Application.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Levinson, Stephen C. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Palmer, F. R. (ed.) (1968). *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth 1952–59*. London: Longmans.

Saussure, Ferdinand de (1916 (2006)). *Cours de linguistique générale*. Publié par Charles Bally et Albert Séchehaye avec la collaboration de Albert Riedlinger. Édition critique préparée par Tullio de Mauro. Postface de Louis-Jean Calvet. Paris: Éditions Payot & Rivages.

Searle, John R. (1975). "Indirect speech acts". In: P. Cole, J. L. Morgan (eds.). *Syntax and Semantics*. Vol. 3: *Speech Acts*. New York etc.: Academic Press, 59–82.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (1971). "Compositional and locational features of verbal constructions". *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 3: 95–106.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (1972a). "A review (with a critical study of Firth's contextual theory of meaning) of F. R. Palmer (ed.), *Selected Pa-*

pers of J. R. Firth (London: Longmans 1968)". *Linguistics* 78: 78–109.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (1972b). "Kontekstualizm J. R. Firtha" [Contextualism of J. R. Firth]. *Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk* 84: 78–84.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (1976). *The Dynamics of Language*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uczelniane Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (1981). "Grammatical formatives in description and comparison". *Linguistica et Anglica Gedaniensia* 2: 33–62.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (1983). "Kategorie gramatyczne w aspektach: teoretycznym i porównawczym" [Grammatical categories in the aspects: theoretical and comparative]. *Sprawozdania Gdańskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego* 9: 57–62.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (1984). "Konstrukcja roli: jej istota i zróżnicowanie wśród języków" [= Role construction: its essence and variation among languages]. *Sprawozdania Gdańskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego* 10: 91–97.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (1988). "Grammatical categories: their nature and interlanguage variation". In: W. Buszkowski, W. Marciszewski, J. van Benthem (eds). *Categorial grammar*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 333–356.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (1998a). "On the concept of grammatical category". In: B. Caron (ed.). *Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Linguists*. Oxford: Pergamon, CD-ROM, No. 0208, 17 pp.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (1998b). "Kontekst i konsytuacja w procesie mowy" [= Context and speech situation in the process of speech]. *Sprawozdania Gdańskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego* 24: 45–52.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (2003). "Definiteness and scope restriction". In: E. Hajičová, A. Kotešovcová, J. Mírovský (eds.). *Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Linguists, Prague 2003*. Prague: Matfyzpress, MFF UK, CD-Rom, 13 pp.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (2010). "Pragmatics and the problem of definiteness". In: D. Stanulewicz, T. Z. Wolański, J. Redzimska (eds.). *Lingua terra cognita* II: *A Festschrift for Professor Roman Kalisz*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 125–165.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (2011). "Synthetic and analytic formatives in languages: A revision". In: W. Kürschner, R. Rapp, J. Strässler, M. Vliegen, H. Weber (eds.). *Neue linguistische Perspektiven. Festschrift für Abraham P. ten Cate*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 77–89.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (2012a). "The category of location and its relevance to semantics and pragmatics". A paper given at the 47th Linguistics Colloquium in Olsztyn (Unpublished).

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (2012b). "Lokacja jako kategoria opisu w semantyce i pragmatyce" [Location as a category of description in semantics and pragmatics]. A paper given at the 70th Meeting of the Polish Linguistic Society in Bydgoszcz (Unpublished).

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (2015). "Stałość i zmienność w języku na przykładzie gramatycznej kategorii określoności" [Stability and changeability in language on the example of the grammatical category of definiteness]. *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego* 70: 81–92.

Sroka, Kazimierz A. (submitted for publication). "The initial stage in the development of the definite article: Evidence from Gothic". In: *Akten des 50. Linguistischen Kolloquiums in Innsbruck 2015.*

Wegener, Philipp (1885). *Untersuchungen über die Grundfragen des Sprachlebens.* Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Zawadowski, Leon (1951). "Rzeczywisty i pozorny wpływ kontekstu na znaczenie" [Real and apparent influence of the context upon meaning]. *Sprawozdania Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego* 4/1949, Dodatek 2: 1–18.

Zawadowski, Leon (1966). *Lingwistyczna teoria języka* [A linguistic theory of language]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Kazimierz A. Sroka
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: angkas@ug.edu.pl

LITERARY STUDIES

Between stillness and noise:
An analysis of Sylvia Plath's poem "Tulips"

EWA CHODNIKIEWICZ

Abstract

The theme of silence in poetry may be presented in a broad sense. It may concern the poem's structure as well as its content. When reading Sylvia Plath's poetry, a variety of recurring themes can be explored, mainly family ties, unhappy love, death, depression. They are connected with strictly personal experiences. This is the reason why Plath's poetry is considered both autobiographical and confessional. Through the analysis of the poem "Tulips", published in the collection *Ariel* in 1965, different depictions and understandings of silence are be explored, ones that encourage readers to look at Plath's "Tulips" from different points of view. The article analyzes the poem through a discussion of the themes of silence and noise which intermingle with each other throughout the poem's components, such as the structure, the setting, and the speaker's feelings.

Keywords

silence, noise, tulips, poetry, confessional

Entre le silence et le bruit:
Analyse de *Tulipes* de Sylvia Plath

Résumé

Le thème du silence dans la poésie peut être présenté au sens large de ce terme. L'étude peut concerner la structure du poème, ainsi que

son contenu. En lisant la poésie de Sylvia Plath, on remarque de nombreux thèmes récurrents, par exemple : les liens familiaux, l'amour malheureux, la mort et la dépression. Ils sont très liés aux expériences vécues par le je lyrique, c'est pourquoi on dit que la poésie de Plath a des caractéristiques de la poésie autobiographique et confessionnelle. L'article a pour but d'étudier, en analysant le poème *Tulipes* publié en 1965 dans le recueil *Ariel*, les différents motifs du silence qui encouragent les lecteurs à regarder les *Tulipes* d'une perspective différente de celle de la poésie confessionnelle. L'article présente le thème du silence et du bruit qui s'entremêlent tout au long du texte, en analysant des différents éléments du poème.

Mots-clés

silence, bruit, tulipes, poésie, confession

Między ciszą a hałasem:
Analiza wiesza *Tulipany* Sylwii Plath

Abstrakt

Temat ciszy w poezji może być prezentowany w szerokim tego słowa znaczeniu. Może dotyczyć zarówno struktury wiersza, jak i jego treści. Czytając poezję Sylwii Plath, zauważa się wiele powtarzających się tematów, między innymi: więzy rodzinne, nieszczęśliwa miłość, śmierć i depresja, które są ściśle związane z osobistymi doświadczeniami podmiotu mówiącego, dlatego też mówi się, że poezja Plath ma cechy poezji autobiograficznej oraz konfesyjnej. Artykuł analizuje wiersz *Tulipany*, opublikowany w tomiku *Ariel* w 1965 roku, skupiając się na omówieniu powiązanych ze sobą motywów ciszy i hałasu, które przewijają się przez cały utwór. Analiza komponentów wiersza takich jak struktura, przestrzeń i uczucia podmiotu lirycznego ma również na celu zachęcenie czytelników do spojrzenia na *Tulipany* w inny sposób niż tylko z punktu widzenia poezji konfesyjnej.

Słowa kluczowe

cisza, hałas, tulipany, poezja konfesyjna

1. Introduction

"The silence depressed me. It wasn't the silence of silence. It was my own silence. I knew perfectly well the cars were making a noise, and the people in them and behind the lit windows of the buildings were making a noise, and the river was making a noise, but I couldn't hear a thing" (Plath 1971: 7). This quote from Sylvia Plath's novel *The Bell Jar* encourages reflection on the themes of silence and noise in her works, especially her poetry which is at the centre of her writing and has been examined in various contexts. The poem "Tulips", published in the collection *Ariel* in 1965, is a good example. It has been broadly discussed in the context of Plath's autobiography. Jo Gill (2008: 53) notes that "Tulips" depicts "the images of thwarted escape or entrapment" (53), whereas Susan Bassnett (2005: 121) writes that the poem is "built on the experience of being a patient in hospital where time seems to have another meaning and extremes of feeling are dulled by the daily routine". However, the poem has not been discussed in the context of silence and noise themes which are visible in other of Plath's works:

> A tension which figures throughout *Ariel* between silence and voice […] having to speak […] and being unable to speak […]. The "shrunk voices" of "Berck-Plage" and the "voicelessness" of "The Munich Mannequins" contrast with the defiant "shriek" of "Lady Lazarus" or the declarative, even performative "I'm through" of "Daddy"[…] while in "The Moon and the Yew Tree" more terribly still, not even voice remains. There is only "blackness and silence".
>
> (Gill 2008: 54)

Silence and noise intermingle with the themes Plath introduces in her works. According to Paul Mitchell (2011: 189), they "unravel to reveal silence that is inherent within the language itself – the loss usually disguised by the paternal signifier ('I')". Analysing the poem "Edge", Mitchell (2011: 191-192) also

writes that "silence challenges and subverts the poem's ability to signify – in effect, the edge that the poem depicts is visually represented by the clash between text (voice) and space (silence) on the page". Additionally, Jacqueline Rose (2007: 36) writes that the "Little Fugue" poem exemplifies the silence which "can be called historical [...] a product of the trauma of the past." It shows how Plath uses the theme of silence to convey the feeling of loss and refer to the Holocaust. Finally, Christina Britzolakis (2007: 122) states that "the Plathian emblem of the wound/cry suspends lyric subjectivity between rhetoric of speech and of silence; gestures of voicing and invocation tend to become interchangeable with figures of a repression and muting of voice".

The aforementioned researchers show that the themes of silence and noise can be represented in various ways in poetry and are integral to its understanding. Martin Heidegger (1968: 16) claims that "man speaks by being silent". He (1968: 135) also states that "poetry wells up only from devoted thought thinking back, recollecting [...] thinking does not make poetry but is a primal telling and speaking of language, it must stay close to poesy". Consequently, speaking in this context may be considered as silent thinking which is expressed through a written language. This can be reflected in poetry that serves as a revelation of the speaker's thoughts visible in a poem's content as well as in its structure. Moreover, it is silence that evokes the most intimate thoughts and makes a speaker expressive. As a result, silence becomes both an inspiration to create and a theme playing a significant role in literature. Taking into consideration the above, the article aims to explore the themes of silence and noise in Sylvia Plath's poem "Tulips" concentrating on the poem's structure, the setting, the speaker's feelings, and the motif of tulips.

2. Sylvia Plath and confessional poetry

The confessional mode of writing emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s. It is mainly associated with writers such as John Berryman Robert Lowell, Anne Sexton, and W. D. Snodgrass. Lowell's book *Life Studies* was significant to the foundation of the term 'confessional poetry' as it was a highly personal account of his life. Sexton and Plath were both students of Lowell, therefore it may be assumed that his work influenced their own writing (Bawer 2007: 7).

Sylvia Plath's poetry is considered to be 'confessional poetry', the poetry of 'I', which means that a speaker shares with unusual frankness personal feelings and experiences that may be unpleasant, hard to discuss and pondered on (Baldick 2001: 48). Jo Gill (2008: 20) writes that confessional poetry was characterized by M. L. Rosenthal as autobiographical, therapeutic ("soul's therapy" and "self-therapeutic") and truthful (featuring "uncompromising honesty"). This both straightforward and personal style was subsequently considered as "breakthrough" or "break out". In consequence, this kind of poetry is created to give the speaker a vent to their emotions. There are no physical utterances, nonetheless, they are presented on the page. Everything takes place in the speaker's mind creating the clash between noise and silence – thoughts tormenting the mind and the words which are not uttered. This style is noticeable in Plath's poems which according to Ted Hughes (qtd. in Bassnett 2005: 108) changed with the writing of "Tulips":

> The two years between 1960 and 1962 had produced some beautiful poems, but only three that she selected for *Ariel*. She had heard what her real voice sounded like, and now had a new standard for herself. The poem called TULIPS was the first sign of what was on its way. She wrote this poem without her usual studies over the Thesaurus, and at top speed, as one might write an urgent letter. From then on, all her poems were written in this way.

"Tulips" opens with a speaker, a thirty-year-old woman, complaining about the tulips, which are "too excitable, it is winter here" (1). She says that she is lying on a bed in a room where everything around is white and there are only nurses passing by, which indicates that the speaker is lying alone in hospital after surgery. Throughout the poem, the woman reveals her feelings about the vivid red tulips standing close to her, which disturbs her in the white, calm hospital room. The contrasting colors of redness and whiteness appearing in the poem, stand for the clash of silence and noise which can be considered in terms of the poem's structure, the setting, the speaker's feelings, and the motif of tulips.

3. The poem's structure

The themes of silence and noise are visible in the structure of "Tulips". The presence of contrasting and similar sounds, internal rhymes, and the change of pace gradually alter the calm atmosphere of the poem. Although the poem is written in free verse, there are seven nine line stanzas following a regular pattern. At the beginning, it seems to be a calm and ordered poem describing the silence of a hospital room and a woman observing the nurses coming and going: "The nurses pass and pass" (11). This line, written in iambic pentameter, creates a musical flow and an atmosphere of calmness reflecting the speaker's feelings. The woman is lying speechless in the bed and there are only nurses taking care of the patients. The repetition of the word *pass*, *pebble*, *tend*, *bring* in the following lines refers to the nurses and maintains the atmosphere of stillness and silence the woman delights in:

> They pass the way gulls pass inland in their white caps, […]
> My body is a pebble to them, they tend it as water
> Tends to the pebbles it must run over, smoothing them gently.
> They bring me numbness in their bright needles, they bring me sleep. (12-17)

What is important to note in the above lines is the shift from the 'p' voiceless to the 'b' voiced sound, which indicates a change in the poem's mood. At this point the silence of the room becomes disturbed by the noise created by the speaker's negative thoughts:

> Now I have lost myself I am sick of baggage
> My patent leather overnight case like a black pillbox,
> My husband and child smiling out of the family photo;
> Their smiles catch onto my skin, little smiling hooks. (18-21)

The peaceful and ordered structure is disturbed by a gradual shift in the content when the speaker becomes disturbed not only by the image of the red tulips, but also the family photograph standing nearby. The harsher sounds contribute to the faster pace of the poem. In addition, the recurring 'I' sounds throughout the poem in the words such as *excitable, white, quiet, I, lying, myself, light* also create an effect of calmness. Nevertheless, these steady sounds are sometimes interrupted by harsh ones, for example: "I am sick of baggage" (18), "eat my oxygen" (28). Furthermore, the word *sick* directly followed by the word *baggage* or the internal rhyme "red lead" (42) are both audible and difficult to pronounce. Such hard consonants make the reader slow down and pay attention, creating a sense of noise at the same time.

4. Silence and noise of the setting

The setting in the poem may be divided into two spheres – the physical, where the speaker's confession takes place, and the metaphorical – the speaker's mind. The speaker's references to white sheets, the nurses in white caps, doctors and surgery confirm that she is in hospital. It appears to be daytime because the sunlight shines through the window and reflects off the white interior of the room. The bright white color introduces an atmosphere of calmness and silence making the speaker feel pure and serene:

> Look how white everything is, how quiet, how snowed-in.
> I am learning peacefulness, lying by myself quietly
> As the light lies on these walls, this bed, these hands. (1-4)

Despite the room making the woman calm, she seems to be stuck between its brightness and the darkness of her mind which starts bringing up more and more intense and unpleasant images. Moreover, the woman is also stuck physically in a hospital bed with the vivid red tulips making her restless. Because of this, the speaker seems to feel suspended all the time somewhere between, unable to define herself:

> I am nobody; I have nothing to do with explosions.
> I have given my name and my day-clothes up to the nurses
> And my history to the anesthetist and my body to surgeons.
>
> They have propped my head between the pillow and the sheet-cuff
> Like an eye between two white lids that will not shut. (5-9)

Lying in hospital, the woman has lost her identity. She has submitted herself completely to the nurses and surgeons, which on the one hand makes her calm and free, but on the other, makes her trapped literally in a hospital bed and swaddled up in the sheets. There is a constant feeling that the speaker struggles with some past miseries and wants to find peace in the light of the hospital room which provides her with emptiness and freedom: "I am a nun now, I have never been so pure" (28). Nevertheless, her family's photograph and the relentless tulips standing close to her keep bring her back to an unpleasant reality: "My husband and child smiling out of the family photo / Their smiles catch onto my skin, little smiling hooks" (20-21). This may explain where the red tulips come from. Probably, they were a gift from her husband: "Even through the gift paper I could hear them breathe" (37). The speaker does not need any presents from her family because they cause her constant anxiety. The stream of tormenting thoughts creates the noise in her mind and makes the hospital

room difficult to bear. Despite lying alone in the room, the tulips and family photograph give the woman the impression of being observed all the time:

> Nobody watched me before, now I am watched.
> The tulips turn to me, and the window behind me
> Where once a day the light slowly widens and slowly thins,
> And I see myself, flat, ridiculous, a cut-paper shadow
> And I see myself between the eye of the sun and the eyes of the tulips. (43-47)

This image is similar to the one mentioned previously. The speaker again feels stuck somewhere between, but this time it is not that she is trapped in the white sheets of a hospital bed and the brightness of the place. At that moment, the woman feels to be between the eyes of the tulips and the bright light of the day which intensifies the tulips' vivid redness. Finally, it may be assumed that the physical setting – the silent hospital room – is disturbed by the metaphorical one – the speaker's mind, where the negative thoughts and associations of the tulips create the noise and a trap impossible to overcome.

5. The clash of silence and noise – the speaker's feelings

The speaker's general attitude significantly changes from the beginning to the end of the poem. First, the woman does not reveal much personal information about herself. She introduces readers into the calm image of a hospital in which "the nurses pass and pass, they are no trouble" (4). The nurses give her injections to release her from pain and reality: "They bring me numbness in their bright needles, they bring me sleep" (12). The woman is physically speechless because she is nobody at that moment. She is numb, so the words are impossible to utter, even though, they exist in her mind. Nevertheless, the constant flow of gradually intensifying thoughts as well as the presence of the tulips disturb the room's silence. As the poem goes further, the woman reveals more information about

her difficult past experience, saying: "I am sick of baggage" (18) or "I have let things slip, a thirty year cargo boat" (22). Making this confession, she returns to the image of the tulips at the same time:

> I didn't want any flowers, I only wanted
> To lie with my hands turned up and be utterly empty.
> How free it is, you have no idea how free –
> The peacefulness is so big it dazes you.
> And it asks nothing, a name tag, a few trinkets.
> It is what the dead close on, finally; I imagine them
> Shutting their mouths on it […]. (29-35)

The woman does not want anything from other people, as they hurt her. She only desires the peacefulness which the dead reach. This is why she wants to lie with her hands still and remain silent. It resembles the image of a lying corpse, which indicates the speaker's strong desire for death. The only way to reach complete silence and peace is to die, because even the silence and brightness of the hospital room does not help. Both the tulips' redness and the family photograph disturb the hospital's peace. Only the nurses do not trouble the speaker. They are silent, constantly busy doing their work. Such disconnection from people makes the woman calm. She just wants to empty herself and be left alone, which explains why she dislikes the 'noisy' red flowers so much.

6. The "noisy" tulips

The way the speaker introduces the tulips in the poem each time is especially interesting. It establishes both the mood of the poem and shows the speaker's state of mind. In the first line of the first stanza the tulips are mentioned at the very beginning: "The tulips are too excitable, it is winter here." However, nothing more is revealed about them until they appear in the first line of the fifth stanza, where the speaker does not name the tulips literally saying: "I didn't want any flowers […]".

This shows the speaker's negative attitude towards the tulips. Furthermore, the mood of the poem is stable and calm changing gradually all the time as the speaker mentions the tulips in the following stanzas. Her feelings grow more intense from the beginning of the sixth stanza to the end of the poem, not to mention that in all of the stanzas the flowers appear in the opening lines, which emphasizes their great impact on the speaker. The gradual shift from peace to a growing anxiety throughout the stanzas is visible in the lines where the speaker mentions the flowers:

> The tulips are too excitable, it is winter here (stanza 1, line 1)
> I didn't want any flowers [...] (stanza 5, line 1)
> The tulips are too red in the first place, they hurt me (stanza 6, line 1)
> The tulips turn to me, and the window behind me (stanza 7, line 1)
> Before they came the air was calm enough [...] (stanza 8, line 1)
> The tulips should be behind bars like dangerous animals (stanza 9, line 1)

This pattern emphasizes the fact that the tulips are the central image in the poem. The speaker personifies them many times indicating that they create the noise in her head and disturb her peacefulness: "The vivid tulips eat my oxygen" (49) and "They are opening like the mouth of some great African cat" (59). Furthermore, the flowers contrast with the white color of the hospital room which connects with peace, purity and emptiness. White is the color of the woman's freedom while red is the color of disruption, anger, wounds and pain: "Their redness talks to my wound, it corresponds" (39). The tulips are able to talk, they make noise and their redness does not only hurt the speaker's eyes, but also her peaceful state of mind. They take the hospital's silence away:

Before they came the air was calm enough,
Coming and going, breath by breath, without any fuss.
Then the tulips filled it up like a loud noise. (50-52)

The tulips make the impression that the mood of the poem goes deeper each time they are mentioned. The speaker feels violated and terrified by their vividness:

They are subtle: they seem to float, though they weigh me down,
Upsetting me with their sudden tongues and their colour,
A dozen read lead sinkers round my neck. (40-42)

The woman imagines that the tulips have turned into weights that pull her down. The rhyming sound "red lead" gives the feeling of the speaker being taken down. It is also harder to pronounce – making the tulips noisy – a burden impossible to bear.

7. Conclusion

To sum up, the clash of silence and noise is invariably visible in Sylvia's Plath poem. It manifests itself in the poem's structure by the use of various stylistic devices such as contrasting word sounds, internal rhymes, change of pace, personification. As a result, it is not only the content that influences the poem's mood. Tulips, which are generally believed to be spring flowers and cheerful, are depicted by Plath in complete opposition. The silence and peace the speaker tries to find in the white hospital room is disturbed by the red, "noisy" tulips which arouse more and more unpleasant emotions in the woman's mind, making it impossible for her to attain freedom.

References

Baldick, Chris (2001). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bassnett, Susan (2005). *Sylvia Plath: An Introduction to the Poetry*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bawer, Bruce (2007). "Sylvia Plath and the poetry of confession". In: Harold Bloom (ed.). *Bloom's Modern Critical Views: Sylvia Plath*. New York: Infobase Publishing, 7-20.

Britzolakis, Christina (2007). "Gothic subjectivity". In: Harold Bloom (ed.). *Bloom's Modern Critical Views: Sylvia Plath*. New York: Infobase Publishing, 115-145.

Gill, Jo (2008). *The Cambridge Introduction to Sylvia Plath*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Heidegger, Martin (1968). *What is Called Thinking?* New York: Harper & Row.

Mitchell, Paul (2011). *Sylvia Plath: The Poetry of Negativity*. València: Publicacions de la Universitat de València.

Plath, Sylvia (1971). *The Bell Jar*. New York: Harper & Row.

Plath, Sylvia (1961). "Tulips". In: Ted Hughes (ed.). *The Collected Poems: Sylvia Plath*. New York: Harper & Row, 160-162.

Rose, Jacqueline (2007). "Daddy". In: Harold Bloom (ed.). *Bloom's Modern Critical Views: Sylvia Plath*. New York: Infobase Publishing, 21-57.

Ewa Chodnikiewicz
Filologiczne Studium Doktoranckie
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: ewa.chodnikiewicz@gmail.com

Periodization and the notion of the baroque and (neo)baroque in British literature and culture

MIROSŁAWA MODRZEWSKA

Abstract

The paper is devoted to the category of the Baroque as a historical period of literature and culture, and the category of (neo)baroque, which has recently become relevant in the description of modern/contemporary literary and cultural phenomena that exhibit the "crisis of representation" and the experience of dramatic movement and change of the world (this pertains to a large part of the so-called post-modernist literature). The article examines the relevance of these categories for the canon of English literature. The traditional periodization of English literature does not usually reveal the historical period of seventeenth-century Baroque and uses other categories instead, which are either Anglocentric/ethnocentric or refer to the style of the Italian Renaissance. The term "baroque" has become indispensable in literary-historical studies due to the necessity to create a transnational/simultaneous and more "spatial" history of literature(s) and culture(s) and because of the need for more universal tools of description.

Key words

Périodisation littéraire et culturelle britannique
et les notions du baroque et du (néo)baroque

Résumé

L'article présente la catégorie du baroque, comme une époque historique dans la littérature et la culture, et celle du (néo)baroque, comme une notion devenue importante pour la description des phénomènes littéraires et culturels contemporains révélant « la crise de la représentation » et l'expérience du mouvement dramatique et du changement dans le monde (cela concerne une bonne partie de la littérature que l'on appelle « postmoderne »). L'objectif de cet article est de présenter la pertinence de ces catégories pour le canon de la littérature anglaise. En général, la périodisation traditionnelle de la littérature britannique ne se réfère pas à l'époque historique du baroque au XVIIème siècle. Aux fins de la périodisation, on emploie d'autres catégories, anglo- et ethnocentriques ou relevant de l'esthétique de la renaissance italienne. Le terme « baroque » est devenu actuellement indispensable pour les études historiques et littéraires dû à la nécessité de créer une image de l'histoire de la littérature / des littératures et de la culture / des cultures qui soit plus transnationale / simultanée et plus « spatiale ». Il répond aussi au besoin d'un outil de description plus universel.

Mots-clés

baroque, histoire de la culture, histoire de la littérature, littérature britannique, (néo)baroque, périodisation littéraire

Zagadnienie periodyzacji literatury i kultury brytyjskiej
a pojęcie baroku i (neo)baroku

Abstrakt

Artykuł omawia kategorię baroku jako historycznej epoki literatury i kultury oraz (neo)baroku jako pojęcia, które stało się ważne dla opisu nowoczesnych/współczesnych zjawisk literackich i kulturowych ujawniających „kryzys reprezentacji" i doświadczenie dramatycznego ruchu i zmiany w świecie (dotyczy to sporej części tzw. literatury

postmodernistycznej). Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie relewant-
ności tych kategorii dla kanonu literatury angielskiej. Tradycyjna
periodyzacja literatury brytyjskiej zwykle nie uwzględnia historyczne-
go okresu siedemnastowiecznego baroku. Dla celów periodyzacji sto-
suje się inne kategorie, które są anglocentryczne/etnocentryczne,
bądź odnoszą się do stylistyki włoskiego renesansu. Termin "barok"
stał się obecnie niezbędny dla studiów historyczno-literackich z po-
wodu konieczności tworzenia transnarodowego/symultanicznego
i bardziej „przestrzennego" obrazu historii literatury/literatur i kultu-
ry/ kultur, a także w odpowiedzi na zapotrzebowanie na bardziej
uniwersalne narzędzia opisu.

Słowa kluczowe

barok, historia kultury, historia literatury, literatura brytyjska,
(neo)barok. periodyzacja literatury

The categories of the Baroque, as a historical period of litera-
ture and culture, and (neo)baroque as a transhistorical para-
digm of discourse recurring in the history of literature and cul-
ture,[1] also relevant in post-modern art, have not been univer-
sally accepted as models of thinking about British literary his-
tory. In colloquial English the "baroque" connotes the mean-
ings of excess, redundant ornamentation, whimsicality, gro-
tesqueness, and even ugliness. The "baroque" as understood
colloquially has never had any associations with modernity in
the English language and, as a cultural category, has been
mainly associated with the art of Catholicism. In this context
the style of the Baroque is also associated with utilitarian art
used for the expression of authoritarian power and control,
which, in the historical memory of the British nation, is fre-
quently associated with Spanish absolutism. In academic

---

[1] There is a variety of ways in which relevant authors use and define the
term „baroque". For the purposes of this paper I shall use the capital letter
for the meaning of the "Baroque" indicating a historical period of literature
and culture, and the "baroque" or (neo)baroque, written with a small letter,
as a transhistorical paradigm of discourse recurring in the history of litera-
ture and culture.

practice these connotations very often mean a negative qualification of the term as a neutral descriptive category.

Peter Davison in his book *The Universal Baroque* (2007) describes the phenomenon of the English resistance to this category of style and shows that, paradoxically, a large spectrum of British cultural activity actually complies with the most rigorous definitions of "international baroque". Davison explains:

> British English and the academy in Britain are uneasy about *Baroque* as a neutral descriptor. Almost all definitions of *Baroque* offered by *OED* are negative or disparaging, and there is a tradition both of thinking of the Baroque as Catholic and of perceiving the Catholic arts as the arts of the enemy, of that group of peoples against which Englishness defines itself by negation. This disjunction is maintained despite the fact that a vast sweep of British cultural activity falls squarely within even the most stringent definition of "international Baroque".
>
> (Davison 2007: 26)

Like other authors dealing with the stylistic and historical notions of the baroque, Davison understands the term as signifying a historical period in European art and culture without a clear centre or "metropolis" (Davison 2007: 13), but also a "recurring mode" of culture which "keeps coming round in alternation with the austerities of what are called Classicism or Enlightenment" (Davison 2007: 20). The baroque understood as a recurring set of features then means the preference for the eclectic and pragmatic use of any representation, with the characteristic consciousness of epistemological distance typical of the theatre situation, in which elements of communication are of dual nature (text within text, space within space, actor as character, character as "embodied perception", etc.) and the process of communication is based on the recognition of the fact of performance and re-enactment of the known, the "classical", or emblematic motifs.

These days the importance of the term seems to be strengthened by the literary phenomenon of (neo)baroque in

modern literature. The phenomenon of (neo)baroque in contemporary culture is well described by Omar Calabrese in his book *Neo-Baroque: A Sign of the Times* (1992). Calabrese presents a study of contemporary media culture as referring to the poetics of repetition, variation and citation. The author deals with the problems of taste, repetitive rhythm, excess, detail and fragment, metamorphosis, chaos and labyrinth, complexity and dissipation, distortion and perversion, as well as the relationship between the terms "neo-classical" and the "baroque" (1992: 15-16). An important part of these considerations is the analysis of "anamorphosis and foreshortening" as a problem of "destroyed perspective".

Calabrese particularly focuses on the neo-baroque excess of contemporary culture. He explains that

> [...] the knocking down of boundaries does not lead to destruction or exclusion, but to a shifting of the limit. When confronted by an "acceptable" excess, the limit is simply moved (perhaps to a considerable distance) in order to absorb it, in an accommodation that might involve a conflict. There are also intermediate cases, in which excess of content are absorbed into the system. This occurs for a number of reasons. First, because the system becomes more elastic (as principles such as "tolerance," "permissiveness," "libertarianism," and so on arise). Third, because the system is able to integrate the excess by distorting its objective, thus rendering what appears to be excessive substantially normal. This final principle is, in effect, a regulating constant in all social systems (whether political, religious, or of taste). It consists in the creation of antidotes or antibodies to the excess, even in those cases where excess functioned at the outset.
>
> (Calabrese 1992: 65-66)

These principles expresses themselves in the "aesthetics of Nothingness", which is a version of *vanitas vanitatum*, one of the basic topoi of seventeenth century literature, also expressed in the motifs of "annihilation", "disfiguration of figures", and the "madness of seeing" (Calabrese 1992: 169-170). These motifs, typical of early seventeenth century European

literature, may also be observed in the so called postmodernist fiction, only the term postmodernist, which negatively refers to the preceding epoch of Modernist literature and culture, is less flexible and historically restrictive in comparison with the term (neo)baroque, which usefully describes a wider variety of cultural phenomena, also referring to the formal stylistic solutions observed in seventeenth-century art and literature. Calabrese, like other authors, uses the category of the baroque as a category applicable not only to the specific historical period but also as a transhistorical notion more flexible than postmodernism. The (neo)baroque as a term serves for the description of a wide variety of cultural phenomena exhibiting similar formal stylistic solutions observed in seventeenth-century art and literature.

But the notions of the historical Baroque or transhistorical (neo)baroque also need to be seen with reference to what seems to be a convention of depicting literary and cultural history in terms of "aesthetic modernity",[2] which, unlike the universalist notion of (neo)baroque, indicates a break with tradition and implied opposition to the past (Habermas 1981: 4). However relative and recurrent in history the notion of "modernity" may appear, it seems to be a central idea accompanying the aesthetic and cultural movement of the historical Baroque.

Gregg Lambert, in his book *The Return of the Baroque in Modern Culture* (2004), relates this anti-traditionalist and anti-normative intellectual trend of early seventeenth century literature and culture to modern theories of language and rhetoric by Paul de Man or Walter Benjamin, as well as to Foucault's concept of *episteme*, epistemic forgetting and "rupture of the tables of representation" (Lambert 2004: 81), which is perceived as a caesura between epochs. Foucault's concept of

---

[2] Cf. Scott-Warren's notion of "modernity" in his *Early Modern English Literature*. The author considers it a more "ethnocentric" term than the traditional "English Renaissance" that conventionally connotes Italian Renaissance and imitation of the Antiquity (Scott-Warren 2005: 14-16).

"epochal rupture" that marks the origin of modernity (Lambert 2004: 83) is also analysed by Omar Calabrese in connection with the Baroque obsession with the crisis of individual consciousness and the break with the traditional worldview:

> There are epochs in which change in mentality is so radical (as in the seventeenth century) that one can justifiably speak of a rupture with the past. This is a strikingly important idea that undermines one of the principles of traditional historiography, that of causality understood as a necessary relationship between "before" and "after".
>
> (Lambert 81, qtd. after Calabrese 1992: 7)

However, although thinking about English literary and cultural history in terms of novelty and "modernity" is quite well established, the Baroque does not exist in the British tradition as a term defining the period of art and literature between Early Modern Literature (1500-1700) and the Age of Enlightenment. In a more detailed depiction of British literary epochs, literary and cultural periods still tend to be distinguished with relation to historic events or reigns of kings. Important publications offer a periodization of British literature which dissolves the Baroque into several chapters/periods of Renaissance, Reformation, Revolution and Restoration (Sanders 2004), whereas international authors define relevant periods of cultural history as Early Baroque (c.1590–c.1625), High Baroque (c.1625–c.1660), or Late Baroque (c.1660–c.1725) sometimes identified as Rococo. Various phases and episodes of English Baroque are still recognized as Jacobean (1603-1625), Caroline (1625- 1649), or Commonwealth (1649-1658).

For the non-British student of European literary and cultural history, the picture is further blurred by the fact that the English notion of "neo-classicism" used in the British tradition of literary studies does not completely correspond to the art of the eighteenth century and for some British authors it may cover nearly three centuries from the beginnings of the Renaissance till the beginning of the nineteenth century (Jones

1976: 55). In this tradition, "neo-classicism" is associated with imitation of the balance and proportion (not distortion!) of the classics, as in the case of the Baroque and (neo)baroque.

It seems to be a fact also that it is the eighteenth century, and especially the Augustan Era (1700-1745), which is the epoch considered paradigmatic for modern British cultural conventions. And the high axiological status of the Augustan Era in the culture of Britain according to some authors (Davison 2007: 33) makes it impossible for the British people to see the features of the baroque in their own culture. This tendency results in the general obscurity of the picture of relations between British writers of the Baroque epoch and writers on the Continent of Europe:

> Another thing that obscures the picture of English relations with the Continent is English critics' traditional desire to see a direct line of literary influence on vernacular English writing from renaissance Italy, particularly from the admired tradition of vernacular poetry stemming from Petrarch, while simultaneously denying any influence from later Italian letters. At its simplest, this is a desire to demonstrate a cultural *translation imperii* which vindicates the status of imperial England. The problem recurs, in the discussion of the later period, with the use of such terms as "Augustan", in itself an arrogantly explicit claim for such a cultural *translatio.* "Augustan" is, of course, yet another way of not saying "baroque", while claiming neo-classical status for a cultural phenomenon only neo-classical in the same relative sense that much baroque literary and architectural activity is referential to the achievements of Roman antiquity.
>
> (Davison 2007: 33)

Davison explains this partly by the "immense posthumous prestige" of William Shakespeare which "distorted the whole picture of the literary arts in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As has frequently been pointed out, he is the sole non-university graduate among the English playwrights; the only one who, as far as we know, preserved nothing composed in Latin" (Davison 2007: 26). This makes him

peculiarly English and native and strengthens the insularity of English literary historical perspective.

Davison claims that early modern English culture developed in two antithetical trends in Elizabethan culture: one tended to present English culture as autochthonous and independent "while a contrary cultural impulse was eager to look civilised in continental terms" (Davison 2007: 28). The differences were religious, political, emotive, but also traditionally "anti-speculative". Warnke wrote about this earlier in *Versions of Baroque* (1972) in the following way:

> The relative indifference toward theory displayed by English men of letters of that period combined with the general antiquarianism and nationalism noted above to blur the recognition of significant stylistic innovation, and the late occurrence of the English Renaissance has since blinded many literary historians to the autonomy of the English Baroque: they have assimilated the earlier stages of that age to the Renaissance and the latter stages to the Neoclassical period, acknowledging the facts of development and change only through the application of artistic labels derived from the reigning monarchs (i.e. the various episodes of the English Baroque have been traditionally identified as "Jacobean," "Caroline," and "Commonwealth").
>
> (Warnke 1972: 16-17)

Despite the obvious English participation in the cultural trends of Latin European countries, severe falsifications took place in terms of language, history of ideas, and terminology. "The chief culprit", says Davison, "is 'metaphysical', a term adopted in the eighteenth century, but revived in an atmosphere of nationalist anxiety as a deliberate attempt to suppress the degree of connection between the poetry of early modern England and that of the contemporary Continent" (Davison 2007: 28).

It is important to note that most authors who use the category of the Baroque/(neo)baroque as an internationally applicable category realise the vernacular differences and varieties, including, for example, Scottish Calvinist baroque art or Irish

baroque aesthetics, but vernacular writing was inspired by a corpus of Latin sources which has become less and less known, and this fact may be one of the reasons for the fact that the term Baroque is not used in British periodization of literature and culture. One author of texts in Latin who is considered paradigmatic for the Baroque and who published his works in London was Mathias Casimir Sarbievius (Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski), a Polish Jesuit widely read and imitated in Europe (Davison 2007: 31-32). There are studies which show the immense popularity of Latin works by Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski in seventeenth century England, the popularity of Spanish Jesuit writers, such as Calderon, Lope de Vega or Tirso de Molina, and the reception of the French writer Madeleine de Scudéry. There are also studies which show the quality of the Baroque in the writings of particular authors of English literature of the end of the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century, such as William Shakespeare, the so-called metaphysical poets, John Milton, John Dryden, Thomas Otway, and others (Warnke 1972: 11-12).

What is at stake in the way we divide literary history is in fact the interpretative context. If we abandon categorization based on national history, that is "Anglocentric" in the case of British literature, we may paradoxically discover that there are national versions of the Baroque, regardless of religious provenance, based on the works of major European theoreticians such as Baltasar Gracian with his *Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio* (1642). Interpretative awareness of such contexts may turn out to be very helpful in understanding certain aspects of English Romantic literature, which goes back for inspiration to old Scottish literature. A good example here might be George Buchannan (1506-1582), a Scottish author of Latin texts who reappears in Romantic historicism not only as a tutor to Mary Queen of Scots (Davison 2007: 74). Other great names of the Scottish Baroque are Robert Montgomery, famous for his theatrical funeral in 1636, John Barclay (1582-1621), Alexander Montgomery, and also George Strachan (1592-1634). It seems

that Scottish artists created much of the Baroque culture of the time, the proof of which is, for example, the iconographic art of the emblematic room of Chancellor Seaton in Pinkie House of the East Lothian district (Davidson 2007: 78).

Taking into account Scottish Baroque literature also helps us to understand the literary historical links between, for example, Robert Burns and George Gordon Byron. The literary output of both poets is traditionally derived from the canon of English Augustan poetry, and in particular the poetry of Alexander Pope. But many of the features of Byron's poetry, found also in Burns, cannot be explained by eighteenth century neoclassicism solely. These include the conceptual polarization of values characteristic of metaphysical poets; *coincidentia oppositorum* as a method of fictional world construction; carnivalism of language, compositional fragmentariness and the "poetics of nothingness"; humour based on the grotesque, the burlesque and the deformed, and the motif of madness; theatricality of utterance with the typical dissociation of the lyrical persona into self-reflective masks, and others.

Such literary motifs and literary techniques have their source in European Baroque and they reappear in the later phase of Romanticism, in which poetic individualism is inspired by the sensuousness of metaphysical poetry. The historical concept of the Baroque hardly appears in the official language of modern literary studies. In spite of this, many texts of British Romanticism do refer to the seventeenth century paradigm of the world full of crisis, revolt and conflict, which emerges from the romance plots of Shakespeare, Calderon and Cervantes, in which vagabonds, pilgrims and beggars mix with aristocracy, and eroticism is always close to death. We may find similar motifs in many texts by Walter Scott or Byron.

The category of the Baroque as based on the poetics of "nothingness" provides an explanation for all sorts of Romantic practices of image and icon production (Mole 2007), for which the term "modernity" is usually preferred. Interestingly, alt-

hough used without conscious reference to seventeenth-century poetics, the neo-baroque language of "nothingness" turns out to be useful for the description of Romanticism and Neo-Romanticism in the volume edited by James Chandler, *English Romantic Literature* (2009). In the last chapter of the volume, "Is Romanticism Finished?", Jerome McGann proposes going back to the language of paradox. Byron called this poetic method "mobility" and "spoiler's art", while Keats perceived it as "negative capability" and starting "with nothing" (Chandler 2009: 664). Keats' "nothing" reappears in poetry, for example in the "epistemological" piece of post-Romantic poetry by Wallace Stevens, "The Snow Man" (1921):

> One must have a mind of winter
> To regard the frost and the boughs
> Of the pine-trees crusted with snow;
>
> And have been cold a long time
> To behold the junipers shagged with ice,
> The spruces rough in the distant glitter
>
> Of the January sun; and not to think
> Of any misery in the sound of the wind,
> In the sound of a few leaves,
>
> Which is the sound of the land
> Full of the same wind
> That is blowing in the same bare place
>
> For the listener, who listens in the snow,
> And, nothing himself, beholds
> Nothing that is not there and the nothing that is.

The poem exhibits a typically neo-baroque epistemological shift from description of facts to discussion of optics, which has its roots in the philosophy of the Baroque as it re-appears in modern culture.

In conclusion, we may say that the use of the terms "Renaissance" and "Augustan Age", instead of Baroque and neo-baroque, and the application of the category of "neo-classicism" in an ahistorical manner, not related to the periodization of British literature, causes distortions in the understanding of English literature as part of European culture, that is also as part of seventeenth century Baroque culture, which may be seen, for example, in the mutual influence of Catholic writers and Protestant intellectuals.

British periodization of literature may seem problematic when compared with other European methods of dividing literature and culture into periods, because it reveals semantic differences in the usage of the terms "renaissance", "classicism" and "neo-classicism". It seems that they need to be reinterpreted with reference to European Baroque literature and culture, but also with reference to English antiquarianism and cultural nationalism. The relatively late chronological appearance of the so-called "English Renaissance" may then become noticeable. The stylistic innovations of the time might then be seen as a version of English Baroque in its autonomy. There is a need for re-thinking these notions, as the descriptive category of the Baroque and (neo)baroque becomes relevant again. This has been illustrated in a series of publications (Davison 2007, Lambert 2008, or Zamora and Kaupt 2010, and others) which describe modern literary and cultural phenomena that exhibit the crisis of representation and the experience of dramatic movement and change typical of the Baroque epoch.

The traditional periodization of English literature is partly of a political nature, as the insularity of the native English canon of literature as the evolution of culture is perceived in the historical context of the monarchy. Resignation from such a perspective might reveal the omnipresence of the baroque style, despite its religious provenance. A better understanding of the seventeenth-century Baroque might be very helpful in uncovering certain aspects of English Romantic literature, which, as suggested earlier, goes back to Old Scottish literature and its

neo-Latin inspirations. Such a broadening of perspective might reshape the canon and the memory of English literature in terms of cultural geography.[3]

In other words, cultural and literary studies of the historical period of seventeenth-century Baroque as well as of the stylistic quality of the baroque have become indispensable because of the necessity to create a transnational history of literature and culture and because of the globalization processes in contemporary culture. The pragmatic nature of the baroque style, based on theatricality, assuming a variety of roles, points of view, and perspectives, is pervaded by a sense of the duality of the world (personal/social, national/universal, and communicative), in which sign and meaning are not given once and for ever and may change with relation to culture and the geography of the communicative process. The idea of "international baroque" may help to overcome the *translatio imperii* of British periodization of literature, with its preference of the Renaissance or the Augustan Age as a justification of the cultural domination of English art and literature (Davison 2007: 33) and may make it possible to refocus the temporal depiction of literary and cultural change into a more geographical image of the simultaneous coexistence of English literature with other world literatures.

References

Benjamin, Walter (2003). *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*. Trans. John Osborne. London: Verso.

Buci-Gluksmann, Christine (1994). *Baroque Reason: The Aesthetics of Modernity*. Trans. Patrick Camiller. London: Sage Publications.

Calabrese, Omar (1992). *Neo-Baroque: A Sign of the Times*. Trans. Charles Lambert. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

---

[3] Compare Alina Clej's theoretical reflections on François Hartog's idea of "presentist perspective" (allowing for a variety of simultaneous or even alternative "histories of the past") in the study of cultural history and the need for "spatial rather than temporal" reorientation of historical studies in a globalized reality (*Literary into Cultural History*, Irimia and Ivana 2007: 182-183).

Canfield, J. Douglas (2003). *The Baroque in English Neoclassical Literature.* Newark – London: University of Delaware Press, Associated University Presses.

Chandler, James (2009). *English Romantic Literature.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Daniells, Roy (1946). "English Baroque and deliberate obscurity". *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* V(2): 115-121.

Daniells, Roy (1963). *Milton, Mannerism and Baroque.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Davison, Peter (2007). *The Universal Baroque.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Deleuze, Gilles (1993). *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque.* Trans. Tom Coley. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Habermas, Jürgen (1981). "Modernity versus Postmodernity". Trans. Seyla Ben-Habib. *New German Critique* 22: 3-14.

Hatzfeld, Helmut (1949). "A clarification of the Baroque problem in the Romance literatures". *Comparative Literature* 1/2: 113-139. Duke University Press: University of Oregon.

Hyun Joo Yoo, Yonsei (2010). "The neo-baroque of our time: A reading of Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*". *International Journal of Arts and Sciences* 3 (10): 266-273.

Irimia, Michaela, Dragoş Ivana (eds.) (2007). *Literary into Cultural History.* Bucureşti: Institutul Cultural Român.

Jones, Thora Burney, Bernard de Bear Nicol (1976). *Neoclassical Dramatic Criticism 1560-1770.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lessenich, Rolf P. (2009). "The 'Metaphysicals': English Baroque literature in context". Available at <http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/edoc/ia/eese/artic21/less3/Startseite.html>. Accessed 10 October 2009.

Liedtke, Walter A., Jon F. Moffitt (1981). "Velázquez, Olivarez, and the Baroque equestrian portrait". *The Burlington Magazine* 123.942: 528-537.

