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Some remarks on the duality of the concept of time in the lexicon of Tok Pisin

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Abstract

The duality of the concept of time in Tok Pisin, an English-lexified creole and one of the official languages of Papua New Guinea, manifests itself in the Melanesian-European elements that make up its temporal lexicon. Expressions that reflect the local semantic-cultural substratum – motivated by astronomical, natural, and religious events – have functioned side by side with their counterparts provided by the English superstratum, which reflect clock measures of time and represent it as a resource and money. The competing impact of indigenous and Western elements is also present in representations of time as space and in forms of temporal succession. The analysed expressions show that the concept of time in Tok Pisin not only reflects partial Anglicization, but also shares cross-linguistically common patterns of time construal with non-contact languages having much longer histories.

Kilka uwag o dwoistości pojęcia czasu w Tok Pisin

Abstrakt

Dwoistość pojęcia czasu w Tok Pisin, języku kreolskim i jednym z urzędowych języków w Papui Nowej Gwinei, przejawia się obecnością w nim melanezyjsko-europejskich elementów. Wyrażenia, które mają swe źródła w lokalnym substracie semantyczno-kulturowym, odnoszą się do zjawisk astronomicznych, naturalnych, a także rytuałów religijnych. Funkcjonują one obok ich odpowiedników pochodzących z angielskiego superstratu, które wyrażają zegarowe miary czasu i traktują go jak zasób i pieniądz. Lokalne i europejskie wzorce widoczne są także w sposobach przedstawiania czasu jako przestrzeni i wyrażania następstwa wydarzeń. Omawiane wyrażenia czasowe pokazują, że pojęcie czasu w Tok Pisin nie tylko uległo częściowej anglicyzacji, ale także jest znacząco podobne do pojęć czasu funkcjonujących w różnych, niepowiązanych ze sobą językach nie-kontaktowych o znacznie dłuższej historii niż Tok Pisin.

Słowa kluczowe

czas, ekonomia, język angielski, język kreolski, język Tok Pisin, kultura, motywacja, przestrzeń

1.   Languages of Papua New Guinea and Tok Pisin

Papua New Guinea is inhabited by close to 1,000 ethnic groups who speak some 850 indigenous languages. Some of them, for example Tolai nad Motu, belong to the Austronesian family; others, for example Yupno and Koromu, are classified as Papuan languages. Many of the languages have no more than several hundred speakers (Romaine 2000: 2).

Tok Pisin or Melanesian Pidgin developed from pidgin varieties of Pacific Jargon English spoken in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the area. It was learned by Papua New Guineans on plantations at home, in Australian Queensland, Samoa, and Fiji, and then brought to their native villages on the islands

and the mainland of Papua New Guinea (Romaine 1990: 196, Walczyński 2012: 147–179). Because of the extremely complex linguistic situation of the country, Tok Pisin gradually developed into an expanded pidgin and a creole that shares the official status with English and the indigenous pidgin Hiri Motu (Romaine 1990: 196). The number of speakers using it as their native language rose from about 20,000 in 1990 to 122,000 in 2021 (Romaine 1990: 196, SIL 2021). About 4 million Papuans – close to a half of the country's population – speak it as a second language (Glottolog 2021). The creole has both rural and urban varieties (Mühlhäusler 1984: 140–154).

The lexicon and grammar of Tok Pisin are simplified in comparison with non-contact languages (Mühlhäusler 1986: 171). English is the main lexifier, but indigenous languages, for example Tolai (Mosel 1984), Buang, and Motu, also contribute to its lexicon and grammar. In spite of the strong influence of the lexifier, the grammar and semantic orientation of the language remain non-European (Romaine 2000: 187, 189). According to Sankoff (1977: 119 cit. in Goulden 1990: 2), Tok Pisin draws some of its semantic structure from the Austronesian languages spoken in the area around Rabaul.

2. Time in Papua New Guinea

Close to 85 % percent of Papua New Guinea's population of about 8 million people live in rural communities (AG / ACIAR 2021). This fact has shaped the temporal concepts dominant in the country, giving rise to a difference between rural and urban perceptions of time. Because of its agrarian basis, "Papua New Guinean village life was timetabled by the sun and this has led to a more relaxed approach in timekeeping"[1] (Diversicare 2021). Various natural phenomena and imported religious rituals also shaped the local temporality. In other words, "intricacies of the clock-time characteristic of industrial labour practices […] have

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[1] Such approach is, for example, common among speakers of Koromu in the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea (Priestley 2014: 147).

not at all been an issue for the rural Papua New Guineans at any one point in their history" (Telban 2017: 183). Such practices "have neither merged with culture nor have they become embodied as self-evident and unquestioned part of people's daily lives. There was no use, reflection, and management of clock-time either" (Telban 2017: 183–184). Urban parts of the country were different in that "school, work and certain daily practices have become organized according to a time-schedule" (Telban 2015: 186).

As a result, Papuan culture generally places much less value on punctuality than Western cultures – running late is not regarded as offensive and people freely offer their time (The Cultural Atlas 2021). In Hall's (1973: 140–162) terms, time in Papua New Guinea is polychronic in that it flows freely, allows for interruptions and delays, and takes into account the importance of social relations.

3. Time in Tok Pisin

As a creole dominant in Papua New Guinea, Tok Pisin has developed a dual organization of temporal concepts. They draw both on the indigenous cultures and languages, and on the Western patterns transmitted by the lexifier influence of English.

3.1. Time as astronomical phenomena

Indigenous concepts of time often rely on the motion of the planets as a point of reference. Some Tok Pisin temporal expressions refer to the sun, the moon, and constellations of planets.

3.1.1. The cycle of the sun

The position of the sun over the horizon is directly related to the periods of light and darkness. Some early Tok Pisin expressions for the parts of day and daytime refer to it:

(1) *tulait* too light 'dawn' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 94)

(2) *taim bilong san i kamap* time belong sun PR come up 'day-break' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 94)

(3) *taim bilong san i stap namel long heven* time belong sun PR be middle of heaven 'noon' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 94)

(4) *taim belong san i go daun* time belong sun PR go down 'dusk, sunset' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 94)

(5) *long san* in sun 'during the day, in the daytime' (Michalic 1983: 169)

They also reflect Melanesian grammatical patterns. Examples (2)–(4) are built on the syntactic pattern of noun + *bilong* + modifier, rooted in the Melanesian substratum (Goulden 1990: 65–80) and equivalent to the English prepositional phrase postmodifier. The pattern involves various semantic relationships, for example part-whole, origin, purpose or function, attribute, characteristic trait, benefactive (Woolford 1979: 64–65, Verhaar 1995: 194–197). The expressions represent parts or characteristic traits of the respective periods of time.

Some of the above-mentioned expressions have English-based counterparts. Thus, (2) has a synonym of

(6) *moningtaim tru* morning time true 'daybreak' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 94)

Expression (4) is used along

(7) *belo* bell 'noon, midday, lunch' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 94)

(8) *belo bek* bell back [to work] 'afternoon, time to go back to work, generally about 2 o'clock' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 94)

Example (8) corresponds to the English sense of the time of day (Michalic 1983: 67). Other English-based expressions, such as

(9) *apinun* afternoon 'evening' (Baing et al. 2020: 3)

(10) *apinun tru* afternoon true 'dusk' (Baing et al. 2020: 3)

have acquired a new sense, for example in the greeting

(11) *Gut apinun tru!* good afternoon true 'A very good evening / afternoon to you!' (Michalic 1983: 60).

Today, the English concept of

(12) *ivning* evening 'evening, afternoon' (Michalic 1983: 101)

is also in use.

The motion of the sun also determines seasonal cycles and weather phenomena, both of which condition the local agriculture. Expressions

(13) *taim bilong san* time belong sun 'the dry season' (Michalic 1983: 189)
(14) *taim bilong biksan* time belong big sun 'drought' (Michalic 1983: 189)

reflect such conceptualization of time.

3.1.2. The cycle of the moon

The lunar cycle is used to mark periods of time and cultural taboos. The former is the case in expression

(15) *bihain long tripela mun* behind of three-fellow moon 'in three months' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 288)

in which the lunar cycle refers the month. The latter is present in expressions related to monthly recurrence of menstruation:

(16) *sik mun* sick moon / month 'menstruation' (Baing et al. 2020: 53)
(17) *Mun i kilim / lukim meri* moon PR kill / look on woman 'The girl is menstruating' (Michalic 1983: 137).

They are rooted in the cultural taboo belief that the moon is responsible for women's menstruation – it inflicts 'moon

sickness' upon them (Aikhenvald 2008: 122). That is why menstruating women are often isolated in menstrual huts for fear they should contaminate men and boys, which contributes to their discrimination (Boyd 1984, AG / DFAT 2017).

3.1.3. Constellations of planets

The cyclical motion of planets is also implicit in expression

    (18) *yar* year 'native new year' (Michalic 1983: 206)

which refers to the constellation of Pleiades. The constellation appears on the horizon at dusk about 10 June and marks the beginning of the native year. The concept of

    (19) *Nuyia* New Year 'New Year's Day' (Michalic 1983: 144)

is of English origin and is not related to astronomical phenomena.

3.2. Time as natural phenomena

Another way to access time in Tok Pisin, also rooted in agrarian way of life, is by reference to various natural phenomena, such as tides, winds, temperature, and crops. Tides motivate expressions

    (20) *taim bilong draiwara* time belong dry water 'dry season, at the time of low tide' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 86)
    (21) *taim bilong haiwara* time belong high water 'flood time, rainy season' (Michalic 1983: 92, Dutton, Thomas 1985: 86).

Whereas (20) accesses the dry season by means of its effect, (21) reverses the relation in that high water often causes floods. Expressions

(22) *taim bilong rai* time belong rai 'May to October, dry season' (Michalic 1983: 189)

(23) *taim bilong taleo* time belong taleo 'November to April, rainy season' (Michalic 1983: 189)

define the local seasons by reference to winds. *Rai* is the south-east trade winds blowing on the north coast of mainland Papua New Guinea between May and October, hence in the dry season; *taleo* is the north-west monsoon which brings a lot of rain (Baing et al. 2020: 75, 104). Temperature motivates expression

(24) *taim bilong bikpela kol* time belong big-fellow cold 'winter' (Verhaar 1995: 195)

because low temperatures function as a salient determinant of winter. Finally, expressions

(25) *taim bilong kamautim* time belong come out 'harvest' (Tok-Pisin.info 2021)

(26) *taim bilong tekimautim* time belong take him out 'harvest' (TokPisin.info 2021)

are related to the cycle of growth of plants used for food, especially taro. They are complementary in that (25) highlights the appearance of taro, when it is ready to be harvested, and (26) focuses the process of gathering it, which implies that the crop has appeared.[2]

3.3. Time as religious rituals

Though Christianity was one of the main Western incursions into the indigenous cultural patterns of Papua New Guinea, it did not cause a shift to Western perceptions of time (Telban

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[2] The Ambonwari of the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea, proficient in Tok Pisin, even adjust their eating habits to the quantity of food available. They regard such practice as the main difference between them (the Blacks) and the white Europeans (Telban 2017: 186).

2017: 184). The Christian calendar "with its focus on annual events and ritualized practices" (Telban 2017: 184) still fit the local patterns of episodic time. As a result, its cyclical rituals soon became points of reference for various aspects of temporality. Expressions

> (27) *(K)krismas* Christmas 'Christmas, any big celebration that includes singing and dancing, a year of one's age' (Michalic 1983: 115)
> (28) *Yu gat hamas krismas?* you got how much Christmas 'How old are you?' (Michalic 1983: 115)

are prime examples of temporal ritualism. The second and third senses of (27) involve a category extension in which a prominent event is used to access other similar events because they all share certain social patterns of behaviour. Expressions

> (29) *wanpela de bihain long Krismas de* one-fellow day behind of Christmas day 'Boxing Day' (Baing et al. 2020: 54)
> (30) *mit tambu taim* meat taboo time 'Lent' (Michalic 1983: 189)

convey the senses of their English counterparts in two different ways. Whereas (29) is a succession-based periphrastic construction related to the Christian calendar, (30) focuses on the ritualized food abstinence as a part of the relevant period and backgrounds the aspect of penitence. Finally, the relatively new expression

> (31) *taim bilong sios* time belong church 'church service' (Michalic 1983: 175, TokPisin.info 2021)

profiles the event as an aspect of the institution that conducts it or the place in which it takes place.

3.4. Time as a clock

Such a concept of temporality goes back to the invention of mechanical clock in the 14th century (North 2006: 171–200), which replaced the measurements of time based on observations of the motion of the sun (Neugebauer 1969: 82). Another factor that shaped it was economic development and urban labour practice. As a result, time determined by episodic events gave way to regular and neatly measured clock-time (Le Goff 1980: 44, 48 cit. in Telban 2017: 183).

Early representations of time in Tok Pisin, mostly tied to the external astronomical and natural phenomena, reflect such form of time quantification only by means of the above-mentioned expressions

(7) *belo* bell 'midday, noon, lunch time'[3]
(8) *belo bek* bell back 'afternoon, time to go back to work, generally about 2 o'clock'.

Though both expressions are strictly tied to efficiency-related clock measurements of time taken by the white supervisors of Papuan workers on copra plantations, where bells were used to announce meals at noon (Mühlhäusler 1984: 322), they refer to clock-time only indirectly.

Later representations of time in Tok Pisin include more Western concepts transplanted into the local, especially urban culture (Romaine 1990: 202). Foremost among them is the direct reference to clocks and watches as time-measuring instruments, also reinforced by radio broadcasts delivered at specific clock times (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 94). Expressions

(32) *Klok i tok wanem?* clock PR talk what 'What time is it?' (Baing et al. 2020: 37)

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[3] It is a shortened version of the expression *belo kaikai* bell food 'midday meal, lunch' – the second noun gives some property of the first one (Mühlhäusler 1984: 322).

(33) *Meri i save long klok* Mary PR know of clock 'The woman can tell the time'[4] (Baing et al. 2020: 37)

(34) *Nau em ten klok stret* now it ten clock straight 'It is 10 o'clock sharp' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 94)

fully illustrate the fact that clock or watch have come to refer to measured time in general. Example (34) emphasizes the role of punctuality, which is an effect of introducing "English time-telling habits" into Papua New Guinea (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 94).

3.5. Time as a resource and money

A further consequence of the use of time-measuring instruments in Papua New Guinea was importing to its culture a striking characteristic of the West, which treats time as a resource and as money. This means that time can be quantified, used, and has a specific value attached to it (Lakoff, Johnson 1999: 161–166).

Conceptualization of time as a resource is evident in expressions that at the same time reflect its objectification and quantification:

(35) *Taim i lus* time PR lost 'Time is consumed / Time is being lost' (Michalic 1983: 189)

(36) *Taim i lus nating* time PR lost nothing 'Time is being wasted' (Michalic 1983: 189)

(37) *ten minit i go lusim tri klok* ten minute PR go lose three clock 'ten minutes past 3' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 95)

(38) *faiv minit i go painim tu klok* five minute PR go find two clock 'five minutes to 2' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 95)

(39) *Taim yu stretim gut samting dispela bai helpim yu na yu no ken Westim taim* time you straighten good thing this-fellow FUT help you and you no can waste time 'When you arrange something well, it will help you not to waste time = Good

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[4] Example (33) has an English counterpart of *She can tell the time / read the clock.*

personal organization can help you to avoid wasting time'
(Glosbe 2021).

They all represent time as an objectively existing and quantifiable resource that can be consumed, lost, and found. The verb in the related example

(40) *Em belo na bos i taimim mi* it bell and boss PR time me 'It is lunch time and the boss is timing me' (Baing et al. 2020: 103)

is a counterpart of the English verb

(41) *to time* 'measure time'.

Derived by using time itself to represent the action of measuring it, both expressions emphasize its resource-related character.

3.5.1. Time as money

The connection between time and work efficiency, of which work contracts are a part, is a relatively new experience for the Papuans (Romaine 1990: 202). In expressions

(42) *mekim taim* make time 'make a contract' (Michalic 1983: 189)
(43) *brukim taim* break time 'break a contract' (Michalic 1983: 189)
(44) *pinistaim* finish time 'finish term of service / work contract' (Michalic 1983: 189)
(45) *potnait* fortnight 'pay week, wage, fortnightly salary' (Baing et al. 2020: 72; TokPisin.info 2021)

time is a resource that has the form of money that one is paid for work. They all reflect the economic relation which involves both the temporal obligation and the profit related to it.

A more direct representation of time as money is present in expressions

(46) *Yu save olsem taim em i mani* you know that time it PR money
     'You know that time is money' (Romaine 1990: 202)

(47) *stilim taim* steal time 'waste time at work' (Michalic 1983:
     184).

Example (46) is an advertisement of the Post and Telecommunication Corporation, which aims "to get people to use the telephone to conduct transactions which would ordinarily be done face-to-face in casual encounters and not by appointment" (Romaine 1990: 202). Example (48) reflects the idea of time theft at work by various forms of not attending to one's duties properly (Lakoff 1987: 209–210, Lakoff, Johnson 1999: 165–166).

Last but not least, expression

(48) *wiken* weekend 'weekend, have a rest' (Dutton, Thomas 1985:
     380, 397)

illustrates the Western division of the week into working and leisure parts. Because the leisure part is expected to contribute to efficiency / profit, the concept is also grounded in the view of time as a resource and money.

3.6. Time as space

Space provides a fundamental motivation for the objectification of time's passage in diverse languages (Radden 2003: 226). It also underlies perceptions of time in the indigenous languages of Papua New Guinea (Núñez, Cooperrider, D Doan, Wassman 2012, Priestley 2014). In Tok Pisin it is, for example, present in the grammaticalization of

(49) *klostu* close to 'nearby, nearly, soon'

into the spatial adverb and then – thanks to a mapping of space onto time – into the temporal adverb (Romaine 1999: 335–337). The creole also represents duration in terms of spatial length in expressions

(50) *Ol i stap longtaim moa* they PR stay long-time more 'They stayed for a very long time' (Michalic 1983: 124)

(51) *Mi no lukim em longpela taim* me no look her long-fellow time 'I haven't seen her for ages' (TokPisin.info 2021).

The spatial-temporal continuum is also common in representations of time orientation and lapse of time.

3.6.1. Time orientation

Time orientation means locating events on an imaginary line which extends in space. English usually uses the horizontal timeline: the future is in front of the observer and the past is behind them (Lakoff, Johnson 1999: 140). Other languages employ the same timeline, but some reverse the orientation. Thus, in Aymara – an Amerindian language of Bolivia and Chile – the future is behind and the past is in front of the observer (Núñez, Sweetser 2006). Asian languages, for example Mandarin, employ a vertical timeline – earlier events are up and later events are down (Boroditsky, Fuhrman, McCormick 2010, Radden 2003: 229).

The horizontal timeline in Tok Pisin is present in expressions

(52) *bihain* behind 'later on, after, afterwards, in the future' (Michalic 1983: 68)

(53) *taim bihain* time behind 'future' (Baing et al. 2020: 9)

(54) *bihain sikis klok* behind six clock 'past 6 o'clock' (TokPisin.info 2021)

(55) *wik bihain* week behind 'next week' (Glosbe 2021)

(56) *yia bihain* year behind 'next year' (Glosbe 2021)

(57) *kaikai bihain* meal behind 'dessert' (Michalic 1983: 101)

(58) *Yu kam bihain long taim wok i pinis* you come behind of work PR finish 'Come after the end of your workday' (TokPisin.info 2021)

(59) *Lukim yu bihain* look you behind 'See you later' (TokPisin.com 2021).

With *bihain* having the sense of 'after', all expressions represent later periods or events as placed behind or following earlier periods or events on the timeline. They are accordingly accompanied by forward hand gestures (Steven K. Thomas, personal communication, 2019).

However, some varieties of Tok Pisin locate events on the vertical timeline. Expressions

(60) *Mande antap* Monday on top 'next Monday' (Glosbe 2021)
(61) *de antap* day on top 'the next day' (Glosbe 2021)
(62) *wik antap* week on top 'the next week' (Glosbe 2021)

absent in Michalic's (1983) standard dictionary, but mentioned by Baing et al. (2020: 272) and the electronic sources, all represent later events as placed up on the line. Complementary expressions placing earlier events down on the line have not been found.

There are two competing motivations for such a construal. One is the lexifier impact of English, which in some cases uses the vertical timeline to refer to the future. For example, in expression

(63) *The winter break is coming up on us*

the future is down and moves up towards the observer, whereas in

(64) *These stories have been passed down from generation to generation*

earlier events are up and they move down towards us (Radden 2003: 228–229). Another motivation is the view of time functioning in rural cultures of Papua New Guinea. Some of them, also proficient in Tok Pisin, use the vertical timeline motivated by their collective history. For example, the Yupno people, who speak one of the Finisterre languages of south-western Papua New Guinea (Glottolog 2021), believe that their ancestors

arrived in the lowlands and settled up in the valley. As a result, referring to the past and earlier events, they point down towards the mouth of the local river; referring to the future and later events, they accordingly point up towards the source of the river. The evidence for the orientation comes mainly from the analysis of the gestures, but expression

> (65) *omo-ropmo bilak* down there-year other side 'a couple years ago' (Núñez, Cooperrider, D Doan, Wassmann 2012)

also reflects such orientation.

3.6.2. Lapse of time

The dominant way to represent the lapse of time in English is as motion along the horizontal timeline. Two different cognitive models of time's passage are possible: either the observer located at the present moves towards the future along the temporal landscape and leaves the past behind or the observer is stationary and time moves past them from the future to the past (Evans 2004: 214–221).

In Tok Pisin the moving observer model underlies expression

> (66) *Tispela lapun i sik tumas, em klosap i dai* this-fellow old PR sick too much, he close up PR die 'This old man is very sick, he will soon die [is close to dying]' (Romaine 1999: 335).

The moving time model underlies expressions

> (67) *Klostu Maria i laik karim pikinini* close to Maria PR ready carry baby 'Mary is nearly ready to give birth' (Glosbe 2021)
> (68) *wik i go pinis* week PR go finish 'the previous week' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 527)
> (69) *Tupela yia i go pinis* two-fellow year PR go finish 'Two years have passed' (Baing 2020: 124)
> (70) *i go pinis* PR go finish 'ago' (Baing 2020: 131)

(71) *Yar i kamap* year PR come up 'The Pleiades have arisen = The native year has come' (TokPisin.info 2021).

In example (67) the adverb placed in sentence-external position provides a temporal perspective on the whole event that the sentence describes. In spite of obvious syntactic differences from English patterns, the creole represents the passage of time in ways similar to its lexifier.

3.7. Temporal succession

Representations of temporal succession again reflect both local and English influence. Indigenous concepts underlie expressions

(72) *hapasde* half / part yesterday 'the day before yesterday' Michalic 1983: 94)
(73) *haptumora* half / part tomorrow 'the day after tomorrow' (Michalic 1983: 94).

Both represent the respective days as being parts of or resulting from the preceding days. In expression

(74) *asde bipo* yesterday before 'the day before yesterday' (Michalic 1983: 61)

which is an English-influenced counterpart of (72), such connection has been removed in favour of sequential ordering. The ordering is based on the Complex Temporal Sequence Model, which takes a certain temporal event as the deictic centre "with respect to which the event in question is sequenced" (Evans 2004: 229) and described as being before it or after it.

The earlier-later or before-after relation is also present in expressions referring to days and weeks:

(75) *neks de* next day 'the next day' (Baing et al. 2020: 55)
(76) *neks wik* next week 'the next week' (Baing et al. 2020: 272)

(77) *bipo long tupela wik* before of two-fellow week 'two weeks ago'
(Michalic 1983: 72).

They all reflect English influence even if the syntactic pattern of
(77) differs from the English pattern.

The same relation also underlies some more inclusive temporal expressions:

(78) *bipo long* before of 'ago' (TokPisin.info 2021)
(79) *bilong bipo* of before 'previous' (TokPisin.info 2021)
(80) *taim bipo* time before 'early, the past' (TokPisin.info; Baing et al. 2020: 103)
(81) *bipotaim* before time 'early, beforehand' (Michalic 1983: 72)
(82) *long bipo* of before 'long ago' (Baing et al. 2020: 11)
(83) *taim bilong bipo* time belong before 'in times gone by, in olden times' (Michalic 1983: 72).

In a way typical of creoles, which are 'grammatical' languages
with fewer lexical roots (Haiman 1985: 166), the word *bipo* is
used instead of more specific English temporal adverbs and adjectives.

Finally, Tok Pisin names of days of the week also reflect both
Melanesian and English patterns. Dutton and Thomas (1985:
92) say that whereas expressions for Monday, Friday, Saturday,
and Sunday come from English, those for the remaining three
days, that is,

(84) *Tunde* two-day 'Tuesday'
(85) *Trinde* three-day 'Wednesday'
(86) *Fonde* four-day 'Thursday'

are only transliterations of English phrases and reflect a regular
pattern of derivation. As Mühlhäusler (1985: 425) discusses,
a similar system based on regular derivation is used to refer to
fingers by speakers of some rural varieties of Tok Pisin, in which
– depending on the perspective – different names are used for
the same fingers:

(87) *nambawan pinga* number one finger 'thumb'
(88) *nambapaip pinga* number five finger 'thumb'
(89) *nambatu pinga* number two finger 'index finger'
(90) *nambapo pinga* number four finger 'index finger'.

This can possibly explain the use of numerals to refer to some days of the week as well. As the Western seven-day week cycle must have been new for the Papuans, it was not central to their cultures and thus was less Anglicized.

3.8. Other concepts of time

Some temporal periods and time itself are used to conceptualize weather:

(91) *De i gutpela* day PR good-fellow 'The weather is good' (Michalic 1983: 81)
(92) *gutpela taim* good-fellow time 'good weather' (Michalic 1983: 189)
(93) *taim nogut* time no good 'bad weather' (Michalic 1983: 189).

Such construal is similar to English and other Western languages – weather is in time and is a part of various time periods. Expression

(94) *kisim taim* get time 'be / get into trouble, suffer'

is a more complex case – its sense is related to the English expression

(95) *do time* 'serve a prison sentence for law breaking' (Dutton, Thomas 1985: 54).

The creole expression is more inclusive – the originally euphemistic basis of (94) has been extended to refer to any other negative and unpleasant experience.

Poorer lexification of Tok Pisin in comparison with non-contact languages is the reason for the use of periphrastic constructions rooted in Melanesian substratum for periods in the history of Papua New Guinea, as well as some concepts less directly related to time. The word *taim* 'time' functions as their head because they all have temporal dimensions.

Thus, various historical periods can be described by expressions

(96) *taim bilong masta* 'colonial period' (Nelson 1982)
(97) *taim bilong ol waitman* 'colonial period' (Issues: Colonial History – ABC 2021)
(98) *taim bilong pait* time belong fight 'wartime, especially 1942-1945' (Michalic 1983: 189)
(99) *taim bilong mani* time belong money 'time of commerce' (Connell 1978).

Examples (96) and (97) access the pre-independence period by reference to white Europeans and masters, who were in power at that time; (98) refers to the relevant period by highlighting its main factor, which was fighting; (99) describes the transformation of subsistence-based agriculture in Solomon Islands into a more commercial venture.

Other expressions following the same pattern but not related to history include, for example,

(100) *taim bilong karim* time belong carry 'expected date of delivery' (Baing et al. 2020: 103)
(101) *taim bilong lainim ol nupela wok* time belong learn all newfellow work 'apprenticeship' (Baing et al. 2020: 138)
(102) *taim bilong dring kopi* time belong drink coffee 'coffee-break' (Baing et al. 2020: 167)
(103) *taim bilong prinim buk* time belong print book 'edition' (Baing et al. 2020: 193)
(104) *taim bilong sekan* time belong shake hand 'peace' (Baing et al. 2020: 286).

They all access the respective concepts by profiling some of their salient aspects – for example, (102) highlights the consumption of coffee as a part of a socially sanctioned activity.

4. Summary and conclusions

The concept of time in Tok Pisin fully reflects the contact nature of the language. Elements typical of indigenous languages and cultures function side by side with those introduced by the white English-speaking colonizers. The former, which define time in less sophisticated ways, that is, by reference to the motion of planets, various natural phenomena, religious rituals, as well as by means of Melanesian syntactic patterns, are common in expressions for the parts of the 24-hour period, seasons of the year, agricultural events, and social rituals. The latter, which refer to time-measuring instruments, precise quantification of time, as well as the related scheduling of daily and weekly activities, are dominant in expressions related to economy and work relations.

Many of the Western elements are illustrative of Tok Pisin's renewed contact with English (Reed 1943: 283 cit. in Mühlhäusler 1985: 426). It is a process that occurred at various stages in its development, was especially strong in urban varieties of the creole, and continues until today (Zimmermann 2010). Its major effect is partial Anglicization of Tok Pisin's temporal lexicon.

The broad presence of indigenous elements in the temporal lexicon of Tok Pisin likens the creole to other similar contact languages. English-lexified African creoles, for example, have numerous English words in their lexicons. Yet those words frequently reflect the cultural substratum of African languages, even if they fit cross-linguistically common patterns of conceptualization (Corum 2020).

The use of space and motion in it to conceptualize time is one of the elements of Tok Pisin temporal lexicon that likens the creole to fully-fledged languages spoken in various parts of the

world. In this respect, Tok Pisin shares patterns with such European languages as German or Spanish (Haspelmath 1997, Levinson 2003); African languages, for example Sesotho and Wolof (Alverson 1994, Moore 2000); Asian languages, for example Hindi, Japanese, and Mandarin (Alverson 1994, Shinohara 1999, Radden 2003); Amerindian languages, for example Hopi (Malotki 1983) and Aymara (Núñez, Sweetser 2006); Aboriginal languages of Australia, for example Pompurraw (Boroditsky, Gaby 2010). In this way Tok Pisin temporal lexicon reflects an element that such linguists as Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976: 375ff) or Lyons (1977: 718) regard as a semantic universal.

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Abbreviations

FUT   – future
PR   – predicate

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Tingles, sparkles, shivers: Language of affect in online discussions on autonomous sensory meridian response[1]

JOANNA ŁAPIŃSKA

Abstract

The audiovisual phenomenon of autonomous sensory meridian response (ASMR), which has been present on the Internet for several years in the form of relaxing videos posted on YouTube, is enjoying growing popularity. One of the interesting elements of this phenomenon is the affectivity visible in the language used by the members of the community. In this article, I focus on the language used by the ASMR community in online spaces, putting forward the thesis that it corresponds with the language of affect present in the affective turn theories that appreciate bodily sensations as a way of experiencing the world. The article suggests that ASMR is a product of the culture of affect and that the success of this phenomenon is associated with a shift toward the importance of the body and its sensations in Western culture as key elements of the individual's experience of the surrounding reality.

Keywords

ASMR, affect culture, affective turn, language of affect, YouTube

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Ciarki, iskry, dreszcze.
Język afektu w dyskusjach internetowych
na temat autonomous sensory meridian response

</div>

Abstrakt

Audiowizualne zjawisko autonomous sensory meridian response (ASMR), od kilku lat obecne w internecie pod postacią relaksujących filmów umieszczanych w serwisie YouTube, cieszy się rosnącą popularnością. Jednym z interesujących elementów tego zjawiska jest afektywność widoczna w języku, którym posługują się członkowie społeczności. W niniejszym artykule skupiam się na języku używanym przez społeczność ASMR w przestrzeniach internetowych, wysuwając tezę, że współgra on z językiem afektu obecnym w teoriach zwrotu afektywnego, które doceniają doznania cielesne jako sposób doświadczania świata. Artykuł sugeruje, że ASMR jest wytworem kultury afektu i że powodzenie tego zjawiska wiąże się ze zwrotem ku istotności ciała i jego doznań w kulturze zachodniej jako kluczowych elementów doświadczania otaczającej rzeczywistości przez jednostkę.

Słowa kluczowe

ASMR, kultura afektu, zwrot afektywny, język afektu, YouTube

1.   Introduction

For several years, the phenomenon of autonomous sensory meridian response (ASMR) has been the subject of scientific research by scholars from various fields: from cultural studies, through media and social sciences, to psychology, psychiatry and cognitive engineering. Academics agree that ASMR is a fascinating phenomenon that has been making waves in online digital culture for more than a decade, and that it is worth looking

at from different perspectives to show its complexity and multi-layeredness. Some of the most frequently discussed themes to date in cultural studies of ASMR videos published on YouTube include, but are not limited to, digitally-mediated intimacy and embodied copresence (Zappavigna 2020, Smith and Snider 2019), online performativity (Harper 2020), the para-haptic interaction of ASMR artists with the audience (Klausen 2019), the relevance of whispering in creating an experience of intimacy (Andersen 2015), or the audio-centered ASMR community (Smith and Snider 2021).

