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BEYOND PHILOLOGY 19/4

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LINGUISTICS

Circumlocutions with the noun *guy* in Hawai'i Creole English

KONRAD RADOMYSKI

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to identify and analyse the uses of the word *guy* in circumlocutions in *The Revelation of St. John Divine* in Hawai'i Creole English. The identified instances of circumlocutions with *guy* are contrasted with their parallel expressions found in King James' Bible. The analysis was conducted with the corpus tools offered by AntConc. In the text, the word *guy* occurs 385 times and it is found 177 times in various circumlocutions.

Keywords

Bible, circumlocution, Hawai'i Creole English, *guy*

Peryfrazy z rzeczownikiem *guy* w hawajskim języku kreolskim

Abstrakt

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest identyfikacja i analiza użycia słowa *guy* w peryfrazach w Apokalipsie św. Jana Boskiego w hawajskim języku kreolskim. Zidentyfikowane przypadki użycia słowa *guy* są

zestawione z ich paralelnymi wyrażeniami występującymi w Biblii Króla Jakuba. Analiza została przeprowadzona przy użyciu narzędzi korpusowych oferowanych przez AntConc. W tekście słowo *guy* występuje 385 razy, a w peryfrazach występuje w 177 poświadczeniach.

Słowa kluczowe

Biblia, hawajski język kreolski, *guy*, peryfraz

1. Introduction

A contact situation, in Thomason's view (2001: 1), may be defined as a situation in which more than one language is used in the same place and at the same time. To be more specific, this phenomenon consists in bringing together various groups of people of various cultural and linguistic backgrounds with no common means of communication. Such situations involve many linguistic phenomena, for instance, code-switching, diglossia, multilingualism and the emergence of jargons or pidgins (Walczyński 2008: 133).

So linguistically and culturally diverse environments may at some point give rise to vehicular languages. Pidgins and creoles are languages whose development might be traced down to contact situations. Pidgins and creoles arose during the colonization period which lasted from about the 16th to 19th century. Moreover, these vernaculars transpired in the regions of the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans due to the contact between nonstandard varieties of European languages (e.g., English) and a few indigenous languages (e.g., Hawaiian) spoken in the colonized regions (Mufwene 2020: 299–300). Both types of languages may be characterized by a set of common salient features.

Pidgins emerged in “trade forts or along trade routes” (Mufwene 2020: 300). That is why these languages are not mother tongues. In this way, they may be seen as auxiliary

languages which are used in *ad hoc* situations. Linguistically speaking, their grammars and lexicons are simplified (Hlibowicka-Węglarz 2017: 27). A great number of lexical items is derived from colonizers' language, for instance, in Neo-Melanesian the colour term *red* from English is still preserved, even though the language has the term *ret* and its derivative *retpela* in its lexical repertoire (Stanulewicz and Radomyski 2021: 16).

Creoles are perceived as the next evolutionary stage of pidgins. These languages evolved in sugarcane plantations or rice fields. These communities consisted mostly of non-Europeans (Mufwene 2020: 300). In a similar way to pidgins, creoles build their grammar and lexicon based on a few languages. The most characteristic feature of creoles is the fact that these types of languages become mother tongues. As a result, creoles are more developed in terms of grammatical forms and their functions since native speakers need their creole languages to serve a purpose in many aspects of their lives (Walczyński 2008: 151).

Hawai'i Creole English is an example of a creole language used in the Islands of Hawai'i. There are nearly 600,000 speakers of this language. The creole roots go back to an ancestral pidgin which transpired on plantations among speakers of such languages as English, Hawaiian, Japanese, Portuguese, Filipino and Chinese (Ohama et al. 2000: 358). Such a huge diversity of speakers of various languages caused the users of the language to employ various language strategies which would allow them to converse. An example of such a communicative strategy is circumlocution which is used in the creole.

The purpose of the present study is to identify and analyse circumlocutions with the noun *guy* 'guy' in *The Revelation of St. John Divine* in Hawai'i Creole English. Firstly, the paper will explain the term circumlocution and previous studies on circumlocutions in pidgins and creoles will be introduced. Secondly, the methodology of the present study will be presented. Thirdly, the examples of identified circumlocution will be

shown. Then, the analysis of circumlocutions will be introduced. Finally, conclusions will be presented.

2. Circumlocution

Circumlocution consists in using elaborate expressions in place of single words or fixed phrases used commonly in any kind of language. Circumlocution is a communicative strategy which is used by various groups of people whose communicative abilities are impaired, for instance, people suffering from anomic aphasia (Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 2016: 101) or second language learners (Jourdain and Scullen 2002: 225). On the other hand, circumlocutions might also be employed in literary texts as a figure of speech which enriches the text (Bańko 2002: 5).

2.1. Previous research on circumlocutions in pidgins and creoles

To date, not so much attention has been paid to circumlocutions in pidgins and creoles. Probably, the most recognizable work on pidgins and creoles is the one compiled by Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1985). The authors investigated a pidgincreole language used in Papua New Guinea, that is, Neo-Melanesian (also known as Tok Pisin). Table 1 presents circumlocutions observed by Wurm and Mühlhäusler.

The circumlocutions presented in Table 1 are not present in nowadays Tok Pisin, they were substituted with single lexemes from various languages. However, there are certain multiword expressions which are still present in the language, for instance, *haus sik* ‘hospital’, *haus kar* ‘garage’, *wara bilong ai* ‘tear’ or *nem man i raitim pinis* ‘signature’ (Baing, Deutrom and Jackson 2008: 26, 55, 119).

Apart from circumlocutions in Tok Pisin, Hawai‘i Creole English has also been investigated. Radomyski (2020) analyses the uses of the word *peopo* ‘people’ in the creole and forms a list of circumlocutions used in the translation of the Bible into

Hawai'i Creole English. Table 2 shows exemplary circumlocutions with *peopo* 'people'.

Table 1

Examples of circumlocutions in Tok Pisin
(Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985: 102)

Circumlocutions in Tok Pisin	Word-to-word translation	Meaning
<i>smok bilong graun</i>	smoke belongs ground	dust
<i>rot bilong wara</i>	road belongs water	ditch
<i>snek bilong wara</i>	snake belongs water	eel
<i>diwai bilong raitim pepa</i>	wood belongs writing paper	pencil
<i>rop bilong su</i>	rope belongs shoe	shoelace
<i>pekpek bilong lam</i>	faeces belong lamp	sooth

Table 2

Examples of circumlocutions in Hawai'i Creole English
(Radomyski 2020: 29-30)

Circumlocutions in Hawai'i Creole English	Word class	Word-to-word translation	Meaning
<i>peopo dat work fo him</i>	noun	people that work for him	servants
<i>peopo dat stay spesho fo God</i>	noun	people that are special for God	Saints
<i>first peopo dat give demself to God an his Baby Sheep Guy</i>	noun	first people that give themselves to God and Baby Sheep Guy	redeemed
<i>all da peopo dat God's Baby Sheep Guy wen pick</i>	noun	all the people that God's Baby Sheep Guy picked	chosen
<i>peopo dat not slaves</i>	noun	people that are not slaves	free
<i>peopo dat no trus</i>	noun	people that do not trust	unbelieving

The author claims that circumlocutions with the word *peopo* function as nouns. In addition, the dominating grammatical structure employed to construct circumlocutions is the combination of the noun *peopo* and a relative clause.

3. Methodology

The present study is a continuation of the paper entitled “Circumlocutions with the noun *peopo* ‘people’ in Hawai‘i Creole English”. The research consists in analysing the use of the word *guy* ‘guy’ in circumlocutions in the translation of *The Revelation of St. John Divine* with the corpus tools offered by the software AntConc. Table 3 presents the five most common words in the text.

Table 3

The five most common words in
The Revelation of St. John Divine in Hawai‘i Creole English

Word	Frequency
<i>da</i> ‘the’	1,548
<i>an</i> ‘an’	736
<i>wen</i> ‘when’	545
<i>dat</i> ‘that’	499
<i>guy</i> ‘guy’	385

The word *guy* is the first content word on the list. Apart from that, the word is semantically related to the word *peopo* investigated in the previous study on circumlocutions in Hawai‘i Creole English. For these reasons, the word *guy* has been selected for this project.

To identify, the circumlocutions the function Concordance in AntConc has been used. The identified contexts with the key word *guy* in Hawai‘i Creole English have been compared with King James’ translation of the Bible. The identified circumlocutions are presented in the next section.

4. Examples of circumlocutions with *guy* in Hawai'i Creole English

According to the *On-line Cambridge Dictionary* the word *guy* is a synonymous term of *man*. The noun *guy* is, however, more colloquial. Contrary to this statement, the word is often and consistently used in the HCE Bible. Examples (1) – (22) contain circumlocutions with the key word *guy*.

Examples (1) – (7) demonstrate two-word combinations where the key word is placed in the final position. They are noun and noun combinations.

(1)

angel guy(s)	angel(s)
angel guy(s)	
<i>Den I wen see one nodda angel guy coming up from da east.</i> (p. 17)	<i>And I saw another angel ascending from the east [...]</i> (p. 2626)
<i>I know dea names, An I goin tell my Fadda an his angel guys [...]</i> (p. 8)	<i>[...] but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels.</i> (p. 2620)

(2)

army guys	armies
army guys	
<i>All da army guys inside da sky stay go wit him.</i> (p. 46)	<i>And the armies which were in heaven followed him [...]</i> (p. 2646)

(3)

mahke guys	dead
dead guys	
<i>Dass da first time God bring back da mahke guys alive. Da odda mahke guys, dey neva come back alive again till afta da</i>	<i>But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.</i>

<i>tousand years.</i> (p. 48)	(p. 2647)
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(4)

slave guy(s)	bondman
slave guy(s)	
<i>Den everybody all ova da world, da king guys, da odda leadas, da army bosses, da rich peopo, da guys dat get power, an all da slave guys, an da guys dat not slaves, dey all wen go hide inside da caves, an unda da rocks on top da mountains.</i> (p. 16)	<i>And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains [...]</i> (p. 2625)

(5)

trader guys	merchants
trader guys	
<i>Da Babylon peopo, jalike dey one wahine, An all da diffren peopos all ova da world, Jalike dey fool aroun wit her. She make um do any kine, Jalike she make um drink too much strong wine Fo make um come real drunk! Da kings inside da world wen fool aroun wit her too. An da trader guys all ova da world Wen come rich from all kine rich stuffs Dat Babylon get from dem fo herself.</i> (p. 41)	<i>For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies.</i> (p. 2643)

(6)

worka guys	servant(s)
worker guys	
<i>So Jesus Christ wen send one</i>	<i>[...] he sent and signified it by</i>

<i>angel messenja guy fo make um clear to me, John, cuz I one a his worka guys.</i> (p. 1)	<i>his angel unto his servant John</i> [...] (p. 2615)
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(7)

steala guy	thief
stealer guy	
<i>If you guys no wake up, I goin come quick, jalike one steala guy, an you guys no goin know da time I goin show up.</i> (p. 8)	<i>If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.</i> (p. 2620)

In these examples, the key word is preceded by a noun which specifies the meaning of the whole phrase. In examples (1) and (2) the modifiers correspond precisely to the meaning in the English version of the Bible. In contrast, examples (3) – (7) do not consist of modifiers which exactly match the English equivalents.

Examples (8) – (22) present phrases which consist of the key word and a longer string of modifiers. In examples (8) – (10), the head word is in the final position. The remaining examples have the key word in the initial position.

(8)

angel messenja guy	angel
angel messenger guy	
<i>So Jesus Christ wen send one angel messenja guy fo make um clear to me, John, cuz I one a his worka guys.</i> (p. 1)	<i>[...] he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John</i> [...] (p. 2615)

(9)

older leada guys	elders
older leader guys	

<p><i>Den, jalike one dream, I wen look, an had da Baby Sheep Guy. Look like dey wen kill him awready. He standing on top da throne, in da middle. All aroun him had da four tings dat stay alive, an da older leada guys. He get seven horn an seven eye.</i> (p. 13)</p>	<p><i>And I beheld, and, lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes.</i> (p. 2623)</p>
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(10)

God's Baby Sheep Guy	the Lamb
God's Baby Sheep Guy	
<p><i>Da Paper An God's Baby Sheep Guy</i> (p. 12)</p>	<p><i>The Unopened Book and the Lamb</i> (p. 2623)</p>

The phrase in (8) has the same meaning as the one in (1). The explicit difference between these two examples is that the latter contains one extra word, namely, *messenja*. In HCE, lexical item (8) carries a bit more information than the English equivalent. The circumlocution shows that the angel additionally carries a message to a recipient. Example (9) presents the process of coining a lexical item with a meaning similar to 'elders'. In the Hawai'i Creole English version of the Bible, one may notice two modifiers, namely, *older* and *leada*. The first element implies that this group consists of aged people. Nevertheless, there is one additional piece of information in the HCE version. The noun *leada* means a person who is in control of a group of people. In example (10), the noun *guy* comes after a descriptive phrase. The first element of the phrase is the possessive form *God's*. This element is followed by the noun phrase *Baby Sheep Guy* where the phrase *Baby Sheep* corresponds to a lamb.

Unlike the three previous examples, phrases (11) – (22) are coined by adding a string of modifiers after the key word *guy*.

In other words, the key word is placed in the initial position in these circumlocutions.

(11)

guys tell wat dey know	witnesses
guys tell what they know	
<i>Two Guys Tell Wat Dey Know</i> (p. 24)	<i>The Two Witnesses</i> (p. 2631)

(12)

da guys dat not slaves	free man
da guys that are not slaves	
<i>Den everybody all ova da world, da king guys, da odda leadas, da army bosses, da rich peopo, da guys dat get power, an all da slave guys, an da guys dat not slaves, dey all wen go hide inside da caves, an unda da rocks on top da mountains.</i> (p. 16)	<i>And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond-man, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains [...]</i> (p. 2630)

(13)

da guys dat wen work fo him	servants
the guys that worked for him	
<i>Wen da numba seven angel guy stay ready fo blow his trumpet, den God goin do da secret ting jalike he wen plan, jalike da Good Stuff From Him say, dat he wen tell da guys dat wen work fo him an talk fo him befo time.</i> (p. 23)	<i>[...] but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets.</i> (p. 2631)

(14)

da guys dat wen stay agains dem	enemies
the guys who stayed against them	
<i>Den da two guys dat wen talk fo God wen hear one loud voice from da sky dat talk to dem, an tell, "Come up heal!" An wen da guys dat wen stay agains dem wen look, dey see um go up to da sky inside one cloud.</i> (p. 25)	<i>And they heard a great voice from heaven saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud; and their enemies beheld them.</i> (p. 2632)

(15)

da guys dat God wen send all ova	prophets
the guys that God sent all over	
<i>Den I hear dis: "Eh! All you peopo dat stay wit God inside da sky, Stay good inside bout wat wen happen! God's spesho peopo, an da guys dat God wen send all ova, An da guys dat talk fo God, Stay good inside! Da Babylon peopo wen make any kine to you guys, But God wen come fo judge dem!</i> (p. 43)	<i>Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her.</i> (p. 2644)

(16)

guys dat talk fo God	prophets
guys that talk to God	
<i>All da peopo all ova da world goin feel good inside cuz dose two guys wen mahke. All da peopo goin party, an send plenny present to each odda. Cuz</i>	<i>And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented</i>

<i>dose two guys dat talk fo God wen make all da peopo suffa plenny.</i> (p. 25)	<i>them that dwelt on the earth.</i> (p. 2632)
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(17)

da guys dat know how fo make fancy kine stuffs	craftsman
the guys that know how to make a fancy kind of stuff	
<i>No mo nobody goin eva play music inside yoa town no moa. No mo guitar, flute, trumpet. No mo nobody goin hear da music no moa. No mo da guys dat know how fo make fancy kine stuffs. No mo da millstone dat grind flour fo yoa bread.</i> (p. 44)	<i>And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee ; and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft he be, shall be found any more in thee [...]</i> (p. 2645)

(18)

da (...) guys dat Jesus wen send all ova	apostles
the (...) guys that Jesus sent all over	
<i>Da wall fo da big town wen get twelve big kine stone block fo da foundation. On top had da names fo da twelve guys dat Jesus wen send all ova fo tell peopo bout God's Baby Sheep Guy.</i> (p. 51)	<i>And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.</i> (p. 2650)

(19)

da Bad Guy dat wen point finga	accuser
da Bad Guy that pointed finger	

<p><i>Den I wen hear one loud voice inside da sky dat say, "Now da time! God goin take us outa da bad kine stuff we stay in! An show us dat he da King, An he get all da power! His Spesho Guy Christ get da right fo lead everybody! Cuz da Bad Guy dat wen poin finga At our bruddas an sistas all day an all nite, God wen throw him down hea on top da earth.</i></p> <p>(p. 28)</p>	<p><i>And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night.</i></p> <p>(p. 2634)</p>
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Examples (11) – (19) present phrases where the word *guy* is modified via the introduction of relative clauses. By employing this strategy, a user may specify the meaning of a more general word. This process proves to be useful, for instance, it allows one to coin synonyms. This may be seen in examples (15) and (16).

Additionally, circumlocutions which contain a relative clause may also contain a sentence with a contrary statement. This phrase is introduced by the coordinating conjunction *but*. Examples (20) and (21) present such cases.

(20)

<p>da guy dat say he talk fo God, but he bulai</p>	<p>false prophet</p>
<p>the guy that says he talks for God, but he lies</p>	
<p><i>Den jalike one dream, I wen see three bad kine spirits wen look jalike frogs. One wen come outa da dragon's mout, one outa da Wild Animal's mout, an one outa da mout a da guy dat say he</i></p>	<p><i>And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet.</i></p> <p>(p. 2640)</p>

<i>talk fo God, but he bulai.</i> (p. 37)	
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(21)

da guys dat neva make demself pilau, but dey stay clean	Virgins
the guys that never make them- selves filthy, but they stay clean	
<i>Dey da guys dat neva make demself pilau, but dey stay clean,</i> cuz dey neva fool aroun da wahines. Every place God's Baby Sheep Guy go, dey go wit him. (p. 32)	<i>These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.</i> (p. 2637)

In example (20), already existing circumlocution (16) is used. The phrase is altered via the introduction of the phrase *but he bulai*. The word *bulai* comes from the English word *lie* or *liar*, according to the *e-Hawaii Dictionary*. The combination of circumlocution (16) with a phrase with a new piece of information creates a lexical item with the meaning 'false prophet'. In example (21), the key word is followed by a relative clause and a clause with the conjunction. The relative clause contains the Hawaiian word *pilau* which means 'filthy', according to the *Online Hawaiian Dictionary*. The clause *dat neva make demself pilau, but dey stay clean* conveys the information that these people have not had coitus. Both words *pilau* and *clean* are used in a metaphorical way, that is, if one is not filthy and clean, one has not committed a sin. This example shows the coinage of a phrase with a meaning close to 'virgins' via the application of a metaphor.

HCE grammar rules allow one to use reduced relative clauses. Example (22) shows an instance where a relative clause is introduced.

(22)

guys riding horse	horsemen
guys riding horse	
<i>Somebody wen tell me had two hundred million guys riding horse.</i> (p. 22)	<i>And the number of the army of the horsemen were two hundred thousand thousand: and I heard the number of them.</i> (p. 2630)

Example (22) presents a circumlocution where the clause consists of the present participle *riding* and the noun *horse*. The first element specifies what kind of action is performed, while the latter element indicates what is used to perform the action. In this case, the HCE version provides more information and at the same time is more detailed than the English equivalent. Apart from the one obvious difference, the HCE form has the same meaning as the English compound word *horsemen*.