Lambert, Gregg (2008). *On the (New) Baroque.* Aurora: The Davies Group Publishers.

Maravall, José (1986). *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure.* Trans. Terry Cochran. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Mole, Tom (2007). *Byron's Romantic Celebrity: Industrial Culture and the Hermeneutic of Intimacy*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Roston, Murray (1980). *Milton and the Baroque*. London: Macmillan.

Scott-Warren, Jason (2005). *Early Modern English Literature*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Stevens, Wallace (1921). "The Snow Man". *Harmonium: Poetry* 19 October 1921. Available at <https://www.poetryfounda tion.org/poems-and-poets/poems/detail/45235>. Accessed 25 August 2016.

Warnke, Frank J. (1972). *Versions of Baroque: European Literature in the Seventeenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Wellek, René (1946). "The concept of Baroque in literary scholarship". *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 2: 77-109.

Wölfflin, Heinrich (1964). *Renaissance and Baroque*. Trans. Kathrin Simon. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Zamora, Lois Parkinson, Monika Kaup (eds.) (2010). *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Mirosława Modrzewska
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: miroslawa.modrzewska@gmail.com

"Artful theology":
Sara Maitland's *Stations of the Cross*

ALEKSANDRA SŁYSZEWSKA

Abstract

Among a number of modern female writers engaged in religious as well as feminist discourse Sara Maitland seems to occupy a very particular place. She not only presents a coherent and innovative theoretical framework and points at vital correspondences of literature and religion but also creates works that in a unique way connect feminism and Christian theology. Moreover, she is able to find common ground between tradition and postconciliar changes within the Church. All these aspects can be found in *Stations of the Cross*, a collection of stories inspired by paintings by Chris Gollon and intended either to be read as short literary forms or to facilitate religious services.

Keywords

Christian literature, theology, art, feminism

« Théologie artistique »:
Les stations de croix de Sara Maitland

Résumé

Parmi les auteures contemporaines engagées dans le discours à la fois religieux et féministe, Sara Maitland semble occuper une place très particulière. Non seulement elle présente un cadre théorique cohérent et novateur, mais aussi elle suit ses propres règles et elle

crée des œuvres qui mettent en relation le féminisme et la théologie catholique. De plus, elle est capable de trouver un espace commun pour la théologie et l'église après les changements postconciliaires. Tous ces éléments peuvent être trouvés dans *Les stations de croix* – un recueil des récits inspirés par les tableaux de Chris Gollon, destiné à la lecture simple ou à la contemplation religieuse du Chemin de croix.

Mots-clés

art, féminisme, littérature, chrétienne, théologie,

Artystyczna teologia: *Stacje Krzyża* Sary Maitland

Abstrakt

Wśród współczesnych autorek zajmujących się dyskursem religijnym i feministycznym Sara Maitland zdaje się zajmować szczególne miejsce. Nie tylko nakreśla innowacyjne ramy teoretyczne i wskazuje istotne zależności między literaturą a religią, ale także tworzy prace, które w niezwykły sposób łączą feminizm i teologię chrześcijańską. Co więcej, jest w stanie nakreślić wspólną przestrzeń łączącą tradycję ze zmianami, jakie w kościele przyniósł Sobór Watykański II. Wszystkie te elementy odnaleźć można w *Stacjach krzyża,* zbiorze opowiadań inspirowanych obrazami autorstwa Chrisa Gollona przeznaczonymi do zwykłej lektury lub też w rozważaniach Drogi Krzyżowej.

Słowa kluczowe

literatura chrześcijańska, teologia, sztuka, feminizm

1. Feminist and theologian

For a considerable part of her literary career, Sara Maitland let herself be known as an ardent advocate of feminism and a fervent critic of social and religious patriarchal systems. She refers to herself as a "daughter of feminism" (1995: 2) but unlike

many other feminist authors, she does not reject the Church altogether as an institution run primarily by men; instead she struggles to reconcile the goals of feminism with Christian tradition. Her attempts to raise consciousness of gender inequality and redefine the place of women in the history, tradition and culture of the western world are presented, alongside her engagement in religious issues, in works of fiction (among them *Daughter of Jerusalem*, for which Maitland won the Somerset Maugham Award in 1979) as well as non-fiction. Among the latter, a prominent place is occupied by *A Map of the New Country: Women and Christianity*, published in 1983. Her efforts to reconcile feminism and Christianity are part of a large literary movement "calling for a dramatic change" as to the position of women in the Church (DelRosso 2005: 173). In her works Maitland refers to a number of other writers who raise similar issues, among them J. Danielon SJ (*The Ministry of Women in the Early Church* 1969), Ruether and McLaughlin (*Women of Spirit* 1979), Clark and Richardson (*Women and Religion* 1977). The seemingly contradictory status of women, as Jeana DelRosso (2005: 2) states, is also manifested in contemporary fiction, for instance in works by Mary Gordon (*Final Payments*) or Mary McCarthy (*Memories of a Catholic Girlhood*).

One work by Maitland which deserves particular recognition and which distinguishes her from many other literary critics is *A Book of Silence* (2008), devoted entirely to her experience of voluntary seclusion and deep appreciation of silence. This is also a work that brought about substantial changes in Maitland's writing and inspired her transition from second-wave feminism to a more specialized engagement with theology. This new direction seems equally demanding. Religious writing remains on the margin of literary studies, especially in culture that is often described as thoroughly secular and dismissive toward religion in general (Labrie 1997: 277).

Maitland's next book, *Stations of the Cross*, is clear evidence of the changes in her writing and it seems to encompass her new premises: Maitland employs her feminist approach in or-

der to present a new point of view and redefine well-known elements of traditional devotion connected with Christ's Passion. By doing this, she allows new voices to emerge from silence and enter into dialogue with Christian tradition. In this way she establishes a unique connection between literature and theology and uses both to retell, in fourteen short stories, a well-known narrative of Christ's sacrifice and death presented traditionally in the form of stations - images focusing on the *via dolorosa*, to be followed and contemplated by the faithful.

2. Between art and modern literature

Stations can be seen in terms of a dialogue for a number of reasons. First of all, they present the mutual influence of theology and literature, where each transforms and enriches the other. Secondly, they result from a collaboration between literature and visual arts, as the stories were originally designed as comments to paintings by Chris Gollon commissioned by the Rector of St John's Church, Bethnal Green (London's East End). Maitland in the introduction to *Stations* attempts to define her attitude towards Gollon's work in terms of "the process of engaging with [his] images"; she also states that her stories "are all responses to his pictures, as well as to the primary narratives his pictures illustrate" (2009: 7). Her responses, however, do not fully correspond to Gollon's vision and some discrepancies can be observed. There are, for example, substantial differences in the presentation of the crucifixion. Maitland turns to more rigorous physical realism (which may be caused by differences between the nature of written and visual forms): "I'm not criticising Gollon's choice here, but I found I made a different one" (2009: 7). Although Gollon's images are a starting point to her own work, she does not hesitate to exercise freedom of choice.

Another conscious decision regarding the collection was to structure it according to the standard traditional sequence of stations referring to the biblical Passion of Christ. Although

the aim of the stations was to depict and evoke real events, they include elements which have no support in Scripture; there is no scriptural basis, for instance, for Christ's three falls, the meeting with his mother or the scene of Veronica wiping his face. A number of other versions of the stations exist, including the new version accepted by the Pope in 2006 consisting solely of scenes supported by Biblical authority (Maitland 2009: 3). Following new trends strictly connected with the biblical narrative was, however, of little interest to either Gollon or Maitland. Significantly, in the collection there is no fifteenth Station; the text is silent about Christ's resurrection. Maitland refers to all these choices and admits that in her work she and Gollon follow the "dark and painful traditional pattern" (2009: 4), offering recipients "a way in to an older theology of the Incarnation" (2009: 1).

Finally, the dialogical character of the project demanded co-operation on the part of representatives of various religious standpoints: an agnostic (Gollon) as well as a religiously involved Roman Catholic (Maitland converted in 1993) and an Anglican parish in London. Individual members of the congregation, of different race and social class, were also invited to participate, as at the end of each story Maitland places their short personal comments concerning a given painting. The comments are sincere and not always favourable: "I don't like them" (88); "I don't understand this very well" (40), and yet the paintings and their reception are evidently of major importance to Maitland, as in her introduction she expresses her hope that the stories and paintings will "set free all our imaginations so that we can engage with this rich and complex tradition" (8). It seems that the project succeeds in this regard, as the viewers comment: "I hadn't noticed that before" (65), "I like to look at this and try and understand" (40). At least for some of them, and hopefully for some of the readers, the dialogical form of the book contributes to better understanding of the stories, paintings and tradition behind them.

3. A big-enough theology

Maitland turns to Christian tradition and makes it central to her work in her other books as well; in 1995 she published *A Big Enough God: Artful Theology*, much more theoretical than *Stations* and yet based on similar premises. In the book Maitland defines theology as the art of telling stories about the divine, *as well as* the art of listening to those stories (1995:4). Employing the figures of storyteller and listener, Maitland once more refers to the reciprocal communicative process which she finds necessary for both literature and religion. Also, already at this point, years before her retreat to an isolated Scottish moor and publication of *A Book of Silence,* she is clearly occupied with the notion of silence, as she believes it is inherent in any act of communication and, what follows, understanding. Later on she refers to this line of thought in *Stations* where she introduces the notion of "a listening silence" that "creates the space for someone to speak into" (2008: 86). It is vital, she argues, that this type of silence, and readiness to listen, should characterise both literature and theology.

However, Maitland is painfully aware that this aspect is notoriously neglected and that throughout centuries of development, art and theology have become and still remain separated. What she calls "the struggle between the priests and the poets" is very ancient and reaches as far as Plato's banning of the lying poets from his utopian Republic (1995: 121). The ongoing conflict between religion and cultural production is, according to Maitland, a serious mistake; in *Artful Theology* she draws attention to the fact that the earliest known human artistic creations (like Neolithic paintings in caves) were something more than just depictions of life, or rather that the impulse for such representations was deeply religious (1995: 121). Originally then, art and religion used to be inseparable and were different forms of participation in the divine. With time, as Maitland claims, this strong connection weakened and in modern times "theology increasingly withdrew into the inte-

rior of life and spiritual private moralism" and is nothing more than "ethics tinged with emotion" (1995: 26-27).

Such a pitiable state of affairs, as Maitland suggests, is a result of the dominant male discourse and limitations in points of view accepted and incorporated in the Grand Narrative of salvation. In her *Lent meditation* aired by BBC Radio 4 in 1993 she strongly criticises the prevailing discourse and at the same time offers a possible solution: "The universalist claims of the patriarchs have damaged the world. I want to hear the experiences of other people, from other places and times, and accept the voices of their visions" (bbc.co.uk). In her theoretical works she continuously reminds us of the necessity to connect literature and theology and advocates that this can be achieved only by opening to new points of view, new experiences, new narratives. As an artist she is well aware that in practice such ambitious aims are difficult to achieve, as in 1995 she admits: "I have not yet written the fiction that says what I want to say in this context: it is much harder to write that sort of fiction than it is to write 'proper' theology" (1995: 110). However, it seems that with the publication of *Stations* she takes a serious step in this direction; in the stories she refers to the traditional narrative of Christ's suffering and death and develops it, adding new points of view and discovering new aspects of well known events.

4. Pluralism of voices

All this is possible primarily thanks to narrative technique (first person narration governs the majority of stories) as well as careful and creative choice of narrators: the captain of a battalion, Mary Mother of Jesus, Simon of Cyrene, Veronica, the women of Jerusalem, the "hammerman", John and Mary Magdalene are witnesses to Christ's sacrifice and tell his as well as their own stories. The narration is strongly subjective; personal remarks often occur and the point of view is limited,

as it is in the case of the battalion captain who is in charge of scourging Jesus (Station 1: "Jesus is condemned to death"):

> Back in barracks earlier, someone told me that the officer in charge of the crucifixion said afterwards that he thought the man was innocent; that he thought he was holy - "a Son of God", they say he said. But that doesn't feel right to me. He wasn't a god, not at all; he was just more human than anyone I have ever had to deal with before and I could not cope with it (2008: 17).

The captain's testimony, although subjective, nevertheless introduces a crucial aspect of the story: it reminds us that Jesus in his suffering was painfully human and experienced the scourging, the bearing of the cross and the crucifixion very physically, like any other human being (or even more painfully, as "he was more human"). Thus the story evokes an important dimension of the original narrative which, when interpreted, tends to focus on the glory of the Resurrection rather than on ugliness, suffering and loneliness.

The captain's narration is obviously not part of the biblical narrative. But even those narrators who are originally mentioned in the Bible develop their stories in a way that changes and enriches our understanding of the story. Station 8: "Jesus meets the Women of Jerusalem", told from the collective point of view, is a case in point. In Maitland's story the women repeatedly refer to themselves as "nobodies" and "the crowd". Only after they meet Jesus, are reprimanded by him on his way to Golgotha and given a proper collective name (Daughters of Jerusalem) do they become aware that they are not just "fragments of the crowd" but "friends" who can share common experience and thus become a true community: "he had called us into friendship with each other" (71); "We were nobodies, and now we are the Daughters of Jerusalem. A name gives you dignity and he gave us a name" (72). A great change occurs in the way they perceive themselves and their purpose, a change in who they are. This vital aspect, an integral part of the traditional narrative, is highlighted by Maitland and employed in

order not only to enrich the story but also, it seems, to indicate possible similarities with the situation of modern women and their choices: "We were busy with our lives, as women always are. But we need to talk, we need to understand and hold on to what we had been given" (71). Here her feminist views seem to be voiced and incorporated into a traditional religious message.

The narratives, although they broaden our perspective and introduce voices silent in Scripture, are by no means complete nor definite themselves. The Daughters of Jerusalem, for instance, openly and honestly admit: "The way we have described it is not quite how it was. It was all too strange, and hurried, and confusing. We do not all even agree about what exactly he said" (72). A similar inability to convey the full story is also part of Simon's narration: "I'm not really a man for telling stories, so you'll have to bear with me. I'll probably tell this all wrong" (43). Their deficiency as narrators is no hindrance to them in telling their stories, however faulty they might be. This determination to share experience is what Maitland values most, as each element contributes to the understanding of the whole.

What is more, there is a clear indication that the stories may be developed further, that each of them may in fact be a starting point to a different story, not strictly connected to the Passion of Christ, but nevertheless important if one wants to understand the stories and motivations of individual narrators. Such continuity is signalled by Simon of Cyrene:

> So, to cut a long story short we – and that means me and my two sons, Rufus and Alexander (and don't tell me these aren't Jewish names, that's a long story and I'm not telling it now) – we got up in the morning, and when we got to Jerusalem the whole city was in turmoil (43).

In fact, Simon's narration focuses mainly on his children ("That's how I got to know them" 49) and the influence that his wife's death has on his family. The meeting with Christ is just

a short incident: "it doesn't really have anything to do with the story" (47). It only causes anxiety and forces him to leave the boys under the protection of a woman he does not know, and yet he senses that the events in Jerusalem have changed him; the fact that he can openly confide in Jesus when they carry his cross is an unusual and fruitful experience: "it didn't feel weird; it felt great"; "I suddenly surprise myself. I hear me singing. I haven't sung since she [his wife] died; I've helped a man to his death, and now I am singing. Strange day" (48). The story when read separately presents a day in the life of a man who is struggling to cope with grief, to understand his sons and establish a good relationship with them; its place within the collection develops this message and transforms it into a tale of suffering, trust and love. In this way Maitland seems to indicate that the influence is reciprocal: the individual stories enrich the story of the Passion to the same extent that they themselves are enriched by it.

Maitland in structuring her narration goes one step further and decides to include a particularly disturbing voice which has no biblical basis and is not part of traditional devotion: "there is Satan, close and grinning" (28). Satan's position within the collection is not that of a narrator, but he appears in three stories concerned with the falls and makes continuous attempts to prevent Christ from fulfilling his promise of sacrifice: "Of course, if you had turned the stones into bread as I suggested, you wouldn't be here, and they wouldn't be hurting your poor knee. But, you know, you can still get out of this if you want" (29). His voice is tempting, more and more convincing as they approach Golgotha, and finally it seems that "Satan is closer to him [Christ] than everyone else will ever be" (80). Each conversation with Christ and every attempt to influence the events ends in a fall, of which the third one, just before they reach their destination, seems to have the most destructive effect: "[Christ] wants it to end. He wants to go to sleep and never wake up. God is not here. Satan is here. There is no God" (80). And yet, in spite of all the pain, humiliation

and loneliness, Jesus manages to take his cross a few yards further and reach Calvary. The serpent disappears and never speaks in the story again.

5. Conspicuous silence

The voices presented in *Stations*, although highly subjective and not always a part of traditional devotion, are all meaningful and together constitute a coherent story connected by the figure of Christ. It seems unusual, then, that Christ himself is never allowed to speak directly; he does not narrate any of the stories and his thoughts and words are only reported by others. Even the stations concerned solely with him (like the three falls) are told in third-person narration. This conspicuous silence indicates that he is not, after all, the focus of the events around him, as he seems to be "miles away" (94); in his silent moments he repeatedly turns to Jerusalem and contemplates the beauty of the city, whose architecture is a source of awe and consolation to him. At times he also recollects various moments from his childhood. On the other hand, however, when other characters cross his way, he speaks to them and with just a few words he is able to change their lives. It seems that, although he suffers in silence, whenever needed he can overcome pain and address consoling words to people who need him. By Christ's silence Maitland seems not only to convey his vulnerability, his pain and loneliness, but also to draw attention not to what is done to him but rather to what he does to other people, as each of them leaves transformed.

Christ's deep appreciation of silence seems to have much in common with Maitland's own experiences; in one of the stories he is even described as "a free citizen of silent places" which he "seeks out whenever he can, and wishes that that happened more often" (87). Also, at a certain point in the collection he ponders on various types of silence which correspond to the ideas included in *A Book of Silence***:** the tender, intimate silence of the mother and the child after the night feed, the huge

fierce silence of the clifftop, the mountain height, the lightning bolt, the storms on the lake; an attentive listening silence, which opens the heart as well as the mind to the speaker; the silence of protest, the silence of companionship, the ineffable silence in the presence of God, the silence of death (85-87). The latter is perhaps closest to him, as all those considerations are included in Station 10: "Jesus is stripped of his clothing", which is the last story that presents his thoughts before his death.

Station 10 is also a moment of most serious doubts and, although no direct conversation with Satan seems to take place, his influence together with excruciating pain, humiliation and utter loneliness cause a desperate reaction; it is at this point that Christ is forced to deal with silence which he does not want and surely did not ask for:

> But now the silence is terrible. There is nothing.
> Perhaps God is silence. Perhaps there is no God.
> "Abba, Father, " he cries out silently, but there is no answer.
> He is stripped to the bone. There is nothing left.
> No words.
> No memories.
> No desires.
> No fears.
> No God.
> They have taken everything away.
> There is silence.
>
> The silence of God is a very terrible thing. (87-88)

The suffering and humiliation are so great that Christ desperately seeks for God's attention and signs of his support; God seems not to answer his call, he does not provide consolation. By creating this moving scene, Maitland seems to suggest that, in our human understanding (as the words are not directly his own but they are mediated and conveyed by someone else), Christ is ready to accept the most painful sacrifice for the sake of humanity, but he feels devastated and powerless at the per-

spective of being abandoned by God. Also, when facing death he seems to be the most human and in this final moment there is little of God in him. What motivates him and helps him endure the pain, humiliation and the feeling of abandonment are the people he meets on his way: people he recognises like Veronica, people who talk to him and tell him the stories of their lives like Simon, and even people who never turn to him directly (like the dog-loving soldier in Station 10) but whose small and seemingly insignificant acts of kindness towards other living beings remind him of the true meaning of his sacrifice.

Maitland consciously manifests Christ's humanity in her collection; by evoking very specific people, memories and places, her stations seem to emphasise "the scandal of particularity": the fact that Jesus became "human" not in some abstract terms but bound, as all human beings are, into a very particular set of circumstances - and those circumstances are depicted with the use of highly subjective but often precise narration. As she states (1995:5) in *A Big-Enough God,* the fact of the incarnation holds up difference and specificity as desirable and invites new elements to be incorporated into the traditional story. Additionally, in the project the figure of Christ becomes even more human and convincing when one realises that Gollon's model was his own son (in fact, Gollon admits that painting the face of his son in Station 12: "Jesus dies on the Cross" was the most difficult thing he had to do).

6. Conclusion

What Maitland aims at and successfully achieves in her collection is dialogue between Scripture (as the source of the story), Christian tradition (celebrated by the choice of the traditional 14 stations) and artistic vision (both her own and Gollon's interpretation). Incidentally, these three notions correspond to three sources of revelation accepted by the Catholic Church; it follows that dialogue is not the goal in itself but only a means

to facilitate our understanding of theological truths and an encouragement to pursue new ways of looking at them. *Stations of the Cross* seem to be an attempt to create fiction that engages in dialogue with Christian theology, enables new voices to emerge from silence and allows them to contribute to better understanding of the narrative concerned with the mystery of Christ's sacrifice. In her attempt to "embrace the posture of Catholicism" and desire to learn from different religious perspectives, Maitland follows features underscored on the one hand by the feminist movement and on the other, due to the ecumenical dimension of her work, by the Second Vatican Council (Weaver 1995: 46).

Christ – a silent listener in the stories – although he is at the centre of events, by his silence creates a space for new narratives and new points of view. The story of his suffering and death becomes not only his own but also, maybe most of all, the story of people whose life is transformed by him. Maitland, allowing and encouraging this "pluralism of voices" (Weaver 1995: 39), does not introduce entirely new elements to traditional devotion, but interrogates it, rediscovering already existing stories and presenting them in a new light. In *A Big Enough God* she voices her strong belief in and sense of the need for "more artful theology" (146). *Stations of the Cross*, with their original and creative treatment of devotion, seems to be the first step in this direction.

References

Clark, E., H. Richardson (1977). *Women and Religion: A Feminist Sourcebook of Christian Thought.* New York: Harper and Row.

Danielou, Jean SJ (1961). *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church.* Leighton Buzzard: Faith Press.

DelRosso, Jeana (2005). *Writing Catholic Women.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gordon, Mary (1978). *Final Payments.* New York: Ballantine Books.

Labrie, Ross (1997). *The Catholic Imagination in American Literature.* Columbia – London: University of Missouri Press.

Maitland, Sara (1995). *A Big-Enough God: Artful Theology.* London: Mowbray.

Maitland, Sara (2008). *A Book of Silence.* London: Granta Books.

Maitland, Sara (1983). *A Map of the New Country: Women and Christianity.* London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Maitland, Sara (2009). *Stations of the Cross.* London: Continuum.

McCarthy, Mary (1957). *Memories of a Catholic Girlhood.* San Diego: A Harvest Book.

Ruether, R. R., E. McLaughlin (eds.) (1979). *Women of Spirit.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Weaver, Mary Joe (1995). *New Catholic Women: A Contemporary Challenge to Traditional Religious Authority.* Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

"Lent meditation" for BBC Radio 4 (1993). Available at: <www.bbc.co.uk>.

Aleksandra Słyszewska
Filologiczne Studium Doktoranckie
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: olaslyszewska@gmail.com

CULTURE

The concept of the postmodern seducer:
Don Juan or James Bond?

KRISTINA STANKEVIČIŪTĖ

Abstract

The French thinkers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in their theory of the concept claim that every concept is a point of coincidence, or accumulation of its own components, i.e. the other concepts that it consists of. The concept of Don Juan as 'the archetypal seducer' has been circulating in Western culture for several centuries. Independently of epoch and national character, therefore, the figure of Don Juan has been a point of coincidence for three important concepts associated with the character: seduction, transgression, and power/domination. The aim of this article is to consider the development of the Don Juan concept in postmodern society. The article suggests that the established Don Juan concept, based on prohibition, became obsolete at the end of the 20th century, and has been replaced by a new seducer figure – that of the film hero James Bond.

Key words

critical theory, Don Juan, James Bond, seduction

Concept du séducteur postmoderne:
Don Juan ou James Bond?

Résumé

Selon la théorie de Gilles Deleuze et Félix Guattari, chaque concept est un point de coïncidence ou une accumulation de ses propres

composants, c'est-à-dire les autres concepts dont il est fait. Le concept de Don Juan comme le « séducteur archétype » a circulé dans la culture occidentale pendant plusieurs siècles. Indépendamment des époques et du caractère national, la figure de Don Juan a été le point de coïncidence des trois concepts importants associés avec le caractère : séduction, transgression et pouvoir / domination. L'objectif de cet article est de considérer le développement du concept de Don Juan dans la société postmoderne. L'article suggère que le concept établi de Don Juan, basé sur la prohibition, est devenu désuet à la fin du XXème siècle, et qu'il a été remplacé par une nouvelle figure du séducteur – le héros du cinéma, James Bond.

Mots-clés

Don Juan, James Bond, séduction, théorie critique

Pojęcie postmodernicznego uwodziciela: Don Juan czy James Bond?

W swej teorii pojęcia francuscy myśliciele Gilles Deleuze i Felix Guattari twierdzą, że każde pojęcie jest punktem zbiegu, bądź też akumulacji jego komponentów, czyli innych pojęć, które się na nie składają. Pojęcie Don Juana jako „archetypowego uwodziciela" funkcjonuje w zachodniej kulturze od kilku stuleci. Niezależnie od epoki i charakteru narodowego, postać Don Juana stała się punktem przecięcia trzech istotnych pojęć: uwodzenia, trangresji oraz władzy/dominacji. Celem artykułu jest ukazanie rozwoju pojęcia Don Juana w społeczeństwie ponowoczesnym. Artykuł dowodzi, że w dwudziestym wieku ogólnie przyjęte pojęcie Don Juana, oparte na zakazie, stało się przestarzałe i zastąpił go nowy uwodziciel: filmowy bohater James Bond.

Słowa kluczowe

Don Juan, James Bond, teoria krytyczna, uwodzenie

1. Introduction: Seduction in postmodernism

The concept of *seduction* in Western culture is organised around *prohibition*. 'Diverting from the right path'[1] must be against a set of rules, however, otherwise it would simply be taking another path. In patriarchal society, seducing a man is a crime against moral law (as the seduced disobeys the commandment of God), while seducing a woman is a crime against social law (as the seducer infringes another man's possession; in capitalist society – interferes in the process of commodity exchange on the marriage market). In both cases the participants of the seduction process violate the prohibition of employing eroticism outside the framework of lawful marriage.

The figure of Don Juan is a product of patriarchal society – his existence is dependent on the social restrictions that he violates. If there were no ban on free eroticism and sex, the character of Don Juan would be meaningless, and his violations could not happen. The figure of Don Juan and the cultural concept that it embodies, therefore, are based on prohibition of sexual freedom, and his popularity is based on the attempts of society to incorporate the natural human need for unrestricted individual eroticism into the system of duty and collective regulation, including the sphere of erotic desire.

Western Christian culture was governed by this system for nearly two thousand years. Avoiding or outwitting the system in one way or another was one of the major social occupations until the occurrence of social change that pushed the freedom of eroticism out of the list of primary human concerns. According to Jean Baudrillard, seduction was still possible in the pre-industrial age. Industrialism and the capitalism that followed put an end to it however, as "The bourgeois era dedicated itself to nature and production, things quite foreign and even expressly fatal to seduction" (Baudrillard 1979: 1). Therefore, according to Baudrillard, result-oriented phallic masculine seduction has prevailed in Western culture ever since. Never-

---

[1] *Se-ducere* in translation from Latin.

theless it was based on prohibition that only dissipated due to the cultural changes of the mid-20th century, especially the sexual revolution of the 1960s.

It was about this time that interest in the Don Juan figure also began to fade, with the last important works on the theme belonging to existentialist writers; Albert Camus' version being the most interesting among them.[2] All later versions, including films, are re-workings of *versions* of the Don Juan legend,[3] rather than re-workings of the legend itself; they are extremely interesting, yet it is difficult to name at least one which has had an important impact on the development of the Don Juan theme. It is obvious, therefore, that the Don Juan character had become dated by the 20th century, where everybody, including women, could be a Don Juan – it was now a recognizable behavioural pattern, and a psychological description of a person, a rule more often than an exception. Indeed, since the mid-20th century there has been no prohibition for Don Juan to resist, and as a result his figure has become unnecessary.[4]

Another important cultural change of the 20th century that has happened gradually, yet irrevocably, has been determined by advances in technology and globalisation. It is the postmodern merging of 'high' and 'mass' culture, and the resulting trend of culture commercialisation. Both phenomena were predicted by the very first representatives of critical theory

---

[2] See Albert Camus, *The Myth of Sisyphus*, 1942.

[3] Some films, such as Joseph Losey's *Don Giovanni* (1979), and Jacques Weber's *Don Juan* (1998) are screen adaptations of previously created versions of the legend (Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and Moliere's *Dom Juan* respectively), others are directors' interpretations of the narrative (such as Ingmar Bergman's *The Devil's Eye* (1960) and Roger Vadim's *Don Juan, or if Don Juan Were a Woman* (1973)).

[4] This does not mean to say that the Don Juan concept has disappeared from Western culture. There are some very fine examples of Don Juan in contemporary, 20th century contexts, especially in Spain, e.g. Calixto Bieito's staging of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (2001), beautifully discussed in Sarah Wright's book *Tales of Seduction: The Figure of Don Juan in Spanish Culture*, or Jeremy Levens's film *Don Juan de Marco* (1995), starring Johnny Depp. The *concept* of Don Juan, however, seems to be established, and has not acquired, nor does it require new constituent concepts.

(Adorno, Horkheimer, etc.) as well as later Marxist and neo-Marxist thinkers (Debord etc.). Towards the end of the 20th century the tendency grew evermore rapidly; while popular, or mass culture, gradually earned recognition among intellectuals.[5] The increasing number and variety of popular forms of mass media contributed greatly to this process of acknowledgement, as well as to a gradual change in human reality itself.

In connection with this, according to Baudrillard, the world at present lives in a virtual reality, illusions and appearances being its most important elements. In addition, the rapid growth of mass communications, in the form of 24-hour, multi-channel worldwide television, of information technology, the Internet, and cybernetic systems of control, has produced information over-load, the effect of which is to destabilise meaning in a radical way. Indeed, so much information is now presented to us that we (subject) have merged into the information (object). Moreover, so many images of the truth are available that the very idea of a real world about which a truth can be known has become problematic. In the language of Saussure, the stable if arbitrary relationship between signifier and signified has broken down and society now lives in a world where signifiers are so plentiful that they have become 'free-floating'; where a signifier is able to take up a variety of cross-boundary relationships with other signifiers. The result is that meaning is permanently "up for grabs", and concepts such as social class can be seen as ephemeral as any other (How 2003: 146-147).

In the 1980s, Baudrillard developed three notions to describe the emerging situation: simulation, implosion and hyperreality. He maintains that people now live in an era where the mass media simulate reality to the point where reality, in-

---

[5] The proof for this claim, I believe, can be found in the fact that one of the greatest scholars of the 20th century, Italian semiotician Umberto Eco is best known worldwide for his detective novels – a form of writing, though masterfully re-worked by Eco, still definitely belonging to the sphere of pop, or mass, culture. Similar examples can also be found.

cluding people themselves, must be understood as a media product, as there is no 'real' independent of the media. Baudrillard does not identify the political or economic forces which might be behind this change, but regards simulation as the overwhelming factor defining the era, whatever forces produced it. In the process of simulation, the image or representation of the 'object' collides with the 'real object' and the two implode, or collapse into one another, destabilising any fixed notion of the real. Gradually, a state of hyperreality comes into existence, where what has been simulated, namely the model or representation, replaces any residual element of the real, and *becomes the real* in its place (How 2003: 147).

In such an environment, seduction also experiences an irrevocable mutation. The masculine productive mode and the feminine seductive mode,[6] in Baudrillard's view, are subsumed by the "cold" seduction of media images pumped out by television, radio and film. However, this type of seduction is incapable of enchantment, instead, "an era of fascination is beginning" (Baudrillard 1979: 158). Seduction, as well as the whole of social life, becomes simulated through communication; and, although it is constantly moving and may give the impression of an operative seduction, it is not so. "[S]uch seduction has no more meaning than anything else, seduction here connotes only a kind of ludic adhesion to simulated pieces of information, a kind of tactile attraction maintained by the models" (Baudrillard 1979: 163). If feminine seduction of the aristocratic age had passion as its driving force, and masculine seduction of the industrial era had production as its aim, the seduction that happens in the virtuality of nowadays is "an empty declaration formed of simulated concepts" (Baudrillard 1979: 174). The world "is no longer driven by power, but fascination, no longer by production, but seduction" (Baudrillard 1979: 174), yet this seduction is meaningless, as it suggests a social world that we do not comprehend anymore, and a political world whose structures have faded (Baudrillard 1979: 174). In

---

[6] Types of seduction discussed in Baudrillard's study *Seduction* (1979).

this world, everything, including desire and passion, is measured by *exchange value*. "It is no longer a matter of seduction as passion, but of a *demand for seduction*. Of an invocation of desire and its realisation in place of the faltering relations of power and knowledge that inhere in love and transference" (Baudrillard 1979: 176). With the help of mass media, seduction is imitated and modulated, and thus, placed within the capitalist supply-demand system, becoming "*nothing more than exchange value,* serving the circulation of exchanges and the lubrication of social relations" (Baudrillard, 1979: 176, original emphasis).

In 1967 Guy Debord developed the concept of society as "spectacle", which perceives the history of social life as declining from "being into having, and having into merely appearing" (Debord 1994: Thesis 17). The spectacle is the inverted image of society in which relations between commodities have supplanted relations between people, in which "passive identification with the spectacle supplants genuine activity" (Debord 1994: Thesis 4). In a consumer society, social life is not about living, but about having; the spectacle uses the image to convey what people need and must have. Consequently, social life moves further, leaving a state of "having" and proceeding into a state of "appearing"; namely the appearance of the image (Debord 1994: Thesis 17). In his early work Baudrillard drew on Debord's neo-Marxist ideas but, during the 1970s, gradually came to believe that the era to which Marxist concepts such as "alienation" and "commodity fetishism" applied, had passed. We were now thoroughly immersed in a postmodern world where the "spectacle" was no longer an illusion but the real thing (How 2003: 145). "Appearing" is the first and foremost important feature in consumer society that perceives consumption of images as its basic and characteristic quality.

The theme of cold seduction is continued in Baudrillard's work *The Ecstasy of Communication* (1985), where he discusses how humans surrender themselves in an "ecstasy of communication" to the seductive power of the mass media – televi-

sion, ads, films, magazines, and newspapers. The luminous eyes of television and computer screens penetrate into people's private spaces in an ecstatic and obscene way, depriving them of their secrets, and turning the images they consume into something more and more pornographic. Meanwhile, the distinction between public and private disappears, and advertising invades everything, as "the scene excites us, the obscene fascinates us. With fascination and ecstasy, passion disappears" (Baudrillard 1985: 132). This is one of the reasons too, why Don Juan, a symbol of erotic passion, is no longer of interest.

"Cold" seduction (or mass media seduction) is not based on prohibition, which inspires the illusion that its violation would imply some transformation of the violator or his/ her partner (as in the case of transgression, defined by Bataille and Foucault[7]). It does not offer transgression or transformation in exchange, just satisfaction (or disappointment), void of any transcendence. It is a simulated image producing fascination that may have a social value yet no ontological meaning whatsoever. In such a world, anything can become seductive – from a pair of shoes to a holiday in the Bahamas, and eroticism seems to be irretrievably lost in the ever-growing crowd of pornographic images/ representations of sexuality.

The result of the permanently multiplying mass media – growing in terms of amount as well as variety – has caused, among other things, an important cultural change that has been termed the "visual turn". The phenomenon explains why Western cultural trends of the late 20th century emphasise the visual rather than textual forms of cultural creation. Cinema, as one of the most important means to exercise "cold seduction", has become the leading sphere of production and promotion of seductive images, as well as fascination and ecstasy, the latter being the most important characteristics for all successful products of pop culture, from film heroes to music

---

[7] See, for example, Michel Foucault's "A Preface to Transgression", or George Bataille's *Death and Sensuality: A Study of Eroticism and the Taboo.*

icons. The ability to appeal to the largest audience with the smallest effort on its (the audience's) part (even those who cannot read are able to watch a film, and most of the world's inhabitants can afford a cinema ticket from time to time) makes the film industry one of the most powerful and influential shapers of contemporary social and cultural life. It is no wonder then, that film and not literature produces contemporary cultural heroes (even though they may have emerged as heroes in literature first of all, as happened with such figures as Harry Potter, Sherlock Holmes, Bridget Jones, Don Corleone etc.).

Among these there is a hero who equals Don Juan in popularity, although perhaps not yet in cultural impact. The Don Juan concept, based on ideas of power, transgression and seduction, which became obsolete by the mid-20th century due to cultural changes, finds its counterpart in the figure of His Majesty's Secret Agent 007, James Bond. Indeed, Bond is a character that comes very close to the Don Juan concept, and it is my claim that he is the postmodern Don Juan. In the remainder of this article, therefore, I will attempt to distinguish whether Bond is a postmodern version of the Don Juan concept, or an independent cultural figure, constructed upon the Don Juan concept as an organising principle.

2. The postmodern Don Juan – a contemporary film hero

The idea of James Bond as a contemporary Don Juan figure has been circulating in the field of culture studies for a number of years. D.T. Gies considers the affinities between the two, drawing on the works of Hermann Broch, who says that "Art always reflects the image of contemporary man" (Broch, in Gies 1992: 191). Gies, meanwhile, claims that the images of Don Juan that are reflected in many icons of our contemporary culture, mean a "systematic degradation of the Don Juan myth, a degradation which [after Zorilla] led first to parody, then to burlesque satire, and from there to mass mentality"

(Gies 1992: 193). Gies also claims that the figure of Don Juan "has entered the popular consciousness at a deep level and remained there immersed in the black waters of our Jungian collective unconscious" (Gies 1992: 193), explaining this development by the characteristic features of popular culture, which is "voracious and culinarily imperialistic: it gobbles up every valid artifact, chews it up, and spits it out in a more accessible form" (Gies 1992: 193). Indeed, this claim resonates well with Adorno's general view of mass culture, and his discontent with its commercialisation. Adorno regards the term "mass culture" in itself as insufficient, as implying that modern culture is in some sense the product of the masses, when in fact it is an industrial product sold to the masses as a commodity (Adorno 1991: 85–7). Additionally, juxtaposition of "culture" and "industry" determined that culture should now be "thought less a vital human expression of social integration, more the manipulative product of interlocking commercial interests" (How 2003: 34).

The processes underlying the output of mass culture, the resulting narratives, popular mythology and its relation to myth make a subject of extreme interest, requiring a separate extensive study. One of my arguments against writing off popular mythology in favour of the traditional myth, however, is their common background in, as Gies puts it, the "Jungian collective unconscious". Yet it is the absence of a transgressive quality in popular myths that causes most doubts as to their validity, and I agree that from this point of view the transfer of myth to mass mentality may be regarded as a degradation.

Before continuing the discussion of the idea of a comparison between a mythical figure and a pop culture icon, I would like to consider first the affinities between the figures of Don Juan and James Bond, especially because critics agree that the two are quite close in a number of aspects. Gies, for example, says that E.T.A. Hoffmann's description of Don Juan could "just as well be a description of James Bond as depicted by Sean Connery or Roger Moore" (Gies 1992: 194). Hoffmann wrote: "His

was a strong, magnificent body, an education radiating that spark which kindled the notion of the most sublime feelings of the soul, a profound sensibility, a mind that apprehends swiftly" (quoted in Gies 1992: 104). Apart from physical (and mental) affinities, that cannot, in fact, be the only point of departure, as they are quite arbitrary and prone to change, there are certain qualities shared by Don Juan and James Bond that also testify to their similarity in social meaning. Indeed, there is a certain likeness between the cultural messages that the two figures display, yet there is also one important difference.

Both are fictional characters who are the result of an exceptionally male fantasy.[8] First and foremost, they are irresistible seducers and their self-confidence is indefatigable, even if their methods are different. Don Juan is never rejected, even though he sometimes pretends to be someone else in order to achieve his aim. James Bond never pretends to be someone else and always achieves his aim, even though the initial effort may lead to rejection. Bond, as well as Juan,[9] never fails to notice a pretty female face or figure, and try to form a more intimate acquaintance. Bond, like Juan, is also a perfect lover – although the reputation of the latter may rest on rumour rather than evidence displayed for the audience to see, while the reputation of the former is quite often illustrated right before the eyes of the spectator. The result of seduction is the most important for Don Juan; James Bond, however, is more often concerned with the process (*as well as* the result). Both heroes are brave, young, and belong to the highest social classes. And, even if their motives for fighting are different, they demonstrate courage and skill. Don Juan – especially at the end of the 19th century – is a dandy, concerned about his effect on men as well as women. His appearance is most polished. Bond, however, surpasses Don Juan in this respect. Even after a most ferocious fight, he emerges in a freshly-ironed shirt and

---

[8] The influence of the latter fact on their success is a separate very interesting point for discussion that deserves a separate article.

[9] Especially Mozart's Don Juan.

an untouched tie, to say nothing of his suit that has become the uniform of the spy. Similar to Juan, Bond seems to have no scruples about women, even though the audience does learn about his beloved wife who was killed shortly after their wedding.[10] Bond does not encounter supernatural forces, for the milieu of his existence is totally different from that of Don Juan's, yet his ability for survival more than makes up for it. Indeed, this is one of the greatest differences between the two characters: Bond encounters death more times than Don Juan as he has a licence to kill, and makes good use of it. Juan's relation to death is of a totally different kind: his first encounter with it is a challenge (the result of a fight with a Commendatore, which the latter loses), the second is a warning (dinner with a dead man's statue), and the third is a punishment (he descends into Hell). In spite of these differences, the concept of death is associated with both figures: Don Juan's end is almost invariably repeated in the majority of the versions of the legend and is a familiar feature in the popular consciousness; Bond's nickname 'Mr. Kiss Kiss Bang Bang", meanwhile, sums up the perception of his character in the best way possible for the pop culture which he represents.

The major difference between the two, however, is that Bond has a profession, and is constantly on a mission, women being, to a greater or lesser extent, an element of secondary importance, even though at times their participation or presence is crucial for the accomplishment of the mission. In the case of Don Juan women *are* his mission, and fighting is the consequence or the means of its accomplishment. D.T. Gies, comparing the two figures, writes about Bond: "He is a great lover and, like Don Juan, he is proud, imperious, egocentric, strong, confident, danger-loving, and impious. He is also witty, immoral, seductive, clever and handsome. And he has seduced a generation of women – on and off the screen – who find his

---

[10] *Casino Royale* (2006, dir. Martin Campbell). It is a re-make of a previous version; the original story comes from the very first James Bond novel, Ian Fleming's *Casino Royale* (published in 1953).

character irresistible" (Gies 1992: 194). The comparison seems to suggest that both heroes are constructed according to the same scheme – the archetype of an irresistible lover, an "*homme fatal*", Don Juan being, obviously, himself one of the forms of that archetype.

3. The concept of Don Juan versus (the concept of) James Bond

The French thinkers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in their theory of the concept claim that every concept is the point of coincidence, or accumulation of its own components, i.e. the other concepts that it consists of. The concept of Don Juan as "the archetypal seducer" has been circulating in Western culture for several centuries. Independent of epoch and national character, therefore, the figure of Don Juan has always been the point of coincidence for three most important concepts associated with his character in Western conscious-ness: seduction, transgression, and challenge to authority. It has served as a literary, social and philosophical prototype, and has become a household word in a number of European cultures (like Spanish, Russian, Lithuanian, etc.). James Bond, in turn, is a figure familiar to a quarter of the human beings on the planet (Dodds 2005: 266), and an officially acknowledged symbol of British culture (the character, played by Daniel Craig, appeared in the opening ceremony of the 2012 London Olympics as the escort of Queen Elizabeth II).

A comparison on the conceptual level requires the applica-tion of the same pattern of conceptual analysis to both figures. This, however, causes certain doubts. Is it actually possible to say that James Bond is a cultural concept, like Don Juan? According to Deleuze and Guattari, a concept is an answer or a solution to an acute, pending problem ("concepts are only created as a function of problems which are thought to be bad-ly understood or badly posed" (Deleuze and Guattari 1994: 16)); thus a cultural concept is a solution to an acute cultural

problem. After the problem has been solved, the concept will most likely continue its existence in culture, yet it will change in tune with the changes of the culture itself: "Although concepts are dated, signed, and baptized, they have their own way of not dying while remaining subject to constraints of renewal, replacement, and mutation that give philosophy a history as well as a turbulent geography, each moment and place of which is preserved (but in time) and that passes (but outside time)" (Deleuze and Guattari 1994: 8). It must also be added that these cultural changes may push the concept out of the central position it used to occupy as new problems and new concepts enter the field of reflection.

Don Juan is a concept that deals with the problem of individual eroticism and sexuality against social restrictions requiring duty and continence; it is based upon prohibition of erotic freedom and is an instrument for testing the validity of the control system that society has created for supervising the eroticism of its members. The Don Juan concept as it is known today is the result of a patriarchal Christian society which sees woman as a commodity on the marriage market; to it, the figure of Don Juan is a threat that must be eliminated, as he appeals to the woman herself, not to her use value, thus disrupting the market exchange process. But what about James Bond? Is it possible to claim that his figure revolves around a certain social (or perhaps ontological) problem? And if yes, is that problem universally human, or is it a temporal complication?

A full answer to this question would be away from the main propositions of this article, therefore I will not expand on it here. I would, however, like to point out briefly that the figure of James Bond, or a government super-agent that has emerged in Western culture in the middle of the 20th century, is first of all a typical hero figure. He falls into the category of "classical heroes" and, although he demonstrates many of the features peculiar to the traditional classical hero (he is very strong, fearless, extremely intelligent, fighting for the well-being of his

community, devoted to his mission), he is a genuine product of the 20th century, equipped adequately for his mission (he has a team of helpers or allies, the newest and most effective instruments such as guns, cars, and/or gadgets, possesses a good sense of humour and irony, is "cool, calm and collected", and seems to be immune to death and love, but susceptible to female charms). Therefore he should be contrasted to Don Juan rather than compared to him, as Don Juan is a villainous character. He is a problem, and has evolved around a problem; James Bond is a heroic character meant to perform deeds and missions, to solve problems, and not explore them.

It is difficult to deny, however, that the affinities between the two characters are impressive. There is no other figure in contemporary culture that is closer to Don Juan than James Bond in conceptual as well as other terms. Moreover, in order to maintain the theoretical framework of concept analysis, it is necessary to look at James Bond as a conceptual figure matching the Don Juan concept. Therefore, following the scheme of Deleuze and Guattari, this involves finding the concepts that the figure of Bond is constructed upon (or primarily associated with).