Analyses of the online ASMR phenomenon occasionally include the notions of affect and affectivity as conceptually relevant elements of theoretical research frameworks. For example, Gallagher (2016) locates the ASMR phenomenon in a mediascape full of so-called affective "triggers", Smith and Snider (2019) consider ASMR a mediated affective experience, and Łapińska (2020a) analyzes from a posthuman perspective the affective properties of the material objects used in the performances led by ASMR artists. At the same time, it is even rarer to come across scholarly analyses of the language used by members of the ASMR community, be it in online forums, in the comment sections of YouTube videos, in video descriptions and titles, or in other places in the online space where tingles enthusiasts share their thoughts and experiences. To my knowledge, only one text examining ASMR from a linguistic perspective has been published so far (Ozga 2020), dedicated to, among other things, the vocal and non-verbal sounds used by artists in their videos to elicit tingles in their audiences. In addition, Ozga focused on the names of channels publishing ASMR content on YouTube and the communicative forms used by artists in their videos to simulate the personal dimension of the experience. Equally important is the fact that, as Smith and Snider (2021) note, research on the ASMR community is still sparse, as researchers to date have focused primarily on critical analysis of video content.

In an effort to fill this gap, in this article I intend to focus on the ASMR community and analyze selected entries made by ASMR aficionados in online forums and in the comments sections of videos posted on YouTube channels. I will also explore how individuals experiencing ASMR – not necessarily viewers of intentionally created ASMR videos that more than a decade ago were not yet available – described their feelings at a time when the phenomenon had not yet been identified and referred to by its current name. As research material I will use, among other things, a thread on the forum of the website Steadyhealth.com set up in October 2007, considered to be the beginning of the exchange of experiences on the Internet about the phenomenon of tingles felt on the skin of the head, neck, nape and sometimes even the whole body in response to various stimuli, later called ASMR. In the article, I observe that the language used by individuals who experience a specific tingling sensation on their own skin, not necessarily thanks to dedicated audiovisual materials, as well as by users of ASMR content published on the Internet, has a lot in common with the language of affect, which has operated for several years now in the humanities as part of the so-called affective turn. This essay argues that ASMR can be called a product of the culture of affect and that the success of this phenomenon is linked to the popular contemporary turn toward materiality and "embodied life" (Schaefer 2019: 1) as essential elements in experiencing the reality surrounding the individual, and the turn away from cognitivism, language, and reason as the most fundamental determinants of human cognition, existence, and subjectivity. In this essay, I point out that ASMR is a symptomatic phenomenon and cultural lens through which we can view contemporary changes regarding what constitutes humans' subjectivity and their experience of the world. An individual's affective experience of the world using the body – alongside rational-cognitive perception – is now becoming valued and promoted precisely in affect theory, which is interested in "*what bodies do* – what they want, where they go, what they think, how they decide" (Schaefer 2019: 1). In ASMR, rational-

cognitive perception is displaced by bodily experiences and sensations. The tingling sensation felt on the scalp, and thus in the body, can be indicative of many things: for example, a person's belonging to the material world, to the nonlinguistic world, and to the world "of nature." As I argue later in this article, affect in humanities research is sometimes referred to as a non-understandable, nontextual, "nonlinguistic and non- or paracognitive" element (Schaefer 2019: 1) – as are tingles, sparkles and shivers, whose distinctiveness and peculiarity also challenge their perception in rational and intellectual terms.

2. Affect theory and affective language

Before I proceed to analyze the source material, I would like to consider how scholars and philosophers theorize about affect. What terms and words do they use to best represent what they think affect and affective experience are? To what phenomena and elements of reality is affect compared in the theoretical reflections of those who identify with the affective turn in contemporary humanities?

Evidently, there is no consensus among theorists as to what affect actually is and how it should be understood. It is not uncommon to equate it simply with emotion or feeling, emphasizing that the differences between these three states are fairly minor. These concepts, according to Sianne Ngai, are not characterized by "a formal difference of quality or kind" but rather "a modal difference of intensity or degree" (2005: 27). Ngai's assumption is that affects are not as formed and structured as emotions, but, at the same time, they are "not lacking form or structure altogether"; they are "by no means code-free or meaningless" and also not "entirely devoid of organization or diagnostic powers" (2005: 27). Justyna Tabaszewska (2018) speaks of affect in a similar way, noting that it would be fruitful to conceive emotions and affects in a phasic and relational way: as about different stages of the same process, interacting with each other and overlapping. In this context, affect would be some-

what less structured than emotion and feeling, but would still be closely related to them.

However, there are tendencies among researchers who explicitly treat affect as something more primordial than feeling and preceding culturally constructed emotion. In this understanding, affect is a kind of "protosensation", a "precognitive sensory experience" (Cvetkovich 2012: 4), as scholars inspired by Gilles Deleuze's thought wish. Emotions such as joy, anger or fear, as conscious and cultural constructs, allegedly would be separate from affect. Affect, for example in Brian Massumi's theory, is the experience of "how intensities come together, move each other, and transform and translate under or beyond meaning, semantics, fixed systems, cognitions" (Bertelsen and Murphie 2010: 147). Affect is a kind of unrest, tension, trembling, or stirring felt in the body, which only when cognitively processed and realized can trigger specific feelings such as joy, fear, disgust, shame, or anger. For Benedict de Spinoza (2009), whose philosophy is a great inspiration for researchers interested in the affect theory, the potentiality of bodies is the ability to stimulate and be stimulated, "to affect or to be affected" (Massumi 2015: 4). Affect acts like an endless flow between interconnected bodies, "it goes up and down gently like a tide, or maybe storms and crests like a wave" (Massumi 2015: 4). Spinoza's philosophy resonates, for example, in the notion of affect that emerges from the analyses of Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth (2010: 2), who define it with the picturesque term "shimmers", evoking something fleeting, flickering, sparkling, while claiming that "affect is in many ways synonymous with *force* or *forces of encounter.*" As in Spinoza, this is about the encounters of bodies interacting with each other in a kind of dance of belonging and detachment.

"Shimmer" is not the only appealing word used by researchers to describe the experience of affect. Karolina Felberg (2013: 45), when writing about the affective turn in art, vividly depicts that affect can be imagined as "a flicker, a flash, a current, a nerve, a fluid, a damp, an energy, a geniality": something

unrepresentable, something intangible, something that eludes words. Agnieszka Dauksza (2014), on the other hand, describes affect in terms of "ambiguous strangeness", "clinginess", "stickiness", and "attaching" to the viewer's consciousness. Dauksza also argues that affect, or this particular intensity, often manifests itself in different, very divergent receptions of a given cultural text or artwork by the audience. The affect makes itself known in moments of ambiguity.

It is important to note that the affective turn often valorizes precisely the viewer/listener, who, in the words of Agnieszka Jelewska (2012: 114), serves as a "somatic interface": someone who "receives, transmits, and decodes the various impulses and stimuli that arise in the situation of contact with a work of art". Impulses acting on both the conscious and subconscious of the viewer/listener constitute the affective reception of a given cultural text or work of art, primarily so-called sensory art. As Jelewska claims, reception is always a result of bodily functions, and the active involvement of the viewer/listener on the microlevel of perception is accomplished through the affects flowing between the creator, the work of art, and the audience.

3. The unnamed feeling[2]

ASMR, until recently of interest only to a small circle of initiated enthusiasts and an even smaller circle of researchers, is a relatively new cultural and audiovisual phenomenon, present on the Internet mainly in the form of videos published on YouTube. ASMR is an acronym for the pseudo-scientific name "autonomous sensory meridian response", used to describe the pleasant tingling sensation felt on the skin of the head, neck, shoulders, and even sometimes the entire body, in response to various stimuli: primarily visual and auditory (in the case of videos posted in virtual space), but also tactile or olfactory (when

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[2] I borrowed this phrase from "The Unnamed Feeling" Internet blog bringing together the ASMR community, accessible between 2010 and 2013 at http://theunnam3df33ling.blogspot.com.

experiencing ASMR in the real world). The sensation would be expected to lead to deep relaxation of the whole body and calming of the mind, and, according to some commentators, to provide relief for those suffering from anxiety, depression or struggling with sleep problems (Barratt and Davis 2015).

The term "ASMR" does not only denote that blissful tingling sensation that induces drowsiness, tranquility and calmness. It is also a term used to describe the Internet subculture and community associated with specific authors of ASMR-dedicated YouTube channels, where artists upload audiovisual materials created exclusively for the purpose of inducing shivers, containing a multitude of stimuli and thus having a salutary effect on the well-being of the viewers/listeners of these videos.[3] The ASMR community has not been widely researched to date; it is most often considered to be a community centered around a broadly defined notion of sound (Smith and Snider 2021). Without a doubt, the ways in which individuals, who experience ASMR firsthand in the real world as well as users of ASMR videos, speak about their own experiences may shed new light on the phenomenon and place it in a broader cultural context.

It appears that the language used by the aforementioned individuals has much in common with the language of the affective turn in humanities. It is not uncommon for a sensation felt on the skin, referred to for convenience as ASMR, to be described in online forums and blogs as something peculiar, inexplicable, indescribable, unspeakable. Such descriptions resonate with Massumi's characterization of affect as "not yet a fully formed thought. It's a movement of thought, or a thinking movement" (2015: 10). Evidence of the impossibility of accurately expressing in language this specific sensation and the constant movement of thought around it can be seen in the fact that the fledgling ASMR community has long been unable to give the

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[3] More extensive definitions and descriptions of the ASMR phenomenon can be found in other publications (e.g., Gallagher 2016, Klausen 2019, Łapińska 2020b), therefore, I will not repeat them in this paper, wishing to focus primarily on the language used in the online ASMR community.

phenomenon an appropriate name that conveys its complexity. Since about 2007, the community has been working together to come up with a perfect term for the feeling. Early working names for the sensation included, among others, "attention induced euphoria" (AIE), "attention induced observant euphoria" (AI-OEU), "attention induced head orgasm" (AIHO), "head tingles", "brain tingles", "braingasm", or the aforementioned "the un-named feeling." Finally, in 2010, a more professional, "medical" name of "autonomous sensory meridian response" was coined to dissociate from the sexualization of the phenomenon.[4]

The first significant post in the ASMR-centered online community is considered to be a post published by a user with the pseudonym okaywhatever51838 in October 2007 on the Steady-health.com website forum.[5] The post was titled "WEIRD SENSATION FEELS GOOD" and was written as follows:

> i get this sensation sometimes. theres no real trigger for it. it just happenes randomly. its been happening since i was a kid and I'm 21 now. some examples of what it seems has caused it to happen before are as a child while watching a puppet show and when i was being read a story to. as a teenager when a classmate did me a favor and when a friend drew on the palm of my hand with markers. sometimes it happens for no reason at all that i can tell, though. I'll just be sitting or whatever doing whatever and it happens. *its like in my head and all over my body. if i get an itch when I'm experiencing the sensation i won't scratch it cause the itch helps intensify it.* [emphasis mine – J.Ł.] i also like to trace my fingers along my skin because it feels good when experiencing the sensation. sometimes my eyes will water. when the sensation is over i will sometimes feel nauseous, but not that bad. just a slight hint of nausea. what is it?? I'm not complaining cause i love it, but I'm just wondering what it might be... help.[6]

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[4] The story of the origin of the name "ASMR" can be learned at www.asmruniversity.com, where a video was posted introducing Jennifer Allen, who coined the term "autonomous sensory meridian response" (Richard 2016).

[5] The discussion with the original forum posts can be found at https://www.steadyhealth.com/topics/weird-sensation-feels-good.

[6] In all quoted posts and user contributions, the original spelling has been preserved, where possible.

A forum user shared an experience of a strange sensation that seems to happen randomly at different times in their life. The sensation is felt not only in the head, but affects the entire body. The person communicating their experience compares the sensation to a pleasant itching on the skin that one does not wish to scratch because one desires to prolong its duration. Forum participants responding in the thread created by okaywhatever51838 speak very enthusiastically about this peculiar, nameless feeling and highlight their own comparable experiences. For example, a user named bean487 reports "this strange sensation in [their] head" and "this tingling in [their] scalp" and then describes the sensation very vividly ("a silvery sparkle through my head and brain") before using a sexual metaphor ("a sort of head orgasm"). On the forum one can also find significant comparisons of the tingling sensation to goosebumps all over the scalp, which "fades in and out in waves of heightened intensity".

It is worth recalling at this point researchers' discussions of the issue of differentiating and distinguishing between "affect" and "emotion" in terms of the degree of intensity and structuring. The comments of people experiencing ASMR apparently combine descriptions of affective sensations, which they find difficult to name and correctly classify according to familiar patterns, with depictions of emotional sensations, such as those associated with the happiness experienced as a child when drawing with a marker on a friend's skin or listening to a parent reading a bedtime story. Massumi firmly separates the realm of affect from the realm of emotions stating that "emotion is qualified intensity, the conventional, consensual point of insertion of intensity into semantically and semiotically formed progressions, into narrativizable action-reaction circuits, into function and meaning. It is intensity owned and recognized" (2002: 28).

However, for the members of the ASMR community this distinction is not very easy to sustain. In statements on the discussion forum, we recognize a striking desire to link an affective sensation to familiar emotions, primarily the happiness and

carefreeness of childhood. Perhaps it is because emotions are seemingly easier to comprehend as "conventional or coded expression" (Massumi 2015: 32) of affect than the affect itself. Therefore, forum users wish to encapsulate the affective intensity into familiar semantic and semiotic forms. Still, the fleeting and indefinable affect in the form of tingles is subject to constant transformation; it is hard to grasp and not easy to describe. As Tabaszewska notes, affects "rather happen than exist" (2018: 272); they remain elusive and in motion.

On the ASMR University website collecting various resources on ASMR, a "Voices of ASMR" survey was conducted among people who experience this sensation.[7] The first general question was: "What does ASMR feel like?" and supporting, more specific ones included the following: "What physical sensations do you feel?"; "Where do you feel these sensations on your body?"; "What emotional and psychological sensations do you feel?". Respondents left 68 comments under the first question, which I analyzed to determine how people experiencing ASMR describe the sensation. For example, a user nicknamed Kim recounts in a picturesque way:

> It feels like a fountain of relaxing sensation in the middle of my brain, that shoots upwards against the ceiling of my skull and cascades down evenly around the inside of my head... Also, knowing something of the mechanical nature of the ear and the sense of sound, I feel asmr is like the vibration of your inner ear when struck by just the right frequency.

The comparison of the sensation of ASMR to water shooting out of a fountain under the vault of the skull and flowing down the inside of the head evokes the sense of fluidity, phasiness, and clinginess of affect that some theorists point out. Indeed, the water usually flows uncontrollably, fills every crevice, and affects everything in its path. In such a meticulous description

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[7] User responses can be found at https://asmruniversity.com/voices-what-does-asmr-feel-like/.

one can see the user's desire to best convey the specific experience that takes place inside their body. The wish to capture that crucial moment when they feel what their body is doing, what it is capable of, and therefore what it wants – this is the wish to capture the affect. As Massumi states, "the way we live [...] is always entirely embodied" (2015: 6) and affect is a way of "thinking, bodily" (2015: 10).

Equally appealing is the use of the concept of vibration to describe the ASMR experience in the quoted statement. Hitting the right frequency that makes Kim's "inner ear" vibrate is akin to a dance of intensities that "come together, move each other" (Bertelsen and Murphie 2010: 147). It is like a Spinozian affective wave of appropriate frequency flowing through stimulating and stimulated bodies connected by the "forces of encounter", as Gregg and Seigworth (2010: 2) describe.

Another comment in the "Voices of ASMR" survey was left by Andy, who wrote the following about their ASMR experience:

> Like there is a tiny hole drilled in the back center of my skull that someone poured a sugar packet into. Tingling sensation that radiates from the brain stem to the scalp, down my spinal cord and through the back of my arms and front of my legs (if I'm lucky).

Here the emphasis lies again on comparing the indescribable with something familiar and everyday – with sugar pouring out of a sachet. ASMR tingling is like the effervescence of pouring sugar from a small bag into the head through a tiny hole in the skull. It is something fizzing and sparkling, like Gregg and Seigworth's (2010) shimmers. The sensation radiates along the arms, spine, and even Andy's legs! The body, thus, becomes a somatic interface receiving impulses and distributing them. It is the material, not the intellectual element, that plays a major role in the constitution of the experiencing subject. It is the body that feels affected on a primal level.

In the contributions to the "Voices of ASMR" survey, we can find a number of other expressions that resonate with the language of the affective turn. One person admits that the

sensation of ASMR can be compared to "a warm, slightly fuzzy, tingling energy" flowing in the body. Someone else shares their thoughts, stating that ASMR has different "degrees of severity": sometimes it produces only a relaxing sensation that "washes away" fears and anxieties, and at other times it is much stronger and causes goosebumps or a so-called "warm chill." Emphasizing the gradualness of this sensation is correlated with the previously described blurriness of boundaries and the specific elusiveness of the affect.

Some commentators on affect theory (Tabaszewska 2018) warn against unnecessary and forced differentiation of affect and emotion. This type of postulate can also be detected in the statements left by viewers of ASMR videos on YouTube, for example, in the comments section under the video *What is ASMR? (ASMR EXPLAINED & ASMR Test!)* (New Rockstars 05.08.2015). Here, oftentimes vocabulary revolving around affectivity (i.e., phrases indicating the indeterminacy, fluidity, and incomprehensibility of ASMR sensation, such as a "kinda fuzzy feeling") and descriptions of specific, commonly known, and semantically indisputable emotional states (e.g., "being super relaxed") are intertwined. One of the commenters uses terms from both resources:

> [...] for me the best way i could describe the feeling is something of a cross between *being super relaxed* [emphasis mine – J.Ł.] but also completely absorbed and focused on the sound/visual and i guess *kinda fuzzy feeling* in the head [emphasis mine – J.Ł.].

Importantly, the discussed video was not created to evoke pleasant shivers in viewers, but to objectively explain the phenomenon to all interested parties. Therefore, we find a relatively large number of comments describing ASMR in a pejorative manner. The reflection on such statements is as important as the analysis of the praise left by ASMR enthusiasts, because it allows us to see the other side of the coin. Interestingly, as can be observed in the comments below, non-ASMR fans also use a characteristic combination of affective and emotional language in

their remarks. A lack of understanding of the peculiar phenomenon, but also insufficient language resources to characterize ASMR effectively, result, on the one hand, in helpless comments like "I don't get it" or "it pisses me off", and, on the other hand, in the use of highly imaginative names of concrete emotions and unambiguous emotional associations ("[it] causes anxiety", "It could be used for torture").

Here are examples of negative comments left under the video *What is ASMR? (ASMR EXPLAINED & ASMR Test!)*:

> When I've heard those sounds I wanted to throw my computer outside the window. I don't get it.
> I agree. All those sounds and sights do nothing whatsoever for me. In fact some of it pisses me off and causes anxiety.
> Same here. There's nothing relaxing at all in this. It's exactly the opposite for me. It could be used for torture.

We remember Dauksza's (2014) thesis on the intensity of receptive reactions and the divergence of interpretations of cultural text or artwork in which affect manifests itself.

However, differing reactions and interpretations are inextricably linked to any experience. As Massumi reminds us, "there's a unique feeling to every experience that comes along, and the exact details of it can never be exhausted" (2015: 13). ASMR is a great example of a phenomenon that evokes a unique feeling that rarely leaves anyone indifferent. One may risk the statement that ASMR even demands an unambiguous reaction from the audience: either admiration or repulsion. This is confirmed by the deep gap between, on the one hand, praising reactions to ASMR videos, and, on the other, voices at the other end of the spectrum, describing ASMR as torture, for example.[8] In both cases, there is an intense affect that comes with "a stronger

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[8] Even more blunt comments can be found under YouTube videos that feature controversial triggers, for example, eating-related sounds (munching, crunching, slurping, lips smacking), which can evoke both pleasant ASMR sensations and intense anger and disgust in the viewer. On the relationship between ASMR and misophonia, see, for example, McGeoch and Rouw (2020).

sense of embeddedness [...] – a heightened sense of belonging, with other people" (Massumi 2015: 6). One can argue that the power of affect binds the ASMR-centered online community, which stays relentless in its efforts to describe the intensity of ASMR reactions in the best possible way.

4. ASMR as a product of the culture of affect?

Is the ASMR phenomenon and the online community centered around it part of the contemporary culture of affect? Undoubtedly. The appreciation of bodily sensations in the experiencing of the surrounding reality and in the creation of one's subjectivity is symptomatic of the affective turn that has permeated contemporary humanities for years. As has been observed in the course of analysis, the valuation of the affective reception of the world, alongside rational-cognitive perception, pervades the ASMR community. Its members describe what they feel inside their bodies in response to various stimuli. They attempt to name these feelings in a manner that is understandable to themselves and others, but often they seem linguistically helpless against the fluid, shimmering, and ephemeral sensations flowing through their bodies. Thus, they combine the language of affect and emotion – indeterminacy and concreteness – in their expressions. The ASMR community demonstrates symptoms of what we might call the contemporary culture of affect, offering its own answer to the question once posed by Steven Shaviro: "*what it feels like* to live in the early twenty-first century" (2010: 2). The ASMR community seems to be stating that it is impossible to exist without the body, and that the fiction of disembodiment in digital culture is a mirage. The body is still not a thing of the past, and the continuous efforts of ASMR users to best describe their bodily sensations point to a renaissance of an affective experience of the world around us.

This raises the question of what comes next. What role does affect play in the ASMR culture that is becoming increasingly commercialized and mainstream? Are we once again witnessing

affect being harnessed to work by a contemporary culture of consumption? There is no denying that the ASMR community participates in a kind of business model: by watching videos on YouTube, it indirectly provides a living to the artists who create and publish content on this platform. Without a doubt, ASMR culture has rapidly become a powerful money-making machine. Perhaps in this way we are being offered a commercialized affect: an affect that is conceptualized, produced, beautifully packaged and marketed… But this constitutes a topic for a separate discussion.

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The facilitatory role of utterance splitting in text-based CMC

MAREK PLACIŃSKI

Abstract

This paper focuses on the role of the structure of turns in quasi-synchronous text-based computer mediated-conversation. Prior research has found that interactants in this type of communication submit their messages in two ways: either as a long single message or as a sequence of shorter postings. We hypothesize that the latter strategy – called utterance splitting – facilitates communicating online both in terms of turn-taking (initiation of repairs and holding the floor) and sentence processing (predicting informational content and lowering entropy). To evaluate the hypothesis, an experiment in which naive participants interacted with a confederate writer was conducted. We found that although communicative success did not depend on the condition to which the participants were assigned, the conversations in which the confederate sent split utterances were, on average, shorter and required less words to communicate the same intention.

Keywords

computer-mediated communication, informational entropy, turn-taking, sentence processing

Rola strategii utrzymywania tury konwersacyjnej w quasi-synchronicznej tekstowej komunikacji internetowej

Abstrakt

Niniejszy artykuł rozważa wpływ formy tur konwersacyjnych w quasi-synchronicznej tekstowej komunikacji internetowej. Wcześniejsze badania zauważyły, że rozmówcy w owym rodzaju komunikacji realizują tury konwersacyjne na dwa sposoby: bądź w postaci jednej długiej wiadomości, bądź w serii kilku krótszych wiadomości. W tym artykule stawiana jest hipoteza, że druga strategia ułatwia zarządzanie procesem konwersacji (przewidywanie końca tury, inicjowanie napraw konwersacyjnych) i obniża koszty związane z przetwarzaniem zdań (poprzez stopniową integrację wiadomości oraz zmniejszenie entropii informacyjnej). Aby zweryfikować hipotezy, przeprowadzono jedno badanie. O ile eksperyment nie wykazał istotnego statystycznie wpływu formatu tur konwersacyjnych na sukces komunikacyjny, o tyle dane sugerują, iż format ma istotny wpływ na wspólny wysiłek komunikacyjny – na korzyść krótszych wiadomości.

Słowa kluczowe

komunikacja internetowa, entropia informacyjna, przejmowanie tur konwersacyjnych, przetwarzanie zdań

1. Introduction

Text-based computer-mediated communication (henceforth CMC) is one of the most popular means of interaction online. However, it differs from face-to-face interaction to a large degree in terms of turn management. This paper explores the notion of utterance breaks, i.e. the division of a message into smaller units (see section 4) and argues that utterance splitting is a mechanism that facilitates text-based communication.

2. Synchronous text-based CMC

Written CMC occurs via standalone clients, such as WhatsApp or various IRC channels, or is part of other services, for example, Facebook or Google. However, due to technical constraints, it differs significantly from face-to-face talk (Garcia & Jacobs 1999, Herring 1999) both in terms of synchrony and multi-modality. With respect to synchrony, Baron (2010) suggested the typology presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Baron's (2010) typology of CMC

one-to-one	synchronous	asynchronous
	instant messaging	emails, texting
many-to-many	chat, computer conferencing	bulletin boards, listservs, blog sites

Hence, CMC can be classified based upon the expectations associated with response time. Certain types are called "synchronous" because there is an expectation of an immediate response – such as in instant messaging services. On the other hand, if no such expectation is held, the service is classified as "asynchronous". A good example of asynchronous CMC is email – generally, if one sends an email message, they do not expect to receive an answer immediately, quite to the contrary. Still, it does not mean that the classification is rigid, and especially in text-based chats the boundaries are fuzzy: a reply to an email may arrive virtually immediately, whereas a response for a message in an instant messaging chat can take some time. The same logic applies to the number of participants involved.

However, Baron's (2010) classification did not take into consideration another important factor in classifying CMC, namely by what means interactants communicate. In addition to the previous typology, we can also classify CMC on the basis of the

type and number of channels, and their modalities[1], involved to communicate a message. From this perspective, CMC can be divided into types that engage primarily the visual, primarily the audio, or both sensory modalities (see Table 2).

Table 2
Mediated communication classified according
to the modality involved

	monomodal	multimodal
primarily visual	instant messaging, group chats, emails, texting	video conferencing, video calls
primarily auditory	phone calls, recorded messages	

The new classification should not be viewed as one that rejects Baron's (2010), but rather an addition that had previously been overlooked. Here, we develop an argument that in addition to the degree of synchronicity, the primary modality also influences the structure of turns and the process of turn-taking. We build on Clark's (1996) principle of least collaborative effort to explain interlocutors' strategies of turn-taking in text-based CMC, by which they trade off the costs of communicating in a highly constrained environment.

3.   The synchronicity of CMC revisited

The degree of synchronicity of text-based CMC has been a subject of debate. Interacting via instant messaging applications is never *as synchronous as* face-to-face conversation. Even in the world of mediated communication, text-based communication lags behind telephone conversations and video conferences in terms of synchronicity. Texting, instant messaging and group chats involve two or more people that engage in a conversation,

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[1] Modality herein is defined as the sensory modality used in perception (see Zlatev et al. 2017).

but without these individuals being co-present: they send and receive messages from different places in the world. Hence, should instant messaging actually be labelled *synchronous*?

This difference between various kinds of mediated communication led certain researchers to use the label *quasi-synchronous computer-mediated communication* (henceforth QS-CMC) to refer to instant messaging and text-based group chats (Garcia and Jacobs 1998, 1999, Zemel 2005). Garcia and Jacobs motivated adopting the term by stating that "although posted messages in [QS-CMC] are available synchronously to participants, the message production process is available only to the person composing the message" (1999: 339). That is to say, in most text-based CMC, the message can be read and processed only once it has been produced, edited and submitted by the current writer. It is up to the current writer to decide whether the message is complete and can be submitted to the chat. This fact stands in stark contrast with face-to-face interaction, where the listener witnesses the production of a message *on-line* – as it is being uttered by the current speaker.

4.   Interaction management in QS-CMC

Despite the fact that both instant messaging and face-to-face conversation are instances of interpersonal communication that involves at least two participants, they differ in terms of resources available for interaction management. Whereas in face-to-face talk, interlocutors can rely on sentence structure (Sacks et al. 1974), intonation (Beattie et al. 1982, Cutler and Pearson 1983, Oliveira and Freitas 2008, Schaffer 1983), tempo (Rühlemann and Gries 2020), gestures and gaze (Bavelas et al. 2002, Gambi et al. 2015, Kendon 1967, Rossano 2012, Żywiczyński et al. 2014), as well as a combination of these features (Ford and Thompson 1996), these signals are limited in QS-CMC due to the lack of co-presence. Together with the data handling protocol used in CMC (FIFO: first-in, first-out), they lead to the lack

of simultaneous feedback and disrupted turn adjacency (Herring 1999).

Both of these factors have an impact on turn-taking in text-based chats. Overlaps, existent but infrequent in face-to-face communication, are completely out of the question in QS-CMC (Garcia and Jacobs 1998, Herring 1999). This is so due to the second technological factor mentioned above – the fact that the server protocol manages messages in a sequence one at a time. Therefore, new messages always appear on the screen in an orderly fashion. However, what does occur in QS-CMC is an overlap of exchanges, especially in multi-party types of text-based CMC. There, different conversational threads are intertwined, meaning that messages from conversation A may interrupt messages from conversation B by appearing between its adjacency pairs (Garcia & Jacobs 1998, Gibson 2014, Herring 1999, Simpson 2005). With regards to gaps (or pauses) that do not occur often in face-to-face communication, they do appear in QS-CMC, either because of the time it takes the addressee to read a message and compose his or her own reply, or because of lags (temporary delays) of the server (Anderson et al. 2010, Herring 1999, Riordan et al. 2013).

Furthermore, some (Gibson 2014, Herring 1999, Schönfeldt and Golato 2003) have observed that turn-alternation is not as smooth as in face-to-face conversation. Whereas in such interactions the first pair-part usually invites one second pair-part that is temporally adjacent, QS-CMC conversations can involve multiple responses to one utterance that are not necessarily spatially adjacent. This often results in disruption of adjacency pairs, where two turns are spatially adjacent (in a sequence, one after another), but are functionally unrelated – they do not belong to the same pair. Garcia and Jacobs (1999) call this feature of text-based chat *phantom adjacency pairs*. Although apparently problematic, these displaced utterances enable interlocutors to do something that is not possible in face-to-face conversation: directly reply to any previous utterance. Phantom

adjacency can also occur as a result of many conversational threads intertwining with one another.

Consider a typical transcript of a multi-participant chat – an Internet Relay Chat (IRC) conversation) – obtained from a support channel for users of the Linux Ubuntu operating system (Uthus and Aha 2013). The channel includes experienced users that can offer help to solve a technical problem, and those users that seek help.

> [01:19] <designbybeck__> oh i was looking at c instead of F.... yeah these are running hot and I'm only on chat!!
> [01:19] <designbybeck__> i closed Firefox with Facebook open
> [01:19] <designbybeck__> so now just IRC
> [01:19] <designbybeck__> and the fan is running and burning hot to the touch!!!!
> [01:20] <WeThePeople> how do i get wireless working in fluxbox
> [01:20] <puppy_parade> for a laptop, shooting the fan with canned air usually does wonders.
> [01:21] <designbybeck__> thanks puppy
> [01:21] <puppy_parade> or blowing it it to get dust out almost as well
> [01:21] <puppy_parade> (with the machine off)
> (Uthus and Aha 2013)

This fragment of a conversation on the channel involves several interlocutors talking in different conversational threads – despite being posted to the same channel, they are not related and may involve different interactants. In this fragment, <designbybeck_> runs into problems with laptop overheating while running Linux Ubuntu. The user is being aided by <puppy_parade>, who predicts that the temperature problem stems from hardware problems (perhaps too much dust) and suggests clearing the fan with compressed air. Their adjacency pairs are interrupted by <WeThePeople>, who asks a question unrelated to the conversation between <designbybeck_> and <puppy_parade>.

The absence of the non-verbal features mentioned above, including the lack of possibility of online language processing, means that interlocutors in QS-CMC must adapt to the

technology via which they communicate. One of such strategies might be utterance splitting, a technique developed to overcome obstacles of interaction via QS-CMC. The phenomenon of posting two messages to the chat has been observed independently by different researchers, in effect receiving different labels. For instance, Baron (2010) called it *utterance splitting*, Anderson et al. (2010) *delayed completions*, whereas Tudini (2013) *turn incrementation*. Here, to avoid any further confusion, we will use the term *utterance splitting*. Several split utterances submitted by the same user and continuing the same theme, and generally not interrupted by other interlocutors, are henceforth called *sequences*. As such, attempts were also made to explain the function of splitting utterances in QS-CMC.