In conclusion, the phrases with the word *guy* are used to create various terms. The terms acquire more specific and narrow meanings by the addition of a noun, adjective or relative clause. The key word can be placed in either the final or initial position. The final position is common in the structures where the word *guy* is preceded by a noun or adjective. Often, nouns which precede the key word *guy* derive from verbs, for instance, *work* is changed into *worka* or *steal* into *steala*. Verb-derived nouns are coined by the addition of a derivational morpheme ‘-a’. In addition, the key word has a grammatical function, that is, it indicates the number of entities via acquiring the inflectional plural morpheme ‘-s’. Moreover, the addition of a relative clause proves to be useful in HCE since it allows one to modify the key word in many ways. Not only does it enable the user to coin a new item, but a circumlocution may also be further modified by the introduction of the coordinating conjunction *but*. Lastly, already existing circumlocutions containing relative clauses may be modified by adding adjectives in front of the key word, for instance, *da Bad Guy*

dat wen poin finga. All things considered, the elaborate descriptions with the word *guy* are beneficial in increasing HCE lexicon.

5. Analysis of circumlocution with *guy*

The circumlocutions with *guy* may occur in both singular and plural forms. The examples are presented in Table 4.

Table 4
Circumlocutions with the word *guy*

Circumlocution	Number of occurrences
<i>angel guy(s)</i>	56
<i>God's Baby Sheep Guy</i>	40
<i>angel messenja guy(s)</i>	36
<i>worka guy(s)</i>	6
<i>mahke guy(s)</i>	5
<i>older leada guy(s)</i>	5
<i>trader guy(s)</i>	5
<i>guys dat talk fo God</i>	4
<i>army guy(s)</i>	3
<i>slave guy(s)</i>	3
<i>steala guy(s)</i>	2
<i>da guys dat not slaves</i>	2
<i>guys tell wat dey know</i>	1
<i>da guys dat wen work fo him</i>	1
<i>da guys dat wen stay agains dem</i>	1
<i>da guys dat God wen send all ova</i>	1
<i>da guys dat know how fo make fancy kine stuffs</i>	1
<i>da (...) guys dat Jesus wen send all ova</i>	1
<i>da Bad Guy dat wen point finga</i>	1
<i>da guy dat say he talk fo God, but he bulai</i>	1
<i>da guys dat neva make demself pilau, but dey stay clean</i>	1
<i>guys riding horse</i>	1
Total	177

According to the phrase count, there are 177 circumlocutions with the key word. This shows that out of 385 instances of the word *guy*, 46 % of the words occur in one of the circumlocutions shown above. The most common circumlocutions in the text are *angel guy(s)*, *God's Baby Sheep Guy* and *angel messenja guy(s)*.

What is more, the key word is accompanied by a variety of other words which alter its basic meaning. The words are presented in Table 5.

Table 5
Word count for the circumlocutions with *guy*

Word	Number of occurrences	Percentage
<i>guy</i>	177	32.2
<i>angel</i>	92	16.7
<i>God</i>	46	8.4
<i>Baby</i>	40	7.3
<i>Sheep</i>	40	7.3
<i>messenja</i>	36	6.5
<i>dat</i>	14	2.5
<i>da</i>	10	1.8
<i>fo</i>	7	1.3
<i>worka</i>	6	1.1
<i>leada</i>	5	0.9
<i>mahke</i>	5	0.9
<i>older</i>	5	0.9
<i>slave(s)</i>	5	0.9
<i>talk</i>	5	0.9
<i>trader</i>	5	0.9
<i>wen</i>	5	0.9
<i>army</i>	3	0.5
<i>all</i>	2	0.4
<i>but</i>	2	0.4
<i>dey</i>	2	0.4
<i>he</i>	2	0.4
<i>know</i>	2	0.4
<i>make</i>	2	0.4

<i>not</i>	2	0.4
<i>ova</i>	2	0.4
<i>send</i>	2	0.4
<i>stay</i>	2	0.4
<i>steala</i>	2	0.4
<i>agains</i>	1	0.2
<i>bad</i>	1	0.2
<i>bulai</i>	1	0.2
<i>clean</i>	1	0.2
<i>dem</i>	1	0.2
<i>demself</i>	1	0.2
<i>fancy</i>	1	0.2
<i>finga</i>	1	0.2
<i>him</i>	1	0.2
<i>horse</i>	1	0.2
<i>how</i>	1	0.2
<i>Jesus</i>	1	0.2
<i>kine</i>	1	0.2
<i>neva</i>	1	0.2
<i>pilau</i>	1	0.2
<i>point</i>	1	0.2
<i>riding</i>	1	0.2
<i>say</i>	1	0.2
<i>stuffs</i>	1	0.2
<i>tell</i>	1	0.2
<i>wat</i>	1	0.2
<i>work</i>	1	0.2
Total	550	100.0

The most common words occurring in these circumlocutions are *angel*, *God*, *Baby*, *Sheep* and *messenja*. This is due to the fact that these words are elements of the most frequent circumlocutions in the studied fragment of the Hawai'i Creole English Bible. The next three words that are included in the table are *dat*, *da* and *fo*. These words, in comparison to the remaining part, appear relatively frequently in the text since they serve grammatical functions. The word *dat* occurs fairly

often, for the simple reason that, it is an element of relative clauses. The following word *da* precedes nouns which are followed by, for instance, relative clauses or prepositional phrases. Lastly, the word *fo* plays an important role in forming prepositional phrases in this respect its frequent use is justified. The remaining part of the words constitutes 1.1 % of all words, in these circumlocutions, or less.

The circumlocutions with the word *guy* use a variety of lexical items. These, in turn, represent distinct grammatical classes. In Table 6, grammatical classes are presented.

Table 6

Grammatical classes count for circumlocutions with *guy*

Word class	Number of occurrences	Percentage
noun	462	84.0
adjective	15	2.7
verb	15	2.7
relative pronoun	14	2.5
article	10	1.8
preposition	10	1.8
auxiliary verb	7	1.3
personal pronoun	5	0.9
conjunction	4	0.7
adverb	3	0.5
determiner	2	0.4
gerund	1	0.2
object pronoun	1	0.2
reflexive pronoun	1	0.2
Total	550	100.0

As may be seen, the most frequent grammatical class occurring in these circumlocutions is a noun. Nouns account for 84 % of all word classes. Verbs and adjectives are used the same number of times and they both account for 2.7 %. The next common grammatical classes are relative pronouns, articles, prepositions and auxiliary verbs. As far as the first three classes are concerned, their numeric values are almost the same as in the case of the word count for the circumlocutions with *guy*. In the case of prepositions, however, a greater numeric value is provided. This is due to the fact that there are two more prepositions used apart from *fo*, namely, *ova* and *agains*. The preposition *ova* appears twice in two different circumlocutions, that is, *da guys dat God wen send all ova* and *da guys dat Jesus wen send all ova*. Furthermore, the preposition *agains* transpires once in the circumlocutions, that is, in the circumlocution *da guys dat wen stay agains dem*. Nevertheless, auxiliary verbs emerge in these circumlocutions as well. There are two helping verbs present in the circumlocutions, namely, *wen* and *stay*. The helping verb *wen* appears five times, whereas *stay* occurs twice. Both verbs account for 1.3 % of the grammatical classes in the circumlocutions. The remaining part of word classes accounts for 0.9 % or less.

The quantitative analysis of grammatical classes enables us to present possible grammatical constructions for circumlocutions. Table 7 illustrates the possible constructions.

Table 7

Grammatical structures for circumlocutions with *guy*

Structure	Number of occurrences	Percentage
X + N + <i>guy</i>	81	45.8
N + <i>guy</i>	80	45.2
<i>guy</i> + relative clause	14	7.8
<i>guy</i> + V + CONJ + PHRASE	1	0.6
<i>guy</i> + reduced relative clause	1	0.6

As may be observed, the most frequent constructions are X + N + N and N + N combinations. The first category embraces structures where two nouns are preceded by an additional noun or adjective. It is more likely that in this structure the first modifier would be a noun rather than an adjective. It is due to the obvious fact that nouns account for 84 % of all possible word classes, whereas adjectives constitute 2.7 % of all word classes for the circumlocutions with *guy*. The second possible structure is a two-noun combination. The third possible structure is a modification of the head word *guy* with a relative clause. The two least common structures, each one of which occurs only once, are N + V + CONJ + PHRASE and N + reduced relative clause. The first complex structure may be seen in the circumlocution *guys tell wat dey know*. The second structure appears in the example *guys riding horse*.

The circumlocutions with *guy* are frequently used in *The Revelation of St. John Divine* in Hawai'i Creole English Bible. There are many instances where the key word is modified and used with a new meaning. In Table 8, one may see the circumlocutions with the grammatical function that they have in the text. Additionally, the literal meaning is provided and their actual meanings as well.

Table 8

Circumlocutions with *guy* in Hawai'i Creole English

Circumlocution in HCE	Word class	Literal meaning	Actual meaning in HCE
<i>angel guy</i>	noun	angel guy	angel
<i>angel messenja guy</i>		angel messenger guy	
<i>army guy</i>	noun	army guy	army
<i>makhe guy</i>	noun	dead guy	dead
<i>slave guy</i>	noun	slave guy	bondman/ slave
<i>trader guy</i>	noun	trader guy	merchant
<i>worka guy</i>	noun	worker guy	servant

<i>steala guy</i>	noun	stealer guy	thief
<i>older leada guys</i>	noun	older leader guys	elders
<i>God's Baby Sheep Guy</i>	noun	God's Baby Sheep Guy	The Lamb
<i>guy riding horse</i>	noun	guy riding horse	horseman
<i>guy dat not slave</i>	noun	guy that is not a slave	free man
<i>guy dat work fo him</i>	noun	guy that works for him	servant
<i>guy tell wat he know</i>	noun	guy tells what he knows	witness
<i>guy dat stay aga-inst</i>	noun	guy that stays against	enemy
<i>bad guy dat point finga</i>	noun	guy that points finger	accuser
<i>guy dat neva make himself pilau, but he stay clean</i>	noun	guy that never makes himself dirty but he stays clean	virgin
<i>guy dat god send all ova</i>	noun	guy that is sent by God all over	prophet
<i>guy dat talk fo god</i>		guy that talks to/for God	
<i>guy dat know how fo make fancy kine stuffs</i>	noun	guy that knows how to make fancy kind of stuff	craftsman
<i>guy dat Jesus send all ova</i>	noun	guy that Jesus sends all over	apostle

To recapitulate, the examples with the word *guy* function as nouns. It is worth noting that the basic way of modifying the word is to precede it with a noun or an adjective. It is also possible to add a relative clause after the noun. Additionally, the key word *guy* may be pluralised and refer not only to a single person but to a whole group of people. As a result, it makes the word very productive since it allows for the coining of new lexical items with distinctive meanings.

6. Conclusions

The analysis of contexts with the key word *guy* from *The Revelation of St. John Divine* allows us to identify the uses of this word in circumlocutions. What is evident is that the word *guy* is employed in nominal circumlocutions.

Apart from observing the meanings of these elaborate expressions, one may also see grammatical patterns used in the phrases. There are five possible structures, however, three constructions are frequent, that is, X + N + *guy*, N + *guy* and *guy* + relative clause.

This research shows that the use of circumlocutions is a common language strategy employed in *The Revelation of St. John Divine*. However, a further study of circumlocutions with different content words in the Bible in Hawai'i Creole English is required. Furthermore, an investigation of different written and spoken texts in Hawai'i Creole English would be crucial to finding more circumlocutions used in everyday communication.

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LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

**Cross-linguistic phonological interaction:
Word-stress usage in the English
of Polish advanced EFL speakers**

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Abstract

The paper discusses the emergence of L1-induced word-stress patterns in the spoken production of Polish advanced speakers of English. In Polish, unlike in English, a great deal of word-stress predictability is attested, and the paper investigates whether this affects the actual production. The investigations are couched within the broad area of contact linguistics and are analysed in the usage-based cognitive phonological approach. A possible lack of exemplar connections to standard English forms is postulated here, so that EFL speakers develop patterns where the connections are being made to their native exemplars. The *Frequency in a Favourable Context* criterion is used here to estimate effects of use pattern that are distinct in the investigated languages. The data were obtained in a series of production tasks in a test-like format, by students in the English Department at PUK in Kraków. The results were analysed to the effect that they demonstrated a high level of L1 influence bordering possibly on innovation and propagation of new pattern of use, with cognate forms demonstrating the more rigid adherence to L1 stress locus.

Keywords

word-stress, cross-linguistic influence, usage-based approach, cognates

**Międzyjęzykowa interakcja fonologiczna:
Akcent wyrazowy w angielszczyźnie
polskich użytkowników****Abstrakt**

Artykuł omawia wzory akcentowania wyrazów w wypowiedziach polskich zaawansowanych użytkowników języka angielskiego, indukowane kontaktem fonologicznym. W języku polskim, w przeciwieństwie do języka angielskiego, akcent wyrazowy jest przewidywalny, co może mieć wpływ na akcentowanie w języku angielskim, z zasadniczo nieprzewidywalnym miejscem akcentu wyrazowego. Badania prowadzono w szerokim obszarze lingwistyki kontaktowej, jak i analizowano szczegółowo w kognitywnym podejściu fonologicznym opartym na użyciu. Celem było zbadanie możliwego braku przykładowych połączeń ze standardowymi formami języka angielskiego, a zamiast tego użytkownicy angielskiego jako języka obcego rozwijają własne wzorce, powiązane z ich wzorcem rodzimym. Specyficzną zmienną tu zastosowaną jest kryterium *Frequency in Favourable Context*. Dane pozyskano od studentów anglistyki w Uniwersytecie Pedagogicznym w Krakowie, poprzez serię zadań opartych na wymowie pojedynczych słów oraz zdań je zawierających. Wykonanie było oceniane niezależnie przez dwóch oceniających. Wyniki zostały porównane i przeanalizowane, pokazując wysoki poziom wpływu języka pierwszego, graniczący prawdopodobnie z innowacją i propagacją nowego wzorca stosowania, przy czym formy pokrewne (cognates) wykazują bardziej konsekwentne stosowanie wzorca akcentowego języka ojczystego respondentów.

Słowa kluczowe

akcent wyrazowy, interakcje międzyjęzykowe, podejście oparte na użyciu, wyrazy pokrewne (cognates)

1. Introduction

Usage-based framework to language and linguistic analysis considers cognitive processes as well as social interactions to be responsible for the structure and the emerging performance in language. Within naturally occurring speech in contact situations emerging usage patterns likewise produce novel forms, which are subsequently acquired, used and again modified. Foreign learners' renditions of L2 targets are at least in part governed by their native language sound patterns. Besides the segmental and sequential mismatches, there may be supra-segmental (prosodic) mismatches that underlie the (foreign-) accentedness evident in their production. Word stress deviations, for example, are naturally very frequent in learning English as a foreign language (EFL) because of the unpredictability of English metrical patterns, especially when English is learned by speakers of more predictable word accentuation (Porzuczek and Rojczyk 2017). English employs free-stress, which means that it can fall on various syllables, and that it also affects the way that vowels and consonants are pronounced, thus it influences the ways that listeners identify the words spoken. In that sense word-stress is essential to intelligibility and affects both native and non-native listeners severely (Lewis 2018).

For patterns to emerge and later to get entrenched in a given group of speakers, a combination of several factors is needed. The single most often evoked criterion is that of frequency, both of type and token. Thus, grammar is seen as an inventory of patterns deriving essentially from repeated use and differing in their complexity and the degree of conventionalization. Frequency is thus perceived as having a fundamental role as "both a result and a shaping force of the system" (Kemmer and Barlow 2000: x). Yet, on its own, the criterion of frequency appears insufficient to explain the phenomena of usage and pattern formation, so that other mechanisms need to be taken account of too. And that is despite observations

that stress placement error rate is inversely proportional to word frequency (Sobkowiak 1996).

The aim of this study is to examine the usage patterns of lexical level stress in English (L2) as used by advanced speakers of Polish. The specific issue this paper addresses is the potential emergence of L1-induced word stress patterns in the spoken production of Polish users of English. The subjects L1 as well as their L2 – English – belong to the accentual type, that is, they single out one syllable in an accentual unit, typically a word, as more prominent than those in the environment. Thus they can be described as systems that have stress (Archibald 1997: 167). For the purposes of this paper we take the following, generally accepted definition of word accent, based on the implied notion of prominence, without specifying what this notion entails: “Accent (stress) refers to the linguistic phenomenon in which a particular element of the chain of speech is singled out in relation to surrounding elements, irrespective of the means by which this is achieved” (Fox 2000: 115).

Languages on the whole differ with respect to the variability in the position of stress, yet Polish word-stress is to a great extent predictable. The aim therefore was to investigate whether this typological difference may possibly influence the acquisition and production of stress in a language like English, with little predictability in terms of stress placement. The analysis is couched not only within the broad area of contact linguistics but is specifically carried out in the usage-based cognitive phonological approach (Bybee 1999, 2001, Doherty and Foulkes 2014, Välimaa-Blum 2005). The idea behind this is that perhaps speakers of English as a foreign language initially at least lack exemplar connections to standard English forms and instead they develop patterns that testify to the connections being made to their native exemplar. The specific variable to be investigated is the *Frequency in a Favourable Context* criterion (Brown 2015). It estimates the effects of patterns of use that are distinct in the investigated pairs of languages, i.e. English

vs. Polish, yet in contexts that confusingly may resemble the native ones. The data were obtained in a series of production tasks in a test-like, non-experimental format, chiefly by students of pronunciation classes in the English Department at the Pedagogical University of Kraków. The subjects performance was evaluated independently by two scorers who focused on word-stress performance only, disregarding other, largely segmental, elements of pronunciation. The results were compared and analysed to the effect that they demonstrated a high level of L1 influence bordering possibly on innovation and propagation of new pattern of use in contact situations.

2. A taxonomy of stress systems of Polish and English – the consequences

Natural languages are characterised by a variety of types of stress systems. The taxonomy proposed by Archibald (1997: 168) is presented in Figure 1.

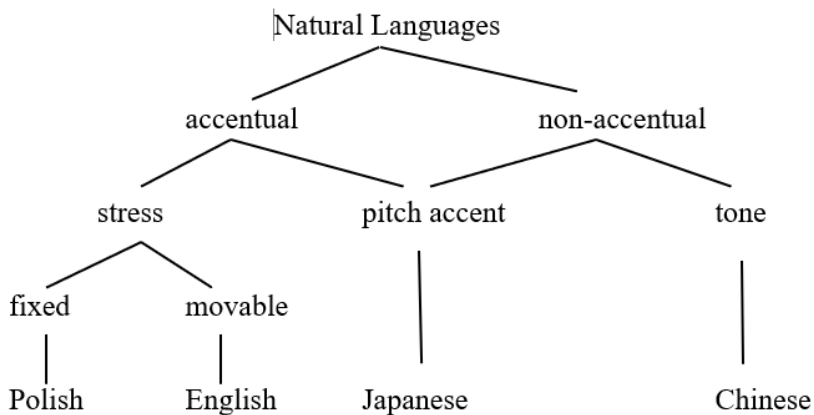


Figure 1

Since the subjects' native system belongs to the accentual type, the study ignores non-accentual languages completely. Typologically Polish and English are different in terms of the domain of stress assignment. Harry van der Hulst (2010) observes that the diversity in accentual patterns is substantial and he identified as many as 132 different manners in which languages can encode the location of primary accents. In an attempt to present some major trends in a typology of basic parameters underlying surface accentuation, van der Hulst (2010: 33) divides the languages into two major groups:¹

- a. Group 1: *fixed accent languages*: these languages always have primary accent on a particular syllable in the word (e.g. Czech, Finnish, Turkish, Macedonian, Polish);
- b. Group 2: *variable stress languages*: here the location of stress is not the same for every word but depends on one or more word-internal factors. This location is fully determined for every word, but across the lexicon different locations are observed (Epena Pe-dee, Malayalam, Ossetic, English (?), Spanish (?)).

Following the typology outlined above, we can determine that Polish typologically belongs to group 1: fixed accent languages, with the penultimate syllable as the locus of primary stress, while English is a group 2 system: variable stress languages. Taking into account the specific realizations of word-level prominence in the two systems, a number of metrical parameters can be delineated (Archibald 1992, 1993, 1997, Domahs et al. 2012, Domahs et al. 2014b, Kang 2011, Karpowicz 2008 – see Table 1).