It is necessary to mention here that the very first important analysis of James Bond's character was performed in the 1960s by Umberto Eco, who dealt with the figure as it appears in its "primary form", i.e. Ian Fleming's novels. Eco applied a structuralist analysis to Fleming's narrative, suggesting that most of the Bond novels follow the same narrative structure and conventions, based essentially on a sequence of "moves" in which the same archetypal characters play out familiar situations (Chapman 2007: 25), thus creating a world based on the conflict between good and evil; the "play situations" that the characters find themselves in and the binary oppositions that they are structured upon emphasise the Manichean characteristics of that world (Eco 2014: 45-47).

Eco's structuralist scheme was modified by the cultural theorist Tony Bennet, who argued that the Bond novels can be

understood through a series of narrative codes which regulate the relationships between characters. He identifies three such codes – the "sexist code", the "imperialist code" and the "phallic code" – that are recurrent throughout the stories. The "sexist code" regulates relations between Bond and the heroine. The heroine is usually out of place, either sexually, in the sense that she is initially resistant to Bond (such as Vesper Lynd in *Casino Royale*), or ideologically, in the sense that she is in the service of the villain (Solitaire in *Live and Let Die*, Tatiana Romanova in *From Russia, With Love*), or both (Tiffany Case in *Diamonds are Forever*, Pussy Galore in *Goldfinger*). Bond's seduction of the heroine therefore serves an ideological purpose in that he "repositions" her by putting her into her "correct" place: "In thus replacing the girl in a subordinate position to men, Bond simultaneously repositions her within the sphere of ideology in general, detaching her from the service of the villain and recruiting her in support of his own mission" (Bennet, quoted in Chapman 2007: 27). The "imperialist code" regulates the relations between Bond and his allies, who are usually loyal colonial or pro-British characters (such as Quarrel in *Live and Let Die* and *Dr No*, and Kerim in *From Russia, With Love*) who defer to Bond and are in a subordinate power relationship towards him. Finally, the "phallic code" regulates the relationship between Bond and M, a symbolic father-figure who endows Bond with power and authority (his "licence to kill"), and between Bond and the villain, who threatens Bond with emasculation through torture. "This process is enacted quite literally in *Casino Royale* where Le Chiffre whips Bond's genitals with a cane carpet-beater" (Chapman 2007: 27).

The three narrative codes lead to the conceptual reading of Bond's character, or the concepts associated with the figure in cultural consciousness. Obviously, the very first concept is that of seduction, based on sexual attractiveness. According to Bennet, Bond uses seduction for ideological purposes, but – undeniably – for other purposes as well, his own pleasure being one of the first on the list. The power concept (the output

of the "imperialist" code) resonates perfectly with the notion of Bond's superiority over his allies, his colleagues, and people in general, his exceptionality and his domination over society. The "phallic" father-figure code points to the concept of authority and the challenge involved in obeying as well as disobeying authority – the notion of transgression.

Not surprisingly, these are the same three concepts that make up the concept of Don Juan: (serial) seduction, power/domination, and transgression. The balance of importance in the constituent concepts is also very much the same in both figures: in Bond, as well as Don Juan, his seductive power and female irresistibility to his charms are pre-emphasized (Bond being a government super-agent is not the reason but an additional quality of his charm). This, I believe, suggests that both figures are built on the same seducer archetype; it also suggests that the Bond figure draws heavily on the Don Juan concept. Yet in order to establish whether it is a variant of Don Juan, or an independent cultural figure constructed upon the Don Juan concept, a closer comparison is necessary.

The first and foremost concept related to Don Juan is seduction: seduction of women, to whom he promises eternal love and marriage instantly after sex. At the heart of this lies deception, and the promises are never fulfilled. The purpose of Don Juan's seduction (except his Romantic treatment, Hoffmann being the best example) is tricking the woman, i.e., the main element of his seduction is deceit. Bond, in his turn, also uses deceit under cover of his seductive acts – yet not necessarily deceit of the woman in terms of sex. This is because sex is not his goal, but a tool for achieving other goals (gaining useful information, winning some time, merely spending some time, etc.), the woman is deceived rather in terms of "ideology" (she may have to betray a secret or not achieve her own goals, etc.), therefore is less affected personally, perhaps, yet the element of deceit remains. Different to Don Juan, however, Bond is capable of emotional attachment, and the physical contact is as important to him as the deceit (*if* deceit is involved, that is).

As Tony Bennet puts it, it often involves "repositioning" the girl in her correct place (quoted in Chapman 2007: 27).

In terms of power relations and domination, both Don Juan and Bond are dominant figures in their society as well as the productions they feature in (drama, novel, film, opera, etc.). As indicated by Bennet, Bond is in a dominant position with regard to his allies, also with regard to his colleagues – other agents as well as his boss (he is especially favoured by his direct supervisor M, and is allowed more than other agents), which means a dominant position in his circle, to say nothing of the general society that he, as a special agent and a government spy, is high above. As to the dominance of Don Juan over his society, it is necessary to mention that he is constructed as a dominant figure from the earliest version of his legend, with the intentional purpose of showing that everybody must obey the system and follow its requirements, even those at the highest-ranking positions; disobedience is punished most severely.

Overall, it is the concept of transgression that distinguishes the two figures most, one from the other. In the Don Juan concept, transgression can be defined as one of its most important ontological aspects: Don Juan, like the trickster god Hermes, takes young girls through the threshold of maturity into the realm of femininity. In social terms, his appeal to the woman herself intrudes into the process of commodity exchange on the marriage market, influencing the woman's exchange value, and that becomes the moment of a certain social transgression. Don Juan himself, however, experiences neither transgression nor character development (except in the versions when he is converted due to the love of a virtuous woman, and stops being a Don Juan,[11] which eliminates him from the field of the Don Juan concept). A similar situation regarding women is to an extent characteristic of the figure of James Bond. Tony Bennet terms it "repositioning" of the girl (see

---

[11] See, for example, Oscar Milosz's *Miguel Mañara* (1912) or Prosper Mérimée's *Les âmes de purgatoire* (1834).

above), yet the ontological significance of it is rather doubtful, for in most cases we do not know whether the girl herself undergoes an irreversible change from a "bad" person into a "good" one, or it is just a change of "camps", in which case the transgression is an ideological act and does not have the significance of "fissure".[12]

The concept of transgression, however, is important in yet another aspect, i.e., in its relation to the audience. The social message of the Don Juan concept lies also in the psychosocial plane of his existence; i.e. Don Juan is not only a concept, a character from a play or an opera, but also a social type, a man (or a woman, in our times) whom any person from the audience can encounter at any moment of his/her life – or *be* at any moment of his/her life. Therefore the ontological problem of transgression, as well as the social problem of (dis)obeying the rules is not only an aesthetic matter solved before the eyes of the spectator. The Don Juan concept is an approach to a special cultural issue that is important for a great majority of the members of that culture. A contact with Don Juan – be it direct, "outward", as in the case of the woman who is seduced by him, or an indirect, "inward", as in the case of a man who is a Don Juan himself, or is simply close to the seducer – brings about an ontological transgression resulting in a transformation of some sort. In the case of James Bond this type of transgressive moment is non-existent, as the figure itself is a screen illusion that cannot come true. There can be no contact with James Bond in real life, and not only because the reality of government spies has little to do with Fleming's novels or the Bond film series. The credibility of meeting James Bond round the corner is equal to that of the Commendatore statue shaking hands with a visitor – and that is where an important point of intersection between the figures comes to the fore. James Bond is an illusion, yet a self-

---

[12] A Foucauldian term, defining the result of transgression, according to Foucault, who explains it as "the excessive distance that it opens at the heart of the limit" (Foucault 1977: 35).

imposed one, a simulated one, and all the extravagance sur-
rounding him attracts, tempts and seduces. That is how the
system swallows us – the audience – up. Don Juan lives inside
each of us, also fostering an illusion – the illusion of resistance
to authority. Don Juan seduces us into a belief that the sys-
tem can be resisted, and the moment of resistance is an enjoy-
able one. James Bond seduces us into the belief that the sys-
tem does not need to be resisted, that it will take care of us in
due time, and we have only to enjoy ourselves because re-
sistance is unnecessary.

Because of this, I argue that illusion is the key to the con-
temporary perception of the 20th century Don Juan concept,
i.e. the James Bond figure. Illusion is also the key term to in-
terpret the relation of the concept to its audience, as well as
the three constituent concepts: seduction, power/domination
and transgression. As in Don Juan, the three concepts work
simultaneously in James Bond in order to achieve the main
aim – to thrill (or fascinate, to use Baudrillard's term). "Art al-
ways reflects the image of contemporary man", says Hermann
Broch; Bond is this image of contemporary man in the 20th
century, as Don Juan was for nearly 400 years before him.
D.T. Gies explains it by drawing on Broch who writes about
contemporary society: "The new age, i.e. the age of the middle
classes, wants monogamy, but at the same time wants to enjoy
all the pleasures of libertinism, in an even more concentrated
form, if possible" (quoted in Gies 1992: 191). Today, claims
Gies, we have achieved it all, and the figure of our new hero is
"the reincarnation of the old Don Juan, tailored to our modern
needs" (Gies 1992: 191). James Bond, as one of the "reincar-
nations" of Don Juan, enables us "to partake vicariously in the
adventures of titillation while remaining safely monogamous –
and to break that spell of monogamy is surely what lurks at
the core of all sexual fantasy" (Gies 1992: 191). With Bond, we
can have our cake and eat it, and that is the illusion Don Juan
cannot compete with.

4. The illusion of seduction

If Don Juan transfers us to the erotic cosmos of freedom, at least in our imaginations, as spectators (because both men and women can experience a meeting with Don Juan in real life, for Don Juan is not only an archetype or a concept, but also a behavioural model peculiar to both men and women), so James Bond transfers us into an illusionary reality where freedom does not exist, only its simulation. Don Juan seduces us with the promise of freedom – and we *can* experience the fulfilment of that promise at least for an instant. James Bond seduces us with an illusion that we shall never experience in reality, but the essence of his seduction lies in the postmodernist craving *for* experiencing an illusion. We see through it but we still buy it – and are happy with having had the chance of it.

Women want Don Juan, and men envy him not because of himself, but because of what he embodies – the freedom of choosing a partner. Seduction is a promise that is never fulfilled – it is especially true of the promise of erotic freedom (and any other promise made for seduction). Because the promise itself is an illusion, therefore it cannot come true. The disappointment is not so much about a broken promise, but about a dispersed illusion. The very same is true about James Bond: when he is endowed with more "human" qualities (as in the newest Bond film, *Spectre*, 2015), he becomes a more concrete character. In the space where, for some mysterious reason, the audience could earlier put in their own fantasies about his coldness and misogyny, his vulnerable inner self is now on display, and there is nothing there that surprises the spectator/ reader in a transgressive or any other respect. At this point James Bond stops being an illusion and turns into a simple human being – which is extremely unfair toward a pop hero and a great disappointment to the audience. Bond is no longer a character from an illusionary world, but yet another contemporary individual tormented by worldly

troubles. He is no longer beyond us (or above, if you please), he steps among us, showing weaknesses we do not want to see in an illusionary hero. Both Don Juan and James Bond are empty shells into which every member of culture may put their own fantasy that corresponds with the cultural expectations of the time; Don Juan, however, is in a more personal relationship with his audience – he can show up as one of them, a psychosocial type, a concept or a mode of behaviour. He is not an illusion, and the audience are all fully aware of it. James Bond, meanwhile, does not and cannot have any personal relations with his audience – he is a simulation (a *spectre*, to use Derrida's term), and his success depends on staying on his (the inner) side of the screen.

5. Conclusions

The fading interest of the 20th century in the figure of Don Juan occurred for two important reasons: the lifting of the prohibition it had been based on, and the growing impact of the mass media, which determined the shift of interest from seduction itself to appearances of seduction (or the "cold se-duction" of mass media, to paraphrase Baudrillard). The latter is not based on prohibition inspiring an illusion that its viola-tion implies some transformation of the violator or his/her partner (as in the case of transgression). It does not offer transgression or transformation in exchange, just satisfaction (or disappointment), void of any transcendence. It is a simulat-ed image producing fascination that may have a social value yet no ontological meaning whatsoever.

The incessant proliferation of images, the resulting visual turn along with globalisation and its unifying effect on culture has determined the growing importance of the visual media (cinema, TV, etc.) on the popular consciousness. Film heroes become new iconic figures worldwide.

The figure of Don Juan in the postmodern age also finds a new expression in the film hero, the British super-agent

James Bond. He is the new seducer, the "*homme fatal*", being closest to Don Juan in many of his surface aspects (appearance, courage, serial seduction) as well as in popularity.

Conceptually, both figures are based on the same three concepts: seduction, transgression, and power/ domination. With regard to these, it is in terms of transgression that the two fundamentally differ from each other, as well as the social message that their process of transgression conveys. The social message of Don Juan revolves around a problem (the prohibition of sexual freedom and its restriction to marriage); the Don Juan figure should be regarded as a "tester" of the social system that has formulated the prohibition. He is also a social type that can lie inside every human being, thus a meeting with him (direct as in real life, or indirect as perceived in a stage performance) causes ontological transgression. The figure of James Bond, on the other hand, is a heroic figure whereas Don Juan is not; Bond is not a challenge to the system but an instrument to repress every challenge of vital importance that causes a threat to the system itself. Being merely a screen illusion, he has no connection with real life and cannot come into any personal relationship with his audience. The notion of ontological transgression is non-existent in his character, especially in relation to his viewers. The Bond figure incorporates successfully the Don Juan principle of character organisation, and uses it for the creation of a new, postmodern hero, modifying the already-familiar and socially recognised behavioural pattern accordingly to the needs of the very society that produces it (the Bond figure).

I believe this proves that the 20th century film hero James Bond, though an independent cultural figure, is constructed upon the Don Juan concept as an organising principle, and should therefore be regarded as the postmodern version of the Don Juan concept.

References

Baudrillard, Jean (1985). "The ecstasy of communication". In: Hal Foster (ed.). *The Anti-Aesthetic Essays on Postmodern Culture*. 3rd printing. Port Townsend: Bay Press.

Baudrillard, Jean (1990). *Seduction*. Trans. Brian Singer. London: Macmillan.

Bennet, Tony (1983). "The Bond phenomenon: Theorising a popular hero. James Bond". *Southern Review* 16/2: 195-225.

Chapman, Jack (2007). *Licence to Thrill: A Cultural History of the James Bond Films*. Second edition. London: I.B. Tauris.

Deleuze, Giles, Guattari, Felix (1994). *What is Philosophy?* New York: Columbia University Press.

Dodds, Klaus (1 July 2005). "Screening geopolitics: James Bond and the early cold war films (1962–1967)". *Geopolitics* 10/2: 266-289.

Eco, Umberto (2014). "Narrative structures in Fleming". In: Chris Lindner (ed.). *The James Bond Phenomenon: A Critical Reader*. Second edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Foucault, Michel (1977). "A preface to transgression." *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Gies, David T. (1992). "From myth to pop: Don Juan, James Bond, and Zelig." In: Carla E. Lucente (ed.). *The Western Pennsylvania Symposium on World Literatures. Selected proceedings: 1974-1991. A Retrospective*. Greensburg, PA: Eadmer Press.

Horkheimer, Max, Adorno, Theodore (2006). *Apšvietos dialektika: Filosofiniai fragmentai* [Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments]. Vilnius: Margi raštai.

How, Alan (2003). *Critical Theory*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wright, Sarah (2012). *Tales of Seduction: The Figure of Don Juan in Spanish Culture*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Kristina Stankevičiūtė
Vilnius University
Universiteto g. 3
LT-01513 Vilnius
Lithuania
E-mail: stankeviciute.k@gmail.com

California mission bells:
Listening against the "fantasy heritage"

GRZEGORZ WELIZAROWICZ

Abstract

The paper takes a critical look at the legacy of the Spanish mission period in California as symbolized by the mission bell. According to "fantasy heritage", that is the myth of California's pastoral beginnings under Franciscan missionaries – a myth perpetuated by Mission Revival writers, real estate boosters, public space projects, etc. – the bell is synonymous with benevolence, charity, nurturing mercy, etc. Responding to the recent expansion of the Mission Bell Marker (MBM) program (a dense network of eleven-foot roadside markers in the shape of Franciscan staffs donned with cast bells, placed along a route of California's highways, freeways, and local roads collectively known as "Historic El Camino Real"), the paper attempts to investigate the original function and implications of the bell as it was deployed by the missionaries upon contact. This is gleaned from a Franciscan account of the behavior of St Junípero Serra. Following a brief discussion of the function of listening, it is argued that Serra practiced "predatory" listening and used audio-pollution by the bell as a strategy devised to intervene in the very foundations of the epistemic certainties of the Indian world-view. An argument is made that Serra's bell was the first instrument of colonization, of physical and epistemic invasion, of temporal regimentation, and the silencer of all other sounds. In the last section of the essay it is argued that no driver in California is safe from the ideological interpolation of the MBM and a strategy of resisting the bell's romanticization is offered.

Cloches des missions californiennes
– une écoute contre le « héritage fantastique »

Résumé

L'article présente une analyse des fonctions de la cloche dans le mythe de la période missionnaire en Californie. Le mythe missionnaire est souvent appelé aujourd'hui le « héritage fantastique » (ang. *fantasy heritage*) car il présente la période du franciscanisme en Califormie comme une idylle. Ce mythe a été représenté non seulement dans la littérature, mais aussi dans l'architecture, dans les spéculations foncières et dans les projets de l'espace public. Dans le mythe, la cloche symbolise la douceur, la bienfaisance, la charité etc. En se référant au programme *Mission Bell Marker* (MBM) qui a été financé par les ressources fédérales et celles de l'état de Californie et qui a fait planter environ sept cents colonnes en forme du bâton franciscain avec une cloche au dessus tout au long de *El Camino Real*, le présent article cherche à retrouver la fonction des cloches utilisées par les franciscains au moment du contact. En s'appuyant sur la description du comportement de saint Junípero Serra et sur l'analyse de la fonction de l'ouïe dans les cultures tribales, on propose une interprétation de Serra vu comme un pratiquant de l'écoute « prédatrice » et son comportement est décrit comme « auto-pollution » qui visait à perturber la perception du monde des Indiens. La cloche de Serra est devenue le premier instrument de la colonisation, de la violence physique et symbolique et des règlements temporels, qui ont servi comme un étouffoir des sons indésirables. Dans la dernière section, on se réfère à une rencontre avec MBM et on propose un exercice épistémique : une méthode de résister à l'ambiance romantique des cloches.

Mots-clés

cloche, colonisation, écoute, Junípero Serra, missions californiennes

Dzwony misji kalifornijskich
– słuchanie na przekór "wyimaginowanemu dziedzictwu"

Abstrakt

Artykuł poświęcony jest analizie funkcji dzwonu w micie okresu misyjnego w Kalifornii. Mit misji często nazywa się "dziedzictwem wyimaginowanym" gdyż przedstawia on okres franciszkańskiej Kalifornii jako sielankę rodzajową. Mit ten znalazł odzwierciedlenie nie tylko w literaturze, ale także w architekturze, spekulacjach ziemią i projektach w przestrzeni publicznej. Dzwon jest dla mitu symbolem łagodności, dobroczynności, miłosierdzia itd. Odnosząc się do programu Mission Bell Marker (MBM), który czerpiąc z funduszy federalnych i stanowych doprowadził niedawno do ustawienia wzdłuż całego El Camino Real w Kalifornii ok. siedmiuset słupów w kształcie franciszkańskiej laski zakończonej dzwonem, artykuł próbuje odtworzyć funkcję dzwonów używanych przez franciszkanów w momencie kontaktu. Na podstawie opisu zachowania Św. Junípero Serry i analizując funkcję słuchu w kulturach plemiennych proponowana jest interpretacja Serry jako praktykującego "drapieżne" słuchanie, a jego zachowanie określone jest mianem "audiozanieczyszczenia", które miało za zadanie zachwianie aparatem poznawczym Indian. Dzwon Serry stał się pierwszym instrumentem kolonizacji, fizycznej i poznawczej przemocy, regulacji czasowych, i zagłuszania dźwięków niechcianych. W ostatniej sekcji, odnosząc się do nieuniknioności spotkania z MBM zaproponowane jest ćwiczenie poznawcze, metoda oporu wobec romantycznej aury dzwonów.

Słowa kluczowe

dzwon, Junípero Serra, kolonizacja, misje kalifornijskie, słuchanie

1. Introduction: Mission myth, its bells and its markers

On September 23, 2015, Pope Francis canonized Junípero Serra (1713-1784), a Spanish missionary and the first president of the California Catholic missions. This, in turn, was the latest installment in the continuous production of what Mike Da-

vis calls the "ersatz history" (1992: 30) of California. Missions and missionaries serve this "history" as cognitive artifacts mediating the region's founding mythology which holds that in the "golden age" of California kindly Franciscan *padres* provided their Indian "children" with rudiments of Christian doctrine and civilized life – the missionary effort being explained as both worldly and spiritual salvation. This myth – incessantly recreated in public fiestas, architecture, films, literature, political ideology, etc. – depicts race relations in California as "a pastoral ritual of obedience and paternalism" (Davis 1992: 26). Kevin Starr puts it this way: "graceful Indians, happy as peasants in an Italian opera, knelt dutifully before the Franciscans to receive the baptism of a superior culture, while in the background the angelus tolled from a swallow-guarded campanile, and a choir of friars intoned the *Te Deum*" (Starr in Davis 1992: 26). Since Helen Hunt Jackson's bestselling novel *Ramona* (1884) the missions have been synonymous with "Earthly Paradise" (Jackson 2002 [1883]: 1), a "Spanish Colonial daydream of Arcadia" (Starr 2005: 148), metaphors which conferred, as Starr says, "a pseudohistory [...] upon the region, anchoring it in a mythic time and place" (2005: 148). Missions, however, now turned into museums and enclaves of tranquility, belie a darker history which many critics demystify as, to use Carey McWilliams famous phrase, the "fantasy heritage" (1968 [1949]: 35-47) or, after Leonard Pitt, "Schizoid Heritage" (1966) and which the above mentioned canonization attempts to provide with a deontological closure.

One of the strongest elements providing tacit epistemic support for the reigning "Mission Pastoral" is the ubiquitous presence of mission bells in both imaginary and real California landscapes. Jackson in "Echoes in the City of the Angels" (1883) assimilates them with poetry, devout religiosity, leisure and soothing sounds of music when she proclaims that, "[t]he tale of the founding of the city of Los Angeles is a tale for verse rather than for prose. [...] The twelve devout Spanish soldiers who founded the city named it at their leisure with a long

name, musical as a chime of bells" (Jackson 2002 [1883]: 1). Dramatist Chester Gore Miller, the author of *Junipero Serra* (1894)*,* a eulogical play in four acts, romanticizes the sounds of "soft and low [...] silver bells" as "tuneful sweet [...] holy music" which provides "absolution [...] / [...] consolation" – "those saintly bells / [...] / [...] their sacred tune" (1894: 69). John Steven McGroarty's famous *Mission Play*, an immensely popular pageant which opened in 1912 at Mission San Gabriel and would eventually be seen by more than two million people on site, as well as in numerous recreations around the US, used as central part of its set a replica of the mission campanile. In 1928 Charles Wakefield Cadman authored *The Bells of Capistrano: An Operetta in Three Acts* which was subsequently turned into a popular musical western *The Bells of Capistrano* (1942) starring Gene Autry.

These and countless other artistic expressions enshrined the bell as a metonymy of Christian benevolence, morality and sanctity – a vehicle which magically transports us to get in touch with better versions of ourselves. Even William Carlos Williams, the quintessential American innovator intent on forging fresh poetic imagery, could not help being captivated by the bells. His poem "The Catholic Bells" begins with a confession: "Tho' I'm no Catholic I listen hard" (1951: 111) and ends with exalted praise, "O bells / ring for the ringing! / the beginning and the end / of the ringing! Ring ring / ring ring ring ring ring! / Catholic bells!" (1951: 112). Williams and others would probably concur with Satis N. Coleman who writes in *Bells: Their History, Legends, Making, and Uses* (1928): "Bells are ever with us, and ring for all the great changes that come to us, from the cradle to the grave. Nations rejoice with bell ringing, and the same bells give voice to a nation's sorrow in times of national calamity" (1928: 5).

As evident in McGroarty's stage sets, bells can be evoked not only aurally or poetically but also in terms of elements of architecture (as evident in the Mission and Spanish Revival architectural styles) and in other public space interventions.

Perhaps the most pervasive and enduring of these public space projects has been the Mission Bell Marker (MBM) initiative first conceived in 1892 by Anna Pitcher, the Director of the Pasadena Art Exhibition Association. Her idea was to place mission bells along the entire length of the Camino Real, the old Spanish Royal Highway which connected all of the twenty one Catholic missions and which today is roughly coterminous with the 101 and 82 Freeways, as well as a number of local streets. It was only in 1902, however, that the idea gained support from the California Federation of Women's Clubs (CFWC) and the Native Daughters of the Golden West (NDGW). In 1904 members of these organizations formed El Camino Real Association ("The GFWC Story" n.d.) which commissioned Mrs. A.S.C. Forbes to design the marker – a cast iron mission bell hanging from an eleven-foot bent staff in the shape of a Franciscan walking stick.

The first such marker was erected at the Old Town plaza in Los Angeles in August of 1906. By 1913 there were already about 450 markers installed ("El Camino Real Mission Bell Marker Project" n.d.). For various reasons (road construction, natural damage, vandalism, theft, etc.) by the late 1960s only about 75 bells remained. Although in 1974 California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) was named the guardian of the markers, the maintenance efforts were plagued by underfunding. Meanwhile, in 1996 an "Adopt-A-Bell" program was initiated and organizations like CFWC and Knights of Columbus continued to work for the promotion and preservation of the markers. Also in 1996, the renewal project was initiated under the Caltrans Landscape Architecture Program. More recently, the 2004 "California Mission Preservation Act", which allotted federal funds to help restore many of the missions, was accompanied by two federal Transportation Enhancement grants (2000, 2010) totaling $2M, designated for the reconstruction and robust expansion of the MBM system. The funds allowed for the extension of the original 450-mile-long route to 700 miles. Almost 600 new markers have been installed in the

past decade – first, in 2005, between Los Angeles and San Francisco, and later (2012) between San Francisco and Sonoma ("El Camino Real Mission Bell Marker Project" n.d.). Today, every one to two miles, tall Franciscan staffs with replicas of mission bells and a plate reading "The Historic El Camino Real," stand in a historio-graphic gesture executed with Swiss watch precision (every minute a marker), appropriating the visual field of California motorists and subliminally declaring California a "historic" mission land.

The ubiquitousness of the bell, now silent, but visually inescapable provokes me, weary of McWilliams' warning of the "fantasy heritage," to act against the pull of romanticization and ask questions about the *real* significance of the bell and its sound. What did it mean to toll the bell in California at the outset of European colonization? And was it just saintly chimes?

2. Serra in the Sierra

To ponder this, let me consider one inaugural moment in California colonial history. Serra arrived in California with a troop of soldiers in 1769. Having established what would later become Mission San Diego he proceeded up north where in 1770 he founded Mission San Carlos in the Monterey area. The following year, in July 1771, upon receiving viceroyal orders to immediately proceed with the expansion of the mission system and supplied with new provisions, bells and vestments included, Serra marched south from San Carlos in search of a site for a new mission. Zephiryn Engelhardt reports:

> Proceeding for about twenty-five leagues [...] the little company reached an oak-studded valley in the Santa Lucía Mountains [...]. When the mules had been relieved of their burdens, and the bell swung from a stout oak tree, the Fr. Presidente *in a transport of zeal suddenly rang the bell and exclaimed in a loud voice: "Oh ye gentiles! Come, come to the holy Church! Come, come to receive the faith of Jesus Christ!* Amazed at this strange action of their supe-

rior Fr. Miguel said to him, "Why, Father, do you tire yourself? This is not the spot on which the church is to be built; nor is there a gentile in the whole vicinity. It is useless to ring the bell!" "Father," the Fr. Presidente pleaded, *"let me give vent to my heart which desires that this bell might be heard all over the world, or at least by the heathens that live in this sierra!"*

<div align="right">(Engelhardt 1908: 87-89; my emphasis).</div>

Serra was right. The ringing of the bell and the subsequent mass attracted curious Indians and, in a matter of days, Mission San Antonio was established. But to say this only, without pondering the significance of that moment, would be to miss out on the fundamental facts about Serra, his relationship to the world, as well as the role of listening and sound for the Indians.

First, from the above fragment we learn that the methods of early colonization depended on performative techniques and relied on noise-making instruments – bells. Secondly, the excerpt informs us about the way the Father President conceives of his surroundings, that is, we learn about his cognitive apparatus. He puzzles fray Miguel by tolling the bell in what the young priest considers an uninhabited location. Serra, however, has a different sense of his surroundings: "heathens […] live in this sierra!" Surely, the president does not see any Indians there either. However, he is experienced and well-read. He draws from his earlier eight-year tenure among the hunter-gatherers in Mexico's Sierra Gorda (he had spent eight years among the Chichimecas in Mexico's Sierra Gorda, and a year in Monterey where Indians, though initially invisible, eventually showed themselves[1]), he knows reports of the 1769 Portolá expedition in the region (which describe numerous inhabitants

---

[1] Engelhardt, after Francisco Palou, reports on the initial contacts in Monterey: "Thus far no Indians had allowed themselves to be seen, probably from fear which the roaring of the cannons had excited when the *San Antonio* first appeared. Gradually dread gave way to curiosity. Thereafter they frequently visited the mission, but none could be admitted to baptism until six months after the founding of San Carlos" (1908: 79).

of these mountains[2]), as well as builds on prevailing preconceptions about the nakedness of the natives, originated by Columbus, which allows Spaniards to conflate them with nature and come to conclusions about their "barbarity."[3] Here were Indians not unlike the Caribs or the Chichimecas whom the Spaniards had met in the sixteenth century.[4] Tzvetan Todorov explains Columbus' stance on Indian nakedness: "[p]hysically naked, the Indians are also, to Columbus's eyes, deprived of all cultural property: they are characterized, in a sense, by the absence of customs, rites, religion" (1987: 35). Columbus concludes that Indians lack culture which, in turn, degenerates their status to elements of natural scenery.[5] Similarly, Charlotte M. Gradie says that the Chichimecas' "lack of clothing [...]

---

[2] Miguel Costanso notes that, "[t]he Natives of Monterey live in the Sierra" (47) adding that the "Serranos are docile and tractable to the extreme ..." (1901: 46). Fray Crespí, in his journal entries from the Santa Lucías, notes many encounters with the natives to whom he refers to as "very gentle and friendly" (Bolton 1971: 192), or "friendly and obsequious" (Bolton 1971: 198). Whereas the southern tribes are described as living in well organized villages - most notably, the Chumash, whom Costanso defines as "of good figure and aspect" (1901: 39) and whose labor habits are for him "well worthy of admiration" (1901: 40) - the expedition sees fewer settlements in the Sierra and, frequently, "wandering" Indians (Bolton 1971: 197-198), Indians avoiding contact (Bolton 1971: 200), or only traces, "many roads and paths beaten by the heathen" (Bolton 1971: 199), without Indians in sight, are reported.

[3] Costanso says about the Chumash that, "the Men go entirely naked" (1971: 39) and, in relation to the Indians of Monterey, commander Fages says that, "[n]early all of them go naked, except a few who cover themselves with a small cloak of rabbit or hare skin, which does not fall below the waist" (qtd. in Breschini and Haversat 2004: 127). Fages adds: "The women wear a short apron of red and white cords twisted and worked as closely as possible, which extends to the knee. Others use the green and dry tule interwoven, and complete their outfit with a deerskin half tanned or entirely untanned, to make wretched underskirts which scarcely serve to indicate the distinction of sex, or to cover their nakedness with sufficient modesty" (qtd. in Breschini and Haversat 2004: 127).

[4] David J. Weber says that in Alta California Spaniards "met Indians who might have been living in the sixteenth century" (2004: 57): they were innocent "of Spaniards and Spanish arms" (2004: 57), "lacked horses, guns, and tactics to repel the Spaniards" (2004: 47).

[5] Columbus "speaks about the men he sees only because they [...] constitute a part of the landscape. His allusions to the inhabitants of the islands always occur amid his notations concerning nature, somewhere between birds and trees" (Todorov 1987: 34).

was the most salient indication of their barbarity" (1994: 71). Gines de Sepúlveda would use nakedness as one of his arguments for Indian inferiority (Todorov 1987: 156). Nakedness, therefore, has two intertwined consequences in the founding discourses of coloniality: a) denial of full humanity, b) conflation with nature. Thus Serra has reasons to believe that there is more to the landscape than meets the eye, while the correctness of this claim is confirmed by the following concise description of the Indians, which Serra expressed in Monterey in June 1770 – Indians are "little devils who might lurk in the land" (Sandos 2004: 43) whom he wants to entice by staging an elaborate and noisy Corpus Christi procession.

These preconceptions about the Indians allow the President to imagine himself in relation to the new environment and its people: (1) he understands his role as a messenger of Christ who is peremptorily obliged to intervene in the Indian world in order to uproot them from their "heathen" state; (2) he develops a special relationship to the surrounding landscapes, that is, his sensory apparatus does not prioritize sight. Unlike Fr. Miguel, he not only looks around him but he also listens and anticipates human presence in seemingly empty spaces. His experience of nature is thus akin to mediumship. And, indeed, in this respect, he is not unlike the Indians.

In this double stance, one tactically sensory, the other imperatively conative, Serra replicates the earliest colonial encounters in America. Todorov's analysis of Western civilization's colonial success in the Americas points to the "Europeans' capacity to understand the other" (1987: 248) as the determining factor. This is however a peculiar form of compromised empathy which Todorov divides schematically into two phases of "adaptation and absorption" (1987: 248). As an example, he points to Hernan Cortes: "The first phase is that of interest in the other. [...] Cortes slips into the other's skin. [...] Thereby he ensures himself an understanding of the other's language and a knowledge of the other's political organization" (1987: 248). Even though this phase is characterized by "tem-

porary identification" (1987: 248) with the other, the European feeling of superiority is "never abandoned" (1987: 248). The second phase is characterized by a reassertion of one's identity and a move "to assimilate the Indians" (Todorov 1987: 248) into the European world. The behavior of Serra at the site of the future San Antonio Mission reflects the sequential model proposed by Todorov. In his silent mediumship practice Serra, as it were, slips into the Other's skin but only strategically as a maneuver of Cortesian "adaptation" (Todorov 1987: 248). When he tolls his bell and cries out he absorbs Indians into his world and once the Indians show themselves he will no longer be able to listen, or rather, he will hear what he wants to hear.

3. The passing of the 'Oak of Dodona'

What did it mean, then, to ring the bell that day in 1771? Indians as hunter-gatherers are intimately immersed in their environment. They practice attentive listening that is, they have developed acute listening habits because their survival in the forest, where sight can be deceptive, depends on hearing as their first radar. It demands making sense of the fine line between the familiar and the unfamiliar. To misread acoustic signs, therefore, could cost dearly. Thus one not only listens but also keeps quiet. To hear "what lies beyond the world of forms" (Toop 2010: viii) literally means to last. In *Ways of Seeing* John Berger argues that it is "seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world" (1972: 7). But as we know from, say, James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans,* there is also another way of being in the world where hearing, not sight, is our first cognitive apparatus. In David Toop's summary of Cooper: "No footfall is safe from the cracking of a dry stick, no rustling of leaf free from suspicion: night trembles with calls and whispers that demand perpetual vigilance. [...] Chigachgook, is always alert, head turned" (2010: viii). Toop analyses the experience of listening: "Sound is absence,

beguiling; out of sight, out of reach. What made the sound? Who is there? Sound is a void, fear and wonder" (2010: vii). As such, indeed, it is a form of mediumship, of making sense of the invisible.

After Roland Barthes we can add that listening is also inseparably connected with the "notion of territory" (1985: 247). Barthes says: "the appropriation of space is also a matter of sound: domestic space […] – the approximate equivalent of animal territory – is a space of familiar, recognized noises whose ensemble forms a kind of household symphony" (1985: 246). Hence, for Barthes, the function of listening is to continually assess "the space of security […] listening is that preliminary attention which permits intercepting whatever might disturb the territorial system; it is a mode of defense against surprise" (1985: 247). Barthes further distinguishes the double function of listening as "defensive and predatory" (1985: 247); we listen and make decisions about the nature of sounds as either "danger or prey" (Barthes 1985: 248). Thus, according to Barthes, listening is a form of fundamental intelligence because by listening we make "what was confused and undifferentiated […] [into] distinct and pertinent" (1985: 248); listening is "the very operation of this metamorphosis" (Barthes 1985: 248). Listening is then the first and elemental cognitive instrument with an indexive function, it orients us and tells us about the nature of our surroundings. To expand on this argument, we can add that if space or territory, as Vine Deloria (1992: 62-77) argues, is the prioritized concept in the American Indian worldview then, logically, the prioritized indigenous mode of relating to the world is not visual but aural. And this would mean that for people of the forest all sounds are language. Barthes says: "By her noises, Nature shudders with meaning: at least this is how, according to Hegel, the ancient Greeks listened to her" (Barthes 1985: 250). This is not Saussurean *langue*, a pre-existing system independent of individual users, but language always *emerging* and always in need of active interpretation. Language becomes an expansive category

in this context; it is, as Julia Kristeva would have it, "a complex, heterogeneous, signifying process located in and between subjects" (Sarup 1993: 123). This epistemology is not anthropocentric but is always inter-subjective, *becoming in relations* to a variety of human, animate, and inanimate actants.

Drawing from these insights, we can term Serra's preliminary behavior in the Santa Lucia Mountains as predatory listening and his bell as an instrument of original violence against hitherto existing forms of intelligence, understood as a way of making sense of relations. Serra's peals are synonymous with aggression, the bell's sound nullifies the rules of inter-subjective communication drowning in its singular, strange, unfamiliar, dangerous, and monologic acoustic power all other sounds and silences and becoming an instrument of a one-way territorial and epistemic encroachment on Indian territory. As the sound-waves spill out, Serra's influence expands centrifugally. Once the bell tolls, it occupies the totality of material and symbolic space within its hearing distance. Kaja Silverman suggests that "the maternal voice is experienced by the foetus as a 'blanket of sound', a 'sonorous envelope'; [...] an acoustic space that would be the 'originary psychic space'" (in Venn 2007: 102). Building on this, we can say that Serra's bell envelops not only the phenomenal world within its space of resonance but also establishes the inaugural colonial psychic matrix from which henceforth there will be no escape. Toop says that, "all hearing individuals are open to sounds at all times. There is a shuteye, but no shutear" (Toop 2010: xi) and adds that a voice possesses "the stark power [...] to disrupt and dismay. Softly unassuming in repose, voices can mutate into weapons with an inexhaustible supply of ammunition, the harm of their most serious wounds lingering over a lifetime" (2015). Barthes theorizes aural intrusion as "audio-pollution" which can intervene into our abilities to relate to our surroundings: "pollution [...] [is] corruption of human space, insofar as humanity needs to recognize itself in that space: pollution damages the senses by which the living

being, [...] recognizes its territory [...]. [...] audio-pollution [...] is deleterious to the living being's very intelligence, which is, *stricto sensu*, its power of communicating effectively with its *Umwelt*" (1985: 247).

It seems that the colonists were well aware of this power of audio-pollution and used the bell as a means of piercing into the most intimate spiritual beliefs and epistemic habits of traditional societies. We should remember that ancient divination depended on listening. Barthes says: "The oak of Dodona, by the murmur of their boughs, uttered prophecies, and in other civilizations as well [...] noises have been the immediate raw materials of a divination, cledonomancy" (1985: 250). Todorov argues that American civilizations fell to European power not due to superior warfare but because Indian gods no longer spoke (61), that is, Indian divination ceased to yield information and this, interpreted as an omen of apocalypse, brought about the Aztecs' defeat. Building on this, it seems legitimate to claim that Serra's loud bell, swung from no other than "a stout oak tree" does more than invade Indian space and psyche. Equally importantly it drowns out the spiritual messages encoded in sounds and silences of the landscape effecting perhaps a similar kind of silence of the gods that befell the Aztecs. Thus his bell performs acts of symbolic rape and possession and although the Franciscan habit occludes his identity as a white colonial male and disarticulates his non-ethics of war (if aural only in this fragment), his ambition to penetrate spells another interpretation: he is both *ego theologicus*, as well as the phallic *ego conquiro*. Taking these insights into consideration we can conclude that Serra armed with his bell was an agent of coloniality *par excellence*, performing an immediate and total assault on Indian spaces, psychology, and spirituality.

Additionally, when Indians start moving to the missions, he will add to these modes of intrusion yet another one: the bell will become an instrument of temporal regimentation, its tolls will announce activities for the day (prayer and work)

from sunup to sundown and will intrude on all kinds of epistemic and cultural modes of operation in the Indian world and land. We can also add here that the bell had a very practical function at the missions beyond being a time measuring device. It does not take much to imagine that the bell became a useful means of drowning out other less desired sounds, those resulting from suffering and violent punishments inflicted upon the Indians. As Jean Francois de La Perouse, a French captain who visited San Carlos on September 14, 1786, and Robert Archibald after him remind us, "[m]en were publicly whipped to serve as an example while women were lashed in an enclosed and distant area so their cries would not be heard by their men" (1978). If the concern with the audibility of cries of terror was that real it is entirely possible that the peals of bells merged into a gruesome cacophony with victims' screams or silenced them altogether.

And, finally, one more aspect about the bell should be mentioned. The bell nullifies the pluricentric geography of what, after Edward Casey, we can term "placescapes" (1993: 29) and announces the arrival of center-periphery (as opposed to implaced) geography and linear historicity, that is, of what Edouard Glissant calls "the linear projection of a sensibility toward the world's horizons, the vectorization of this world into metropolises and colonies" (2010 [1997]: 31-32). The bell becomes the first and the most effective means of holistic absorption and submersion of the Other in the white theo-secular imaginary. From this moment on, after Barthes, listening will be "no longer immediate but displaced, conducted in the space of another navigation, 'which is that of narrative, the song no longer immediate but recounted.' Narrative [...] delayed construction" (1985: 257). Subjecting the world hitherto understood as a network to imperial and pontifical zero point the bell becomes the ultimate medium and message of the clash between what Todorov terms the "narrative and interpretative civilizations" (1987: 78), between what Barthes calls civilizations of Sin and of Shame (1985: 250) and between community ethos

and the "mentality of empire" (West-Pavlov 2010: 128). It sev-
ers ties with traditional society and its collective bonds and
introduces the Indians into the condition of individualism un-
der which they will have to abandon their hitherto responsibili-
ties towards their communities or tribes and assume new re-
sponsibilities towards the new sovereign – Christian God and
capitalist nomos. The bell thus announces a series of funda-
mental transformations in the Indian world signaling the arri-
val of accelerated egocentric, monadic solitude and an axiolog-
ical redefinition to which they will be forced to adapt at
a breakneck speed or perish. In this way, the bell stands as
a metonymy of what, after Anibal Quijano, Walter Mignolo
terms the "Colonial Matrix of Power" (Mignolo 2011: 8).[6]

4. Conclusion: Ethical and cognitive challenges

Today, safe within their cars, Californian motorists do not hear
the bells. However, although the bells are silent, their clappers
removed, no driver nor passenger is insulated from their influ-
ence. Each roadside Franciscan staff measures their journeys
along the state's freeways and at the speed of sixty miles an
hour the markers begin to merge into a nearly continuous
presence. They become the frame lines of a giant film strip
which begins to stretch between them and like a subliminal
veil mediates and frames the landscape behind the windshield
as the mission land. The markers recapitulate ad infinitum the
old myth of glorious beginnings effecting what, after Mignolo,
we can term "epistemic lobotomy" (2011: 156). We have told
this story from July 1771 to encourage an effort to defamiliar-
ize the bells, to break the hold of the veil and its colonial code
and suggest that not unlike Confederate flags in the South, the
mission bells are not what they purport to claim. To recognize
the difference between the real and the imagined history of the

---

[6] Mignolo, after Quijano, defines the colonial matrix of power (CMP) as
based on four interrelated domains: "control of the economy, of authority, of
gender and sexuality, and of knowledge and subjectivity" (2011: 8).

bells is to realize the ineluctable imbrication between modernity/coloniality and to begin to question one's location in relation to this divide as "our ethical responsibility" (Mignolo 2011: 94). Mignolo says that a shift of paradigm is necessary from "I think therefore I am" to "I am where I think" (2011: 81), that is, the fundamental question today is, "where we are [...] located in the house of modernity/coloniality. [...] Are we humanitas or anthropos [...]?" (2011: 94).[7]

The bell's real and not just wished effects force me to make that choice and I slide into the decolonial option, stand with anthropos, and endeavor to intuit tools of "epistemic delinking" from the Western code. One such tool in relation to the bells would be a cognitive opening up to synaesthetic perception, that is, a practice of imagining sounds in their absence. In a world where everything real is a fantasy (like California's artificial landscapes) to make something real would be to imagine it. In this sense, the real rests on the imaginary, on our skills at "imaginative visualization" (Rattigan 2002: 1) or rather, imaginative listening.

Hence, paradoxically, we need to become a little like Serra, to recover or resurrect the inaugural, adaptive epistemology of California, a pre-modern cognitivity which anticipates the invisible and the inaudible in our surroundings, engages in mediumship, and eavesdrops on voices drowned by image pollution. The more silent mission bell markers are installed along the ever-extending "historic" Camino Real, the more visually assimilated and normalized does the epistemic coloniality become. A counter strategy would be to think in sound, to (re)imagine the sound of the bells and imagine the work they did in order to understand what we are missing about Califor-

---

[7] Those who control discourse, who "assert themselves by disqualifying" (Mignolo 2011: 82) the Other on the basis of "difference corrupted to inequality" (Todorov 1987: 146) are referred to by Mignolo as "humanitas" (2011: 82). Those who are subject to those enunciations and are denied genuine alterity are the "anthropos." The divide between humanitas and anthropos is the arena of coloniality.

nia's past and present. And what we are missing about ourselves.

Because the sound of the bell can be quite easily imagined, it may constitute the Huxleyan "doors of perception" in our synaesthetic practice. Once this sound is imagined, we can slip into a zone where other abject voices can possibly surface as well. We discover that a plurality of voices or *eidola* can also be resurrected. The bell as an imaginary practice, in the specific contexts of the mission, can constitute a sort of retrospective "ladder" through which to access the past reconstituted as a synchronous zone of "everywhen". Once this sound is imagined, a process of cognitive expansion can be set off and a plurality of other sounds, perhaps an Indian chant, can be imagined *and* actualized. Coleman says of the bells:

> Is it any wonder that the feelings of people are so bound up with their sounds? When the vast still air between earth and heaven is suddenly made alive and quivering by the sound of the magic metal, is it any wonder that there are then set free, phantoms, spirits, memories, that run riot with imaginations of men?
>
> (Coleman 1928: 8)

To generatively and critically listen to the silent bells would mean to conjure these phantoms and to recognize the lure of romanticization set against the dark horizons of originary violence. We need to challenge the rhetoric of progress, of deficit, of objectification the bells as metaphors of salvation have sustained; to recognize the monologic non-ethics they have engendered; to challenge the epistemic relations of heteronomy and to bring to the fore the inaudible aporias of Western Modernity vibrating just beneath our gaze.