4.1. Split utterances as intonation units

Baron (2010) analysed utterance splitting from the perspective of Chafe's (1980, 1987) intonation units. According to Chafe (1987), dialogue is composed of concepts – small units that correspond to "new" and "old" ideas. In his view, the carrier of these concepts and the basic unit of discourse in speech are intonation units, preceded and followed by a pause and uttered under a single intonational contour. Chafe (1987) argued that those pauses between intonational units signify cognitive processes underlying the shift from one concept to another.

Having noticed utterance splitting, Baron (2010) drew a comparison between such a means of organising utterances in written communication and intonation units in speech, as both of them serve to divide a larger stretch of discourse into smaller pieces. However, as she noted, there are differences between utterance splitting and intonation units: an intonation unit can be signalled by a pause, a clause-final intonation contour, usually begins with a conjunction, or syntactically is a single clause, the only means of chunking an utterance in CMC is sending an entire message in several sequences. Therefore, although not ideally corresponding to one another, intonation

units nevertheless serve as a good point of departure for the analysis of utterance splitting.

Baron (2010) analysed dyadic conversations from IM chat, compiled in 2003 and involving 22 college students. The sequences taken into consideration involved those whose first message was, for instance, a subordinate clause and the other the main clause. Consider the following example:

> [01:19] <designbybeck__> i closed Firefox with Facebook open
> [01:19] <designbybeck__> so now just IRC
> [01:19] <designbybeck__> and the fan is running and burning hot to the touch!!!!

The extract consists of three messages submitted by the same user, uninterrupted by others. The sequence, as a whole, is a compound sentence: the first message is formally a clause, the first conjunct of the coordination. The second message is an adjunct. The third is the second conjunct that begins with the coordinating conjunction *and*.

In total, Baron (2010) found 454 sequences with multiple messages, 132 contained utterance breaks (nearly 30 %). In addition, conversations in male and female dyads also revealed that men are more likely to use such sequences than women (p < 0.0001). With respect to their structure, sequences were predominantly composed of complex and compound sentences, independent clauses, although some of them also included adjectival, adverbial, noun and verb phrases.

The analysis led Baron (2010) to two conclusions. Primarily, because of the relative brevity of turns in the corpus, common use of single-word messages and long closings, instant messaging resembles spoken communication (rather than written). Second, the study revealed an incompatibility between Chafe's (1980, 1987) intonation units and utterance splitting in instant messaging. Although there were certain common features, like the brevity of messages in sequences and in utterance units and pauses occurring before conjunction, there were other striking differences. Utterance breaks did not occur frequently before

noun or verb phrases in Baron's (2010) corpus, whereas pauses in Chafe's (1980) study do appear before them. Another difference results from the type of activities spoken dialogue and written interactions are: whereas dialogue is foregrounded, i.e. it is the main focus of both parties involved, it is not the case for written conversation. Frequently, Internet users are engaged in multiple other online activities on top of conversation. Thus, whereas pauses are relatively short and gaps hardly ever occur, the time between two adjacency pairs or two elements of a sequence can span from short pauses to gaps as long as 5 minutes (Baron 2010).

4.2. Split utterances as delayed completions

The turn-taking mechanism in CMC was also investigated by Anderson et al. (2010). There are two caveats of this study, however. Primarily, although the study is relatively recent – it was published in 2010 – the corpus for the study was gathered in the 1990s. At the time, relatively few users had access to the Internet and participants of the experiment may have developed communication strategies 'on the fly'. Secondly, the participants communicated over a two-way protocol, which, unlike most popular messaging services, displays the message as it is being produced by the current writer.

The study involved an analysis of one videotaped text-based conversation. Recording the participants made it possible to detect typing periods, pauses, and overlaps, which normally are not studied in this fashion in CMC research, where overlaps technically are out of the question (as two messages cannot be posted at exactly the same time) and pauses are measured as periods between submitting two messages.

Overlaps, unlike in face-to-face communication, occurred very frequently. This means that two writers could start typing at the same time (self-selection) or one writer started to type at a time when the other has not finished yet. According to Anderson et al. (2010), such an overlap is mitigated by *delayed*

completions, i.e. by a strategy in which the current writer divides a message into two portions, waiting with typing its second part until the other participants have read the message and are prepared to read more. Hence, the readers may attach a portion of an utterance to previous messages in the chat history, therefore reconstructing some holistic meaning from individual parts. Attaching one utterance to another is greatly facilitated by the fact that there is no *rapid fading* in text-based QS-CMC: a user can always scroll back to a previous utterance, in contrast with face-to-face communication, where sounds of speech disappear once they are uttered.

Concerning pauses, users were observed to apply them systematically in order to manage interaction. As Anderson et al. (2010) observed, "[t]he participants appear to be engaging in intermittent talk followed by strategic pauses throughout the data corpus". This means that, unlike in face-to-face interaction, pauses occur often, and they perform a specific function in chat: pauses trade off the communicative costs incurred by the frequently appearing overlaps. Pausing in two-way communication systems also means that others have ample time to read whatever the writer has typed in the chat box.

All in all, we can see that Anderson et al. (2010) observed pauses in typing messages, which are similar to Baron's (2010) split utterances. Anderson et al. (2010) infer that splitting utterances in this fashion is an adaptive strategy that gives the addressee(s) a chance to process the utterance before the writer continues with the second part of the message. Thus, the problem of overlapping utterances is at least partially mitigated, and utterance splitting may explain why users manage to communicate successfully despite the incoherence of QS-CMC.

4.3. Split utterances as turn extensions

As mentioned previously, Baron (2010) observed that intonation units split a spoken utterance into smaller parts. However, in face-to-face interaction, a speaker can also convey a message

over several complete turns that are not interrupted by other speakers by means of *turn extension*. Such turn extensions occur at transition relevance places where a speaker elects to continue speaking (self-selects), and they typically elaborate on what the current speaker has said previously. According to Tudini (2015), turn extensions are used in the same way by interlocutors in QS-CMC – utterance splitting in QS-CMC is a means to build on the meaning of previous turns.

Tudini (2015) explores turn extensions from Schegloff's idea (2000 in Tudini, 2015) idea of symbiotic relation between the first and subsequent messages of a sequence and focuses on their syntactic relationship. The material in the study consisted of 12 conversations between native and non-native speakers of Italian. The speakers communicated in their free time, as an out-of-class activity that was supposed to improve their language skills. Such a study design ensured ecological validity of the data, since participants interacted in 'regular' circumstances.

Splitting utterances, according to Tudini (2015), might be an attempt to hold the floor in conversation and deny the interlocutor the possibility to post. Extensions, because they can be written faster than whole messages, can also be used in order to maintain the adjacency of turns and decrease the probability that some other speaker will intervene. Splitting turns may also be a sign that someone "is politely attending to the conversation" when the parties are not engaged in the conversation at the same time (Tudini 2015: 649). The last reason she enumerates is the fact that certain groups display a preference for shorter turns; therefore, an individual may align with the preferences of the group. Apart from enumerating reasons for splitting an utterance, Tudini (2015) also describes their functional aspect in conversation.

4.4. A comparison

The papers by Baron (2010), Anderson et al. (2010) and Tudini (2015) analysed the same phenomenon, albeit from different perspectives. All three analyses focused on the problem of turn structure in QS-CMC and concerned themselves with the fact that interlocutors tend to split their utterances over several postings. Baron (2010) attempted to compare utterance splitting with intonation units in spoken dialogue, taking as a departure point Chafe's (1980) intonation units. The comparison failed, and the two phenomena were found to share only one feature – length, since both intonation units and split utterances are relatively short. However, splits tend to occur in different places within a message than pauses in spoken dialogue. As such, the second feature of intonation units – carrying new conceptual content – remains an open question.

The studies by Anderson and colleagues (2010) and Tudini (2015) are the closest to the purposes of this paper. Anderson et al. (2010) argued that the purpose of delaying the completion of an utterance is to provide other users with ample time to process the utterance. In such a way, splitting the utterance mirrors spoken interaction, where the addressee can hear an utterance as it is being produced, and not only its final version. Hence, utterance splitting can be said to facilitate (reduce the costs of) interacting via monomodal, quasi-synchronous text-based communication.

5. The cost of interaction:
The principle of least collaborative effort

Anderson and colleagues (2010) argued that delayed completions may be used to facilitate communication. The works by Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) Clark (1996), Clark and Brennan (1991) provide a theoretical basis from which the issue of effort in conversation can be explored. Under this theory, conversation is a collaborative effort of the parties involved that pertains

to both coordinating the content of communication – what interlocutors are talking about – and the process – turn-taking and updating mutual knowledge (common ground) on a turn-by-turn basis. Common ground is updated by a process of grounding, i.e. building a body of knowledge based on what has been said earlier in conversation. An important feature of grounding is that the process is *medium-specific*: communicative context (such as interacting face-to-face or via a computer terminal) influences grounding.

Grounding is practically achieved by interlocutors making contributions in conversation: they propel it by exchanging turns. According to Clark and Brennan (1991), people tend to be very economical in making their contributions. The phenomenon was observed before Clark and Brennan's works, notably in Grice's work on the cooperative principle (Grice 1975). The two relevant maxims to effort in conversation are the maxim of quantity (contribute no more information than is necessary in conversation) and manner (be brief). Speakers, therefore, are supposed to produce *proper utterances*, i.e. utterances that will be easily understood by addressees. However, thus construed principle of collaborative effort assumes flawless contributions, which is not always the case (see the example below). According to Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986), there are three problems that render the principle of least effort implausible: time pressure, errors and ignorance.

> Alan: Now -um do you and your husband have a j-car?
> Barbara: - have a car?
> Alan: Yeah.
> Barbara: No.

Were speakers always obeying the Gricean maxims, Alan would have made sure to deliver the message clearly, and the whole conversation would have featured much less repetition. Yet, this is not the case, and conversations are characterized by a high degree of repetition (Pickering and Garrod 2004). According to Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) what contributes to *improper*

utterances are features that are characteristic of interaction: time pressures, errors and ignorance. Since the principle of least effort is not compatible with naturalistic data, Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) formulated the principle of *least collaborative effort*:

> *The principle of least collaborative effort*: In conversation, the participants try to minimize their collaborative effort – the work that both do from the initiation of each contribution to its mutual acceptance.

The principle, according to Clark and Brennan (1991) explains a number of phenomena in conversation. For instance, the preference for repairs: speakers generally prefer to repair the utterance and initiate a repair on their own, rather than to rely on the interlocutor to repair or prompt the repair. Self-repair typically takes fewer turns in comparison with waiting for other interlocutors to initiate it. By the same token, speakers can produce their utterance in smaller 'chunks', anticipating acceptance after each small item.

Communication costs depend on the medium of communication. What is effortless in one medium can be more costly in another, or even completely out of the question (like pointing one's finger at an object in a letter). The absence of one of the features makes interlocutors rely on others. Clark and Brennan (1991) enumerate 8 features that affect communication: copresence, visibility, audibility, cotemporality (language production and perception occur at roughly the same time), simultaneity (the speaker sees the addressee's reaction in real time), sequentiality (turns appear in an orderly fashion), reviewability (the opposite of Hockett's (1958) rapid fading) and revisability (the speaker/writer can revise messages before sending them).

Clark and Brennan (1991) associated the features of cotemporality, sequentiality and reviewability with QS-CMC. The characterisation is a bit outdated, though, as these are qualities of two-way conferencing systems, not popular nowadays. Therefore, the list should also include revisability because, in one-

way communication protocols, writers can currently edit their messages before submitting them to the chat. Also, sequentiality is only weakly obeyed, especially in multi-participant chats, and cotemporality is not a necessary prerequisite for initiating a conversation.

Grounding costs can be divided into the ones that are incurred by the speaker (writer), by the addressee(s), or by all parties involved. The costs that are incurred by the speaker are formulation (formulating and re-formulating an utterance) and production costs (the actual act of speaking or writing). On the part of the addressee, there are reception (perceiving the linguistic signal) and understanding costs (understanding the content). Among the costs that can be associated with both the speaker/writer and the addressee(s) Clark and Brennan (1991) specify delay, asynchrony, speaker change and display costs. The first type of cost is related to the costs incurred by delaying an utterance to plan, revise and produce it more carefully. The second type are the costs associated with timing utterances incurred when parties communicate via non-synchronous media of communication, such as QS-CMC. Speaker change costs are the costs of turn-taking: whereas they are low in face-to-face communication, they are higher in QS-CMC because there are fewer cues that speakers can rely on in order to aid transition between speakers. Finally, display costs are connected with using gestures, facial expressions and pointing. Relatively effortless in face-to-face communication, these are completely out of the question in text-based QS-CMC.

6. Motivation

Anderson et al. (2010) hypothesized that utterance splitting may be a technique used by interlocutors to facilitate communication. The works by Clark and colleagues cited in the section above provide a theoretical background for Anderson and colleagues' (2010) conception: grounding, i.e. the process by which interlocutors update their mutual knowledge about the

situation under discussion, incurs costs. These costs vary according to the medium, and interlocutors involved in communication via particular mediums use resources available there accordingly to minimize the costs of reaching common ground, as the principle of least collaborative effort predicts.

Why would utterance splitting facilitate communication? This is due to the constraints on QS-CMC and an attempt to trade off the costs of interaction. Interlocutors in QS-CMC are not co-present and can neither hear nor see each other, which negatively impacts coordinating the content and process of communication, which is evident in transcripts of text-based CMC. As such, producing shorter utterances ensures that the other interlocutor does not take the floor prematurely. Another important feature of short utterances is their capacity for repair: if the addressee does not understand the writer's intention, they can signal it at an early stage. Therefore, a single part of a longer sequence of messages has to be reformulated. In an alternative extreme scenario, where the writer sends a whole 'paragraph' to the chat, repair would be much more difficult because the addressee would have to indicate the part which is difficult to understand, which in turn would lead to another coordination problem.

7. Experiment

To test the hypothesis that utterance splitting facilitates communication in QS-CMC, we adapted the Map Task experiment (Anderson et al. 1991). Twenty-two participants were enrolled to participate in the experiment via a university mailing subscription list. The participants interacted with a confederate writer through the Google Hangouts instant messaging app. All of the participants were native speakers of Polish and communicated with the confederate using this language. Due to Coronavirus restrictions on travel, participants did not take part in the experiment in the lab, but interacted from their homes. Each participant received instructions a day prior to the experiment.

7.1. Method

The Map Task is an interactive task designed to elicit dialogue (Anderson et al. 1991, Thompson et al. 1993). Originally, the experiment involved two participants who were instructed to communicate verbally in order to reproduce the path on the map. The participants were assigned the role of the leader (the participant with the route) or of the follower (the participant without the route). In the original experiment, each map had a similar layout, though particular landmarks differed – they were printed in different places or altogether absent on one map. The maps were translated into Polish for the purposes of this experiment. Figure 1 shows the two versions of maps used in the current experiment.
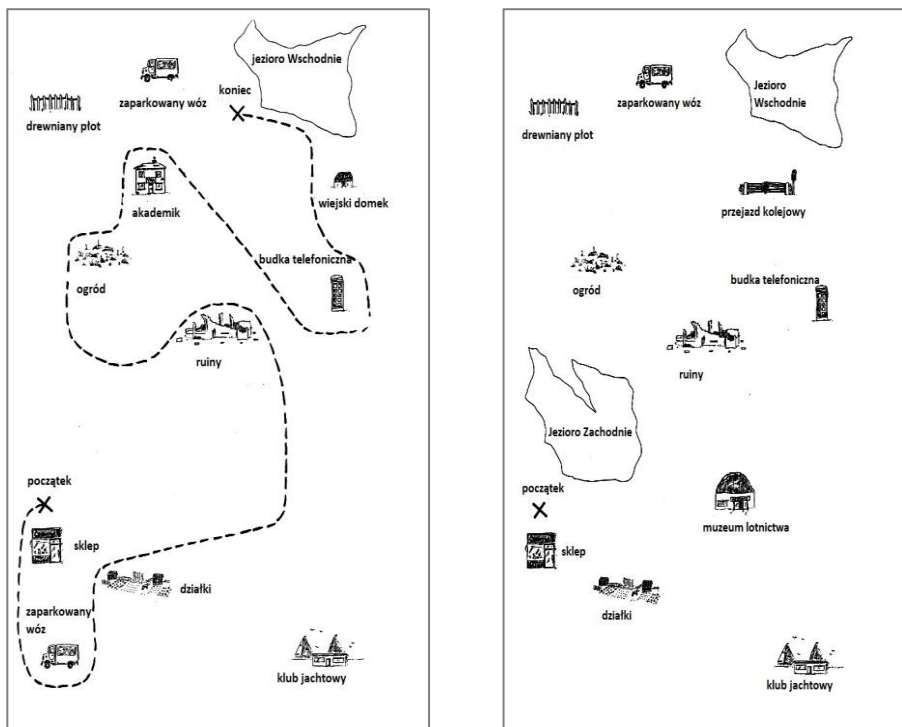
Figure 1
Maps used in the experiment

The follower was supposed to recreate the path as faithfully as possible on the basis of instructions received from the leader. The subjects could use any graphics editor software to draw the path on the map that they received. In this experiment, the task was adapted in such a way that the confederate, a participant who is aware of the experimental task (Branigan and Gibb 2018), always assumed the role of the leader, though the actual participants were informed that the roles were assigned randomly. The participants were randomly assigned to either of two conditions: the i. 'full paragraph' and ii. the 'split utterance' condition, exemplified in Figure 2, meaning that the instructions provided by the confederate were sent in one long message or over several shorter ones.

<MapGuide>	Droga biegnie po lewej stronie sklepu na dół i pod zaparkowa-nym wozem w prawo. Wóz stoi jakby pod sklepem. 'The road goes down to the left of the shop and to the right under the parked car. The car is parked below the shop.'

<MapGuide>	Droga biegnie na lewo przy sklepie 'The road goes to the left of the shop'
<MapGuide>	i potem w dół 'and then down'
<MapGuide>	i pod zaparkowa-nym wozem pod sklepem 'and under the parked car under the shop'

Figure 2
A sample from two experimental conditions

The aim of the experiment was to determine whether there is a difference with respect to task success between the two conditions. Therefore, task success was operationalized as a faithful representation of the leader's map by the follower. To compare the degree to which the paths on the maps were faithfully reproduced, each map was cleared from landmarks, so that only the line drawn by the participant remained on the image. The leader's map underwent the same procedure. The pictures were then transferred to ImageMagick software (The ImageMagick Development Team 2021), where they were compared against the leader's map, and the value of mean absolute error in pixels was obtained. In addition, the influence of two other variables – time and tokens – were taken into consideration. The former is the total duration of a conversation, whereas the latter is the raw count of words produced by the leader. This value was obtained by tokenizing the leader's utterances with the use of Natural Language Toolkit (Bird et al. 2009), which is itself a Python programming language library (van Rossum and Drake 2009).

7.2. Data

In total, 22 subjects, who were adults and native speakers of Polish, participated in the experiment. The participants were randomly assigned to either experimental condition (split or full utterances). Out of the twenty-two conversations, two conversations had to be excluded from analysis. The first of the two trials was removed because the data file was corrupted, and the second because of logistic problems during the experiment. Each participant was allocated 30 minutes for the completion of the task, but the actual duration of the conversation varied. In fact, conversations lasted between ~ 14 and ~ 34 minutes (mean = ~ 25).

7.3. Analysis

All statistical analyses were performed in the R programming language (R Core Team 2021). The scores were then tested for normality of distribution with the Shapiro-Wilk test to determine the most optimal statistical test. The normality test proved that the distribution is Gaussian (p > 0.05). Therefore, the ANOVA test could be and was performed for the data. In addition to treatment, the predictor variables also included time (the duration of a conversation) and tokens (the number of running words produced by the leader). The results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3
The results of ANOVA test from the experiment

	Df	Sum Sq	Mean Sq	F value	Pr(>f)
Treatment	1	0.0000857	8.573e-05	1.904	0.187
Tokens	1	0.0000037	3.710e-06	0.082	0.778
Time	1	0.0000373	3.730e-05	0.828	0.376
Residuals	16	0.0007205	4.503e-05		

All predictor variables produce an insignificant effect on the outcome variable ($p > 0.05$). This suggests that the mean values of the outcome variable do not differ significantly between the two groups.

7.4. Discussion

The results of the statistical test suggest that the predictor variables do not affect the mean absolute error The results imply that utterance splitting does not determine task success: specifically, participants in each condition reproduced the maps equally faithfully because the values of the mean absolute error in pixels did not differ significantly between the two treatments. The same applies to the duration of conversation and the number of tokens produced by the leader: each predictor variable did not influence task success significantly. On the one hand, it might seem that utterance splitting does not perform the role

that this paper ascribes to it; on the other, humans can communicate successfully even without sharing a linguistic code: if a tourist visiting a foreign country does not speak the local language, he or she can ask for directions using pantomime. Such a communication can be quite successful, but definitely not effortless, as the costs of formulation, production, perception and comprehension spike. Hence, a post-hoc analysis was conducted in order to determine differences in effort between the two conditions.

8. Post-hoc analysis

The aim of the post-hoc analysis was to determine the effort required to achieve task success in both conditions.

8.1. Data and analysis

The data from the experiment was re-analysed. To achieve the aims of the post-hoc analysis, we performed two new ANOVA tests. The test involved one independent variable – the treatment – and two dependent variables: time (the total duration of the conversations) and tokens (the number of running words produced by the leader). In the first step, the difference in time between treatments was assessed (see Table 4). Prior to this, the data was tested for normal distribution with the Shapiro-Wilk test, which showed that the distribution is normal ($p > 0.05$).

Table 4
The results of ANOVA test, time by treatment

	Df	Sum Sq	Mean Sq	F value	Pr(>f)
Treatment	1	239.2	239.15	7.321	0.0145
Residuals	18	588.0	32.67		

In contrast with the previous test, the result is significant ($p < 0.05$). A post-hoc Tukey's HSD test was conducted to determine how duration interacted with condition. The difference of means (by subtracting the duration of the paragraph treatment

from the split utterances treatment) is 6.96, which means that conversations with turns in chunks are, on average, shorter. The results are displayed in Figure 3.
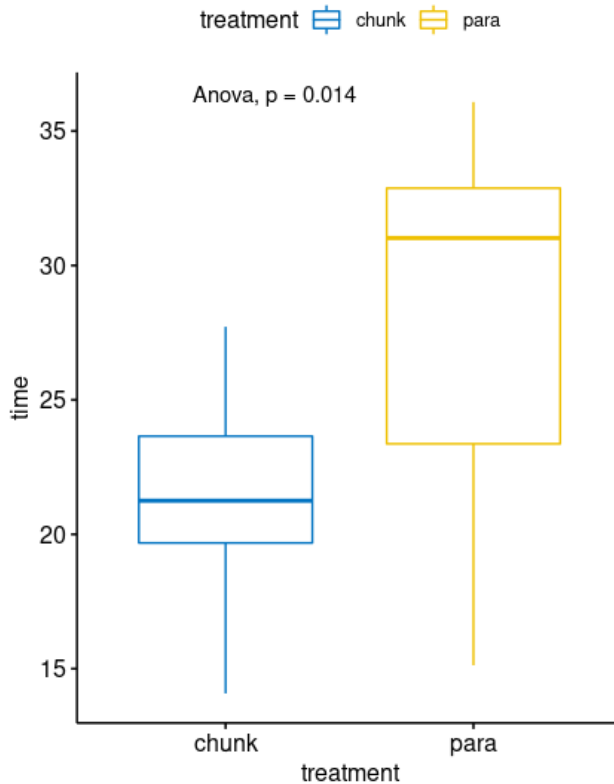
Figure 3
A comparison of total time between conditions

Finally, the number of input instructions produced by the instructor was subject to analysis. The number of instructions was quantified as the total number of tokens produced by the leader. Similarly to the previous two analyses, the data was tested for normal distribution. The Shapiro-Wilk test revealed that the distribution of the number of words per conversation is normal ($p > 0.05$). Therefore, one-way ANOVA test was conducted to verify whether there is a difference between the two

treatments and the number of tokens issued by the instructor.
Table 5 contains the results of the analysis.

Table 5
The results of ANOVA test, tokens by treatment

	Df	Sum Sq	Mean Sq	F value	Pr(>f)
Treatment	1	134797	134797	10.5	0.00454
Residuals	18	231096	12839		
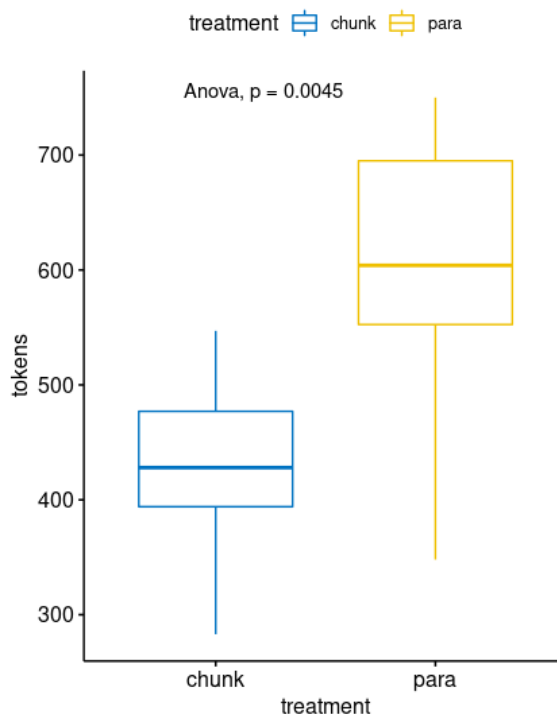
Figure 4
A comparison of the number of tokens produced
by the leader between conditions

Similarly to Time by Treatment, this relation is also significant ($p < 0.05$). Again, a post-hoc Tukey's HSD test was conducted to determine how the amount of input produced by the leader (measured in tokens) interacted with the condition. The difference of means (by subtracting the tokens of the paragraph treatment from the tokens from the split utterance) is 165.0202, which means that the leader, on average, needed to produce less input to achieve the same end.

8.2. Discussion

The first analysis determined that successful communication is not driven by the turn-taking strategy of the leader. Notwithstanding the condition, experimental subjects performed equally well – the mean absolute error between the two groups was insignificant. The original analysis also revealed that the time spent on the activity or the number of words produced by the leader do not affect the outcome variable, either. However, which of the strategies is more efficient in QS-CMC was addressed afterwards, in the post-hoc analysis.

The analysis revealed a clear difference between the two groups in terms of communicative effort. The split utterance condition, overall, was more efficient in terms of input (fewer tokens produced by the leader) and duration (conversations were shorter). These results suggest that splitting an utterance may be a strategy used by interactants in QS-CMC in order to trade off the limitations of the medium, communicate efficiently, and thus adhere to the principle of least communicative effort. But what are the reasons that make split utterances more efficient in comparison with full paragraphs?

The first explanation might be that it facilitates the coordination of the content of interaction. Thereby, interactants in QS-CMC imitate face-to-face communication. In face-to-face conversation, the addressee receives the input as it is being produced, 'online', by the current speaker. As a result, the continuous flow of information ensures that new information can be

integrated in real time. This aspect of turn-taking has recently been considered by psycholinguistic research (see Levinson and Torreira 2015). Some researchers in this field, notably Pickering and Garrod (2013a, 2013b), emphasize the role of prediction in language production and comprehension. In dialogue, owing to the so-called forward models, people are supposed to construct perception and action representations during production and comprehension in order to predict the incoming verbal stimulus or to predict their own future actions. The construction of forward models allows for a more rapid exchange of information and the fluency of dialogue. In the case of the experiment, sending messages piece by piece, instead of as a whole paragraph, means that the forward model can be built up earlier, and its assumptions reassessed as new input arrives.

Another content-related explanation can be the distribution of information in dialogue. How much information a given utterance holds can be explained under informational entropy, first proposed by Shannon (1948). According to Shannon (1948), communication occurs over a noisy channel, i.e. the intended message may be corrupted by production or perception errors. The entropy of a random variable is the average level of information that the variable carries. We speak of the highest value of entropy when all interpretations of a variable are equally possible (0.5), and the lowest when one interpretation is completely unlikely (0) and the other is the only possible interpretation (1). Under this approach, information transmitted via a channel with limited bandwidth should be most efficient if entropy levels are distributed uniformly and close to the channel's full capacity (Genzel & Charniak 2002). In fact, research shows that information in written texts and in dialogue is distributed uniformly in the signal (Jaeger 2010, Jaeger & Tily 2011, Qian & Jaeger 2012, Xu & Reitter 2016). In Jaeger's (2010) view, efficient communication balances between communicating the optimal amount of information and sending too much information. Linguistic communication is therefore optimal, if, on average, each word carries the same amount of information, and

the rate at which information is sent is close to the channel's maximum bandwidth. In the case of the experiment reported in sections 6 and 7, although the analysis cannot directly account for information content of words used by the leader, we might argue that utterance splitting is a strategy that transmits linguistic information at an *optimal* rate. Longer messages transmitted at once carry too much information, which influences the overall length of conversation.

Finally, utterance splitting may facilitate coordinating on the procedure in conversation. As Clark and Brennan (1991) argue, interactants not only coordinate the content (what they talk about) of communication, but also on the procedure (synchronisation of actions) in reaching the common ground. Shorter turns may facilitate coordination in such a way that (1) the addressee can better predict turn endings by receiving information at a more-or-less constant rate, (2) if a repair is necessary, it can be initiated almost instantly, and (3) a constant stream of messages ensures keeping the floor by the current writer and, as a result, lowers the chance that the intended addressee introduces a new thread, or a question related to prior instruction. In consequence, utterance splitting means that communication consumes less effort because less time has to be spent on maintaining and controlling the turn-taking procedure.

9. Conclusions

The aim of the paper was to overview theories of turn-taking in quasi-synchronous text-based communication and to experimentally test the influence of turn-taking strategies, especially utterance splitting, in text-based chat. Three theories of turn-taking were presented, but none of them provided a sufficient explanation of choosing a strategy. The experiment reported here approached utterance splitting from the perspective of the principle of least cooperative effort, which posits that interactants try to lower the effort they invest in communication. The results indicate that although both split utterance and full

paragraph lead to communicative success, the former is much more efficient. These outcomes were discussed in the light of facilitating the construction of forward models, uniform distribution of information in the channel, and coordinating on turn-taking as possible explanations of greater efficiency of utterance splitting.

Information about funding

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ACADEMIC TEACHING

The impact of positive psychology on EFL trainee teachers' views on their well-being in the pandemic

DANUTA GABRYŚ-BARKER

Abstract

The pandemic that took us all by surprise and occurred across the world with different degrees of intensity resulted in the situation where there is an urgent need to develop coping strategies that would minimize the damage of lockdown and being left at the mercy of technology in our professional lives. This article demonstrates how my students, future teachers of English at the BA level, reacted to the pandemic and how the course they were participating in impacted their well-being. The course in question is positive psychology in TEFL, a part of TEFL methodology module. It is introduced in the programme of studies as an innovative and individualized approach to teaching a foreign language. But in fact, it offers much more as positive psychology is a whole new attitude to one's life: "One of the main pillars of positive psychology is the role our emotions (affectivity) play in various contexts of life; thus this is also true of the language classroom" (Gabryś-Barker 2021: 187). Positive psychology also emphasizes the role of our strengths and weaknesses and the impact of the so-called enabling institutions (such as schools, universities) (Seligman 2002, MacIntyre et al. 2016). The students' reflections are gathered on the basis of narrative inquiry and as such they are analyzed according to the framework of qualitative content analysis.