¹ Van der Hulst (2014: 12) introduces a slightly modified terminology, remarking that word stress patterns are broadly categorized according the two criteria: boundedness and weight-sensitivity. Essentially his understanding is nonetheless along the lines of his earlier observations.

Table 1
The metrical parameter setting of Polish and English

The parameter	Polish	English
The word-tree is strong on the [left / right]	right	right
Feet are [binary / unbounded]	binary	binary
Feet are built from [left / right]	left	left
Feet are strong on the [left / right]	right	right
Feet are quantity-sensitive ² (QS) [no/yes]	QI	QS
Feet are QS to the [rhyme / nucleus]	NA	rhyme
There is an extrametrical syllable [no / yes]	no	yes
It is extrametrical on the [left / right]	NA	right

Polish and English systems are then straightforwardly dissimilar, English employing a quantity sensitive system, which is characterized, in absolute terms, by unpredictable word stress, while Polish has a fairly regular word-stress distribution. The tentative assumption to investigate, then, could be that speakers of Polish should in principle experience some major difficulties in the perception and production of the variable stress of English.

What is clearly absent in the system of Polish word stress is the kind of vowel reduction found in unaccented syllables so common for English (Śpiewak and Gołębiewska 2001). This reduction typically consists in changing the melody of the vowel portion of the syllable approximating the quality of the neutral vowel [ə]. Coming from a syllable-timed language, Polish speakers are expected to have difficulties with English vowel reductions and with rhythm, in addition to the significant dif-

² A language is quantity-sensitive (henceforth QS) if it makes a distinction between Heavy (H) and Light (L) syllables, avoiding unstressed Hs. A heavy syllable will typically contain a long vowel (monophthong or diphthong) or a combination of a short vowel and a single consonant. A Light syllable has a short simple vowel as its nucleus (Zec 2011).

ferences in the stress patterns of the two languages which prove to be sources of difficulty (Yavaş 2011).

Even though the domain of stress assignment is primarily the word in both systems, the actual locus of main stress is fixed: in Polish it is the last but one syllable in the default cases. There are a number of both lexical and morphological exceptions to the penultimate stress site, therefore, we can speak of a certain degree of variability in the stress position, which can be described as moderate (Peperkamp et al. 2010). It has been noted, however, that a powerful trend towards regularizing stress position to the default site is becoming more prominent. The examples cited involve the slow abandonment of antepenultimate stress in Polish words of foreign provenance or in preterite and conditional verb forms (Bereda 1993, Karpowicz 2008), with the resulting regularization. Accounts of the (apparent) exceptions are now available (cf. Peperkamp 2004) which try to minimize the amount and the contribution of non-default accentuation to the overall system.

Following the ideas of Peperkamp and Dupoux (2002) and Peperkamp et al. (2010), related to the abilities of perceiving word stress, it has been postulated that a notion of 'stress deafness', in its different degrees, can be used to relate to the perceptive sensitivity in the domain lexical stress. For example, speakers of Spanish, with the native system of variable stress and numerous exceptions are believed to show no significant stress deafness (Peperkamp et al. 2010). Speakers of Polish, on the other hand, despite the fact that they are accustomed to the fixed locus of stress, yet with 0.1 % of exceptions, are characterized as demonstrating weak stress deafness (*ibidem*), thus showing a certain degree of sensitivity to instances of misstressing deviating from the regular native pattern. Exceptional stress patterns are detected easily when applied incorrectly to words that normally receive pre-final stress. Still, stress-deafness does not automatically preclude the pronunciation of English words with correct prominence structure, which suggests a certain degree of independence

between perception and production in this respect (Porzuczek and Rojczyk 2017). Furthermore, the variability of stress patterns does not affect prosodic processing in general but instead leads to differential effects in stress perception. The conclusion is that stress predictability does not homogeneously result in the so-called “stress deafness” effects in stress processing, but that it rather emerges only for the default stress pattern (Domahs et al. 2013; Domahs et al. 2014a, 2014b). For Polish speakers, asymmetrical results obtained in the study of Domahs et al. (2012) can be interpreted to reflect that Polish native speakers are less sensitive to the default pattern than to the exceptional or post-lexical patterns.

When speakers of a language like Polish learn and use English as L2, they have to switch to using a lexical stress system that is markedly different from their own. The stress pattern found in English can be compactly defined as below (van der Hulst 2010: 445, van der Hulst 2014):

- a. Primary stress falls on the final syllable in nouns if the vowel is long, in verbs if the vowel is long or there are two closing consonants.
- b. In other cases, stress falls on the penult if it contains a long vowel or coda.
- c. Else stress is antepenultimate.
- d. Secondary stress falls on alternate syllables to the left (many exceptions).

Trommelen and Zonneveld (1999: 479) clarify in the following way: “main word stress in English is assigned leftward from the righthand edge of the word, in a quantity-sensitive fashion”, and thus it falls on “the rightmost available vowel”, given that “(i) any final rhyme is skipped, and (ii) a prefinal rhyme with a short vowel in an open syllable is disregarded” Thus, it appears that English has a quantity-sensitive right

edge system.³ Moreover, heavy syllables assume all the shapes listed above: a long vowel (or diphthong) in an open syllable, a short vowel in a closed syllable as well as the so-called “super-heavy rhymes” – long vocalic segment followed by a coda consonant. The final consonant in a word domain is typically extrametrical – it does not count for the purposes of stress placement. In derived words, English observes a distinction between stress-determining and stress-neutral affixes.

All this has certain consequences for the Polish speakers of English. Śpiewak and Gołębiowska (2001: 163) mention the difficulties with mastering the stress-timed rhythm of English, attempting to assign equal prominence to all words in an utterance, pronouncing full vowels in unstressed syllables and commonly mis-stressing a good deal of words following the native penultimate stress assignment pattern. On the other hand, Waniek-Klimczak (2002), in her study of highly metaphonologically aware students of English, observed a reverse tendency, namely to avoid L1 transfer in word-level stress, even if the strategy also resulted in stress errors. Similar instances were also reported on in Buczek-Zawiła (2012).

It can, therefore, be an interesting area of investigation to see how those speakers actually perform when it comes to producing word stress on individual items and when the items are embedded in a sentence, following the patterns employed in Archibald’s (1992, 1993) studies.

3. Research design and methodology

3.1. The aim

This paper describes an empirical investigation into the L2 usage patterns in a group of advanced speakers of English as

³ Compare, however, the findings and suggestions in Domahs et al. (2014b), where four options are offered and the specific role of extrametricality is discussed, particularly in relation to quantity-sensitivity reliance in stress assignment.

a second language, with some degree of L1 influence presence, pertaining to native lexical stress regularities. In doing so we try to account for second language learner competence and behaviour. The non-canonical renderings detected are in principle not treated as errors per se. Rather, we believe that they reflect the actual L2 phonologies that the participants developed from the usage patterns of the L2 English as they perceive it and L1 regularities, interacting in actual use. The first language influence is traced not only to simple pattern transfer but also to the cognate vs. non-cognate status of the target items. In essence, we investigate the acquisition of English stress patterns by adult, non-native Polish speakers of English.⁴

The specific problems addressed in this study are thus as follows:

- RQ1: Given the typologically different stress-assignment principles of the subjects' L1 in relation to English, is the L1 pattern transfer evident in the data?
- RQ2: Is the transfer extent significant?
- RQ3: Is the cognate/non-cognate status of individual items a factor in the influence detected?
- RQ4: What other factors contribute to the misstressing items?

From these, the following working hypotheses have been formulated:

- RH1: There is a substantial degree of L1 stress-assignment pattern transfer in the English as used by the participants.

⁴ We follow here on the ideas and design of a similar study in a different framework by Archibald (1992, 1993). Here, however, we do not assign any perception tasks to the participants, we concentrate solely on the production part. Similar design was applied when investigating the L2 phonology of Turkish and Spanish speakers of English in similar production tasks (Buczek-Zawiła 2018).

- RH2: Cognate items stress pattern is copied more faithfully than the non-cognate one, resulting in L1 influence of the default locus (*Frequency in Favourable Context Criterion*).
- RH3: Over-generalizing, analogy, and conscious effort to sound foreign, can partially explain the deviant forms.

3.2. The subjects

The participants group consisted of 32 randomly selected 1st year Polish students of English Studies Department at the Pedagogical University of Krakow, both regular day students (16) and extramural ones (16), who were approached early in the academic year of 2019/20 (October and November). All of them were freshmen students and therefore largely phonetically-naive. The general language proficiency of the subjects was, to the extent it was possible to be judged, approximately similar. It needs to be added that in the curriculum for year 1 students of the English Department there is a Practical Phonetics course, comprising, correspondingly, 90/54 hours of instruction for the day and the weekend students, yet the subjects participated in the experiment at the beginning of their training, so that it can be assumed that their expertise and performance equal that of students in other departments.

The reasons behind choosing these participants are connected with aspects such as their age (19-20 – save a few cases among the extramurals), command of English (at and above the FCE level) as well as relative conscious unfamiliarity with English phonetic/phonological system. In that sense they formed a reasonably uniform test group.

3.3. The methodology

In order to address the issues outlined above an experiment was designed with the aim of revealing the dominant tendencies. The participants were assigned two identical production tasks, as part of their instructional paradigm. In the first part,

they were asked to read out loud and record into a computer/mobile phone voice recording applications a list of **32** English polysyllabic words arranged in random order. The voice files were saved and sent to the author via e-mail. The second part followed after a minimum interval of a week. This time the students were asked to read out loud and record into a computer/mobile phone voice recording applications a list of **32** short sentences containing each of the targeted words recorded previously. To give but one example of the cognate and non-cognate items: the item *chocolate* was incorporated into the utterance *I like milk chocolate with nuts*; while the non-cognate *understand* appeared in *I don't understand this*. The order of sentences did not match the order on the word list. Tasks one and two both involved a production of **2048** tokens of 32 word types and 32 sentence types by all **32** participants.

The main study is limited to words with (primarily) single stress, consisting of at least two to at most four syllables. Some of the items, both cognates and non-cognates, actually had the same stress locus as in the participants' L1 typical pattern, namely the penultimate syllable. Table 2 below shows the items grouped according to lexical stress position and their cognate/non-cognate status. The standard stress locus is marked in bold.

The subjects' performance was evaluated independently by two scorers who focused on word-stress performance. One of them was a native speaker and the other an experienced pronunciation teacher. Thus, inter-rater reliability was ensured and the scoring procedure was validated. For each correct stress placement, the participants received a score of 1 and for misplaced prominence – zero. The results were compared and analysed in order to reveal the apparent tendencies and (new) regularities. The accuracy was then calculated as the proportion of correctly stressed words to the total number of test words. For inferential statistics the number of accurate productions was treated as continuous values, rescaled from

0 correct realizations to maximum 32 correct realizations. The data were normally distributed.

For ease of reference, Table 3 lists the cognate equivalents of the experimental items, with the original stressed site marked in bold.

Afterwards, for those willing, individual feedback sessions on their performance were organized, where the participants were first of all informed about their scores and possible problem cases. At the same time they were able to provide insights as to what governed their performance resulting in mis-stressing the items. That, in turn, allowed us to collect valuable information for further data analysis.

Table 2
Experimental items

Syllables		Stress final	Stress penultimate	Stress antepenultimate
2	C	balloon canal	biscuits chocolate	X
	NC	enjoy	manage	
3	C	engineer	specific com puter succ essful	telephone interview com fortable in ternet par aphrase ch aracter
	NC	under stand in terrupt	to mor row re mem ber to get her appe ar ance	b utterfly be autiful cu stomer ne wspaper da mages str awberry
4syllables	C	X	oper ation	tech no logy
	NC		X	dis co very ad ve rtisement

Table 3
Cognates stressed locus

Experimental item	Polish
b iscuits	b iskwit / biskwity
ch ocolate	czekolada
te lephone	tele f on
ch aracter	charak t er
tech n ology	technol o gia
i nternet	i nternet
spec i fic	specy f iczny
comp u ter	kom p uter
oper a tion	operac j a
p araphrase	parafrazow a ć / parafraz a
i nterview	interw j u/ i nterview
co mfortable	komfortow y
su cc essful	s ukces
engine e er	in ż ynier
ba loon	b alon
ca nal	k anał

3.4. The results

Let us now turn to the performance of the participants in more detail. To begin with, no statistically significant differences have been found in the overall performance in task 1 (individual words) and task 2 (targeted words in sentences) across the whole sample. The mean scores figures are tabulated below for ease of reference. The scores displayed are those for correctly applied lexical prominence.

Table 4
Stress (mis)placement rates

	Polish L1 (1024 + 1024)		
	Correct stress	Incorrect stress	Mean
Words	558	466	0.54
Sentences	597	427	0.58

The data demonstrate that whether a word was produced in isolation or in a sentence did not significantly affect the subjects' performance.

When the results are broken according to individual items, the scores show a slightly different distribution than expected and are noteworthy in that they seem to be dependent both on the native language influence of individual speakers as well as the cognate/non-cognate status of the item, to be further influenced by some other factors. The results are presented in Table 5.⁵

Table 5
Results by item

No.	Item	Polish L1		
		Correct stress	Incorrect stress	Mean score
1	manage	29	3	0.9
2	remember	21	11	0.65
3	tomorrow	19	13	0.59
4	together	25	7	0.78
5	appearance	17	15	0.53
6	damages	21	11	0.65
7	butterfly	22	10	0.68
8	customer	22	10	0.68
9	newspaper	10	22	0.31
10	beautiful	20	12	0.62
11	strawberry	17	15	0.53
12	discovery	16	16	0.5
13	advertisement	21	11	0.65
14	enjoy	23	9	0.71
15	understand	26	6	0.81
16	interrupt	21	11	0.65

⁵ The table presents the results for individual words only. For the time being a similar juxtaposition for sentences is not believed to contribute any significant insights to the picture as the scores are comparable and statistically insignificant.

17	b iscuits	25	7	0.68
18	ch ocolate	15	17	0.46
19	spe ci fic	14	18	0.43
20	comp u ter	9	23	0.28
21	su cc essful	12	20	0.37
22	t elephone	11	21	0.34
23	ch aracter	12	20	0.37
24	p araphrase	10	22	0.31
25	i nterview	14	18	0.43
26	com fortable	9	23	0.28
27	i nternet	12	20	0.37
28	te ch nology	12	20	0.37
29	ope r ation	27	5	0.84
30	eng in eer	12	20	0.37
31	bal lo on	21	11	0.65
32	can a l	13	19	0.4

Items 1–16 are forms that are not cognates (or non-borrowed items) in English and Polish. Therefore, being completely novel in terms of their form, on the whole should be easier to produce with the standard L2 stress position. This indeed appears to be case – on the whole the items are on average produced with higher accuracy than the others (with the exception of item 9 – *newspaper*). This may be in part due to high scores on items that share the native stress site.

Items 17 to 32 have cognate forms in Polish, even if not completely equivalent in terms of grammatical category or form, with one (*interview*) being the loaned item. The assumption is that due to their familiarity from the native language the subjects are more likely to copy the locus of primary stress in them. Where this is different from the target primary stress site, a conflict occurs and as a result prominence occurs on a non-canonical site. It is therefore needed to see whether the error rates for cognate and non-cognate items show significant differences. The scores as calculated by item were subjected to statistical verification. With **330** tokens (out of **512** tokens)

correctly stressed for the non-cognate items (mean: **0.64**) and **228** tokens (out of **512**) correctly stressed in the groups of cognate words (mean: **0.44**), the difference appears significant. The scores for the cognate and non-cognate items were found to be moderately correlated, $r(32) = .35$, $p = .04$. To obtain a fuller picture, data selection was performed, in that the scores for items, both cognate (5) and non-cognate (5), that have the penultimate primary stress site, that is one that is identical to the subjects' L1, were eliminated from the analysis. That left us with **22** types, **11** in each category, producing **704** tokens altogether, with the means of **0.4** and **0.62** for the cognate and non-cognate items respectively. Here the results showed an even stronger positive correlation: $r(22) = .63$, $p = .0015$. Thus the calculated r- and p-values certify to the fact that the results obtained in the study are statistically significant.

The values thus obtained show that the assumed relationship between the cognate – non-cognate status of individual items and the production of expected stress location is decisive in the light of data analysed so far. Statistically there is a correlation between the occurrence and rate of non-canonical forms and whether the item has or has not its cognate equivalent. These may not, however, be the one single factor at play.

The final bit of data, before we proceed to the discussion of the numerical material, concern the “*preferred*” location of primary word stress. In other words, if misplacement occurred, was there a consistent patterning in terms of the locus of lexical prominence or was it completely random? The bolded figures in the table below mark the number of token occurrences in the site that is consistent with the participants' L1 word-stress pattern. The italicized figures show the desired stress site.

Table 6
Misplaced locus

No.	Item	Polish L1 (N=32)			
		preantepenultimate	antepenultimate	penultimate	ultimate
1	manage	—	—	29	3
2	remember	—	11	21	0
3	tomorrow	—	13	19	0
4	together	—	7	25	0
5	appearance	—	8	17	7
6	damages	—	21	11	0
7	butterfly	—	22	10	0
8	customer	—	22	10	0
9	newspaper	—	10	22	0
10	beautiful	—	20	12	0
11	strawberry	—	17	15	0
12	discovery	7	16	9	0
13	advertisement	4	21	7	0
14	enjoy	—	—	9	23
15	understand	—	6	0	26
16	interrupt	—	6	5	21
17	biscuits	—	—	25	7
18	chocolate	—	(15)	15	17
19	specific	—	18	14	0
20	computer	—	23	9	0
21	successful	—	20	12	0
22	telephone	—	11	14	7
23	character	—	12	20	0
24	paraphrase	—	10	0	22
25	interview	—	14	2	16
26	comfortable	—	9	(23)	23

27	internet	—	12	20	0
28	technology	6	12	14	0
29	operation	5	0	27	0
30	engineer	—	20	0	12
31	balloon	—	—	11	21
32	canal	—	—	19	13

The trend towards regularizing the stress position according to what the L1 exemplar clouds prompt is visible. The L1 grammar takes over to a significant degree, therefore the individual items are transformed according to the phonological constraints of L1, frequently with complete disregard to the items' original segmental make-up, length of vowels or consonants or the stress pattern. These and other factors were mentioned by participants during the feedback session, for example *chocolate* was frequently pronounced as a three-syllable -word, with the diphthong in the last one, which attracted stress ([ʃɔkoˈleɪt]). Likewise, *successful* and *newspaper* were misstressed due to falsely-perceived analogy with the Polish cognate (**sukces**) or the English related item (**paper**). Misplaced stress in a word like *computer*, which ought to have been easy for participants, was attributed by them to the prominence given to foreignness, the regular form sounded too native to them and foreignization through stress-shift seemed a better option.

3.5. Discussion

In an experiment like the one reported on in this study, the data are collected in simulated conditions where no attempt at actual interpersonal communication is made. As such applying only the criterion of type/token frequency seems insufficient. Typically, the effects of frequency are argued to be operative above a certain threshold at which cumulative experience with words can affect representations (Brown 2015, Bybee 2001).

However, patterns of language use can be extrapolated from the data obtained in a small scale experimental design such as that applied in this study. It happens because in addition to the online effect of phonetic context during actual oral production, there is a cumulative (lexical) effect of experience in specific discourse contexts that affects the pronunciation of words (Bybee 1999, 2001). All the items researched in the study belong to the everyday active vocabulary of EFL speakers, and are characterized by a high degree of frequency occurrence, promoting the likelihood of producing the (un)modified variant. The particular circumstances within which one experiences and uses language are an important variable here.

In the present study, the subjects had to do two tasks. It has to be admitted that engaging participants in the sentence-level task was somewhat superfluous as they were not found to perform significantly differently on this task. Yet being actually exposed to and experiencing the same words out of and in a specific context is believed to promote variation and change on the one hand or, alternatively, pattern entrenchment.