References

Archibald, Robert (1978). "Indian labor at the california missions: Slavery or salvation?" *The Journal of San Diego History* 24/2. Available at <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/78spring/labor.htm>. Accessed 23 October 2013.

Barthes, Roland (1985). "Listening". In: *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*. Trans. Richard Howard. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Berger, John (1972). *Ways of Seeing*. London: Penguin Books.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene (1971). *Fray Juan Crespi: Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774*. New York: AMS Press.

Breschini, Gary S., Trudy Haversat (2004). *The Esselen Indians of the Big Sur Country*. Salinas: Coyote Press.

"El Camino Real Mission Bell Marker Project". *California Department of Transportation*. Available at <http://www.dot.ca.gov/hq/Land Arch/16_livability/mission_bell/missionbell.htm>. Accessed 27 November 2014.

Casey, Edward S. (1993). *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Coleman, Satis N. (1928). *Bells: Their History, Legends, Making, and Uses*. Chicago and Newy York: Rand McNally & Company.

Costanso, Miguel (1901). "Report of the California expeditions of 1769". *Land of Sunshine* 15: 38-47.

"The GFWC story". *Cupertino Women's Club*. Available at <http://cupertinowomensclub.org/About%20Us.htm>. Accessed 13 September 2015.

Davis, Mike (1992). *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles.* New York: Vintage.

Deloria, Vine (1992). *God is Red: A Native View of Religion*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing.

Engelhardt, Zephiryn (1908). *The Missions and Missionaries of California*. San Francisco: James H. Berry.

Glissant, Édouard (2010 [1997]). *Poetics of Relation*. Trans. Betsy Wing. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Gradie, Charlotte M. (1994). "Discovering the Chichimecas". *The Americas* 51/1: 67-88.

Jackson, Helen Hunt (2002). "Echoes in the City of the Angels". In: David L. Ulin (ed.). *Writing los Angeles: A Literary Anthology*. New York: The Library of America, 1-19.

McWilliams, Carey (1968 [1949]). *North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States*. New York: Greenwood.

Mignolo, Walter D. (2011). *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham – London: Duke University Press.

Miller, Chester Gore (1894). *Father Junipero Serra: A New and Original Historical Drama in Four Acts.* Chicago: Press of Skeen, Baker & Co.

Pitt, Leonard (1966). *Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californias, 1846-1890*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rattigan, Dermot (2002). *Theatre of Sound: Radio and the Dramatic Imagination.* Dublin: Carysfort Press.

Sandos, James A. (2004). *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Sarup, Madan (1993). *An Introductory Guide to Post-Structuralism and Post-Modernism.* Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Starr, Kevin (2005). *California: A History.* New York: Modern Library.

Todorov, Tzvetan (1987). *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other.* New York: Harper.

Toop, David (2010). *Sinister Resonance: The Mediumship of the Listener.* New York: Continuum.

Toop, David (2015). "A voice, uncanny instrument". *David Toop Blog.* Available at <http://davidtoopblog.com/>. Accessed on 7 November 2013.

Venn, Couze (2007). *The Postcolonial Challenge Towards Alternative Worlds.* London – Thousand Oaks – New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Weber, David J. (2004). *Spanish Bourbons and Wild Indians.* Waco: Baylor UP.

West-Pavlov, Russell (2010). *Spaces of Fiction / Fictions of Space: Postcolonial Place and Literary Deixis.* London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Williams, William Carlos (1951). *The Collected Earlier Poems of William Carlos Williams.* Norfolk, CT: New Directions Books.

Grzegorz Welizarowicz
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: grzegorz.welizarowicz@ug.edu.pl

TRANSLATION

Cultural and linguistic challenges of video games translation with some examples from *Grey's Anatomy* by Ubisoft

EWA B. NAWROCKA

Abstract

The present article discusses cultural and linguistic challenges of video games translation. The starting point for these considerations is the nature of games as interactive software whose primary goal is to entertain. The cultural challenges touched upon are rooted in the fact that games not only reflect our existing cultures, but also become a foundation for new ones, which is best substantiated by online gamers' communities. The linguistic challenges stem in particular from the specificity of games as stories co-created by the gamers, a fact which entails the fragmentary character of the translated text and the common localization malady of insufficient context. Despite these challenges the translators taking part in games localization projects are expected to provide a natural and attractive translation, which is focused on the target audience. It is argued that this cannot be achieved without a creative and enthusiastic approach to the task. The article concludes with a short analysis of a few problems identified in the Polish translation of the *Grey's Anatomy* game.

Keywords

creative translation, cultural challenges, enthusiastic approach, game localization, game translation, Grey's Anatomy game, linguistic challenges, localization, translation

Les enjeux culturels et linguistiques
dans la traduction des jeux vidéo
avec des exemples de *Grey's Anatomy* de Ubisoft

Résumé

L'article est consacré aux enjeux culturels et linguistiques de la traduction des jeux vidéo. La spécificité des jeux vidéo, c'est-à-dire leur caractère interactif et leur objectif ludique, constitue le point de départ pour ces considérations. Les enjeux culturels de la traduction des jeux viennent du fait que les jeux reflètent les cultures existantes et, en même temps, servent de base pour en créer des nouvelles, ce qui peut être illustré par les communautés virtuelles des joueurs. Les enjeux linguistiques viennent surtout de la spécificité des jeux, qui sont aussi des histoires co-créées par les joueurs. Cela provoque la fragmentation du texte à traduire et le manque de contexte, un mal fréquent pour les traducteurs. Néanmoins, on exige une traduction naturelle et attractive, concentrée sur le destinataire, que l'on peut atteindre grâce à la créativité et à l'enthousiasme. L'article fini par une courte analyse des problèmes choisis dans la traduction du jeu *Grey's Anatomy* vers le polonais.

Mots-clés

approche enthousiaste, enjeux culturels, enjeux linguistiques, *Grey's Anatomy*, localisation, localisation des jeux, traduction, traduction créative, traduction des jeux

Kulturowe i językowe wyzwania tłumaczenia gier wideo
z przykładami z gry *Chirurdzy* wydanej przez Ubisoft

Abstrakt

Niniejszy artykuł jest poświęcony kulturowym i językowym wyzwaniom tłumaczenia gier wideo. Punktem wyjścia jest specyfika gier jako interaktywnego oprogramowania mającego na celu rozrywkę. Omawiane wyzwania kulturowe tłumaczenia gier wypływają z faktu, iż gry zarówno odzwierciedlają istniejące kultury, jak i stają się podstawą tworzenia nowych, których najlepszym przykładem są interne-

towe społeczności graczy. Wyzwania językowe z kolei wypływają zwłaszcza ze specyfiki gier jako historii współtworzonych przez graczy, co wiąże się z fragmentarycznością tłumaczonego tekstu oraz częstą bolączką w postaci niedostatecznego kontekstu. Mimo to od tłumaczy wymagane jest naturalne i atrakcyjne tłumaczenie, nastawione na odbiorcę, które można osiągnąć przede wszystkim dzięki zastosowaniu kreatywnego i entuzjastycznego podejścia. Artykuł kończy krótka analiza wybranych problemów w tłumaczeniu gry *Grey's Anatomy* na język polski.

Słowa kluczowe

entuzjastyczne podejście, gra *Chirurdzy*, lokalizacja, lokalizacja gier, kreatywny przekład, tłumaczenie, tłumaczenie gier, wyzwania kulturowe, wyzwania językowe

1. Localization and translation

Video games constitute interactive entertainment software (Bernal-Merino 2007a) and this fact defines the uniqueness of translation challenges for the industry. Secondly, since video games are software, the translation[1] of video games is not an independent or final activity, but constitutes only a single element within the software localization[2] process which encompasses such activities as software engineering and testing of the localized product. In general, localization is defined as adapting a product linguistically and culturally to the needs of the target audience (locale) and is itself correlated and dependent on processes such as globalization[3] and internationaliza-

---

[1] **Translation** is only one of the activities in localization; in addition to translation, a localization project includes many other tasks such as project management software engineering, testing, and desktop publishing (Esselink 2000: 4).

[2] **Localization** involves taking a product and making it linguisticallyand culturally appropriate to the target locale (country/region and language) where it will be used and sold (Esselink 2000: 3).

[3] **Globalization** addresses the business issues associated with taking a product global. In the globalization of high-tech products this involves integrating localization throughout a company, after proper internationalisa-

tion[4] that consist in developing global products and providing possibilities for future translations already at the software development phase.

The fundamental characteristics of video games and one which differentiates them from utility software is the fact that they are meant to entertain a specified audience. Play and entertainment is heavily culture bound, since different cultures find pleasure in different things and laugh at different jokes (Bernal-Merino 2007b). So the first and most basic requirement of video games translation is that the localized version is as playable and entertaining as the original. This in turn brings us to the basic characteristics of video games translation, which is target and purpose orientedness, both of which are already inherent in the localization process. To localize a product is to adapt it to a new audience in such a way that it fulfils its purpose within the new cultural context, fits there naturally and passes itself as originally created for that audience (Mangiron, O'Hagan 2006).

Consequently, the entertainment purpose and target orientedness of games as such translate into localization requirements. The most prominent cultural dividing line in the video games industry is that between the West (USA, Canada & Europe) and the East (Asia – Japan, Korea, China) and there are a great variety of features which often get adapted, replaced or completely removed, when a particular game is to cross that border and appeal to a new audience (Mangiron, O'Hagan 2006). The adaptation is conducted on all levels of the game, starting from graphics, gameplay or even music and finishing at linguistic traits.

From a linguistic point of view, the two basic requirements of video games localization: the entertainment purpose and

tion and product design, as well as marketing, sales, and support in the world market (Esselink 2000:4).

[4] **Internationalisation** is the process of generalizing a product so that it can handle multiple languages and cultural conventions without the need for re-design. Internationalisation takes place at the level of program design and document development (Esselink 2000:2).

target orientedness determine the demand for very creative translation, cross-linguistic adaptation (Mangiron, O'Hagan 2006), sometimes referred to as transcreation (Bernal-Merino 2006) – of the game's various cultural references and humor to the receiving culture's expectations. The translator has to maintain the tone and fun of the game (Chandler 2008), while at the same time making it appeal to a target audience and this can only be achieved by assuming a vastly creative, resourceful, sensitive and responsible attitude.

2. Cultures reflected in video games

In order to depict the challenges of this task we need to realize the amazing technology driven transformation that games have undergone in the last few decades. Since the first games which featured hardly recognizable dots on a black and white screen, games have transformed into a myriad of colorful three-dimensional virtual realms representing and modelling realistic or fantastic interactive worlds full of impressive graphical details (Mangiron and O'Hagan 2006). None of these worlds is a culturally neutral setting: the graphical design of space, especially architecture; the design of characters (both the player and the non-player characters) such as race, hairstyle, eyes, clothing; objects ranging from weapons and armor to flowers, candles or even food; the social rules of the simulated society reflected in non-player characters' reactions to player activities; names of objects, and, most importantly, the language in the game used by the non-player characters, the language of dialogs, the language suggested to the player character etc. Music and the graphical user interface similarly do not have to be culturally neutral.

The existence or absence of some of these elements within a given game depends on the game genre – but every modern 3D game will display at least a number of them. Additionally, there is quite often also a time setting and historical issues have a great prominence in numerous games which refer to

historic times, settings, objects and characters. A good example are strategy and society building games such as *Civilization*, *Age of Empires* or *Caesar*. History, as one might imagine, bears very strong cultural implications since it is the foundation of the identity of a society or nation. Different nations often view the same historical events in a slightly different manner, whereas the same historical characters may evoke very disparate reactions.

Games such as *the Sims* and *Second Life* simulate a contemporary Western (especially American) society and focus on everyday tasks which include having breakfast, making espresso coffee, going to work, abiding by or breaking social conventions, flirting, earning money etc. Such games are heavily culture bound in almost every aspect. Military games are either set in historical times such as World War II or in contemporary settings such as Iraq, Russia or Afghanistan. Action games or shooters may not refer to a specific historic era or political issue, but again the features listed before, such as weapons, characters and space design, not to say language, may also display culture bound features.

Other games in which fighting is also one of the main focuses are fantasy games referring to various mythologies and fantasy RPG (role playing games) systems such as AD&D[5] or Warhammer[6]. Apart from RPG inspirations fantasy games inherit much from various nations' culture, mythologies, literature and history such as Greek mythology, Arthurian legends, Tolkien's Middle-earth or the samurai culture. These inspirations constitute the core and the heart of the fantasy genre and are heavily culture bound, even though for example Elves have become an "international" race appearing in almost every fantasy massively multiplayer online role playing game (ex. Korean game *Perfect World*).

---

[5] Advanced Dungeons & Dragons. A role playing game (RPG) system developed by Gary Gygax and David L. Arneson.

[6] A role playing game fantasy system developed by the British company Games System.

Fantasy games, be they single player or online massively multiplayer, are the ones that display almost all the possible features listed previously and, most importantly, contain large amounts of text such as dialogs, stories, task descriptions, object descriptions, character logs etc. Moreover, the language in role playing video games often features stylization and is characterized by a certain amount of literariness.

A feature which fantasy RPG games may not always possess are references to contemporary pop culture, i.e. references to films, TV series, celebrities, music etc. However, these abound in action games, shooters and especially in a whole range of adventure games set in contemporary times or the future, as well as in the society simulations mentioned previously. Some references of this sort might be found in fantasy games, these however are not fundamental for the gameplay, rather they are intended to be small funny surprises when found in the game.

Some of these features may be considered to a lesser or greater extent inappropriate in the context of the target audience and could require cultural adaptation (Bernal-Merino 2007b) on both the engineering/design level and on the linguistic level.

3. Cultures established through video games

However, video games not only reflect existing cultures, they also become foundations for establishing new ones (Johnson 2009). The first and most prominent culture is the culture of gamers as such, who frequently play a variety of games or only favorite genres, read and write game reviews, conduct discussions on forums, use and develop the gamers' jargon. This culture can be divided into fan groups of particular genres and fan groups of particular games whose activities are visible in official and unofficial internet forums. These cultures, or as they are more frequently called, gamers communities, are very important for the video games industry. They are also the most

active, demanding and influential target audience when it comes to a particular game's success or failure[7].

Another culture or community type exists within the games themselves: these are player communities of massively multi-player online games usually set in fantastic and sometimes more futuristic worlds. The players gather in guilds, clans or other organized groups, have a leader, a special codex, play a variety of different roles within the community, and advance in official or guild ranks etc. The guilds or clans fight and compete with one another to gain dominance over a particular region or castle or fight one another just for fun. Similar communities exist beside other online games such as shooters, action games or strategies, this time focusing more on rank, experience and individual achievements.

The gamers' communities share a special jargon related to gaming itself, a particular genre and then a particular game. An inexperienced player entering an online virtual world is overwhelmed not only by the game's technicalities, but especially by the language used by players as well as by the player rules observed in the game. These communities constitute a very conscious and demanding audience scrutinizing translations and picking up any inadequacies in the localized game.

All this means that the translator of video games needs not only to be extremely creative, confident, sensitive and knowledgeable in the source and target cultures in order to address and adequately adapt various cultural references residing in games, but also needs to be aware of the gaming culture and conventions related to particular genres. Consequently, a professional games translator cannot be a person who is not himself or herself part of that virtual culture, who does not play games regularly, understand particular genres as well as gameplay rules (Chandler 2008), visit forums and consider his or her audience in a most serious manner despite the fact that

---

[7] An mmp fantasy game *Dark and Light* developed in France around 2008 experienced complete economic failure despite beautiful graphics and promising gameplay features due to bad publicity from the gamers community.

games do constitute "play". On the contrary, the translator has to be a person who is aware that entertainment belongs to the most specific and sensitive cultural phenomena (Bernal-Merino 2007b).

4. Lack of context

Apart from cultural challenges, the translator of video games needs to deal with unique linguistic challenges. The fact that games constitute software products first of all means that translation is conducted as part of a greater and more complex localization process. Localization engineers extract translatable content from the game and prepare a localization kit for the translator containing the files to be translated and any reference materials. The localization engineers later insert the translated text into the game and then comes time for technical and linguistic testing, which may still change the text considerably. As a result, the translator's work is not final and the translator rarely has contact with the localized product (Chandler 2008).

One of the greatest difficulties of games translation is lack of context (Chandler 2008) resultant for the most part from the game's interactivity. The actual instantiated "game" is player dependent and the interaction is based on choosing from a multitude of possibilities. This means that the translator needs to work with a text containing variables (Bernal-Merino 2007a) for things such as character, place or object names. Variables apart from darkening the context, often pose grammatical problems in the case of inflected languages such as Polish and require creative and well-thought out solutions.

Moreover, interactivity also means that the event order is arbitrary and unpredictable, hence the text received by the translator has no clear beginning or ending. Due to text fragmentation (Bernal-Merino 2007a) the translator frequently encounters unclear pronoun references or unpredictable plurals, which additionally complicate the task. Dialogs often have op-

tions of different answers leading to yet different continuations and results. If this is unclear in the file the translator receives to work with, the game risks being badly translated and may require costly corrections during the testing phase and some mistakes might not be eliminated. Lack of context needs to be compensated by the translator's knowledge of the gameplay type, the translator's imagination as well as an ability to ask localization engineers or developers appropriate and concise questions as well as the skill to notice potential problems. When resources such as screenshots, a playable demo version of the game or detailed instructions within the file for translation are limited or non-existent, the translator needs to rely on making educated guesses (Chandler 2008) and asking the developer many questions to confirm them.

5. Multitextuality

Apart from interactivity, another feature that differentiates video games from utility software on the one hand and audiovisual products on the other is multitextuality (Bernal-Merino 2007a). Multitextuality of games means that the translator has to deal with a great variety of texts from highly specialized technical content to literary dialogs and narration featuring stylization, each of which poses special difficulties and serves a different purpose.

The game itself comprises typical software elements such as the graphical user interface with buttons and options, dialog boxes, pop-up windows and messages. These require skills in translating software and often feature text limitations demanding creative solutions. There may also be multilayered graphic art with words such as the name of the game or place names. On top of typical software elements there is the content of the game which can consist of story descriptions, character names and descriptions, object names and descriptions, place names and descriptions, dialogs, narration, player logs, task descriptions, books, notes, documents and even poems as well as in-

game instructions and tutorials. Complex games also often contain short films, which are either narrated or feature interacting characters. These require either subtitling or dubbing. Most of these gaming software elements may also involve a character limit constraint, which adds to the difficulty of the translator's task.

Collateral materials of video games comprise the game manual featuring disturbing promotional language combined with game descriptions and technical instructions, legal texts such as the EULA (end user license agreement), the Readme file which is mostly a technical text, packaging consisting of catchy promotional material and technical specifications. Official games websites similarly combine promotional text, instructions, descriptions, specifications, updates summaries etc.

Consequently, as far as text genres are concerned the translator has to be skilled with translating promotional texts, software products, legal materials, subtitling and dubbing script writing, translating instructions, descriptions, narration, dialogs and a range of other unpredictable text types which may be found in the game such as official announcements, jokes or even poems.

All of these text types need to be translated professionally and with the greatest care, since games are highly visible mass products, but perhaps one of the most challenging text type are dialogs. Dialogs are not easy to translate as they are an example of spoken language and need to be very natural. A single inadequate word can spoil all the game's atmosphere and realism. Moreover, games feature a multitude of registers in dialogs. We can imagine, therefore, the different approaches that need to be employed while translating a Mafioso and an old wizard's speech. Apart from registers, the speech of many characters departs from standard speech to enhance realism and sometimes provide a certain amount of exoticism. Speech impediments or drunken speech are frequent examples of such departures, which are also meant to compensate for the fact

that the dialog is not heard but read by the player. These departures and stylizations can be extremely difficult to translate since different languages need slightly different solutions to achieve certain effects. Consequently, translating dialogs demands a great amount of creativity, a good ear and linguistic imagination on the part of the translator.

As one might imagine humor is also an extremely important element of video games. It is not something that is immediately visible, but it is one of the features which builds the atmosphere of the game, makes it entertaining and playable. Of course, not all games possess humorous texts, but many which do depend on it heavily as regards player reception of the game. That is why translating humor is a very important linguistic challenge for video games translation and similar to dialogs, it is frequently included in tests for games translators. Translating humor constitutes equally a cultural challenge, because humor usually concerns very specific cultural references and may prove to be untranslatable, sometimes requiring a resourceful compensating solution that will be similarly appealing to the target audience. To adequately translate humor, next to cultural awareness, one needs some amount of literary aptitude and an uncompromised sense of fun (Chandler 2008). Unfortunately these are not skills easily learned or trained and are generally considered a given individual's special ability. Poems and versed fragments can be humorous or not, but nonetheless require a similarly highly creative attitude in order to achieve a naturally sounding and attractive result.

6. Genre related language types

This is not the end of linguistic challenges, however, since games feature a multitude of genres, which require different translating skills (Bernal-Merino 2007a). A different language type, style and register need to be employed when translating a sports game, a contemporary adventure game, a role playing fantasy game, a historical strategy game, a science fiction ac-

tion shooter, a military game, a casual life simulation, a funny children's puzzle or an arcade/platform game. Every genre has its own linguistic requirements: from highly specialized technical terminology found in vehicle simulations, through specialized military jargon, names of historical buildings, weapons and devices, epic fantasy style to modern informal and slang expressions.

7. Platform dependent terminology

Last but not least, every game is developed for a specific platform and/or operating system and needs to comply with platform-specific technical terminology. There will, therefore, be considerable differences in translating the technical fragments of PC games for Windows or Mac OS and games developed for particular consoles such as PlayStation, Xbox, Wii, Nintendo or mobile phones.

Overall, a professional video games translator needs to combine cultural awareness with sensitivity, and simultaneously the flexible and versatile linguistic skills of a technical, specialized and literary translator; information and terminology mining skills with a sense of fun; real gaming experience with knowledge of game genres, gameplay rules, the gaming culture and game genre-related linguistic conventions. On top of that, the video games translator is expected to employ a highly creative, entertainment purpose and target oriented approach to provide the game with natural and appealing texts, which will not be recognized as "translations".

8. Some examples of cultural and linguistic
   translation challenges in *Grey's Anatomy* by Ubisoft

The game *Grey's Anatomy* by Ubisoft is an adventure game based on a popular TV series about surgeons working in Seattle Grace hospital and contains mini-arcade games, in which players conduct a variety of medical and surgical tasks. Apart

from the mini-games the main focus in Grey's Anatomy is to help the main characters from the Seattle Grey hospital make decisions concerning their private life, relationships and work. The players watch a series of scenes organized into 5 acts divided by episodes. Player interactions with the game lead to different outcomes.

The translator's work with *Grey's Anatomy* consists mainly in subtitling dialogs and translating menu options. Dialogs in the game contain a great deal of humor, irony and mix informal language with specialized surgical terminology. The game features a contemporary American hospital and contains cultural references specific to Western culture. The game was translated into Polish and the translator had to reference the game screenplay. The translator also had all the subtitled scenes available, so there was no problem with lack of context, even though the actual files to translate contained scene fragments in a jumbled order. Before translating the game, the translator also had to become acquainted with the TV series to get to know the characters and the typical humor present in it. In order to illustrate the task of translating cultural references, humor, informal language and specialized terminology in Grey's Anatomy I have chosen a number of short dialog fragments from the game.

The opening scene of Episode 1 Act 1 Scene 1 contains a reference to pop culture, mainly to the actor Joe Pesci and the films he has starred in:

Meredith:	Big plans after work?
Derek:	Oh, hours and hours of excitement. The chief invited me over for a Joe Pesci marathon. Goodfellas, Casino, Gone Fishin'…
Meredith:	Well, I certainly can't compete with Joe Pesci.
Derek:	I don't know, I bet you look pretty sexy when you say 'Am I a clown? Do I amuse you?'

Meredith: Am I clown? Do I amuse you?[8]
Derek: A lot more so than the chief, anyway.

Poland is a central European country quite well acquainted with American culture and the films referenced in the dialog. For this reason the translator could leave the pop culture reference in place. As far as the quote from the film 'Am I a clown? Do I amuse you?', the translator referenced the Internet for existing translations and found a number of inconsistent versions, which means that the dialog in Poland is not recognized for the words of a particular translation, but more for Pesci's acting and a general message, unlike some famous quotes from Polish films. Consequently, the translator chose to provide her own translation of the fragment, which also allowed her to fit the quote better into the whole context of the dialog.

Another example of a cultural reference is the reference to the book *Lord of the Flies* by William Golding, which is also well-known in Poland, so the reference could similarly be left intact. The reference appears in a scene when preparations are made for a lockdown of the hospital due to the spread of a highly infectious disease. A CDC agent Damon Birger says: "Once I lock those doors it'll become "Lord of the Flies" in here".[9] The utterance and the reference is humorous and provides a signal for future events, when patients and staff locked away from the rest of the world will start to behave irrationally and sometimes aggressively.

---

[8] Polish translation:
Meredith: Jakieś plany na wieczór?
Derek: Zabawa na całego... Szef zaprosił mnie na maraton filmów z Joe Pescim... Chłopcy z ferajny, Kasyno, Przygoda na rybach...
Meredith: No, jeśli w grę wchodzi Joe Pesci, to raczej nie mam szans.
Derek: Czy ja wiem... Wyglądałabyś całkiem sexy, mówiąc... „Przypominam klauna? Tak cię rozśmieszam?"
Meredith: Przypominam klauna? Tak cię rozśmieszam?
Derek: W każdym razie bardziej niż Szef.
[9] Polish translation:
Jak zamknę te drzwi, szpital zmieni się we „Władcę Much".

Another cultural reference can be found in Episode 3 Act 1 Scene 3. This time the reference is to a typical American food item: the hot dog. The characters are looking at the serious 3rd degree burns of a patient and one of them makes a humorous comment characteristic for the TV series:

Lexie: Wow. You see his arm? It's like a burnt hot-dog... I've never done a burn debridement before. You think it's going to be messy?
George: Dunno. Probably.[10]

The characteristic dark humor found in the TV series consists in relieving the tension of a surgeon's work by making funny comments. Here a burnt arm is compared to a hot dog, bringing about a very humorous result due to the contrast between food and something apparently disgusting or horrifying. Lexie's excitement adds to the humorous effect of the scene and is also typical of young surgeons in the TV series. George's seemingly indifferent comment suggests something routine with horrific views and provides another funny contrast, this time with Lexie's reaction. The whole fragment could be translated close to the original, since the fast food type is also well known in Poland and the dark humor of the surgeons would not be considered offensive as might be the case with other non-western cultures.

A similar example of a cultural reference with dark humor is found in Lizzie's utterance, when she faces the challenge of treating a patient's eye. She says, "The ophthalmologist at Mercy walked me through the procedure, but I can't promise I won't slip and make him a cyclops".[11] This time the cultural

---

[10] Polish translation:
Lexie: Rany. Widzisz jego ramię? Wygląda jak spalony hot dog... Nigdy nie pracowałam przy oparzeniach. Myślisz, że będzie makabra?
George: Czy ja wiem. Pewnie tak.
[11] Polish translation:
Chirurg okulistyczny w Mercy pokazał mi tę procedurę, ale nie obiecuję, że się nie potknę i facet nie zostanie cyklopem.

reference does not evoke American culture, but Greek mythology, which is known to all western cultures. Again, the reference was suitable for a Polish audience as Poles are well acquainted with Greek mythology, which may not be the case with other non-western languages.

Next to the cultural references the dialogs in the game also contain many informal expressions, which have no direct correspondence in Polish. In general the translator took great care to maintain the naturalness of informal speech envisaging analogous utterances in Polish informal language, which required creative adaptation.

A good example of this is the following short fragment of dialog from Episode 1 Act 1 Scene 4, in which the young surgeons are late for a debriefing.

Bailey:	Karev, Grey, you better have an excuse that doesn't involve hanky panky.
Izzie:	Do you have a thing for Lexie Grey?
Izzie:	Oh, that's a really good idea, George. Go after Alex's sort-of girlfriend, so he can sort-of kick your ass, then I'll have to sort-of kick his ass for sort-of kicking your ass. Not that I mind. Kicking ass, I mean.[12]

Lizzie's utterance is humorous due to the use of the informal expression "sort of". This effect was impossible in Polish even though there is an equivalent expression "tak jakby", which, however, would be completely unsuitable in this context, since there is no convention for such use in Polish informal language. The humorous effect had to be limited to the use of the informal expression "to kick somebody's ass", which does have

---

[12] Polish translation:

Bailey:	Karev, Grey, lepiej żebyście mieli inną wymówkę niż małe bara-bara.
Izzie:	Czujesz coś do Lexie Grey?
Izzie:	To naprawdę świetny pomysł, George. Uganiaj się za dziewczyną Alexa, żeby ci skopał tyłek, żebym ja mu skopała tyłek za skopanie tyłka tobie. Nie żebym miała coś przeciw. Kopaniu tyłków.

a Polish equivalent, although not so popular and slightly reminiscent of the English equivalent, suggesting that the expression is more a popular translation than an originally Polish informal expression. As a result the utterance lost some of its humorous characteristics.

Another example contains linguistic humor and can be found in Episode 1 Act 3 Scene 1. Meredith and Christina talk about a handsome male nurse, who is trying to win Christina's attention:

> Meredith: Who's that?
> Cristina: I don't know, but creepy nurse guy is starting to freak me out. He's always lurking around.
> Meredith: Creepy nurse guy? Nevermind. What are you doing in the pit?[13]

The humorous effect of the scene is built on the use of the words "creepy", "freak out" and "lurking around", which are associated with scary horror films and evidently marked in the context of talking about someone who only wants to win somebody's attention. The translator had to very carefully choose words and use some creativity in order to naturally translate these expressions so that the humor of the scene would be maintained.

Another, and the last dialog to be analyzed here, is very characteristic for Grey's Anatomy's mixture of humor, cultural references and specialized terminology. The dialog is a manly talk between two surgeons conducting an operation (Act 1 Episode 1 Scene 3) :

> Derek: Is there anyone in this hospital you're not trying to sleep with?

---

[13] Polish translation:

Meredith: A to kto?
Christina: Nie wiem, ale ten dziwak zaczyna mi działać na nerwy. Nic tylko się czai po kątach.
Meredith: Dziwak? Nieważne. A co ty robisz na SORZE?

Mark: When you're top rooster, you gotta keep all the hens happy.

Derek: Just don't blind my patient, OK?

Mark: You OK?

Derek: I told something to someone in confidence, and she told her best friend.

Mark: That's how women operate. It's the divine secrets of the sisterhood of the pants.

Mark: Or something.

Mark: But if it bugged you, tell her.

Derek: OK, I will. If you tell your new crush how you feel.

Mark: What is this, high school?

Derek: Ok, you can insert the implant. Just watch the lateral edge where the infraorbital neurovascular bundle runs.[14]

The humor of the scene is built on Mark's ironic comments and sexist remarks. More interesting than the humor in the scene are the cultural references concerning the male–female relationships and stereotypes. First of all, on being accused by Derek of promiscuity, Mark ironically answers that he is a typical male "rooster". This reference similarly could be left in Polish, because the Polish also associate males with roosters and females with hens, although this connotation is heavily sexist. The reference to high school is also a cultural one and

---

[14] Polish translation:

Derek: Jest w tym szpitalu choć jedna, której nie zamierzasz przelecieć?

Mark: Jak się jest kogutem, trzeba dbać o wszystkie kury.

Derek: Nie oślep mi pacjentki, OK?

Mark: Wszystko w porządku?

Derek: Zwierzyłem się takiej jednej, a ona wygadała się przyjaciółce.

Mark: Kobiety. Tajne przymierze solidarności jajników.

Mark: Czy jak tam.

Mark: Jak cię to gryzie, powiedz jej.

Derek: Zrobię to. Jak powiesz swojej nowej sympatii, co do niej czujesz.

Mark: A co to, liceum?

Derek: Możesz wprowadzić implant. Tylko uważaj na podoczodołową wiązkę naczyniowo-nerwową.

suggests that expressing one's feelings is a teenage habit inappropriate for a typical adult "macho".

Specialized terminology in turn is a linguistic challenge of the game demanding that the translator references the appropriate dictionaries, specialist websites or a professional in the field and there are many fragments containing specialized surgeons' jargon in the whole game.

9. Conclusions

The given examples illustrate that the video games translator needs to be prepared for a great variety of cultural and linguistic challenges. The basic requirement in the task of translating *Grey's Anatomy* consisted of understanding the cultural references in the game and how they added to its humorous effects, as well as their maintenance if they are suitable for the target audience as was the case with Polish, or their adaptation and replacement if they were to be found meaningless or offensive.

The ever present male-female relationships, male and female stereotypes and sexual references in the game, constitute a delicate cultural issue and the translator needs to pay great attention as to whether or not they are acceptable to the target audience. We might therefore imagine a situation in which a particular game, in this case *Grey's Anatomy*, might prove completely unacceptable for a given culture. This only exemplifies the statement that video games reflect their culture and society and do it to a greater extent than may be acknowledged. This is because the various culture bound features are often not visible until cultures meet in the event of localization and translation.

Another crucial challenge in translating *Grey's Anatomy* was to translate the dialogs in such a way that they would remain natural and informal since their linguistic humor and word-play are one of the strongest features of both the TV series and the game. This task demands a good understanding of contemporary American informal youth language combined

with a good knowledge of Polish informal youth language. In addition, due to the great amount of humor and irony, the task cannot be accomplished without a real sense of fun and linguistic imagination.

References

Bernal-Merino, M. (2006). "On the translation of video games". *The Journal of Specialised Translation* 6: 22-36. Available at <http://www.jostrans.org/issue06/art_bernal.php>. Accessed 19.08.2009.

Bernal-Merino, M. (2007a). "Challenges in the translation of video games". *Tradumática* 5. Available at <http://www.fti.uab.es/tradumatica/revista/num5/articles/02/02art.htm>. Accessed 19.08.2009.

Bernal-Merino, M. (2007b). "Localization and the cultural concept of play". *Game Career Guide*. Available at <http://www.gamecareerguide.com/features/454/localization_and_the_cultural_.php>. Accessed 19.08.2009.

Chandler, Heather M. (2008). "Practical skills for video games translators". *Multilingual* October/November: 34-37.

Esselink, Bert (2000). *A Practical Guide to Localization*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Johnson, Daniel (2009). "The place of games in culture". *Gamasutra*. Available at <http://www.gamasutra.com/php-bin/news_index.php?story=23402>. Accessed 19.08.2009.

Mangiron, C., M. O'Hagan (2006). "Game localization: Unleashing imagination with 'restricted' translation". *The Journal of Specialised Translation* 6: 10-21. Available at <http://www. jostrans.org/issue06/art_ohagan.php>. Accessed 19.08.2009.

Ewa Barbara Nawrocka
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: e.b.nawrocka@gmail.com

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Foreign languages
in the Montessori environment:
A participatory action research – the first cycle

JAROSŁAW JENDZA

Abstract

The article presented is a research report conducted in a Montessori elementary schools with the use of a participatory action research strategy. The first part of the text is devoted to a synthesis of the key Montessori pedagogy principles. Then the author describes the methodological assumptions of participatory action research. However, the essential part of the article consists of the research results and outcomes that show that it is advisable to implement immersion foreign language programmes in such schools. It is also necessary for foreign language teachers to be familiarised with this pedagogical approach apart from being English teaching methodology educated. The research reveals a necessity for the thorough and alternative pedagogical education of L2 teachers.

Keywords

alternative early childhood education, Montessori method, participatory action research strategy, teaching English

Langues étrangères dans l'environnement Montessori: d'une recherche-action participative

Résumé

Le présent article est un compte-rendu d'une étude qualitative interprétative qui recourt à la stratégie de la recherche-action participative réalisée dans une des écoles élémentaires basée sur la pédagogie de Maria Montessori. La première partie présente une synthèse des principes de la pédagogie montessorienne. Ensuite, on présente la méthodologie de la recherche-action participative. La partie la plus importante du texte concerne les résultats obtenus qui montrent la nécessité de mettre en œuvre des programmes d'immersion linguistique dans les établissements de ce type. Les recherches montrent les risques qui peuvent se produire si on néglige les principes de base de l'éducation selon le système Montessori pendant les cours des langues étrangères réalisés par les enseignants spécialisés dans la langue, mais sans préparation pédagogique de Montessori. L'article souligne la nécessité de former les enseignants des langues étrangères dans le domaine des pédagogies alternatives.

Mots-clés

éducation précoce alternative, enseignement de l'anglais, méthode Montessori, recherche-action participative

Języki obce w otoczeniu Montessori: Partycypacyjne badanie w działaniu – pierwszy cykl

Abstrakt

Przedstawiony artykuł jest sprawozdaniem z interpretatywnego badania jakościowego wykorzystującego strategię uczestniczącego badania w działaniu zrealizowanego w jednej ze szkół podstawowych działających w oparciu o pedagogikę Marii Montessori. Pierwszą część tekstu stanowi synteza głównych założeń pedagogiki montessoriańskiej. Następnie przedstawiono założenia metodologiczne partycypacyjnego badania w działaniu, lecz kluczową częścią sprawozda-

nia są uzyskane wyniki badań, które wskazują na konieczność wdrażania immersyjnych programów nauczania języka obcego w placówkach tego typu. Badania wskazują na możliwe ryzyka zapoznawania podstawowych zasad edukacji w systemie Montessori w sytuacji realizowania zajęć z języka obcego realizowanych przez nauczycieli wyspecjalizowanych w języku obcym, ale niebędących pedagogami Montessori. Tym samym wskazano na konieczność kształcenia nauczycieli języków obcych w zakresie pedagogii alternatywnych.

Słowa kluczowe

alternatywna wczesna edukacja, metoda Montessori, nauczanie języka angielskiego, uczestniczące badania w działaniu

1. Introduction

The article consists of three parts. The first one is devoted to a brief description of the Montessori method (pedagogy) as an alternative approach to teaching/learning with special focus on foreign languages in early childhood and lower elementary education. The second outlines the methodological foundations and the procedure of a participatory action research project that the author has been part of from 2014 to 2016 in a Montessori primary school in northern Poland, as well as its socio-pedagogical context. Finally, some of the major but as yet preliminary research findings and conclusions based on the first cycle of the project are presented. The article should therefore be treated as a single step in a longer lasting procedure or a "snapshot" taken at a specific moment (i.e. the end of the first cycle of the research project) rather than a typical empirical project report, which – if action research is the method – incurs the risk of reaching foregone conclusions. In other words, the main focus of the text is to present the preliminary findings of a research strategy that is cyclical in nature and whose details shall be described further in the article, as well as to outline the basic principles of the Montessori method

with special focus on teaching foreign languages in Montessori educational institutions.

Before the Montessori pedagogy is characterised, it is worth beginning with an observation. This method of teaching appears to be one of the most popular alternatives to mainstream education in terms of early childhood and elementary schooling. The number of crèches, kindergartens and lower and upper elementary schools of this type is rapidly increasing not only in Poland but – to some extent – globally. Every year hundreds of Montessori teachers are certified and new societies and organizations are established. Meanwhile, the scientific pedagogical discourse around this method has also developed rapidly (Dybiec 2009: 33-50). However, the issue of teaching languages in such schools seems to have been neglected by most educational researchers.

Since the method itself is relatively well known, the approach will not be characterised here in great detail. However, some of the fundamental prerequisites must be enumerated and briefly described so as to give the reader an idea of what Montessori education entails and to frame the theoretical context for the research procedure and findings. All the basic assumptions presented below will first be referred to this pedagogical method in general and then linked to the main issue under discussion here, i.e. foreign language teaching.

2. Montessori pedagogy and foreign languages

The aim of the section below is to present the essential prerequisites of Montessori pedagogy and to map them onto the duties that any foreign language teacher wishing to meet the requirements of this approach would need to fulfil. In doing so, special regard will be given to the specificity of teaching English as a foreign language within this philosophy of education.

Maria Montessori, a world-renowned Italian psychiatrist and pedagogue living between 1870 and 1952, created her revolutionary system of education as a result of dissatisfaction

with conservative schooling and the belief that children naturally wish to learn and are inherently good (Kramer 1976: 21-62; Röhrs 1999: 51-69). Her pedagogy is based on eight general principles (Lillard 2007: 38-324), which shall be outlined briefly with reference to language education, especially in connection with foreign language acquisition and learning.

First of all, polysensory education is essential for effective learning. In other words, movement, feelings and understanding are very closely interrelated. Montessori's intuition and observations concerning the importance of movement in both the general development of the child and educational processes (Montessori 1995: 136-147) have been confirmed by contemporary scholars (Lillard 2013). Following this principle, Montessori foreign language teachers need to organize a learning environment that is abundant in concrete and authentic language materials that can be physically manipulated (Gausman 2007: 45-104) as well as offer activities involving a great deal of motion and physical activity, which makes the Montessori approach, especially in early childhood education, similar to the method developed by Professor James Asher and known as Total Physical Response (Asher 1996).

The second principle that must be followed in Montessori education is the issue of freedom of choice. Montessori (1989: 26) writes that

> [...] children have free choice all day long. Life is based on choice, so they learn to make their own decisions. They must decide and choose for themselves all the time and so they develop these qualities. They cannot learn though obedience to the commands of another.

The prerequisite above results in a very important shift in the role of the teacher, who is no longer in charge of the children but rather acts as a facilitator of the learning process, ready, at times, to be abandoned by the learners. As such, instead of preparing a lesson as it is traditionally understood, the teachers focus on careful methodical observation of their students

so as to prepare an environment that can be intriguing, attractive and linguistically varied. The activities constructed by the teacher are thus *offers* for the children who have the right to accept them or not.

Principles three and four pertain to motivation and eagerness to learn or acquire new knowledge, including that of a new (foreign) language. Gandini (2011) describes another Italian educational methodology, i.e. 'the Reggio Emilia approach', quoting its founder Loris Mallaguzzi, the author of a poem dealing with the one hundred languages that children speak, pointing to varied and various learning styles (Dyrda 2004) that must be taken into serious consideration by teachers if they wish to spark their students' interest, that is their internal motivation to learn. At the same time, it is forbidden in Montessori pedagogy to use external rewards such as marks or symbolic grades or any other prizes and punishments, which are so widespread in traditional schooling (Montessori 1912: 21-24). There is rather a seed of interest in every child, we – the teachers – just need to awaken and stimulate it (Montessori 1967: 1-2). Therefore, if the learners do not feel like taking part in a given activity, it means that the teacher has not found a suitable stimulus.

Although it is a common misconception that the Montessori method is individualistic, with children working alone, in fact peer learning constitutes the fifth essential principle of the approach. That is also why Montessori classes consist of children of three subsequent age groups in kindergarten, where, within one group, an equal number of pupils at the age of three, four and five can be found, while in elementary schools it is six to nine. It is true, however, that individualised instruction is believed to be much more effective than work with the whole-class. A foreign language teacher must, therefore, bear in mind that they are going to work with multi-age groups of unique individuals at completely different levels of personal development and, what is more, of diverse interests. Thus the Montes-

sori environment can be seen as combining individual peer tutoring with collaborative learning (Lillard 2007: 192-223).

Another important factor in the environment under discussion is the meaningful context of learning. In other words, the contents of foreign language activities must be connected with students' everyday life and their everyday needs – it must be something that is comprehensible and important for the learners (Montessori 1972: 134, 2008: 12-13). Lillard (2007: 230-231) states that

> [w]hen one is already familiar with something, it has meaning. Even mere familiarity with the tasks or objects one is learning about assists performance on cognitive tasks. […] what is interesting to adults is not always the same as what is interesting to children, what adults think is familiar is not always familiar to children.

Following this principle requires careful observation and appropriate reaction to spontaneous student behaviour on the one hand, and, on the other, flexibility on the teacher's part allowing a certain degree of pedagogical improvisation (Montessori 2007: 98-210) and didactical chaos (Klus-Stańska 2010: 30-31). This might be a hard task to fulfil for those teachers who are afraid of experiencing this kind of uncertainty. From this perspective, the teacher's job is also to contextualize the content of the (foreign) language curriculum so that the learners perceive it as comprehendible, important and interesting (Montessori 1995: 10-18).

The next prerequisite is connected with the optimal quality of both parenting styles and teacher aptitude in terms of building and maintaining relations with children and their primary caregivers. This is because the outcomes of the practices of learning/teaching/upbringing have been proven to be largely dependent on the relations between at least three subjects of education, i.e. pupils, parents and pedagogues. Clichéd as it may seem, this aspect tends to be neglected in traditional schools (Poraj 2011: 18-21). As Montessori states (1956: 76),

the teacher must be "[...] ready to be there whenever she is called in order to attest to her love and confidence. To be always there – that's the point". In this sense, a good Montessori teacher is full of warmth and attentiveness to students' and parents' needs so as to know, for instance, when to withdraw from his or her intervention. This principle entails not only an open, tolerant and people-loving personality on behalf of the teacher but also highly professional pedagogical and linguistic competences on his or her part. Fulfilling this requirement, therefore, involves a revision of foreign language teacher education aimed at striking a balance between a focus on language accuracy and fluency (linguistic and communicative competence) on the one hand, and, on pedagogical and psychological education on the other. Such a model of professional training is also likely to be conducive to enriching the teachers' awareness of the social, political and cultural contexts of education.

The eighth principle of Montessori pedagogy is connected with the notion of order. Montessori schools need to be thoroughly organised. However, this order needs to be understood in a particular way, which is very different from what it denotes in traditional education, where it usually goes hand in hand with the much appreciated discipline. In the Montessori environment there is usually no fixed plan for the day, as the curricula are personalised, so that most students do what they feel like doing throughout the school year. And yet, order is ensured as an essential component of the process (Lillard 2007: 290). Let us quote Montessori again (1967: 173):

> Just as the child has learned to put everything in its place in its surroundings, he succeeds through the education of his senses in ordering his mental images. This is the first act of ordering in his developing mind, and it is the point of departure since the psychic life develops by avoiding obstacles.

In this context each and every didactic material has its own place in the environment and should be placed back there af-

ter having been used by the child. The didactic aim inscribed in the material must be clear and isolated, which means that it develops a single major capability. The role of the teacher is thus to eliminate all the obstacles from the environment so that nothing that might distract the students is present in the classroom. At the same time, everything that possesses an educational potential for a specific pupil and the entire group has to be there. Fulfilling this requirement means that the teachers have to modify the surroundings continuously and with due consideration. For a foreign language teacher this would mean performing a multidimensional analysis of their classrooms, taking into consideration, apart from the obvious and clear class organization (for example: the furniture arrangement), also the *hidden curriculum* of the educational spaces (Meighan and Carber 2007).

3. Participatory action research as a methodological strategy. Research questions and the stages of the project

Participatory action research as a methodological strategy has an extensive history in social sciences but its beginnings are usually assigned to Kurt Lewin – a social psychologist born in Poland in 1890, who coined the term *action research* (1946: 34). In his article Lewin sketches a spiral of steps typical for this kind of scientific inquiry. These are: (1) (re)planning, (2) acting & observing, (3) fact-finding, and (4) evaluating, following upon which the cycle is repeated (1946: 37-38). Since the mid-1940s, this strategy has been repeatedly modified and developed by various authors (Kemmis and McTaggart 2007: 272-278) but the key inspiration for the project presented in this article is the idea of classroom action research as well as some of the prerogatives addressed in participatory action research projects presented in two recently published monographs (Cervinkova and Gołębniak 2010, 2013).