Wpływ psychologii pozytywnej na dobrostan przyszłych nauczycieli języka angielskiego

Abstrakt

Czasy pandemii stanowiły dla nas ogromne wyzwanie i konieczność stworzenia sobie strategii funkcjonowania w czasie lockdownu, kiedy to tak bardzo zależni zaczęliśmy być od technologii, zarówno w kontaktach z ludźmi, jak i w pracy zawodowej czy studiach. Artykuł poświęcony jest sytuacji studenta, przyszłego nauczyciela języka angielskiego, który znalazł się w nieznanej sobie sytuacji, która generować mogła stany osamotnienia, depresji i bezsilności, a tym samym brak autentycznego kontaktu z rówieśnikami, tak ważny w tym wieku, generować może poważane zaburzenia dobrostanu (ang. *well-being*). Zadaniem przeprowadzonego badania było ukazanie, czy i w jakim stopniu zajęcia z pozytywnej psychologii mogą wspomóc dobre samopoczucie studentów i ich funkcjonowanie zarówno w uczelni wirtualnej, jak i w życiu osobistym i rodzinnym. Opracowany kurs z pozytywnej psychologii łączył w sobie jej elementy z metodyką nauczania języka angielskiego, tym samym był częścią kształcenia zawodowego studentów. Głównym założeniem pozytywnej psychologii jest rola emocji, umiejętność ich monitorowania i radzenia sobie ze stresem w przypadku emocji negatywnych, jak również wykorzystywanie swoich mocnych stron i praca na tymi słabszymi oraz rolę instytucji w tych procesach (np. rolę uczelni), a więc elementy szczególnie istotne w sytuacji kryzysowej, takiej jak pandemia. Studenci uczestniczący w kursie poproszeni zostali o napisanie tekstu refleksyjnego na temat ich doświadczenia z psychologią pozytywną i jej wpływem na ich dobrostan podczas pandemii. Zebrane dane zostały opracowane przy zastosowaniu metod analizy jakościowej.

Słowa kluczowe

pandemia, psychologia pozytywna, refleksja, teksty narracyjne, przyszli nauczyciele języka angielskiego

1. Introduction: The focus of positive psychology (some background information)

This article does not aim to present positive psychology in any depth but only intends to present its main assumptions and the models proposed for it. According to Seligman (2002), the main founder of positive psychology, this (fairly) new branch of psychology is striving to study conditions which allow one to be happy, to demonstrate what makes our lives worth living and how we can reach a state of well-being. It is concerned both with human strengths (signature strengths) and weaknesses. What is more, the novelty of positive psychology consists in its understanding that "Most people are resilient […] Happiness, strengths of character, and good social relationships are buffers against the damaging effects of disappointments and setbacks" Petersen (2008, np). In the context of education, Petersen observes that what we need is holistic education valuing not only mind (the cognitive dimension) but also heart (the affective dimension), thus schools should not only train students in developing critical thinking but also in caring, providing conditions for the autonomy of an individual and connectedness with others.

   The three pillars of positive psychology; positive emotions, signature strengths and enabling institutions are well-illustrated in two proposed models. The first model – PERMA (Seligman 2002) describes a five-element understanding of the construct of well-being: Positive emotion(s), Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, Accomplishment/Achievement. Oxford (2016a, 2016b) proposed a much more elaborate model of EMPATHICS (2016b) which stands for: Emotion and empathy, Meaning and motivation, Perseverance, including resilience, Agency and

autonomy, Time, Habits of mind, Intelligences, Character strength, Self-factors, especially self-efficacy (for a detailed discussion see Oxford 2016b, Gabryś-Barker 2021). According to Oxford (2016a), her EMPHATICS model is meant for teachers and learners but goes well beyond the educational context and can be applied to the personal development of any one through its universality and in-depth content embracing both cognitive, affective and social aspects of human functioning.

2.   Positive psychology as an EFL teacher training
in the time of the pandemic (background to the study)

This paper is about the situation in which students are taken away from their universities, sit in front of the computers all day long and any contact with the outside world is so limited that it may result in depression, acts of desperation and feelings of exclusion, especially felt at a young age. The genuine contacts and not those virtual ones, often constitute the essence of young people's lives and daily experiences, an important dimension of their well-being. I guess, the same relates to us, teachers. At the same time, we have more responsibility and it is not just for ourselves, but also for our students. Although they are mature, we play a significant role in their professional development and also to some extent, their personal well-being. The time of a trial, such as this pandemic, puts us teachers to the test on how we can contribute to our students' coping strategies. I believe this involvement will become an important part of our coping strategies.
        The study presented here focuses on the reflections of trainee teachers on their experience of positive psychology classes, introduced as part of a TEFL module in the programme of studies to become FL teachers. The present study is a follow-up to a study conducted earlier in the pre-pandemic period (Gabryś-Barker 2021). In the pre-pandemic time, the aim of the study was to determine whether a course in positive psychology could contribute in any way to altering students´ thinking about

what teaching a FL language means (ibid). The general aim of the present study conducted during the pandemic is to determine how the students cope in the time of difficulty and whether the positive psychology course was in any way a facilitative tool for them.

The 15-session course provided a thorough theoretical background in positive psychology (the PERMA and EMPATHICS Models, three pillars) and placed it within the educational field of language instruction, demonstrating its validity in improving effectiveness of teaching and learning foreign languages by focusing on the practical application of its principles in the form of language tasks to be used in teaching a foreign language (sources: Oxford 2016a, Helgesen 2012, Mercer or Gregersen 2020). The practical part of the classes consisted of a series of peer teaching activities. Each of the activities was defined in terms of its language focus (e.g. a selected language function or grammar issue to be practised) and in terms of its affective objectives (e.g. being able to express gratitude, taking care of one's emotions/body). These tasks focused on the following themes related to positive psychology:

> *Remember good things, Do kind things, Say thank you, Friends and family, Forgive, Health and your body, Mindfulness and Work with problems and stress* (source: Helgesen 2012 at www. ELTand Happiness.com).

3. Methodology of the study

3.1. The aim of the study

As mentioned earlier, positive psychology as a university course for pre-service teachers of EFL was introduced as an innovative and individualised approach to classroom foreign language instruction. Following on from this, the aim of the course was to emphasize the holistic character of learning in which cognitive processing as well as the emotions involved play a mutually complimentary role. At the time of the coronavirus pandemic,

the above aims were rephrased for the purposes of present day reality and resulted in a more urgent need to focus on the immediate situation the students found themselves in. There was also no real possibility of trying positive psychology tasks in a peer-teaching format due to the limitations of online instruction and interaction at that time. As a consequence, the introduction to positive psychology became a course, whose merits could mostly be seen as a tool in coping with the pandemic on the more individual level of each student in the group and only mark the possibility it has for the students' future teaching practice – an eye-opening experience (just to cite one the students) and also an element of a coping strategy in times of difficulty and insecurity.

To recapitulate, the aim of this study was to diagnose the impact of positive psychology on the well-being of the trainees expressed in their response(s) to positive psychology and its significance in times of uncertainty, insecurity and anxiety such as the present moment.

3.2. Subjects

The course was implemented in two fairly homogenous groups of 27 students in a university department, School of English. All of the students followed the programme of studies leading to a BA degree in teaching foreign languages. In the study all twenty-seven students were involved on an obligatory basis in the data collection process, as it was a requirement to receive the final assessment in their TEFL course. The subjects, as future teachers of English and German, had some exposure to teaching practice at school in the form of lesson observations, but have never taught in class themselves. The pandemic broke the usual sequence of students' school placements (to be continued at a later stage), provided the pandemic and sanitary conditions allow for it to take place. So the students' active teaching was reduced to relatively minimal experience, usually of one-to-one instruction.

3.3. Data collection tool

The instrument employed to collect students' reflections was a narrative text written by them. The choice of this instrument was determined by the possibilities it offers, mostly individual insights into one's own perceptions of the investigated phenomenon. Trahar (2011: 48) emphasizes that

> [...] narrative inquiry focuses on the meanings that people ascribe to their experiences [...] narrative inquiry concerns more than can be observed in daily practice. It also investigates the different ways in which people interpret the social world and their place within it.

The data collection took place two months after the outbreak of the pandemic. The narratives written by the students were administered as a take-home open test (a limited time, the possibility of using notes), in which they were instructed to comment on the basis of their own personal experiences of positive psychology instruction as having any bearing on their well-being in the time of pandemic. The students were given the following instruction:

> *Please comment on how positive psychology can be of assistance for you as an EFL student in the time of difficulty such as the present pandemic. (250 words)*

4. Insights from the subjects (personal narrative data)

Did positive psychology course facilitate the well-being of the students and their thinking about future job of FL teaching? How did they react to its ideas in times of difficulty and insecurity brought about by the pandemic? The analysis of the narratives demonstrated that their focus related to general attitude to positive psychology, the power of positivity, reflectivity and self-awareness, adjustments, routines, being active, well-being (life satisfaction, family/peers, nature) and enabling institut-

ions. All quotations from students are original and presented
here in their unedited version.

4.1. General attitude to positive psychology

The perceptions of the main assumptions of positive psychology
discussed in the sessions of the course expressed by the stu-
dents show that positive psychology was seen as offering
a way of handling the situation of a life-threatening disease. In
the personal perceptions of students, positive psychology pro-
vides a facilitative way of thinking in times of emotional turmoil
caused by anxiety and insecurity:

> *There is no doubt that the current situation has transformed our
> lives in many ways. Fortunately, due to positive psychology every-
> one can learn that even in such an unexpected situation we may
> still stay positive by following e.g. models like PERMA, EMPHATICS
> or 7 Habits of Happy People.* (s. 3)

Accepting negativity, positive psychology is nevertheless seen as
focusing on positivity, which can be adopted as a coping strat-
egy:

> *All of this positive thinking can help me get through this pandemic
> a lot easier. It may not be easy from the beginning, but in no time
> at all you can get a much better, positive perspective and help your-
> self get by, not only during a crisis, but also in everyday life!* (s. 23)

As another student said, "In my opinion, positive psychology
plays an important role during this difficult time and it should
be of assistance for people" (s. 27).

The individual responses emphasize the need for a deep-
ened reflection, re-assessment and re-appraisal of one's life as
it was before, for openness to others and importantly, the need
to attach importance to our daily experiences and to those
around us (even if they are only available online for the time
being). Above all, the cultivation of positive thinking and

individual well-being is seen as paramount through engagement in different activities of mind and body.

4.2. Positivity, reflectivity and awareness of oneself

An underlying approach to positive psychology and its thinking is expressed in the significance of being positive and searching for ways of developing such an attitude to life and the daily functioning of an individual by embracing positive subjective experience, breaking away from routines, enjoying little things, cherishing positive emotions and connecting with others (Table 1).

Table 1

Positivity comments

Focus	Reflection	Subject
Embrace positive subjective experience	*Positive psychology helps me to survive in the time of the pandemic, and makes me aware of the fact that thanks to positive thinking, positive subjective experience, and positive individual traits I am ready not only to exist but also to do something beneficial. The pandemic period is not the back of beyond but it is a chance to do kind things, think problems out, and develop yourself.*	s. 1
Break away with routines	*PERMA model may help us in breaking with our tedious routines and discovering meaning in our lives, especially nowadays, when we are in lockdown and most of us receive mainly disturbing news. When it comes to positive emotions, it does not mean that we should experience mainly good ones, but the others as well, but what is significant is to celebrate and experience them to the fullest. This factor helped me especially during a pandemic, e.g. by noticing small things that I am thankful for.*	s. 3
Enjoy little things	*[...] it may now seem like a strange time to talk about being positive. Remaining optimistic in a crisis is prominent. Today, more than ever is the time for us to be*	s. 15

	aware of the fact that producing tiny moments of joy and happiness may help us to deal with the fright, anxiety and tiredness. First of all, everyone should save the tiny moments of the day even during this time. Savour moments, for example, take a break to drink favourite cup tea or coffee, take a relaxing bath or even look out of the window for a while.	
Cherish posi- tive emotions	*I firmly believe that positive emotions played a major role during the pandemic. They helped us to feel better, happier and healthier. Joy, gratitude or serenity allowed us to even for a second forget about Coronavirus.*	s. 2
Connect with others and use your character strengths	*People should stay in contact with their friends, family– it is effortless due to developed technology. Supporting each other and cultivating kindness among our environment will support both sides emotionally. Expressing gratitude, saying thank you, seeking and providing a conversation may save lives. Positive emotions are what makes up the good life. One of the practical effects of positive emotions is focusing on our character strengths, e.g. creativity.*	s. 20

The students see the overwhelming power of positivity as the focus of the main pillars of positive psychology: positive emotions expressed in our attitude to life and others, character strengths that we need to find in ourselves in order to use them to their full potential and enabling institutions, which offer support in the times of difficulty – be it a family, a peer group or a university itself. This positivity constitutes the essence of the great majority of reflections on the impact positive psychology is having on the students.

One of the ways of being able to develop positivity, not only in times of difficulty, is to see the value of reflection. The students point out that the positive psychology course applied in the context of FL teacher training is also a tool for them to

become more aware of themselves and to be able to assess their attitude to life and change it for a better, healthier life and leading to an authentic sense of well-being:

> *After contact with the assumptions of positive psychology and the values it represents, I began to think about the way I perceive my life and the amount of happiness and peace that I experience in it. I came to the conclusion that many of us are full of sadness and lack of joy in life. Thanks to the course I decided to change my attitude on how I am looking on the world and people around me.* (s. 6)

At the same time, positive psychology seems to be especially valued in the time of the pandemic:

> *The time of pandemic can be very difficult for our mental health. For me, very helpful was positive psychology. It didn't only help me to think positively, but also to learn something about myself and discover my strengths. The three pillars of positive psychology are: positive emotions, positive individual traits, and positive institutions. During the pandemic, I learnt more about each of them.* (s. 9)

The above reflection can be expanded by the following comment, in which the subject sees the value of positive psychology in assessment and questioning of the past and drawing conclusions for the present (and possibly for the future):

> *Referring to my own experiences, positive psychology has a big impact on my life. Comparing my approach to life before the pandemic and life now, I can say that I have wasted many days on stress and worry. Currently, a cup of coffee in the garden gives me incredible joy. I don't need anything more.* (s. 13)

These comments reflect the perceptions of how the past and present are interconnected and also how the time of the pandemic has allowed the students to reflect and learn more about each of three main assumptions of positive psychology in action (positive emotions, positive individual traits, and positive

institutions). With focus on others, positive psychology focuses on individual well-being:

> *Be kind to yourself. [...] practice self-compassion [...] being tender toward our acquaintances, however, we often forget about ourselves. Rather than treating yourself with criticism, offer yourself some encouragement* (s. 23)

4.3. (New) Routines, engagement and adjustments

The students – very strongly – expressed the need to nurture their old familiar routines which offer security and confidence in insecure times. However, at the same time, being active mentally and physically and developing new habits adjusted to the new reality lets them develop a new perspective on their functioning and well-being in creating new routines, being active mentally and physically and adjusting to the new situation (Tables 2–4).

Table 2

(New) Routines

Focus	Reflections	Subject
(New) Routine(s)	*The most important thing is to preserve our habits, routines and manners. Many of us may feel like working and studying from home is a big change but we should not treat our acquaintances any differently than usual. All of us should strive to keep our virtual workplace a safe place and maintain our positive thinking nature*	s. 24
	I tried to focus on good things that happened before everything got closed, I developed new routines at home so I had something that kept my life going during lockdown, I decided to wake up, go to sleep, eat at regular times and also take up exercise on certain days. I kept in touch with my friends and I also tried to notice good things - I could spend more time with my beloved family and I had more time to take up a new hobby. I also set	s. 7

	up some goals because having achievements is essential for our well-being.	s. 16
	At the beginning of the pandemic, I felt sadness about being unable to go out and fear about the future. In this situation, the positive psychology activities "remember good things" and "notice good things" helped me a lot. I began to notice how good life is, devote time to my hobbies, develop new interests and remember moments from the past in which I felt full happiness. I did also everything I could to stay physically and emotionally healthy.	s. 28
	Our well-being significantly affects our functioning. We must be optimistic and full of good energy. During the epidemic, everyone certainly appreciated the importance of family life. In my case it was the same, the house became the safest place. I had also a feeling of gratitude for being surrounded by good people whom I can count on in every situation. I have to admit that the more gratitude a person feels, the happier he is.	s. 20
	We can start doing what we never had time for - for me it is gardening. There is evidence that a simple reminder of a joyful experience or the experience of petty courtesy makes it easier to find creative and optimal solutions to the problems we face every day. Not only mental condition is vital during these times, but also physical activity. Stagnation is not conducive to well-being - simple exercises, such as hula hoop, make me feel way better - I can feel the endorphins in my body.	

Table 3
Engagement and activity comment

Being active (mentally and physically)	*The more we do during pandemic, the less we think about unpleasant situation and less we get anxious. Let's take care of each other and spend some time with a family. Let's use the given time to do something productive.*	s. 19
	Positive psychology can be of assistance in the time of difficulty. One of the examples	s. 2

	can be doing physical exercises. Regular exercises have a positive impact on anxiety or depression. Furthermore, they reduce stress and make a better day.	
	During Coronavirus pandemic I have started to do exercises. At the beginning, it did not give me happiness. However, over time, I have started to feel better mentally and physically.	s. 14
	Staying in good shape is a vital part of maintaining a healthy mind. Luckily for us there are options of working-out while we are at home. Cultivating a healthy diet and a training schedule will definitely help to keep us in a good mood and together with all the other methods I talked about earlier should turn this difficult time of isolation into a productive chapter in our positive life's. Moreover, I decided to do something about myself, so I would not be in a bad mood. It is important that we tend ourselves. I started to take care of my body and mind regularly, by working out at home and reading books and articles. It increased my sense of motivation, empathy, determination and open-mindedness. In addition, the help and feedback from lecturers and university, secured my worries about pandemic and my education.	s. 24

Table 4
Adjustments in daily finctioning

Adjustments	*Personally I felt like the pandemic and how it changed how our society works had great effects on my mental well-being. I always thrived on routine so it was a huge change for me. Remembering simple rules of PP helped me to adjust to this unusual situation. It is very easy to lost oneself in the barrage of bad news and emotions. We have to remember that it is fine to sometimes detach ourselves from all of it. And positive psychology can help immeasurably with feeling fulfilled and content with your life again even when quarantining in your home.*	s. 5

	At the beginning of the virus outbreak, I was devastated, however I tried to focused on the positive aspects, thinks like: now I will have the time to fix some things at home that were on my to do list for a while, I can reflect a bit more on my life in generally (that can be scary!). I made peace with the fact that I wouldn't be able to go outside anywhere and then realized that I did not do it that often from the beginning. I also think about how, when the lockdown is lifted and the pandemic is over, it will be awesome and great to finally go out with friends and do all the things that I previously took for granted.	s. 12
	Positive psychology helped me to focus on positive things, face the horrendous loss of freedom and take care of my physical and mental health as it reminds us that we should always look on the bright sight of life.	s. 25
	To enhance positive emotions I spent some time thinking about my memories, feelings, and hopes for the future. To be content with my past I decided to stick my favourite photos on my wall to remind me of all the happy memories I have, and the people I love. At that time, many people may have experienced hopelessness. For me, the solution to this problem was writing a diary about the future and my plans.	s. 5
	The Internet enables us to discover our type of personality and the intelligence we have. To find my strengths I solved a quiz on the Internet and discovered my type of personality. It made me very happy and optimistic, because I thought that I can deal with my problems. I think that everybody should focus on their strengths and accept their weaknesses to be truly happy in life.	s. 9
	Nonetheless, I believe that whenever feelings like emptiness, hopelessness, or reluctance get top of somebody, the best solution is to think about 7 Habits of Happy People. With hindsight, I noticed that by following these rules I feel that I have more	s. 3

	energy and above all I do not complain as much, as I used to.	

4.4. Well-being in the time of the pandemic

It is difficult to talk or indeed to get any life satisfaction in the time of lockdown, limited face-to-face contact and reduced physical activity. But, on the other hand, other avenues have opened up as, in the words of these students:

> *I always said I didn't have time to paint pictures. Currently, I find time every day for a moment of painting, where in theory I have the same time as before the pandemic. Being with family and friends from old years also has a positive impact on me. I often hear that I smile more often. Reflection on good moments from my life makes me smile. Also, being able to take care of my health and body has a positive effect on my mental state.* (s. 13)
> *My experience from the pandemic: I would say that family is the most influential. Spending time with my family contributed to the reduction of stress. Spending more time with family has been an advantage of the pandemic. Finding pluses in each difficult situation is the key to well-being. I have contacted with my friends through Skype. It have consoled me too. The third thing which comforted me was lots of work. When I have a lot to do, I do not think about difficulties and danger.* (s. 11)

The subjects see the value of positive psychology in creating for them an appropriate climate for functioning effectively and for learning itself:

> *Definitely, positive psychology helps me in studying. I always try to do and remember kind things. It creates pleasant atmosphere for me and my relatives […] the most important thing is to take care about your both mental and physical health.* (s. 8)

Also, a most valued factor (and one that was not fully appreciated before) is the role of family, whose connections have been greatly strengthened through the pandemic:

> *The presence of loved ones is usually a great emotional support. Some people do not have the option of staying at home or they live alone – in this case Positive Psychology can work wonders.* (s. 20)

Having felt detached initially, with time the students developed their own strategies of overcoming this detachment and physical separation from their friends and peers:

> *Pandemic is a challenge for us all, that is why I am thankful that I am still healthy. I share the joy and love with my family and friends. In PERMA, "R" means "Relationship". I was afraid that time of separation means I lose my friends from school. I was mistaken, the pandemic time only strengthened our bonds […] Positive psychology helps me with dealing with present conditions of life. It teaches me to stay calm and to not forget about people who support me.* (s. 22)

Consolation is also offered by nature:

> *Take a deep breath of fresh air. Nowadays, restrictions allow us to take a peaceful walk in a forest or in a park. Spending time in nature helps to decrease stress level and quicken recovery from anxiety […]. I always help out my mother in the garden during weekends. This simple duty helps me to relax and forget about the current situation* (s. 20)

4.5. Enabling institutions

It seems than of no less importance than the other dimensions of positive psychology translated into the daily functioning of the students was the power of enabling institutions. Naturally, for these students such an institution was, and still is, their university, providing not only the regulations but also a whole system of support in times of online instruction and mental instability. These activities were assessed in a very positive way:

> *The positive institutions such as the university, turned out to be very helpful for me during the pandemic. The university enabled me*

to stay in touch with other people and gave me a purpose in life. It prevented me from feeling lonely and hopeless. (s. 9)

There also seemed to be positive institutions relying on strengths to better create a community of people. I was not alone with science, for which I am very grateful to my university. Teachers who made every effort to ensure that the material was implemented in its entirety and were willing to help with all my questions, showed support, commitment and cordiality. (s. 22)

People have tendency to think negative instead of think positive. But being strong plays a significant role in this whole situation and it is important as well. Creation and functioning of positive institutions means the structure of institutions that try to support workers and students. Health Service do its best to prevent the disease from spreading and they deserve great recognition. Hospitals burst at the seams and yet the medical workers work at full stretch. Doctors and nurses watch over us so that we could stay healthy. Let's be grateful and do not forget to say "thank you" to all of them. (s. 19)

5. Positive psychology course during the pandemic (closing comments)

This article has commented on the situation in which students have been taken away from their universities, sat in front of the computers all day long and any contact with the outside world is so limited that it may result in depression, acts of desperation and feelings of exclusion, especially felt at this young age. Genuine contacts, and not these virtual ones, often constitute the essence of young people's lives and daily experiences, an important dimension of their well-being. The original comments based on the narratives presented here bring out the elements of positive psychology models of PERMA (positive emotions, engagement, meaning, achievement) and EMPATHICS (among others: resilience, empathy, self-efficacy, agency) as well as well-being understood as a self-focus that brings comfort, health and happiness, realisation of targets and control over one's life.

The trainees' approach to positive psychology course was unanimously optimistic. It seems that what students took from the course was its contribution to their personal development

and well-being and as such, the course - in the words of one of the students, "stood out from other courses at the university". Unfortunately, the course suffered from the lack of direct contact between the teacher and the students and between the students themselves. The peer teaching aspect of the course was not a genuinely hands-on experience, as the post-presentation open discussion of the tasks' merits, difficulties and challenges replaced genuine participation in positive psychology activities. The objectives of the course shifted from the methodology of teaching languages towards reflection on one's well-being in the time of the pandemic and the development of self-awareness and personality growth, well-being and the ability to better relate to their peers in a climate of understanding, cooperation and searching out for the positive. This is very strongly demonstrated by the narrative reflections provided by the students and presented above.

It seems there is a need for this type of instruction in teacher training programmes. Hopefully, the understanding gained during positive psychology classes will have a more lasting impact on trainees' own classroom practice in relation to developing their well-being and the well-being of their pupils in the future by means of positive psychology language tasks. Numerous publications on (future) teacher and learner well-being point to the fact that the concept of well-being and ways of becoming more aware of how to reach it should become the concern of teacher training programmes. One such option is offered by a positive psychology course implemented in a FL teacher training programme of studies.

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LITERARY STUDIES

Toward an archetypal narrative:
A Jungian-inspired archetypal criticism
of Propp's recurring narratemes thesis

HICHAM JAKHA

Abstract

In this paper, I attempt to find a middle ground between the formalist critic, Vladimir Propp, and the psychoanalytic critic, Carl Jung. I argue that, instead of regarding Russian formalism and psychoanalysis as irreconcilable adversaries, the theories of the two figures can (and should) be unified; the result of which can be devised to establish a theory of what I call an "archetypal narrative". To be more explicit, Propp's *Morphology* and Jung's archetypal psychoanalysis are reconciled to bring about an archetypal narrative theory, in which the underlying structure of narratives lies in the collective unconscious of humanity.

Keywords

Vladimir Propp, Carl Jung, archetypal narrative, formalism, psychoanalysis

W stronę archetypowej narracji:
Inspirowana Jungiem archetypowa krytyka
tezy Proppa o powtarzających się narratemach

Abstrakt

W tym artykule próbuję znaleźć kompromis między reprezentantem
szkoły rosyjskich formalistów, Vladimirem Proppem, a krytykiem psy-
choanalitycznym Carlem Jungiem. Twierdzę, że teorie Proppa i Junga
mogą (i powinny) zostać ujednolicone zamiast być traktowane jako
przeciwstawne; wynikiem powyższego ma być ustanowienia teorii tego,
co nazywam „narracją archetypową". Mówiąc dokładniej, morfologię
Proppa i archetypową psychoanalizę Junga da się pogodzić tak, aby
stworzyć archetypową teorię narracji, w której podstawowa struktura
narracji leży w zbiorowej nieświadomości ludzkości.

Słowa kluczowe

Vladimir Propp, Carl Jung, narracja archetypowa, formalizm, psycho-
analiza

1. Introduction

Literary criticism has seen a wide range of theories attempting
to provide a comprehensive reading of literary texts. One might
rightly develop from the variety of literary theories available the
assumption that literature, as a subject matter, is ambiguous.
The ways in which a literary text can be read signal a difference
in methods and techniques, leading to a dispute amongst liter-
ary critics as to which theory best captures the essence of the
literary text. Each of the literary theories developed thus far ap-
proaches the literary text from a unique perspective. As a result,
literary critics have in their hands a rich repertoire through
which literary texts can be understood.

One of the most influential schools in literary criticism that
attempted to "scientize" the study of literature is Russian for-
malism. "The Russian Formalist movement was championed by

unorthodox philologists and literary historians, e.g., Boris Eichenbaum, Roman Jakobson, Viktor Shklovsky, Boris Tomashevsky, and Yuri Tynyanov. Its main strongholds were the Moscow Linguistic Circle founded in 1915 and the Petrograd 'Society for the Study of Poetic Language' (Opoyaz) formed in 1916" (Erlich 1973: 627).

The formalists adopted a strict view of literary studies in which the reader only needs to focus their attention on the literary text itself. The disentanglement of a literary text can be successfully accomplished without resorting to any external factors. In an attempt to narrow down the scope of literary studies as a scientific inquiry, Roman Jakobson coined the term *literariness*. "The object of study in literary science is not literature but 'literariness', that is, what makes a given work a literary work" (Jakobson, as cited in Èjchenbaum 2004: 7).

Embracing literariness as a scientific study inspired an enormous project, taking text elements as its main object of inquiry. Formalist critics approached the text as an object of scientific inquiry and regarded language as the instrument via which the text can be studied. One can say that, what distinguishes physics and biology, for example, as two of the main hard sciences, is their endeavor to develop a "theory of everything". In the same vein, Vladimir Propp, a key figure in Russian formalism,[1] sought to imitate the physicists' and biologists' goal

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[1] Although Propp was not formally associated with Russian formalism, he contributed immensely to the development of literariness as a scientific study. In fact, many Russian formalists have often been linked to either Prague Structuralism or Bakhtinian Semiotics. Steiner (2014) even went as far as to argue that there is no such a thing as Russian Formalism, for the figures associated with this movement differed in nearly all aspects of their research. Consequently, a unifying movement built around these thinkers seems to be far-fetched.

Steiner's claim does not undermine my present objective. On the contrary, breaking down Russian formalism into separate, conflicting ideas serves my objective well. As I try to show in this paper, literary theories should engage with each other and search for common points of communication, whenever and wherever possible. The formal boundaries set by movements should not deter critics from exposing themselves to different ideas, even if they go contrary to what they believe in.

and establish what can be described as a "narrative of all narratives". Indeed, Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale*, as Steiner (2014) argues, can be situated within a debate in biology. To elaborate, a brief sketch of art and its role in literary studies is in order. The formalists have disagreed over the meaning of art and its role in literary studies. These disagreements, Steiner posits, boil down to three metaphors: art as *machine, system*, and *organism*; and one synecdoche: art as *language*. Viktor Šklovskij is a proponent of the "machine metaphor". According to him, Formalism is "a return to craftsmanship" (1923: 327). This view has advocated a *mechanistic* approach toward literary texts. The "how" of literature became more important than its content. Mechanistic formalism accounted for the art/non-art (*byt*) distinction (Steiner 2014: 42f):

Art	*Byt* (everyday life)
de-familiarization	automatization
teleology	causality
device	material
plot (sjužet)	story (fabula)

"Art as system" has been upheld by Jurij Tynjanov, who labeled his approach to literary studies "systemo-functional" (1977: 295). The systemic metaphor alludes to the holistic and relational approach to literary studies. This approach follows the advancements made in other disciplines, mostly in psychology, logic, and linguistics (Steiner 2014: 85). Tynjanov distinguishes between "literary fact" and "literature". He writes: "Whereas a hard *definition of literature* is more and more difficult to make, every contemporary can point his finger at what is a *literary fact*. He will tell you that this or that as a fact of *byt* or of the poet's private life" is not a literary fact, "while

something else certainly is" (1929: 9). This distinction has prompted literary critics to rethink their reading of literary texts in terms of "concepts relating to the direct experience of literary texts and concepts that bring these into categorical relations" (Steiner 2014: 86).

"Art as organism" has been maintained mainly by Michail Petrovskij and Vladimir Propp. This trend is called "morphological formalism". It is so designated to emphasize the tendency of some formalists to approach the literary text as a "biological organism". Morphology, as Žirmunskij conceives of it, entails a taxonomy that "describes and systematizes poetic devices" before taking on their "stylistic functions in the typologically most essential poetic works" (1928: 55). Èjchenbaum understood morphology to indicate something along the lines of formal anatomy (1922: 8). Petrovskij referred to morphology as including both the anatomy and physiology of the work (1925: 182). Propp's morphology is of a generative nature. It is influenced by Johann Goethe's biology of organic bodies (Steiner 2014: 62). "In biology, from the eighteenth century onwards it has been believed that the quintessence of an organism is revealed by its form and structure" (Rádl 1930: 120). With form and structure in mind, Goethe and Georges Cuvier parted ways as regards the form and structure of the organism. Cuvier argued that we should explain the organism by proceeding from the parts to the whole, whereas Goethe contended that we should start from the general whole to the individual organism (Steiner 2014: 62). In short, as Cassirer sums up Goethe's and Cuvier's views, "Cuvier advocated a static view of organic nature; Goethe a genetic or dynamic view. The former laid its stress upon the constancy, the latter on the modifiability of organic types" (1945: 106). Propp's adoption and transformation of Goethe's morphology from the organic to the literary underlies a key notion in the Russian's thought. Goethe believed that "all the forms of plants perhaps developed from a single form" (1887–1912, sec. 1, vol. 30: 89). Goethe's quest for an archetypal form parallels Propp's

search for an archetype underling the structure of fairy tales
(Steiner 2014: 71).

Another influential figure who, I argue, had the same objectives in mind, is Carl Jung. The Swiss psychoanalyst, alongside
Sigmund Freud, laid the ground for psychoanalytic criticism.
Just like Propp, Jung sought to single out an underlying scheme
or archetype that makes all literary works familiar. In his "Psychology and Literature", Jung developed an intriguing account
of literature, where it is ascribed the function of delineating the
unconscious experience. To be more explicit, Jung's theory of
archetypes has attempted to trace all conscious experiences to
a *collective unconscious*.[2] With a keen focus on literature, Jung
argued that archetypes are present in all literary works, and
that any literary element has its source in the universal archetype.