A novel measure had to be made use of in this study to try and explain the regularities underlining the regular or emergent schemas. A usage-based variable FFC (*Frequency in a Favourable Context*, Brown 2015) estimates lexicalized effects of patterns of use in discourse. Employing it to our data, we claim that the effects emerge out of distinct usage properties of the two classes: cognates and non-cognates. Suprasegmental (prosodic) mismatches have been observed to be a common phenomenon, most particularly those that are related to different stress patterns in the speakers' languages. "Such mismatches are especially dangerous in the case of cognates. Learners may (and indeed do) fall into the 'same/similar form and meaning' trap between the two languages" (Yavaş 2011). It is not to do with the fact that cognate tokens emerge more frequently than the non-cognate ones. The fundamental assumption is that non-cognate items lack exemplar connections to forms sharing phonological and semantic similarity but exhib-

iting non-target-like stress patterns. To extract schemas from utterly novel exemplars than to first counteract the influence of the already existing L1 interconnections is assumed more cognitively accessible. In the data, the proportion of L1 stress pattern use is smaller with non-cognate than with cognate items. The effect of contact-induced cross-linguistic influence can then be either downplayed or increased via this contextually informed measure.

The explanation for the significant differences evident between cognate and non-cognate words is approached from within a usage-based framework, following a study by Brown (2015). She argues that the distinction between cognates and non-cognates emerges through the cumulative effect of significantly different patterns of use in discourse. Viewing bilingual language production in this way, as a specific case of variable use, predicts an outcome by which knowledge and use of one language can have predictable effects on the knowledge and use of the other language of a bilingual. According to Bybee (2001: 29), word exemplars are organized into a network of connections relating forms that are phonologically and semantically similar. Words with a high degree of phonological and semantic similarity share stronger lexical connections than words lacking such similarities. These gradient connections represent the form/meaning overlap from which morphology and to a substantial degree, phonology are emergent (Bybee 1999: 224). Their general relationship seems to be that the strong form/ meaning overlap of morphemes, therefore, allows for the possibility of influence.

Consequently, this predicts, via the same mechanism, the likelihood of mutual lexical influence between other forms with strong phonological and semantic overlap. For instance, some forms would have strong lexical connections due to the high degree of similarity in form and meaning. Good examples in our data would be items like *telephone*, *chocolate*, *character*, *technology*, used with nearly the same forms and meanings. Therefore a type of cognate effect is made apparent in the

quantitative analysis of these data. L1-like-accented forms typical of native language pronunciation for the phonological variable of word-level stress are closely associated cognitively in the lexicons of bilingual speakers to cognate pairs. Such associations bolster the strength of mis-stressed exemplars in English.

Cognates, then, transfer L1 stress pattern more often overall than non-cognates, due to their different exposure to phonetic environments conditioning the copy. The cross-linguistic phonological influence from Polish onto English in this case is at least partially lexically specific. And yet, Bybee (in Brown 2015: 402) notes that “while individual words have specific routines associated with them, their use activates the more general routines as well”. Thus, the preponderance of specific stress placement in cognates affects not just the cognate’s exemplar cloud, but also the exemplar cloud at the more general level of the lexical stress assignment routine. While such influence could predict moderate acquisition of the target stress regularities, especially compared to non-contact varieties, there is no evidence in the current data for a general change in all communicative contexts.

Sound systems on the whole are not impermeable to external influences, so it can be claimed that there must be some effect on variable phonological phenomena when alternating between languages. The hypothesised influence from the L1 would be evidenced in the increased use of L1 stress patterns and parameters, due to, first, strong stress-assignment schemas transferred from the L1 onto actual L2 production, and second, to the effects of words which share phonological (and lexical) overlap with English, that is cognates. These are transformed into an unmarked form, which in the case of stress assignment is demonstrated by assuming a default accent assignment pattern, the most general occurring in the language. This *retreat to the unmarked* may be at least partially explained, as Kang (2011) argues, not only through the influence

of native grammar, but rather by the default setting of Universal Grammar. The other mis-placements appear to stem from analogy (*successful, newspaper*), attempts at foreignization (*computer, tomorrow, interview*, cf. Yang 2014) or wrongly perceived L2 regularity (*chocolate, paraphrase*, cf. Paradis and Lacharité 2008). This observation is based on the personal feedback sessions held with the participants. Needless to say, not all effects that are felt cross-linguistically apply uniformly to all the items produced by the participants and in all contexts. Variation can be sometimes lexically specific and at times due to mechanisms other than simple one-to-one pattern transfer, such as the ones stipulated above.

The disclosed patterns predict that for words used frequently in online contexts promoting L1 stress position transfer (i.e. cognates), the likelihood of producing a non-standard form of the word increases. These non-canonical articulations increase the number (and/or strength) of the produced exemplars stored for that word. Such patterns yield different strengths of stressed/mis-stressed forms in exemplar clouds averaged across the categories. Hence, the cognate effect is submitted to be a primary effect of usage patterns, and in situations of language contact, the primacy of first language internal sources of change is highlighted.

To be able to refer back to the research questions and hypotheses formulated for this study we can summarize the findings in the following manner:

1. Given the typologically different stress-assignment principles of the subjects' L1s in relation to English, L1stress assignment pattern transfer is evident in the data.
2. Statistical analysis revealed that the non-canonical forms are influenced by the transfer to a significant degree.
3. The other mechanisms responsible for the deviations from the expected standard are stipulated to be the cognitive mechanisms of analogy (the *successful/sukces* case); wrongly perceived L2 regularity (assumed shift of stress upon suffixation

– *damages*); conscious effort to sound foreign – attempts at what is perceived as foreignization (*specific, computer*). These, however, need further examination.

4. Conclusion

It appears that participants were indeed transferring their L1 parameters and schemas relating to metrical structure (quantity (in)sensitivity, locus) onto their L2. At times they exhibit behaviour that is almost indistinguishable from that of native speakers, but it may be the case that the representations they have are actually different. On the whole, there is a substantial degree of L1 stress-assignment pattern transfer in the English as used by the participants (*retreat to the unmarked mechanism*). It is also evident that cognate items stress-pattern, whether target-like or not, is copied more faithfully than the non-cognate one, resulting in L1 influence of the default locus. In the non-conflicting items it will actually produce the desirable result. Finally, analogy and conscious effort to sound foreign can partially explain the deviant forms.

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**Fostering an autonomous approach
as a key to successful remote learning
during the covid pandemic**

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to call for greater attention to the expanding problem of fostering autonomous approach, which may prove to be the key to changing the common perception of remote learning and be the source of its success. Drawing on the ability, motivation and opportunity (AMO) framework, this conceptual paper integrates research on learning and teaching approaches in the light of emerging realities to present the potential and benefits of a remote learning model based on autonomous practice and increased awareness. A case is made that fundamental work is necessary to contribute to a positive change in public attitudes towards remote learning and to increase its effectiveness. Current debates on the potential for developing the latest teaching recommendations are also extended, considering the benefits of promoting autonomous approaches with a particular reference to distance learning settings.

Keywords

AMO model, autonomy, awareness, distance learning

Promowanie podejścia autonomicznego kluczem do skutecznej nauki zdalnej w czasach pandemii

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zwrócenie większej uwagi na rozszerzający się problem wspierania autonomicznego podejścia, które może okazać się kluczem do zmiany powszechnego postrzegania zdalnego nauczania i być źródłem jego sukcesu. Opierając się na modelu AMO (ang. *ability, motivation and opportunity*), niniejszy artykuł koncepcyjny wykorzystuje badania nad podejściem do uczenia się i nauczania w świetle pojawiających się realiów, prezentując potencjał i korzyści z zastosowania modelu zdalnego nauczania opartego na autonomicznej praktyce i zwiększonej świadomości. Przedstawiono argumenty przemawiające za koniecznością podjęcia kluczowych działań, które podniosą skuteczność edukacji zdalnej, a tym samym pozytywnie wpłyną na zmianę nastawienia społeczeństwa. Rozszerzono także aktualne debaty na temat możliwości rozwoju najnowszych zaleceń dydaktycznych, rozważając korzyści płynące z promowania autonomicznych rozwiązań, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem warunków kształcenia na odległość.

Słowa kluczowe

Model AMO, autonomia, świadomość, nauka zdalna

1. Introduction

The outbreak of the global COVID-19 virus epidemic has undoubtedly changed numerous aspects of human life, and education is by no means an exception. Therefore, the education system is now confronted with perhaps the greatest challenge of recent decades. In March 2020, the rapid and exponential spread of the new virus forced most governments to close educational institutions across almost the entire world. The decision to replace the conventional method of teaching with distance learning (Demetriou et al. 2020) required not only numerous technological adjustments, but above all a change in

the culture of teaching professionals and adaptation to new ways and strategies of student learning. The challenges of online learning are of an institutional, pedagogical as well as personal nature (Asgari et al. 2021). Given that lack of students' motivation or limited student-teacher interaction is the most frequently reported difficulty in the process of remote learning (Amir et al., 2020), it appears particularly important to explore how the current practices can be enhanced. Several attempts have already been made (Abramson 2020, Dhawan 2020, Okada and Sheehy 2020), but the one presented in this paper seems to be superior as it uses novel theoretical perspective allowing for capturing a breadth of experiences by simultaneously focusing on students' abilities, motivations and opportunities. Consistently, this paper aims to explore how learners' abilities, motivations, and opportunities can be enhanced in remote learning settings.

By providing a conceptual model underpinned by a literature review, the article makes several contributions to existing didactics literature. First, it highlights the issue of students' perceptions of remote learning during the COVID-19 pandemic (Wu 2021) and enumerates reasons for their dissatisfaction (Abbasi et al. 2020, Agarwal and Kaushik 2020, Amir et al. 2020). Secondly, it explains the need to provide an autonomous environment for learners, suggesting a number of applications to induce a significant difference in the quality of remote learning and enable learners to reach their full potential, for instance supporting the development of cognitive and metacognitive abilities (Anthonysamy 2021), implementing students' self-directed activities (Paul and Jeferson 2019), providing autonomy in decision-making (Ma 2021) or enhancing self-efficacy (Hayat et al. 2020). In doing so, it addresses the call for improvement opportunities of academics as well as students themselves who manifest their dissatisfaction with the level of remote education (Abbasi et al. 2020). Thirdly, it concentrates on the benefits of increased learner awareness, metacognitive abilities as well as motivation and these include

among others increased confidence (Anthonysamy 2021), creativity, productivity, active contribution in class (Brophy 2010) or persistence (Pelikan et al. 2021, Schunk 2014). This is of great importance as it contributes significantly to learning success. Finally, in the light of largely atheoretical research on remote learning, a well-established in management research Ability-Motivation-Opportunity (AMO) theory (Boxall and Purcell 2016) is used in educational settings. This interdisciplinary transfer provides a comprehensive approach to skills-, motivation-, and opportunity-enhancing practices tailored at the specific needs of remote learners to provide conditions for more effective self-directed learning (Georgiou 2018, Knox 2017).

This paper is structured as follows. First, the literature review methodology is discussed. Second, key debates on autonomous learning and teaching approaches are highlighted as well as remote and blended learning during the COVID-19 pandemic. Third, building on the AMO model, abilities and motivations of remote learners are considered in terms of enhancing educational practices. Finally, a discussion on implications for future research and practice is presented.

2. Literature review methodology

To review the existing literature, the author identified issues related to autonomous approaches to learning and teaching and recent papers on distant learning during the COVID-19 pandemic. As a first step, leading journals in pedagogy and language education as well as key textbooks were manually scanned. Secondly, a comprehensive web search for relevant topics (e.g. characteristics of the autonomous learner, benefits of autonomous approaches to learning, metacognitive styles, remote learning) was conducted using several electronic databases such as Academic Research Source eBooks (EBSCO), Education Research Complete (EBSCO) or Google Scholar. Finally, the author also familiarized herself with the positions on

the reference lists of the articles found through the first two methods. This strategy was directed to answer the question of whether promoting autonomous approaches can contribute to effective remote learning during the COVID-19 pandemic. Further analysis resulted in a development of a conceptual model of autonomous ability-motivation-opportunities for educational research. Notably, the model remains deliberately non-exhaustive, but the selected constructs exemplify the possibilities for research into the propagation of autonomy in remote learning settings.

3. Autonomous approach to education in a distance learning setting

3.1. Autonomy – a brief overview

Nowadays, learner independence is an extremely important concern in Second Language pedagogy. The concept of autonomy regarding foreign language teaching is not a new issue as it emerged with the Council of Europe project on the teaching of modern languages, yet it is now one of the most vital and intriguing issues in both theory and practice of teaching methodology (Wiśniewska 2017). To provide a brief overview, the first broadly accepted definition of autonomy presents it as “the ability to take responsibility for one’s own learning” (Holec 1981: 3), noting that it implies “to have and hold the responsibility for all the decisions concerning all aspects of this learning [...]” (Holec 1981: 3). This ability however lacked sufficient description and needed further elaboration (Benson 2009) and thus over the years the concept of learner autonomy has been widely debated in the field of second language acquisition. Specialists are not unanimous whether it is a psychological phenomenon with political implications or a political law with psychological implications, whether to treat it as an ability or a behavior; if it is determined by the learner’s responsibility or control, or finally whether complementary teacher autonomy

affects the development of learner autonomy (Little 2003). However, what they do agree on is that autonomy should be considered as a complex and multi-dimensional concept (Benson 2009). To fully understand its complexity, it is essential to identify and carefully analyse its individual components, such as motivation, self-esteem or autonomy (Everhard 2015), as well as a range of associations with different forms of practising autonomy, including individual and collaborative learning, the use of authentic materials, language guidance, negotiated syllabus and more (Benson 2009). Last but not least, it is undeniable that the concept of autonomy empowers learners to both be more active and become more effective language learners (Rahman 2018).

Regarding the characteristics of the two sides of the learning process, namely the learner and the teacher, the autonomous student is characterised by having developed metacognitive and cognitive strategies that enable him/her to undertake, conduct and evaluate his/her own language education (Marantika 2021). More specifically, independent learners actively participate in all types of learning activities, including goal setting, planning, task completion, self-reflection and assessment of learning (Klimas 2017) and display developed cognitive and metacognitive skills (Anthonysamy 2021). Perhaps most significantly, learners who approach learning autonomously are aware of their own responsibility for the learning process and realise that it does not end in the classroom but at most begins there (Toporek 2021).

Although much attention is paid to the learner's position, also the role of the teacher in building autonomy is of considerable importance (Little 2003, Ma 2021). To promote autonomy, the teacher must go beyond the constraints of the educational system (Alonazi 2017), which for many years has imposed on him/her the role of instructor and expert. He/she cannot control the learner but rather contribute to the development of their awareness and independence (Asgari et al. 2021, Dam 2000) at the same time supporting them (Lamb

2008). Notably, the autonomy-supporting teacher must themselves exhibit autonomous qualities. Not only does their autonomy affect their motivation and job satisfaction, but most importantly the learning outcomes of their students (Lamb 2008, Little 2000). Thus, teacher autonomy is an indispensable element for inducing autonomous behaviour in others.

3.2. Difficulties and perceptions of remote learning during the COVID-19 pandemic

In the past two years, the demand for distance and combined forms of education has increased dramatically due to the outbreak of the global COVID-19 virus pandemic. The unexpected emergence and such rapid spread of the virus has had an enormous impact on virtually every aspect of daily life, causing great insecurity and leaving destructive impacts on people's mental health. Terrifying reports of the number of fatalities, restrictions of physical and social distancing measures and worldwide confusion in state security mechanisms have contributed to pervasive anxiety, doubt and uncertainty (Demetriou *et al.* 2020). From March 2020, public as well as private universities have virtually unanimously decided to implement distance learning to enable students to continue their courses despite the social distancing requirement. According to data provided by UNESCO, more than 1.5 billion students around the world (representing more than 90 % of all enrolled students) have been impacted by the COVID-19 lockdown and subsequent educational changes (Asgari *et al.* 2021). Consequently, the conventional method – that is, traditional face-to-face learning – has been replaced by remote teaching and learning (Demetriou *et al.* 2020). Although distance learning holds a number of benefits, there are also fundamental challenges faced by the system, teachers and students such as time-consuming conversion of a course from a conventional to an online format, requirement for the instructor to be familiar or willing to learn about online teaching pedagogy and instruc-

tional tools (Ryan et al. 2012). In addition, designing a fair and accurate assessment to minimise fraud is difficult in an online environment (Lee-Post and Hapke 2017). From the student's perspective, most of them prefer to learn particularly difficult concepts directly in person, as they find it provides them with a deeper level of learning compared to online instruction (Jagars 2014) and teaching online requires them to be highly motivated and able to deal with time efficiently (Georgiou 2018). Over a decade ago, Watkins et al. (2004) noted that even if learners can succeed in a conventional learning environment, this alone cannot guarantee a successful outcome in a distance learning situation. Despite the existing literature on online education, there has not been sufficient examination of the challenges and factors affecting pandemic online education. Therefore, there has been a worldwide need to explore online teaching/learning throughout the full range of educational levels and faculties (Asgari et al. 2021).

Over the course of the two years, several studies emerged to explore the perceptions of students and teachers during remote education in emergency settings (Wu 2021). Abbasi et al. (2020) found that when students could not attend normal classes due to an epidemic, they were not satisfied with online learning and administrative departments and teachers should take necessary measures to improve the online learning environment. According to a survey among medical students (Agarwal and Kaushik 2020), despite the time savings, students felt that online courses altered their normal routines, and listed obstacles hindering learning such as the number of participants or technical failures during class discussions. Although most of the studies were conducted at the higher education level, Fauzi and Khusuma (2020), as an example, identified problems related to the implementation of online learning in primary schools and as it turned out their findings were quite similar. The results of the study indicated poor results of online teaching and showed that not only pupils but up to as many as 80 % of teachers from 45 different institu-

tions felt dissatisfied with online education. Owusu-Fordjour et al. (2020) investigated online learning among 214 college students and proved that the pandemic negatively affected their learning not only due to technological constraints but most importantly many of them were not accustomed to effective learning on their own. This and similar studies (Georgiou 2018, Knox 2017) have identified a major concern that attracted the author's particular attention. Namely, students are not used to learning in a more autonomous environment, manage their time and stay focused for longer online learning duration and therefore their learning experience tends to be less effective when taught on their own under remote education conditions (Amir et al. 2020, Owusu-Fordjour et al. 2020). The genuine issue is that students who learn online are more likely to withdraw if they do not achieve immediate results and the reason for this is that they work independently, relying almost entirely on their own motivation and self-direction (Paul and Jefferson 2019).

3.3. Learner autonomy as the key to successful remote learning

Given the overview of what autonomous education means and entails, and having presented the current learning situation and the unfavourable perception of it, some key questions arise. What benefits does autonomous learning provide? How can it affect the current situation? Can this attitude be changed, and if so, how? It appears that the solution may lie in the development of an autonomous approach to learning and teaching. The advantages of fostering and promoting an autonomous attitude in students bring a number of benefits related to the learning process. It seems to be particularly important for learners in times of pandemics to exhibit the characteristics of autonomous learners which will result in a more conscious and effective learning and even long-term success (Jochimczyk 2020). Analyzing the available literature on the

subject, one can venture to say that learner autonomy, responsibility and motivation are always interrelated when it comes to effective language learning. The long-term goal of education is to build developmental potential, be it a personal development, the ability to find one's place in social and professional life, or the capacity for finding solutions to emerging problems. It is crucial to understand that to achieve this goal, education must be based on the principle of autonomy (Federowicz 2015). The teacher's own attitude and commitment will be of great relevance here as it is his/her responsibility to create opportunities for independent learning and a student-centered classroom environment (Oates 2019). Teaching researching skills and developing both critical and creative thinking in students is vital. Equally fundamental for today's students in the new learning reality is the development of their communication and social skills along with self-management abilities (OECD 2018).