According to Kemmis and McTaggart (2007: 273) typical classroom action research "[...] involves the use of qualitative interpretative modes of inquiry and data collection by teachers (often with help from academics) with a view to teachers making judgements about how to improve their own practices". This type of research is, therefore, purely practical and the academics who are involved in it, ought to play an ancillary role to the practitioners (2007: 274). Thus, the objective of such research is, by nature, utilitarian (Mettetal 2001: 7; Ferrance 2000: 1-2), and such was our intention at the outset of the first cycle in the spiral.

More precisely speaking, the process was not originally planned as a research project. At that time, the main task was to create a curriculum for the school, which was then being established. However, it turned out that the parties involved had different concerns. The authorities were mainly interested in a curriculum that would be accepted by the Ministry of Education, and, therefore had to comply with legal requirements. Some of the teachers wanted to be Montessori orthodox, while the desire of the academics (myself included) was to expand their knowledge about the method and to modify it if need be.

It can be said, therefore, that six types of interests were represented among the participants: formal, pragmatic, ethical, scientific, critical and emancipatory. This mixture of viewpoints and expectations as well as the intentional democratisation of relations between the interlocutors opened up a communicative space leading to consensus (Kemmis 2001: 100), which is by no means essential in participatory action research (Wicks and Reason 2009: 243-245). It is the scientific, critical as well as emancipatory interests that were of greatest importance for the author of the present text, however, which resulted in the formulation of two general research questions of two different types. The emancipatory interest (Boucher d'Argis 2006) emerged in the research question as follows: In what way could the participants of the research project transcend their *tacit knowledge* (Polanyi 1966) concerning foreign

language education? Or, to put it differently, how is it possible for the interested parties to challenge their professional habits formed by their educational biographies in order to free themselves from them, and thus open a space for a creative interpretation of the method (Rzeplińska and Jendza 2013)? The scientific and critical interests (to be understood as synonymous here) played a central role and led to the formulation of the following research question: How do all the interested parties understand their own practices in the context of a given field (Kemmis and McTaggart 2007: 290)?

When referring to the technical component of collaborative and participatory action research one has to bear in mind that the well-established opposition between objective strategies and subjective approaches, resulting in the use of either quantitative or qualitative tools, loses its significance. Following this prerogative, we used various techniques for gathering data at different stages of the project.
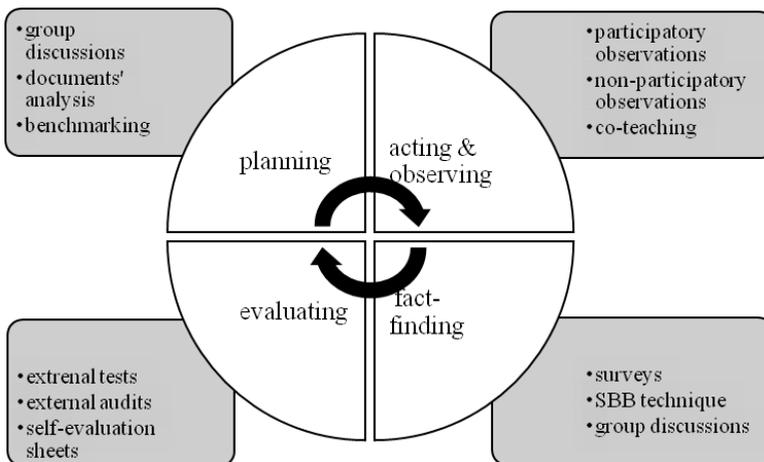

Figure 1

The spiral of the participatory action research project
with the tools and techniques used

During the first phase (planning), the community involved used mainly a group discussion format. The discussions were video or audio recorded and then transcribed. At this stage, concepts, notions and claims had to be confronted and aligned. For instance, we had to agree on what it means: "to know a foreign language", "to support learners' (linguistic) needs", "to follow children's interests", etc. Documentation analysis involved reading and interpreting external legal regulations, the national curriculum for primary schools, etc., whereas benchmarking included researching other schools' ideas for dealing with various organisational issues. For the second phase (executing the plan/acting and observing) two types of observations were of greatest importance. Here we used ideas proposed by Epstein (2012: 85-120) as well as co-teaching combined with after-class one-to-one thought exchanges. The fact-finding stage required extensive cooperation with parents and children, and included distributing surveys among both groups as well as the SBB technique. The latter stands for 'suitcase-bulb-bin': where the suitcase refers to the knowledge that the children find useful and wish to take to the outside world, the bulb represents new interesting and intriguing ideas worth deeper investigation, and the bin corresponds to a waste of time – the activities or topics that should be eliminated from the environment in the future. The images of these three objects were placed each Friday in accessible and visible places, and students were asked to stick slips of paper on them with their opinions. The results were later analysed both by the school board as well as teachers and students.

The evaluation was performed from internal and external perspectives. The external tools included tests measuring the competences of the students after three grades of primary school education and covered a foreign language (*The Cambridge English   Placement Tests for Young   Learners*)**,** maths, Polish and science (OBUT and OPERON tests for year 3). The school staff also had an opportunity to fill in self-

evaluation sheets and to discuss them with an external supervisor. It needs to be noted at this point, however, that the particular stages presented in Fig. 1 do not occur in isolation. In fact, in most action research projects, the phases of the spiral do overlap, and thus some of the techniques and procedures described are applied concurrently. This was the case in the project under discussion.

The socio-pedagogical context of the research is closely related to the location of the school, i.e. a relatively rich Polish city. The school is private and the socio-economic status of most parents is high. These conditions mean that, on the one hand, the Montessori education offered in this case has to conform to the national curriculum, which is fairly conservative and traditional following a behaviouristic idea of development. On the other hand, it has to meet parents' needs concerning the educational process their children participate in revolving around measurable and sometimes quite spectacular outcomes. This, in turn, is quite an uneasy situation if we take into consideration the deeply humanistic understanding of education emphasised in the Montessori pedagogy.

4. Research findings and conclusions

Before some of the research findings are presented, it must be stated again that this type of research is *cyclical* (not linear) in nature. This means that an answer to any of the research questions provokes other questions opening a new spiral of the procedure. In other words, such research is aimed at raising issues and uncertainties rather than the construction of powerful and lasting conclusions; a type of scientific thinking which in the humanities is sometimes called *questioning reasoning* (Derrida 2015: 15-31). Thus all the research findings are to be treated as *local* theorising. As such, we do not claim that these conclusions may be objectified and extrapolated since the research has been conducted in *one* of the Montessori schools by a *specific* group of people in a *specific* cultural

and historical context. Nevertheless, we believe that it is worth raising some questions for further reflection, discussion and modification.

   With regard to the above, the Montessori method, complete as it may seem, contains a number of issues either insufficiently characterised or simply omitted by its author. Therefore, it calls for post-conventional (in Kohlberg's sense) reasoning, i.e. creative inspiration and enrichment rather than a strict application of the method (Kohlberg 1981). Competences such as visual and new media literacy (at least at the primary school level) are absent in the approach, education for democracy is not as visible as it might and perhaps should be, while maths text tasks are not represented in the Montessori material at all. In the methodology of this pedagogy teaching foreign languages also seems to be too mechanical and lacking in sufficient educational opportunities for real communication. Paradoxically, it fits into the neoliberal model of schooling very well (Potulicka and Rutkowiak 2010) advocating individualism. In addition, Montessori has become a well-known brand, a logo that is desired by the privileged social classes. That is why a number of the conflicts and problems within Montessori schools must remain hidden and knowledge about the method is an elite product that is not to be questioned or made public (Jendza and Zamojski 2015). In the quest for effects that will be attractive and satisfying for parents, however, there is not enough time for observation of the children and, therefore, the modifications of the learning environment and the materials do not meet the requirements of Montessori's basic principles.

   In terms of the inquiry, the plan and the execution of the English immersion programme did not bring about the expected effects mainly due to the period of the children's development in which the programme was introduced. In other words, it was implemented too late. Therefore, in the future, consideration must be given to launching the programme for children at the age of three, that is in the kindergarten which is a part of the school,. The teachers, some of whom are native

English speakers, must also be encouraged to think thoroughly about an intentional use of language so as not to create an atmosphere of incomprehensibility resulting in learners feeling anxious.

Moreover, the linguistic material offered by the Montessori environment, in terms of foreign language teaching, has certain characteristics which are an obstacle to the smooth running of the learning process. Indeed, it can be intriguing for students of a specific age group, but at the same time too lexically and grammatically complex, or it is linguistically too easy and not interesting for the children. In relation to this, all the language materials are imported from Anglo-Saxon countries and designed for learners whose mother tongue is English. Therefore they are meaningful and authentic for a different group of students living in a different context. In connection with this, the children in this particular school should be provided with materials corresponding to both their personal needs and English language competences, which might mean a customisation of didactic aids.

Finally, teachers who limit their knowledge to the Montessori method should be given a chance to familiarise themselves with alternative methods as well as with general contemporary theories of education and psychology. Moreover, greater energy should be spent on cooperating with parents since quite often they present parenting styles that are in conflict with the Montessori approach, the latter being a holistic, humanistic and personalised didactic system which deserves to be implemented in a fully supportive environment.

References

Asher, James (1996). *Learning Another Language Through Actions.* Los Gatos, CA: Sky Oaks Productions.

Boucher d'Argis, Antoine-Gaspard (2006). "Emancipation of a son". *The Encyclopaedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project.* Trans. Diane Duffrin Kelley. Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library. Available at <http://hdl.handle.net/2027//spo.did2222.0000.591>. Accessed 02.07.2016.

Cervinkova Hana, Bogusława Dorota Gołębniak (2010). *Badania w działaniu: Pedagogika i antropologia zaangażowane*. Wrocław: Dolnośląska Szkoła Wyższa.

Cervinkova, Hana, Bogusława Dorota Gołębniak (2013). *Edukacyjne badania w działaniu*. Warszawa: Scholar.

Crane-Fisk, Carolyn (1986). "Foreign language instruction within a Montessori environment". Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. 20 November 1986, Dallas, TX, USA.

Derrida, Jacques (2015). *Uniwersytet bezwarunkowy*. Trans. Kajetan Maria Jaksender, Libron: Kraków.

Dybiec, Julian (2009). "Recepcja metody Marii Montessori w Polsce 1912–2008". In: Barbara Surma (ed.). *Pedagogika Marii Montessori w Polsce i na świecie*. Palatum: Łódź.

Dyrda, Jolanta (2004). *Style uczenia się dzieci dyslektycznych a wymagania poznawcze szkoły*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.

Epstein, Paul (2012). *An Observer's Notebook – Learning from the Children with the Observation C.O.R.E.* New York: The Montessori Foundation Press.

Ervin, Keith (2000). "Arabic meets Montessori". *The Seattle Times* May 24: 1-2.

Faryadi, Qais (2009). "Performance evaluation of Montessori instruction to teach English as a second Language: An experimental research". *MASAUM Journal of Open Problems in Science and Engineering* 1/2: 81-85.

Ferrance, Eileen (2000). *Action Research*. Providence: Brown University. Available at: <https://www.brown.edu/academics/education-alliance/sites/brown.edu.academics.education-alliance/files/publications/act_research.pdf>. Accessed 07.11.2014.

Gandini, Lella (2011). "Play and the hundred languages of children". *American Journal of Play* 4/1: 1-18.

Gausman, Dale (2007). *Language Arts.* New York: North American Montessori Center.

Jendza, Jarosław, Piotr Zamojski (2015). "Privatizing Montessori: The capitalisation of knowledge and the inability to renew meanings". *Studia Pedagogiczne* 68: 141-155.

Kemmis, Stephen (2001). "Exploring the relevance of critical theory for action research: Emancipatory action research in the footsteps of Jürgen Habermas". In: Peter Reason, Hillary Bradbury (eds.). *Handbook of Action Research: Participative Inquiry and Practice.* London: SAGE, 91-102.

Kemmis, Stephen, Robin McTaggart (2007). "Participatory action research. Communicative action and the Public Sphere". In: Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.). *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry.* Third Edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 271-330.

Klus-Stańska, Dorota (2010). *Dydaktyka wobec chaosu pojęć i zdarzeń.* Warszawa: Żak.

Kohlberg, Lawrence (1981). *Essays on Moral Development.* Vol. I: *The Philosophy of Moral Development.* San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Kramer, Rita (1976). *Maria Montessori: Biography.* New York: Putnam.

Lewin, Kurt. (1946). "Action research and minority problems". *Journal of Social Issues* 2/4: 34-46.

Lillard, Angeline S. (2007). *Montessori: The Science behind the Genius.* Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Lillard, Angeline S. (2013). "Playful learning and Montessori education". *American Journal of Play* 5/2: 157-186.

Meighan Roland, Clive Harber (2007). *A Sociology of Educating.* London – Oxford – New York – New Delhi – Sydney: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Mettetal, Gwynn (2001). "The what, why and how of classroom action research". *Journal of Scholarship of Teaching and Learning* 2/1: 6-10. Available at <https://rwc-ltc.wikispaces.com/file/view/JoSoTL+Classroom+Action+Research+Overview.pdf>. Accessed 10.05.2016.

Montessori, Maria (1912). *The Montessori Method – Scientific Pedagogy as Applied to Child Education in "The Children's Houses" with*

Additions and Revisions by the Author. Trans. Anne E. George. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company.

Montessori, Maria (1956). *The Child in the Family.* Trans. Nancy Rockmore Cirillo. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC.

Montessori, Maria (1967). *To Educate Human Potential.* Madras, India: Kalakshetra.

Montessori, Maria (1972). *The Discovery of the Child.* Trans. M. Joseph Costelloe. New York: The Random House Publishing Group.

Montessori, Maria (1972). *The Secret of Childhood.* Trans. M. Joseph Costelloe. New York: Ballantine Books.

Montessori, Maria (1995). *The Absorbent Mind.* Trans. Claude A. Claremont. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC.

Montessori, Maria (2007). *The Advanced Montessori Method* – I: *Spontaneous Activity in Education.* Translated by Florence Simmonds and Lilly Hutchinson. Amsterdam: Montessori-Pierson Publishing Company.

Montessori, Maria (2008). *The Advanced Montessori Method* – II: *The Montessori Elementary Material.* Trans. Arthur Livingston. Amsterdam: Montessori-Pierson Publishing Company.

Montessori, Maria (2008). *The Child, Society and the World: Unpublished Speeches and Writings.* Trans. Caroline Juler, Heather Yesson. Amsterdam: Montessori–Pierson Publishing Company.

Montessori, Maria (2013). *Psychogeometry*. Amsterdam: Montessori-Pierson Publishing Company.

Polanyi, Michael (1966). *The Tacit Dimension.* University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Poraj, Anna (2011). "Rodzice w szkole – zaangażowani czy bierni i nieobecni?". *Magazyn Dyrektora Szkoły Sedno* 2: 18-21.

Potulicka, Eugenia, Joanna Rutkowiak (2010). *Neoliberalne uwikłania edukacji.* Kraków: Impuls.

Röhrs, Hermann (1999). "Maria Montessori". Trans. Irena Wojnar. *Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny* 3-4 (173-174): 51-69.

Rzeplińska, Agata, Jarosław Jendza (2013). "Inspired by Maria Montessori anew: Against heterogeneity of authenticity". *MoRE Montessori Research Europe Newsletter* 1-2: 7-11.

Wicks, Patricia Gaya, Peter Reason (2009). "Initiating action research – challenges and paradoxes of opening communicative space". *Action Research* 7/3: 243-262.

Jarosław Jendza
Instytut Pedagogiki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Jana Bażyńskiego 4
80-309 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: j.jendza@ug.edu.pl

Character integrated language learning
– a case for character education
in foreign language teaching

MARCIN OSTROWSKI

Abstract

The aim of this article is to provide an introduction to character education with its underlying principles and draw attention to some of its possible ELT classroom applications. Character is seen as a crucial non-cognitive factor of academic success. The case for the extensive implementation of character education in foreign language teaching is discussed in relation to the demands and challenges of contemporary education expressed in legal regulations such as national curricula and the European Union Framework on Key Competencies for Lifelong Learning. Drawing from the experience of American schools actively using character education, the author suggests a set of methods for integrating it into foreign language teaching which is claimed to have a multi-faceted beneficial effect on students' development irrespective of their age. The proposed understanding and application of character education is based on positive psychology and research into character strengths and the non-cognitive factors of academic achievement.

Key words

academic success, character strengths, character education, ELT, positive psychology

Apprentissage des langues intégré au caractère
– pour l'éducation du caractère dans l'enseignement des langues étrangères

Résumé

L'objectif de l'article est de présenter les principes de la conception de l'éducation du caractère et d'indiquer les effets positifs possibles de l'intégration de la formation du caractère et des valeurs au cours de l'enseignement des langues étrangères. Les recherches présentées montrent que la force du caractère, composée par un ensemble des traits et des valeurs, est un des principaux facteurs non-cognitifs qui influencent le succès du processus éducatif. La proposition d'introduire l'éducation du caractère dans l'enseignement des langues étrangères est discutée en référence à des enjeux principaux de l'éducation contemporaine qui ont été identifié et présentés dans les documents tels que les programmes nationaux ou les recommandations du Parlement Européen concernant les compétences clés pour l'éducation et la formation tout au long de la vie. En puisant dans les expériences des écoles américaines qui pratiquent activement l'éducation du caractère, l'auteur propose des méthodes d'intégrer cette approche à l'enseignement des langues étrangères. L'interprétation proposée et les applications possibles de l'éducation du caractère s'appuient sur les propositions de la psychologie positive et les recherches concernant le caractère dans le contexte de l'influence des facteurs non-cognitifs sur les succès éducatifs.

Mots-clés

didactique des langues étrangères, éducation du caractère, formation du caractère, glottodidactique, psychologie positive

Kształtowanie osobowości w toku nauki języków obcych – zalety edukacji charakteru i wartości w nauczaniu

Abstrakt

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest prezentacja założeń koncepcji edukacji charakteru oraz wskazanie możliwych pozytywnych efektów integracji kształtowania charakteru i wartości w toku nauczania języków obcych. Przytaczane badania wskazują, że siła charakteru, na którą składa się zespół cech i wartości, stanowi jeden z głównych pozapoznawczych czynników wpływających na powodzenie procesu edukacji. Postulat szerokiej implementacji edukacji charakteru w nauczaniu języków obcych jest omawiany w odniesieniu do wyzwań współczesnej edukacji rozpoznanych i wyrażanych w dokumentach prawnych takich jak podstawa programowa czy zalecenia Parlamentu Europejskiego dotyczące kompetencji kluczowych w uczeniu się przez całe życie. Czerpiąc z doświadczeń amerykańskich szkół aktywnie praktykujących edukację charakteru autor proponuje metody jej integrowania w toku nauczania języków obcych. Proponowana interpretacja oraz możliwe zastosowanie edukacji charakteru są oparte o postulaty psychologii pozytywnej oraz badania dotyczące charakteru w kontekście wpływu pozapoznawczych czynników na osiągnięcia edukacyjne.

Słowa kluczowe

edukacja charakteru, glottodydaktyka, kształtowanie charakteru, metodyka nauczania języków obcych, psychologia pozytywna

1. Introduction

Learning and teaching foreign languages are both complex processes and their success is dependent on a vast array of factors. Years of research into these two processes have provided reliable teaching methodologies and a rich understanding of how languages are learnt. However, in view of numerous technological innovations and challenges to contemporary education, glottodidactics, as a branch of science, has scope for

development. This article views the employment of character education in foreign language teaching as a sound idea that could contribute to glottodidactic research and classroom practice. As such, it has become especially relevant in face of the challenges to education such as the much debated social isolation, addiction to computer-gaming and technology, as well as the claimed overindulgence typical of the current socio-economic reality set on self-centeredness and instant gratification, well-portrayed in Paul Roberts' "Impulse Society" (Roberts, 2014a, Roberts, 2014b).

Undeniably, addressing diverse problems, needs and learning styles requires great expertise and determination on the part of teachers and remains one of the greatest challenges in their everyday work. This does raise the question of the main responsibilities of the foreign language teacher, however. While it is generally agreed that the first and foremost task for a teacher is to provide quality instruction concerning both knowledge and skills in a given field, broadly referred to as academic, their responsibilities also include providing psychological support as well as facilitating the formation of positive values, attitudes, healthy interpersonal relations and learning habits. Focusing on the latter group of teachers' responsibilities the article presents a general rationale for integrating character development into foreign language courses together with its possible beneficial outcomes. Finally, the idea of character development in foreign language teaching is analysed with reference to the European Union framework of key competences for lifelong learning.

2. Research into character and character education

Character understood as the "mental and moral qualities distinctive to an individual" (Oxford Dictionaries.com) is viewed throughout this article as one of the main non-cognitive determinants of success. Currently being redeveloped, character development in itself is not a new phenomenon. Although it

has always been present in education, its form and underlying assumptions have varied considerably.

Education systems are in agreement that teachers' responsibilities involve more than the transfer of knowledge. This is particularly relevant to the digital age we live in, when the abundance of information can work both to the benefit as well as detriment of a learner. The Polish core curriculum states explicitly that the teaching aims for schools should include the development of students' attitudes and qualities allowing their proper functioning in society and the contemporary world in general. The curriculum lists values and qualities such as honesty, reliability, responsibility, perseverance, self-awareness, respect for other people, curiosity, creativity, industriousness, being well-mannered, and taking the initiative. It also includes openness to participation in culture and teamwork. In addition to this, it mentions the importance of developing pro-social attitudes that translate into respect for tradition and culture, both Polish and that of other nationalities. Whereas the purpose of this article is not to assess the effectiveness of organised education with respect to fulfilling this non-academic role, it is a justified claim that for a variety of reasons achieving a long-term positive influence on the character of children remains more difficult than ever. This in turn suggests the need for adopting structural forms of integrating character development into general subject instruction. Indeed, such reasoning has led to inquiries into the nature of non-cognitive skills together with the general non-academic side of organised schooling and their plausible influences. Meanwhile, redevelopment of character education resulting in the form advocated for in this article resulted from educators' genuine interest in the idea of success in all aspects of life and the need for helping underprivileged American minorities, based on the firm conviction of a correlation between character and achievement.

Any discussion of character education needs to begin with a brief introduction to the classic study into children's self-

control as a core component of character. In the 1960s and 70s, Walter Mischel, a researcher at Stanford University, conducted a series of experiments on delayed gratification (Mischel and Ebbesen 1970, Bourne 2014). The study involved children from the university nursery, aged 4-6. They were left alone for 15 minutes with a marshmallow and promised another one provided they managed to stop themselves from eating it. The study was aimed at an analysis of how children coped with a delay of gratification (Bourne 2014). As was observed, the children involved adopted various ways to distract themselves from thinking about the treat, but more importantly, when researchers equipped them with strategies such as imagining the marshmallow to be something else, they were found to be more likely to succeed in resisting the temptation. In a follow-up study aimed at determining the specific conditions which could be seen as predictive of the children's delay of gratification and their development, it was found that those who had managed to resist in the initial experiment scored more points on national tests and were less likely to have problems with health and behaviour (Shoda, Mischel and Peake 1990).

Despite its flaws and the criticism that followed his study,[1] Mischel's experiment and the study on the future of the children showed that some of them either possessed more inherent discipline and self-control or perhaps, more plausibly, lived

---

[1] In criticism of the test, researchers from the University of Rochester emphasised the complexity of human behaviour and the importance of environmental factors (Kidd, et al. 2012), thus, tempering the appeal of a single marshmallow test as a valid diagnostic measure for future success. Whether it is for the implied neglect of issues of trust or hunger, as pointed out by Kidd, or the basic psychological principle that each child is different in terms of their habits, temperaments, likes and dislikes, as well as pace of development, Mischel's study should not be seen as the ultimate tool for predicting success. And, although there have been numerous attempts to replicate the experiment, it must be remembered the correlation between self-control and achievement does not necessarily equal causation.

in an environment favourable to their development. Mean-while, this leads to the conclusion that the value of the Marshmallow test does not lie solely in the scientific credibility of its findings but in the scientific work that was carried out and the practical applications it inspired. Indeed, it can be suggested that the research on delayed gratification, non-cognitive factors of academic achievement and character education either partially stemmed from Mischel's stipulations or was inspired by them. As a result, since his experiment, a number of researchers have worked on ways of assessing self-control as well as validating the existence and extent of its correlations. In fact, a 2013 study showed a correlation between levels of student self-control in conducting an experiment and parents' and teachers' ratings of it, which showed no relation to ratings of intelligence, personality traits and responses related to reward (Duckworth, Tsukayama and Kirby 2013). Similarly, the second part of the same study focused on a group of 966 preschoolers which showed an association between the children's delay time and their parents' and caregivers' ratings of self-control.

Decades following Mischel's research, experiments have abounded concerning questions of what self-regulation is and what its mechanisms are, whether it is malleable and how extensive its influences are (Kendall and Wilcox 1979, Shoda et al. 1990, Tangney et al. 2004, Duckworth and Seligman 2005, Moffitt et al. 2011). It has also been suggested that using strategies of self-control that are necessary for planning, delaying gratification and eventually sticking to long-term goals or commitments requires metacognition and prospection, abilities to think critically and to foresee consequences prior to taking actions (Duckworth et al. 2014). These suggestions are in line with the findings of one of many older studies involving preschool children (Mischel et. al. 1972). It was also found that the extent of the delay of gratification was influenced by cognitive avoidance or suppression of reward objects. Waiting for a preferred reward kept in the subject's sight brought poor

delay compared to conditions in which the reward object was removed from the subject's attentional field. The delay was considerably stronger when subjects were asked to concentrate on some other pleasant experience – a "think-fun" strategy. In contrast, when the subjects were asked to think about the rewards, it was equally difficult for them to delay gratification both with and without the rewards in their field of sight. Finally, a comparison of groups which did not receive any strategies or instructions that could help them delay showed a considerably greater delay in the group which did not have a reward available for attention. Researchers concluded that the ability to delay gratification is influenced by two factors: the proximity or accessibility of the desired objects and skill, capability and competence to intentionally suppress and guide one's attention.

Another study points to a strength model of self-regulation comparing it to a muscle capable of action yet susceptible to the gradual depletion of its power resulting from its efforts. Following this analogy the model suggests that as the muscle tires due to exertions its performance gets weaker. Still, the model also holds that regular purposeful effort to control any particular behaviour can lead to improvements in self-control in general. Success in self-control is also perceived as dependent on the extent of expected challenges (Baumeister, Vohs and Tice 2007, Baumeister, Schmeichel and Vohs 2007). Such a model seems to be in line with claims of self-control malleability.

Summing up, the discussed studies suggest that self-control is attention based and dependent on self-regulatory strategies, and although it is linked to intelligence it is not solely determined by it. Delay of gratification can be seen as a predictive measure of self-control and self-control remains one of the most important determinants of academic success (Duckworth, Tsukayama and Kirby 2013, Duckworth and Gross 2014). Finally, since self-control is based on attention and self-regulatory strategies, it should be seen as malleable

although researchers express many doubts and questions that need answering as far as the implementation of self-control development is concerned:

> What is the best way to instruct children in self-control strategies? Should instruction be didactic and direct, or should children simply be provided with models to emulate? What role should parents versus teachers play in the cultivation of self-control, and what synergistic benefits derive from consistent messaging across home and school contexts? What are the developmental considerations that might inform which strategies are best to teach at what age?
>
> (Duckworth, Gendler and Gross 2014: 212)

These inquiries constituted the background for research into non-cognitive factors of academic performance resulting in establishing a framework of five categories of non-cognitive factors of academic achievement:

1. Academic behaviours
2. Academic perseverance
3. Academic mindsets
4. Learning strategies
5. Social skills

They also found evidence for connections between skills, strategies, attitudes and behaviours and long-term academic achievement (Farrington et al. 2012) collectively corroborating Mischel's claims. Researchers concluded:

> Teaching adolescents to become learners requires more than improving test scores; it means transforming classrooms into places alive with ideas that engage students' natural curiosity and desire to learn in preparation for college, career, and meaningful adult lives.
>
> (Farrington et al. 2012: 77)

2.1. Positive psychology and character strengths

Self-control is only one avenue in research concerning charac-
ter and the non-cognitive factors of academic performance and
life success. "What are the roots of students success or fail-
ure?" is a question central to the successful teaching experi-
ence as varying levels of self-control explain only a part of the
causality. Similar questions have led to research into both
cognitive and non-cognitive factors determining academic suc-
cess. A study by Martin Seligman and Christopher Peterson
led to determining a set of 24 character strengths organised in
6 groups, presented in Table 1 (Peterson and Seligman 2004,
Park et al. 2004).

These character strengths, according to Seligman and Pe-
terson, let people flourish irrespective of their culture, race or
gender. The researchers were also the first to suggest a new
understanding of character, making a distinction between
character trait and a broader concept of character strength
composed of many traits and abilities that are subject to
change, thus allowing for terms such as character education
or character development (Park et al. 2004).

Table 1
Character strengths
(source: <http://www.viacharacter.org/www/Character-
Strengths/VIA-Classification>)

Virtues	Character strengths
Wisdom and knowledge	Creativity, Curiosity, Judgement, Love of Learning, Perspective
Courage	Bravery, Perseverance, Honesty, Zest
Humanity	Love, Kindness, Social Intelligence
Justice	Teamwork, Fairness, Leadership
Temperance	Forgiveness, Humility, Prudence, Self-Regulation
Transcendence	Appreciation of Beauty and Excellence, Hope, Gratitude, Humour, Spirituality

Although the dynamics of character and development of particular strengths are complex and psychologists working on the topic have not yet proposed a systematic methodology for teaching character, there are schools that try to apply the theory in their philosophy of education, with the most notable representative being KIPP Academy, an American charter school for minority students. There are 183 KIPP schools in 20 states with 87 per cent of students from low-income families. With their famous slogan "Work hard, be nice" they have always focused on character development in their philosophy (http://www.kipp.org/schools). From the beginnings of KIPP, its founders Levin and Feinberg felt they needed to develop both academic skills and character but lacked an effective framework. This became evident as after initial successes it turned out not many of their students were able to complete their college education. In 1999 KIPP Academy students could pride themselves on earning the highest score in the Bronx and the fifth-highest in the whole of New York City on the eight-grade achievement test, which brought publicity and considerable donations allowing for the development of a nationwide network. However, six years after the class of 2003 finished high school only 21% of its students had managed to earn a college degree. This led to the conclusion that the students were not emotionally or psychologically prepared (Tough 2013: 50).

Seeing great value in character as a supporting factor and a background for development of academic skills, Levin and Feinberg strongly drew on research by Seligman, Peterson (Peterson and Seligman 2004) and Duckworth (Duckworth and Seligman 2005). They also focused on the following seven character strengths as the closest to academic achievement:

1. Grit – perseverance, persistence, finishing what one starts.
2. Hope – optimism, future orientation.
3. Self-control – discipline, managing emotions and impulses.
4. Curiosity – interest, openness to new experience.

5. Social intelligence – awareness of other people's feelings or motives.
6. Gratitude – being thankful
7. Zest - enthusiasm

(Tough 2013: 76)

In fact, the set of 7 character strengths was a result of collaboration between people of seemingly varying backgrounds: David Levin, the co-founder of KIPP Academy and Dominic Randolph, the headmaster of Riverdale Country School – an expensive private school. They both recognised the need to provide their students with character building programmes that would increase their chances of success and happiness, which in turn led them to Peterson and Seligman who proposed the set of strengths most connected with academic achievement. Next Duckworth together with Randolph and Levin developed the KIPP character growth card – an assessment tool with 7 character strengths and 24 behaviour statements serving as a point of reference and a source of information for teachers, parents and students themselves (http://www.kipp.org/our-approach/character). This was followed by the introduction of a character report card which resulted from Levin's idea to grade students on their progress in character development, alongside regular subjects. Although Randolph did not share Levin's optimism for character grading and did not want to impose any character programmes on his staff, he felt the potential for improving the then existing character education programme (CARE – Children Aware of Riverdale Ethics). It was a programme that was more about providing students with moral rules, guidelines and models of behaviour rather than teaching them to work on their character strength expressed by qualities such as self-control and grit (Tough 2013).

Finally, any discussion on character education would be incomplete without considering Carol Dweck's work on mindsets (Dweck 2006). Dweck's preoccupation was how people think about themselves, their abilities, intellect, challenges, success and failure. She suggested a distinction between fixed mindset

and growth mindset, which bears resemblance to character trait vs. character strength division. Analogically, people who possess fixed mindset tend to perceive their intelligence, creativity and qualities as static and not subject to change whereas the ones with growth mindset believe in the possibility for development of their potential. As a result, the former group is expected to be less keen on challenges and will see their success or failure as evidence and consequence of their inherent potential while the later group will be more open to challenges and see failure as part of learning and development (Dweck 2006). It is particularly relevant to the school context with the emphasis on the sensitive period of adolescence, which Dweck confirmed in her study on students transitioning to junior high school. A two-year observation resulted in the conclusion that the students with a fixed mindset were the ones whose grades deteriorated the fastest and then gradually continued to do so (Dweck 2006: 57/246). Dweck concluded that the challenges that came with the new stage of education were subconsciously seen as a threat to their ego, which added to the self-confidence issues typical of adolescence, producing a paralysing effect. Such "low-effort syndrome", as Dweck refers to it, is an evasion of challenges adopted as a self-protective measure. Students of fixed mindset refrain from facing challenges for fear of failure which has direct consequences on their self-worth.

3. Character education in foreign language teaching

Advocating an extensive integration of character education into foreign language teaching, three fundamental questions must be answered. Should character be developed as part of foreign language instruction and would it be beneficial to the process of language learning? Can character education be successfully integrated into foreign language courses? What are the means and requirements for such integration?

Possession of a "good character" has meant different things throughout history. Irrespective of whether Seligman and Peterson's claims of universal character qualities are right or wrong, it seems well-grounded that character, with the abilities to self-reflect and self-control, has a profound influence on life success. The fact has been recognised by national and international policies with the notable example of European Reference Framework on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning which lists eight recommendations:

1) Communication in the mother tongue;
2) Communication in foreign languages;
3) Mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology;
4) Digital competence;
5) Learning to learn;
6) Social and civic competences;
7) Sense of initiative and entrepreneurship;
8) Cultural awareness and expression.

(EUR-Lex Access to European Law)

The framework makes it clear that at least four of them: learning to learn, social and civic competences, sense of initiative and entrepreneurship and cultural awareness and expression present direct links to qualities and abilities that constitute character. It also states that themes such as critical thinking, initiative, problem-solving, creativity, decision-taking and constructive management of feelings are common to many competences. These also stand at the heart of character education and reflect some of the most vital qualities and skills in the 21st century workplace.

The example provided by KIPP Academy and Riverdale proves that character can be developed as part of general subject instruction. The process of teaching a foreign language is normally organised around real life themes, which supports work on character and values in these meaningful contexts. The Polish curriculum for primary school, middle school and

high school, meanwhile, indicates respectively 12, 14 or 15 themes such as: people, home, education, work, family and social life, food, shopping and services, travelling and tourism, culture, sport, health, science and technology, nature, society and life and knowledge about the target language country. Weaving character strength development into the processes of teaching and learning lexical and grammatical structures and practising both receptive and productive skills can potentially not only add meaning to classroom practice but also support self-reflection and assist in the construction of positive learning habits and attitudes. It might also be concluded that learning English as a foreign language constitutes a natural environment for integration of character, values and formation of positive growth mindsets as there is no other humanistic subject equally dedicated to discussion and other forms of communication.

3.1. General requirements for integrating character education into foreign language teaching

Based on the experience provided by schools involved in character education, it is possible to enumerate the conditions necessary for integrating character education into foreign language teaching:

1. **Supportive attitude and constructive feedback on students' character and academic progress.** Teachers who role model, support and care for their students' emotional condition and development are central for any character education to happen. Character development, unlike teaching regular subjects, is progress and not product oriented, and it is the responsibility of teachers to create suitable rapport with students and an atmosphere that facilitates openness and self-reflection. This is particularly significant for two reasons. First, there is no complete methodology backed by research that can measure development of each character strength in given conditions and outline guaranteed paths to character building. Second, some character strengths seem more malleable than others and, as

a result, some will be easier to integrate into classroom activities while others will require a more indirect long-term development. Therefore, irrespective of the employed character development plan, the teacher's support and example are central to achieving a long-lasting positive influence.

2. **Adoption of a realistic plan concerning qualities to be worked on.** Whether a teacher works individually or together with his/her colleagues, they need a plan concerning what, when and how character strengths are going to be incorporated in class. Tasks aiming at character development ought to be planned in a way that would naturally blend in with the teaching programme and exclude wasting time.

3. **Parents' awareness and involvement.** The practice of KIPP Academy shows that parental knowledge and involvement in their children's character development can be beneficial. It helps to clarify aims and can result in productive cooperation. Using a character growth card or report card can positively influence the quality of feedback teachers give to parents and students.

4. **Common understanding and adherence among teachers to the same rules, values and attitudes**. Teachers need to share and agree on the assessment of students' progress, the importance of particular values and character strengths, and general philosophy concerning the skills and attitudes they want to instil in their students.

3.2. Methods and strategies for the integration of character in ELT

The following techniques are based on the practice of KIPP Academy and methods proposed by its co-founder in a character development course (<https://www.coursera.org/learn/teaching-character>) and with appropriate changes could successfully be implemented for all age groups from the early years of primary school to the end of high school.

1. **Dual purpose lessons and tasks** – it would be untrue to state that character and values are not discussed in English language classes. To some extent, programmes and course books

promote integration of character and values through tasks that either provide positive models of behaviour or foster self-reflection. However, with the main focus on language competence, teachers might tend to neglect the context meaningful to character education. The idea behind dual purpose lessons and tasks is to consciously plan lessons and activities in a way that involves character, values and growth oriented themes as the background for communication and practice of target language structures. These may be directed at individual self-reflection or general discussions concerning values and character strengths. Tasks can involve in-class activities as well as long-term projects. Character strengths and values can be integrated explicitly or less directly and form a meaningful background for the practice of any language skill.

2. **Growth card** – its basic application is to allow self-evaluation as well as evaluation by the teacher, in addition to informing students and/or parents on their progress. However, alongside character education purposes, the control questions can serve as a tool for practising receptive skills. The growth card is available on the KIPP Academy (http://www.kipp.org) or Character Lab (www.characterlab.org) websites both in paper form and as an online application.

3. **Character growth board** – alongside individual character assessment, it can be useful to incorporate character into the students' everyday environment. Teachers can work on the whole 24 character strengths, the 7 as applied by KIPP or even individual strengths. Praising a group of students can prove to be equally efficient to individual feedback.

4. **Report card** – it could serve as a feedback on both character and progress in learning the target language. For its informative value it must be composed in the students' mother tongue. However, a version addressed to students only could be formulated in the target language. The main flaw of both forms, however, is that they are time-consuming to prepare, and therefore teachers might opt for an alternative of giving oral performance reviews in the target language.

5. **End-of-term character diploma** – serving the same purpose as the above, a diploma of character emphasizes the value of students' character achievements and progress, thus placing these next to academic skills in terms of importance.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, the discussed concepts of growth mindset and character strengths together with positive principles of psychology constitute a viable background for successful character education programmes. Integrating character education into foreign language courses presents opportunities for facilitating the development of self-reflection, critical thinking and decision-making skills as well as increasing learner autonomy and initiative. It is also promising in terms of contributing to the process of language learning.

The need for shaping character and values has been recognised by international institutions and expressed in the form of recommendations, such as the EU framework, on key competences for lifelong learning. Further research concerning the principles and effects of character education and its integration into foreign language teaching is necessary as for now the issue has received little academic interest compared to methods such as CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning) and CLIL (Content Integrated Language Learning). Through this brief consideration the author wishes to draw academic attention to this issue and suggest the adoption of the term Character Integrated Language Learning" (CILL) that succinctly defines the proposed approach.

> It makes no small difference, then, whether we form habits of one kind or of another from our very youth; it makes a very great difference, or rather all the difference.
>
> (Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, II: 1)

References

Baumeister, R. F., K. D. Vohs, D. M. Tice (2007). "The strength model of self-control". *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 16/6: 351-355.

Baumeister, R. F, B. J. Schmeichel, K. D. Vohs (2007). "Self-regulation and the executive function: The self as controlling agent". In: W. Kruglanski, E. T. Higgins (eds.) *Social Psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles.* Second edition. New York: Guilford, 516-539.

Bourne M. (2014). "We didn't eat the marshmallow. The marshmallow ate us". *The New York Times.* Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/12/magazine/we-didnt-eat-the-marshmallow-the-marshmallow-ate-us.html?_r=0>.

Duckworth, A. L., T. S. Gendler, J. J. Gross (2014). "Self-control in school-age children". *Educational Psychologist* 49/3: 199-217.

Duckworth, A. L., J. J. Gross (2014). "Self-control and grit: Related but separable determinants of success". *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 23/5: 319-325.

Duckworth, A. L., M. E. P. Seligman (2005). "Self-Discipline qutdoes IQ in predicting academic performance of adolescents". *Psychological Science* 16/12: 939-944.

Duckworth, A. L., E. Tsukayama, T. A. Kirby (2013). "Is it really self-control? Examining the predictive power of the delay of gratification response". *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 39: 843-855.

Dweck, C.S. (2006). *Mindset: How You Can Fulfill Your Potential.* New York, NY: Random House.

EUR-Lex Access to European Law. Available at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/ENG/TXT/?uri=celex%3A32006H0962)>.

Farrington, C. A., M. Roderick, E. Allensworth, J. Nagaoka, T. S. Keyes, D. W. Johnson, N. O. Beechum (2012). *Teaching Adolescents to Become Learners: The Role of Noncognitive Factors in Shaping School Performance: A Critical Literature Review.* Chicago: University of Chicago Consortium on Chicago School Research.

Kendall, P. C., L. E. Wilcox (1979). "Self-control in children: Development of a rating scale". *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 47: 1020–1029.

Kidd, C., H. Palmeri, N. R. Aslin (2012). "Rational snacking: Young children's decision-making on the marshmallow task is moderated by beliefs about environmental reliability". *Cognition* 126/1: 109-114.

Mischel, W., E. B. Ebbesen (1970). "Attention in delay of gratification". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 16: 329-337.

Mischel, W., E. B. Ebbesen, A. R. Zeiss, (1972). "Cognitive and attentional mechanisms in delay of gratification". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 21: 204-218.

Mischel, W., Y. Shoda, M. L. Rodriguez (1989). Delay of gratification in children. *Science* 244: 933-938.

Moffitt, T. E., L. Arseneault, D. Belsky, N. Dickson, R. J. Hancox, H. R. Harrington, R. Houts, R. Poulton, B. W. Roberts, S. Ross, M. R. Sears, W. M. Thomson, A. Caspi (2011). *A gradient of childhood self-control predicts health, wealth, and public safety: Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences – PNAS* 108: 2693-2698.

Park N., C. Peterson, M. E. P. Seligman (2004). "Strengths of character and well-being". *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 23/5: 603-619.

Peterson, C., M. E. P. Seligman (2004). *Character Strengths and Virtues: A Handbook and Classification.* New York: Oxford University Press – Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. Available at <www.viacharacter.org>.

Roberts, P. (2014a). "Instant gratification". *The American Scholar.* Available at: <https://theamericanscholar.org/instant-gratification/#.VouQClOBXjE>.

Roberts, P. (2014b). *The Impulse Society.* New York: Bloomsbury USA.

Shoda, Y., W. Mischel, P. K. Peake (1990). "Predicting adolescent cognitive and self-regulatory competencies from preschool delay of gratification: Identifying diagnostic conditions". *Developmental Psychology* 26: 978-986.

Tangney, J.P., R.F. Baumeister, A.L. Boone (2004). "High self-control predicts good adjustment, less pathology, better grades, and interpersonal success". *Journal of Personality* 72: 271–322.

Tough, P. (2013). *How Children Succeed – Grit, Curiosity, and the Hidden Power of Character.* New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Marcin Ostrowski
Studia doktoranckie w zakresie neofilologii
Instytut Germanistyki i Lingwistyki Stosowanej
Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej
Plac Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej 4A
20-031 Lublin
Poland
Email: mostrowski85@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Influence of contemporary Neo-Aristotelianism on education and personal development methods

BARTOSZ FINGAS

Abstract

The article presents a critique of contemporary culture formulated by Alasdair MacIntyre, who claims that contemporary culture is dominated by the precepts of a philosophical school called emotivism. In the article, this critique is related to coaching – a popular personal and professional development method, which as the article demonstrates is also based upon emotivism. Further, the article presents an alternative to the emotivist line of thought contained in the Neo-Aristotelian philosophy represented by Alasdair MacIntyre and John Finnis, who prove that rational reflection on basic human values and goods is possible. In Finnis's thought, the analysis of practical rationality plays a key role, whereas in MacIntyre's thought it is the category of the goods internal to practices. In the article, the consequences of their theories for personal development are highlighted, the area referred to in this context being university education.

Key words

coaching, internal goods, personal development, practical rationality, university

Influence du néo-aristotélisme
sur l'éducation et les méthodes
de l'épanouissement personnel

Résumé

L'article présente la critique de la culture moderne formulée par Alasdair MacIntyre selon laquelle notre culture a été dominée par les principes d'un mouvement philosophique appelé émotivisme. D'après ce mouvement, la réflexion rationnelle sur le bien de l'homme est impossible. La critique a été appliquée à une des méthodes d'épanouissement personnel et professionnel – le *coaching*. On démontre que cette méthode s'appui elle aussi sur les principes émotivistes. La philosophie néo-aristotélicienne, représentée par Alasdair MacIntyre et John Finnis, est présentée comme une alternative à ce mode de penser. Ces philosophes démontrent que la réflexion rationnelle sur les valeurs fondamentales et les biens de l'homme est possible. Chez Finnis, c'est l'analyse de la rationalité pratique qui joue le rôle principal ; chez MacIntyre, c'est la catégorie des biens internes par rapport aux pratiques. L'article présente les conséquences de ces théories pour les méthodes du développement personnel et dans la conclusion, celles-ci sont mises en rapport avec l'éducation universitaire.