Archetypal literary criticism takes into account the textual,
intertextual, and psychological in its analysis. As we find in New
Criticism, archetypal criticism identifies archetypes within the
plot, characters, imagery, and setting of the text. Like the intertextual critic, it relates the archetypes detected in a certain text
with similar patterns in literature. ("Plots as the Quest Journey,
characters such as the Wise Old Man or Mother figure, imagery
such as light and darkness, or settings such as forests or deserts"). Archetypal literary criticism also considers the

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[2] The concept of archetype in Jung is closely connected to his "collective
unconscious" theory, which can be described as:

[...] a part of the psyche which can be negatively distinguished from
a personal unconscious by the fact that it does not, like the latter, owe
its existence to personal experience and consequently is not a personal
acquisition. While the personal unconscious is made up essentially of
contents which have at one time been conscious but which have disappeared from consciousness through having been forgotten or repressed,
the contents of the collective unconscious have never been in consciousness, and therefore have never been individually acquired, but owe their
existence exclusively to heredity. Whereas the personal unconscious consists for the most part of *complexes*, the content of the collective unconscious is made up essentially of *archetypes* (Jung 1969a: par. 88).

psychological significance of archetypes, *vis-à-vis* characters within a text.[3] Archetypal criticism gained widespread recognition among literary critics following Northrop Frye's (1957) *Anatomy of Criticism*. In the 1980's, archetypal criticism was energized by feminist thinkers such as Annis Pratt, Estella Lauter, Julia Kristeva, and Carol Schreier Rupprecht, who brought into light the individual and cultural influences on archetypes in literature (Leigh 2015: 98).

Frye's teacher at Oxford, C. S. Lewis, was also interested in psychoanalytic criticism and, in particular, Jung's theory of archetypes. In his "Psycho-analysis and Literary Criticism", C. S. Lewis examined Freud's and Jung's theories and their applications to literary criticism, and drew the conclusion that Jung's archetypal criticism is "a much more civil and humane interpretation of myth and imagery" than Freud's psychoanalysis (1969: 296).[4] Even though he agreed with Jung in his formulation of archetypes as a theory that "unites all humanity", Lewis, like most critics of psychoanalysis, demanded more scientific grounding from Jung. Although Jung's "archetypal criticism overcomes the dominant materialistic biases of many psychological theories of literature and human behavior", Lewis saw a major shortcoming in its method, namely that it was not scientifically supported (Leigh 2015: 99).

Christopher Booker carried out a project similar to my present one.[5] He sought to manifest the presence of Jungian archetypes in various narrative forms. In *The Seven Basic Plots* (2004), Booker argues that, despite the seemingly diverse stories we have in literature or movies, "there may be 'only seven (or

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[3] For instance, one can study the individuation process in a character (c.f. Skogemann's 2009). One can also examine the psychological idiosyncrasies of the author or reader (c.f., Dawson's 2004).

[4] This is another main factor that made me choose Jung over Freud, as regards my proposed synthesis of psychoanalytic criticism and Russian formalism. Like Propp, Jung colored myth and imagery in literature in a way that makes them familiar and relatable. After all, it is the presence of primordial images (Jung) that makes narratives seem recurring (Propp).

[5] It must be noted, however, that Booker restricted his analysis to Jungian archetypes. I analyze both Jung and Propp.

six, or five) basic stories in the world'" (3). Booker's book out-
lines seven basic plots, along with three subplots. One plot, Ab-
bott (2008) posits, can set the general tone for the tension and
its resolution within a narrative. However, most stories may in-
corporate these basic plots into subplots to generate a more
complex narrative, just like character types merge to produce
more complex characters (136-138). The problem with Booker's
thesis is that not all narratives exhaust every plot described by
him. With that said, all the plots laid out by Booker boil down
to three main stages in a story. This is what we find in Joseph
Campbell's influential book, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*
(2004). Namely, Campbell maintains that narratives can differ
with regards to their patterns. Not all narratives will conform to
the totality of schematic functions determined in folktales (as in
Propp's thirty-one character functions) or in various narrative
forms (as in Booker's seven plots). But all narratives, Campbell
argues, are centered around "the hero's journey".[6] This is what
he refers to as the "monomyth". Accordingly, the "monomyth"
presents the three stages that a hero undergoes: *separation*, *in-
itiation*, and *return*. These stages can also be labeled "the nu-
clear unit of the monomyth" (2004: 28). Campbell describes the
"monomyth" as a story, where "a hero ventures forth from the
world of a common day into a region of supernatural wonder:
fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is
won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with
the power to bestow boons on his fellow man" (2004: 28).[7]

Booker's and Campbell's Jungian-inspired attempts to es-
tablish archetypal patterns in different narrative forms mirror
my own in the present paper, and make my decision to reconcile
Jung and Propp, and not – say Freud and Propp – all the more

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[6] It must be noted that Campbell, like Jung, is interested primarily in the
recurring narrative patterns across world mythology. Like Jung, he examined
different mythologies to discern a recurring, underlying pattern in their struc-
ture.

[7] I shall analyze Campbell's study in greater detail in Section 3, where
I will attempt to examine the reducibility of Propp's narratemes to Jung's ar-
chetypal plots.

conceivable. I believe that Jung's archetypes can explain Propp's recurring narratemes thesis, and that the latter can be devised to establish solid ground for the former. As I argue here, both Propp and Jung were trying to solve (or, at least, highlight) the same issue: literary narratives are recurring (Propp) because they can be reduced to universal, primordial images in our collective unconscious (Jung).

Now that I have introduced the framework of my paper, it is time to establish its main thesis and enunciate its objective. In the spirit of exploring an underlying structure behind all narratives (Propp) and beyond the individual unconscious (Jung), I shall attempt to reconcile Vladimir Propp's formalism and Carl Jung's psychoanalysis, which are often conceived of as rivals. Following the examination of the two doctrines, I shall propose a unified theory in literary criticism, which I term an "archetypal narrative" theory. Then, in an attempt to test the applicability of my theory, I will apply it to "The Fate of the Boy Witch", a tale selected from Native American repertoire.

2. Exploring Vladimir Propp's morphology

In 1928, Vladimir Propp (1895–1970) published a remarkable scientific inquiry on the folktale. In his *Morphology of the Folktale*, Propp studied a hundred Russian folktales to determine if there were any common patterns in their structure. In comparing the components of the studied tales, Propp writes, "the result will be a morphology (i.e., a *description* of the tale according to its *component parts* and the relationship of these components to each other and to the whole)" (1968: 19, my emphasis). Propp, first, focused on the *dramatis personae* of a tale. He argued that, in every tale, the names and properties of the *dramatis personae* change. However, their functions and actions remain the same. Therefore, the latter were of much importance to Propp's project. If there is only a limited number of functions and actions a personage can execute, Propp posited, we will be dealing with a rather unbalanced account of tales, where the

number of personages outstandingly outweighs the number of functions. Propp understood this as explaining the paradoxical structure of tales. He writes that "[the resultant imbalance between functions and personages] explains the twofold quality of a tale: its amazing multiformity, picturesqueness, and color, and on the other hand, its no less striking uniformity, its repetition" (20-21).

Next, Propp moved on to analyze the *sequence* of tales. He distanced himself from the opinions of some critics (e.g., Veselovskij and Šklovskij), who upheld sequence in tales as an *accidental* component; hence stressing its freedom. According to Propp, the sequence of events is *uniform*. There must be a certain respected sequence in the narration of tales. "Freedom within this sequence is restricted by very narrow limits which can be exactly formulated" (22). The rest of the *Morphology* is dedicated to thirty-one functions in the folktale, where Propp explored what he thought are the most frequently used *narratemes*. By enumerating the functions of folktales and specifying the number of *dramatis personae*, Propp set the ground for a generic system of both analyzing existing tales and generating new ones.[8] First, let us go briefly through the Proppian *dramatis personae*:

> Some examples of these roles [*dramatis personae*] are as follows: *the villain*, *the donor* (who provides the hero with a magical agent), *the helper* (usually a magical agent that helps the hero carry out his tasks), *the dispatcher* (who sends the hero on his mission), *the hero* (the protagonist of the story), and *the false hero* (who

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[8] For instance, Scott Turner, in his dissertation devoted to the advancement of a "Minstrel Story generating Program", writes about the influence Propp's *Morphology* had on his research:

In theory, Propp's grammar could be programmed into a computer and used to recognize folktales — provided someone first translated each folktale into Propp's notation [...] Propp's grammar could be used to 'grow' a story from seed to completion (1993: 1).

Lang's *Joseph* System (1997) is another instance of a Proppian-inspired attempt to establish a system of story generation.

maliciously sets himself up to usurp the protagonist as hero of the story) (Gervás 2015: 189).

In addition, Propp outlined thirty-one character functions that are ascribed to the *dramatis personae* (see Table 1).

Table 1

The Proppian character functions

1. Absentation	2. Interdiction	3. Violation	4. Reconnaissance
5. Delivery	6. Trickery	7. Complicity	8. Villainy and lack
9. Mediation	10. Counteraction	11. Departure	12. Testing
13. Reaction	14. Acquisition	15. Guidance	16. Struggle
17. Branding	18. Victory	19. Resolution	20. Return
21. Pursuit	22. Rescue	23. Arrival	24. Claim
25. Task	26. Solution	27. Recognition	28. Exposure
29. Transfiguration	30. Punishment	31. Wedding	

The functions enumerated above construct the linear plot sequence of a story and direct its exposition, rising action, climax, falling action, and resolution. "Propp mentions how the character fulfilling a particular named role is involved in the various actions that can instantiate that character function (the villain carries out the villainy, the dispatcher sends the hero on his mission, the hero departs from home, etc.)" (Gervás 2015: 189).

All in all, Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* has served as a canonical work in both folkloristics and narratology. The West's exposure to Propp's morphology is largely attributed to the translation of Scott Laurence (1968),[9] and the work of Alan Dundes, who expanded the research of Propp to analyze Native American (1980) and European folktales (2007). In Dundes' introduction to Laurence's translation, he shed light on the inner structure of Propp's analysis of folktales and contrasted it with that of the French anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss. Dundes highlights a distinction between the analyses of Propp

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[9] It is worth mentioning that Thomas A. Sebeok (Indiana University, USA) was responsible for the first English translation of Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* from Russian (in 1958). Thanks to Sebeok's initiative, the English-speaking world became acquainted with the work of Propp.

and Lévi-Strauss, *vis-à-vis* the underlying structures of tales. "[In his introduction], he iterated the distinction between Propp's 'syntagmatic' analysis, borrowing from the notion of syntax in the study of language, and Lévi-Strauss' 'paradigmatic' one, which seeks to describe a pattern or paradigm (usually based upon an *a priori* principle of *binary opposition*) underlying the folkloric text" (Dundes 2007: 124, my emphasis).

Both Propp and Lévi-Strauss sought to single out an underlying structure of narratives, although of two different kinds. Propp focused his structuralist analysis on folktales, whereas Lévi-Strauss investigated *myths*.[10] Lévi-Strauss adopted a somewhat different approach to "narrative" than that adopted by Propp:

> Unlike Propp, his formula was totally algebraic involving "functions" and "terms" (1955:442; for a discussion of the formula, see Mosko 1991). Whereas Propp had extrapolated his thirty-one function sequence from the linear order of events recounted in his 100 fairy tale corpus, Lévi-Strauss sought to discover what he felt was the underlying paradigm (Dundes 1997: 40).

Overall, the debate on the underlying structure of narratives is stimulating and raises a number of valid problems. Propp's thesis of recurring narratemes follows from a rigorous empirical study, and its results can be extended to include a wide variety of *formulaic* narratives, as has been adopted by his successors.[11] In the following, I shall turn my attention to Carl Jung, a prominent figure of psychoanalytic criticism. I shall attempt to compare Jung's universal archetypes and Propp's recurring narratemes theses. I hope my attempt will bring about

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[10] For more on Lévi-Strauss's ideas on mythology, see *Mythologiques* (1964, 1966, 1968, 1971) and "The Structural Study of Myths" (1955).

[11] It is important to keep in mind that, despite its significance to *formulaic* texts, Propp's model cannot be so easily applied to complex literary texts. A postmodernist text, for instance, where metafiction, Chinese box structure, and other complex literary devices are foregrounded, will pose a great challenge to Propp's model.

a conclusion, where the two theories are not only compatible with each other, but also complementary to one another.

3. Exploring Carl Jung's archetypal psychoanalysis

Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961) was a key figure of psychoanalysis and was credited with the founding of analytical psychology. Jung's work on depth psychology established him as one of the main names of psychoanalysis at his time, alongside Sigmund Freud (1856-1939). Indeed, these two names were, and still are, central to psychology and psychoanalysis, in particular. Not only so, Freud and Jung set the ground for discussions, involving their concepts, that go well beyond their field (Falzeder 2012).

There are, however, noteworthy differences in beliefs and ideas between the two figures. Following their fallout, Jung and Freud often expressed their rejection of each other's theories. We can talk of many aspects in which Jung and Freud clashed. But, for the purposes of this paper, I will only confine my discussion to the "individual/collective unconscious" controversy.

In "The Psychology of the Unconscious Processes", Carl Jung explored what he termed, the *absolute* or *collective* unconscious. Jung posited that the collective unconscious can account for various phenomena that take place in the human psyche:

> In every individual, in addition to the personal memories, there are also, in Jacob Burckhardt's excellent phrase, the great "primordial images", the inherited potentialities of human imagination. They have always been potentially latent in the structure of the brain. The fact of this inheritance also explains the otherwise incredible phenomenon, that the matter and themes of certain legends are met with all the world over in identical forms. Further, it explains how it is that persons who are mentally deranged are able to produce precisely the same images and associations that are known to us from the study of old manuscripts (1920: 410).

Jung (1920) put an emphasis on the collective unconscious, in an attempt to differentiate it from Freud's *personal* or *individual* unconscious. "Here [in the collective unconscious], it is a matter of the manifestation of the deeper layers of the unconscious, where the primordial universally-human images are lying dormant" (410). In addition, Jung's collective unconscious was devised to ground various phenomena, ranging from dreams, hallucinations, religious experiences, literary experiences, and the like. The latter, obviously, are at the center of my discussion here. But, first, a brief look at Freud's individual unconscious will prove helpful in my preliminary analysis.

In his path-breaking paper, "The Unconscious", Sigmund Freud outlined a set of characteristics of the unconscious. Freud postulated the realm of the unconscious as a realm where *latent* phenomena take place. The conscious, therefore, only occupies a limited space in the human psyche. He writes:

> We can go further and in support of an unconscious mental state allege that only a small content is embraced by consciousness at any given moment, so that the greater part of what we call conscious knowledge must in any case exist for very considerable periods of time in a condition of *latency*, that is to say, of *unconsciousness*, of not being apprehended by the mind. When all our latent memories are taken into consideration, it becomes totally incomprehensible how the existence of the unconscious can be gainsaid (1963: 117, my emphasis).

After establishing the conscious as being, by and large, *conditioned* by the unconscious, Freud sought to manifest how the former (the conscious) can account for our peculiar, individual experiences, and that we can only *infer* the other's consciousness through psychological behaviorism:[12]

> By the medium of consciousness, each one of us becomes aware only of his *own* states of mind; that another possesses

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[12] This is not Freud's original contribution. The idea can be traced all the way back to John S. Mill (1806–1873).

consciousness is a conclusion drawn by *analogy* from the utterances and actions we perceive him to make and it is drawn in order that this behavior of his may become intelligible to us. (It would probably be psychologically more correct to put it thus: that without any special reflection, we impute to everyone else our own constitution and therefore also our consciousness, and that this identification is a necessary condition of understanding in us) (1963: 119, my emphasis).

Employing Freud's method of inference, we can infer that the notion of individuality applies to unconsciousness as well.[13] That is, our unconscious is also coupled with the quality of individuality and personality. It is this that Jung tried to further elaborate on, with the development of a collective, universal unconscious that brings all human beings together under the same (unconscious) umbrella.[14]

Coming back to the matter at hand, Jung's archetypal psychology was devised as an upgrade of Freud's personal unconscious. Jung advocated the view that all our experiences (religious, cultural, aesthetic, etc.) stem from the collective unconscious; an unconscious that is *inborn* in us, with the entire history and evolution of the human species embedded in it. "The form of the world into which [a person] is born is already inborn in him, as a virtual image" (Jung 1980: 188). These *images* are what constitute the collectivity of the unconscious experiences, since they can be described as *recurring*. Jung gave the example of a child behaving in a human manner *preconsciously*,[15] tracing

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[13] The "individual unconscious" label is given to Freud's psychology of unconsciousness by Carl Jung (2003: 2), as he contrasted it with his own theory of the collective unconscious.

[14] We can read Jung's collective unconscious as entailing an elaboration of Freud's individual unconscious, and not a refutation of its premise. In this respect, Vincent Brome writes:

Jung's general approach to the unconscious differed from Freud's in three ways. First, the unconscious, in his view, followed an autonomous course of development; second, it was the source of archetypes or universal primordial images, and, third, it was complementary to and not conflicting with consciousness (1978: 221).

[15] The preconscious, in a Jungian sense, is similar to Freud's personal unconscious. Of course, the preconscious, in a Freudian sense, is that which

that to the presence of *primordial* images in his unconscious.[16] Jung elaborates:

> We can only suppose that his behavior results from patterns of functioning, which I have described as *images*. The term "image" is intended to express not only the form of the activity taking place, but the typical situation in which the activity is released. These images are "primordial" images in so far as they are peculiar to whole species, and if they ever "originated", their origin must have coincided at least with the beginning of the species [...] The idea that it is not inherited but comes into being in every child anew would be just as preposterous as the primitive belief that the sun which rises in the morning is a different sun from that which set the evening before (2003: 11).

Archetypes cannot have any form. "Archetypes may be represented by mythic images, but are themselves formless. Archetypes store the memories of human ancestry, not of individual persons, but of the experiences of the species" (Tigue 1994: 23). One of the forms in which Jungian archetypes are manifestly present is literature. Indeed, Jung himself gave the recurrence of literary images a great deal of thought, and his efforts on the subject-matter, alongside Freud's, brought about psychoanalytic criticism in literature. Jung made use of his archetypal

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accommodates all experiences that are not yet at the moment detected by the conscious, but can be, once the individual focuses their attention on them. The preconscious differs from the unconscious in that the former's experiences are not repressed and can be easily accessed upon reflection (Stanger and Walinga 2014).

[16] Jung's assertion that archetypes are innate and cannot be acquired has exposed him to a wide range of criticisms, the most notable of which were raised by proponents of behaviorism and constructivism. Following Jung's death, psychoanalytical psychology was replaced by Jean Piaget's constructivism and B. F. Skinner's behaviorism. According to Skinner, behavior is to be processed as a "correlation of stimulus and response", and this fact stands in opposition to assertions that "action" is "unlearned, unconscious, and involuntary" (1938: 439). Piaget (1976) stresses the importance of "construction" in behavior (65). He argues that a child's ability "to roll a ping-pong ball on a horizontal plane in such a way that the ping-pong ball comes back" (66), for example, "is acquired perceptually and by motoractivity and is certainly not innate" (67).

psychoanalysis to explain the apparent recurring patterns in literature and the stories recounted. Just like Lévi-Strauss, Jung was primarily interested in myths and *mythology*. His literary criticism is heavily influenced by the presence of myths in different cultures, as he conceived of mythology to be the source of the author's artistic creativity. In "Psychology and Literature", Jung described mythology as the poet's inspiration, and that without the former, the latter is incomprehensible:

> It is therefore to be expected of the poet that he will resort to *mythology* in order to give his experience its most fitting expression. It would be a serious mistake to suppose that he works with materials received at second-hand. The *primordial* experience is the source of his creativeness; it cannot be fathomed, and therefore requires mythological *imagery* to give it form. In itself, it offers no words or images, for it is a vision seen 'as in a glass, darkly'. It is merely a deep presentiment that strives to find expression (1933: 189, my emphasis).

As presented above, Jung traced the images employed in literature back to mythology. We can assume from Jung's assertion that one only needs to study mythology to acquaint themselves with imagery in literature. For Jung, mythology is not merely similar across different cultures, it is identical across different cultures. Consequently, "the whole of mythology could be taken as a sort of projection of the collective unconscious" (Jung 1969b: 205). If so, one only needs to study mythology to understand the nature of the collective unconscious.

In sum, Jung's archetypal psychoanalysis is regarded as an important theory in literary criticism. It provides literary critics with a unique perspective on literary texts, in which their images, in Jung's sense of the word, find their universal foundation in mythology. By linking mythology to the collective unconscious,[17] Jung drew attention to the universality of mythology

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[17] It is worth mentioning that Jung believed there are two ways in which the collective unconscious can be studied: either through mythology or through the analysis of the individual.

across different cultures, and what that entails for literature, as it is considered (by him) to be a product of the former. In the following, I shall attempt to construct what I term an "archetypal narrative", where Jung's psychoanalysis meets Propp's morphology.

4. Toward an archetypal narrative

In the previous two sections, I have investigated the main tenets of Vladimir Propp's *Morphology* and Carl Jung's archetypal psychoanalysis.[18] I have attempted to provide a clear account of the two figures' theories, and their implications for literary criticism, as they are considered to be among the most influential in Russian formalism and psychoanalysis, respectively. As has been explored previously, Propp's recurring narratemes thesis is the result of an empirical study of folktales, Russian folktales, to be exact. But, as has been executed by Dundes and others, Propp's project can be extended to include a wide variety of world folktales.

The thesis I have laid out in the introduction can be understood in two ways. One way would be: Propp's morphology can be taken as a supplementary account of Jung's collective unconscious (I will call this, the *Propp–Jung narrative*). Another way would be: Jung's collective unconscious can be devised to provide supporting ground for Propp's underlying structure of narratemes (I will call this, the *Jung–Propp archetype*). Either way, the result will be a reconciliation of the two theories, and the subsequent emergence of a new theory that processes narratemes as recurring (Propp), due to our shared heritage and ancestral, evolutionary past as species (Jung). Both Propp and Jung adopted empirical methods in their research projects. As a result, their endeavours are, in spirit, similar to, for example, those of physicists and biologists, who strive to

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[18] In addition to, although briefly, Sigmund Freud's psychology of the unconscious and Claude Lévi-Strauss' take on the underlying structure of myths.

uncover universal traces across the entire universe.[19] Therefore, Propp's and Jung's empirical inclinations make the reconciliation of the two schools they represent all the more possible, since both schools have the "scientization" of literary criticism at their foundation.

Let us now proceed and delve deeper into the archetypal narrative. First, let us assess the *Propp–Jung narrative*. Employing Propp's morphology, we can understand his account of the recurring actions and functions in a narrative in terms of Jung's archetypes. The thirty-one functions Propp posited to be recurring in all the folktales he studied, I believe, can be accommodated in the Jungian collective unconscious. The latter follows the same patterns that can be found in all formulaic narratives. Propp's narrative of all narratives, therefore, can serve as supporting evidence for Jung's collective unconscious. Logically speaking, every identical set of patterns must follow from (be the result of) one and the same source. Of course, the chain of dependencies can, at a certain stage, result in a set where its parts are not *directly* connected to each other, but, nonetheless, if the chain is tracked down to its starting point (foundation), an *immediate* connectedness of the set parts should be reached. The Proppian recurring narratemes are the manifestation of a collective, universal mind, which, as Jung argued, renders the stories of poets and novelists fathomable. Jung's collective unconscious is granted a welcoming home in Propp's *Morphology*, where the universality of the former gains recognition in the recurring patterns of the latter. Jung's collective archetypes are, in a way, the underlying narratemes that Propp aimed at unveiling.

The *Jung–Propp archetype,* on the other hand, provides a clearer account, in which the two theories complement each other. Propp's underlying structure of narratemes can be processed as an archetype; a universal narrative-pattern, resulting

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[19] It goes without saying that Propp and Jung were primarily investigating cultural phenomena, whereas physicists and biologists focus on natural phenomena; hence the difference in their methods and results.

from the collective unconscious of mankind. In the previous paragraph, I have argued for Propp's analysis of folktales supporting Jung's collective unconscious. Now, I am upholding Jung's collective unconscious as backing Propp's *Morphology* findings. Indeed, the patterns which Propp saw to be recurring, as Jung would say, are but universal patterns generated by the evolutionary process of the unconscious. The fact that those narratives can have common properties (Propp) and be detected in world mythology (Jung), raises the plausibility of a common origin. This, I believe, is what constitutes Propp's narrative as an archetypal narrative.

To test my proposed archetypal narrative theory, I shall examine a folktale narrative and explore the possibility of applying my theory to it, treating it as a formulaic text. As I have stated earlier, Propp's model has been applied to various folkloric texts, from different cultures. Accordingly, I shall assess the applicability of the archetypal narrative, which is a combination of Propp's and Jung's models, to "The Fate of the Boy Witch", a Native American folktale.

"The Fate of the Boy Witch" is a tale of two boys, Tee-yoh and Poo-wah-ka, and one girl, Man-nah. Tee-yoh is an orphan, who lives outside the village with his poor grandmother. Poo-wah-ka is a boy witch undercover. He looks just like an ordinary Native boy, so nobody suspects he is a witch. The two boys are in love with Man-nah, but she only likes one of them, Tee-yoh. Poo-wah-ka, fully aware he is not Man-nah's favorite, embarks on his evil mission to take Tee-yoh out of the picture so that he wins Man-nah's heart. One day, the two boys set out on a hunting trip. Poo-wah-ka succeeds in deceiving Tee-yoh, by persuading him that the best way to hunt rabbits is by transforming into a coyote, which the boy witch can do with his magical powers. Tee-yoh becomes a coyote and catches many rabbits to take home, but Poo-wah-ka is nowhere to be found. He sneaks up on Tee-yoh and snatches the rabbits he caught. Without the boy witch's magical powers, Tee-yoh cannot change back to his human body. He is left wandering the fields, while Poo-wah-ka

pursues Man-nah without competition. Just as Tee-yoh was about to wave goodbye to this world due to hunger and fatigue, an eagle from the heavens comes down to help him. The eagles watch and know about everything that is happening on earth, so they know all the details about Tee-yoh and his ordeal. Tee-yoh hops on the eagle's back and they both head toward the eagle's village up in the heavens. The Eagle-Chief takes "a dried herb shaped like a hook" and skins Tee-yoh's coyote skin off him so that he becomes a boy again. The eagles take care of Tee-yoh and prepare him for his return down to earth to face the cunning boy witch. "They give him a deer which they had killed for him, and a tiny buckskin bag of herb-medicine". Then, they instruct him not to tell Poo-wah-ka about what happened to him or where he was, and that he should share the deer, laced with the herb from the eagles, with the boy witch. Tee-yoh does exactly what the Eagle-Chief told him, during his encounter with Poo-wah-ka, who is surprised to see Tee-yoh as a boy again, alive and well. Tee- yoh invites the boy witch to a deer feast, and he laces Poo-wah-ka's meat with the herb from the eagles. The boy witch becomes a coyote and gets chased away by the dogs in the village. Tee-yoh and Man-nah get married and live happily ever after.[20]

4.1. The Propp side

After summarizing the tale of "The Fate of the Boy Witch", it is time to apply the archetypal narrative to its structure. First, let us start with identifying the *dramatis personae* of the tale, following Propp's model. (see Table 2).

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[20] My summary of "The Fate of the Boy Witch" (1922).

Table 2

The dramatis personae in "The Fate of the Boy Witch"

1. The Hero	Tee-yoh
2. The Helper	The Eagle-Chief
3. The Villain	Poo-wah-ka
4. The False Hero	Poo-wah-ka
5. The Donor	The Eagle-Chief
6. The Dispatcher	Poo-wah-ka (who maliciously sends the hero on a hunting mission only to keep Man-nah for himself)
7. The Prize	Man-nah

As in Propp's model, a total of twenty functions can be ascribed to the above-listed *dramatis personae*:

1. Absentation: Tee-yoh, the hero, leaves his grandmother's house to go hunting with Poo-wah-ka, whom he thought was his friend.
2. Interdiction: The Eagle-Chief instructs Tee-yoh not to tell Poo-wah-ka about what happened to him after he was left wandering the fields as a coyote.[21]
3. Violation: In fact, the hero does not violate the Eagle-Chief's order, as he did exactly as told.[22]
4. Reconnaissance: Poo-wah-ka talks to Man-nah, trying to find out if she likes him or not.[23]

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[21] Usually, an interdiction follows an absentation, but, as Propp posited, "interdictions can also be made without being connected with an absentation" (1968: 26). Moreover, the intervention of the eagles occurs in the middle of the tale, and an interdiction usually comes at the beginning of a tale. Propp explains: "in comparing a large number of tales, it becomes apparent, however, that the elements peculiar to the middle of the tale are sometimes *transferred to the beginning*, and this is the case here" (36).

[22] But one can argue that this point, violation, is not fulfilled because of lack of details. The text is rather short and leaves many scenes either sketchy or implicit. For example, Tee-yoh's grandmother may have advised her grandson not to go far away or do anything dangerous. As we learn later on, the grandmother was in distress and in grief after Tee-yoh went missing.

[23] Again, Poo-wah-ka's question here is implied. But it is safe to say that the reason behind approaching Man-nah and trying to talk to her is to find out whether she likes him or not. Reconnaissance usually takes the form of the "villain trying to get some information about his victim". Man-nah is not his victim, at least not a direct victim; Tee-yoh is. However, according to Propp, "in separate instances, one encounters forms of reconnaissance by means of

5. Delivery: Poo-wah-ka, the villain, receives the answer to his implicit question. Man-nah does not like him.
6. Trickery: Poo-wah-ka tricks Tee-yoh into going with him to hunt rabbits and changes him into a coyote, before leaving him wandering the fields as such (by means of "persuasion" and "direct application of magic").[24]
7. Complicity: Tee-yoh, the victim, falls in Poo-wah-ka's trap and, first, catches a pile of rabbits for him to take to the village and, second, remains in the form of a coyote, since only the boy witch can change him back to his human form.
8. Villainy: Poo-wah-ka, by changing Tee-yoh into a coyote and leaving him in a survival battle, causes harm to, directly, his grandmother, who is saddened by his disappearance and, indirectly, to Man-nah.[25]
9. Lack: Tee-yoh lacks rabbits to take with him home and sets out on a hunting trip with Poo-wah-ka.[26]
10. Mediation: Tee-yoh, as the *victimized hero*, is tricked by Poo-wah-ka (mainly by a false "promise"), gets banished by the dogs of the village, and wanders the fields without companionship. Tee-yoh, as a *seeker-hero*, is dispatched by the Eagle-Chief, who orders him to go back to the village and make Poo-wah-ka eat the laced deer meat.[27]

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other personages" (28). Moreover, as Poo-wah-ka realizes that he is not Man-nah's favorite, he learns that Tee-yoh is, which is a piece of information about his direct victim.

[24] Poo-wah-ka's cunning nature deceives Tee-yoh to have Man-nah, Tee-yoh's "possession", for himself.

[25] Indirectly, or implicitly, because the tale contains no explicit description of Man-nah's state, following Tee-yoh's disappearance.

[26] Here, we can talk of many instances of lacking, which sometimes can be implicit. Tee-yoh lacks a bride, Tee-yoh lacks means of subsistence, Tee-yoh lacks food and shelter before the eagles' intervention, and so on and so forth.

[27] Here, Propp notes that a hero of a tale can either be a victimized hero or a seeker-hero. In the latter, the narrative follows the hero as s/he is pursuing a mission (usually to rescue a kidnapped someone). In the former, the narrative follows the victim, as s/he goes through an ordeal, leaving the perspective of those left behind untold (36-37). But, in our tale, Tee-yoh is both a victimized hero and a seeker-hero. First, he was victimized by Poo-wah-ka and led away from his village, and, then, he came back to the village, with the help of the eagles, to seek revenge on Poo-wah-ka and win Man-nah back.