What is more, an undeniable benefit of an autonomous approach to teaching is the increase in student motivation, which in turn leads to more effective learning. Autonomy, motivation and successful learning outcomes are interrelated, as a decrease in learning effectiveness results in a decrease in motivation (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2013). With an explanation comes empirical research in social psychology, which states that "feeling free and volitional in one's actions" (Deci 1995: 2) is a basic human need, whereas autonomy is both the source and the motor of our intrinsic motivation. Relating this knowledge to the field of learning and teaching, we find that autonomy solves the problem of motivation in learning. To clarify, learners draw on their intrinsic motivation when they take responsibility for their own learning while committing themselves to developing their capacity for self-reflection. In turn, being successful enhances their sense of motivation. By being motivated, they find their learning both more effective and efficient (Toporek 2021). Sierens *et al.* (2009) stated that autonomy-supportive teacher nurtures student interest and

increases intrinsic motivation since passion and enthusiasm for one's subject can be contagious. Intrinsically motivated learners and autonomous individuals take control of the learning process and actively pursue their own learning goals (Oates 2019).

An autonomous learner is also more capable of adapting to new realities in a constantly changing world, which is extremely important in the context of a pandemic. Autonomy, and consequently student awareness, directly affects self-esteem and effective learning. Again, the teacher's role is to trigger this awareness in the learner and provide them with the necessary knowledge of learning styles or possible learning strategies to suit themselves (Othman and Amiruddin 2010). Learning according to one's own preferences contributes to greater absorption of memory and facilitates the memorization process. Following strategies also results in greater self-awareness, builds the learner's confidence and belief in his/her own abilities. Knowing one's own learning style and choosing appropriate strategies prepares for a situation where the learner will be reliant only on their own strength, without the help of a teacher (Oxford 1990) which is often mentioned as a challenge with regard to remote learning in the coronavirus times. Students should receive a clear recognition that there are various learning styles and be encouraged to reflect on their preferred learning methods and their effectiveness (Marantika 2021). It is useful to conduct a diversified class by demonstrating different learning strategies so that the students can try them out and decide independently which is the most suitable for them (Gałazka et al. 2017). Stimulating metacognition is the basis for autonomous learning and has a significant impact on student success (Marantika 2021).

4. AMO model for educational research

In a consideration of the impact of autonomy on learning success, the author adapts a version of the AMO model intro-

duced by Boxall and Purcell (2003) to understand how the diverse needs of remote learners can be met using HR practices. The AMO model is originally associated with a behavioral perspective, and an interest in the relationship between Human Resources Management (hence HRM) and performance (Armstrong and Brown 2019). According to this theory, an individual functioning, and therefore performance, depends to a large extent on an individual's abilities, motivations and capabilities to participate in organizational life (Szulc and Smith 2021). As the AMO theory is arguably a new framework in educational context, a brief explanation seems appropriate here. Boxall and Purcell (2016) formulated the model formula as $P = f(A,M,O)$ which explains that individuals perform when they have:

- the ability (A) to perform – they can do the job because possess the necessary knowledge, skills and aptitude;
- the motivation (M) to perform – they do the job because they want to or feel obliged to;
- and the opportunity (O) to perform - the work structure and environment provide the necessary support and opportunities for expression (Armstrong and Brown 2019).

The impact of HRM on organizational performance is widely recognized. Numerous studies have confirmed the positive impact of HRM on outcomes such as increased employee engagement and productivity or decreased employee turnover (Combs *et al.* 2006). And while it has recently been more frequently recognized that HRM also has the potential to increase school performance, very little empirical attention has been given in the pedagogical or linguistics literature to the ways in which various HRM practices can best be implemented to achieve positive teacher and student outcomes. Only a few publications have emerged that explore increased engagement empowerment and motivation of teachers (Bouwman *et al.* 2017, Mohammadi and Amini

2020) and, to the best of the author's knowledge, no concept of how students themselves can personally benefit from HRM systems has yet been presented. This could, however, allow for the best possible adjustment of learning conditions especially in remote settings and through increasing motivation and self-belief, enhance student's learning effectiveness.

The AMO model transferred to the educational context appears to be a well-structured framework that allows for a better understanding of the relationship between conditions and student performance. The effectiveness of the model's propositions seems to be beyond doubt. In fact, a learner with developed skills (abilities) will perform better while a motivated learner will be willing to make more effort to succeed. Similarly, if the learning environment (e.g. teachers) does not provide adequate opportunities, both the skills and the motivation of the learner may become irrelevant (Marin-Garcia and Martinez Tomas 2016). Consistently, adapting a version of the AMO model to the context of remote teaching and learning can help us not only to make better use of students' skills (Boxall et al. 2019), but also to take a broader perspective in benefiting from a validated model from business to enhance learning. In the following sections each element of the model is discussed in more depth.

4.1. Abilities

The first component of the AMO framework is ability, which in the HRM context refers to individual's skills, job-related knowledge, and effectiveness in social interactions (Szulc and Smith 2021). In the didactic context however, it can be referred to the ability to complete a given task or acquire new material by having the necessary knowledge, skills and aptitudes to do so. Self-efficacy – students' beliefs and confidence in their ability to succeed in learning and perform

successfully – is believed to lead students to excel by increasing commitment, effort and persistence (Pintrich 2003). It seems incredibly relevant as reluctance and willingness to let go are frequently mentioned problems in the context of remote learning. Chin et al. (2017) reported a considerable association between students' positive emotions and their academic performance. In other words, students are more likely to achieve their goals and perform tasks correctly when they believe they are capable of it. Learners with a strong sense of efficacy are more likely to challenge themselves and be intrinsically motivated. They put a lot of effort into their commitments and recover quickly from failures, which ultimately makes them achieve their personal goals (Hayat et al. 2020).

Proceeding further, it is proven that developed cognitive and metacognitive skills lead not only to increased confidence, but also provide more effective learning (Anthonysamy 2021). Identifying the learner's own preferences for the time, place and form of learning does not only increase the effectiveness of the learning process, but also helps to raise their morale. In order to combat the difficulties faced by online learners during isolation, educators might consider providing tailored training initiatives on, for instance, autonomy-supporting behavior, learning styles, or effective learning strategies for a particular situation aimed at developing cognitive skills and raising metacognitive awareness.

4.2. Motivation

Motivation relates to an individual's willingness to use their abilities in a productive manner (Purcell et al. 2003). Employees only perform tasks if they are able and willing to do so and, by analogy, only students who really want to, will invest their time and effort in learning. Hartnett (2016) identifies feelings of isolation, frustration with technology or time constraints due to other responsibilities as factors that contribute

to a loss of desire to participate in remote activities. Moreover, as many students during the pandemic found themselves in inconvenient conditions, e.g. sitting at the kitchen table surrounded by household chores, they may perceive this as tedious and struggle to remain motivated throughout the whole class session, thus lowering their performance. More than ever in distance learning, students are challenged to regulate their own learning (Pelikan et al. 2021); not only do they have to make a conscious decision to engage in the learning process, but they also have to persevere despite many distractions and fewer external regulations. As initial insights from the existing literature suggests, motivated learners are more likely to engage in learning activities, are more persistent (Schunk 2014), creative, productive, actively contribute in class (Brophy 2010) showing lower levels of procrastination (Pelikan et al. 2021). Therefore, maintaining a high level of intrinsic motivation is considered fundamental in distance and blended learning settings to avoid giving up but to achieve even better outcomes. However, it is important to note that strategies commonly used to motivate oneself in typical circumstances may not work well in distance learning settings.

Furthermore, the growth of self-awareness is beneficial for sustaining motivation. Namely, the learner must understand why they are learning, whether for positive grades and praise or for their self, personal fulfilment and better future prospects. Above all, seemingly the core characteristics of an autonomous learner, remote learners need to realize that they themselves are responsible (Holec 1981, Little 2003, Benson 2008) for their learning process so that, especially in difficult covid conditions, they need to actively take charge of it. According to the transactional distance model (i.e. psychological separation in the context of distance education) autonomous learners require less dialogue and minimal structures than their less independent peers (Moore 2007) and therefore can perform better in epidemic conditions. Finally, to increase motivation, it is recommended that teachers ensure that classes

are designed to encourage students' active participation, taking advantage of technological assets (e.g. Kahoot) and enabling the use for different learning strategies.

4.3. Opportunities

According to the last element of the AMO model, the educational environment as well as the structure of classes should provide the necessary support and opportunities for students to perform. Individuals who are challenged to learn remotely often face obstacles that prevent them from using their skills effectively (Watkins et al. 2004) thus failing to succeed as intended. A range of opportunities aimed at supporting the most troublesome areas can help to effectively develop self-awareness, deal with non-standard situations and see oneself as a learner through the lens of strengths and competencies rather than potential deficiencies and weaknesses. Providing students with such opportunities can be achieved by striking a balance between independence, power and support (Hartnett 2016). The following sections outline in more detail concrete options that could be adopted as potential solutions to the identified problem areas.

Granting independence can be manifested on various levels. Firstly, students' self-directed activities (Ryan and Deci 2020) should be an integral part of the didactic process. The passive role in the learning process and lack of student involvement affects the withdrawal of cognitive activity, becomes the cause of difficulties in developing independent thinking as well as more complex skills (Federowicz et al. 2015) which ultimately hinders success. On the contrary, autonomous decision-making provides learners with an opportunity to develop the ability to search for knowledge independently (Ma 2021), improve information retrieval techniques and discover new sources of information (Jochimczyk 2020), while simultaneously expanding their cognitive abilities.

Regarding the second pillar, namely power issues, the learner-educator frame is of paramount importance due to the fact that it either evolves or blocks student engagement as well as it affects their learning motivation (Pishghadam et al. 2021). Since the decision to integrate autonomy into the learning process is partly teacher-dependent, there needs to be a redefinition of the teacher's role (Alonazi 2017), moving from the long-entrenched oracle position to a modern facilitator (Yan 2012) or counsellor (Kongchan 2008) who will concentrate on assisting students' autonomy by enabling them to make independent decisions. Educators employing autonomy support as a relational educational style are less controlling and more attentive to students' needs, thus increasing their motivation and interest in class (Chang et al. 2016, Pérez-González et al. 2019). According to Jochimczyk (2020), autonomy in decision making is a way of stimulating autonomous action that allows learners to demonstrate their independence along with developing their competence in learning. Ma (2021) gives several examples of such practices including allowing learners to work in their specific manner, acknowledging their viewpoint, empowering independent work or learners' dynamic involvement.

Finally, when speaking of support, it is meant to refer to any form of assuring students with the necessary help, be it in the form of the right mindset, understanding in various situations, or providing useful resource materials. Especially in times of isolation and remote learning, students may face not only educational barriers related to lack of understanding of the subject matter (Jaggars 2014), some technical obstacles such as poor internet connection (Owusu-Fordjour et al. 2020), but even emotional difficulties (Demetriou et al. 2021) related to feelings of loneliness or struggling with a new reality. It is therefore necessary to ensure that they have the right learning environment, which is demanding on the one hand, and caring and understanding on the other. The attitude and role of the educator and, in the case of younger pupils, the parent will be crucial here, so that learners perceive them as

supportive, understanding, willing to help and empowering them to take responsibility for their own learning (Lamb 2008).

5. Discussion

The aim of this paper was to show the increased importance of fostering an autonomous approach in remote learning settings during the covid pandemic to enhance students' abilities, motivations and opportunities in successful education. The model developed in this paper emphasizes the need to awaken the learner's potential for autonomy by stimulating greater awareness, intrinsic motivation and the development of metacognitive skills throughout the duration of remote learning but also beyond. The insights generated provide several theoretical and practical cues, which will be discussed next.

5.1. Theoretical implications

My first contribution pertains to highlighting the problem of students' approaches to remote learning during the pandemic of COVID-19. While in the past two years we observe a tendency in research to move away from focusing on effective teaching in traditional settings to explore online education, little is still known about the factors affecting pandemic online education (Asgari et al. 2021) and effective ways to deal with these challenges. I therefore contribute to a discussion of the potential for changing students' perceptions of distance learning, in which the emphasis is placed on the enhancement of individual's potential for success in learning.

Secondly, I highlight the need to ensure autonomous conditions for studying in remote learning contexts, support the development of autonomous traits in the learner as well as indicate the potential opportunities for their implementation. My conception of the correlation between the development of autonomy and successful learning provides a better theoretical understanding of the conditions to achieve a positive influence

on students' self-awareness and metacognition and the corresponding high learning outcomes. It is also partly a response to calls from academics as well as students themselves who manifest their dissatisfaction with the level of remote education (Abbasi et al. 2020). Accordingly, by emphasizing the importance of an autonomous approach to remote learning success, I concentrate on the benefits of increased learner awareness leading to a positive change in perception of remote learning in challenging epidemiological conditions experienced since March 2020.

Thirdly, one of the most prevalent HRM models (Boxall and Purcell 2016) has been adapted to educational settings, focusing largely on the opportunities to increase learning efficiency during remote or blended learning. I point out and suggest that nurturing a student's ability and motivation along with providing a range of opportunities can serve effective learning leading to long-term success. This in turn has several practical implications discussed in the following sections.

5.2. Practical implications

The conceptual model presented in this paper can help students in developing a comprehensive approach to skills-, motivation-, and opportunity-enhancing practices tailored at the specific needs of remote learning to provide conditions for more effective self-directed learning, which, in turn, may ultimately lead to a change in the commonly held view of remote learning as inefficient and unencouraging for students (Georgiou 2018, Knox 2017). It was demonstrated that switching from traditional to remote learning may constitute significant challenges even for students who used to be successful within the school walls (Watkins et al. 2004). The author has consistently advocated a range of enhancements designed to make a significant difference to the quality of students' learning in remote settings and enable them to reach their full potential such as:

- providing training supporting cognitive and metacognitive skills development (see: Anthonysamy 2021, Marantika 2021) relating e.g. to learning styles or learning strategies;
- implementing students' self-directed activities (see: Moore 2007, Paul and Jeferson 2019) as an integral part of the didactic process;
- ensuring autonomy in decision making and independent thinking (see: Jochimczyk 2020);
- building or strengthening a sense of self-efficacy (see: Hayat et al. 2020).

The expectations placed on students to be more engaged and active during online classes, point my attention to the process of implementing activities tailored at the specific needs of remote conditions. I argue that teachers, while displaying autonomous qualities themselves (Lamb 2008), should create the right learning environment for independent work, conduct lessons in a way that engages active participation (Federowicz et al. 2015), tailored to students' preferences, making use of technological assets (e.g. Kahoot) and enabling the application of different learning strategies. Since successful mentoring and coaching relationships are commonly positively associated with development of student's autonomy and performance outcomes (Pawlak 2019) further support from them and moving away from the typical hierarchy of teacher > learner (Alonazi 2017) may not only facilitate building on students' awareness and motivation, but also change their attitudes towards the perception of remote classes.

All these implications should contribute positively to building an autonomous learning community, focused on long-term learning outcomes and following the principle of life-long learning. Consequently, contributing to increased learning effectiveness as well as perception of remote learning no longer as a punishment based on weaknesses, but as a special opportunity to develop one's own skills and competences and a motivational attempt.

6. Future research directions

Although the issue of fostering autonomy in remote settings is gaining increasing attention among learning theorists and practitioners, most research does not go beyond the educational framework and does not seek ideas or solutions in other fields of study. I, therefore, call for a wider use of theory from HRM to promote a more comprehensive understanding of how high-performance practices can be applied in learning contexts and how they contribute to positive learning outcomes.

In addition to understanding the process underlying remote student adaptations, there is an urgent need for future research to evaluate the effectiveness of such adaptations. Further research in this area would enable us to see what particular adjustments work for different individuals (perhaps taking into account different fields of study, ages, motivation levels etc.) and what impact this may have on long-term learning outcomes and learners' perceptions of distance learning. Future research may also provide answers to emerging questions such as

- whether, after a period of time, students who were encouraged during the COVID-19 pandemic to learn autonomously actually found their learning more effective;
- whether students' attitudes towards remote learning are less negative after applying the aforementioned adjustments;
- whether they see learning progress after changing their attitude towards distance learning for a more positive one.

To accurately address the challenges associated with the need to increase learner effectiveness in an increasingly challenging online education environment, collaborative research between learners/students and representatives of different education-related communities (teachers, curriculum framework managers, book and guidance editors) may be of particular use. Such multi-faceted collaborations can lead to the development of

integrated and comprehensive solutions to the persistent problems faced by learners during the COVID-19 virus pandemic.

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LITERARY AND CULTURAL STUDIES

**Animality as an excuse for murder:
David Grann and *Killers of the Flower Moon***

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Abstract

This paper examines the investigative nonfiction book *Killers of the Flower Moon: The Osage Murders and the Birth of the FBI* by David Grann, which explores a series of murders of vulnerable members of the Osage tribe that took place in northeastern Oklahoma between 1918 and 1931. Grann's account reveals how white citizens, ranchers, and townfolk conspired against their Native American neighbors in a scheme involving poisoning, arson, deception, and falsified death certificates. The direct motivation for these crimes was greed triggered by income from oil deposits discovered in the land where the Osage were relocated after a century of broken treaties and other misfortunes. Furthermore, the paper explores how the supposed animality of the victims was employed to conceal and excuse genocidal tendencies against Native tribes, and how contemporary Native American accounts attest to their sense of unreality, resulting in the unclear status and uncanny subsistence of a living person reduced to the status of a ghost. In a broader perspective this paper discusses the colonization of America and its impact on the indigenous tribes who already inhabited the land. The demeaning metaphor of Indians as beasts yielded to a more palatable representation of the Noble Savage, but the accusations of bestiality returned when the tribes attempted to protect their way of living. The colonizers believed that by not cultivating the land and not building large, permanent

communities, the indigenous tribes had forfeited their title to the land; those who resisted were conveniently labeled as pests to justify their inevitable erasure. The paper recalls rarely cited evidence, dating back to the history of the suppression of the 1652 Irish rebellion, to examine the multitudinous ways in which language played an important part in justifying the supposed animality of the indigenous people and eradicating them to make room for government-authorized settlers.

Key words

Native American genocide, Raphael Lemkin, Zitkala-Ša, David Grann, Sterling HolyWhiteMountain, Joy Harjo

Animalizm jako usprawiedliwienie dla morderstwa: David Grann i *Czas krwawego księżycy.* *Zabójstwa Indian Osagów i narodziny FBI*

Artykuł analizuje książkę z gatunku dziennikarstwa śledczego *Czas krwawego księżycy. Zabójstwa Indian Osagów i narodziny FBI* autorstwa Davida Granna, która zgłębia kwestię serii morderstw dokonanych na bezbronnych członkach plemienia Osage, jakie miały miejsce w północno-wschodniej Oklahomie w latach 1918-1931. Książka Granna ujawnia, jak biali obywatele, ranczerzy i mieszkańcy miast sprzyśleli się przeciwko swoim rdzennym amerykańskim sąsiadom w ramach szeroko zakreślonego spisku, w zakresie którego stosowano truciznę, podpalenie, oszustwo i sfalszowanie aktów zgonu. Bezpośrednim motywem tych zbrodni była chciwość, wywołana zyskami ze złóż ropy naftowej odkrytych na terenach, gdzie Osage zostali przeniesieni po stuleciu zerwanych pokojowych traktatów i innych niedoli. Ponadto artykuł rozważa, w jaki sposób rzekoma „zwierzęcość” ofiar była wykorzystywana do zatajania i usprawiedliwiania ludobójczych tendencji wobec rdzennych plemion. Co więcej, współczesne świadectwa rdzennych Amerykanów świadczą o ich poczuciu nierealności, wynikającym z niejasnego statusu i dziwnego egzystowania osoby zredukowanej do statusu ducha. W szerszej perspektywie artykuł podejmuje temat kolonizacji Ameryki i jej wpływu na rdzenne plemiona, które już znacznie wcześniej zamieszkiwały te

ziemie. Poniżająca metafora Indian jako dzikich zwierząt ustąpiła miejsca bardziej przyswajalnej koncepcji Szlachetnego Dzikusa, ale oskarżenie

o bestialstwo wróciło, kiedy plemiona walczyły o to, by ocalić swój dotychczasowy tryb życia. Kolonizatorzy uważali, że nie uprawiając ziemi i nie budując większych, solidnych społeczności, rdzenne plemiona wyrzekły się praw do ziemi; ci, którzy stawiali opór, zostali oznaczeni jako szkodnicy, aby usprawiedliwić ich nieuniknione wykorzenienie. Artykuł przywołuje rzadko przytaczane świadectwa, sięgające historii stłumienia irlandzkiej rebelii w 1652 roku, aby zbadać rozmaite przypadki, w których język odgrywał ważną rolę w uzasadnianiu rzekomej animalności rdzennych mieszkańców w celu ich likwidacji, by zrobić miejsce dla popieranych przez rząd osadników.