Mots-clés

biens internes. coaching, épanouissement personnel, rationalité pratique, université

Wpływ współczesnego neoarystotelizmu
na edukację i metody rozwoju osobistego.
Wybrane zagadnienia

Abstrakt

Artykuł przedstawia krytykę współczesnej kultury dokonaną przez Alasdaira MacIntyre'a, która opiera się na twierdzeniu, że nasza kultura została zdominowana przez założenia emotywizmu – nurtu filo-

zoficznego głoszącego, że racjonalny namysł nad dobrem człowieka jest niemożliwy. W artykule krytyka ta została odniesiona od popularnej metody rozwoju osobistego i zawodowego jaką jest coaching – poprzez pokazanie, że ona również opiera się na założeniach emotywizmu. Jako alternatywę dla tego sposobu myślenia przedstawiam filozofię neoarystotelizmu reprezentowaną przez Alasdaira MacIntyre'a i Johna Finnisa. Filozofowie ci dowodzą, że racjonalny namysł nad podstawowymi wartościami i dobrami człowieka jest możliwy. U Finnisa kluczową rolę pełni w tym kontekście analiza racjonalności praktycznej, natomiast u MacIntyre'a – kategoria dóbr wewnętrznych wobec praktyk. W artykule pokazuję konsekwencje tych teorii dla metod rozwoju osobistego, a w podsumowaniu odnoszę je również w sposób skrótowy do edukacji uniwersyteckiej.

Słowa kluczowe

coaching, dobra wewnętrzne, racjonalność praktyczna, rozwój osobisty, uniwersytet

1. Introduction

In contemporary philosophy there appears to be an area of dispute between two schools, which in the broadest sense can be termed modern and postmodern. However, in the 20th century, another school returned to favour – a school one might call premodern.[1] Currently, we are observing an attempt to renew and update Aristotelian thought, which is perceived as offering the chance to solve problems which still remain unsolved from the perspective of modern philosophy. In this spirit, two contemporary philosophers, John Finnis and Alasdair MacIntyre, take their inspiration from the Aristotelian tradition.

The paradigm we accept in philosophy affects our perception, not only in terms of ontology, epistemology or ethics, but

---

[1] In his book *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry* Alasdair Macintyre presents his view of the history of philosophy in which these three main schools (although differently named) clash with each other.

also in relation to education and the way we perceive human development. In my article I analyse how the views of the two aforementioned representatives of Neo-Aristotelianism influence perception of so-called human personal development.

2. Emotivism as a sign of the cultural crisis

Alasdair MacIntyre perceives his own philosophy as an answer to the crisis or deadlock in contemporary culture and philosophy, for which he blames emotivism, an ethical school originating in the first half of the 20th century. Emotivism rests on the assumption that all our practical judgements – considering actions and particularly morality – have a source neither in facts, nor in any objective rules, but in our preferences, feelings and emotions. As a result, it is impossible – according to this viewpoint – to have a rational debate on human good and the value of the goals humanity sets itself, because only things which have common standards and criteria can be discussed.

Traditionally, such a criterion was rationality with its starting point pertaining to certain views of the world, values and human nature, as well as arguments on the basis of which these views were formulated. However, at some stage, philosophy denied the possibility of obtaining a rational conclusion from the facts (views on the world and on the human being) about obligation (judgements considering the good and the right things to do). It was found, rather, that neither good, morality, nor obligations could be discussed based upon the rational reasoning which exists in science and in the various fields of knowledge that relate to the world and the human being. On the other hand, it was obvious that judgements considering good, morality and obligation were widespread among people and that they must derive from some kind of source. According to emotivism, the source is the sphere of feelings and emotions, which as such is not the subject of rational discussions. As the emotivists claim, therefore, there is no point entering into discussion with someone's feelings, since they

are simply felt by a human being, just as it is pointless to discuss someone's vision of good or morality, because the status of such convictions is the same as the status of the emotions.

Though criticized on philosophical grounds and rejected in its primary form described above, emotivism has taken firm hold in contemporary culture and our perception of morality (MacIntyre 2007: 23). However, MacIntyre advances the thesis that "emotivism entails the obliteration of any genuine distinction between manipulative and non-manipulative social relations" (MacIntyre 2007: 23), which results from the impossibility of the rational justification of the aims of our actions. That, in turn, makes it impossible to live by the rule – expressed most clearly by Kant, but known much earlier – not to treat one's neighbour only as a means to an end, that is, not to treat people as an object. If emotivism was a true theory, therefore, it would be impossible to distinguish if we were manipulating someone or not.

MacIntyre enlists three characters who embody, in his opinion, the emotivist perspective of human action and morality. He claims that they are also an expression of the aspirations shared by many people in today's culture, and that they are considered estimable because of their way of life and the way of reaching their goals. The first character is the aesthete described by Kierkegaard – a person deprived of lofty ideals and bored with life. The aesthete tries to overcome boredom with various pleasures and satisfy his desires – which can be done both by doing good to other people for fun and by ignoring their good. According to MacIntyre, this attitude is the common state of rich people, but can also apply to poor people, who obviously live a life different from the rich, but share the same aspirations (MacIntyre 2007: 24-25).

The second and the third characters, according to MacIntyre, embody the "obliteration of any genuine distinction between manipulative and non-manipulative social relations" (MacIntyre 2007: 25). The therapist represents the obliteration of this distinction in the personal sphere, whereas it is the

manager in the social sphere. The therapist treats the aims of his[2] action as given, defined in advance, and so focuses on the technique and the efficient transformation of a neurotic person into a well-adapted member of society. The manager, likewise, does not reflect on the rightness of his aims, as these are fixed in advance and it is his task to find the most efficient means to reach them. Neither the manager nor the therapist engage in moral debates. They restrict their field of action (and they are perceived as people who do so) to the sphere of possible rational consent, that is to the domain of facts, means and measurable effectiveness (MacIntyre 2007: 30). To put it simply, the manager's task in this context is not to realize lofty ideals or to dwell on what aims can benefit mankind. His task is to reach particular measurable results expressed, for example, in the number of sold services, products, or generated income.

The consequence of such a state of affairs is, according to MacIntyre, a lack of methods in contemporary culture and philosophy, which could be used to conduct moral debates in a rational manner. Each dispute on what should be done is doomed to be inconclusive because there are no objective criteria, independent of the adopted paradigms, which would allow us to rationally judge both the aims of the actions and the principles we should be governed by.[3]

3. The consequences of emotivism
   for personal development methods

What does the state of culture, as described by MacIntyre, have to do with human development and so-called personal development? *After Virtue*, containing his critique of the state of culture, was published in 1981. I would like to advance the thesis that emotivism, in the shape described by MacIntyre, is still reflected in our culture today, even though the example of

---

[2] For stylistic reasons, I use the pronoun *he* etc. instead of *he/she* etc.

[3] MacIntyre develops his concept of incommensurable traditions of moral enquiry in his books *Whose justice? Which Rationality?* (2007) and *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry* (1990).

a therapist seems to be vaguely described. It is also somewhat unclear why a therapist should represent emotivism according to MacIntyre. We can, however, point to another character of our times who – in my opinion – is the essence of emotivism and represents this approach in human development. It is the coach.

I use the name coach to represent a person specialized in the – recently popular – method of personal and professional development called coaching.[4] This method consists of a regular course of individual meetings between a coach and a client, which aims at defining the client's needs and resources, in order to help him crystallize his developmental goals, and then, to support him in discovering in himself the motivation to achieve them. It is assumed that a coach does not need to be an expert in the field he is conducting his coaching. This is because his role is not to give advice and hints but – by asking the proper questions – to support the client's process of self-reflection and increase of self-awareness. It is acknowledged that the client is the source of the necessary resources, which means that he has everything he needs to realize his goals. The coach is there only to bring the resources to the surface, to help the client to become aware of them and to help him in the process of planning how to use them. Interestingly, the conclusion of these guidelines is that the coach does not have to be an expert in finance, for example, to be the coach of a CFO in a company or an organization. However, he must have certain interpersonal competence, know the principles of coaching and have skills to use certain psychological tools.

From the perspective of this article, there are two particularly interesting principles of coaching for the coach to follow. The first principle says that it is the client who defines the goal he wants to reach, while the coach is by no means allowed to in-

---

[4] A great many studies and handbooks of this method in its various types have been published recently. They can thus differ in their detailed characteristics and guidelines. In this article I am presenting the most popular guidelines of coaching. I am basing these, among others, on the following books: John Whitmore (2009) and Pamela McLean (2012).

terfere in the goal his client has chosen. Of course, influenced by the coach's questions and the whole coaching process, the client might come to the conclusion that he would like to change or modify his goal, however the coach himself must not impose or suggest anything, or even express his view on the goal chosen. The second coaching principle says that the coach does not judge. He should not only avoid exerting influence on the client's choice of a goal but also keep his judgments and opinions to himself throughout the whole process – he does not comment on the client's resources, action methods, behavior, adopted plan, etc. Metaphorically speaking, a good coach is "transparent" – he should, therefore, be least visible in the process of the client's reflection on his action. The coach should "appear" only to ask or make something more precise. Speaking metaphorically yet again, a coach is like a mirror – he does not bring himself into the coaching process, neither his judgments nor his values, but he allows the client to look at himself in order to see what are his (the client's) needs and values.

I think that it is already clear, looking at these assumptions, that they strongly correspond with the assumptions of emotivist culture. The definition of the coach corresponds also with MacIntyre's descriptions of the therapist and the manager. The character of the coach is part of emotivist culture because the coach is focused on the means, technique and measurable results of his action, whereas the aim of his work is set in advance by the client. It is not important in his work if the aim realized by the client should be in accordance with a particular concept of good or other objective principles, because it is assumed that neither such concepts nor such principles exist. Their choice is purely arbitrary, depending perhaps on emotions or preferences, but it is certainly not a result of rational inquiry (an inquiry which gives the opportunity to discuss and to draw conclusions).

The state of affairs described above – concerning the four aforementioned characters – is caused by the decline of the

modern project founding morality only on the basis of reason, which is described in *After Virtue*. The question however is: Is a different state of affairs at all desired or even possible? Is there an alternative to emotivist culture? Neo-Aristotelians give a positive answer to this question, but they do not look for the sources of the alternative in modern philosophy. They call for a return to the paradigm of philosophical and ethical inquiries initiated by Aristotle and continued by the Aristotelians in antiquity and the Middle Ages.

In the following section of this article I shall present a number of assumptions which demonstrate that a different attitude towards personal development is possible. I shall also briefly characterize this attitude.

4. Practical rationality

Firstly, in order to present any alternative to emotivist culture, it has to be proved that the main assumption of this culture is false, i.e. that – contrary to what emotivism proclaims – it is possible to rationally reflect on objective values which tell us what is good and what the good aims of human actions could be like. The justification of this thesis was delivered in Aristotle's theory of practical reasoning which was described in detail and originally interpreted by John Finnis. Therefore I shall now focus on its description.

Aristotle claimed that – aside from theoretical reasoning which is aimed at cognition of reality – a human being also conducts practical reasoning which is aimed at action. In theoretical reasoning, i.e. in scientific (but also common-sense) reflection, in proving certain positions or in arguing for some theses, we must adopt certain non-provable assumptions upon which we can base our line of thought – i.e. certain axioms.[5] Practical reflection is a similar case. It answers the question: "What

---

[5] The basic assumption (axiom) is a condition of every logical argumentation, although it is not always expressed directly. An example of an axiom is the law of non-contradiction.

should I do?" Of course, during our everyday practical reasoning we do not need to analyze in detail and directly express each single premise – in practice we actually adopt most of them by default and sometimes even unconsciously.

John Finnis argues that a solid reconstruction of each single step of such reasoning may lead us to identify certain principles, assumptions which are non-provable but which must be adopted if our actions are to make any sense. Finnis (2011: 59-74) states that these first non-provable principles of practical reasoning are at the same time basic goods (or basic values) and the final goals of human actions. What are thus the basic goods, i.e. the first principles of practical reasoning and what are their features? How can we characterize them? According to Finnis, we can find this out by asking "Why does a man perform a certain activity?". By asking about the final cause of various human actions, we reach several different answers beyond which one cannot further reasonably ask: "Why?"

If we consider for example the action of typing on the computer, we could point out that the final cause of this action is to write an academic article. Having done so, we can further ask about the final cause: Why does someone write an academic article? Various answers can be given. Maybe the author wants to find a solution to a scientific problem and therefore is writing an article about it. Still asking about the final cause, we would have to answer that it is curiosity about knowledge – the author wants to know how things work. This answer is, in Finnis's view, satisfying, because everyone would intuitively understand such a cause as a final explanation and a motivation for human action. In this way, therefore, we have identified the first of the basic goods – it is knowledge, desire to know for the sake of cognition itself. We can also see here the first feature of basic goods – they are aims with no further aim. If typing on a computer or writing an academic article needs an explanation, some justification – for nobody undertakes these actions "just like that", without further reason –

then cognition and knowledge are explanations which do not require any further justification (although they do not exclude the possibility of further justification, as we shall see in the following paragraphs).

There is another possible answer to the question why someone is writing an academic article – e.g. because he wants to earn money. Receiving such an answer we can reasonably ask why someone wants to earn money. Again the answers may vary and lead us to different basic goods. Someone may want to earn money to support his family and himself – and in that case earning one's living is a good which does not require any further justification. After all, it does not make sense to ask why someone wants to support oneself. We reach here the second characteristic feature of basic goods: they are obvious and need no other explanation. One may ask how it is that people want to earn their living, but in the order of practical reasoning the will to preserve life is obvious and does not require any justification – life is a basic and obvious good.

Here is another possible answer to the question about the final cause of earning money through writing an academic article: because the author promised someone, e.g. his or her thesis supervisor, to write it. Such an explanation is also credible and does not require further explanation because it involves the will of maintaining good relations with other people, that is maintaining peace and harmony between people. This basic good is best realized in friendship.

The other basic goods are: aesthetic experience, play, religion and practical reasonableness (Finnis 2011: 85-90). Finnis perceives religion in this context as an attitude towards one's place in the universe, towards the question about the origin of order (or chaos) in the world. As for practical reasonableness, Finnis means by this the possibility of setting one's goals, plans, independent and free decision making – in other words: respect for freedom, autonomy and authenticity.

In the context of personal development it is worth mentioning two other features of basic goods. Firstly, basic goods are

aims which are realized; they are goods in which one partici-
pates but which can never be fully reached or achieved to the
end. It is impossible to reach a state of knowing everything,
neither is it possible to realize friendship to the end and not to
need it anymore. Secondly, these goods are aspects of human
fulfillment, self-realization and development. In other words,
they are aspects of human happiness – thanks to involvement
in realization of these goods, human life becomes meaningful,
happy and fulfilled. At the same time, thanks to participation
in those goods, a human being develops and strives after per-
fection.

Finnis states that the list he gives does not have to be com-
plete. He admits that he could have omitted some goods or
that the listed goods can be joined or distinguished. Some
years after his book was published, he used this loophole, and
together with his colleagues he modified the list of the basic
goods, under the influence of critique and discussions. In the
article *Practical Principles, Moral Truth, and Ultimate Ends* he
distinguished:

  1. Life itself—its maintenance and transmission and health [...]
  2. knowledge and esthetic experience [...]
  3. some degree of excellence in work and play [...]
  4. living at peace with others, neighborliness, friendship [...]
  5. harmony opposed to [...] inner disturbance [...]
  6. peace of conscience and consistency between one's self and its
     expression [...]
  7. peace with God, or the gods, or some nontheistic but more-
     than-human source of meaning and value.
                              (Finnis, Grisez, Boyle 1987: 106-108)

Regardless of which of Finnis's lists of basic goods we adopt,
his concept of practical reasoning provides a convincing argu-
ment that it is possible to rationally discuss the goods and
aims of human actions. They are not – as in emotivist culture –
merely arbitrary and emotional preferences which cannot be
rationally justified. This theory, therefore, gives the basis for

a rational justification of, for example, the superiority of one lifestyle over another (for instance: the superiority of a life realizing the value of knowledge, art or friendship, over the life of a rich aesthete as described by MacIntyre).

5. Goods internal to practices

MacIntyre's theory of goods internal to practices treats these ideas from another point of view, the question of goods as the aims of human actions. In order to explain this, we shall begin with a definition of what these practices are in the theory. MacIntyre (2007: 187) states:

> By a 'practice' I am going to mean any coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative human activity through which goods internal to that form of activity are realized in the course of trying to achieve those standards of excellence which are appropriate to, and partially definitive of, that form of activity, with the result that human powers to achieve excellence, and human conceptions of the ends and goods involved, are systematically extended.

Practice is thus a name for things in which a human being engages and which are governed by their own laws and rules. In MacIntyre's definition, neither the game of noughts and crosses nor throwing a ball is a practice. In turn, chess and football are practices – just like arts, sciences, games, politics in its Aristotelian sense, and establishing and maintaining a family. It is worth noticing that Finnis's and MacIntyre's theories approach one another in this respect, because the practices MacIntyre enlists are geared towards realization of the individual basic goods enlisted by Finnis, such as knowledge, aesthetic experiences (arts), religion, play, and friendship.

Through participation in certain practices one can realize both goods: internal and external to the practice (MacIntyre 2007: 187-189). Internal goods are to be identified and recognized only by participating in a practice. For example, the in-

ternal good of chess would be the joy experienced as a result of an interesting, exciting game; the internal good of an academic activity would be the truth towards which this activity aims and the satisfaction achieved when it is searched for and discovered; again in the case of painting the internal good would be, among others, the beauty and the joy of creation. It is thus impossible to fully understand and appreciate a certain value without participating in the practice which realizes this value. For example, one cannot appreciate the pleasure of a game of chess without knowing the rules of this game, without accepting its principles and the aims of the game, but also without having at least some skill to play chess. The greater is our competence in a domain, the more satisfaction we can derive from the possibility of participation in its practice – in this case it can be, for example, inventing chess strategies. The same thing is observed in other practices: science, arts and so on.

However, through the participation in a practice it is also possible to realize goods external to the practice. A game of chess or a scientific inquiry may bring not only the satisfaction of the game or scientific discoveries, but also such goods as fame, money or prestige. They are external to the practice because they can also be obtained by means other than the ones needed to realize internal goods. Money and fame might be obtained by scientific discoveries, chess victories and one's sacrifice and passion in these fields, but they can also be obtained by plagiarizing or by cheating during a tournament. Nevertheless, it is impossible to obtain the goods internal to a practice when we act at variance with the rules of this practice. A person who is cheating or is acting at variance with a practice, is not motivated by internal goods and the satisfaction of their realization, but rather by external factors, which results in devaluation of this practice and contributes to its destruction.

Human activity is based upon these practices, and subsequent generations join these practices. Throughout our life we encounter people and communities that participate in certain

practices and we decide to join some of them. Upon our arrival, the practice has already developed its patterns of perfection, its standards and criteria of good participation in this practice. In order to join it and to participate in it, realizing its internal goods, we must accept these standards and adapt to them (MacIntyre 2007: 190). It seems also that there are practices which allow us to extend and transform their standards, rules and criteria, yet it is possible only from the inside of the practice. For instance, within a scientific discipline, like physics, the standards and the criteria of correctly formulated theories changes but in order to introduce such a change one must first of all "enter" this practice, get to know its current standards, rules and criteria, gain experience in their functioning and only then can one aptly judge which elements contribute to the practice's development and to the realization of its goals, and which elements should be rejected or replaced. On the other hand, certain rules and goals of the practice remain unchanged – it is hard to imagine a game of chess which does not aim at the victory of one of the players, or a scientific activity which does not aim at knowing the world better. If we reject these fundamental rules and goals, it will be pointless to call those practices a game of chess or science.

MacIntyre interestingly expressed this rule by quoting the following words of St. Augustine:

> We are guided in a twofold way, by authority and by reason. In time authority comes first; in matter, reason. So it follows that authority opens the door to those who desire to learn the great and hidden good. And whoever enters by it [...] will at length learn how preeminently possessed of reason are those things which were the object of his pursuit before he saw their reason, and what that reason itself is which now that he has become firm and capable in the cradle of authority, he now follows and understands.
>
> (MacIntyre 2009: 27)

It is impossible to rationally get to know, understand or develop the standards of a practice if we do not accept its principles

at the beginning. Such a perspective on the practice coincides with Aristotle's *techne* – craft, in a broad sense, understood as a practice which has its own rules and standards. MacIntyre also referred to this notion (1990: 61-62), modifying it slightly for the sake of his theory.

MacIntyre (2007: 191) also points out that the realization of goods internal to a practice requires the cardinal virtues: prudence, courage, temperance and justice. They are required to develop the practice and keep it alive. At the same time we cannot diminish the virtues only to one practice – there might exist a good chess player who is malicious in private. The virtues must be examined in the context of life in its entirety, which covers all the practices of this person (MacIntyre 2007: 273-275).

6. The consequences of Neo-Aristotelianism
    for human development methods

The assumptions of Neo-Aristotelianism described above, represented by MacIntyre and Finnis, have specific consequences for perceiving human development and its methods. Even if it is impossible – on the basis of solely philosophical assumptions – to show that development methods grounded on emotivist guidelines are ineffective (all in all, it is hard to deny their effectiveness since it is the main or even the only object of their interest), then it can certainly be proved that they are incomplete. Namely, they omit some important aspects of human good and human fulfillment. Let us thus look – using the example of coaching – at which aspects of this method are incomplete and how it can be completed and improved in the spirit of Neo-Aristotelianism.

Firstly, since it is possible to rationally search for universal goods (thus goods are not purely arbitrary), it can be assumed that not every goal a client wishes to reach within coaching is worth reaching. It appears that a person in charge of the development of others should, therefore, reflect on the basic

goods in order to establish, together with his or her client, what kind of goal would be a true good, and not merely an ostensible one (or merely external to practice, as MacIntyre would put it). Therefore, it seems that a coach who focuses on helping his client to reach goals such as fame, prestige or money and omits the question of the basic goods, acts unethically, according to MacIntyre's reasoning.

Secondly, since human life consists of participation in certain practices and the acquisition of goods internal to these practices, the development offered by the coach within coaching will always be insufficient. Human development is a development within existing practices, and full development within a practice is possible only with the assistance of a master – an experienced person and a specialist in the practice. Only such a person knows the guidelines, goals, standards and criteria of the practice, only such a person knows its complexities and arcane details, and only such a person can successfully familiarize a novice with all of these things. Questioning which is the main coaching tool, may obviously help the client to make an important decision, to activate his motivation or to develop his self-awareness. However, only using these coaching tools, the coach is not able to develop the specific knowledge or skill which is always set within a concrete practice – be it academic inquiry or playing football. A coach, having no expertise in the given field himself, cannot introduce the client to it.

Thirdly, the master introducing a novice into a practice, unlike the coach, cannot act without judging nor without sharing his own experiences. The master, being already a participant of the practice and having experience within it, sees better its strong points. He also gains experience, verifies it and can pass it on. The novice in turn, as St. Augustine said, must first acknowledge the authority of the master who is familiarizing him with the practice, so that he can act within the practice on his own and judge its elements, standards, criteria etc. Whereas in coaching, it is against its principles to pass judgement, to advise and to share experience.

Fourthly, the master should have particular moral and intellectual virtues which the novice can follow as an example of how to act to reach the goods internal to the practice and how to keep the practice alive. These virtues are essential for the practice to cultivate its traditions, standards and to reach its goals. The lack of such virtues may result in focusing on external goods which are always destructive for the practice. That element is absent in coaching since the coach is not a role model of good practices for his client. As stated above, he is rather like a mirror in which the client can see himself from a different perspective. Following this metaphor, we could say that the client does not look at the coach in order to follow his example. The coach is not a role model of the right conduct for his client. The client looks at himself.

The above presented remarks on coaching do not suggest that the method in question is ineffective or that it should be abandoned. Substantiating such statements is not the aim of this article. Moreover, in many contexts coaching tools also seem appropriate from the perspective of the attitude towards education and development presented above (e.g. asking the right questions to stimulate someone's reflection and motivation). The presented remarks show, however, that the coaching method is insufficient and thus when used in the spirit of emotivism may sometimes lead to destruction of the communities which participate in certain practices rather than their maintenance.

7. Postscript: University education

Finally it is worth noting that one of the practices described by MacIntyre is academic inquiry. This provokes reflection on the relation of the issues presented concerning the methods of human development to university education. It seems from the deliberations above that emotivist culture along with the developmental methods based upon this culture's philosophical guidelines, can endanger academic practice and the academic

community. Rejecting practical rationality and its concept of basic goods or goods internal to the practices may lead to the obliteration of a distinction between manipulative and non-manipulative human relations within this practice. It may also lead to the rejection of the need to cultivate the moral virtues which protect the practice from disintegration – these virtues also enable the practice to become part of a broader concept of a good life as a unity. Such are the potential dangers resulting from the domination of emotivist culture at university.

An alternative facilitation and preservation of the practice of academic inquiry at university can be developmental methods based upon Neo-Aristotelian guidelines. The university needs what might be termed masters – people who, on the one hand, have wisdom and knowledge, thus intellectual virtues and academic competence, and have the proper experience and proficiency in this practice (i.e. academic inquiry). On the other hand, they should also be people who have competence to correctly and effectively introduce novices into the world of this practice – in which case some coaching tools can be of use. Masters should not treat science and teaching like an object, rather they should reflect on the basic goods and the internal goods which are realized by their practice. They should also be aware of the importance of their task and their mission, which places university practices among other practices leading to a good and fulfilled life. Moreover, masters should possess the right moral virtues, ones which would be a guiding light for novices and which would save the practice of academic inquiry from the crisis caused by an excessive focus on goods external to practices.

A method of education and development, adapted to the needs of the practice of academic inquiry, based upon the master-pupil relation, and meeting Neo-Aristotelian guidelines, is tutoring.[6]

---

[6] I present the philosophical guidelines and sources of tutoring understood in this way in *Tutoring: Teoria, praktyka, studia przypadków* (Fingas 2015: 37-61).

References

Anscombe, G. E. M. (1958). "Modern moral philosophy". *Philosophy* 33: 1-19.

Fingas, Bartosz (2015). "Fundamenty i źródła tutoringu". In: Piotr Czekierda, Bartosz Fingas, Marcin Szala (eds.). *Tutoring: Teoria, praktyka, studia przypadków*. Warszawa: Wolters Kluwer, 37-61.

Finnis, John, Germain Grisez, Joseph Boyle (1987). "Practical principles, moral truth, and ultimate ends". *The American Journal of Jurisprudence* 32: 99-151.

Finnis, John (2011). *Natural Law and Natural Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Macintyre, Alasdair (1988). *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

Macintyre, Alasdair (1990). *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry: Encyclopaedia, Genealogy, and Tradition*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

Macintyre, Alasdair (2007). *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

Macintyre, Alasdair (2009). *God, Philosophy, Universities: A Selective History of the Catholic Philosophical Tradition*. Lanham – Boulder – New York – Toronto – Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers INC.

McLean, Pamela (2012). *The Completely Revised Handbook of Coaching*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass A Wiley Imprint.

Whitmore, John (2009). *Coaching for Performance*. London – Boston: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.

Bartosz Fingas
Uniwersytet Warszawski
Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28
00-927 Warszawa
Poland
E-mail: bartosz.fingas@cw.edu.pl

Language, communication, observation
and coupling in second-order change

GRZEGORZ GRZEGORCZYK

Abstract

Evidence and research shows that coaching and cognitive therapies bring desired effects to a considerable number of those choosing to undergo the methods they offer. Although these results have been in many instances well documented, still too little, if anything, has been said about the core reasons of this effectiveness. Our claim in this text is that language use plays a pivotal role. Substantiating this view, we found classical models of communication and change inadequate, thus we propose an alternative approach. The new biocognitive perspective allows us to integrate language, communication and change in one model based on an ecological stance. In order to design this model we redefine cognition following Maturana (1980), as an ability to respond to environmental events. This leads us to employ Maturana's concept of structural coupling (Maturana 1975) and the notion of cognitive domain as well as his understanding of languaging. As a result, we receive a model of communication which might cast more light on the mechanisms behind second-order change.

Key words

change, cognition, communication, language, languaging

Langage, communication, observation
et accouplement dans le changement de deuxième ordre

Résumé

Les recherches et les faits montrent que le *coaching* et les psychothérapies cognitives sont efficaces pour un grand nombre de personnes qui décident de recourir à ce type d'aide cognitive. Bien que les résultats des thérapies et du *coaching* soient bien documentés pour de nombreux cas, on n'a pas assez commenté les principales raisons de leur efficacité. Le présent texte propose une explication selon laquelle c'est le langage qui joue le rôle principal dans les changements. Les modèles classiques qui décrivent les mécanismes et l'essence de la communication linguistique se révèlent incapables d'expliquer les causes des découvertes dont on parle ci-dessus, une approche alternative, s'inscrivant dans le courant biocognitif, est donc proposée. Cette nouvelle perspective cognitive permet d'intégrer les notions-clés du langage, de la communication et du changement dans un modèle basé sur l'attitude écologique. Pour établir ce modèle, la notion de connaissance a été reformulée suivant la proposition de Maturana et Varela (1980) qui la définissaient comme une capacité de réagir aux événements de l'environnement. Cela donne un modèle de communication qui peut éclairer les mécanismes qui se cachent derrière le changement de deuxième ordre.

Mots-clés

changement, communication, connaissance, langage, mise en langage (*languaging*)

Język, komunikacja, obserwacja
i sprzężenie w procesie zmiany

Abstrakt

Badania i fakty pokazują, że coaching oraz terapie poznawcze przynoszą pożądane skutki w przypadku znacznej liczby osób, które de-

cydują się skorzystać z tych kognitywnych form pomocowych. Choć wyniki procesów terapeutycznych i coachingowych są w wielu przypadkach dobrze udokumentowane, wciąż zbyt mało, o ile cokolwiek, zostało powiedziane na temat głównych powodów ich skuteczności. Niniejszy tekst prezentuje stanowisko, zgodnie z którym to język odgrywa zasadniczą rolę w zmianie. Klasyczne modele opisujące mechanizmy i istotę komunikacji językowej okazują się niewystarczające do wyjaśnienia przyczyn powyższych odkryć, stąd propozycja alternatywnego podejścia w nurcie biokognitywnym. Ta nowa perspektywa poznawcza pozwala zintegrować kluczowe pojęcia języka, komunikacji i zmiany w jednym modelu w oparciu o postawę ekologiczną. W celu opracowania tego modelu przedefiniujemy pojęcie poznania za Maturaną i Varelą (1980) ujmując je jako zdolność do reagowania na zdarzenia środowiskowe. W rezultacie otrzymamy model komunikacji, który może rzucić więcej światła na mechanizmy stojące za zmianą drugiego rzędu.

Słowa kluczowe

język, komunikacja, languaging, poznanie, zmiana

> It is difficult to imagine how any behavior in the presence of another person can avoid being a communication of one's own view of the nature of one's relationship with that person and how it can, therefore, fail to influence that person.
>
> (Watzlawick et al. 1974: xv)

1. Introduction

Let us begin by mentioning two real-life cases from coaching processes for a group of ten third year BA students and young academics at the University of Gdansk, Poland. Each of them went through a series of seven sixty-minute sessions with a professional qualified coach at intervals of about fourteen days. The students volunteered for the program declaring an issue that was to be the leading topic of the process. The goal in each case was to experience positive behaviour/mental

change with the verifying parameters established by each of them at the outset. The sessions were recorded. Coachee 1 declared a feeling of frustration and hopelessness caused by lack of clear goals in both his academic and future professional career. In the closing session he claimed the following: "I learned my weak and strong points", "I think I know now what I'd like to do in my life", "I find it easier to look into the future", "I feel I have clear goals and I know how to reach them". Three months after the last session, Coachee 1 informed the coach that he had started a job as a German teacher at a secondary school in Gdańsk. Coachee 2, meanwhile, described his problem as fear of speaking in public, particularly at conferences abroad. The symptoms he found particularly disturbing were behaviours such as closing his eyes when speaking or speaking in a sitting position hidden behind an open laptop computer. The goal in his case was to feel more at ease during public performances, which would result in him delivering his papers or lectures standing in front of the audience maintaining eye contact with them. Coachee 2 declared the following changes after the process: "I feel more relaxed when speaking in public", "I stopped being paralysed by the thought that someone may catch me speaking bad English". The observable effect, documented on video, was that Coachee 2 started speaking to the audience with his eyes open maintaining an upright standing position.

2. The definition of coaching

Coaching can be defined as "an adult learning strategy in which the coach promotes the learner's ability to reflect on his or her actions as a means to determine the effectiveness of an action or to practice and develop a plan for refinement and use of the action in immediate and future situations" (Rush, Shelden 2005). It is an interactive process of self-observation, one-to-one discussion, and the client's reflection provoked by the coach. As the coach invites the client to participate in a con-

versation structured along a specific model, the method can be described as one which facilitates the client's inner personal change where language is the primary tool. In the conversation, the coach remains less active facilitating the client's cognitive processes by asking questions, paraphrasing and backtracking his/her answers, occasionally employing short periods of silence. Counselling is reduced to the absolute minimum or even absent from the process. This, according to the coaching standards, is supposed to bring forth all the client's cognitive resources for him/her to come up with solutions which suit him/her best (cf. Whitmore 2009). In this text we propose the thesis that language is a tool of effective coaching or therapeutic intervention leading to the individual's modification or change of behaviour. What is meant by behaviour modification or change is a client's departure from paradigm A, seen as a way of thinking or acting in context-specific situations, in favour of paradigm B, achieved through reflection and bringing up to conscious cognitive processes the mechanisms the client employs in his/her epistemology.

Bearing the above argumentation in mind, we propose that coaching and therapies based on language, with their positive effects for clients, form a category of cognitive methods of change, thereby supporting the client's self-efficacy. The theoretical foundations and rationale for establishing this category can be found in a number of behavioural change theories, such as transformative learning theory, constructivism (Piaget 1950, Glasersfeld 2001), social cognitive theory (Bandura 1991), the transtheoretical model of change (Prochaska, DiClemente 2005), and the health action process approach (Sniehotta 2009). All these theories assume that change is the result of the facilitated reflection of an individual over his/her past behaviour and thinking patterns in order to design a new model based on the available personal cognitive resources. The resulting change is always context-based and appears to have a causal nature (a change leads to a change), which embeds our claim in a Batesonian model (cf. Bateson 1973). Some

other forms of cognitive methods of change include Therapy of Acceptance and Commitment, Solution-focused Therapy, Rational-emotive Therapy (REBT), Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT) or Motivational Interviewing. What spans all these approaches is that they all exploit language as their prime tool. In the course of a series of coaching/therapeutic sessions the coach/therapist facilitates the process of the client's analysis and reflection by moderating it with questions and paraphrasing/backtracking the client's utterances. This helps maintain the non-directive character of the process thus leaving the entire responsibility for the solutions to the client.

3. An alternative look at behaviour change

There is a body of evidence confirming the effectiveness of both coaching and language based therapies. Forman et al. (2007), MacKie (2014), Smither et al. (2003) Theeboom et al. (2014), Grant et al. (2010) all point to the significance of the linguistic factor in the coach's and therapist's work as a prime tool not only in communication with the client but also as the spark igniting change. Sadly, none of the aforementioned studies focus on the "ins and outs" of the function that language has in the cognitive processes leading to change. Any theory nesting the actual help methods being discussed also neglect this factor, instead they focus on the individual's behaviour in isolation from the social, spatial and linguistic environment. One of the few models depicting and clarifying the mechanisms of change is Prochaska and DiClemente's (2005) Transtheoretical Model of Change. By noticing that the stage of change a client is in is actually declared in the language he/she uses, they acknowledge the importance of this element of therapy. In other words, linguistic paradigms provide cues to the therapist about the progress or regression in the therapeutic process. This offers an opportunity of constant diagnosis and, if need be, of therapeutic intervention for the benefit of the client. The model has been criticised for its stage-based thinking of activi-

ty promotion resulting from the clear-cut boundaries imposed by the authors (defined by language cues) and arbitrariness of the stages (Adams and White 2004). Also, the model apparently ignores the contextual-communicative aspect of the therapy choosing instead to analyse the subject of change in abstraction. As we will demonstrate below, a different approach needs to be taken to successfully incorporate the element of language in the analysis of behavioural change.

Adopting the enactivist and ecological perspective and applying the findings of Maturana and Bateson, we will claim that change occurs as a result of communicative interaction of living organisms between each other and their environment. The outcome of such interaction is information, or the Batesonian "the difference that makes a difference" (Bateson 1972). Organisms, owing to the plasticity of their structures, are perturbed and react to this difference by congruence within the possibilities offered by their organizational structure. In other words, the structure of the system changes. This is how Maturana and Varela (1980) define cognition: as a basic ability to respond to environmental events. The communicative interaction between two organisms results in the occurrence of an autonomous, strictly bounded system called consensual domain: "If the two plastic systems are organisms, the result of the ontogenic structural coupling is a consensual domain". (Maturana 1975: 326). It is important to realise that this extensive shaping of organisms in their mutual interactions with their environment and other organisms is congruent rather than the mere fitting together of their structures. Therefore, the change which is the result of coaching and therapy might be described in these biocognitive terms. In this paradigm we see the mind and the body as one inseparable whole where the client's cognition is enacted in the history of his/her communicative interactions with a coach or therapist. At the same time, this view makes us see the mind as embodied and embedded in an individual's experience and the environment. Based on these findings and exploiting Maturana and Varela's

enactivist and non-Carthesian approach we propose the bio-cognitive model of behavioural change as an alternative to those mentioned above. In this model we understand change as a compensatory behaviour undertaken by the cognizing in-dividual in the presence of perturbation from his/her envi-ronment and another individual during their mutual interac-tion. This "compensatory behaviour" is restricted by structural conditions in the living organism despite the triggering poten-tial of the interactions the organism might be involved in (Maturana and Varela 1992: 95). In this approach, change is the function of the organization and the structure of the indi-vidual's cognitive system. A cognitive system is understood here as "a system whose organization defines a domain of in-teractions in which it can act with relevance to the mainte-nance of itself, and the process of cognition is the actual (in-ductive) acting or behaving in this domain" (Maturana and Varela 1980: 13). The fact that each system is determined by its own structure with its own potential in terms of plasticity is the key to understand why not every coaching/therapeutic process ends in a change in the client's behaviour. Being the result of structural coupling, change results from the degree of plasticity of a particular system and the reactions of the cog-nizer to the events and stimuli from the environment and his/her interactant (here: coach/therapist) are conditioned by the structure of the former's cognitive system (cf. Maturana 1980).

It becomes evident that in our biocognitive approach to communication the interactants appear as systems. This is in line with Anderson's and Gooloshian's stance in their analysis of collaborative therapy. They propose that the therapist and the client are in fact "linguistic systems" (Anderson 1997; An-derson and Goolishian 1988). The series of conversations that a coach/therapist and his/her client become engaged in under context-specific conditions (e.g. Pelham 2016; Anderson and Goolishian 1992) makes them (as dynamic living linguistic sys-tems) interact maintaining their identities in the process of

"structural coupling" resulting for the client in his/her constant selection of "congruent dynamics of state" (Maturana and Guiloff 1980: 139). Structural coupling in this case will be understood as structure-determined (and structure-determining) engagement of the cognizing client with the coach/client as another linguistic system. The factors distinguishing therapeutic/coaching conversation from other types of dialogic interactions are: the ultimate goal of the communicative relationship and the agreement specified in the contract between the two participants establishing their roles and responsibilities during the process. To sum up, there are three chief factors present in the process of change (which result from communicative interaction), i.e. the structure of the cognizing system, the range of the possible structural reconfigurations and/or transformations and the set of the potential perturbations affecting the interacting system. As the cognizer's behavioural and cognitive mechanisms are motivated by the structure of his biocognitive system, any change in the structure of this system will result in changes in his/her patterns of behaviour (Maturana 1975).

4. Communication and information in coaching

The above considerations see behavioural and/or mental change in terms of biological processes, which has made us rethink the concept of communication proposed by Reddy (1979). Similarly, Lasswell's famous formula (who says what? in which channel? to whom? with what effect?) (Lasswell 1949) needs a radical overhaul. The reason for this is the fact that language in these models is treated as a code. According to Bateson, however, there is no decoding but rather the making of constant decisions as to what to do with the information gained. The freedom of accepting the information offered in communication with one's environment explains why the same bit of information for some individuals can become an element inducing change whereas for some others not. Certainly, change is possible and within every individual's reach. Firstly,

this attitude can be derived from Korzybski's words: "We need not blind ourselves with the old dogma that 'human nature cannot be changed', for we find that it can be changed" (1994: xxxv). Secondly, following Bateson, if a system enters in a relationship with its environment or with itself (as all living organisms possess an autonomic ability to observe differences within themselves and their surroundings – this is what Bateson terms as 'the mind'), it receives information. This is where a potential for change manifests itself.

When proposing a new approach to communication, we need to critically look at the notion of information, which seems to be the crux of any communicative interchange. Bateson's understanding of information (as a difference that makes a difference, see above) seems to echo the postulates of MacKay's (1969), for whom difference is the product of meaning-making. Still, it remains unclear what stands behind this understanding of the key notion. In trying to clarify this, following the premises of Bateson's communication theory, we will use the cybernetic perspective by adopting the explanation provided by one of the originators of cybernetics, Norbert Wiener:

> Information is a name for the content of what is exchanged with the outer world as we adjust to it, and make our adjustment felt upon it. The process of receiving and of using information is the process of our adjusting to the contingencies of the outer environment, and of our living effectively within that environment. The needs and the complexity of modern life make greater demands on this process of information than ever before. […] To live effectively is to live with adequate information. Thus, communication and control belong to the essence of man's inner life, even as they belong to his life in society.
>
> (Wiener 1954: 17f.)

Wiener affirms that information influences our perception of the environment while being the result of our interaction, or communication with it. Information is also responsible for the

changes, or "adjustments" that occur within us as participants in the process of interaction, or "exchange". It is worth noting for the purposes of our further discussion that for Wiener information has an alternating value leading to a more effective life. The weakness of this claim, however, can be found in the concept of effective living which Wiener does not, unfortunately, elaborate on. Although he explains that being in possession of "adequate information" is a prerequisite for effective living it seems unclear what that might involve. Nonetheless, from what he writes we can infer that conforming to the environment after receiving information allows us to achieve our goals and function properly as part of a greater system. In spite of this, a question emerges at this point: what happens with the "content" that has been exchanged between us and the outer world? And what is the significance of this content for the participants of this exchange? All these doubts signal the limitations of the cybernetic approach as being normative and model-based, and which therefore refers us to a more factual, argumentative and explanatory view based on the biology of cognition that offers more tools to let us understand the nature of communication, leading to change resulting from a specific type of communication.

Seeing the role of the principle of structural determination in communicating also alerts us to treat the conventional notion of information as inadequate in our approach. Maturana and Varela note that in the cognitivistic approaches, the 'receiver' adapts to the state of the 'sender' through the medium of a 'message', "as though what happens to a system in an interaction is determined by the perturbing agent and not by its structural dynamics" (Maturana and Varela 1987: 196). This is the case of "instructive interaction", which, clearly, is not what we observe, for instance, in coaching and therapy communication. The model of communication Maturana and Varela offer is supposed to be universal, nevertheless it manifests itself particularly in the context of coaching and therapy. Here, one of the communicating entities, i.e. the client, as-

sumes the role of the observer as a result of the coach's/ therapist's approach (applying linguistic tools and adopting an emphatic yet dissociated stance) and interprets his/her own words by making new sense of them. A difference appears in the thinking patterns of the client and following this, a difference in meaning, allowing the client to adapt appropriately to this new interpretation (Hayles 1999).

5. Cognition and change

Change will not occur only when the difference is not perceived or recognized by the cognitive system. A cognitive act becomes a change in that the mind receiving new information must revise and transform the representational structures it has created so far. However, the kind of change we mean in the case of coaching and therapy is second-order change, which

> involves a nonlinear progression, a transformation from one state to another. The aim would be to enable the individual to behave, think, or feel differently. Within the second-order change approach, applicable practice tools might be modelling, confrontation, conflict work, refraining and, most important, the introduction of decisively different personal experience over time.
>
> (Maier 1987: 17)

Our daily communicative interactions do not provoke this type of change and in spite of the fact that some individuals do sometimes find their road to Damascus as a result of a chance conversation or experienced moments of enlightenment followed by reversals of beliefs or values, we cannot consider them exemplary here. What we are looking for is the explanation of why intentional communication in coaching or the therapeutic paradigm leads to second-order change. The answer may be found in the importance of language in client-coach/therapist communication. Although some cognitive therapies, like REBT seem to overestimate the role of verbal mediation in that they assume that thoughts can be literally

represented by words, sometimes to the extreme of considering that even a hyperbolic statement can reflect mental states, they prove unquestionably effective as demonstrated earlier in this text. The problem seems to be then not in the fact that so much emphasis is put on language but on the way language is perceived and defined. Assuming the enactivist stance we are offered sound elucidation of the role and responsibility of language in coaching and therapy. The rationale behind this approach lies in the observation that a client's cognition appears as a result of his/her dynamic interaction with the coach/therapist in the contextual conditioning of the coaching/therapeutic conversation. More generally,

> Organisms do not passively receive information from their environments, which they then translate into internal representations. Natural cognitive systems […] participate in the generation of meaning through their bodies and action often engaging in transformational and not merely informational interactions: they enact a world. […] The 'finding' of meaning must be enacted in a concrete and specific reduction of the dimensions that the organism-environment system affords along the axis of relevance for autonomy.
>
> (Di Paolo et al. 2010: 39)

People are intertwined in relational networks that are built in and through language and are constantly taking part in multiple conversations. These can be "internal" within ourselves and "external" with other people. Through these conversations we make sense of our experiences; therefore, language systems are also "meaning-generating systems" (Anderson 1997). From this perspective, language is not just a "tool" that human beings use to describe the world and themselves. Rather, language builds or constitutes lived reality (Anderson and Gehart 2006: 370).

6. The role of language in coaching

Language seen from the enactivist perspective appears as a symbolic representation of the structure of the client's (treated as a biological organism) cognitive system and the object in the process of meaning-making when answering the coach's/ therapist's questions. The process of change is then a semiotic operation performed by means of the tool of language/ stimulus in the adaptation of an individual to the environment and its conditions (i.e. specific type of conversation). As a result of this, the role of the tool of language is as a mode of interaction in the form of a space becoming a consensual domain, which may be called languaging (cf. Kravchenko 2011), i.e. actual language use. As such, language facilitates the type of dialogue allowing the client to reflect upon his/her paradigms of thinking and behaviour. The awareness thus gained offers the cognizer a wider choice of behavioural/thinking strategies from which to select the one useful in order to solve the problem, which is how the feature of self-referentiality works . This, naturally, does not imply automatically any radical change as the condition expressed by Maturana and Varela (1980), i.e. the structure being "ready" to adapt to new conditions, is not always satisfied. Seen from this perspective, language seems to be something more than mere transmission of information between two individuals. It can be also portrayed as a means of self-dialogue (cf. Shaw 2001).

Summing up, the efficiency of coaching and cognitive, i.e. language-mediated therapies seems to find its explanation in two major notions: communication and language. Neither of them, however, can be understood in the classical sense in terms of transmission and code, respectively. The ecological perspective adopted here allows us to see client-coach/therapist conversations as something more than an exchange of information. Drawing on Batesonian cybernetics, phenomenology and Maturana and Varela's radical biology, we

also touch upon the paradigm of thinking about language and communication akin to that of Wittgenstein and Merleau-Ponty.

References

Adams, J., M. White (2004). "Why don't stage-based activity promo-tion interventions work?" *Health Education Research* 20/2: 237-243. doi: 10.1093/her/cyg105.