11. Beginning Counteraction: Tee-yoh, as a seeker-hero, agrees to go back to the village and takes with him the laced deer meat to get back at Poo-wah-ka.
12. Departure: The eagles and the Eagle-Chief (magical helpers/donors) are introduced to help Tee-yoh, first, as a victimized-hero and, later on, as a seeker-hero.[28]
13. The First Function of the Donor (Testing): The Eagle-Chief orders Tee-yoh not to say a word to Poo-wah-ka about what became of him, and to feed him the laced meat.[29]
14. The Hero's Reaction: Tee-yoh performs the Eagle-Chief's order and feeds Poo-wah-ka the laced meat.
15. Provision or Receipt of a Magical Agent (Acquisition): Tee-yoh receives the help of the eagle, who takes him up to the heavens, where he is fed, bathed, and transformed back to his human form. Then, having agreed to his terms, the Eagle-Chief provides Tee-yoh with deer meat and magical herb-medicine, which would later turn Poo-wah-ka into a coyote.
16. Spatial Transference between Two Kingdoms (Guidance): Mannah, the object of search, is located in a different kingdom (earth) than the one to which Tee-yoh was taken (the heavens). First, Tee-yoh was flown to the heavens by the eagle and, then, he was taken back to earth with deer meat and herb-medicine, specifically to the edge of the Native village.
17. Struggle: Tee-yoh outsmarts Poo-wah-ka and feeds him the laced deer meat. Poo-wah-ka changes into a coyote soon afterwards.[30]

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[28] Tee-yoh, as a victimized hero, is helped by the eagle on land before taking him up to the heavens, where the eagles live (here, we have a victimized hero who was forced to leave his home). Tee-yoh, as a seeker hero, is helped, primarily, by the Eagle-Chief to regain his strength who provides him with deer meat and magical herb-medicine that would change Poo-wah-ka into a coyote (here, we have a seeker-hero who was ordered to depart the heavens and go back to his home on earth).

[29] This conforms to point 7 (other requests) in Propp's various means of testing (41).

[30] Struggle usually marks a direct combat involving the hero and the villain. But, in our tale, a direct, physical combat is substituted with mind games and trickery (the hero, with the help of the eagles, outsmarts Poo-wah-ka and makes him eat the laced meat).

18. Branding: "The Fate of the Boy Witch" tale does not describe any explicit "branding" applied to the hero.[31]
19. Victory: Poo-wah-ka is defeated. He becomes a coyote after eating the laced meat and gets chased away by the village's dogs.
20. Lack is Liquidated (Resolution): Tee-yoh defeats Poo-wah-ka and marries Man-nah.[32]

The tale ends here, but, in Propp's model, a tale can sometimes go on to include additional 11 functions (31 functions in total). As has been demonstrated, Propp's model is flexible when it comes to the details of a tale. The functions enumerated above do not have to be identified to the letter to be regarded as conforming to Propp's model. Sometimes, a function can be absent (mainly, due to the *incompleteness datum*; i.e., gaps in the narrative), or it can merge with another function. Nonetheless, the general pattern of tales is, by and large, the same, as has been explored in "The Fate of the Boy Witch". The second stage of applying the archetypal narrative to our tale shall be accomplished by incorporating Jung's archetypal criticism into the Proppian analysis of its structure.

4.2. The Jung side

As has been stated earlier, archetypes are formless, and hence cannot be perceived in their pure state. Jung argues that before any archetype is made manifest, it needs to be *projected*. "Projection" is defined by Jung as an "unconscious, automatic process whereby a content that is unconscious to the subject transfers itself to an object, so that it seems to belong to that object" (Jung 1969a: par. 121). Therefore, in order to "perceive" the archetypes inherent in our unconscious, we need to project them onto texts of literature, religion, etc. In other words, they need

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[31] Perhaps, one can make the case for another implied detail, namely that Tee-yoh, during his skinning with the hook, sustains an injury, which would later tun into a mark.

[32] Here, we may refer to Propp's variant "the object of a quest is obtained as the direct result of preceding actions" (54).

to be *symbolized*, hence the distinction between pure archetypes and archetypal images. Propp's *dramatis personae* and recurring narratemes, I believe, can be reduced to Jung's archetypal motifs and archetypal patterns. As has been analyzed in terms of Propp's thesis, "The Fate of the Boy Witch" tale will serve as a projection of Jung's archetypes. First, I will lay out a Jungian interpretation of our tale's *dramatis personae, vis-à-vis* their archetypal *motifs*, then I will attempt to reduce the Proppian patterns discerned in the tale to Jung's archetypal patterns.[33]

4.2.1. Jung's archetypal motifs
in "The Fate of the Boy Witch"

A – The Child
The hero, Tee-yoh, represents the Child archetype. The Child archetype, Jung writes, "represents the strongest, the most ineluctable urge in every being, namely the urge to realize itself" (1969a: par. 289). Throughout the story, Tee-yoh appears to have a strong urge to realize himself, which he eventually achieves with the help of the Eagle-Chief. After being turned into a coyote by Poo-wah-ka, Tee-yoh undergoes a transformation to redeem his identity. Furthermore, Tee-yoh personifies another crucial component in the Child archetype. As Jung argues, "the 'child' is on the one hand delivered helpless into the power of terrible enemies and in continual danger of extinction, while on the other he possesses powers far exceeding those of ordinary humanity" (ibid). Tee-yoh can be said to incarnate the same paradox. The story starts with him being helplessly deceived and cast out to wander the fields as a coyote, and ends with him reclaiming his identity and winning back Man-nah, receiving supernatural help along the way.

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[33] I will focus primarily on the three archetypal stages established in Joseph Campbell's (2004) book, for, I believe, it constitutes an insightful presentation of Jung's archetypal patterns across different mythologies.

B – The Kore

Two archetypes can be attributed to Man-nah: The Kore (Maiden) and the Mother. Jung (1969a) posits that the archetypes of the Maiden and the Mother are usually both present when the character in question is female (par. 310-11). Man-nah is a maiden. She personifies the Kore's characteristics, innocence and love being among the most important (her innocence that puts her in Poo-wah-ka's mercy following Tee-yoh's disappearance, and her love for Tee-yoh). The Kore archetype can also project negative traits. For instance, it is safe to say that Man-nah's naiveté brought her to Poo-wah-ka's arms.[34] A Maiden can become a Mother at a certain point in the story, after which her characteristics become centered around caregiving and birth, as we shall see shortly. In our tale, such a transformation is not depicted, but we can assume from Man-nah's union with Tee-yoh that her transformation to Mother is a matter of time.

C – The Trickster

The villain, Poo-wah-ka, represents the Trickster archetype. The main characteristics of the Trickster lie in "his fondness for sly jokes and malicious pranks, his powers as a shape-shifter, his dual nature, half animal, half divine, his exposure to all kinds of tortures, and—last but not least—his approximation to the figure of a saviour" (Jung 1969a: par. 456). Poo-wah-ka is the perfect personification of this archetype. He deceives Tee-yoh and turns him into a coyote, so that he can keep Man-nah. His seemingly double nature, that of an ordinary boy and that of a witch, depicts him as half human and half witch. The tale does not describe what happens between Man-nah and Poo-wah-ka after his return from the hunting trip, but we can assume that he returns victorious, establishing himself as Man-nah's savior.

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[34] Of course, the tale does not say whether Man-nah goes with Poo-wah-ka after Tee-yoh's banishment or not.

D – The Wise Old Man

The Eagle-Chief represents the Wise Old Man archetype. Contrary to what the label denotes, the Wise Old Man archetype is not necessarily about an old man. It does not even have to be about a man or a human being. "The wise old man appears in dreams in the guise of a magician, doctor, priest, teacher, professor, grandfather, or any other person possessing authority. The archetype of spirit in the shape of a man, hobgoblin, or animal always appears in a situation where insight, understanding, good advice, determination, planning, etc., are needed but cannot be mustered on one's own resources" (Jung 1969a: par. 398). The Eagle-Chief provided Tee-yoh with help when he needed it most. By his orders, Tee-yoh was taken to the heavens, where he was nurtured back to life and transformed into his human form. The Wise Old Man is a moral force. "He gives the necessary magical talisman" (ibid: par. 404) so that the hero can achieve a noble end. The Eagle-Chief equipped Tee-yoh with magical herb-medicine and deer meat on his journey back home to face Poo-wah-ka. The meat is to be laced with the medicine and fed to Poo-wah-ka.

E – The Mother

Tee-yoh's grandmother represents the Mother archetype. Although colored as a secondary character in the tale, Tee-yoh's grandmother personifies the characteristics of the Mother archetype in Jung. "The qualities associated with it are maternal solicitude and sympathy; the magic authority of the female; the wisdom and spiritual exaltation that transcend reason; any helpful instinct or impulse; all that is benign, all that cherishes and sustains, that fosters growth and fertility. The place of magic transformation and rebirth, together with the underworld and its inhabitants, are presided over by the mother" (1969a: par. 158). Tee-yoh's grandmother holds him dear to her heart. She was so sad when he disappeared that she fell ill. It was only after Tee-yoh came back, alive and well, that she started to regain her strength. Tee-yoh's grandmother took care of him, with

his parents being absent. Not only did she give birth to him indirectly (i.e., through giving birth to one of his parents, who would later bring him to life), the grandmother also fostered Tee-yoh as her own son, giving rise to "rebirth" and "fertility". In addition to the grandmother, Man-nah can also be associated with the Mother archetype. As I have stated two paragraphs back, Man-nah personifies love, care-giving, and fertility. To her dismay, her maternal qualities fuel Poo-wah-ka's evil actions. But, to her credit, her maternal qualities bring about a happy ending, where her union with Tee-yoh symbolizes justice and the prevalence of good over evil.

Table 3
"The Fate of the Boy Witch" characters
and their Proppian–Jungian classification

	Propp's Dramatis Personae	Jung's Archetypes
Tee-yoh	The Hero	The Child
The Eagle-Chief	The Helper	The Wise Old Man
Poo-wah-ka	The Villain / False Hero/ Dispatcher	The Trickster
Man-nah	The Prize	The Kore
The grandmother	—[35]	The Mother

4.2.2. The three archetypal stages in "The Fate of the Boy Witch"

As has been stated previously, the thirty-one character functions discussed by Propp are not present in all the tales he studied. "The Fate of the Boy Witch" tale is no different. Although the seven Proppian dramatis personae are identifiable in the tale, only 19 (if we omit the undisclosed "Branding") out of 31 character functions are identified. Joseph Campbell (2004) has reached the same conclusion, but with respect to archetypal patterns. He has argued that, despite the fact that they differ in

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[35] None of Propp's dramatis personae can be applied to the grandmother.

their internal patterns, all mythological narratives take a "hero's journey" as their archetypal pattern. This is the "monomyth". Following Jung, Campbell has highlighted three main stages in the narrative that any hero must undergo before reaching the resolution of the complex: a- separation (departure), b- initiation, and c- return (2004: 28). These stages can in turn be further broken down into sub-stages, which are not necessarily uniform across different mythologies. Accordingly, I shall attempt to reduce the Proppian narratemes discerned in "The Fate of the Boy Witch" to these three archetypal stages.

A – Departure

- Call to adventure: This sub-stage "signifies that destiny has summoned the hero and transferred his spiritual center of gravity from within the pale of his society to a zone unknown" (Campbell 2004: 53). Tee-yoh's call to adventure can be traced to as early as his first encounter with Man-nah. The moment Tee-yoh and Man-nah met and fell in love with each other, it was anticipatable that Poo-wah-ka, who was also in love with Man-nah, would seek to destroy Tee-yoh to win Man-nah. Poo-wah-ka's jealousy is the primal cause leading to Tee-yoh's adventure. Following his hunting trip with Poo-wah-ka, Tee-yoh "transferred his spiritual center". His transformation to a coyote marked his first transformation to "a zone unknown". He no longer was himself. His new identity was alien to him. He could not embrace his new identity, which meant that his chances of survival were slim. Indeed, if it was not for the eagles' intervention, Tee-yoh would have been dead. His journey to the eagles' place set the second phase of his call to adventure. The world of the eagles was different from his world. It was another unknown zone. However, the eagles and, in particular, the Eagle-Chief helped Tee-yoh restore his true self. The Eagle-Chief's compassionate actions paved the way for Tee-yoh's return to his society.
- Refusal of the call: "Often in actual life, and not infrequently in the myths and popular tales, we encounter the dull case of the call unanswered; for it is always possible to turn the ear to other interests" (54). In our tale, Tee-yoh answered the call to adventure. In fact, he had no choice but to go on the adventure

to redeem his self. Therefore, this sub-stage is absent in the tale.

– Supernatural aid: "For those who have not refused the call, the first encounter of the hero-journey is with a protective figure (often a little old crone or old man) who provides the adventurer with amulets against the dragon forces he is about to pass" (63). When Tee-yoh was about to die, the eagles from the heavens appeared and took him to their leader. There, he was treated and transformed back to his boy figure. Not only that, the Eagle-Chief provided Tee-yoh with magical medicine to put in the deer meat that he was instructed to feed to Poo-wah-ka once he gets back home.

– The crossing of the first threshold: "With the personifications of his destiny to guide and aid him, the hero goes forward in his adventure until he comes to the 'threshold guardian' at the entrance to the zone of magnified power. Such custodians bound the world in the four directions — also up and down standing for the limits *c* the hero's present sphere, or life horizon" (71). Tee-yoh's official embarking on his adventure is marked by his departure from his village. The eagles guard the heavens and keep a watchful eye on earth. They assist Tee-yoh on earth before taking him to their world, marking his crossing of the threshold that separates earth and the heavens. It is in the latter where he meets the Eagle-Chief, the agent that provides him with supernatural aid.[36]

– The belly of the whale: "The idea that the passage of the magical threshold is a transit into a sphere of rebirth is symbolized in the worldwide womb image of the belly of the whale. The hero, instead of conquering or conciliating the power of the threshold, is swallowed into the unknown, and would appear to have died" (83). This sub-stage is skipped in our tale. Tee-yoh, after crossing the threshold, witnesses his rebirth and conciliates the power of the threshold.[37]

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[36] However, the crossing of the threshold is often characterized by an element of danger and action. In our tale, the eagles' sphere is rather a welcoming world and does not expose Tee-yoh to any dangerous situations.

[37] Perhaps, we can consider Tee-yoh's transformation into a coyote as "crossing the threshold" (departing from the human world and entering the animal world). In which case, "the belly of the whale" would be applicable to the tale, as he almost died trying to conciliate the power of the threshold.

B – Initiation

– The road of trials: "Once having traversed the threshold, the hero moves in a dream landscape of curiously fluid, ambiguous forms, where he must survive a succession of trials" (89). In our tale, Tee-yoh does not undergo any trials following his crossing the threshold.[38]

– The meeting with the Goddess: "The ultimate adventure, when all the barriers and ogres have been overcome, is commonly represented as a mystical marriage of the triumphant hero-soul with the Queen Goddess of the World" (100). In our tale, Goddesses are absent. Campbell also describes other forms that the Goddess can take (sister, mistress, bride, mother, etc.). If we understand the Goddess as the Mother figure, we can speak of Tee-yoh's reunion with his grandmother, who represents the Mother archetype. Tee-yoh's union with Man-nah as the Kore archetype is also applicable.

– Woman as the temptress: Often depicted in the form of a woman, temptation is one of the sub-stages that a hero meets and must overcome. "The seeker of the life beyond life must press beyond her, surpass the temptations of her call, and soar to the immaculate ether beyond" (112). Tee-yoh does not face any temptations in the form of a woman.

– Atonement with the father: Unlike the Mother figure, the Father figure is to be feared. Going along Freudian lines, Campbell devises the Oedipus complex to describe the Father figure, who must be dealt with, before the hero can reach his end. "It is in this ordeal that the hero may derive hope and assurance from the helpful female figure, by whose magic (pollen charms or power of intercession) he is protected through all the frightening experiences of the father's ego shattering initiation" (120). In our tale, the Father figure is not an obstacle in Tee-yoh's quest.

– Apotheosis: This sub-stage is the hero's gateway to divinity. After undergoing all the aforementioned sub-stages, the hero reaches "apotheosis". "Like the Buddha himself, this godlike being is a pattern of the divine state to which the human hero

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[38] But, again, if we consider his becoming a coyote as the threshold crossing, then overcoming his ordeal on earth and restoring his boy figure would be the trials that he underwent.

attains who has gone beyond the last terrors of ignorance" (139). Through herohood, Tee-yoh becomes fearless. We understand a sense of Tee-yoh's growth when he meets Poo-wah-ka and invites him to the deer feast. We also get a glimpse of Tee-yoh's divine status when he reunites with his ill grandmother. She grows healthy the moment she sees him. In short, the newly born Tee-yoh is not the same Tee-yoh who was forced to leave the village.

– The Ultimate Boon: Here, the hero accomplishes his quest before heading back home (179). In our tale, Tee-yoh accomplishes his quest after he heads back home, where Poo-wah-ka was defeated.[39]

C – Return

– Refusal of the return: Following the hero's realization of his quest, a return to his ordinary world is the next step. "But the responsibility has been frequently refused" (179). In our tale, Tee-yoh returns to his village to defeat Poo-wah-ka.

– The magic flight: "If the hero in his triumph wins the blessing of the goddess or the god and is then explicitly commissioned to return to the world with some elixir for the restoration of society, the final stage of his adventure is supported by all the powers of his supernatural patron" (182). Tee-yoh flies back home, equipped with deer meat and magical medicine.

– Rescue from without: "The hero may have to be brought back from his supernatural adventure by assistance from without" (192). Tee-yoh is assisted by an eagle, who takes him back to his village, specifically to the edge of the Indian village.

– The crossing of the return threshold: The hero's return home is not so simple. Having gone through an extraordinary adventure, the hero struggles to keep his ordinary world and the supernatural world in balance. "That is the hero's ultimate difficult task" (202). We get a sense of Tee-yoh's bafflement toward the two worlds when he was in the heavens. Eagles hanging their feathers as coats and the dried herb to skin his coyote

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[39] But if we regard Tee-yoh's restoration of his boy figure as the main quest to be accomplished, then the ultimate boon has been acquired before his return.

form off are two instances of what struck Tee-yoh as odd, compared to his ordinary world.[40]

– Master of the two worlds: The freedom to move from one world to another is the talent of the master (212-13). Tee-yoh survived Poo-wah-ka's evil trick on earth, and grew stronger in the heavens. He is the master of the two worlds, and we can assert that he is free to move from one world to another.

– Freedom to live: "What, now, is the result of the miraculous passage and return? The battlefield is symbolic of the field of life where every creature lives on the death of another" (221). Tee-yoh' freedom to live is bound by the death of Poo-wah-ka. All his quests come to this point where he must defeat the enemy to live peacefully with Man-nah.

To sum up, we can interpret the discernible pattern underlying the structure of "The Fate of the Boy Witch" as having its foundation in Native American mythology, which in turn can be processed as a projection of the collective unconscious.

Table 4

Propp's narratemes and the three archetypal stages

Narratemes	Archetypal stages
Absentation / Interdiction / Violation / Reconnaissance / Delivery / Trickery / Complicity / Villainy / Lack / Mediation / Beginning Counteraction / Departure	Departure
Testing / Reaction / Acquisition / Guidance / Struggle / Branding / Victory / Resolution	Initiation
Return / Pursuit / Rescue / Arrival / Claim / Task / Solution / Recognition / Exposure / Transfiguration / Punishment / Wedding	Return

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[40] We can assert that, upon his return, this sense of bafflement remains with him.

The reason that Propp's *dramatis personae* and their functions, which were established on the basis of Russian folktales, can be detected in a Native American folktale hints toward a shared mythology, springing out of a collective unconscious. Therefore, employing the archetypal narrative theory allows us to account for a universal Proppian pattern of tales as originating in a Jungian collective unconscious.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted to find a middle ground between the formalist critic, Vladimir Propp, and the psychoanalytic critic, Carl Jung. In analyzing the ideas of the two figures, I have traced a strong correlation between them, which has been exploited to advance a theory of an archetypal narrative. In so doing, the two schools of literary criticism, Russian formalism and psychoanalysis, come together and cooperate under the same motto, the "scientization" of literary criticism.

All told, Propp's morphology and Jung's archetypal psychoanalysis have been reconciled to bring about an archetypal narrative theory, in which the underlying structure of narratives lies in the collective unconscious of humanity. I have laid out two possibilities of understanding the thesis for which I argue. 1. The *Propp-Jung narrative*: here, Propp's recurring narratemes thesis has been analyzed in terms of its implications for Jung's theory of the collective unconscious. To be more explicit, Propp's findings support Jung's theory, as they indicate that there is a discernible pattern underlying the structure of narratives. This pattern, as Jung would posit, lies in mythology, which in turn is a projection of the collective unconscious. 2. The *Jung-Propp archetype*: of the two possibilities, this is perhaps the clearer one. Propp's recurring narratemes, I have argued, stem from humanity's archive, which explains why we make use of the same narratives. Deep down, on an unconscious level, our ancestral past is behind the creative acts of poets and novelists. The collective unconscious applies to readers as well, for they

participate in it. In which case, the reader of a literary work is also characterized by the universality of the unconscious. A reader, as has been explored in my criticism of the tale of "The Fate of the Boy Witch", only needs to read literature profoundly to decipher a recurring pattern. They can, with the assistance of mythology which runs deep in our unconscious, fathom the imagery implied. In short, the archetypal narrative is the result of a Proppian–Jungian analysis of tale narratives. Both the recurring narratemes theory and the collective unconscious theory add to the legitimacy of their counterpart. Taken together as one theory, they produce an archetypal narrative theory, in which Propp's narratives form a Jungian archetype.

Acknowledgements

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CULTURAL STUDIES

"Contiguity" as a process of semiotic lenition in Polish socialist realism art (1949–1953)

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Abstract

This paper investigates one aspect of the socialist enterprise that was imposed on Eastern Europe starting from 1945: the reflection of Marx's communist ideology in the art of the period. Socrealism was but a brief episode on the Polish artistic scene, spanning only several years of the apogee of Stalinism (1949–1953). The *raison d'être* of this type of creative output can be circumscribed by two main tenets: (i) utter repudiation of formalism in art and stressing the need of constant vigilance for any traces thereof, and (ii) a conviction of the absolute ideological utilitarianism of art. Our project aims to semiotically inquire into the repercussions of refuting formalism in art and to disambiguate the semiotic mechanisms behind ideologically loaded artistic expression of the period, focusing on the dynamic aspect of semiosis. This will be done using the paradigm of the Tartu-Moscow school of semiotics and tropology in art (Chrzanowska-Kluczewska e.g. 2014). In particular, we will concentrate on the Tartu concepts of entropy, vacuous interlocutor, semiotic transparency and the metaphor-versus-metonymy dyad. The emerging category is contiguity: in Peircean as well as in cognitive terms. The study is informed by materials from the collections of Muzeum Śląska Opolskiego (Museum of Opole Silesia), in particular those presented in the exhibition *Sztuka musi być zrozumiała dla mas* [Art must be comprehensible for the masses] (Opole, Poland 2012, curator: Joanna Filipczyk) in particular paintings and texts, and by material excerpted from selected issues of the art

journal of the period, *Przegląd Artystyczny* [Art Review] from the years
1949–1953. The study shows that the processes underlying this type
of output can be classified as semiotic reduction relying on contiguity.

Key words

Communist discourse, contiguity, visual textuality, socrealism, meta-
phor-metonymy

Kategoria „przyległości" jako proces semiotycznego osłabienia na przykładzie polskiej sztuki socrealistycznej (1949–1953)

Abstrakt

W artykule badamy jeden z aspektów socjalistycznego przedsięwzięcia
narzuconego Europie Wschodniej od 1945 roku a mianowicie odbicie
komunistycznej ideologii marksistowskiej w sztuce tego okresu. Rea-
lizm socjalistyczny (tzw. 'socrealizm') był tylko krótkim epizodem na
polskiej scenie artystycznej, obejmując zaledwie kilka lat apogeum sta-
linizmu (1949–1953). *Raison d'être* tego typu twórczości sprowadzało
się do dwóch głównych zasad: (i) całkowitego odrzucenia formalizmu
w sztuce i podkreślania konieczności nieustannego wypatrywania jego
śladów; oraz (ii) przekonania o bezwzględnym ideologicznym utylitary-
zmie sztuki. Nasz projekt ma na celu zbadanie pod kątem semiotycz-
nym rezultatów programu odrzucenia formalizmu w sztuce oraz ujed-
noznacznienia mechanizmów semiotycznych stojących za naładowaną
ideologicznie ekspresją artystyczną tego okresu, skupiając się na dy-
namicznym aspekcie semiozy. W analizie wykorzystamy paradygmat
tartusko-moskiewskiej szkoły semiotyki jak również teorię tropologii
w sztuce (Chrzanowska-Kluczewska np. 2014). W szczególności sku-
pimy się na tartuskich koncepcjach entropii, tajemniczego rozmówcy
(ang. *vacuous interlocutor*), semiotycznej przezroczystości oraz diadzie
metafora /metonimia. Wyłaniającą się kategorią jest przyległość: za-
równo w ujęciu Peirce'a, jak i poznawczym. W badaniach wykorzystano
materiały ze zbiorów Muzeum Śląska Opolskiego, w szczególności pre-
zentowane na wystawie Sztuka musi być zrozumiała dla mas (Opole,
2012, kurator: Joanna Filipczyk) w szczególności obrazy i teksty, oraz
materiał wyekscerpowany z wybranych numerów ówczesnego perio-
dyku artystycznego *Przegląd Artystyczny* z lat 1949–1953. Badanie

pokazuje, że procesy leżące u podstaw tego typu produkcji można sklasyfikować jako redukcję semiotyczną polegającą na przyległości.

Słowa kluczowe

dyskurs komunistyczny, przyległość, tekstowość wizualna, socrealizm, metafora-metonimia

1. Prolegomena

> *When you arrive at a fork in the road,*
> *take it.*

The movement of socialist realism appeared in the USSR as an ideational and propaganda tool of the communist regime, officially proclaimed in 1934 during the Rally of Soviet Writers in Moscow.[1] Soon the style, which took on the name 'socialist realism' (the clipped form in Polish: *socrealizm*), became the only official method of creative activity in the USSR, encompassing all realms of artistic expression. After the end of the Second World War it 'naturally' spread into all the brotherly nations of the Socialist camp (China included).[2]

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[1] Some aspects of the issues presented in this paper were presented during international conferences as: 'La trahison des images in Polish socrealist art (1949–1953)' [14th April Conference New Perspectives in English and American Studies. Krakow 20-22 April 2017]; 'Semiotyczne procesy lenicyjne w polskim realizmie socjalistycznym (1949-1953)' [Terium conference XX; Język trzeciego tysiąclecia. Kraków 21-23.03 2018]' 'Ekphrastic linkages in Polish Socrealist art' [21–22.06. 2021 Łomża, International Ecolinguistic Conference 2021. Beyond the critical discourse and the crisis discourse towards the expanded science of life processes. 'Contiguity as lenition in Polish socrerealist art' [Powsin 08.09–11.09. 2021. Eco-comunicology and worldwide crisis: Exploring Lived Experiences of Multitextual Narratives and Multivoiced Judgements in an Age of Globalization].

[2] The notions 'socialism' and 'communism' appeared centuries before they were fostered by Karl Marx, Friederich Engels and their subsequent followers, already then lacking specified and unanimous semantic content. For the in-depth disambiguation of the differences between the two concepts, as well as their historiography, see e.g. Ładosz 1985. Crucially, as the author points out, even within the Marxist thought, "we are dealing with systematic,

'Socrealism' in post-war Poland covers but a few years of the apogee of Stalinism (approximately 1949–1953) at the time, when guided by Marxist ideology, the tenet of a socialist state began to be implemented. In Poland, the introduction of social realism as the only licit method of artistic expression went into effect starting from 1949, the official sealing taking place in September 1949 during the 4th Meeting of Fine Artists in Katowice. The tenets were inoculated mainly through meetings of apparatchiks with particular artistic milieus and through punditry in art journals. Manifestations of 'new art' were channelled through a variety of nation-wide exhibitions, the trailblazer being *Ogólnopolskie Wystawy Plastyki* 'Polish nationwide fine arts exhibitions'. There were four of them in total. Most of the works accepted and exhibited during these events were subsequently purchased by the state: the sole benefactor of artworks of the time. The purchased artefacts were then stocked in the central warehouses of the ministry of Art and Culture, from where they were dispatched in batches according to decoration needs. A large share of stock was also given to particular museums.[3]

intended, not accidental ambiguity of the terms 'socialism' and 'communism'" (Ładosz 1985: 11) . In this paper the terms 'socialism' and 'communism' are applied as elaborated in the canon of Marxist-Leninist ideology and as extracted from the database quotations (see also database for the papers by Haładewicz-Grzelak 2010, 2012). Socialism is thus taken as a form of polity for the future, and at the same time, the imagined reflection of that societal structure as well as the movement that is to implement socialism on the road to communism (cf. also Ładosz 1985: 13). It should be mentioned here that one of the 23 amendments of the constitution from 1956 (The law of 10 February 1976) as amended http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/ WDU19760050029/O/D19760029.pdf added the denomination 'socialist 'into the official name of the People's Republic of Poland (Article 1: 'The People's Republic of Poland is a socialist state"). We realized that in the western academia the eastern bloc tends to be referred to as 'communist countries ', however, in any aspect–ideological or pragmatic, there is a full justification to retain the name 'Socialist block'.

   [3] For a general introduction to the pragmatic background of Stalinism in Poland and bibliographical cues, consult e.g. Śliwińska (2006); Włodarczyk (1986); also Haładewicz-Grzelak (2010, 2012) for more references on propaganda in socialist Poland. All section introduction quotes by Lawrence (Yogi) Berra are taken from http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/y/ yogi_ berra.html. – the working unofficial title for this paper was also a transposition of Yogi's dictum: *Half the lies they tell about socrealism aren't true.* Citations

The philosophy of state orders was succinctly exposed by Włodzimierz Sokorski (one of the leading apologists of the 'new order') during the 5th Rally of Polish Fine Arts in 1952 (the Rally followed the second of the Polish nationwide exhibitions):

[1] Let us be frank. The People's State spent 2.1 million zlotys (turning a blind eye to the value), to purchase the paintings from this exhibition alone, and at least one painting was bought from each of the exhibitors. In 1952 the People's State allocated in total 4 million zlotys [for the purchase of artworks]. This was money earned through the toil of the working class. Given these conditions, shouldn't the nation, through their representatives in the form of [art] Union executives, the Committee of evaluations, the jury, as well as representatives of party and union officials, have the right to demand that this money, the hard-earned money of the working class, be spent on paintings that show the struggle of the working class and its labour? *PA*

Another leading activist of the movement and a socrealist painter, admonishing the priority of the first Nationwide exhibition, wrote in a similar vein:

[2] The national exhibition in 1950 will stand out as the first creative mobilization of Polish fine artists, it will be the first wide surge of our artists, embarking on a battle with the backward ideological heritage of the bourgeois' art, undertaking the struggle for restoring full civilian honour to artists, who were in the capitalist regime shoved into the margin of social life. *PA*

The criteria of evaluating submissions to the exhibitions were grounded as follows:

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marked as *PA* in the text were excerpted from selected issues of the nationwide journal *Przegląd Artystyczny* ['Art Review'] from the period 1949–53 (cf. the database description in this section further on). All translations in the paper are mine, M.H.-G. My own translations from non-English originals go in single quotation marks. All photos of the collections of the Museum of Opole Silesia (Muzeum Śląska Opolskiego, henceforth MŚO) reproduced by courtesy of permission, author of the photos: Joanna Filipczyk. Author of the remaining photos and of the graphs: Małgorzata Haładewicz-Grzelak.

[3] The evaluation committee had to exclude from participation works (...) attesting to the straightforward misapprehensions of the criteria of socrealism, as well those works in which the authors did not take the trouble to take into account the basic criteria of the exhibition. The framing criteria of the qualification committee accommodated: raising the current thematic issues, revealing new content to our life and undertaking a quest for new realistic means of representation. *PA*

The 1955 exhibition of young artists in Warsaw's Arsenal *Against War, against Fascism* is usually given as the definite end of Polish socrealism. After this interlude, the socrealist output disappeared from public view and was, with a sense of shame, shelved as 'muzealia'. Until then, however, the Polish artistic milieu had to adapt to ideological pressures.