Słowa kluczowe

ludobójstwo rdzennych Amerykanów, Raphael Lemkin, Zitkala-Ša, David Grann, Sterling HolyWhiteMountain, Joy Harjo

The 2017 investigative nonfiction book *Killers of the Flower Moon: The Osage Murders and the Birth of the FBI* by David Grann scrutinizes a series of murders of vulnerable members of the Osage tribe, starting at least as early as 1918 and ending at least as late as 1931. Grann's inquiry—apparently more accurate than the one perfunctorily performed by FBI agents on their first grand mission since the agency had been founded in 1908—reveals unpalatable truth: in the north-east area of Oklahoma, near the border with Kansas, in the vicinity of Osage reservation, white citizens, ranchers and townsfolk alike, conspired against their Native American neighbors, acquaintances, and family members, including spouses and stepchildren, in a scheme involving poisoning, arson, deception, and falsified death certificates. “Indeed, virtually every element of society was complicit in the murderous system,” Grann writes in conclusion to his exploration (291). The direct motivation for this stunning profusion of crimes had been

greed-triggering income from the oil deposits, auspiciously discovered in the hilly and uninhabitable land where the Osage resignedly relocated after a century of broken treaties and other misfortunes befalling Native American tribes.

Out of many unsolved or never properly investigated cases, only a handful of them ever faced the jury. During the trials of 1926-1929 (there were four of them in total), press comments reflected a certain level of enthusiasm, if not for the actual killings, then for the sensational content, allowing their readers to revel in an atmosphere of scandal. As prosecutors collected enough evidence, supported by witnesses who neither accidentally vanished, nor retracted their statements, the jurors were questioned with respect to their susceptibility to bribery, but not with respect to their deeply ingrained prejudices. "The attitude of a pioneer cattleman toward a full-blood Indian is fairly well recognized," wrote the *Tulsa Tribune* (Aug. 21, 1926; qtd in Grann, 215). It must have been in accordance with this attitude that William K. Hale was sentenced to life for only one killing out of several (his sentence was subsequently reduced). A certain discomfort of the jurors to punish, as Grann succinctly puts it, "another white man for killing an American Indian" (215) could be discerned.

But what kind of attitude was it, exactly? A prominent member of the Osage tribe (not mentioned by name in Grann's account) encapsulated it perhaps fairly: "The question for them is to decide whether a white man killing an Osage is murder or merely cruelty to animals" (215). Indeed, the law proved lenient; although some perpetrators were eventually convicted, some others never faced trial. As one witness noted, "white people in Oklahoma thought no more of killing an Indian than they did in 1824" (191). Although the reaction of the white community was not uniform ("There are men amongst the whites, honest men, but they are mighty scarce," another Osage leader, Bacon Rind, noted in 1926 (Wallis, *Oil Man*, qtd in Grann, 291), to this day it remains unresolved who ordered and carried out the murders of the few white citizens driven by

conscience to represent the Osage before governmental agencies. All that remains certain is the astounding brutality of these murders—as if their very purpose was to warn off other potential “traitors to their own blood” within a closely knit community.

But isn't all slaughter by definition brutal? In the introduction to *Animal Languages* Eva Meijer points out that from the human point of view “[i]t may seem logical for animals to have no rights and not to be heard by humans; human society prioritizes the wants and needs of humans” (10); this logic may not be so obvious to animals, affected by human interference in accordance with the degree to which they are domesticated and labeled as useful. As Meijer indicates, domesticated animals “have little freedom to make choices or to develop, while wild animals deal with human influence, with human populations occupying or polluting their territory” (11), the latter always just one step away from being marked as pests and exterminated. Grann's nonfiction account prompts us to examine how the supposed animality of victims might have been employed to conceal and excuse genocidal tendencies, whether driven by the federal policy of forceful removal and assimilation wielded against the Native tribes at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and leniency in responding to the Osage's pleas to end the perilous guardianship system) or conducted voluntarily and often eagerly by individual perpetrators. Some contemporary Native American accounts attest to their sense of unreality, as experienced by the people whose embodied presence, in addition to history and heritage, was systematically erased, resulting in the unclear status and uncanny subsistence of a living person being reduced to the status of a ghost.

This sense of unreality permeates the progression of the recently published in the *New Yorker* Sterling HolyWhite-Mountain's “Featherweight.” Brought up by a network of ubiquitous, rakish aunts in a reservation, the narrator adjusts to his new life at a college; meanwhile, he finds himself riding

a city bus to previously unknown neighborhoods. His gossamer presence rubs off against the solid texture of the houses “where no one like me had ever stepped foot”; the narrative “I” appears in and disappears from these locations exactly like a ghost, almost without any will of his own, floating along in a breeze. Although HolyWhiteMountain never uses this comparison directly (but perhaps hints at it in the title), it may be worth noting that ghosts can also act as carriers of aggression, as when the narrator remarks on his desire “to take the lives of everyone around me, man or woman or child, to crush their skulls with a stone war club” (so far he has seen such ceremonial items “only in museums and in textbooks”). Ghosts can be also vehicles of nostalgia, as when the narrator presents himself to us watching “the people on the other side of the glass” and imagining “what it was like in their living rooms and kitchens,” until he taps into a possibility of becoming, “if only for a moment,” someone else.

This desire to inhabit somebody else’s life (as a *dybbuk* of sorts; a spiritual parasite) is checked at the moment of realizing its impossibility. First, the narrator is still painfully limited by his own body; second, it suffices to remember that Native Americans were granted American citizenship only on June 2, 1924 (but some states barred them from voting until 1957, and Joy Harjo in *Catching the Light (Why I Write)* notes how Native cultural practices were “outlawed until 1978, when the Religious Freedom Act was passed on behalf of Native tribal nations” [loc. 97]). To live like a ghost means to have no agency, no direct effect on events that appear to concern one. A secondary character in “Featherweight,” a gifted student, Allie, moves back to the reservation to embrace her future “flipping burgers at a diner” because she perceives any professional success in the white man’s world as a sign of disloyalty to her own people, and her college teachers talking about “how she might *build her academic career*” just make her “want to scream.” What surpasses the possibility of verbal communication is Allie’s revulsion at the thought of having to talk to white

people about “*the indigenous people of North America*” while “[i]t seemed we would never get to speak for ourselves about the things we wanted to talk about in the way we wanted to talk about them.” A promise of academic career for Allie is just a mechanism designed to separate her from herself. “I’m just another white man’s dog,” she tells her doubting boyfriend. “That’s all they want. They’re training me like a pet.” Accepting praise from her teachers may be too painful for a Native American girl who views her own keen mind as a tool of betrayal. Two centuries of her ancestors’ experience are speaking through her, as the difference between supportive, gentle “profs” and sadistic bullies employed as teachers in coercive residential schools justifiably blurs.

To make someone feel like a ghost in their own life is the final step of a process that took over two centuries of political and existential erasure. *Manifest Destiny*, the notoriously famous painting by John Gast, documents, perhaps against itself, this eerie process of ghost-making. What comes forth are hordes of native people and flocks of buffalos, preceded by wild animals, fleeing from the sunrise of progress (personified by Columbia) in the direction of dark sheets of fog shrouding the mountains. In the far background of telegraph poles, railroad tracks, and farmers ploughing the field (obedient oxen pulling the plow understand the language of the rod), a group of natives devote themselves to performing a dance (Sun Dance? Ghost Dance? both were banned with the end of the nineteenth century) as an act of symbolic resistance. Many researchers (Anderson 2005; Madley 2016; Reséndes 2016; Winchester 2021) emphasize how American Indians interacted with their natural environment on equal terms, with no intention to “rule over ... the livestock and all the wild animals,” as prescribed in Genesis 1:26, which is precisely what counted against them. In the Mural Room of the Santa Barbara County Courthouse, scantily-clad natives perch on a rock right next to the coyotes, their overall body language, including vigilance and tension in the limbs, suggests some kind of elemental

closeness with emaciated and alert predators. The natives look a bit like threatening ghouls, too, due to their long black hair; in any case, they appear closer in nature to the coyotes than to the dignified white conquerors arriving on seemingly unshakable boats (Hixson 46-48). As Christopher Rein points out, the colonizers couldn't care less that "humans already inhabited this land" because by not cultivating it; that is, not "breaking the sod, putting it into production, and building large and vibrant permanent communities, the current occupants had forfeited their title and would be forced to yield to those who wished to put the land to a 'higher use'" (219). The Natives removed themselves from the area of human privilege, as defined in the *Holy Bible*; consequently, the process of acculturation consisted of teaching the indigenous tribes agriculture, having left them no time to mourn the near-eradication of tens of millions of American buffaloes (Driscoll 199). Referring to Jeffrey Williams's *Religion and Violence in Early American Methodism: Taking the Kingdom by Force*, Rein points out that the Methodist Church's contributed to the subjugation of the natives by "an increasing acceptance of violence to both defend and extend the faith" (218). It may seem, therefore, that in the nineteenth century the influence of the Catholic Church diminished, while other denominations (evangelical Protestantism) took the lead, all the while continuously feeding into genocidal patterns of conflict.

In his earlier book, *The Lost City of Oz* (2017), David Grann refers to a theologians' debate circling around an issue of "whether these dark-skinned, scantily clad peoples were, in fact human; for how could the descendants of Adam and Eve have wandered so far, and how could the biblical prophets have been ignorant of them?" (153). The rationale was clear: If Indians were not men (if they were beasts or descendants of medieval monsters or "half men"), they could be treated as "natural slaves"; the promise of all the unpaid labor gratuitously added. Patricia Seed locates the core of this debate specifically in the Dominican order's drive for domination and

their rivalry with Franciscan friars in the early sixteenth century. Fray Montesinos's Advent Sunday sermon of 1511, which included the phrase "Are these [Indians] not men?" and consisted of a rampage of accusations against the Spanish settlers who employed "cruelty and tyranny ... against these innocent people," having "subjected the Indians to such cruel and horrible servitude" (Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Mexico 1986, vol. II, pp. 440-2, qtd in Seed 629); in short, a demand to release the natives from forced labor so that they could attend religious schooling, shielded a larger-scale issue, that of legitimacy of the Spanish crown's claim to the colonies (640). When the Dominicans arrived on Hispaniola, the Franciscan order had already monopolized the conversions. The two debates regarding Indians' humanity (first between 1511 and 1520; second between 1532 and 1537) relied on the claim that all men had a right to be converted (635); however, to undergo conversion, one had to be in possession of a "rational soul" which, as developed in the writings of the Dominican philosopher Thomas Aquinas, distinguishes humans guided by "reason" from "dumb" animals (636); *ergo*, as beasts or "half men" the Indians could not be Christianized; if so, the whole construction of Spain yielding power over the New World with the Papal support, resting upon the condition that the native inhabitants be converted, would have collapsed like a house of cards. Pope Paul III curbed the fiery debates, issuing in 1537 the bull *Sublimus deus*, which proposed that

since man, according to the testimony of the sacred scriptures, has been created to enjoy eternal life and happiness, which none may obtain save through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, it is necessary that he should possess the nature and faculties enabling him to receive that faith; and that whoever is thus endowed should be capable of receiving that same faith (qtd. in Hanke 71; Hanke relies on the translation in MacNutt, *Bartolomew de Las Casas*, pp. 427-431).

The Pope thus links any doubt regarding the capacity of “all nations” to receive the doctrines of faith with heresy or devil’s work, unwaveringly condemning any further “animalization” of native tribes:

The enemy of the human race, who opposes all good deeds in order to bring men to destruction, beholding and envying this, invented a means never before heard of, by which he might hinder the preaching of God’s word of Salvation to the people: he inspired his satellites who, to please him, have not hesitated to publish abroad that Indians of the West and the South, and other people of whom We have recent knowledge should be treated as dumb brutes created for our service, pretending that they are incapable of receiving the catholic faith (qtd. in Hanke 72).

Henceforward, the humanity of the indigenous tribes became irrevocably linked with their capacity to convert; meanwhile, no ink had been spilled on understanding how “the Indians” understood their own humanity. After all, it was the Pope (“We, who, though unworthy, exercise on earth the power of our Lord”) who ascertained that “the Indians are truly men and that they are not only capable of understanding the catholic faith but, according to our information, they desire exceedingly to receive it” (Hanke 72). This was a momentous statement, which ended the early attempts to blatantly enslave the indigenous people; the bull ascertained that “they [the Indians] may and should, freely and legitimately, enjoy their liberty and the possession of their property; nor should they be in any way enslaved” (qtd. in Hanke 72). This coherent and comprehensible statement brought a temporary truce in the debate about the Indians’ humanity or the lack of thereof, which lasted till the mid-nineteenth century. Meanwhile, the demeaning metaphor of Indians as beasts yielded to a more palatable representation of the Noble Savage (wrought by Dominican friar Bertolomé de Las Casas) who, although naked, exudes natural civility and grace and is not bound by a desire to accumulate worldly goods, alongside the notion of colonized people as

“children” (and thus in need of guardianship). The accusations of bestiality returned, though, as soon as it became clear that, with the development of railroads and the growing demand for land by prospective settlers, to which the tribes responded with desperate attempts to protect their ways of living, the temporary stasis was meant to yield.

The literature on American Indian genocide has expanded (Stannard 1992; Churchill 1997, 2004; Woolford et al. 2014; Alvarez 2016; Bowles 2016; Madley 2016) enough for us to note that the supposed animality of the people about to be conquered was not meant only to justify colonialism alone. Katie Kane in *Drogheda, Sand Creek, and the Poetics of Colonial Extermination* posits that “eradicating an indigenous population” to make room for government-authorized settlers is possible only if “a colonial space [be] understood [as] somehow empty, at least of a population of any value” (84). Language played an important part in ascertaining that the population in question had indeed little or no value. Comparing prospective victims to animals (specifically, pests) leaves a trail linking various instances of genocide worldwide. Jews were compared to rats and vermin; Tutsi – to cockroaches and snakes. Dehumanization facilitates othering potential victims; listed as the fourth step of the *Ten Stages of Genocide* by Gregory H. Stanton, it happens to be preceded by classification (within a division of “us and them” a certain group of people is marked as “them”); symbolization (further emphasis on differences between “us” and “them”; not lethal on its own, may lead to genocide when combined with hatred and dehumanization), and discrimination (a mere step three; powerless groups are not accorded full civil rights, voting rights, or even citizenship; as such, discrimination legitimizes the victimization of weaker groups, and yet can last interminably as mere status quo, justifying and facilitating random outbursts, without leading to mass violence). Neither classification nor symbolization and discrimination need to lead to genocide; it is then dehumanization that sets off the dynamic of leniency (let us remember

Donald Trump comparing undocumented immigrants to animals while purposefully conflating them with members of transnational gangs, such as MS-13, which might have created an association between immigrants and dangerous predators).

The word “genocide” came into existence in the mid-twentieth century, coined by a Polish Jew, a lawyer named Raphael Lemkin. While still a student at the University of Lwów (now Lviv, Ukraine), Lemkin was stunned by his Polish professor Juliusz Makarewicz’s opinion that a state can do within its borders as it pleases (thus placing the state sovereignty as the highest value, ostensibly above human-rights concerns) at a conversation that referred to the coordinated massacres of Armenians during World War I (Irvin-Erickson 69). Lemkin fled from the Nazis in 1939, first to Sweden, and then, in 1941, to the United States (his extended family, with the exception of one brother, perished in the Holocaust); in *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, originally published in 1944 by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, he argued that existing terms, such as “massacres” and “war crimes” did not encompass the systemic nature of orchestrated mass killings (“Raphael Lemkin...”; Becker 2021; Sands 137-189). He eventually drafted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (formally adopted by the UN in 1948 and ratified in 1951; the United States, however, added its signature only in 1988, having reserved immunity from prosecution). Lemkin drew the word “genocide” from Greek “genos” (race or tribe) and Latin “cide” (killing) to encompass the killing of a race or tribe. Contemporary historians apply his definition to “the varied experiences of the indigenous people of the Americas” (Alvarez 26, 42; Woolford 9-10). In *Axis Rule*, his 1944 treatise, Lemkin emphasizes that while the intent has to be spelled out and demonstrated, the targeted group needs not to be wiped out in its entirety:

Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups (79).

Recalling a statement ascribed to Colonel Chivington (“Kill’em all, big and small, nits make lice”), which had directly preceded the massacre at Sand Creek on Nov. 29, 1864 (a public outcry of disapproval in the Eastern part of the United States followed but didn’t lead to any shift in the prevalent attitude) (83), Kane, appealingly for our Eastern-European perspective rooting her argument in the history of European peripheries, elucidates on a little known fact: the metaphor (of nits and lice) dates back at least to the seventeenth century England, when it was used by an anonymous poet who praised Cromwell’s suppression of the Irish rebellion: “He (by good advise) / Did kill the Nitts, that they might not growe Lice” (qtd in Kane 84, 100; attributed to William Mercer). The similarities between the two massacres (in case of Ireland, it was the bloodshed at Drogheda of Sept. 1649), Kane asserts, should not be overlooked (85). As one of many metaphors justifying Western forms of colonization, these “associations of the rebellious Irish with the parasitic louse were quite common” in the seventeenth century (86). The siege of Dogheda, followed by “an instance of wholesale and sweeping slaughter” was carried out both in response to the anticolonial uprising of native Irish and Catholic settlers of English descent and as an overall expression of “British military and colonial policy toward the Irish” (Kane 85; comp. O’Donnovan and “August 1652: An Act for the Settling of Ireland”).



Group of Osage Indians posed outside the White House
Public domain, Library of Congress,
<https://lccn.loc.gov/93515477>



Osage Indians, 1/10/23
Public domain, Library of Congress,
<https://www.loc.gov/item/2016833983/>

The association between the native, presumably surplus, tribes and parasitic insects reinforces itself, rather disturbingly, in the context of countless references to Native Americans, beginning with their childhood experience marked by “the reeducation gulags” (Kane 87). As we read both in Kane’s account of native children having their hair cut off and “powdered with DDT insecticide” in the second half of the twentieth century (87) and in Zitkala-Ša’s “The cutting of my long hair” (strikingly similar, minus the DDT, not invented yet) (91), this drastic ritual hints at an initiation rite of sorts, although not an uplifting one but rather demoting the native children according to the dialectic of purity and squalor (Kane 89). In the tradition of her people, as Zitkala-Ša reveals to better acquaint us with her anguish, the shearing of hair had been forever associated with cowardice and shame; whether the school administrators were aware of this connection, they managed to create a metaphorical link between small children and the apparent risk of “infestation” right at the time when the native territories and resources were being expropriated and the natives themselves were recurrently marked as “expendable” (Kane 89). Dehumanization, however, is never a sadistic game performed for its own sake; instead, its purpose is economic, clearly defined, and obvious to most participants. As further elucidated in Stanton’s diagram of systemic annihilation, dehumanization becomes lethal when followed by organization (militias or paramilitary groups to provide deniability of state responsibility); polarization (hate groups broadcasting propaganda via accessible means); preparation (plans are drawn for genocide); persecution (victims are identified and isolated); extermination (mass killing); denial (the tenth and final stage; chillingly, always follows a genocide).