Anderson, H. (1997). C*onversation, Language, and Possibilities: A Postmodern Approach to Therapy.* New York: Basic Books.

Anderson, H., D. Gehart (2006). *Collaborative Therapy: Relationships and Conversations That Make a Difference.* New York: Routledge.

Anderson. H., H. Goolishian (1988). "Human systems as linguistic systems: Preliminary and evolving ideas about the implications for clinical theory". *Family Process* 27: 157-163.

Anderson. H., H. Goolishian (1992). "The client is the expert: A not-knowing approach to Therapy". In: S. McNamee, K. Gergen (eds.). *Therapy as Social Construction.* Newbury Park. CA: Sage. 25-39.

Bandura A. (1991). "Self-regulation of motivation through anticipa-tory and self-reactive Mechanisms". In: R. A Dienstbier (ed.). *Per-spectives on Motivation: Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* 38: 69-164.

Bateson, G. (1972). *Steps to an Ecology of Mind.* San Fransisco Chandler Publishing Co.

Di Paolo, E., M. Rhohde, H. De Jaegher (2010). "Horizons for the en-active mind: Values, social interaction, and play". In: J. Stewart, O. Gapenne, E. A. Di Paolo (eds.). *Enaction: Toward a New Para-digm for Cognitive Science.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 33-87.

Forman E. M., J. D. Herbert, E. Moitra, P. D. Yeomans, P. A. Geller (2007). "A randomized controlled effectiveness trial of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy and Cognitive Therapy for anxiety and depression". *Behavior Modification* 31: 772–799.

Glasersfeld, E. Von (2001). "The radical constructivist view of sci-ence". In: A. Riegler (ed.). *Foundations of Science* (Special issue *The Impact of Radical Constructivism on Science*) 6/1-3: 31-43.

Grant, A. M., L. Curtayne, G. Burton (2009). "Executive coaching

enhances goal attainment, resilience and workplace well-being:
A randomized controlled study". *The Journal of Positive Psychology*
4: 396-407.

Kravchenko A. (2011). "How Humberto Maturana's biology of cogni-
tion can revive the language sciences". *Constructivist Foundations*
6/3: 352-362.

Korzybski, A. (1994). *Science and Sanity: An Introduction to Non-
Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics*. Brooklyn, NY: Insti-
tute of General Semantics.

Lasswell, H. D. (1948). "The structure and function of communica-
tion in society". In: L. Bryson (ed.). *The Communication of Ideas.*
Vol. 37. New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 37-
51.

Mac Kay, D. M. (1969). *Information, Mechanism and Meaning.* Cam-
bridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press,

MacKie, D. (2014). "The effectiveness of strength-based executive
coaching in enhancing full range leadership development: A con-
trolled study". *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Re-
search* 66/2: 118-137. doi: 10.1037/cpb0000005.

Maier, H. W. (1987). *Developmental Group Care of Children and
Youth: Concepts and Practice*. New York: Haworth.

Maturana, H. R. (1975). "The organization of the living: A theory of
the living organization". *International Journal of Man-Machine
Studies* 7: 313-332.

Maturana, H. R., F. Varela (1980). *Autopoiesis and Cognition: The
Realization of the Living.* Boston: Reidel.

Maturana, H., G. Guiloff (1980). The quest for the intelligence of in-
telligence. *Journal of Social and Biological Structures* 3: 135-148.

Maturana, H., F. Varela (1992). *The Tree of Knowledge: The Biological
Roots of Human Understanding.* Boston: Shambhala.

Pelham, G. (2016). *The Coaching Relationship in Practice*. London:
SAGE Publishing.

Piaget, J. (1950). *The Psychology of Intelligence*. New York: Routledge.

Prochaska, J. O., C. C. DiClemente (2005). "The transtheoretical
approach". In: J.C. Norcross, M. R. Goldfried (eds.). *Handbook of
Psychotherapy Integration*. New York: Oxford University Press,
147-171.

Reddy, M. (1979). "The conduit metaphor: A case of frame conflict in
our language about language". In: A. Ortony (ed.). *Metaphor and
Thought.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 284-324.

Rush, D. D., M. L. Shelden (2005). Evidence-based definition of coaching practices. *CASEInPoint* 1/6: 1-6.

Shaw V.N. (2001). "Self-dialogue as a fundamental process of expression". *Social Thought & Research* 24/1-2: 271-312.

Smither, J. W., M. London, R. Flautt, Y. Vargas, I. Kucine (2003). "Can working with an executive coach improve multi-source feedback ratings over time? A quasi-experimental field study". *Personnel Psychology* 56: 23-44. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6570.2003.tb00142.x.

Sniehotta, F. F. (2009). "Towards a theory of intentional behaviour change: Plans, planning, and self-regulation". *British Journal of Health Psychology* 14: 261-273.

Theeboom, T., B. Beersma, A. E. van Vianen (2014). "Does coaching work? A meta-analysis on the effects of coaching on individual level outcomes in an organizational context." *The Journal of Positive Psychology* 9: 1-18.

Watzlawick, P., J. Weakland, R. Fisch (1974). *Change Principles of Problem Formation and Resolution.* New York: W. W. Norton and Co.

Whitmore, J. (2009). *Coaching for Performance.* London: Nicolas Brealey Publishing.

Wiener, N. (1954). *The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society.* Garden City – New York: Doubleday Anchor.

Grzegorz Grzegorczyk
Uniwersytet Gdański
Instytut Lingwistyki Stosowanej
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: grzegorz.grzegorczyk@ug.edu.pl

REVIEWS

Ex-sistere: Women's Mobility in Contemporary Irish, Welsh and Galician Literatures edited by María Jesús Lorenzo-Modia

MARTA PORTELA FERNÁNDEZ

The Latin word *ex(s)istere*, to exist, refers to the act of being born, of moving from the maternal womb to the world outside. Hence, to live is to move, to travel, to progress. So how is it possible that in traditional historiography women have been ignored in such an elementary component of human nature? Lorenzo-Modia's collection of essays brings women's mobility to the fore, analysing works from three Atlantic European literary traditions: Galician, Irish and Welsh.

These three nations experienced heavy migratory flows in the 19th century, owing to the drawbacks of agriculturally based economies and their peripheral positions in relation to centres of power. Nowadays, they are once again seeing an increase in migration, this time due to their governments' policies of economic austerity in the context of the current economic recession. This is reflected in their literature, which is formed to a great extent by works written in their numerous diasporas. Moreover, such similarities facilitate the study and analysis of mobility in fiction through comparisons between

these migratory waves and the literary production associated with their diasporas.

Traditional literary criticism dealing with diasporic narratives of these countries has typically focused on male writers. However, sociologists such as Breda Gray (2004) and María Xosé Rodríguez Galdo (2009) have recently turned their attention to the role of women in migration. The essays collected in *Ex-sistere* seek to address mobility in literature from a gendered perspective, thus creating a bridge between literary criticism and sociology, helping to bring to light women's experience. In order to analyse the discourse of women writers on mobility, their studies take feminist, postcolonial and poststructuralist approaches.

Feminist and postcolonial criticism has tended to see travel and mobility as transgressive acts within the patriarchal models of Western societies, which have traditionally confined women to the private sphere. Bearing in mind that such theories used to refer mainly to middle-class white women, it is interesting to see that some critics, such as Judith Butler, have noted that when women are migrants, thus finding themselves isolated and in a different environment, they can be seen as belonging to a different ethnic group. Therefore, it is necessary to address notions of otherness (Butler 2005) and of women as nomadic subjects (Braidotti 1994), regarding both physical and psychological displacements from a gendered perspective.

The comparative analysis presented in *Ex-sistere* aims to find connections and intersections between three different nations and literary traditions on the basis of both their similarities and distinctive features. The three communities share a number of social and historical circumstances regarding their struggle to reconstruct a national identity, their official though minoritized vernacular languages, their massive migratory flows and, nowadays, their peripheral position within the European Union. Such parallelisms are visible in the literary

production of these nations, and are the starting point for *Exsistere*.

The book is divided into three sections, reflecting the three different literary traditions analysed in the essays. The first section deals with Galician literature. In the opening chapter, María López Sández discusses women's mobility in Galician literature, considering the historical background of different literary periods as well as focusing on contemporary women writers. The reworking of the classical myth of Penelope waiting for Ulysses to return home is especially important in her analysis from Díaz Castro's representation of Galicia as a passive Penelope to Xohana Torres' "Eu tamén navegar" [I too wish to navigate], a vindication of women's desire to take charge of their lives and travel. A good number of contemporary Galician women writers are part of the most recent generation of migrants; for them, mobility is a normal part of life. López Sández analyses how mobility affects the perception of Galicia in these writers' works. She argues that they have taken the traditional geographical imaginary and transformed it through an eco-feminist perspective, and thus that "women stop being the subject of a metaphor to become subjects implicated in the defence and protection of the territory" (López Sández 2016: 21).

In the next article, María Xesús Nogueira examines the use of foreign toponymy in contemporary Galician poetry by women, analysing works by María Reimóndez, Luz Pozo Garza and María do Cebreiro, among others. Apart from the way in which this reflects these poets' personal experience of travel and mobility, Nogueira also notes how external place names are used to create new imaginaries and hence to serve a political function: "These uses seek the visibilisation of forgotten places, the criticism of areas of conflict and new relationship models for external spaces, principally with those which occupy peripherical positions" (Nogueira 2016: 51).

The following article, by Olivia Rodríguez-González, analyses migration through Eva Moreda's short novel *A Veiga é como un*

tempo distinto (2011). Rodríguez-González pays special attention to the concept of chronotope. The story follows two characters who emigrate to London during Franco's dictatorship. The title itself, which considers the village A Veiga to be in a "different time", conveys the chronotopical value of the novel: "it occurs in the chronotope of emigration that the place which is abandoned, and thought of from a distance, remains frozen in the psychological time of the character" (Rodríguez-González 2016: 63).

The closing chapter in the section on Galician literature is an autobiographical text by Xesús Fraga, who writes an account of his family's experiences of migration, focusing on his mother and grandmother. The story begins with the former's journey to London, afraid that the immigration control authorities might discover that she is pregnant and deny her access to the country. Her experience is contrasted with that of her own mother, who emigrated to London after her husband left for Venezuela and was never heard of again, forcing her to falsify his signature in order to be able to travel alone – a requirement for women during Franco's dictatorship.

The first article in the section on Irish literature considers the work of Honor Tracy, an English writer who lived in Ireland. José Francisco Fernández examines the depictions of Ireland, Spain and Galicia in Tracy's collection of travel writing. Fernández remarks on the different treatment that both Ireland and Galicia receive in Tracy's works, as opposed to that of Spain or England, thus illustrating the colonial mindset with which she travelled, leaving her unable to understand the idiosyncrasies of two colonized regions.

In the next article, María Dolores González Penas and María Amelia Fraga Fuentes analyse the discourses of identity and emigration in the play *Tea in a China Cup*, by Christina Reid. Through its main character, Beth, the audience sees the story of an Irish-Protestant family in Northern Ireland, as well as the protagonist's development. González Penas and Fraga Fuentes focus their analysis on an aspect of the play which usually

goes unnoticed by critics – the portrayal of emigration. By opposing the characters of Beth, a non-migrant, and Theresa, a migrant, they study issues of mobility in the play.

María Jesús Lorenzo-Modia presents the case of emigration in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. Many people left the country at that time in search of more peaceful surroundings, among them intellectuals and writers. However, Lorenzo-Modia focuses on the poet Medbh McGuckian and her decision to remain in her homeland. This lack of mobility is addressed as "a symbol of resistance, of the active defence of the land and the people" (Lorenzo-Modia 2016: 136); meanwhile, the act of leaving can be understood as a form of surrender.

In the final chapter of this section, Manuela Palacios presents a collection of photographs of migrating women and the descriptions provided by their relatives, including Irish women writers such as Celia de Fréine, Paula Meehan and Lia Mills, among others. In an exercise both of memory and creative writing, these authors seek to rescue the previously silenced experience of women's migration and to denounce the oppression suffered "on the grounds of class, ideology and gender" (Palacios 2016: 155) which these women had to endure in order to improve their and their families' lives. The descriptions explore the personal and socio-economic transformations brought about by emigration.

The last section of the book, on Welsh literature, includes two articles. The first, by Kevin Mills, looks at mobile identities in Nikita Lalwani's *Gifted*. The novel is an account of an Indian family living in Cardiff and the cultural alienation they face. The main character is a teenager who feels divided between the poles of India and Cardiff, and the different cultural expectations which these entail. At home, the poles are represented by her parents: her father accepts the move to Cardiff and feels comfortable there, but her mother rejects the relocation. The poles, then, function "as indices of a conflicted sense of (not) belonging" (Mills 2016: 190) for her daughter's identity.

In the closing chapter of this volume, the poet Chris Kinsey shares her personal experiences on mobility, migration and settling in her home in Mid-Wales. Through her poems and reflections, she explores the natural world of her adoptive surroundings from an eco-critical perspective.

Ex-sistere provides ample analysis of the issue of women's mobility in the literature of Wales, Ireland and Galicia, thus helping to shed light on the experience of women, within the fields of cultural and historical studies. By establishing connections between the Atlantic countries that form the background of those moving subjects under examination, the collection highlights the similarities shared by these three peripheral European regions and provides the reader with a theoretical framework to analyse this literary production. The collection thus represents a valuable contribution to the field of gender and mobility studies, offering new research perspectives and rescuing those experiences of women overlooked in traditional historiography.

References

Braidotti, Rosi (1994). *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Butler, Judith (2005). *Giving an Account of Oneself*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Gray, Breda (2004). *Women and the Irish Diaspora*. London: Routledge.

Lorenzo-Modia, María Jesús (ed.) (2016). *Ex-sistere: Women's Mobility in Contemporary Irish, Welsh and Galician Literatures*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Rodríguez Galdo, María Xosé (2009). "Lugar y presencia de las mujeres españolas en la emigración exterior". In X. Amancio Liñares Giraut (ed.) *El protagonismo de la mujer en las corrientes migratorias españolas*. Vigo: Grupo España Exterior, 17-38.

Marta Portela Fernández
Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
Rúa Carballeira de San Lourenzo, 3
Baixo A
15705 Santiago de Compostela
Spain
Email: martaportela@gmail.com

REPORTS

The troubadours of knowledge and development for contextualised university studies

PAULA GORSZCZYŃSKA
JAROSŁAW JENDZA

The article presented below represents the authors' subjective and free reflections on the conference 'Caring for the quality in quantity – academic education in the process of changes' (Gdańsk Shakespeare Theatre, Gdańsk, Poland, 28-29th April, 2016). In other words, our intention is to share *some* of our thoughts inspired by participation in the event which was the culmination of the tutoring implementation project conducted at the University of Gdańsk from 2014 to 2016 and funded by FSS, EEA Grants, Norway Grants and FRSE.[1]

The notion of a *troubadour of knowledge* referred to in the title – as characterised by Serres (2000) – may refer to any (academic) teacher who

> […] with his whole body, all his passion, his anger, and his strained liberty, whoever wants to create resists the power of knowledge, both the works that have already been made and the institutions that feed on them.
>
> (Serres 2000: 98)

Thus, any university staff member whose attitude matches this description is likely to possess three major qualities. First of all, it is a person that incorporates both passion and/or love and their professional knowledge in everyday educational situ-

---

[1] Details of the project can be found here: <http://www.projektiq.ug.edu.pl>, accessed 11.05.2016.

ations within a university. Passion and love seem to be treated as non-scientific concepts and, therefore, are not very popular in academic discourse. However, both the conference and some scholarly contributions show that they ought to be treated very seriously (Dey and Steyaert 2007: 437-461). Second of all, such a person is constructively critical both towards their own practices and towards the social and institutional conditions they work in. Thirdly, the *troubadour of knowledge* is very much humanistic in their relations with the Other, which entails the broadly understood personalisation of educational processes.

The conference opened with a lecture by the world-famous scholar – Professor Heinrich Dauber – entitled 'Education as searching for freedom in the system of dependencies. The perspective of humanistic pedagogy and psychology'. In his presentation, Professor Dauber focused on the deeply ethical attitude that might be called *ecological university education.* This culture of learning and teaching might only be fulfilled if we – instead of ego-logical relations – practise unconditional openness and appreciation of the uniqueness of every human being and, at the same time, link it with respect and special care about the only shared space of living that we have at our disposal, i.e. the Earth. In academic life this approach would demand the collective crossing of disciplinary boundaries in search of Good for all. This lecture was, from our perspective, a very important framing of the atmosphere of the conference or – to put it metaphorically – the troubadour tuned the orchestra.

Another key-note speaker – Professor Jerzy Axer – subscribed to the remarks made by Professor Dauber and cautioned the conference participants – both the representatives of the institutional milieus and the individual tutors – against relying on a direct transfer from existing (tutoring) method cultures (Doll, Jr 2006: 85-89; Jendza, Zalewska and Zamojski 2015: 46-55) to their own practice. No forms of tutoring should be copied blindly, however efficient they may have proven in

the original setting as the strength of tutoring lies in its potential diversity, which means that anyone whose intention is to work within this didactic system must define it themselves. In this way – so much needed in this approach – the deification of the method can take place creating the perspective of what Rorty called the *methodolotry* (1999), whereby the context of a given educational relation is essential in that it redefines the phenomenon in question, which in this case is tutoring. In his lecture Professor Jerzy Axer emphasised that the only culture that is needed for recreating and developing tutoring in Polish higher education institutions is the *culture of trust*, which currently seems to be almost non-existent. It is therefore an imperative to create a community of trust (Sztompka 2007: 265-302), which is a task to be fulfilled largely by the younger members of the academic staff, who – following Professor Axer – are more likely to question the *status quo* and at the same time are prone to trust the Other. This is yet another characteristic feature of the troubadour, whose objective is to join the questioning of well-established institutional routines with the building of a community of trust.

Another guest speaker − Professor Anna Sajdak − delivered a lecture entitled 'Humanistic paradigm in academic didactics – utopia, necessity, chance?', in which she elaborated on the importance of trust in holistic humanistic person-centred university education. In this model, academics offer support rather than teach their students. The theoretical background for such an approach was Roger's concept of *congruence* (1959). Professor Sajdak stated that, utopian as it may appear, it is our duty and necessity to see the world of the students through their eyes. This seemingly impossible connection of utopia and necessity is actually the only chance of creating an educational environment within university that will support the following indispensable prerequisites: the Rogersian idea of congruence, understanding and listening to the Other, unconditional acceptance, which in the context of higher education was also developed by Derrida (2001), as well as openness and

self-disclosure. By describing the idea of the programme supporting academic teachers at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Professor Sajdak showed that not only is it possible to practise personalised education with students but it is also necessary to treat scholars in the same way. This is the very condition of creating an environment of academic trust, openness, understanding and, as a possible result, high quality didactics within academia.

Professor Teresa Bauman, on the other hand, concentrated on the notion of *experience* treated as the *contextualisation* of the studying processes. Referring to John Dewey (1910), for whom personal experience was essential in education, Professor Bauman noticed that this concept usually gets a bad press in the field of the educational sciences.

Let us quote Dewey and his notion of experience *in extenso*:

> [...] the term *experience* may be interpreted either with reference to the *empirical* or the *experimental* attitude of mind. Experience is not a rigid and closed thing; it is vital, and hence growing. When dominated by the past, by custom and routine, it is often opposed to the reasonable, the thoughtful. But experience also includes the reflection that sets us free from the limiting influence of sense, appetite, and tradition. Experience may welcome and assimilate all that the most exact and penetrating thought discovers. Indeed, the business of education might be defined as just such an emancipation and enlargement of experience.
>
> (Dewey 1910: 157)

Having reviewed two monographs published as one of the outcomes of the IQ Project (Karpińska-Musiał (ed.) 2016a, Karpińska-Musiał (ed.) 2016b), Professor Bauman came to the conclusion that not only does tutoring have the potential to create conditions for *experience* in the Deweyan sense of the notion but also the texts included in the books are tangible proof that it did actually happen. In order for an authentic educational experience to be possible, the context of a student's biography is essential and, therefore, academics must redefine

their role so as to appreciate students as whole persons and build their ideas for teacher-student interactions on the planes of inclusion *owned* by the students. In other words, a mutual contextualisation of studying has to be ensured. This strategy of organizing the students' learning (rather than teaching) seems to be the only way for the students to participate in an authentic educational (developmental) experience.

From the very first moment of the conference the issue of elitism and egalitarianism and their ethical tension emerged as notions of key importance for further debate. On the one hand, it is quite common to think that the tutees are actually the elite of the students wishing to know more, quite often dissatisfied with what they have been offered in the form of university curricula. On the other hand, the tutors are highly conscious academic teachers who take teaching very seriously and know that they have to excel at this hard yet rewarding craft. Some of the participants of the conference did not have any doubts that tutoring is elitist by definition and therefore not accessible to most students and teachers.

Nevertheless, the panel debate showed that this aspect of tutoring was not as straightforward as it may have appeared at first. The question that all tutors should address seems to be as follows: Are we, the tutors, to empower those who are already privileged, or perhaps we should do our best to intervene in the trajectories of biographies that are far from excellent?

In his speech, Professor Tomasz Szkudlarek articulated another crucial tension by comparing and contrasting two universities: the contemporary and one based on the Humboldt model, and suggested that these two institutions do not lend themselves to sensible comparison as they have completely different functions. Still, it is the Humboldt model that we tend to use as a benchmark and frame for our interpretation and assessment of today's university even if the latter has yet to come to terms with the democratisation of social life and of the surrounding reality. This certainly does not mean abandoning highly abstract and therefore elitist contents and students.

Quite the opposite – there is a place for both in a mass university, where 'mass' does not necessarily mean 'bad'.

In this context it is worth recalling one of the notions characterised by Doctor Adam Jagiełło-Rusiłowski – the concept of *resilience*. According to this scholar, denoting the ability to go through failures and regain congruence, resilience may be very well developed with the use of tutoring. From this perspective tutors would be those who help 'the lost to find their way'. This choir of democratic and empowering voices was supported both by those who effectively implement tutoring at university (Professor Anita Lewandowska), in business coaching (Alicja Gotowczyc, MA), but also by those who have had the chance to experience the approach in various educational surroundings (Agata Dutkiewicz, a student).

The troubadour of knowledge is certainly passionate. Piotr Czekierda – the founder of the Collegium Wratislaviense School of Tutors – in his speech entitled 'Tutoring as educating for excellence' – showed that passion, so essential for the tutoring process, is constituted of three different dimensions: love, suffering and anger. This very important point outlines the fact that tutor-like (academic) teaching is not simply a profession or even a reflective practice (Schön 1987) but rather a kind of relation based largely on emotions, sometimes also negative ones. This perspective clearly questions the tradition of perceiving tutoring as a method (see also: Jendza 2016) and puts forward the idea of tutoring as a meeting, where, even for their 'enemies' (unwilling students?), tutors are full of love and understanding.

As its leader, Doctor Beata Karpińska-Musiał presented details of the IQ Project as well as results of the research conducted as a part of it.[2] The presentation clearly showed that this project has changed the lives of many people, i.e. about two hundred and sixty participants, tutors and tutees at the

---

[2] The research report entitled: *Edukacja spersonalizowana w uniwersytecie: Ideologia – instytucja – dydaktyka – tutor* is planned to be published in May 2016 by Libron – Filip Lohner.

University of Gdańsk, and has become a significant formative experience in their biographies.

Three presentations that followed Doctor Karpińska-Musiał's dealt with a number of socio-philosophical and pedagogical theorizations behind tutoring and focused on the range of possibilities determining this approach. Bartosz Fingas (MA) talked about practical rationality as a new paradigm in education and personal growth, Doctor Grzegosz Grzegorczyk presented a contextual and ecological perspective on tutoring and Jarosław Jendza, MA paid attention to the significance of trust that he called the foundation of tutoring.

It is also worth mentioning all the accounts of the practical implementation of tutoring at the University of Gdańsk, which were largely presented by tutors but also by some of their tutees. Professor Maria Sibińska with Anna Hamanowicz and Nataila Wyszyńska used Scandinavian literature as a pretext for considerations about the role of the Stranger. Their thesis is: the Stranger is in us, we are full of prejudice but if we want to serve as tutors, if – let us paraphrase this thesis – we wish to be troubadours of knowledge, we are obliged to open up to the Other, question well established routines and, most importantly, dialogue both with ourselves and the person we are working with, building on what we know to be a common ground rather than being hindered by the question of what is yet unknown in mutual relationships

Paula Gorszczyńska, MA, with her tutees – Zuzanna Bonecka, Monika Hadalska and Joanna Łaszcz – presented their tutoring project *Students' audio description*, within whose scope the students selected video materials of particular interest to them found on the Internet to enrich them with audio description soundtracks that they scripted, recorded and screened in a cinema setting, bringing together blind and sighted viewers to participate in the same social event. This idea is the best example of what Professor Teresa Bauman called contextualised educational experience. The students conducted a project that they found important and were abso-

lutely devoted to it. In this way the idea was very much personally significant and developmental both for the tutees and the tutor, and 'bi-productively' fruitful in terms of traditionally understood academic competences.

A similar story was presented by Doctor Małgorzata Karczmarzyk, an artist and academic teacher who offered her tutees what she calls 'picture essays'. By combining art and pedagogy, together they successfully conducted artistic workshops for children, which enabled the tutees to understand the intricacies of their personal growth and expand their creativity.

Since many conference sessions took place simultaneously, the authors of the present article were not able to participate in all the lectures and presentations. This is why, much as we regret it, we have not been able to review all the inspiring events of the two-day conference here. However, beyond a shadow of a doubt, like the soothing tunes of the first evening gala piano concert, the echoes of all the invaluable and thought-provoking exchanges will long resonate in the minds of the troubadours of tutoring and their tutees alike, hopefully contributing to the shaping of the harmonious university of the future.

References

Derrida, Jacques (2001). "The future of the profession or the unconditional university". Trans. Peggy Kamuf. In: Laurence Simmons, Heather Worth (eds.). *Derrida Downunder*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Limited, 249-263.

Dewey, John (1910). *How We Think*. Boston, New York, Chicago: D. C. Heath & Co., Publishers. Available at <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/37423/37423-h/37423-h.htm>. Accessed: 11.01. 2016.

Dey, Pascal, Chris Steyaert (2007). "The troubadours of knowledge: passion and invention in management education". *Organization* 14/3: 437-461.

Doll, William E. Jr (2006). "Method and its culture: An historical approach". *Complicity: An International Journal of Complexity and Education* 3/1: 85-89.

Jendza, Jarosław, Ewa Zalewska, Piotr Zamojski (2015). "Techniczny, epistemologiczny i kulturowy wymiar metod kształcenia: Casus metody Montessori". *Problemy Wczesnej Edukacji – Issues in Early Education* 28: 46-56.

Jendza, Jarosław (2016). "Tutoring w uniwersytecie – pomiędzy nabywaniem a tworzeniem znaczeń w procesie studiowania". In: Beata Karpińska-Musiał (ed.). *W trosce o jakość w ilości. Tutoring oxfordzki w Uniwersytecie Gdańskim.* Kraków: Libron – Filip Lohner, 29-60. Also available at <http://libron.pl/katalog/czytaj/id/204>. Accessed 12.05.2016.

Karpińska-Musiał, Beata (ed.) (2016a). *W trosce o jakość w ilości. Tutoring oxfordzki w Uniwersytecie Gdańskim.* Kraków: Libron – Filip Lohner. Also available at: <http://libron.pl/katalog/czytaj/id /204>. Accessed 12.05.2016.

Karpińska-Musiał, Beata (ed.) (2016b). *Studenckim piórem w tutorskim kałamarzu.* Kraków: Libron – Filip Lohner. Also available at <http://libron.pl/katalog/czytaj/id/203>. Accessed 12.05.2016.

Rogers, Carl (1959). "A theory of therapy, personality and interpersonal relationships as developed in the client-centered framework". In: S. Koch (ed.). *Psychology: A Study of a Science.* Vol. 3: *Formulations of the Person and the Social Context.* New York: McGraw Hill, 236-257.

Rorty, Richard (1999). *Philosophy and Social Hope.* London: Penguin.

Schön, Donald Alan (1987). *Educating the Reflective Practitioner.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Serres, Michael (2000). *The Troubadour of Knowledge.* Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.

Sztompka, Piotr (2007). *Zaufanie – fundament społeczeństwa.* Kraków: Znak.

Paula Gorszczyńska
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: p.gorszczynska@ug.edu.pl

Jarosław Jendza
Instytut Pedagogiki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Jana Bażyńskiego 4
80-309 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: j.jendza@ug.edu.pl

The IQ Project
– two years of academic tutoring
at the Faculty of Languages,
University of Gdańsk

BEATA KARPIŃSKA-MUSIAŁ

1. General information

The IQ Project, entitled *Ideal Quality in Good Quantity – project of interdisciplinary support for a foreign language student with the method of academic tutoring at the University of Gdańsk (IQ),* is a research-based, research-oriented but first of all innovative, didactic initiative carried out in the University of Gdańsk in the years 2014–2016. It was funded by a financial grant won by Dr Beata Karpińska-Musiał (the Institute of English and American Studies of the Faculty of Languages) in a competition announced in 2013 by the National Agency (Foundation for the Development of the Education System) in Warsaw, called *Rozwój Polskich Uczelni* (Polish HE Institution Development). The money was awarded from EEA and Norway Grants (Norway, Iceland and Lichtenstein) within the program *Fundusz Stypendialno-Szkoleniowy* (Scholarship and Training Funds). The total value of the grant was 345,407.88 PLN.

2. Project background

From the very start the Project assumed the implementation of an elite form of education into academic teaching practice: individual tutorials tailored to the needs of ambitious and inquisitive students. This method of academic teaching, not new

in major high-ranking world universities, has turned out to be a remedy to the lowering job satisfaction observed among teachers on the basis of both research on NQF (National Qualification Framework), as well as the heated debate over marketization of higher education in Poland. The latter, however, causes problems with the acceptance of economy based knowledge management, as it inevitably requires changes in teachers' approach towards educating themselves and others, and most importantly in their competencies to deal with the needs of the students. The Project's major objective was to offer both teachers and students a chance to experience high quality, dialogic and personalized teaching and learning, which shall develop in the students their best potentials, skills and critical thinking especially useful for the labor market, but also precious for the personal and intellectual development. A double series of seven individual tutorials with five students per semester (70 hours over two semesters per Tutor) offered the Project Tutors space to work on students' intellectual passions, while not being limited by official programs, not even calling for the writing a BA or MA thesis. In many cases, this cooperation was a mutual adventure for both the Tutor and his/her Student on their academic path, one on which they could afford a true intellectual journey into the areas never explored before.

3. The steps/milestones of the Project

As with every long-term educational project, this one also had a time-frame and was divided into particular stages. These were as follows:

(1) November 2013, information meeting and recruitment of participants from among academic staff (in the end participants were recruited from Faculty of Languages (majority), Social Sciences, Management, and one person from Oceanography and Geography – the final number of teachers being 29);

(2) December 2013 – February 2014, a 64-hour long course in tutoring for the participants run by an external Expert;

(3) March – June 2014, the first round of tutorials for selected BA students (2nd year);

(4) February 2014, the 1st evaluation meeting with the Tutors, feedback, networking, assessment;

(5) October 2014 – February 2015, the second round of tutorials for the 1st year students of MA studies;

(6) June 2015, feedback and the 2nd evaluation meeting with the students participating (over 50 people took part in this highly appreciative and emotional event);

(7) July – December 2015, preparation for the final project conference, editorial work on the tutors' and students' monographs BEFORE the conference;

(8) January – March 2016, final organization and a closing conference in April 2016, books' publication;

(9) the Project ends on May 31st, 2016.

4. Recognition all over Poland and abroad

Thanks to the great level of engagement of all its participants', their devotion, extra time they gave, their work and attention, the IQ Project became a didactic innovation within a public HE Institution on a scale never found before at any other University in Poland. 30 academic teachers, the Head of the Project included, worked intensively for two semesters (plus the almost two years of additional administrative work and management by the Head) in order to allow over 230 students of our University to savor the type of education practiced in Oxford, Cambridge and other leading Universities in the world. This type of experience brought amazing results, which are visible and reflected in over 50 essays that were published in the students' monograph in April 2016. In addition to this, several tutors decided to share their experience in articles written for the project Tutors' publication. Universities of Warsaw, Cracow and Wrocław also run tutorials for their students, some of them systemically, some in the form of smaller scale projects. The IQ Project, however, is the only one in Poland

which was awarded a European grant allowing for this experience to go beyond regular didactics and for such a number of teachers and students. This is why the Project presented by me at the 2nd Congress of Tutoring in Warsaw in May 2015, the EDULEARN'14 conference in Barcelona and a number of other national conferences, gained wide recognition among representatives of those HE institutions which know and appreciate personalized, high quality academic education.

A visible outcome of this recognition was also a nomination to a prestigious award in the EDUinspirator contest, announced by the National Agency in Warsaw for HE educational project leaders, which I, as the Head of the Project, was granted in November 2015.

5. Why was the IQ Project exceptional and why did it bring added value to academic teaching at the University of Gdańsk?

5.1. Diversity of topics

The tutorials offered by the team of Tutors represented a vast array of topics in many research disciplines: literature, linguistics, culture, pedagogy, management, history, film, teaching methodology, language and communication studies, and theater and drama to mention but a few – all from varied cultural and language areas. The offer presented by tutors was 100% original and was their intellectual property. It also opened a new world of knowledge to students, who were longing for more educational challenges beyond their regular course of study. A description of the tutorials (in Polish), as well as all other crucial information, can be found on the Project website: <www.projektiq.ug.edu.pl>.

5.2. A space for students to become empowered

In addition to the above, the tutorials offered another value to the course: they gave voice to the students. In the course of individual meetings, during which they had the 100% attention of their tutors for themselves, they could not avoid being active, thoughtful and ready to discuss issues first expressed in their essays. The practice and art of writing, mastered in the majority of meetings, allowed thought and mind formulation without the strict academic criteria of passing/failing. The essays the Tutees wrote, therefore, reflected not only their overview of scientific theories, analyses of prose or summaries of read articles. They also included authentic opinions and conclusions marked with their perspectives, world-views, beliefs and interpretations. Thus, the tutorial essays became a tremendous forum for personal development by empowered individuals, which was possible thanks to the careful guidance provided by the Tutor. What is more, this mode of education also made the teacher's personal development possible, as he/she learned how to trust the student's informal knowledge, and mediate in his process of learning and knowledge expansion. In short, tutoring brings into life the otherwise theoretically described change in educational paradigms, which postulate lifelong learning, mutual trust and cooperation in the teacher-student relationship.

5.3. Results and future developments

The IQ Project, ended in May 2016, appeared to have a long-term impact in the Faculty of Languages at the University of Gdańsk. In October 2015 the Dean of the Faculty, Prof. Dr habil. Andrzej Ceynowa, agreed to finance three new cycles of tutorials (in the three coming semesters from now) to be run by a group of twelve tutors of the Project. This initiative, which allowed several new students to gain chance at this qualitative education, meant altogether 360 extra hours of individual

study. It is a huge and important step in the process of making educational offer of the Faculty even more diverse and student oriented. Compared to the ca. 1600 hours tutored in the Project, it is still not a mass undertaking (as it, in fact, should never become), but meaningful. All in all, the tutoring is not an offer which counts in terms of numbers. It is, as the title suggests, about quality and not quantity.

Another result of the Project is the initiation of Centrum Tutorów UG (University of Gdańsk Tutors' Center), which has been launched in co-operation between the Faculty of Languages and the Faculty of Oceanography and Geography. The idea was born among the IQ Project group members when still in a didactic process, and a new project application form was submitted by Dr Ewa Szymczak and Dr Beata Karpinska-Musiał to the university local Fund (University of Gdańsk Fund of Didactic Innovations) in the 2015/2016 and 2016/ 2017 editions. As a result, we have been – in both editions – granted a sum of money to run four inspirational meetings for academic Tutors of the whole University. There is too, it should be stated, a solid group of certified tutors in the above mentioned Faculty, who have also been implementing tutoring in their didactic and research practice for the last 2 years. Together, Tutors from the Faculty of Languages, Social Sciences, Management and Oceanography and Geography create the biggest group of certified academic tutors working in personalized tutorials in Poland. More about UG Tutors' Center at: <www. centrum-tutorów.ug.edu.pl>.

The final outcome worth mentioning are the project publications. The IQ Project has already marked its existence in the following publications:

(1) "At students' service – tutoring and coaching as innovative methods of academic education in Poland" by Beata Karpińska-Musiał and Agnieszka Dziedziczak-Foltyn (2014);
(2) "Tutoring akademicki jako rekonstrukcja relacji Uczeń-Mistrz w obliczu masyfikacji kształcenia wyższego: Próba wplecenia koncepcji w kontekst wewnętrznego system zapewniania ja-

kości kształcenia jako jednego z kryteriów akredytacji uczelni wyższych" by Beata Karpińska-Musiał (2014);

(3) "Tutoring akademicki jako metoda kształcenia projakościowego w ramach masowego uniwersytetu w Polsce: edukacyjne wykluczenie czy racjonalny kompromis?" by Beata Karpińska-Musiał (2015a);

(4) "Tutoring na Wydziale Filologicznym Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego – w trosce o jakość w ilości" by Beata Karpińska-Musiał (2015b);

(5) "Czy tutoring jest skazany na elitarność? Szanse i rozczarowania w kontekście kształcenia systemowego w polskiej akademii" by Beata Karpińska-Musiał (2016);

(6) *Studenckim piórem w tutorskim kałamarzu: Tutoring akademicki w Uniwersytecie Gdańskim* (Karpińska-Musiał (ed.) 2016a), project students' monograph;

(7) *W trosce o jakość w ilości: Tutoring oksfordzki w Uniwersytecie Gdańskim* (Karpińska-Musiał (ed.) 2016b), project tutors' monograph;

(8) *Edukacja spersonalizowana w uniwersytecie: Ideologia, instytucja, dydaktyka, tutor* by Beata Karpińska-Musiał (2016b).

Students' and tutors' as well as the Head's monographs have all been published by LIBRON Publishing House in Cracow. The first two monographs consist of 54 articles written by IQ students and 13 articles written by the Project tutors and constitute the most remarkable, unprecedented testimonies of a unique educational experience in the University of Gdańsk. Both books are available with a free electronic access at the following website addresses: <http://libron.pl/katalog/czytaj/id/204> (the tutors' monograph) and <http://libron.pl/katalog/czytaj/id/203> (the students' monograph). The third book of the project, authored by Beata Karpińska-Musiał, includes results of the Action Research conducted in the process of its duration. It can also be downloaded for free at <http://libron.pl/katalog/czytaj/id/219>.
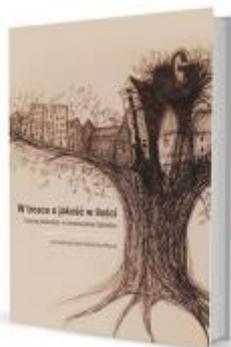
W trosce o jakość w ilości:
Tutoring oksfordzki
w Uniwersytecie Gdańskim
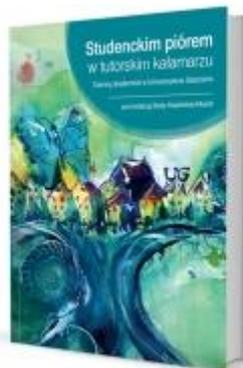
Studenckim piórem w tutorskim
kałamarzu: Tutoring akademicki
w Uniwersytecie Gdańskim

Edukacja spersonalizowana w uniwersytecie:
Ideologia, instytucja, dydaktyka, tutor

The real-life stories and direct reports could be heard during a final conference, which was held in by the end of April (28-29.04.2016) in Gdański Teatr Szekspirowski. This event combined the official report delivered by the Head of the Project with a scientific discussion on the condition and developments of academic education in Poland.

The conference poster designed by
Małgorzata Karczmarzyk and Ludmiła Markowska

The IQ Project participants – tutors and students.
Photo: Ludmiła Markowska

Conference participants.
Photo: Ludmiła Markowska

Renowned plenary and panel speakers delivered keynote speeches, such as our foreign guest speaker, Professor Doktor Heinrich Dauber from the University in Kassel, Professor Jerzy Axer from the Warsaw University, Professor Teresa Bauman (University of Gdańsk), and a guest speaker Professor Anna Sajdak (Jagiellonian University). Professor Tomasz Szkudlarek and a vice Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Dr Adam Jagiełło-Rusiłowski, participated in a panel discussion on the general topic: *Questions about elitism, authority, wisdom and democracy in education*, which gave rise to a fervent debate over plentiful issues concerning the quality and social aura of university teaching and learning nowadays.

The whole IQ Project was an exceptional, unique pedagogical and educational experience for both its Coordinator and the Participants. It contributed to the reframing of a very special academic culture, based on mutual commitment and trust among the teachers who turned into not only formally certified and methodologically trained, but first of all experienced, "real-life" academic tutors. They took part in the highest quality of intellectual exchange of knowledge and skills between them and their Tutees. For me, as the Project Head and Coordinator, running the Project was a demanding administrative task and organizational challenge, resulting in the development of skills attributed to a grass roots "servant" type of leadership in an educational institution (Bombała 2011: 16).

References

Bombała, Bronisław (2011). "Fenomenologia przywództwa: być kimś – czynić coś". *Prakseologia* (*Przywództwo W Perspektywie Teoretycznej i Empirycznej*) 151: 11-33.

Karpińska-Musiał, Beata Agnieszka Dziedziczak-Foltyn (2014). "At students' service – tutoring and coaching as innovative methods of academic education in Poland". EDULEARN 14 conference electronic proceedings. Available also at <http://www.projektiq.ug.

edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/At-students-service-BKMu sia%C5%82-ADFoltyn.pdf>.

Karpińska-Musiał, Beata (2014). "Tutoring akademicki jako rekonstrukcja relacji Uczeń-Mistrz w obliczu masyfikacji kształcenia wyższego: Próba wplecenia koncepcji w kontekst wewnętrznego system zapewniania jakości kształcenia jako jednego z kryteriów akredytacji uczelni wyższych". *Nauka i Szkolnictwo Wyższe 4/2012* (published in 2014): 55-70.

Karpińska-Musiał, Beata (2015a). "Tutoring akademicki jako metoda kształcenia projakościowego w ramach masowego uniwersytetu w Polsce: edukacyjne wykluczenie czy racjonalny kompromis?". In: Alicja Komorowska-Zielony, Tomasz Szkudlarek (eds.). *Różnice, edukacja, inkluzja* (*Ars Educandi Monografie* 5). Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 135-143.

Karpińska-Musiał, Beata (2015b). "Tutoring na Wydziale Filologicznym Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego – w trosce o jakość w ilości". In: Marcin Szala, Bartosz Fingas, Piotr Czekierda (eds.). *Tutoring: Teoria, praktyka, studia przypadków*. Warszawa: Wolters Kluwer, 244-254.

Karpińska-Musiał, Beata (2016a). "Czy tutoring jest skazany na elitarność? Szanse i rozczarowania w kontekście kształcenia systemowego w polskiej akademii". In: Beata Karpińska-Musiał (ed.). *W trosce o jakość w ilości: Tutoring oksfordzki w Uniwersytecie Gdańskim*. Kraków: LIBRON, 207-228.

Karpińska-Musiał, Beata (2016b). *Edukacja spersonalizowana w uniwersytecie: Ideologia, instytucja, dydaktyka, tutor*. Kraków: LIBRON.

Karpińska-Musiał, Beata (ed.) (2016a). *Studenckim piórem w tutorskim kałamarzu. Tutoring akademicki w Uniwersytecie Gdańskim*. Kraków: LIBRON.

Karpińska-Musiał, Beata (ed.) (2016b). *W trosce o jakość w ilości. Tutoring oksfordzki w Uniwersytecie Gdańskim.* Kraków: LIBRON.

Beata Karpińska-Musiał
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: lingbet@gmail.com

The 36th LAUD Symposium
"Endangerment of Languages across the Planet: The Dynamics of Linguistic Diversity and Globalization", Landau 2014

DANUTA STANULEWICZ

1. Language endangerment and the 36th LAUD Symposium

The number of languages threatened with extinction is alarmingly growing – as many as 3,000 languages (out of *ca.* 6,000) are endangered (UNESCO 2011: 4). The UNESCO classifies endangered languages taking into consideration intergenerational language transmission (see Table 1). However, language loss may – as the UNESCO experts and numerous scholars as well as activists believe – be prevented (see e.g. Grenoble and Whaley 2006). The UNESCO provides a clear, concise answer to the question why we should preserve language diversity:

> Languages are vehicles of our cultures, collective memory and values. They are an essential component of our identities, and a building block of our diversity and living heritage. (UNESCO 2011: 4)

Language loss has become a burning issue for numerous communities. As Martin Pütz and Neele Mundt (2016: 9) remark, language endangerment and language death are "a worldwide phenomenon, a result of linguistic, socio-cultural and cognitive factors".

Table 1

Degrees of language endangerment
(UNESCO 2011: 6, based on UNESCO 2003: 8)

Degree of endangerment	Intergenerational language transmission
Safe	Language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted.
Vulnerable	Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home).
Definitely endangered	Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home.
Severely endangered	Language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves.
Critically endangered	The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently.
Extinct	There are no speakers left.

Numerous researchers – linguists, sociologists and representatives of other disciplines – express serious concern about language endangerment. Preserving language diversity was the reason behind the decision on the theme of the 36th LAUD Symposium. As Dirven, Pütz and Radden (n.d.) explain,

> The vision that half of the world's languages is endangered, seriously endangered or dying within this century is a deplorable fact which motivated the organizers Martin Pütz & Monika Reif to make the issue a central concern of the 36th LAUD Symposium (2014).

As can be easily seen, the theme of the symposium was formulated both broadly (in the main title: "Endangerment of Languages across the Planet") and specifically (in the subtitle: "The Dynamics of Linguistic Diversity and Globalization").

2. Venue, organizers and participants

The 36th LAUD Symposium[1] was held in Landau on 31 March
– 3 April 2014. Its organizers – mentioned above, Prof. Martin
Pütz and Dr Monika Reif – are affiliated with the University of
Koblenz-Landau. The Organizing Committee also included Ur-
lich Schmitz (LAUD Chairman), René Dirven, Luna Filipović,
Justyna Robinson and Hans-Georg Wolf. The organizers were
assisted by a team of students: Conny Fink, Fabian Glaß,
Freya Hemesoth and Tim-Oliver Paul. The symposium was
sponsored mainly by the German Research Foundation and
University of Koblenz-Landau.

The Symposium attracted more than 90 researchers from
Australia, Botswana, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, China, Croa-
tia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland,
Ireland, Israel, Kenya, Latvia, Malaysia, Mexico, the Nether-
lands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Poland, Russia, South Africa,
Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the
United States.