Włodarczyk (1986) offers a concise and insightful presentation of the conflux of pragmatic and artistic factors that led to the formation of socrealism both in Poland and in the USSR, including such topics as the activity of Peredvizhniki (Передвижники) - a group of opposing Russian realist artists, active since 1870 and formally dissolved in 1923, whose traditions significantly influenced the formation of the principles of socialist realism, the activity of the organization "Proletkult" or the category of "national form" "in the 1920s. He points out that the tradition which the socrealist paintings related to, and which was understood as a set of accomplished deeds to take patterns from, stood in evident contradiction to the tradition understood as a properly hierarchized set of norms corresponding to that set. These norms were in socrealism dependent on ideological interpretations (Włodarczyk 1986: 16). The scholar also presents a detailed analysis of the artistic and academic milieu of the period, and inquiries into the nature of 'artistry' of this type of art – its poetics – from a perspective that is superior to the analysed period: the art of the 20th century. As the scholar points out, Polish socrealism, in contrast to the socrealism developing in the USSR, was in fact a multifaceted phenomenon

and it is impossible to trace any common formal denominator for the creative output of the time: there were in fact several various socrealisms depending on the particular group of artists. A very important fact is that a lot of artwork that originated as *socrealism*, and which was approved by the authorities, did not have much in common with 'canonical' socrealist stipulations. For example, the ideological 'rightness' of a painting could be achieved solely by means of a properly formulated title – a blatantly colourist work showing a woman and a girl reading was 'approved' when entitled *The country is reading* (Włodarczyk 1986: 77).

Socrealist painting availed itself of relatively free facture, consisting in thickly applied pigment with a medium-sized brush. As far as artistic space is concerned, Włodarczyk, following Boris Uspensky's work on artistic perspectives, mentions two types of artistic gimmicks being employed to construct it: one is a worm's-eye view, which served to 'monumentalize' protagonists, and another, a conscious deformation of linear perspective, which enhanced and unnaturally brought to the fore the painting of the protagonists of the depicted events.[4] The next feature was forgoing the compositional role of light, which was allotted only the descriptive role. The 'plot' of the majority of socrealist paintings takes place in diffused light, falling from the side of the spectator (Włodarczyk 1986: 17).

In this paper, we offer a semiotic foray into that facet of communism in Eastern Europe, which implied harnessing art to propagate ideology, through the guiding light of the concept of 'contiguity'. The present research is informed by materials and exhibits from the exhibition held at Muzeum Śląska Opolskiego 8.11-10.03.2012 *Sztuka musi być zrozumiała dla mas* [Art must be comprehensible for the masses], the author and custodian of which was Dr Joanna Filipczyk. The study also draws on artefacts from art collections of the Museum of Opolian Silesia

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[4] It could be observed at this point that we have not found in the inspected database of Polish socrealist painting support for the particular importance of the worm's eye perspective.

(Muzeum Śląska Opolskiego). The illustrative material provided is aimed to show the variety of approaches the artists took to official guidelines.[5] on discourse excerpted from selected issues of the nation-wide journal *Przegląd Artystyczny* ['Art Review'] from the period 1949–53 (citations marked as *PA* in the text).[6] The journal was the leading platform relating to art and art history of the period, featuring texts on required artistic formation, ideological pamphlets, letters from and to artists of the Soviet Union and presentations of realist painting, both in retrospective and contemporary, as well as the retrospective presentation of realist art from Poland and other countries of the socialist block. Hence, reading the excerpts provided as illustrative material, it must be constantly borne in mind that they were taken from the trailblazing art journal.

Juxtaposing the analysis of the verbal with the visual texts points to the parallels of the construction of the world through propaganda discourse in the press of the period following assertions by Marcello Danesi on conceptual cohesion: "metaphorized concepts are detectable not only in language, but also in gesture, art, science, and in the other representational codes that make up the 'signifying order' of a culture" (Danesi 2001: 134). In this sense, the language of the 'art propaganda' is a structural parallel of the 'mere' propaganda of the period. However, there is also an extra semiotic dimension of the texts related to art, featuring something additional, which was absent in 'ordinary' propaganda discourse: manipulation of the signing

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[5] The nature of the data gathered for this analysis does not give insights into Polish artists' point of view and attitudes to socrealism. Informal interviews we conducted, however, seem to point out that most of them viewed socrealism as a transitory illness to be quietly allowed to pass. The current study focusses only on the semiotic implications of the first-hand data gathered.

[6] Edited by Helena Krajewska, a socrealist painter herself, and deeply involved in communist ideology already before the World War II. For this analysis, we inspected all issues from the period 1949–1953, however, the database was compiled from the following sample: No 4-9 (1950), No 4-6 (1951), No 4 (1951), 1953 – all issues. In the body of the text, we provide as an illustrative sample some excerpts from that database. Particular points [1-4] are a compilation of thematic threads, usually from several issues.

structure. The subsequent analysis will attempt to disambiguate some dimensions of this procedure.[7]

To apprehend semiotic mechanisms hidden in the seemingly paradoxical and pleonastic phrases excerpted from the database, we have to take into account the fact that they were in fact carefully pre-planned ideological credos. Although a discussion on Marxist philosophy and its impact on humanity with the application in Eastern Europe is beyond the thematic scope of this paper,[8] we might mention in passing that the greatest

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[7] In that, it is a continuation on the project on Stalinist propaganda reported in Haładewicz-Grzelak (2010 and 2012). It might be pointed out that the conclusions arrived at in those previous semiotic studies on Stalinist propaganda were confirmed *de dextre à sénestre* by the present database. All the aspects of the embellishment discourse, dichotomization of endemic microcosm, vilification of the opponent, power percolation, destruction of the phenomenological space and local community identified there also appear with regard to pamphlets on socrealist art (e.g. *American imperialists, Wall street-speculants* who perpetrated *a bandit aggression on Korea*, *war instigations* who must *be harnessed by millions of peace-loving folk*), *dark forces, hysterical shriek of bloody barbarians*, etc. These expressions, reflecting a particular mythopoeic discourse will not be discussed further. It should be emphasized though that communist discourse has always relied on what might be dubbed 'discursive gagging', that is, pre-assuming the epistemic stance where anyone in disagreement with the imposed ideology is straightforwardly called *fascist, kułak, imperialist, war instigator or enemy to peace and equality* (cf. Haładewicz-Grzelak 2012).

[8] See e.g. Solzhenitsyn ([1973] 1974) on political imprisonment during Stalinism. Marcuse (1963) provides an in-depth analysis of subsequent stages and particular varieties of Marxism (as proposed by F. Engels), W. Lenin and Stalin. In the subsequent parts selected quotes from that book will be provided as a support for analytical insights. For example, according to Marcuse, the culminate notion of that ideology is the objective historical coincidence between revolutionary action of the industrial proletariat and the progress of the civilization. As a transitory notion itself, "le révolution prolétarienne abolit, avec la liquidation de toutes les classes, le prolétariat en tant que classe et crée par là un nouvel agent de progrès –la communauté d'hommes libres qui organisent leur société en accord avec les possibilités d'une existence humaine pour tous les membres" (Marcuse 1963: 14). After a temporary possible regress, due to the lack of maturity, "la pression révolutionnaire renaîtrait, et le conscience de classes du prolétariat organisé connaîtrait une vigor accrue. Mais, la situation change de tout a tout si, avec ou sans révolution vaincue, l'évolution du capitalisme dans sa maturité fait apparaître dans les nations industrielles avancées une tendance à long terme à la collaboration de classes plutôt que à la lutte de classes, aux divisions nationales et internationales plutôt que' à la solidarité prolétarienne" (Marcuse 1963: 14ff).

danger that Marxism carries, according to Karl Popper, consists in its seemingly scientific historic prediction. Marxism predicted that the era of communism would inevitably come. Logical conclusions ensued: the predestined victory of the social revolution of workers will give rise to a social world where only one class will exist: the class of workers within the New World Order. The correctness of this conclusion, as Popper emphasises, was believed by countless intellectuals: biologists, physicists etc. The conviction was that if the reasoning is correct, then we have an irrefutable duty to do our utmost to promote the coming of socialism so that its inception could occur as peacefully and efficiently as possible (Popper 1993[1962]: 11). Hence there is no need to even think of any rebellion: simply, one should follow along with the flow of things. Needless to say, any possible disaccord was named 'fascism' or 'imperialism'.

The discussion will evolve as follows. At first, we will sketch the theoretical support for the discussion, then we will focus on the issue of vacuous interlocutors, then we will proceed to enquire into the relations between form and ideology, focusing on the fact that the output of the time was bent on total refutation of the importance of form in art. We will attempt to investigate what is left after the form is denied in terms of semiotic categories. We will also posit that the socrealist art is not actually realist: on top of the supposedly realistic depiction it leaks unrealistic content: we propose thus to call the underlying semiotic mechanism the 'mystical mechanics' of socrealist art.

The scrutiny of the data indicates that what happened in so-called socrealist art on the level of sign mechanics was a multi-layered process of reduction (lenition). Of course, a caveat must be made that there was no uniform formula of Polish socrealism. However, the postulates to be claimed below should be treated as 'guidelines' to which eventually all artistic effort was to be directed, a tendency that was singled out as a blueprint to be constantly upgraded in the foreseen unavoidable and jerky transition from socialism to communism.

Figure 1
Sample stamps from the period
(from the collection of Zbigniew Haładewicz).
Graphic elaboration: Aleksandra Mika

2. Theoretical underpinnings

> *In theory there is no difference between theory and practice. In practice there is.*

The present work relies on several theoretical axes, which, in the final analysis, are shown to conglomerate. First of all, the achievements of the Tartu-Moscow School of semiotics are used. Also, the analysis benefits from the work by Chrzanowska-Kluczewska on figuration both in verbal and visual language. Finally, the results are cast with the Peircean Theory of Categories.[9]

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[9] For canonical spatial analyses of discourse, see e.g. Cap (2010), who develops a model of analysis of political discourse involving "legitimization of actions which a political speaker/actor chooses to undertake in order to neutralize a threat to his or her geopolitical camp" (Cap 2010: 119). In doing so, he uses work on proximization, aspects of which conceptually bind the entities placed inside the deictic centre. Chilton (2004) provides an overview of the language of politics and (Chapter 8) develops a framework of deictically

2.1. Tartu-Moscow work on the language of art

Tartu-Moscow scholars devoted considerable analytical atten-
tion to the study of art within the hierarchy of modelling sys-
tems, a synopsis of which falls beyond the bounds of this paper.
In particular, Borys Uspensky and Juri Lotman devoted im-
mense scholarly effort to semiotically inquiring into the artistic
dimension of human communication. Uspensky (cf. e.g. 1994:
275) elaborated the terminological division into primary and
secondary modelling systems. Language was conceived of as
a primary modelling system, which models reality. Over it, sec-
ondary systems are built, modelling partial aspects of that real-
ity. An example par excellence of such a secondary system is
art. Lotman also stresses the centrality of the hierarchical struc-
tures in cultural mechanisms: creating a hierarchy of languages
was for him a much more compact way of storing information
than increasing ad infinitum the number of messages in one
language. Moreover, there are some types of information that
can be stored and conveyed only through a special type of lan-
guage (e.g. chemical or algebraic information). A particular gen-
erator of that type of languages is art that serves humanity by
applying to one of the most complex and unclear aspects of hu-
man activity (J. Lotman 1970 [1973]: 29).[10]

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specified spaces of reality. Ensink and Sauer propose that "'perspective' re-
flects the fact that the content of the discourse necessarily presupposes some
point of view. Both 'frame' and 'perspective' thus denote practices which are
essential for the discourse participants to orient towards" (Ensink – Sauer
2003: 2). The present research, however, is not framed within these latter par-
adigms but follows the semiotic space investigation established in Haładewicz-
Grzelak (2010, 2012).
    [10] See also a phenomenological perspective on artistic vision, as recalled
by Susan Petrilli "We can only reach this original level [of *primary iconism*] as
Husserl says (1973 [1948]) by way of abstraction achieved either through
a phenomenological reduction of the *epoché*, by bracketing the already given
world and relative interpretative habits or through artistic vision. The image
is the otherness of that which is, the strangeness to itself, its double. And art
refers precisely to the image, for it depicts the other face of being. Artistic
discourse does not represent reality, but depicts its double" (Petrilli 2010:
266).

For this research school, each natural language is constituted of signs, characterized by the existence of the determined extra-linguistic content, and of syntagmatic elements, the content of which not only reproduces extra-linguistic liaisons, but also, to a significant degree, possesses a formal character. Lotman points out that between these groups of linguistic facts there exists constant inter-penetration: on one side, the significant elements become accessory, on the other, the accessory elements constantly become semanticised. However, in natural languages this process of inter-penetration is so imperceptible that the two aspects can be neatly discerned. Art, for Lotman, is an example of the constant tendency to formalize the elements that carry content and relocate them into the domain of the code (J. Lotman [1970] 1973: 47). A complex artistic structure built from the linguistic material thus allows conveyance of such an amount of information that would be impossible to transmit through the means of elementary structure proper to a language (J. Lotman 1970 [1973]: 20).

The rise in the complexity of the character of the transmitted information inevitably leads to the complexification of the semiotic system that is used for that transmission:

> [l]'art verbal, bien qu'il se fonde sur la lange naturelle, ne s'y fonde que pour la transformer en sa propre langue, secondaire, le langage de l'art. Et ce langage de l'art lui-même est une hiérarchie complexe de langages mutuellement corrélés, mais non semblables. À cela est liée la pluralité de principe des lectures possibles d'un texte artistique (J. Lotman 1970 [1973]: 55).

The concept of key importance for the present analysis is the Tartu understanding of the entropy of the artistic text. Lotman warns in this respect not to intermingle two entropic types: it is of crucial importance to distinguish between the entropy of the codes of the author and of the reader and the entropy of different levels of the code: "dans les traveaux de vulgarization on mélange parfois le concept quantitatif de la grandeur de l'information avec le concept qualitative de sa valeur" (J. Lotman 1970

[1973]: 58).[11] An equally important issue is the concept of play / game in Lotmanian thought. A game is a particular association of fortuitous and regular processes (J. Lotman 1970 [1973]: 54f). For Lotman, both creating and perceiving requires a particular artistic behaviour, which has much in common with game behaviour. The recipient lives through the emotions that would be evoked by the analogous real situation and, at the same time, they realize the fortuitous level of experience.

Lotman points out that art is an *analogon* of the reality (an object), translated into the language of a given system. A work of art then is 'fortuitous' and should be received at the same time as 'similar' and not 'similar'. Placing emphasis on just one of the inseparable aspects destroys the modelling function of art (J. Lotman 2002: 50). The mechanism of the game effect consists not in the static, simultaneous coexistence of various significances but in the constant realization of the possibility of other meanings than the ones that are currently received. 'The play' effect consists in the fact that various significances of one element do not coexist statically but they 'twinkle' (2002: 63).

Uspensky was another Tartu scholar who devoted a substantial part of his research to studying the semiotics of art. The scholar crucially emphasizes the centrality of the point of view to the semiotic study of artworks, in particular to these realms that are bi-planar, that is, that have a distinction between signified/ signifier (Uspensky 1995: 9). The problem of the viewpoint, for Uspensky, is not so relevant in artistic forms, which are not concerned with the semantics of the expressed, but

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[11] To illustrate this claim, Lotman gives the following example. The question "Does God exist?" offers the possibility of making one choice out of two. On the other hand, the proposition to choose a course in a good restaurant allows one to exhaust a much larger entropy. However, can we say that this fact testifies to a greater value of the information received by the second means? (J. Lotman 1970 [1973]: 59) As Lotman stipulates elsewhere, the possibility of change in a semiotic system is connected with treating it as *alteration* by the collective which is using it. This means that a given semiotic system is perceived not as the only possible one but as one of the possible variants. This attitude is possible only as a result of juxtaposing one language with another. Accordingly, the basis of the dynamic mechanism is contrasting and cooperation of one language with another (J. Lotman 2002: 71).

rather with its syntax, for example, abstract painting. The exemplary planes are tentatively defined as the phraseological, ideological plane, next the plane of spatio-temporal characteristics, and the psychological plane (Uspensky 1995: 15).

2.2. Tropology and semiotic figuration: "Figurative worlds as text-words"

The present analysis will also look at both verbal and visual texts of socrealist art from the point of view of figuration.[12] The topic of the interrelation of visual and linguistic sciences has always been the cynosure of attention of Elżbieta Chrzanowska-Kluczewska, especially from the point of view of artistic expression (see, in particular, Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2012, 2013, 2017). The scholar has always emphasized the phenomenological and transcendental nature of a work of art and upheld the necessity of looking for figurative patterns not only in verbal language, but most of all, in the visual one. She points out in this regard that since the work by Roman Jakobson (1956)[13] regarding the metaphoric-metonymic dyad underlying literary texts and also cinematographic art and paining, "we have witnessed an ongoing debate [...] on whether visual metaphor exists at all, and whether it actually can be seen in art" (Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2012: 71). Siding with art historians and philosophers such as, for example, Ernst H. Gombrich, Roland Barthes and Seweryna Wysołuch, the scholar upholds the claim that it is fully justifiable to talk about tropes such as, for example,

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[12] There have been a variety of different semiotic approaches to artwork. In particular, worth mentioning is the project developed in subsequent works of George Somov (e.g. Somov 2006), where the scholar proposes the analysis along interconnecting three information creating mechanisms, which are embedded in coding mechanisms. Somov calls these sub-mechanisms intentional codes, organizing coded and objective codes (Somov 2006: 149).

[13] Also, for example, Jakobson in the publication (1960) points out that 'considering surrealist metaphor, we should not omit the painting by Max Ernst, Salvador Dali or movies by Luis Buñuel *Un chien andalou* or *L'âge d'or*. In short, many poetic phenomena fall not only within the scope of knowledge about language, but also in the range of the whole theory of signs, i.e., of general semiotics' (Jakobson 1960: 431).

metonymy, metaphor synecdoche and irony in arts (Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2012: 72).[14] In what follows we will concentrate, however, on the basic dyad only, that is metaphor and metonymy, as mostly relevant to the collected material.

Chrzanowska-Kluczewska defines metaphor as a "trope of subjectivity, whose 'double- vision structure' (as Werth called it) can play both on a newly recognized similar of entities and on disparities and differences. A 'common ground' is a valuable methodological concept for interpreting two metaphorical domains – source and target (vehicle and tenor, respectively)" (Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013: 65). Hence metaphor can be described as "the iconic trope of the subjectively perceived similarity" (Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013: 66).[15] Metonymy, on the other hand, is seen as "the indexical trope pointing to the objectively existing adjacency" (Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013: 66). Furthermore, the contiguity implied in metonymical relation does not denote only physical or temporal closeness, but relates to "all kinds of relationships between objects, ideas, such as causal, possessive, agentive connections" (Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013: 66). Raymond Gibbs' definition, rephrasing this concept in contemporary cognitive terms as quoted in Chrzanowska-Kluczewska, stipulates that metonymy constitutes a basic part of our conceptual system (Gibbs 1994: 319–320 as quoted in Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013: 67). Similarly, the research by H.V. Shelestiuk shows that

> Metonymy as a mechanism of semantic change and a set of cognitive patterns is quite widespread, in our material it is more widespread, vying with functional transfer (analogy), specialization and generalization for frequency. Concomitance and contiguity, lying at the core of metonymy, are those relations that the concept logically implies [...] – the conceptualization inside concomitant or contiguous domains (and the semantic development of a

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[14] For example, in one of her analyses, she shows how *capriccios* of Arcimboldi are, "from the point of view of semiotic construal, [...] a multi-layered iconic construal" (Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2012: 73).

[15] See also e.g. Nöth (1990: 132ff) on metaphoric iconicity.

corresponding word). Metonymy is generally more 'natural' [less marked] and produces less striking effect than metaphor, the reason for it being that the source and target domains of metonymy are frequently homogenous, of the similar kind – the semantic shift is less marked" (Shelestiuk 2005: 142)

In accordance with the Jakobsonian theory, two axes should be singled out: the axis of choice and the axis of combination. Acts of choice are governed by the principle of equivalence, difference or similarity. Combination, on the other hand, which is needed to build a series, is ruled by the mechanism of contiguity. Poetic function, according to Jakobson, consists in the projection of the rule of equivalence from the axis of choice to the axis of combination whereby "equivalence becomes a constitutive tackle of the series" (Jakobson 1960: 441). The key aspect to remember is that the act of choice can be captured by the mechanism of metaphor and can be denoted as a principle of metaphorization, while combination – relies on metonymical dynamics. Metaphor and metonymy – paradigmatic association and syntagmatic chain – intermingle with each other and final meanings actually depend on the transformation of one into another.

Chrzanowska-Kluczewska (2013), providing an exhaustive historiography and synopsis of theorizing the two terms, juxtaposes several models starting from Vico's ideas in contemporary reformulation. Tables 1 and 2 show selected aspects from these juxtapositions.

In what follows we will build on that juxtaposition, with the reservation that metonymy can also imply indexical relation.

Table 1

The Vichian tetrad in Hayden White's Interpretation

(adapted from Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013: 58)

Trope	Basis for identification
Metaphor	similarity, analogy, the figure of totality and identity
Metonymy	dispersal, reduction, objective association of objects and events through contiguity (adjacency); the figure of exteriority and alienation
Synecdoche	integration of parts into unity thought essentiality/ salience of features, the figure of interiority, (inner reconstruction) and generalization.

Table 2

Tropes in language and thought

(adapted from Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013: 61)

Textualization	Conceptualization	The order of signs	The mean of thought
Metonymy	Mechanical [16]	Icon	Abduction
Synecdoche	Organic	Index	Induction
Metaphor	Conceptual	Symbol	Deduction

3. Vacuous interlocutors: intercepting the signage

It's like déjà-vu, all over again.

A feature that showed prominently in the database of texts is a constant dialectal relation to an external entity, which in the simplest manner could be denoted by the Tartu term of vacuous interlocutor, entailing a split into 'I-sender' and 'I-receiver'. (M. Lotman 2002: 19). As M. Lotman (2002: 16) claims, the question of whether to take into account the third member of the communication process (apart from the addressor and

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[16] If we add to that e.g. Freudian psychological insights (Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013: 60), metonymy would imply *displacement* and metaphor – *condensation*. We are disregarding here the division which the scholar introduced within the realm of metaphor into particular catachrestic types.

addressee) was one of the differences between the Jakobsonian and Tartuvian models of information transfer. This third participant of the communicative situation is called the interceptor (M. Lotman 2002: 16). The category of vacuous interlocutors was also used by other Tartu scholars, e.g. by Pyatigorsky and Zilberman (1976) who assumed the existence of a 'non-sign' and tried to develop a special 'non-semiotic' approach to its explanation:

> For this purpose, we distinguish between the possibility of 'non-sign' usage and that of natural unconceivability of sign-understanding which may occur in certain situations. That is, in order to introduce the presumed 'un-semiotics' as logically opposed but in fact entwined (in a matter of understanding) with the ordinary 'semiotics', we shall properly divide the psychological and ontological statuses of its subject being (Pyatigorsky and Zilberman 1976: 255).

This cathartic effect of the vacuous sign is clearly seen in the discourse under inspection. The final effect of the artists' semiotic battle has to relate 'back' to the interceptor, e.g. *The work of art passes the exam only if, paraphrasing the words of Karl Marx, "the idea of art, empowering masses, becomes their material force'"*. The interceptor thus functions semiotically as a 'loophole', reverting the referent back to itself. This loop is particularly evident in the passage where the *PA* Editorial Board submits a self-critique for the deficiencies in the critical assessment in the material published in *PA*:

> [4a] The Editorial submits a self-critique referring to deficiencies in its academic critique (literally: *Redakcja składa samokrytykę odnośnie braków w swojej krytyce*). The Editors did not pay attention to the increase of the danger of schematism, to the revival of certain formalistic tendencies relenting before difficulties carried by socrealism. In particular, [this happened] in the sector of painting and sculptures, on the aspects of carelessness and self-pacification in the environment of fine artists.

[4b] The Council calls on all Polish critics and scholars to make more belligerent and to 'partify' (Pol. *ubojowienia i upartyjnienia*) evaluation criteria for bolder and more active disclosure of deficiencies, bolder and more active talking about the great truth of our time and of our struggle.

In most cases, however, the interceptor is embodied in direct invocation to the Soviet Union:

[5a] Artists of the Czechoslovak Republic, after the liberation of the maverick Red Army, assisted by its heroic working people and by President Clement Gottwald, embarked upon the path of the development of new visual art, drawing from folk sources and united with the people. At present, already the overwhelming majority of our artists (..) makes efforts to create a true realistic art, which could revive the people in their daily creative work on the establishment of a higher, socialist order in our country. **Works of Soviet fine artists are for us a model of combat,** a true humanist, beloved by the people, art, fusing the hearts of millions of working strong faith in the victory of progress and peace in the world. **We assure you, dear Soviet comrades** [direct invocation] that we will use all our capabilities to prevent the unleashing of a new bloodshed in the world, and that we will show it in our works.

[5b] The resolutions of the Central Committee of our party very convincingly showed every activist of socialist culture the importance attached by the CK WKP to the literature and to art, as the factors of the communist upbringing of the workers, in particular the young Soviet generation. **The CC of the Bolshevik Party set particular tasks for each of us** - creating works of a profound ideological sense, artistically valuable, such works that in an accessible realistic form present in a profound sense the life of a socialist society and **the nobility of the Soviet people fighting** for the communist future.

The texts above feature invocations also from Czechoslovak artists, not only Polish ones, but we found no difference in relating to any brotherly nation in that discourse, although the lexeme

'nations' (Pol. *narody*) features quite often in the investigated database.[17] The socrealist style by designation is the same everywhere – hence the second figure shows, for example, Chinese woodcuts, and Fig. 3 – a Czechoslovak poster.

Figure 2
Left: Poznański, Serving Poland. Right: H. Krajewska:
Threshing in a State Agricultural Farm (PGR). Photos: J.F.

Figure 3
Left: Chinese New Year picture. Right: Chinese woodcuts, entitled
'Contemporary Chinese woodcuts' (reproduced in *PA* 1951)

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[17] The semantic field of that lexeme had been changed to imply the proletariat living within the remit of particular brotherly nations, e.g. the State of GDR, People's Republic of Poland etc. (cf. Haładewicz-Grzelak 2012).

The visual material in Fig. 2. relates to another Marxist tenet – a qualitative change which characterized the first phase of socialism, presupposes "l'activité d'un prolétariat ayant une conscience de classe (…). Seule une crise virtuellement permanente pourrait maintenir l'acuité de la lutte des classes et la conscience de classe du prolétariat contre le système capitaliste, comme sa <négation absolue>. C'est à ces conditions que le prolétariat remplirait sa <mission historique>" (Marcuse 1963: 20 ff).[18] The proletariat is thus *the emerging* entity, it is in a constant dialectic process of formation. It needs to be aware of that homogeneity, of the new emerging collectivity and fraternity of all, regardless of state boundaries. The socrealist art was to instil, reiterate and foster the acquisition of that consciousness.

The interceptor also has a polarizing effect of a prism, which in semiotic terms translates as enhancing the salience of particular signs. The *PA* texts – both visual and verbal – show a tendency towards the polarization / axiologizing of feelings: lexemes such as *hatred*, *love*, to *whip with disdain* occur very frequently with relation to the teleology of art (cf. e.g. Fig. 3 (left)). It has been generally known that art in Stalinism was to be an ideological tool – however, its tectonics are much more intricate – hatred, dichotomization and struggle appear to be pendula on which that world was suspended, hence art, just as any discourse, was also a tool for the vilification of anyone who did not agree with the dominant ideology. Although the overall ideological mission in painting was to show exclusively the pragmatics of the working class (cf. [1-3]), in drawings – in particular in posters – the vilification tactics and hatred was allowed to flourish freely. Fig. 4 juxtaposes verbal with visual excerpts from the *PA*.

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[18] Hence, paradoxically, for Marxist ideology, any period of stability and prosperity under capitalism means the destruction of the proletariat under the dominion of capitalist ideas (Marcuse 1963: 22). The essence of the **new emerging social class** called 'proletariat' is its historic force (Marcuse 1963: 23).

[6] Who hates war more than artists, who are co-creators of the just social order / The oeuvres of Soviet artists have helped the Soviet nation in its victory over the Hitlerian invader, the works of Geriasimov, Manitzer etc. kindle the faith in man-creator, **and inflame the hatred for fascism**/ apotheosis of creative constructors of the future, **stigmatizing war instigators**/ one cannot start work without nourishing the feeling of deep **pique and hatred** for the **destructors** / at the numerous art exhibitions you will not find one single painting, sculpture, which would perpetrate war, the ideas of **hatred towards humankind** our painters are extolling the Soviet man- constructor and creator, lash the concoctions of American imperialism/ the paintings of our artists **should lash with biting contempt and sharp satire the enemies of people and traitors of the nation /** **lashing political satire.**

Figure 4

Juxtaposition of verbal and visual violence from the database issues of *PA*. The last photo shows a poster commemorating the 1948 Czechoslovak *coup d'état*, known as Victorious February.

This leads us to another dimension of the interceptor: there is its dyadic pole, which is also discursively constructed.[19] In other words: there is US, in the centre with a pre-assumed epistemic stance of defending equality and constructing the new world, there are also $INTC_{1+}$ and $INTC_{2-}$. The $INTC_{1+}$ has a centripetal dynamics, while its negative pole, referred to as, for example, fascists or imperialists with a plethora of flourishing epithets (cf. below: "to destroy the rotting world of imperialism and commence to edify on its debris the world of justice and freedom"), is of centrifugal dynamics, spinning the endemic communist microcosm so as to separate it from any part of the universe that had been relegated to the peripheries.

Phenomenologically, communist discourse emerges from the database as a sort of *salle de miroirs*, or planting in front of the addressee an infinity of cushion-concepts (with such highlights as *fraternity, equality of brotherhood of all*).[20] The vacuous sign, interfering in the communication, reverses its directionality. For example, "in the numerous art exhibitions you will not find one single painting, carving, which would perpetrate war, the ideas of hatred towards humankind". Yet, in another excerpt we can read this admonishment to artists: "You cannot get down to work without feeling deep bitterness and hatred of the destroyers of all that is good". The illustrative modalities show that breeding hatred by discourse means was exactly what the apparatchiks were doing, yet their actions are attributed to their (hypostasized) opponents ($INTC_{2-}$). The signs mingle with their reflexes, engaging into a carefully engineered trap, largely

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[19] Cf. Haładewicz-Grzelak (2012) for an analysis of the polarization of discoursers regarding *Generalissimus* Stalin.

[20] It should be pointed out that the investigated stretch of communist discourse is much more than just Marxism. In part it can be due to a series of avatars of the ideology in subsequent writings by Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (later known by the alias Lenin) as well as Ioseb Besarionis Jughashvili (known to the posterity as Joseph Stalin) but it could also be due to many other intervening factors and influences (e.g. ascribing to your opponent your exact tactics) which cannot be extracted by a purely semiotic framework.

surpassing the notion of propaganda,[21] where both syntax (cf. Haładewicz-Grzelak 2010) and the level of phases (Haładewicz-Grzelak 2012) are harnessed to build a cosmogony and destroy history / tradition. However, not only the reception of the sign is blueprinted, but also the act of creation is scripted.

[7] We assure you, dear Soviet comrades, that we will use all our abilities to prevent new bloodshed breaking out in the world and we will show in our works that the future of the world belongs to honest people, working people, who with their hearts filled with love, believe in peace in the world. Those who in silence and inaction observe historical strife of our times, [they] with their indifference support the camp of destruction, they are enemies of creativity, they are not, and they cannot be called, artists. / Artists of all countries – let there not be a lack of one single talent in the great front of the fight for peace! In these historic days, where the fight of the nations for peace is spreading over the globe, we ask you, masters of art, (..) did your art contribute to defending the nations against the slavery of unbridled Wall-street monopolists? **Our victory is inevitable**. Our goal, **our great task is to precipitate the victory of the huge peace front**. We summon you: be worthy of your nations, be with us, help us with your art to defeat aggressors.

[8] Just as creativity has emerged from blind alleys of decadent aestheticization of the past years and embarked upon the road of expressing crucial and veritable contents, into the insightful road of cognizing and expressing the world, social reality as well as the fight for truth, justice and freedom, so the exhibitions stopped being events of an aesthetic and commercial character, and turned into an educational momentum, mobilizing and shaping human consciousness (..). The renaissance of art, the renaissance of its

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[21] As regards the ideological side, Marcuse observes in this respect: "Dans ces conditions il semblerait justifiée d'en écarter le marxisme soviétique comme étant une pure et simple <propagande>. C'est une solution trompeuse, parce que la distinction entre <propagande> et <vérité> présuppose une vérité démontrable à laquelle la propagande peut être opposée. S'il on soutient que la vérité ne s'exprime que dans la pratique et non dans la théorie du marxisme soviétique, et que la théorie ne sert que d'outil pour la manipulation des masses, il faut alors prouver cette affirmation" (Marcuse 1963: 45).

key societal function, the renaissance of its progressive role, the renaissance of immense cognitive, moral and cognitive significance, the renaissance of art as a weapon wielded for the magnitude and happiness of a human being, can happen only in a society which was able to destroy the rotting world of imperialism and commence to edify on its debris the world of justice and freedom. [...]. This society, thanks to the victory of the great October revolution, is the Soviet Union. And after the Second World War, thanks to the victory over fascism, also our Polish society.