Nowadays, the expression “off the reservation” is considered offensive and inappropriate in respectable company. And yet it must have previously taken root in the language quite firmly and for a long enough time to become an idiom. In its original meaning it referred to Native Americans leaving their

assigned tracts of land; thus, acting “outside the bounds of control, propriety, or acceptance,” as an entry in *The Free Dictionary* informs. The reservation (as a place one is removed or “transplanted to”; in the case of Native Americans most often as a result of a “treaty”) is meant to be uncomfortable, potentially unlivable; it is both a place that nobody wants (neither the settlers, nor the natives) and a “conventional mechanism for the effective dislocation of indigenous people” (Kane 93), constructed and deployed to conclusively dismantle the native resistance by removing recalcitrant natives who lost the battle. It is a place where these survivors are expected to starve, fall sick, and die.

Grann recalls that when he first accessed the FBI files concerning the string of grisly murders that became the framework of *Killers of the Flower Moon*, he was struck by a variety of methods with which these murders were committed: “Repeat killers tend to rigidly adhere to a routine, yet the Osage murders were carried out in a bewildering array of methods. There was no signature” (114). Or rather, signatures were too plentiful, hinting at multiple authorship. The opening passage conveys a sense of nondescript danger:

In April, millions of tiny flowers spread over the blackjack hills and vast prairies in the Osage territory of Oklahoma. There are Johnny-jump-ups and spring beauties and little bluets. The Osage writer Joseph Mathews observed that the galaxy of petals makes it look as if the “gods had left confetti.” In May, when coyotes howl beneath an unnervingly large moon, taller plants, such as spiderworts and black-eyed Susans, begin to creep over the tinier blooms, stealing their light and water. The necks of the smaller flowers break and their petals flutter away and before long they are buried underground (5).

The early spring drama unfolding in accordance with the prehistoric clock both prefigures and reiterates the present-day genocidal narrative, with one meaningful difference; the dainty small flowers recover; the same ritualistic takeover of larger

flowers “stealing” the smaller ones’ sources of sustenance will be reiterated yearly. Not so much for the North American indigenous people whose ecologically mindful manner of interacting with their environment will neither be recovered nor repeated.¹

In the early 1870s, the Osage, driven from their traditional habitat in the prairies, settled in the rocky hills of northeastern Oklahoma. In the words of Wah-Ti-An-Kah, the Osage chief at the time, “My people will be happy in this land. White man cannot put iron thing in ground here. White man will not come to this land. There are many hills here... white man does not like country where there are hills, and he will not come” (Mathews, *Wah’kon-Tah*, 33-34, qtd in Grann 40). In truth, the Osage had little choice but to accept the relocation. In keeping with the idea of a reservation as a place not destined for living, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1871* called this location “broken, rocky, sterile, and utterly unfit for cultivation” (qtd in Grann, 40). The Osage, who accepted it, expecting to be left in peace, were already decimated, following a series of forced migrations and outbursts of “white man’s diseases” (these typically included smallpox, chickenpox, typhus, influenza, and tuberculosis); the entire population diminished from ten thousand—an impressive number at the beginning of the nineteenth century—to the mere three thousand one hundred

¹ Grann must have been inspired by Rachel Carson’s already classic beginning of *Silent Spring*, where an immaculate landscape unravels in a manner that mobilizes all our senses (“The town lay in the midst of a checkboard of orchards of prosperous farms, with fields of grain and hillsides of orchards, where white clouds of bloom drifted above the green land.”) Carlson employs her poetic skills in the service of a non-fiction account written with a clear purpose of warning us – already in 1961 – against the indiscriminate use of pesticides and their effect on environment. At last one spring “a strange blight” occurs; “some evil spell” affects the community; “mysterious maladies” befall farm animals and people alike, and “the shadow of death” eventually materializes as “a strange stillness.” The birds (listed with precision as “robins, catbirds, doves, jays, and wrens”) are simply gone, and so are the bees; thus, silent spring.

years later. Their old way of life became by then enveloped by nostalgia. In accordance with the doctrine “every buffalo dead is an Indian gone,” the American buffalo was extinguished by 1877. S.C. Gwynne’s account connects this “greatest mass destruction of warm-blooded animals in human history” with the Western expansion:

In 1869 the Transcontinental Railroad was completed, linking the industrializing east with the developing west and rendering the old trails—Oregon, Santa Fe, and tributaries—instantly obsolete. With the rails came cattle, herded northwards in epic drives to railheads by Texans who could make fast fortunes getting them to Chicago markets. With the rails, too, came buffalo hunters carrying deadly accurate .50-caliber Sharps rifles that could kill effectively at extreme range—grim, violent, opportunistic men blessed now by both a market in the east for buffalo leather and the means of getting it there. In 1871 the buffalo still roamed the plains: Earlier that year a herd of four million had been spotted near the Arkansas River in present-day southern Kansas. The main body was fifty miles deep and twenty-five miles wide. ... In Kansas alone the bones of thirty-one million buffalo were sold for fertilizer between 1868 and 1881. (Loc 146)

One might add that buffaloes had been killed and utilized by the Osage as well, but the duel between a lightly-armed human person and an animal was considered a clash between equals; nor did it have, as an experience fulfilling both practical and spiritual purposes, the destruction of an entire population in view. Driscoll argues that this “sixth mass extinction event,” is not to be understood as a mere “tool for carrying out genocide against human peoples,” or even an “ecocide,” but rather a destruction of an entire species characterized by intricate social rules and traditions, regarded as persons in their own rights; indeed, as “ancestors, relatives, and teachers” of Plains Indigenous cultures, through “a series of genocides perpetrated, often quite deliberately, by Western governments and corporations in the context of (neo-)colonial expansionism and

resource extraction” (198). Out of the millions of buffalo killed, only around 200,000 remain today, which is a striking contrast to the Native American “caring practices” of preserving and respecting the natural world, as opposed to the Western approach of “management” of nature that implies control (Anderson 153).

The Osage whom we encounter on the pages of *Killers of the Flower Moon* have just shed or are in the process of shedding their traditional names, clothes, their pastimes and celebrations, and finally the faith of their ancestors; women no longer braid their hair but rather cut or style them. The inevitable loss of a name symbolizes the impossibility of resistance. Mollie Burkhard, whom Grann positions in the center of this narrative, was born in 1886 as Wah-kon-tah-he-um-pah. Bestowing a name, in Osage tradition, was a formative ritual; only then could one be considered a person by the tribe. But the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the time when the indigenous people realized that their losses were final. The tribe simply could not afford another battle. Mollie attended the St. Louis Catholic missionary school; she watched her classmates attempting to flee, only to reappear bound with ropes by lawmen who had chased after them on horseback. Such compulsory measures (additionally confirmed by Zitkala-Ša in her *American Indian Stories*) effectively contaminated the link between the younger generation and their parents, who proved unable to protect their children from hurt and humiliation. Back in Gray Horse, wearing blankets and moccasins no longer brought positive connotation. Self-appointed fashion experts in Pawhuska call Native women “blankets,” as if by virtue of adhering to their ethnic attire the women were nothing but ungainly commodities.

This narrative of displacement, starvation, and misery wanes as soon as the discovery of one of the largest oil deposits in the US in the rocky hills of the Osage reservation is confirmed and the Osage become the wealthiest people on the planet. The oil wells are drilled, then leased and subleased,

while quarterly checks dispatched to everyone on the tribal roll grow from a few dollars to hundreds, and then to thousands. This seemingly unlimited wealth (majority of these large oil deposits are now depleted) meets with undisguised envy. To the white community of landowners, seasonal workers, and rowdy ruffians from the nearby hills, this sudden rise in status of the native population is the source of discomfort combined with the brewing sense of injustice. As shown on several photographs, Mollie and her sisters, Anna, Minnie, and Rita do not renounce traditional attire of the Osage Indian, complete with the eponymous blankets; however, they also acquire western-style houses, cars, servants, and chauffeurs. The press stacks up complaints about the spending habits of the Osage, lamenting their growing wealth, only to add on the sly: "The Osage Indians are becoming so rich that something will have to be done about it" (Estelle Aubrey Brown, "Our Plutocratic Osage Indians," *Travel*, Oct. 1922, qtd in Grann 76). We are left hoping that what these columnists were calling for was just another legal measure contrived by the authorities, not an intricately designed conspiracy involving, to a large extent, the whole town.

The guardianship system, mandated by Congress in 1921 specifically to prevent the Osage from controlling their own money, appears to echo Thomas Aquinas's theory of "rational soul" as the main distinction between humans and animals. If "the Indians" were "like children" (not in full possession of "reason"), a state-appointed overseer of their expenditures must have seemed justified. Indeed, the only criterium for asserting possible financial independence was a racial one: "full-blood Indians" were automatically excluded from the realm of self-reliance. The press was set on ceaselessly providing new evidence to justify the guardianship system and thus creating a public consensus about the supposedly wild spending habits of the Osage. This frenzy of lamentation over the Osage's profligacy appears prompted by the fact that the money from oil pumps allowed the Osage to experience the kind of affluence

that only selected few whites in the supposed Promised Land could claim: houses with servants, cars with chauffeurs. Some of these employees were immigrants, some black, and some white; one government inspector, as if to testify to his own cognitive confusion, included a comparison to Sodom and Gomorrah in his 1920 report to Congress quoted by Grann (79). Some of the most affluent Osage were women, and their apparent rule over the flocks of servants directly contradicted all the foregoing efforts of the boarding school system, meant to imprint in its graduates the hierarchy of both races and genders in accordance with the westernized framework; more specifically, to teach the Native girls, first and foremost, feminine virtues, such as cookery, needlework, housecleaning, and overall docility. On a more tragic note, the Osage were charged exorbitant, if not extortionate, prices for every product they had to finance, not excluding funerals (up to \$6000, or \$80,000 today), as if even gravediggers would not wish to overlook an occasion to turn into profiteers (22). And yet the public consensus remained that it was the ubiquitous Osage and their spendthrift habits that had to be curbed and controlled first and foremost.

Martin Scorsese's rendition of David Grann's *Killers of the Flower Moon* was first planned already in 2019 (the completion postponed by the pandemic) and has not been released at the time of writing this article. But the postponement offered ample time for research. Aware that the movie was going to provide a suitable occasion to discuss the representation of Native Americans in the "Western" movies of the bygone era, Scorsese met with Chief Standing Bear back in July 2019, confirming that his team would be working closely with the Osage Nation on the aspects of "culture, history, and the language." Scorsese also admitted that what attracted him to Grann's account was "the intrinsic sense of evil. What is it in us that makes us capable of committing these acts of evil" (Duty). One might suggest that an extensive moral inquiry may not be needed when the answer could be easily summed up to the

opportunity and greed combined. How close is our focus on “evil” to the fascination with its dramatically rendered goings-on? Zachary J. Goldberg contends that

when we consider acts commonly thought to be paradigmatically evil[,] such as genocide, forced mass starvation, or war rape, the immense and perverse suffering of the victims seems to be both necessary and sufficient for such acts to be properly labeled “evil.” Add to the discussion the wide array of motivations that inspire perpetrators to commit acts of evil—obedience to authority, fear, peer-pressure, religious faith, ethnic hatred, thoughtlessness, ambition, etc.—and the focus on perpetrators in an analysis of evil might seem not only unnecessary but befuddling. After all, genocide is considered evil regardless of the perpetrators’ motivations (74).

Indeed, we have every right to fear that excessive focus on perpetrators blurs the contours of victims who are subsequently once more obliterated. Contrarily, Goldberg argues that shifting the center of attention from perpetrators to victims altogether stands for “consequentialist” and “symptomatic” proceedings “in that they identify only the effects of evil while neglecting its source” (74). Our task is rather to reinstate the main Kantian premise; i.e., that “it is only by examining the psychology of moral choice that we can hold perpetrators responsible for their actions” (74). Even if in consequence we discover, perhaps inevitably, that moral choices may lead to acts that are deeply immoral and demoralizing.

William K. Hale (we are yet to see the rendition of this character by Robert De Niro), the man condemned in the 1929 court trial, should serve as a fitting example of the Kantian assertion that “evil is an invisible enemy that originates in a person’s moral psychology often hiding behind reason and even good conduct” (Goldberg 74). A model citizen and Mollie Burkhard’s father-in-law, he was “a man with no known past,” first noticed when working as a cowboy on the ranch in Oklahoma. With no buffaloes in view, cowboys drove cattle “from

Texas to Osage territory ... and then to Kansas, for shipment to slaughterhouse in Chicago and other cities” (Grann 26). (This peregrination, we might note on the margin, guides us to Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle* of 1905, a novel dissecting the awful business of Chicago meat-processing plants). Eventually, Grann continues, “he [Hale] hoarded and borrowed enough money to buy his own herd in Osage territory” (26). Then he went bankrupt. Then he bounced back and “became an expert at branding, dehorning, castrating, and selling stock” (27). Dehorning cannot be performed painlessly even today (the procedure involves ripping off the corneal nerve, which runs from behind the eye to the base of the horn, supplying sensation to the horn, resulting in an acute pain response and a delayed inflammatory reaction). And yet dehorning and other procedures must be performed for the welfare and advancement of the society, as well as, obviously, for profit. Predictably, a dehorner must extinguish any pang of empathy when interacting with an animal in pain. Eventually Hale bought more territory from the Osage. All that he subsequently needed was a transformation, a total makeover; he provided himself with a collection of suits, bow ties, and felt hats, as well as with a schoolteacher for a wife; he recited poetry. He developed ties with politicians. He became known for his charity, donating to a local hospital and even supporting the Osage at the time preceding the oil boom. All these efforts aimed at remaking himself as a model citizen contributed also to his becoming a model candidate for the position of a guardian.

The guardianship system opened the dam to a stunning financial fraud; by 1925 an astonishing amount of \$8 million was collectively syphoned from the Osage accounts, prompting Congress to pass another law, which prohibited a non-Osage from inheriting headrights. And yet a white spouse or stepparent could also and often did act as a guardian, consequently accessing inheritance as next of kin (Grann 154). Consequently, the Osage, including children, continued to die in alarming numbers, while applicable evidence would conveniently van-

ish: bullets disappeared during an autopsy; sheriffs proved ineffective, and doctors failed to recognize symptoms of poisoning. The system of guardianship ended for the Osage with the precedent court ruling of April 21, 1931, which at last stated that Mollie Burkhard was “restored to competency, and the order heretofore made adjudging her to be an incompetent person is hereby vacated” (“Probate records of Mollie Burkhard,” File No. 2173, NARA-FW, qtd in Grann, 229). But the prevalent views would not be as easily diffused, as proven by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court John Marshall’s statement of 1931—for the purpose of the *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* case—that the Indian tribes are “domestic dependent nations”; juxtaposed against the recently closed and well-publicized FBI investigation in Osage county, Marshall’s comparing the federal/tribal relationship to “that of a ward to his guardian” portends a persistent menace (“Federal Trust Doctrine”; Ball 1188; comp. legal ramifications of the guardianship concept in Williams 104-108).

It seems obvious that such a canvas murder scheme, resulting in disrupted families, broken community ties, and apparent harm on both an individual and societal level, would not be possible if the perpetrators and onlookers alike had not reached a consensus regarding the lesser value of the lives lost. Even with the perpetrators mostly remaining in the shadow, the extent of the crimes was evident; the harm was happening in full view; during the aptly called Reign of Terror, several members of the tribe left the reservation, often as far as to Canada. Apart from the ongoing trauma experienced by survivors, the Osage language and culture, both dependent on a community of active users, became especially endangered. We should now recall Adorno and his exploration of how the blurring of human-animal boundary may be used by perpetrators to justify blatant harm, dispossession, and outright murder:

Indignation over cruelty diminishes in proportion as the victims are less like normal readers, the more they are swarthy, 'dirty', dago-like. This throws as much light on the crimes as on the spectators. Perhaps the social schematization of perception in anti-Semites is such that they do not see Jews as human beings at all. The constantly encountered assertion that savages, blacks, Japanese are like animals, monkeys for example, is the key to the pogrom. The possibility of pogroms is decided in the moment when the gaze of a fatally-wounded animal falls on a human being. The defiance with which he repels this gaze – "after all, it's only an animal" – reappears irresistibly in cruelties done to human beings, the perpetrators having again and again to reassure themselves that it is "only an animal," because they could never fully believe this even of animals (105).

The gaze of an animal conflates with the gaze of a human who is *like* an animal. In a culture that justifies the killing of animals on a mass scale, genocides are as unavoidable as ancient prophecies. Therefore, after all, we can start questioning the fascination with every new unearthing of "evil," and we might be obliged to begin exposing its feigned naïveté as a mere falsification, a case of pretend amnesia, which allows the public to conveniently forget any of its previous occurrences and heretofore absolve itself collectively from seeking to uncover its trails and patterns.

Naivety and hope stand for the cornerstones of humanity, though, the kind of humanity propagated by Adorno and Derrida, and practiced by the Prairies tribes up to the mid-nineteenth century. This humanity, paradoxically, also relies on the purposeful blurring of boundaries between animal and human. Driscoll refers to Derrida's argument for redefining the human-animal border. Rather than simply trying to eliminate this supposed "obstacle," it is crucial to acknowledge and examine the complexities and contradictions of this border, which should not be underestimated or taken lightly, but instead should be considered in parallel with the "inner" border, the enforcement and transgression of which has significant

ethical and biopolitical implications (Driscoll 194). By the same token, resisting the kind of official discourse, which cajoles us into believing that we, in “Fortress Europe,” are more worthy (more deserving of space, of comfort, and of safety) than others, “lesser” people, is crucial today, just as it was for the inhabitants of Fairfax and Pawhuska, Oklahoma, in the 1920s, when some of the neighbors of the Osage nation willingly embraced their status as auxiliary to murder, while a few dared to actively resist it. The act of telling and retelling history should not be made subservient to some form of therapy, but rather, as Grann stated during his book tour for the *Oklahoman*, by restoring history “we will learn from that history, and we will learn not only about the past but [also about] the kind of nation and the kind of people we want to be in the future as well.” Grann’s persuasive and chilling nonfiction account reminds us that shaping history is our responsibility because we too are becoming a piece of history to tell.

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REPORTS

**The 55th Linguistics Colloquium
“Inter- und intrasprachliche Kontraste /
Inter- and Intralinguistic Contrasts”,
online, Rzeszów 2021**

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1. Introduction

The first Linguistics Colloquium, entitled “Erstes Linguistisches Kolloquium über generative Grammatik”, took place in Hamburg-Harburg in West Germany in 1966. Since then, the Linguistics Colloquia have been held every year not only in Germany, but also in other European countries, including Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovenia, Spain and Switzerland.¹ The conferences have attracted scholars affiliated with universities located in Europe and on other continents.

So far, Poland has hosted the Linguistics Colloquia four times:

¹ For more information about the history of the Linguistics Colloquia, see, among others, Kürschner (1996), Kürschner, Sroka and Weber (2009), Weber (1996). See also “History of the Linguistics Colloquium” (<https://sites.google.com/view/lingcoll/history?authuser=0>), as well as the reports by Abraham (1991), Faber (1990), Falkenberg, Öhlschläger and Wimmer (1974), Posner (1970), Püschel (1976), Stanulewicz (2014, 2016), Stanulewicz and Skrzypiec (2010), and others.

- in Poznań in 1991,²
- in Gdańsk in 1995,³
- in Olsztyn in 2012,⁴
- in Rzeszów – virtually – in 2021.⁵

The papers presented at the Colloquia held in Poland were published in the following volumes:

- *Sprache – Kommunikation – Informatik: Akten des 26. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, Poznań 1991*, edited by Józef Darski and Zygmunt Vetulani (1993);
- *Kognitive Aspekte der Sprache: Akten des 30. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, Gdańsk 1995*, edited by Kazimierz A. Sroka (1996);
- *Materialität und Medialität der sprachlichen Kommunikation / Materiality and Mediality of Linguistic Communication: Akten des 47. Linguistischen Kolloquiums in Olsztyn 2012 / Proceedings of the 47th Linguistics Colloquium in Olsztyn 2012*, edited by Ewa Żebrowska, Mariola Jaworska and Dirk Steinhoff (2014).