3. Plenary lectures

The invited speakers included outstanding scholars specializ-
ing in investigating language endangerment: Peter Austin (Uni-
versity of London), Bernd Heine (University of Cologne), Lisa
Lim (University of Hong Kong), Salikoko Mufwene (University
of Chicago), Shana Poplack (University of Ottawa), Suzanne
Romaine (University of Oxford), Sarah Thomason (University of
Michigan) and Li Wei (University of London). They delivered the
following plenary lectures:

(1) "Language documentation 20 years on" (Peter Austin);
(2) "An African perspective on language endangerment" (Bernd
    Heine);

---

[1] The LAUD Symposia, with their various themes, have a long tradition
going back to 1973. See Dirven, Pütz and Radden (n.d.).

(3) "Endangerment, evolution an empowerment in globalising Asian ecologies: Where *java* and *patois* take their communities" (Lisa Lim);

(4) "A cost-and-benefit approach to language loss" (Salikoko Mufwene);

(5) "Is Canadian French and endangered language?" (Shana Poplack);

(6) "Linguistic diversity, sustainable development and the economics of language policy" (Suzanne Romaine);

(7) "Language loss and language revitalization: The role of the community" (Sarah Thomason);

(8) "My Chinese stopped when I was six: The cultural memory of language" (Li Wei).

4. Papers

At the symposium the participants presented papers on numerous issues concerning language endangerment and its prevention which included, *inter alia*, the following ones:[2]

- maintaining an endangered language,
- language revitalization,
- language planning,
- endangered languages in education,
- training teachers of endangered languages,
- language endangerment and globalization,
- reasons for language loss/attrition,
- documenting endangered languages,
- language shift,
- sociological and psychological aspects of language loss,
- economics, industrialization and language endangerment,
- folklore and endangered languages,
- multilingualism,
- immigrant languages and identities,
- linguistic and biological diversity.

---

[2] For details, see the book of abstracts (*Abstracts: 36th International LAUD Symposium …*, 187 pp.).

The participants concentrated on various languages spoken all over the world, diagnosed with the different degrees of endangerment presented in Table 1. The discussed languages included, *inter alia*, indigenous languages of Mexico (Acazulco Otomi), Brazil (Aikanã, Yanomae), French Guiana (Palikúr) and Bolivia (Baure); Etiopia (Argobba), Nigeria (Igala, Igbo, Koring, Ogu), Morocco (Beni Iznassen Amazigh), Tanzania (Ngoni); the Native American languages, Aboriginal Australian languages as well as languages of Siberia (e.g. Dolgan, Enets, Nenets, Selkup), China (Makista), the Sakhalin Island (Nivkh, Uilta, Evenki, Nanai), Nepal (Koĩc, Surc) and other regions of Asia and Oceania (Chabacano, Neo-Aramaic, Papapana and Ririo, Papia Kristang, Saipan Carolinian, Yiddish). The endangered languages spoken in Europe explored by the symposium participants were, *inter alia*, the British Sign language and Cornish in the United Kingdom, Aragonese in Spain, Arbëresh, Sardinian and Veneto in Italy, Arvanitika in Greece, Istro-Romanian (Vlashki/Zheyanski) and the Split Čakavian dialect in Croatia, Latgalian in Latvia and Kashubian in Poland.

5. Symposium proceedings

The papers presented at the 36th LAUD Symposium have been published in two peer-reviewed volumes:

– *Endangered Languages and Languages in Danger: Issues of Documentation, Policy, and Language Rights* edited by Luna Filipović and Martin Pütz (2016), including three sections: "Perspectives on endangerment: Ideology, language policy and language rights" (containing papers by Colette Grinevald & Chris Sinha, Ana Suelly Arruda Câmara Cabral & Wany Bernardete de Araujo Sampaio & Vera da Silva Sinha, Liz Hales & Luna Filipović, Jill Jones, Salikoko S. Mufwene), "Language documentation, ethno-history and language vitality" (containing papers by Peter Austin, S. James Ellis, Hein van der Voort, Gale Goodwin Gómez and Ellen Smith) and "Language transmission: Shift, loss and survival" (containing papers by Lisa Lim, Bernd Heine & Christa König & Karsten Legere, Tove

Rosendal, Maik Gibson & B. Araali Bagamba, Francois Nemo & Antonia Cristinoi and Bernard Spolsky);

– *Vanishing Languages in Context: Ideological, Attitudinal and Social Identity Perspectives* edited by Martin Pütz and Neele Mundt (2016), also including three sections: "Language planning, linguistic inequalities and human rights" (containing papers by Modupe M. Alimi, Dörte Borchers, Hilda Kebeya-Omondi & Fridah Kanana Erastus), "Language attitudes, discourse and ideology" (containing papers by Anna Ghimenton & Giovanni Depau, Neele Mundt, Britta Schneider, Eeva Sippola and Danuta Stanulewicz & Małgorzata Smentek) and "Case studies of endangered minority languages" (containing papers by Heiko F. Marten & Sanita Lazdiņa, Maria Rieder, Esther Senayon, Gideon Sunday Omachonu and Eileen Lee).

6. A final word

The 36th LAUD Symposium, splendidly organized, provided its participants with an ideal opportunity to present their research on endangered languages from various perspectives. Needless to say, the participants could also exchange their ideas on language revitalization.

As Luna Filipović and Martin Pütz (2016: 19) write in the Introduction to the volume *Endangered Languages and Languages in Danger*,

It is by all means worthwhile to document our linguistic and cultural heritage in all its entirety and leave this information for posterity. As for engineering language survival, the issue is much more thorny and would require stopping or diverting some big societal seismic shifts, where multiple factors contribute to the changes that impact language survival. It will be hard for language specialists to do much if the community that speaks an endangered language is not willing to do so and help should be offered if such efforts are visibly made. One thing that has to be secured though is the assurance and practical implementation of language equality, with respect to languages' political and social status, opportunities and services available and individual attitudes.

This quotation perfectly summarizes the 36th LAUD Symposium "Endangerment of Languages across the Planet: The Dynamics of Linguistic Diversity and Globalization".

References

Abstracts: 36th International LAUD Symposium, March 31 – April 3, 2014, Park Hotel, Landau, Germany. Universität Koblenz-Landau, Linguistic LAUD Agency, DFG Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

Dirven, René, Martin Pütz, Günter Radden (n.d.). "Short history of LAUD". Available at <https://www.uni-koblenz-landau.de/de/landau/fb6/philologien/anglistik/laudsymposium2016/historyoflaud>. Accessed 7.06.2016.

Filipović, Luna, Martin Pütz (2016). "Introduction: Endangered languages and languages in danger". In: Luna Filipović, Martin Pütz (eds.). *Endangered Languages and Languages in Danger: Issues of Documentation, Policy, and Language Rights*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1-22.

Filipović, Luna, Martin Pütz (eds.) (2016). *Endangered Languages and Languages in Danger: Issues of Documentation, Policy, and Language Rights*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Grenoble, Lenore A., Lindsay J. Whaley (2006). *Saving Languages: An Introduction to Language Revitalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pütz, Martin, Neele Mundt (2016). "Introduction: Vanishing languages in context". In: Martin Pütz, Neele Mundt (eds.). *Vanishing Languages in Context: Ideological, Attitudinal and Social Identity Perspectives*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 9-17.

Pütz, Martin, Neele Mundt (eds.) (2016). *Vanishing Languages in Context: Ideological, Attitudinal and Social Identity Perspectives*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

UNESCO (2003). *Language Vitality and Endangerment*. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Available at <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00120-EN.pdf>. Accessed 7.06.2016.

UNESCO (2011). *UNESCO Project: Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (2011). United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images /0019/001924/192416e.pdf>. Accessed 7.06.2016.

Danuta Stanulewicz
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: danuta.stanulewicz@gmail.com

The 50th Linguistics Colloquium
"Sprache verstehen, verwenden, übersetzen", Innsbruck 2015

DANUTA STANULEWICZ

1. The venue and organizers

The 50th Linguistics Colloquium "Sprache verstehen, verwenden, übersetzen" (Understanding, using and translating language) was held in Innsbruck, Austria, on 3–5 September 2015.[1] This jubilee Colloquium[2] was hosted by the Institut für Translationswissenschaft (Institute of Translation Studies) at the University of Innsbruck. It should be added that previously the Linguistics Colloquium had been organized by this Institute in 2000 (see Zybatow (ed.) 2003a, 2003b).

The Organizing Committee, chaired by Lew Zybatow, included Alena Petrova, Heiko Ahmann, Maria Koliopoulou, Alexandra Mitterer, Peter Sandrini, Andreas Schumacher, San-

---

[1] The Colloquium's website: <https://www.uibk.ac.at/gtw-org/>, accessed 1.02.2016.

[2] The history of the Linguistics Colloquia is presented by Kürschner, Sroka and Weber (2009). Since the first Colloquium held in Germany in 1966, the Colloquia have been organized by academic centres in Germany and other countries. They have taken place three times in Poland: in Poznań (see Darski and Vetulani (eds.) 1993), Gdańsk (see Sroka (ed.) 1996) and Olsztyn (see Żebrowska, Jaworska and Steinhoff (eds.) 2014). *Beyond Philology* No. 7 includes a report of the 43rd Linguistics Colloquium in Magdeburg, Germany (Stanulewicz and Skrzypiec 2010). Besides, reports of the 46th Colloquium in Olsztyn and the 48th Colloquium in Alcalá de Henares were published in *Beyond Philology* No. 9 (Stanulewicz 2012) and No. 11 (Stanulewicz 2014) respectively. See also the website of the Colloquia: <http://www.linguistisches-kolloquium.de>, accessed 1.02.2016. It should be added that after each Colloquium, the organizers publish its proceedings.

dra Reiter, Andy Stauder, Beate Steinhauser, Sabine Weiskopf and Michael Ustaszewski.[3]

2. The participants and their presentations

As the information about the participants included in the book of abstracts (Reiter (ed.) 2015) shows, the 50th Linguistics Colloquium attracted scholars representing various academic centres located in Armenia, Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Egypt, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Korea, Spain, Switzerland, the U.K. and Ukraine.

Institute of Translation Studies, University of Innsbruck.
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

---

[3] <https://www.uibk.ac.at/gtw-org/organ.html>, accessed 1.02.2016.

The participants could listen to the following plenary lectures:

(1) "Parallelkorpora in kontrastiv-linguistischen Studien [Parallel corpora in contrastive linguistic studies]" by Professor Dmitrij Dobrovolskij (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow);

(2) "Eurolinguistik – eine engagierte Disziplin [Eurolinguistics – an engaged discipline]" by Professor Joachim Grzega (University of Eichstätt) and Professor Wolfgang Pöckl (University of Innsbruck);

(3) "Übersetzen, verstehen, verwenden [Translating understanding, using]" by Professor Rudi Keller (University of Düsseldorf);

(4) "Sprechen ohne Worte – Lautloses Übersetzen [Speaking without words – silent translation]" by Professor Dietmar Röhm (University of Salzburg);

(5) "Das Objekt der Wortbildungslehre [The object of the word formation theory]" by Professor Pius ten Hacken (University of Innsbruck);

(6) "Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft: Szenen einer interdisziplinären Ehe [Linguistics and Translation Studies: Scenes of an interdisciplinary marriage]" by Professor Lew Zybatow (University of Innsbruck).

It can be easily seen that the theme of the Colloquium was broadly formulated, so as to allow the participants to present their versatile scholarly interests. The papers, prepared mainly either in German or English, were divided into the following sections (as presented in the book of abstracts edited by Reiter 2015 and in the programme[4] – it should be added that some papers were cancelled):

(1) Semantics, Lexicology, Phraseology, Lexicography (papers by Swetlana Chikina, Bernhard Haidacher, Sandra Handl, Hamada Hassanein, Christine Konecny & Erica Autelli & Lorenzo Zanasi & Andrea Abel, Oxana Lukoshus, Ana-Maria Minut & Ion Lihaciu, Marlene Mussner, Teodor Petrič, Olga

---

[4] The programme is available at <https://www.uibk.ac.at/gtw-org/programm_de. pdf>, accessed 1.02.2016.

Sokołowska, Valentina Stepanenko, Eva Varga, Mihaela Zamfirescu);

(2) Pragmatics, Discourse Analysis, Text Linguistics (papers by Zoya Asratyan, Paul Danler, Karin Ebeling, Marianne Franz, Irina Y. Ivanova, Anna Kapuścińska, Marina Karapetyan, Olga Kolomiytseva, Olga Kostrova, Elina Larina, Natalia P. Peshkova, Barbara Pizzedaz, Irina Schipowa, Wolfgang W. Sucharowski, Ana Tavčar-Pirkovič, Manfred Uesseler, Maurice Vliegen, Ewa Żebrowska);

(3) Grammar and Grammaticography (papers by Stojan Bračič, Lilia Stoyanova Burova, Bram ten Cate, Wilfried Kürschner, Elena Anatolievna Martinovich, Olga Suleimanova, Katharina Turgay, Heinrich Weber);

(4) Word Formation, Corpus Linguistics, Computer Linguistics (papers by Irene Doval & Tomás Jiménez, Tanja George & Ulrich Heid, Mihály Harsányi, Maria Koliopoulou, Marina Kulinich, Márta Murányi-Zagyvai, Reinhard Rapp, Carmen Scherer);

(5) (Second) Language Learning and Glottodidactics (papers by Marina Andrazashvili, Alena Olegovna Chernyshova, Marios Chrissou, Daumantas Katinas, Vladimir Legac, Oleg Shabanov, Vera I. Yaremenko, Blaženka Filipan-Žignić & Katica Sobo);

(6) Translation Studies (papers by Séverine Adam, Marina Fomina, Klaus-Dieter Gottschalk, Friederike Kleinknecht, Joanna Kubaszczyk, Evgeniya Andreevna Naugolnykh & Natalya Mikhailovna Nesterova, Irina Pasenkova, Norio Shima & Ryoko Naruse-Shima, Andy Stauder, Vaiva Žeimantienė);

(7) Diachronic Linguistics (papers by Odette Arhip, Aleksej Burov, Isabella Greisinger, Martin H. Prior, Kazimierz A. Sroka);

(8) Applied Linguistics (papers by Dinah Krenzler-Behm, Ivan Merdzhanov, Renáta Panocová, Jürg Strässler, Bärbel Treichel);

(9) Language Varieties (papers by Ioana-Narcisa Crețu, Aivars Glaznieks & Jennifer-Carmen Frey, Anna Daszkiewicz);

(10) Contrastive Linguistics (papers by Alberto Bustos Plaza, Yun J. Joo, Danuta Stanulewicz, József Tóth).

Professor Kazimierz A. Sroka presenting his paper entitled
"The initial stage in the development of the definite article:
Evidence from Gothic".
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

Professor Olga Sokołowska presenting her paper entitled
"The Polish case names as instantiations of conceptual
metaphors", Professor Kazimierz A. Sroka chairing the session.
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

In their papers, the participants presented a number of is-
sues concerning various languages, including, *inter alia*, Eng-
lish, German, Gothic, Greek, Japanese, Kashubian, Lithuani-
an, Polish, Proto-Indo-European, Romanian, Russian and
Spanish.

As can be observed, sections (1) Semantics, Lexicology,
Phraseology, Lexicography, (2) Pragmatics, Discourse Analysis,
Text Linguistics and (6) Translation Studies turned out to be
the most popular with the participants. Space limitations do
not allow me to present the topics of all the papers, so selected
examples must suffice. In section (1) Sandra Handl (University
of Innsbruck) presented descriptions of verbs of motion and
verbs of saying in learner's dictionaries, Oxana Lukoshus
(postgraduate student, Moscow) concentrated on the role of
experiment in semantic research and Olga Sokołowska (Uni-
versity of Gdańsk) analyzed the meanings of Polish case
names. In section (2) Karin Ebeling (Otto-von-Guericke Univer-
sity, Magdeburg) presented public discourse in an urban lin-
guistic landscape, Marina Karapetyan (Yerevan State Universi-
ty) investigated the role of logic in a persuasive essay, Manfred
Uesseler (Berlin) spoke about critical discourse analysis and
Ewa Żebrowska (University of Warmia and Masuria, Olsztyn)
explored multimodality. In section (3) Bram ten Cate (Universi-
ty of Groningen) concentrated on liquid sounds in West Ger-
manic languages, Wilfried Kürschner (University of Vechta)
investigated coding pronunciation in German dictionaries, Lilia
Stoyanova Burova (Sofia University) talked about the use of
conjuctions and Heinrich Weber (University of Tübingen) ana-
lyzed syntactic change. In section (4) Irene Doval and Tomás
Jiménez's (University of Santiago de Compostela) paper dealt
with the construction of a German-Spanish bilingual parallel
corpus and Reinhard Rapp's (University of Mainz) paper con-
cerned human performance in tests of multi-stimulus associa-
tions in comparison with automatic systems. In section (5)
Vladimir Legac (University of Zagreb) presented his research
on shyness and achievement in speaking in monolingual and

bilingual learners of English and Oleg Shabanov (Bashkir State Pedagogical University) spoke about categories of competence and quality in tertiary education. In section (6) Marina Fomina (Moscow City Teachers' Training University) investigated subject types in the translation perspective and Klaus-Dieter Gottschalk (University of Tübingen) concentrated on English, French and other translations of Herta Müller's novel *Heute wär ich mir lieber nicht begegnet* (published in English as *The Appointment*). In section (7) Martin H. Prior (School of Oriental and African Studies, London) formulated the hypothesis that Proto-Indo-European was a Uralic Creole and Kazimierz A. Sroka (University of Gdańsk) investigated the initial stage in the development of the definite article considering evidence from Gothic. To give three more examples, in section (8) Jürg Strässler (Universities of Berne and Zurich) presented the topic of bilingualism, left-handedness and Alzheimer's dementia, in section (9) Anna Daszkiewicz (University of Gdańsk) analyzed everyday language mixing and code-switching processes in an urban environment, and in section (10) Danuta Stanulewicz (University of Gdańsk) compared the use of words for blue in Polish and Kashubian.

It should be noted that the organizers will publish a volume containing the papers delivered at the Colloquium.

3. A final word

The 50th Linguistics Colloquium gave the scholars an excellent opportunity to present and discuss their research on language from various perspectives. The organizers also provided the participants with an attractive social programme, including a trip in the Alps with a cruise on Achensee and a party, LK 50 TANZT, with live music played by the band Past Perfect.

Professor Lew Zybatow and the jubilee Colloquium cake.
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

Summing up, the jubilee 50th Linguistics Colloquium was indeed a very successful and inspiring event for those who attended it. Grateful thanks go to Professor Lew Zybatow and Professor Alena Petrova as well as to the other members of the committee for organizing such a splendid conference.

References

50. Linguistisches Kolloquium 2015. Available at <https://www. uibk.ac.at/gtw-org/>. Accessed 1.02.2016.

Darski, Józef, Zygmunt Vetulani (eds.) (1993). *Sprache – Kommunikation – Informatik: Akten des 26. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, Poznań 1991*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Kürschner, Wilfried, Kazimierz A. Sroka, Heinrich Weber (2009). "40 years of the Linguistics Colloquium". In: Olga Souleimanova, Nataliya Lyagushkina, Wilfried Kürschner, Heinrich Weber (eds.). *Sprache und Kognition: Traditionelle und neue Ansätze / Language and Cognition: Traditional and New Approaches: Akten des 40. Linguistischen Kolloquiums in Moskau 2005 / Proceedings of the 40th Linguistics Colloquium, Moscow 2005*. Frankfurt am Main:

Peter Lang, 3-22. Also available at <http://www.linguisti sches-kolloquium.de/a_2010_-_40_years_scan.pdf>. Accessed 1.02. 2016.

Reiter, Sandra (ed.) (2015). *50. Linguistisches Kolloquium Innsbruck, 3.-5. September 2015: Abstracts*. Innsbruck: University of Innsbruck.

Sroka, Kazimierz (ed.) (1996). *Kognitive Aspekte der Sprache: Akten des 30. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, Gdańsk 1995*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Stanulewicz, Danuta (2012). "The 47th Linguistics Colloquium 'Materialität und Medialität der Sprache / Materiality and Mediality of Language', Olsztyn 2012". *Beyond Philology* 9: 203-209.

Stanulewicz, Danuta (2014). "The 48th Linguistics Colloquium 'Linguistic Insights: Studies on Languages / Linguistische Einsichten: Studien über Sprachen', Alcalá de Henares 2013". *Beyond Philology* 11: 197-204.

Stanulewicz, Danuta, Andrzej M. Skrzypiec (2010). "The 43rd Linguistics Colloquium 'Pragmantax II: The present state of linguistics and its branch disciplines', Magdeburg 2008". *Beyond Philology* 7: 419-424.

Zybatow, Lew N. (ed.) (2003a). *Europa der Sprachen: Sprachkompetenz – Mehrsprachigkeit – Translation: Akten des 35. Linguistischen Kolloquiums in Innsbruck 2000*. Teil I: *Sprache und Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Zybatow, Lew N. (ed.) (2003b). *Europa der Sprachen: Sprachkompetenz – Mehrsprachigkeit – Translation: Akten des 35. Linguistischen Kolloquiums in Innsbruck 2000*. Teil II: *Sprache und Kognition*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Żebrowska, Ewa, Mariola Jaworska, Dirk Steinhoff (eds.) (2014). *Materialität und Medialität der sprachlichen Kommunikation / Materiality and Mediality of Linguistic Communication: Akten des 47. Linguistischen Kolloquiums in Olsztyn 2012 / Proceedings of the 47th Linguistics Colloquium in Olsztyn 2012*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Danuta Stanulewicz
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: danuta.stanulewicz@gmail.com

The Annual Conference
of the Modern Language Association of Poland,
# Gdańsk 2014

MAGDALENA WAWRZYNIAK-ŚLIWSKA

1. Introduction

The Modern Language Association of Poland was founded in 1929, at the First Conference of Teachers of Modern Languages that was held that year, on 2-4 February, in Warsaw. The initiator of the conference was Dr Jan Piątek and the Head of the Organizing Committee was Professor Zygmunt Łempicki. The conference was very well attended, hosting 500 teachers of modern languages from all types of schools in Poland. The papers delivered at the conference tackled different issues that fell into five sections: (1) discussion about the number of foreign languages to be taught in schools (one or two?); (2) the condition of contemporary foreign languages didactics (with specific topics regarding teaching grammar and pronunciation); (3) the relation between teaching foreign languages and teaching the Polish language; (4) the education and training of foreign language teachers and (5) issues in literature and culture in teaching foreign languages (Magnuszewska, Maleńczyk-Boguszewska 2009).

   85 years later, the issues raised at the first conference still seem valid and important. The proof of this is the main theme of the 2014 Annual Conference of the Modern Language Association of Poland, which was also one of the topics of the first conference: *The Education and Training of Foreign Language Teachers and Teachers of the Kashubian Language.* The topic

of the conference linked to the past but it also showed a new trend in glottodidactics: after a number of years of the learner as the center of attention, the conference shifted the focus towards the other figure of the teaching-learning process – the teacher. And as the conference took place in the Kashubian region, it also allowed for the consideration of issues connected with teaching the Kashubian language.
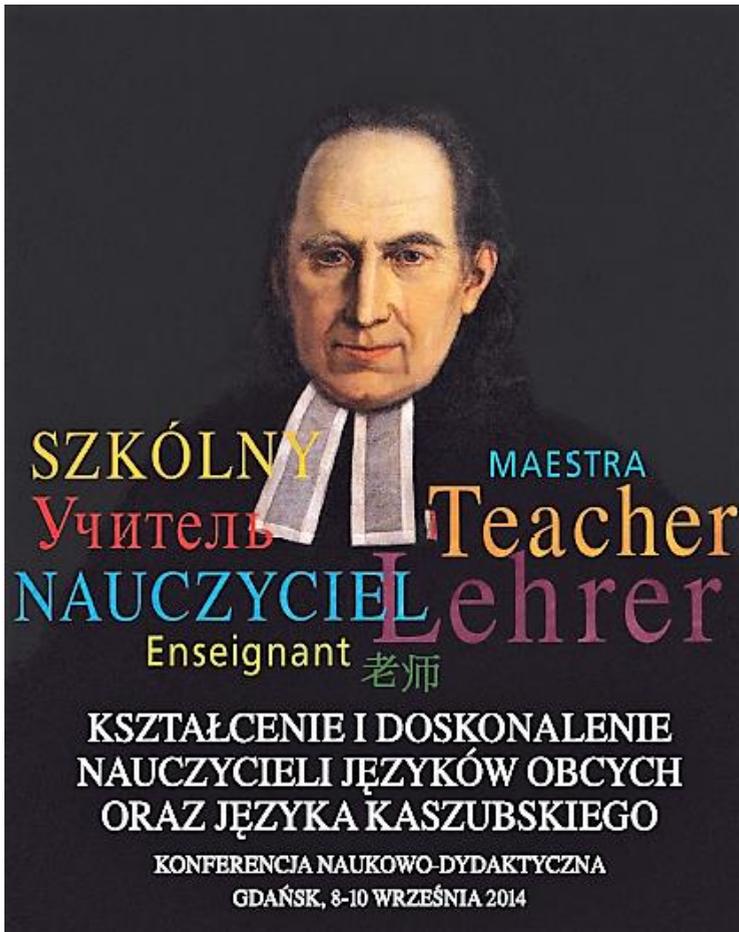
The conference poster designed by Andrzej Taranek

The conference poster, designed by Andrzej Taranek, portrayed Krzysztof Celestyn Mrongoviusz, a 18th-19th century polyglot, linguist, philosopher, translator and teacher, defender of the Polish language in Warmia and Mazury and researcher of the Kashubian language and culture.

2. The organizers and the venue

The 2014 Annual Conference of the Modern Language Association of Poland was held in Gdańsk on 8-10 September, under the patronage of the Rector of the University of Gdańsk, Professor Bernard Lammek, the President of Gdańsk, Mr Paweł Adamowicz and the Marshal of the Pomorskie Voivodeship, Mr Mieczysław Struk. The organizers were the Faculty of Languages, University of Gdańsk, and the Modern Language Association of Poland. The conference was prepared in cooperation with the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association. The Organizing Committee, headed by Dr Ewa Andrzejewska, included Ms Mariola Bogucka, Mr Martin Blaszk, Dr Jolanta Hinc, Dr Beata Karpińska-Musiał, Dr Hadrian Lankiewicz, Dr Joanna Mampe, Dr Iwona Mokwa-Tarnowska, Dr Justyna Pomierska, Ms Lucyna Radzimińska and Dr Magdalena Wawrzyniak-Śliwska.

The venue of the conference was the Univesity of Gdańsk: the Main Library (Opening Ceremony) and the Faculty of Social Sciences (plenary lectures and section presentations).

3. The opening ceremony and plenary lectures

The inauguration of the conference was held in the lecture theatre of Gdańsk University Library. The guests and participants were welcomed by the head of the organising committee, Dr Ewa Andrzejewska and Professor Mirosław Szreder, the Vice-Rector for Development and Finance UG, who opened the conference. Then the audience were addressed by Mr Łukasz Grzędzicki, President of the Kashubian-Pomieranian Association, Professor Danuta Olszewska, Director of the German Phi-

lology Institute and Professor Mirosław Pawlak, President of the Modern Language Association of Poland. The inaugural lecture "Po co Szekspir? [Why Shakespeare?]" was delivered by Professor Jerzy Limon (Gdansk University, Institute of English and American Studies, Director of The Gdańsk Shakespeare Theatre).

Mr Łukasz Grzędzicki, Professor Danuta Olszewska, Professor Mirosław Pawlak, Professor Mirosław Szreder and Professor Jerzy Limon at the Conference Opening Ceremony.
Photo: Piotr Andrzejewski

Professor Elżbieta Zawadzka-Bartnik.
Photo: Piotr Andrzejewski

Professor Rupprecht S. Baur.
Photo: Piotr Andrzejewski

During the conference the following keynote speakers gave plenary lectures:

(1) Professor Elżbieta Zawadzka-Bartnik (University of Warsaw): "Czego powinniśmy uczyć a czego uczymy – rozważania o edukacyjnych złudzeniach [What we should teach and what we teach – discussing educational illusions]";

(2) Professor Dorota Klus-Stańska (Institute of Pedagogy, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Gdańsk): "Sformatowana lekcja. W poszukiwaniu zagubionego profesjonalizmu nauczyciela [Formatted lesson: In search of the lost professionalism of the teacher]";

(3) Professor Rupprecht S. Baur (Universität Duisburg-Essen, Deutsch als Zweit- und Fremdsprache, Germany): "Sprachkompetenzen testen leicht gemacht. Der C-Test als Hilfe in der Praxis [How to make language skills testing easy: C-Test as help in praxis]";

(4) Professor Rod Bolitho (Norwich Institute for Language Education, UK): "Language awareness for teachers and learners";

(5) Professor Jerzy Treder (University of Gdańsk): "Nôùczanié kaszëbsczégò jāzĕk – historiczny céchùnk [Teaching of the Kashubian language – a historical perspective]";

(6) Professor Wu Lan (University of Gdańsk): "Rola nauczyciela w Chinach wczoraj i dziś [The role of the teacher in China in the past and now]";

(7) Professor Hanna Komorowska (SWPS University, University of Warsaw): "Rola nauczyciela – myty i slogany a rzeczywistość [The role of the teacher – myths and slogans versus reality]";

(8) Professor Mirosław Pawlak (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, PWSZ Konin): "Jak skutecznie uczyć gramatyki na lekcjach języka drugiego/obcego? [How to teach grammar effectively in second/foreign language lessons?]".

Professor Halina Widła and
Professor Hanna Komorowska.
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

Dr Justyna Pomierska and
Professor Jerzy Treder.
Photo: Piotr Andrzejewski

Professor Rod Bolitho,
Mr Jarosław Jendza and
Mr Martin Blaszk.
Photo: Piotr Andrzejewski

Professor Dorota Klus-Stańska.
Photo: Piotr Andrzejewski

Mr Łukasz Grzędzicki and Dr Ewa Andrzejewska.
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

Professor Wu Lan.
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

4. The participants and presentations

The conference was attended by 360 participants: 160 university teachers and researchers from different academic centers in Poland, Germany, the United Kingdom, Romania, Spain and China and 200 teachers of foreign languages and the Kashubian language from primary, lower and upper secondary schools from the Pomeranian Region.

The participants delivered 110 papers that were grouped in 15 sections. It would be impossible to list all the presenters and titles of their papers in one short report – for this reason, only a selection of papers in each section will be presented:

(1) **The education of FL teachers** – among others:

– Anna Michońska-Stadnik: "Profil studenta – przyszłego nau-czyciela języka angielskiego nabywającego pełne kwalifikacje zawodowe na studiach magisterskich [The profile of the student – future teacher of the English language receiving full teaching qualifications during MA studies]";

- Dorota Werbińska: "Glottopedeutologia jako subdyscyplina kształcenia nauczycieli języka obcego: Propozycja programowa (na przykładzie języka angielskiego) ['Glottopedeutology' as a sub-discipline of the language teacher training program: A syllabus proposal (on the basis of the English language)]";
- Jolanta Knieja: "Refleksja na temat konsekwencji wynikających z założeń Procesu Bolońskiego dla nauczania języka niemieckiego jako obcego [Reflections on the consequences arising from assumptions underlying the Bologna Process for the teaching of German as a foreign language]";
- Małgorzata Smentek: "Lektor czy tłumacz, czyli o translacji w procesie kształcenia nauczycieli języków [Language teacher or interpreter: translation in the process of foreign language teacher education]".

(2) **The education of FL teachers – teaching practice** – among others:

- Iwona Kretek: "Od praktykanta do praktyka – praktyka kluczem do profesjonalizmu europejskiego nauczyciela języka obcego – doświadczenia z realizacji 3-letniego projektu praktyk pedagogicznych w NKJO w Bydgoszczy [From the trainee teacher to teacher-practitioner – teaching practices as the key to the professionalism of the European foreign language teacher – experience arising from the realisation of a 3 year pedagogical practice in the Teacher Training College in Bydgoszcz]";
- Olga Aleksandrowska and Joanna Gilis-Siek: "Poznawcza rola praktyk pedagogicznych – refleksje studentów filologii angielskiej po odbyciu praktyki ogólnopedagogicznej [The cognitive role of teaching practice on the basis of English Philology students' reflections]";
- Martin Blaszk: "Between didactics, the mentor and the pupils: trainee reflections concerning their teaching practices".

(3) **Training of FL teachers** – among others:

- Anna Jaroszewska: "Rozwój zawodowy nauczycieli języków obcych szkół państwowych niższego szczebla – możliwości, źródła motywacji i demotywacji [The professional development of for-

eign language teachers in state schools at lower levels – possibilities, sources of motivation and demotivation]";

– Danuta Stanulewicz and Lucyna Radzimińska: "Rozwój zawodowy nauczycieli języka kaszubskiego – diagnoza potrzeb dotyczących szkoleń [Professional development of teachers of the Kashubian language: an analysis of training needs]";

– Grażyna Zenderowska-Korpus: "Wczoraj i dziś doskonalenia nauczycieli języka niemieckiego w Polsce [The yesterday and today of the professional development of German teachers in Poland]".

(4) **The knowledge and competences of FL teachers – language and culture** – among others:

– Camilla Badstübner-Kizik: "Języki i pamięć kulturowa. O glottodydaktycznym potencjale miejsc pamięci [Language and cultural memory. The potential of sites of memory in foreign language and culture didactics]";

– Ariadna Strugielska and Krzysztof Strzemeski: "Rozwijanie kompetencji interkulturowej europejskich nauczycieli języka angielskiego – podsumowanie projektu [The development of the intercultural competence of European teachers of English – project summary]".

(5) **The knowledge and skills of FL teachers working with special needs learners** – among others:

– Katarzyna Karpińska-Szaj: "Przygotowanie do pracy z uczniami o specjalnych potrzebach edukacyjnych: językowe narzędzia diagnostyczne [Preparing to work with pupils with special educational needs: diagnostic tools for language]";

– Małgorzata Koczyk: "Neurodydaktyka w nauczaniu języka kaszubskiego z uwzględnieniem potrzeb dzieci ze specjalnymi potrzebami edukacyjnymi [Neurodidactics in teaching the Kashubian language with consideration of the needs of the child with special educational needs]".

(6) **The concepts of language – implications for glottodidactics** – among others:

- Krystyna Droździał-Szelest: "Język angielski jako Lingua Franca a profesjonalizm nauczyciela [The English language as a Lingua Franca and the professionalism of the teacher]";
- Maciej Rataj: "Mity na temat języka a kształcenie nauczycieli języka angielskiego [Language myths and English language teacher education]";
- Krzysztof Nerlicki: "Nauczyciel *native speaker* w poglądach uczących się języków obcych [The native speaker teacher according to foreign language learners' opinions]";
- Hadrian Lankiewicz: "Edukacja nauczycieli języków obcych w świetle zjawisk samomarginalizacji i uprawomocnienia [Foreign language teacher education in the context of self-marginalization and empowerment]".

(7) **Research methods for inquiring into the FL teacher** – among others:

- Emilia Wąsikiewicz-Firlej: "Wykorzystanie narracji biograficznych w refleksji nad kształceniem nauczycieli [The use of biographical narratives in reflection on foreign language teacher education]";
- Magdalena Wawrzyniak-Śliwska: "Fenomenografia jako perspektywa badawcza w badaniach glottodydaktycznych [Phenomenography as a research perspective in glottodidactic research]".

(8) **The academic FL teacher** – among others:

- Halina Widła: "Doskonalenie zawodowe akademickich nauczycieli języków obcych [Teacher development of academic teachers of foreign languages]";
- Beata Karpińska-Musiał and Izabela Orchowska: "Profesjonalizm nauczyciela akademickiego na studiach neofilologicznych w Polsce z perspektywy zjawiska wielodyskursywności w glottodydaktyce jako nauce [Teacher professionalism in foreign language studies in Poland from the perspective of multi-

ple discourses in the emerging academic field of glottodidactics]".

(9) **Teaching Polish as a second / foreign language** –
    among others:

- Ewa Lipińska and Anna Seretny: "Kompetencje i kwalifikacje
  kluczowe nauczyciela języka polskiego jako obcego/ drugiego –
  ku standaryzacji programów nauczania na studiach podyplo-
  mowych [The key competences and qualifications of the teacher
  of Polish as a foreign language – towards standardisation of
  teaching programs in post-graduate studies]";
- Aneta Lewińska and Edward Jakiel: "Kultura na kursie / kurs
  kultury? Wiedza o polskiej kulturze w nauczaniu języka pol-
  skiego. Elementy „wspólne" w nauczaniu o kulturze polskiej na
  przykładzie doświadczeń ze studentami z Korei Południowej
  [The culture on course / the course of culture? The knowledge
  of Polish culture in the teaching of Polish as a foreign language.
  'Common' elements in the teaching of Polish culture – an ex-
  ample of work with students from South Korea]".

(10) **National policy of FL teacher education and training** –
     among others:

- Aleksandra Arceusz: "Standardy kształcenia nauczycieli wobec
  współczesnych paradygmatów kształcenia [Standards of teach-
  er education in relation to contemporary paradigms of teacher
  education]";
- Lucyna Krzysiak: "Standardy kształcenia a kompetencje
  nauczycieli języków obcych w kontekście europejskim [The ed-
  ucational standards and competencies of foreign language
  teachers in the European context]".

(11) **Information and communications technology in FL
     teaching** – among others:

- Sylwia Adamczak-Krysztofowicz, Anna Szczepaniak-Kozak:
  "Rozwijanie kompetencji medialnej wśród przyszłych nauczycie-
  li języków obcych w ramach pracy w tandemie elektronicznym.

Projekt polsko-niemiecki [The development of media compe-
tence in future foreign language teachers within the framework
of work carried out in tandem electronically. A Polish-German
Project]";
– Anna Kucharska: "Internet podczas zajęć z języka obcego –
kompetencje nauczycieli i studentów specjalizacji dydaktycznej
[The internet in foreign language lessons – the competencies of
teachers and students in the didactics specialisation]".

(12) **Teaching a foreign language for specific purposes** –
among others:

– Kinga Ewelina Łuchtaj: "Kompetencj(a)e językow(a)e i po-
zajęzykow(a)e nauczyciela – czyli o trudnościach w prowadzeniu
kursu języka niemieckiego prawnego [The linguistic and ex-
tralinguistic competence(s) of the teacher – the difficulties of
conducting a course of legal German]";
– Elżbieta Gajewska and Magdalena Sowa: "Sposoby kształcenia
nauczycieli języków specjalistycznych: od rzeczywistości eduka-
cyjnych do rozwiązań systemowych [Ways of training teachers
in specialist languages: from educational realities to systematic
solutions]".

(13) **The FL teacher facing the issues of multilingualism** –
among others:

– Krystyna Szymankiewicz and Radosław Kucharczyk: "Kompe-
tencja różnojęzyczna w początkowym kształceniu nauczycieli
języków obcych [Multi-language competence in the education of
foreign language teachers at the initial stage]";
– Jolanta Hinc: "Wspieranie wielojęzyczności ucznia – zadania
dla nauczycieli języków obcych [Supporting the multilingualism
of the pupil – a task for teachers of foreign languages]".

(14) **Cross-curricular approach to teaching foreign languages** – among others:

- Wojciech Trajder: "Nauczanie interdyscyplinarne języków obcych na kierunkach artystyczno-projektowych [The interdisciplinary teaching of foreign languages in Arts Faculties]";
- Hanna Kryszewska: "Rola sztuk pięknych w nauczaniu jako sposób wprowadzania elementu wizualnego, ścieżek międzyprzedmiotowych, krytycznego myślenia i kreatywności [The role of the Fine Arts in teaching – a way to introduce a visual element, to teach across the syllabus, and to promote critical thinking and creativity]".

(15) **The knowledge and skills of FL teachers in pre-school and primary education –** among others:

- Joanna Rokita-Jaśkow: "Kompetencje nauczyciela języka obcego w przedszkolu: stan obecny i wyzwania na przyszłość [Pre-school foreign language teacher competences: the state of affairs now and challenges for the future]";
- Tatiana Konderak: "Nauczyciel języka obcego w przedszkolu wczoraj, dziś i jutro [The foreign language teacher in pre-school – the past, present and future]";
- Marzena Dembek: "Praktyczna nauka języka kaszubskiego – o konieczności nauczania zgodnie z potrzebami dzieci [The practical teaching of the Kashubian language – of the necessity to teach with regard to the needs of children]".

5. Workshops for teachers

The final day of the conference was entirely addressed to foreign language teachers. The teacher participants could attend a number of practical workshops tackling a variety of issues connected with teaching foreign languages. 15 workshops were presented at the conference: seven addressed to teachers of the Kashubian language and eight to teachers of foreign languages.

Conference participants affiliated with the
University of Gdańsk: Dr Beata Karpińska-Musiał,
Ms Joanna Gilis-Siek and Dr Maciej Rataj.
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

Workshops for teachers of the Kashubian language:

(1) Martin Blaszk and Elżbieta Pryczkowska: "Tworzenie happen-
ingów: od pomysłu do realizacji [Creating happenings: from the
idea to realization]";

(2) Maria Bogucka and Bogumiła Cirocka: "SZTUKA PISANIA krok
po kroku [The ART OF WRITING step by step]";

(3) Sławomir Bronk: "Kaszubski poprzez śpiew [Learning Kashubian
by singing]";

(4) Małgorzata Koczyk: "Jak uczy się mózg [How the brain learns]";

(5) Magdalena Wawrzyniak-Śliwska: "Aktywizujące metody pracy na
lekcjach języka kaszubskiego [Active methods in teaching the
Kashubian language]";

(6) Marzena Nieczuja-Urbańska: "Teatr w szkole [Theatre at
school]";

(7) Ludmiła Gołąbek: "Drama w nauczaniu języka kaszubskiego
[Drama in teaching Kashubian]".

Workshops for teachers of foreign languages:

(1) Małgorzata Bukowska-Ulatowska: "Znaczenie refleksji w pracy nauczyciela języka obcego [The importance of reflection in FL teacher work]";

(2) Rod Bolitho: "Nauczanie języka angielskiego – warsztat w języku angielskim [Teaching English as a foreign language]";

(3) Małgorzata Płończak: "Jak skutecznie przygotować uczniów do egzaminów zewnętrznych [How to effectively prepare learners to external examinations]";

(4) Monika Janicka: "Możliwości rozwoju zawodowego i osobistego dzięki aktywności w organizacjach nauczycielskich [The possibility of professional and personal development through activity in teacher organisations]";

(5) Nora Orłowska: "Grać, czy nie grać – oto jest pytanie [To play or not to play, that is the question]";

(6) Ewa Ostaszewska: "Arbeit mit dem Kamishibaikasten im Deutsch-unterricht [Working with the Kamishibai-theatre box in teaching German]";

(7) S. Rezneva: "Отражение современных тенденций в методике преподавания РКИ в учебных пособиях издатнльства «Русский язык. Курсы» [Reflecting on current trends in methodology of teaching Russian as a foreign language to be found in teaching materials by the publishing house «Русский язык. Курсы»]";

(8) Dorota Okońska: " 'Od obrazu do języka' – metody aktywizujące w nauczaniu języka obcego ['From picture to language' – active methods in teaching a foreign language]".

6. The social program

Apart from a plethora of lectures, presentations and workshops, the conference offered the participants a variety of social and cultural events. On the first day, there was a banquet reception held in the historical interiors of the Main Town Hall in Gdańsk. The banquet was preceded by a concert of Kashubian songs by Aleksandra Kucharska-Szefler – soprano and Witosława Frankowska – piano. The concert took place in the Artus Court in Długi Targ Street, one of the most beautiful

houses in Gdańsk. The guests were welcomed by Ewa Kamińska, Vice-President of Gdańsk. On the second day, the participants could attend a guided tour in the Old City of Gdańsk. On the last day, there was a concert by Paweł Ruszkowski, a vocalist and guitarist, who presented world and Polish standards in the Kashubian language.

Aleksandra Kucharska-Szefler
and Witosława Frankowska
at the Artus Court.
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

Paweł Ruszkowski.
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

The banquet reception at the Main Town Hall in Gdańsk.
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

Conference participants: Dr Nora Orłowska, Dr Nicolas
Rougier, Dr Maciej Rataj, Ms Małgorzata Płończak, Dr
Renata Majewska, Dr Magdalena Wawrzyniak-Śliwska
and Mr Martin Blaszk at the Main Town Hall.
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

7. Conference proceedings

All the conference participants were encouraged to submit pa-
pers for publication. Some of the texts were published in
Neofilolog No. 44/2: "The education of foreign language teach-
ers" (edited by Ewa Andrzejewska), *Neofilolog* No. 45/1: "The
education and training of foreign language teachers – potential
and needs" (edited by Magdalena Wawrzyniak-Śliwska) and
Neofilolog No. 45/2: "Foreign language teachers facing the
challenges of modern glottodidactics" (edited by Ewa An-
drzejewska). All the issues of *Neofilolog* are available at the fol-
lowing URL: <http://www.poltowneo.org/neofilolog-main/nu
mery.html>.

8. A final word

Summing up, the Annual Conference of the Modern Language Association of Poland, titled *The Education and Training of Foreign Language Teachers and Teachers of the Kashubian Language,* held in Gdańsk in September, 2014, proved a great success. The participants had an opportunity to participate in a vast number of presentations and lectures, enjoy social events, present their opinions, and share their ideas on teacher education and training with specialists from Poland and abroad.

References

Andrzejewska, Ewa (2014). Sprawozdanie z Konferencji PTN 2014 „Kształcenie i doskonalenie nauczycieli języków obcych oraz języka kaszubskiego". Available at <http://www. poltowneo.org/konfe rencje-main/konferencje-ptn/243-spra wzdanie-z-konferencji-ptn-2014.html>. Accessed 8.08.2016.

Magnuszewska, Zofia, Halina Maleńczyk-Boguszewska (2009). *Polskie Towarzystwo Neofilologiczne 1929-2009*. Katowice. Available at <http://www.poltowneo.org/o-ptn-main/historia.html>. Accessed 8.08.2016.

Magdalena Wawrzyniak-Śliwska
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
Email: magdalenaws@ug.edu.pl

Information for Contributors

Beyond Philology is an international journal of linguistics, literary studies and language acquisition. The journal publishes articles, reviews, reports and interviews. The language of the journal is English.

The preferred length of papers is 3500-7000 words, but shorter and longer manuscripts are also considered for publication. Manuscripts should be accompanied by abstracts of about 150 words and keywords.

Each contributor should send a note stating specifically that his/her manuscript is only being considered for publication in *Beyond Philology*.

Manuscripts (papers, book reviews, reports, interviews) and books submitted for review should be sent to:

> Beyond Philology
> Institute of English and American Studies
> University of Gdańsk
> ul. Wita Stwosza 51
> 80-308 Gdańsk
> Poland
> Email: beyond.philology@ug.edu.pl

For more information see:

> <http://www.fil.ug.gda.pl/pl/instytuty--anglistyki_
> i_amerykanistyki--beyond_philology/>

All correspondence concerning subscriptions should be sent
to:

Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego
ul Armii Krajowej 119/121
80-824 Sopot, Poland
Phone/fax: (48) 58 523 11 37
http://www.wyd.univ.gda.pl
Email: wyd@ug.gda.pl