[9] The peace camp cannot forgo artists or art historians. / The role of progressive artists cannot be limited to verbal declarations. / Artists, more and more commonly express their unwavering will for peace by creating particular art works, lifting up spirits of the fight for peace./ The immense camp of nations willing peace has increased with the mass of 500 million in People's China together with the art avant-garde, who devoted their beautiful art of painting to the issue of peace and socialism.
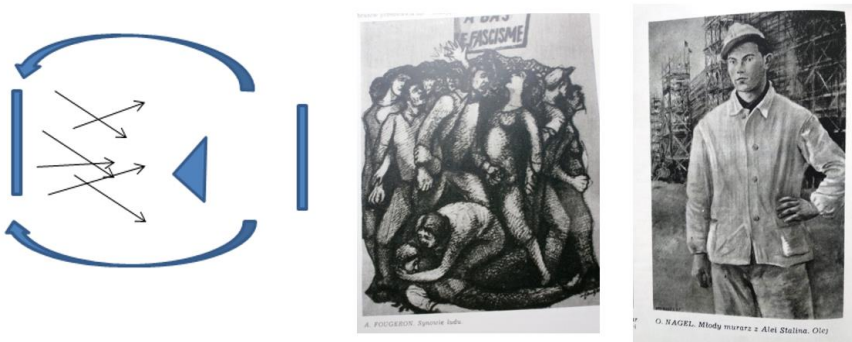

Figure 5

Left: A suggestion for socrealist semiosis with the interceptor. Middle and right photos of pages from P.A. 1953 showing: middle: 'Away with fascism' French poster: emotions channelled through vacuous sign, creating surrogate local communities unified within the posited reality; right: A page from *PA* 1953 showing a painting by A. Nagel as one of the highlights of III German [GDR] art exhibition, entitled *Young mason from Stalin alley*

To understand the semiotic impact of the interceptor with regard to contiguity, we need to recall the inherent entropy of an artistic text (redundancy). What happens with the vacuous sign and interceptor is creating a loop, redirecting from the signified back to the sign itself. Contiguity is slipped into the semiosis process. As a result, like in a Mobius strip, the referent IS the signifier, the sign that points to itself. The loop is possible through prior manipulating of the levels of artistic reception in the form of a game: neutralizing the variegated, intermingling ('twinkling') levels of perception. This art was to create the "reality", not artistically re-create it.

4. *La trahison des images*: **Phenomenological reduction**

The previous section motivated the relegation of art as a material resource / catalyst and catharsis for 'history' and society, implying the social level of pragmatic context, which however, as we have seen, was ideologically grounded.[22] Now let us move towards the theoretical implications behind socrealism as proclaimed by the apparatchiks themselves, that is the incompatibility of socrealism with art schools such as *realism, formalism* and *naturalism*. The fact that socrealist art was utterly opposed to formalism (subsuming, e.g. abstract or colourist movements) and to naturalism has often been pointed out when assessing the socrealist credos. However, the semiotic motifs for that repugnance have not been investigated.

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[22] This is an ontological trap since, as has been shown in Haładewicz-Grzelak (2010, 2012), the Marxist communist discourse aimed to marginalize history, in particular specific national events and swap them for cosmogony, that started with the victory of the Soviet Revolution in 1917. The lexeme 'nation' still existed in wide usage, of course, but referred only to communist/socialist events. The elimination of local traditions and of the binding force of local communities also subsumed taking decisive moves against religious beliefs.

Figure 6

Catching the moment. All documented pictures: property of MŚ.
Photos: J.F. Left: M. Tomaszewski, *Dzierżyński on the balcony.*
Middle: A. Łubniewicz: *street repairs.* Right: H. Krajewska:
Threshing in a State Agricultural Farm (PGR)

The decisive denial of formalism and naturalism in artistic representation could be seen as a 'negative' definition in the present attempt to disambiguate the semiotics mechanism behind this movement. Our database features a particularly large bulk of texts justifying the scripted perception of a work of art as well as guidelines for the creativity. Let us start with a sample discourse on disfavoured artistic perspectives (the charges are often intertwined) in Table 3.

Table 3

Juxtaposing the problematic issues for non-socrealist creativity
from the database texts

Naturalism and impressionism	Formalism and realism
1) Continuing the fight against formalism, in all its manifestations, we must not forget about the harmful effects of Impressionism and naturalism. A Naturalist with protocol precision copies randomly perceived groups of people or objects, he shows and rearranges random phenomena as important. An Impressionist perpetuates random moments,	1) The degeneration and decay of contemporary bourgeois art that we see today in the countries of the west is a direct consequence, and a pictorial reflection, of the general decay and stagnation in which the whole bourgeois culture is found in connection with the structural crisis. This art, with shocking clarity, evinces the filthy face of the bourgeois

trying to render only their fleeting, subjective impressions, ignoring completely what is important, typical.

2) This view of the composition means, in both cases, giving up generalization and typification, leading to a distortion of reality and no further possibility of creating full-value ideological and artistic works. /Naturalistically boring and impressionistically random./ The relationship between people has not been shown here, the essence of the subject has not been extracted. Now we are missing many talented artists that are under the implicit influence of imperialism. Their skills and methods have been formed on the basis of an erroneous concept of idea-less art, which proclaims the indifference of the artist to ideological content and to the subject in painting. Hence the indifference of the artist for deep inquiry and real representation of life, for man, for his activity, for the psyche of thoughts and feelings. The authors of a series of paintings in the pursuit of painting and mood look at man only as an object of the play of light. Such a landscape approach to man is alien to socrealism. The creative assimilation of cultural heritage is associated with a consistent struggle against false innovations, which strips art from the content of life, makes it estranged to the people and detaches it from the development of its own nation. But this is the goal of cosmopolitism, which is a child, and

world, its moral nihilism, its hostility to knowledge and progress, **furious hatred for man**. The largest debauchery of reactionary arts occurred in the US. *This decrepit art wandered there from Germany and France, and having encountered a vulnerable soil, it blossomed luxuriantly and hideously.*

2) The aim of [that formalist] work is the blackout of the viewer's consciousness, damping the struggle of the masses. The case of formalism requires particularly meticulous and vigilant critical analysis.

3) In the States: surrealism depicting the senseless flimsies of a morbid fantasy. / The way of ridiculous combination of objects that have nothing to do with each other. But what pleases aesthetic snobs cannot, of course, be intended for the mass audience demanding from the artist images that are simple, understandable and accessible.

4) American realism – this sleek, stylized painting has nothing to do with a real, insightful tearing of the contradictory American life. The [realist] artists carefully avoid the sensitive problems of contemporary reality and the struggle of the people, focusing **primarily on the details of the embellished everyday life, concealing the antagonistic character of capitalism, creating a sad image of undisturbed prosperity.**

5) In choosing artists and directing their creativity to a specific theme by subsidizing 'useful painting', (but see the quotations

at the same time an instrument, of imperialism.	in [1-3]) American merchants and industrialists pursue a deeply thought-out plan of sophisticated propaganda – they bemoan the average townspeople, maintain admiration for the American way of life and faith in the imperturbability of the capitalist system. This demoralizing influence of the capitalist protectorate is already apparent to some American critics, they are already aware that there can be no question of freedom of art when directors of joint stock companies not only dictate the subject of the image to the artist, but also determine the approach to the subject. / Unjust striving to make your work beautiful with the help of worn off formal means.
3) We must not let ourselves be misled by the seeming antagonisms of the two tendencies of American art. The first introduces confusion in human consciousness by denying and destroying all moral principles, all humanistic and democratic aspirations, **the second creates a falsified image of capitalist reality, blurs and conceals the monstrosity of the system by creating the ideal of flat bourgeois happiness, primitive and limited.** 4) The main ideological error of this direction is the unbelief in the aesthetic value of our life, which supposedly needs to be adorned with 'beautiful painting'.	

Art as a means for typification
1) The deep truth of discerning what is typical from what is mediocre, but which does not constitute typification (..) / the fight for the unity of form and content. / We have to see in our epoch what is typical, although at present it might not be numerically predominant. / The peculiarity of an art painting consists in its typicality; the force and depth of a generalization does not contradict a widely conceived individualization. Typification is a form of artistic generalization and serves cognitive purposes. An artist effectuates it [the typifiation] according to a general law of Marxist-Leninist gnoseology, by proceeding from the concrete to generalization and back to the concrete. 2) A primary sensation, the generalization of the sensation and expressing the results of the generalization in the form of a unitary phenomenon- this is the dialectic process of the harnessing of reality by the artist. The painting, which is an equivalent reflection of a thing, informs us about its nature, that is, shows its idea. / The pictorial apprehension of the world has an active character, because it contains the moment of evaluation of an idea, because it not only reflects the reality but it also creates a new fact of the very reality. The artistic painting is thus not only a mirror reflection of the reality – an artist shows by means of a painting not only what exists, but also what could exist according to probability and opportunity.

Finally**,** to complete its cognitive function, a painting must be communicative, commonly readable [...]. Practical confrontation of a painting with reality occurs in the process of the consumption of art. It is thus the final test of its truthfulness (excerpts of an essay 3) The painters who embarked on the road to progressive creativity, aspire in their actions to a realistic manner of painting, to subjectification and to a clear ideological direction / An artistic painting as a cognitive form of art is characterized by concreteness, sensuality, individuality, uniqueness, characteristicality, typicality, agreement with laws directing the reality, communicativeness. The paintings in art are **sensuous because they show the appearance of a given thing and not its concept, because all generalization occurs in them in the form of a unitary, one-off act, divested by the author from all accidental features.**
(excerpts of an essay *O prawidłową terminologię*)

The above adduced selection makes evident several issues. Realism and naturalism had to be rejected because they lacked ideological grounding. Impressionism, on the other hand, focused on random moments, without any "master plan", and relied on compositional perfection. Formalism, most seriously of all, is said to flout conventional expectations. It starts from these expectations and proceeds beyond them. The 'soc-' version of realism is expected to stay within conventionality, conveying even as circular: where the signified refers only to signified, in Baudrillard's terms, it covers the abstraction of reality. What all those "apostate" movements seem to have in common is the game effect, the 'twinkling' of signification, being one thing and another at the same time, and entropy, which implies lack of determined contiguity.

The semiotic aspects to be abstracted from the juxtaposition in Table 3 emerge as follows: dialectic relations, spurring creation back and forth from the preceding stage, confrontation with what is posited as "reality", abstracting typical features, disregard and irrelevance of the pragmatic actual *status quo*, intertwining mirrors in a transmission of the message that are collocating the receiver in a discursive *salle de miroirs* where the

discourse attributed to the other party is nothing but the exact tactics of the sender.[23]

All of these aspects involve one primary aspect – contiguity; that is, cognitive adjacency: endlessly reverting indices and icons. The sceneries as in, for example, Fig. 4, only pass for reality, as in any other embellishment texts of the period, by a carefully chosen *mise-en-scène*, and the swap of the posited reality for the experiential level is effectuated (cf. Marcuse in footnote 19). In other words, paradoxically, formalism (subsuming abstract painting) had to be rejected because it had to refer to un-reality by multiplicities of significations at the same time: (inherent entropy and game effect), building the artistic suspense only through the artistic clash in the spectator. Socrealism operated only with the posited sign, the sign *in absentia*,[24]

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[23] Cf. e.g. this extract: "the second creates a falsified image of capitalist reality, blurs and conceals the monstrosity of the system by creating the ideal of flat bourgeois happiness, primitive and limited" – compare also with Fig. 5 and quotes showing the miserable conditions of life in the period in footnote.

[24] In Haładewicz-Grzelak (2010: 181) it was called, using the terms by Roland Barthes, *signe bâtarde* , "à la fois elliptique et pretentieux" (Barthes 1957: 28). Covering the posted reality (and attributing to the other party can be seen recalling two excerpts cited also in that work, e.g. "Heading: "The deadline for submitting questionnaires for coal allotment up to April 25. Municipal Fueling Enterprises are ensuing questionnaires for the heating of edifices for the winter season 1949–1950. In this connection all state offices, self-government, social, Political Parties, Workers' Unions, etc., are to delegate their representatives to Municipal Fueling Enterprises, situated at 3 Stalin Alley to collect the questionnaires, which, after filling in, should be submitted by April 25, 1949, to the Municipal Fueling Enterprises. Whoever fails to comply with the above formalities to schedule, will not receive any fuel." 2) "The rationing of leather for members of trade unions. The Economics Department of the Warsaw Council of Trade Unions in agreement with the Warsaw Co-operative of Consumers has arranged for the retailing of sole leather for the working world. All members of trade unions can purchase once per week sole leather for one pair of shoes. When buying, members of trade unions are obliged to present their work certificate or the confirmation from their place of work. In order to prevent possible abuse, the shop will seal after the purchase both the legitimating document and the certificate of the purchasers" (TL March 16, 1949)". 3) "fats should be purchased within a tightly specified time. Failure to realize the coupon in the allotted decade will cause the loss of the right to realize the coupon in the following decade" (TL 18 March)" (in: Haładewicz-Grzelak 2010: 206). These were of course reflection of the miserable economic situation, clashing with the 'reality' as showed in e.g. Fig. 1 and Fig. 2. Eidetic reduction was of course the salvo out of that conundrum: "We

that is why it was incompatible with formalism. Let us also re-call here that J. Lotman sees art as an *analogon* of the reality (an object), translated into the language of a given system. A work of art, then, is for him 'fortuitous' and should be received at the same time as 'similar' and not 'similar'. Placing emphasis on just one of the inseparable aspects destroys the modelling function of art (J. Lotman 2002: 50).

As far as the topic specification is concerned, this strategy can be called silencing by omission. By narrowing the realm of the topics that should be portrayed (to the working class and their paraphernalia) there occurs discursive gagging. So, when we look at these paintings, apart from art as a tool and apothe-osis, it is also a tool of symbolic violence, symbolic exclusion and rejection of any other reality that is not the one posited by the apparatchiks.

Furthermore, inspecting the excerpts in Table 3, there ap-pear significant parallels with another type of reduction, as pro-posed by Husserlian phenomenology. Staying on a very basic level of philosophical enquiry,[25] as Michał Paweł Markowski and Anna Burzyńska emphasize, in classical Husserlian phenome-nology, 'cognition is not dependent on how one knows what they know, but it consists of completely disconnecting the truth from changing circumstances of capturing it' (Markowski and Burzyńska 2007: 84). For Husserl, this ultimate measure was logic. Relativism results from anthropologicisation, subjectiviza-tion and psychologization of truth. The issue is then not what a man experiences in the world, but what they experience in pure intuition, limited only to consciousness. Concepts should be rooted in intuition, *Anschauung*, created by the idealization of abstraction. This ideational abstraction 'should free the indi-vidual experiences of the untranslatability into general con-cepts' (Markowski and Burzyńska 2007: 86).

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have to see in our epoch what us typical, although at present it might not be numerically predominant".

[25] For an in-depth discussion on Husserl, see e.g. works by Robert Sokołowski (e.g. 2000) and Dan Zahavi (e.g. 2003).

The epitome of that take is called eidetic reduction – from Greek *eidos* (species). As Markowski and Burzyńska explain further on, this perspective is supposed 'to reveal what in the given object constitutes its essence and is not dependent on changing cognitive perspective' (Markowski and Burzyńska 2007: 87). This is one of the most crucial issues about Husserlian phenomenology: capturing pure beings given to pure consciousness. The scholars also cite Husserl admonishing that it is enough merely to see – but *to see* (perceive) it is necessary to be blind to what is accidental (Markowski and Burzyńska 2007: 87).

At this point we are unable to explain why communist acolytes adopted eidetic reduction as a basis for the socrealist manner (of course, without giving credit to Husserl for the idea). The most plausible solution might rely precisely on reductive schemes: eidetic reduction by definition is a reduction to an entity which Eleonor Rosch (e.g. 1973) would call *a prototype*, which has, however, been aprioristically engineered in socrealism as a posited sign. (cf. above: "an artist shows by means of a painting not only what exists, but also what could exist according to probability and opportunity"). Yet, the prototype construction in Eleonor Rosch's oeuvre proceeds bottom up: abstracting from phenomena typical features, while the socrealist prototype works exactly *à rebours*: top down so to speak, that is, starting from the posited signifier and construing its prototypical signified. This type of reduction originally implies a prior combination (syntagmatic chain), or rather concatenation, out of which *essence* is emergent, while in its socrealist mirror version: deconstruction through contiguity.[26]

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[26] With respect to the aspect of primary iconism Susan Petrilli observes cogently that "similarity is homogeneity that stands out against heterogeneity: 'homogeneity or similarity' says Husserl varies in the degree to the very limit of complete homogeneity – that is, to equality without differences. In a relation of contrast with similarity, there more or less always exists a certain degree of dissimilarity. Homogeneity and heterogeneity are the result of two fundamental modes of associative union. Husserl discusses 'immediate association in terms of 'primary synthesis' which enables a datum, a quality to present itself, specifying that an 'immediate association' is an association thought similarity" (Petrilli 2010: 268).
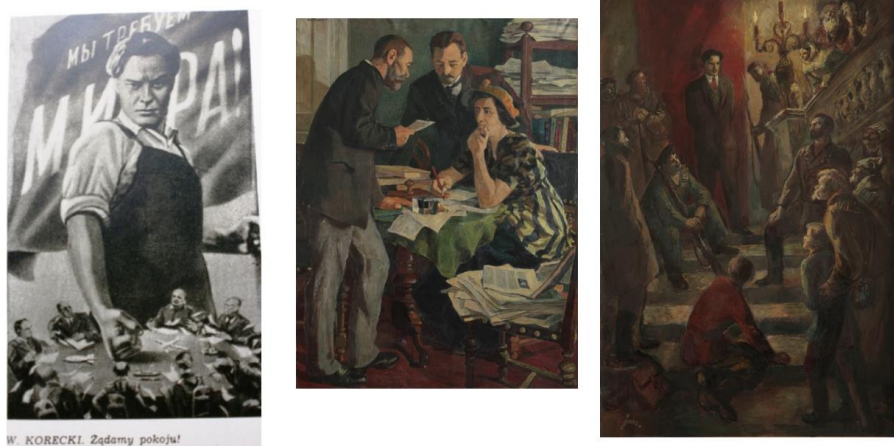
Figure 7

Catching the moment in socrealist art. Left: a picture reproduced in *PA* by W. Korecki entitled "We demand peace". Right: Zdzisław Głowacki: Editing the appeal. Marchlewski and Róża Luksemburg (1951) [property of MŚO], left: Jan Marcin Sznacer: Majkowski is reciting (1952). Property of MŚO. Photos: J.F.

As Jakobson pointed out (1960: 439), through the extending of the perceptibility of the sign, the poetic function deepens the basic dichotomy sign – object. So, we can also infer the opposite: the less perceptible and salient the sign, and the more the poetic function is suppressed, the less important the distinction sign – object. The lenition thus, the reduction of the semiotic meaning, is spurred by the fortition of pragmatic means. This is again compliant with the theory of J. Lotman. For example, in his paper co-authored with Piatigorski, the scholars point out to the importance of the existence of opposing forces acting both in language and in culture: in every text, language meaning and text meanings are in constant competition. This translates on a broader plane into two opposing forces acting on culture: semiotizing and desemiotizing processes. These two contrasting tendencies also indicate that texts and non-texts can be juxtaposed with sub-textual meanings. Since the textual meaning, as proposed by Alexandr Piatigorsky and J. Lotman (1975

[1968]: 106ff.), is opposed to purely linguistic meaning, semiotic value would fit into the textual meaning, and would increase or decrease depending on the criterion of the cultural function. Even if the language level as defined by Piatigorsky and Lotman (1975 [1968]) remains unchanged, the semiotic value may change depending on the relational configuration of a given sign. In socrealist art, according to those criteria, it is definitely the case of desemiotization: the fortition of the linguistic layers (e.g. emotionally loaded lexemes, multiplication of adjectives in verbal text, appearances of realism and attention to detail in visual texts) which in fact means the lenition of the textual (semiotic) layer.

To showcase some of the aspects discussed so far, Fig. 8 shows samples of interior decoration at the Bistro Aurora in Karpacz (Poland). The décor of the pub was specifically designed to transfer the customer to the "good old days" of socialism.[27] The posters (design by Valerij Barikij), hung amongst other paraphernalia of communism (portraits of communist leaders, press clippings, and even Kalashnikov replicas, etc.), are supposed to be a safe proxy of socrealist art. However, they do it on a different cognitive level, at least for those customers who still happen to have a first-hand experience of what socialism was like. There is a visible game effect and a visual pun: the play comes into being by clashing the topic, which is a staple socrealist theme (workers on a construction site), with erotic undertones. Such an undertone was one of the primary aspects totally banned from socrealist artistic expression.

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[27] However, as shown in Haładewicz-Grzelak – Lubos-Kozieł (2016), this is a staple constructivist move of intersubjective dialogical relations in third space.

Figure 8

Part of a decoration of the interior of Bistro Aurora in Karpacz, featuring newspaper clippings and posters by Valerij Barikij (Poland). A contemporary artistic vision based on the socrealist manner of painting. Photos: M.H.-G.

5. Peircean extension

The future ain't what it used to be.

Previous sections have identified reductions and distortions of semiosis on several semiological levels. Communist discourse of the investigated period was shown to be a syntagmatic manipulation of cognitive processing which results in eliminating the game effect in art and eliminating entropy: a sort of cognitive lenition. What happens semiotically in this type of creative output is, first of all, banning interpretation. This is a straightforward task to achieve in the case of verbal texts, but quite tricky in the media relying on interpretation *par excellence*. Casting

the results against pivots of Peircean theory of categories shows how all those lenitions converge.[28]

Bypassing the precise details and ontological implications of subsequent Peircean reformulations, we can roughly recall here, after Mat Bergman, two canonical definitions where the interpretant is embedded in a general notion of the sign,[29] that is,

> (1)A *sign* is a thing that serves to convey knowledge of some other thing, which is said to *stand for* or *represent*. This thing is called the object of the sign, the idea in the mind that the sign excites, which is a mental sign of the same object, is called an interpretant of the sign. (*Peirce EP 2*: 13) as cited in Bergman 2003: 9).

In the later period of Peirce's scholarly output, this definition changed its ontological premises, as Bergman observes:

> (2) The essential nature of the sign is that it mediates between its Object, which is supposed to determine it and to be in some sense, the cause of it, and its meaning, or as I prefer to say, in order to avoid certain ambiguities, its *Interpretant*, which is determined by the sign, and is, in a sense, the effect of it; and which the sign represents to flow as an influence from the object ([MS. 318: 158 f.] Peirce as cited in Bergman 2003: 13).[30]

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[28] The aim here is solely to apply some canonical aspects of Peircean theory to help to analyze the gathered data. Peircean categories have been more than extensively addressed, theorized, discussed and compared with other frameworks, in particular within this journal (cf. e.g. Ponzio (985); Grillo (2007), Lee (2016); Eicher- Catt (2016) to name but a few).

[29] See this reference for a longitudinal study of the transformations of the concept of the 'interpretant' in Peirce's works (based on Peirce's paper "On a new list of categories" and the insights from around 1907 documented in the manuscript "Pragmatism"). Also, cf. Ponzio (1985) for the aspect of alterity in the "endless succession of interpretants" (Ponzio 1985: 262). For the present scope, the canonical accepted definition is sufficient.

[30] See also a quote in Eric Grillo: "such a mediating representation might be termed an interpretant, because it fulfills the office of an interpreter, who says what a foreigner says the same thing which he himself says (*CP. 1553* as cited in Grillo (2007: 322).

For the purposes of this analysis, we can assume that the interpretant is an entity (mental or in processual terms), emerging as a result of an inference. *No* to interpretation entails *no* to subjectivity, hence *no* to the interpretant in the Peircean sense. The loop, redirecting from the signifier back to the sign itself, concocted in that output was possible through prior manipulation of the levels of artistic reception in a form of a game: neutralizing the variegated, intermingling levels of perception. We can postulate that as a result of semiotic interception, the entity of the interpretant is moved somewhere else – blending into secondness.

Yet, the reduced semiotic triangle is not the same as a dichotomist sign of de Saussure. A dyadic Saussurean sign is a complete entity that did not come into being by reduction of anything (cf. Fig. 6).[31]
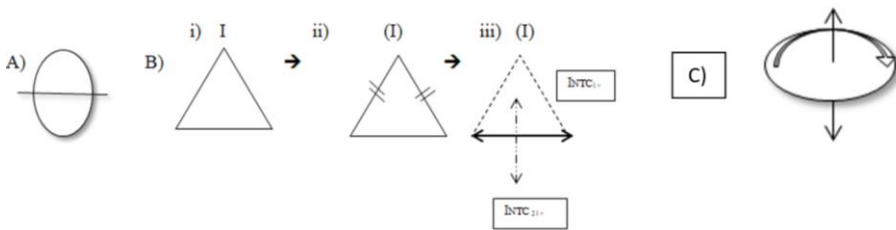

Figure 9
Suggestion of the interpretation of the contiguity reduction.
A) a schematization of a Saussurean sign. B) Reductions evident
in the Peircean model. C) the resulting impoverished Peircean sign
(own elaboration: M.H.-G.)

The figure is to be understood as follows. A) shows for illustrative purposes a dichotomist sign of de Saussure, which stays unaffected, since at this stage of the research I am not able to model the socrealist processes in the Saussurean perspective. In the figure it functions as an exemplar of a holistic, complete paradigm which is dyadic in nature. B) shows: i) a complete

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[31] Cf. M. Lotman (2002) for a discussion of the difference in the theory of the sign in the oeuvre of the two contemporaries.

triadic model, on which, ii) lenitive processes (cf. Batesonian double binds) begin to operate. Both relations to the interpretant become delinked. As a result, the semiosis becomes impoverished, iii) reverting back or forward without the I (interpretant). However, the Stalinist communication, as was postulated above, involves also two interceptors, entities dyadically positioned, which could be modelled as a central axis $INTC_{1+}$ and $INTC_{2-}$. Since the hatred of the $INTC_{2-}$[32] and the emulation of $INTC_{1+}$ are the rotors for this endemic microcosm, the final result can be represented as a (circular) platform, rotating between the two remaining Peircean elements: Object and Sign, along the interceptive axis.

There is one more thing to be specified about this resulting impoverished sign platform following Peircean theory. As Deborah Eicher-Catt points out, "Peircean categories are phenomenological (and evolutionary) models of being" (Eicher-Catt 2016: 263). Also, synopsizing briefly Peirce as quoted in Yunghee Lee,

> firstness 'is the mode of being of that which is such as it is positively and without reference to anything else [CP 8.328]; secondness is 'the mode of being of that which is such as it is with respect to the second, regardless of any third' [CP 8.328]; thirdness is 'the mode of being of that which is such as it is in bringing a second and third into relation to each other'. [CP 8.328]. We experience the categories in a form of sign under theory of thirdness as a feeling, action and thought. Among the three, firstness is fundamental, involving a feeling as consciousness. Thus, a sign of a possibility as pure Icon which object as a Firstness is manifested in a substantive form of hypoicons: images, diagrams and metaphors [CP 2.277]. (Lee 2016: 169).

Some canonical features of Peirce's categories are juxtaposed in Table 4.

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[32] E. g. *Nie można przystępować do pracy bez uczucia głębokiego rozgoryczenia i nienawiści do niszczycieli wszystkiego, co dobre.* Gloss: 'You cannot get down to work without feeling deep bitterness and hatred of the destroyers of all that is good'.

Table 4

Juxtaposition of key aspects of Peircean categories

Theory of categories		
Firstness	Secondness	Thirdness
spontaneity, variation, monadic (*quale*) randomness, ambiguity	actuality, dyadic, discreteness	generality, continuity, triadic mode, habits

The juxtaposition makes evident how the previously identified aspects involved in artistic output, against which the communist apparatchiks formulated their most acute charges, converge in the categories of firstness and thirdness. In other words, artistic schools such as naturalism, impressionism and, most of all, formalist painting, are organized mainly within the firstness and thirdness – these two play primary roles in both the reception and ontology of a work of art. Our interpretation posits a reduction to secondness: in socrealism both firstness and thirdness were made irrelevant (absent/ redundant), by which only secondness remained, or alternatively; secondness spread onto the remaining two qualities. Furthermore, when we abstract the Peircean components and facets of secondness (cf. Table 4), they could all be conflated in the aspect that was before singled out as contiguity, showing pre-eminently both in the figuration (eliminating symbolism, metaphors and leaving only metonymical aspects) and in the dialogical relations in the reception – only direct, contingent transfer of messages is permitted, involving the interception to make sure the correlate is taken care of.

This paper reported a semiotic study (subcategorized in a somewhat Derridean way as *pharmakon semiotics*) of socrealist art in post-war Poland as indexed by the concept of contiguity. The process that emerged from the analysis, and which recurs in all of the analysed threads, is semiotic lenition due to the manipulation of signing relations. The analysis proceeded in

accordance with the stipulations of Danesi, who reminds us cogently that a key problem of semiotics, psychology, linguistics and the other 'sciences of the mind' is to establish how abstract concepts are created and how they are understood. Furthermore, "[r]elated to this problem is the question of which abstractions are more or less 'productive' in a culture, i.e. which are used to a greater or lesser degree for representational, ritualistic, and communicative purposes and activities" (Danesi 2004b: 399). We also showed that the schemata in the studied corpus of paintings "derive their functions in relation to other concepts and systems of reference" (Danesi 2004b: 401).

This discussion showed that signage is also a means for pragmatic reduction. First of all, there is need to break the universe down into particular sphericules (cf. Haładewicz-Grzelak 2012) and then, as its negation create new consciousness.[33] In the analysed database, this proceeded through the elimination of entropy, game effect in art, intercalating two interceptions: one as a positive and the other as a negative pole. Interceptor mediation enhances contiguity. On the topological level, this amounted to the prevalence of metonymical expression (relying on contiguity), ideologically backed by eidetic reduction. In the semiological extension to Peircean categories, we interpreted the results as eliminating the interceptor and thus impoverishing the sign representation. The two remaining categories are immediately contiguous, without relating to the interpretant. Finally, the results were cast against the theory of categories, where it was postulated that secondness, as dominated by discreteness centrifugally, involves contiguity that emerged as the ultimate prime involved in the lenitions.

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[33] <la négation déterminée> de la phase precedente (Marcuse 1963: 16). Yet, it should be pointed out that the famous Marxist dialectic goes much further back than even Hegelian thought (https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/hl/hl333.htm#0719, date of last access: 18.09. 2018).

Appendix

The exhibition *Sztuka musi być zrozumiała dla mas*, apart from show-casing paintings and sculptures of socrealist art from the museum collections, also featured a presentation of a sample of works by a Polish painter who was a contemporary of the artists presented above, Jan Cybis (1897–1972). For a variety of reasons, Cybis did not create according to the socrealist guidelines but followed his own, mostly colourist, manner. This cost him a chair at the Fine Art Academy of Cracow and exiled him to a life of extreme misery throughout the investigated period of Stalinism in Poland.[34] Below we provide a sample of his output from the period from the collections of Muzeum Ślaska Opolskiego, which help to enhance the dimension of contrast and showcase the specificity of the material discussed in the main body.

Figure 10

Paintings by Jan Cybis from the collections of MŚO. Left: Kwiaty (Flowers// Blumen), canvas, oil// Leinwand, Öl [73 x 54] 1951 MSO/ S/1184. Middle: On the field – Święta Katarzyna// Auf dem Feld – Święta Katarzyna, canvas, oil// Leinwand, Öl [46 x 61] [1952]. MSO/S/1201. Right: A still life with a bottle and a Silesian beer mug// Stillleben mit Flasche und oberschlesischem Bierkrug, canvas, oil// Leinwand, Öl [60 x 73]. 1953. MSO/S/969.

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[34] Cf. Joanna Filipczyk (2017) for exhaustive historiography of the author.

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