2. The Organizers, theme and participants

The 55th Linguistics Colloquium in Rzeszów was scheduled for 2020, but it had to be postponed to the following year due to the COVID-19 pandemic. It took place online, from 8 to 11 September 2021.

The international committee of the 55th Linguistics Colloquium included the following scholars: Prof. Gerd Antos (Germany), Prof. Zofia Berdychowska (Poland), Prof. Zofia Bilut-Homplewicz (Poland), Prof. Bożena Cetnarowska (Poland), Prof.

² See the report by Weber (1992).

³ See the report by Warnke (1996).

⁴ See the report by Stanulewicz (2012).

⁵ The site of the 55th Linguistics Colloquium: <https://www.ur.edu.pl/pl/kolegia/kolegium-nauk-humanistycznych/jednostki-naukowe/institut-neofilologii/dzialalnosc-naukowa/konferencje-naukowe/55th-linguistics-colloquium-inter--and-intralingui>, accessed 1.12.2021.

Dirk Geeraerts (Belgium), Prof. Zoltán Kövecses (Hungary), Prof. Hartmut E. H. Lenk (Finland), Prof. Heinz-Helmut Lüger (Germany), Prof. Agnieszka Uberman (Poland), Prof. Heinrich Weber (Germany), Prof. Maria Wojtak (Poland) and Prof. Jordan Zlatev (Sweden). The Local Organizing Committee included Prof. Anna Hanus and Dr Iwona Szwed (Coordinators), as well as Prof. Robert Kiełtyka, Dr Beata Kopecka and Dr Dorota Miller.

The theme of the 55th Linguistics Colloquium was “Inter- und intrasprachliche Kontraste / Inter- and Intralinguistic Contrasts”. In the Call for Papers,⁶ the Organizers provided a list of specific areas included in this theme:

- particular subdisciplines of linguistics (morphology, syntax, semantics, lexicon, text linguistics and discourse studies);
- new tendencies in linguistic research;
- language-oriented contrastive culture studies;
- contrastive media linguistics;
- sociolinguistic analyses;
- translation theory and practice;
- analyses of specialized languages;
- contrastive foreign language teaching;
- research areas, results and expectations in parallel linguistic disciplines in different countries, cultures and language communities.

The 55th Linguistics Colloquium attracted scholars affiliated with academic centres in Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Hungary, Iran, Italy, Japan, Lithuania, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Russia, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine and the USA.

⁶ The Call for Papers is available at the site of the 55th Colloquium: <https://www.ur.edu.pl/pl/kolegia/kolegium-nauk-humanistycznych/jednostki-naukowe/institut-neofilologii/dzialalnosc-naukowa/konferencje-naukowe/55th-linguistics-colloquium-inter--and-intralingui>, accessed 1.12.2021.

3. The conference opening

During the conference opening, the welcome addresses were delivered by

- (1) the Conference Organizers;
- (2) Prof. Paweł Grata, Vice-Rector for the College of Humanities of the University of Rzeszów;
- (3) Prof. Agnieszka Myszka, Dean of the College of Humanities, University of Rzeszów;
- (4) Prof. Agnieszka Uberman, Director of the Institute of Neophilology, University of Rzeszów;
- (5) Prof. Wilfried Kürschner, one of the founders and member of the International Committee for the Linguistics Colloquium;
- (6) Prof. Heinrich Weber, one of the founders and member of the International Committee for the Linguistics Colloquium.

4. Plenary lectures

The participants were invited to listen to six plenary lectures, given by prominent scholars affiliated with universities in Poland and Germany:

- (1) “Schreiben am Computer – Leistungen und Grenzen von Sprachhilfskomponenten” by Prof. Wilfried Kürschner (University of Vechta, Germany);
- (2) “Competition between morphological compound nouns and phrasal nouns (on the basis of data from English and Polish)” by Prof. Bożena Cetnarowska (University of Silesia, Poland);
- (3) “[...] eine solch gewaltige konstellative Form der Welt [...] stemmen” – das Konzept *der liebevolle Erzähler* in Olga Tokarczuku Vorlesung zur Verleihung des Nobelpreises für Literatur: Eine linguistische Analyse” by Prof. Zofia Bilut-Homplewicz and Prof. Maria Krauz (University of Rzeszów, Poland);
- (4) “Blockierter Dialog? Ostpolitische Differenzen und parlamentarische Konfrontation” by Prof. Heinz-Helmut Lüger

- (University of Koblenz-Landau, Germany);
- (5) “Mediolingwistyczne (polskie) badawcze drogi i bezdroża / (Polish) Mediolinguistic highways and byways of research” by Prof. Maria Wojtak (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Poland), delivered in Polish with simultaneous interpreting into German and English;
 - (6) “Obiekty, przedmioty i metody badań w mediolingwistyce. Perspektywa Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Objects, subjects and research methods in media linguistics: The perspective of Central and Eastern Europe” by Prof. Iwona Loe-we (University of Silesia, Poland), delivered in Polish with simultaneous interpreting into German and English.

5. Panel discussions

Apart from the plenary lectures, the Organizers arranged three panel discussions:

- (1) “Diskursforschung in der germanistischen und polonistischen Perspektive / Badania nad dyskursem w perspektywie germanistycznej i polonistycznej”, held in Polish and German, Panel Chair: Prof. Waldemar Czachur (University of Warsaw, Poland), Panelists: Prof. Zofia Bilut-Hompiewicz (University of Rzeszów, Poland), Prof. Philipp Dreesen (Zürcher Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften, Switzerland) and Prof. Magdalena Steciąg (University of Zielona Góra, Poland);
- (2) “Figurative language: Then, now and beyond”, held in English, Panel Chair: Prof. Konrad Szcześniak (University of Silesia, Poland), Panelists: Prof. Alexandra Bagasheva (University of Sofia, Bulgaria), Bożena Cetnarowska (University of Silesia, Poland) and Prof. Zoltán Kövecses (University of Budapest, Hungary);
- (3) “Medienlinguistik – Forschungsstand, Fragen und Herausforderungen / Mediolingwistyka – stan badań, problemy i wyzwania”, held in Polish and German, Panel Chairs: Prof. Hartmut Lenk (University of Helsinki, Finland) and Prof. Agnieszka Mac (University of Rzeszów, Poland), Panelists: Prof. Heinz-Helmut Lüger (University of Koblenz-Landau, Germa-

ny), Prof. Bogusław Skowronek (Pedagogical University, Poland), Prof. Maria Wojtak (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Poland), Prof. Simon Meier-Vieracker (Technische Universität Dresden, Germany).

6. Sectional papers

The papers were presented in 13 sections:⁷

- (1) Phonetics and Phonology: papers by Kwasi Adomako / John Odoom, Aslı Gürer, Artur Kijak;
- (2) Morphology and Syntax: papers by Ioanna Cretu, Gerhard Edelmann, Anna Jaremiewicz-Kwiatkowska, Shigehiro Kokutani, Agnieszka Fus, Katharina Turgay / Daniel Gutzmann;
- (3) Semantics and Morphology: papers by Marcin Kudła, Danuta Stanulewicz / Ewa Komorowska, Regina Agyapong Manu / Kwasi Adomako / Cecilia Tomekyin;
- (4) Semantics (Metaphors): papers by Nino Daraselia, Anna Dąbrowska, Robert Kiełtyka / Agnieszka Grzaśko, Olesya Cherkhava / Maria V. Homyak / Natalia Bazyliak / Olga Matviyas;
- (5) Language and Emotions: papers by Anna Bączkowska, Judyta Pawliszko, Valentina Rossi, Wajdi Zaghouni / Chereen Shurafa;
- (6) Specialized Languages: papers by Halyna Kuchyk, Piotr Maziarz, Konrad Radomyski, Gabriela Nitka, Mikaela Petkova-Kessanlis, Vilma Zubaitienė / Agnė Lisauskaitė;
- (7) Theoretical Linguistics: papers by Nobuyo Fukaya, Ryszard Wylecioł, Olga Słabońska, Kazimierz A. Sroka, E. Ishmael Parsai / Aydin Mohandesi / Ebrahim Ansari, Samuel Alhasan Issah / Moses Dramani Luri / Hasiyatu Abubakari / Samuel O. Acheampong, Ewa Konieczna, Yaroslava Gnezdilova, Nuuratu Mustapha, Horchani Binène / François Nemo;

⁷ The list has been prepared on the basis of the conference programme, available at https://www.ur.edu.pl/files/ur/import/deleted-files/Conference-programme_LingCol_8_9_21-12.pdf, accessed 1.12.2021.

- (8) Cultural Linguistics: papers by Heinrich Weber, Andrzej S. Feret, Magdalena Feret;
- (9) Language-oriented Culture Studies: papers by Bożena Kochman-Haładaj, Magdalena Olkiewicz, Halyna Stashko;
- (10) Media Linguistics: papers by Mostafa Boieblan El Abouri, Giulia Magazzù, Debora Onik-Maziarz, Agnieszka Buk / Grit Mehlhorn, Melanie Anna Kerschner, Agnieszka Mac, Hans W. Giessen;
- (11) Discourse Studies: papers by Paweł Bąk, Mikaela Petkova-Kessanlis / Hans W. Giessen, Marta Smykała, Iryna Pinich, Larysa Taranenko, Inna Zabuzhanska / Tamara Yamchynska;
- (12) Translation Theory and Practice: papers by Elizaveta Getta, Dorota Osuchowska, Bartosz Buć, Nadine Rentel, Skaiste Volungeviciene, Ewa Data-Bukowska, Anna Rędzioch-Korkuz, Reinhard Rapp, Irina Tivyaeva;
- (13) Foreign Language Teaching: papers by Ewa Kusz, Vladimir Legac, Jaqueline Mora, Blaženka Filipan-Žigniċ / Marija Turk Sakač, Mariusz Jakosz, Teodor Petrič.

The sectional papers were delivered in German or English. The participants concentrated on different languages, including, among others, Akan, English, Georgian, German, Italian, Lithuanian, the Mabilia languages, Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Russian, Sisaali, Spanish, Turkish and Ukrainian.

It is worth noting that five papers were delivered by participants representing the University of Gdańsk:

- (1) Anna Bączkowska: "Insults, attempted insults and replies to them on Twitter";
- (2) Magdalena Olkiewicz: "Plant names in Polish traditional songs";
- (3) Konrad Radomyski: "Terminology of inorganic chemistry: A corpus study";
- (4) Kazimierz Sroka: "Language sign and the dichotomy *significans* : *significatum* in relation to morphosemanteme and morphosemantic function";

- (5) Danuta Stanulewicz, co-author: Ewa Komorowska (University of Szczecin): “Yellow in Polish and Russian: Associations, prototypes and valuation”.

7. The cultural programme

Although the Colloquium was held online, the Organizers provided the participants with splendid evening entertainment. On 8 September, the participants could watch a concert entitled “Polska i światowa poezja, podkarpackie dźwięki / Polish and world poetry, the sounds of Subcarpathia”, performed by Aleksander Berkowicz. On 9 and 10 September, they were offered two virtual tours: “Historical and cultural heritage of the Subcarpathian region” and “Historical and cultural heritage of Rzeszów”.

8. Conference proceedings

The Organizers plan to publish the conference proceedings in a special issue of the journal *Lege Artis: Language Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, as well as in two volumes: with Peter Lang and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

9. A final word

Although the participants might have preferred to meet face to face in Rzeszów, they must have admitted that the 55th Linguistics Colloquium held online appeared to be a very inspiring and enjoyable scholarly event. During the pandemic, the modern technologies provided the participants with an excellent opportunity to present the results of their research and discuss them with colleagues representing academic centres located in different countries.

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Progress in Colour Studies, Tallinn 2022

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1. Introduction

The first Progress in Colour Studies (PICS) conference, organized by Dr Carole Biggam and Prof. Christian Kay, was held at the University of Glasgow in 2004. The conference was so successful that the organizers decided to hold further conferences concentrating on colour. Two of them – in 2008¹ and 2012² – were also hosted by the University of Glasgow. The 2016 PICS conference took place at University College London³ and in 2022 researchers interested in colour met at Tallinn University.

Bearing in mind that colour is a phenomenon examined by researchers representing physics, psychology, biology, medicine, linguistics, art history, literary studies, philosophy and many other disciplines, the organizers of the PICS conferences aim at providing them with “a multidisciplinary forum for discussion of recent and ongoing research, presented so as to be accessible to scholars in other disciplines” (<https://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/STELLA/PICS08/Index.htm>, accessed 20.11.2022).

¹ See the report by Stanulewicz and Pawłowski (2011).

² See the reports by Komorowska and Stanulewicz (2013a, 2013b).

³ See the report by Stanulewicz, Komorowska and Pawłowski (2018).

In 2022, the multidisciplinary approach – as could be expected – was strongly advocated by the conference Organizers as well:

The aim of the PICS 2022 is to provide a forum for discussion of recent and ongoing research and bring scholars from different disciplines together. Authors are encouraged to consider their own specialist colour expertise in the broader context of colour at the intersection of many disciplines.

(<https://www.tlu.ee/en/welcome>, accessed 20.11.2022)

The papers presented at the PICS conferences were published in the following volumes:

- *Progress in Colour Studies I: Language and Culture*, edited by Carole P. Biggam and Christian J. Kay (2006);
- *Progress in Colour Studies II: Psychological Aspects*, edited by Nicola J. Pitchford and Carole P. Biggam (2006);
- *New Directions in Colour Studies*, edited by Carole P. Biggam, Carole Hough, Christian J. Kay and David R. Simmons (2011);
- *Colour Studies: A Broad Spectrum*, edited by Wendy Anderson, Carole P. Biggam, Carole Hough and Christian Kay (2014);
- *Progress in Colour Studies: Cognition, Language and Beyond*, edited by Lindsay W. MacDonald, Carole P. Biggam and Galina V. Paramei (2018).

2. Venue, organizers, topics, and participants

The fifth PICS conference was scheduled for 2020, but due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it had to be postponed. It was finally held at Tallinn University, Estonia, from 7 to 10 September 2022.

The Organizing Committee included the following scholars, three of whom are affiliated with Tallinn University:

- Mari Uusküla (Tallinn University), co-chair of the Organizing Committee;
- Domicelé Jonauskaitė (University of Vienna), co-chair of the Organizing Committee;
- Sirli Peda, Head of Tallinn University Conference Centre;
- Merle Oğuz (Tallinn University);
- Kaidi Rätsep (independent researcher).

In the Call for Papers, the Conference Organizers proposed the following topics:

- linguistics, psycholinguistics, and colour in languages;
 - colour in literature and poetry;
 - translation of colour;
 - vision, perception, cognition, memory;
 - design, fashion;
 - architecture, art, history, heritage, culture;
 - imaging, computation, analysis, modelling;
 - illumination, optics, photography, technology;
 - conservation, chemistry, materials, surfaces.
- (<https://www.tlu.ee/en/welcome>, accessed 20.11.2022)

The scholars who responded to the Call of Papers represented academic centres located in Austria, Brazil, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, the UK and the USA.

3. Keynote lectures

The participants had an opportunity to listen to the following keynote lectures:⁴

- (1) “The mental representation of colour in English, Somali, and other world language” by Delwin T. Lindsey and Angela M. Brown (Ohio State University, USA);

⁴ The conference programme and book of abstracts are available at <https://www.tlu.ee/en/pics2022/programme>, accessed 20.11.2022.

- (2) “Basic Kala terms and the end of history: An invitation to visual semantics” by Carsten Levisen (Roskilde University, Denmark);
- (3) “Communicative need drives colour language refinement: The riches of "Italian blues"” by Galina V. Paramei (Liverpool Hope University, UK).

4. Papers

The participants presented over 20 papers which dealt with a number of colour-related topics. The dominant topics included the following ones:

- colour lexicons of various languages;
- colour idioms of various languages;
- associations with colours, including associations of colours and emotions;
- colour in literature and culture.

The participants concentrated on numerous languages, including, *inter alia*, Chinese, English, Estonian, Finnish, Galician, Japanese, Polish, Swedish and Turkish.

Below we present the list of the titles of the papers – with their authors – presented at the PICS 2022 Conference.⁵

8 September

- (1) Carole Biggam: “The colour semantic potential for the relative dating of early texts”;
- (2) Victoria Bogushevskaya: “Cultural memory of Chinese colour tropes”;
- (3) Thekla Wiebusch: “Representation of colours in the Chinese writing system”;
- (4) Michal Schwarz: “Functions of colours in the evolution of Inner Asian societies”;

⁵ The list is based on the conference programme, available at <https://www.tlu.ee/en/pics2022/programme>, accessed 20.11.2022.

- (5) Domicelė Jonauskaitė: “Colours and emotions: What have we learned so far and what’s next?”;
- (6) Giulia Spagnulo, Déborah Epicoco, Domicelė Jonauskaitė and Christine Mohr: “Colour-emotion associations are unrelated to current mood”;
- (7) Déborah Epicoco, Domicelė Jonauskaitė, Mari Uusküla and Christine Mohr: “What do we think about colours? Coding free associations with colour terms”;
- (8) Carlo Martins Gaddi and Marcelo Fernandes da Costa: “Comparing colour concept with emotion colour preference using psychophysical interval scale and ranking order procedure”;
- (9) Ene Vainik: “Free associations of colour words in Estonian”;
- (10) Merle Oğuz and Mari Uusküla: “A comparative analysis of Estonian, Swedish and Turkish colour idioms”;
- (11) Veera Hatakka: “Finnish words *tumma* ‘dark’ and *vaalea* ‘light’ as colour names”;
- (12) Mari Uusküla: “Translation of colour language: Old and new perspectives”.

9 September

- (13) Kaidi Rätsep: “Listing, sorting and naming ‘blue’”;
- (14) David H. Peterzell, Anke Marit Albers and Sean Isamu Johnson: “Are light and dark blue used as separate basic colour categories in English? A corpus linguistics approach to studying visual perception”;
- (15) Danuta Stanulewicz and Adam Pawłowski: “From vegetation to politics: The word for GREEN in the Polish press, 1945–1956”;
- (16) Adam Pawłowski: “ChronoPress webservice and other CLARIN-PL text-mining tools for SSH community”;
- (17) Urmas Sutrop: “Colours in the Grimm and non-Grimm Snow White fairy tales (ATU 709)”;
- (18) Isabel Espinosa Zaragoza: “Obscure lipstick colour names: Ambiguity as an attention-grabbing technique”;
- (19) Grażyna Wąsowicz: “The impact of colours on the effectiveness of persuasive messages designed to promote behaviour change toward sustainable consumption”.

10 September

- (20) Paula Teixeira Moláns: “The categorisation of orange in Galician: Generational contrasts in a diglossic community”;
- (21) Hiromasa Mita: “Linguistic palette: How can colours be deep, dark, and dull?”;
- (22) Yurie Okami: “Colour idioms and direct modification in Japanese”.

5. Meetings with editors

The Conference Organizers also arranged meetings with editors of scholarly journals and collections of papers to which scholars may submit their texts on colour:

- (1) Galina Paramei, representing the journal *Color Research & Application*;
- (2) Carole Biggam, representing the publishing houses: Rodopi, John Benjamins, the University of Leeds, the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, and Bloomsbury Press;
- (3) Urmas Sutrop, representing the journal *Trames*.

6. A final word

The conference provided the delegates with an excellent opportunity to present the results of their research – conducted from different perspectives – as well as to broaden their horizons. The PICS 2022 conference – as the previous PICS conferences – provided solid evidence for the need for investigating the phenomenon of colour from various points of view, including linguistic, cultural and psychological. The participants enjoyed the lively discussions of the different aspects of this phenomenon.

Summing up, the fifth Progress in Colour Studies conference, held at Tallinn University, was a tremendously inspiring, successful and splendidly organized scholarly event.

Finally, we would like to pass on the information about the sixth PICS conference. It will be held at the University of Wrocław and the Academy of Fine Arts in Wrocław, Poland, in 2025.

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