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Functions of colours and coloured objects in Slavic culture: Magic, folklore and language

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Abstract

Colours have always played an important role in Slavic culture. In the Slavic world of magic, each basic colour was meaningful and symbolized certain behaviours and their results. In order to understand the perception of colours in the modern times as well as the fixed expressions in which colour terms occur, we should take a look at this phenomenon from the cultural perspective. Adopting the cultural perspective allows researchers to trace the continuity of the Slavic perception of colours and their reflection in language.

The aim of this paper is to present the functions of colours and coloured objects in Slavic culture, with relation to their alleged healing, protective and wizardry properties. Besides, the paper presents the Polish and Russian names of plants which were believed to have healing properties as well as the names of illnesses containing colour terms.

Keywords

Slavic culture, colour, colour terms, plant names, names of illnesses, Polish, Russian

FUNKCJE BARW I BARWNYCH PRZEDMIOTÓW W KULTURZE SŁOWIAŃSKIEJ: MAGIA, FOLKLOR I JĘZYK

Abstrakt

Kolory zawsze odgrywały ważną rolę w kulturze słowiańskiej. W słowiańskim świecie magii każda podstawowa barwa miała znaczenie i symbolizowała pewne zachowania i ich skutki. Aby zrozumieć współczesne postrzeganie kolorów i utrwalone wyrażenia, w których występują nazwy barw, należy spojrzeć na to zjawisko z perspektywy kulturowej. Przyjęcie perspektywy kulturowej pozwala badaczom prześledzić ciągłość słowiańskiego postrzegania kolorów i ich odzwierciedlenia w języku.

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie funkcji barw i przedmiotów o danym kolorze w kulturze słowiańskiej, w odniesieniu do ich rzekomych właściwości leczniczych, ochronnych i czarodziejskich. Ponadto w artykule przedstawiono polskie i rosyjskie nazwy roślin, o których wierzono, że mają właściwości lecznicze, a także nazwy chorób zawierające określenia barwne.

Słowa kluczowe

kultura słowiańska, barwa, nazwy barw, nazwy roślin, nazwy chorób, język polski, język rosyjski

1. Introduction

Colours have always played an important role in Slavic culture. In Slavic magic, each basic colour symbolized certain types of behaviour and its results. In order to understand the perception of colours in the modern times the meanings of fixed expressions in which colour terms occur, we should take a look at colours from the cultural perspective, which allows researchers to trace the continuity of the Slavic perception of colours and their reflection in language.

The aim of this paper is to present the functions of colours and coloured objects in Slavic culture, with relation to their alleged healing, protective and wizardry properties.[1] I also wish to concentrate on the Polish and Russian names of plants believed to have such properties. The study is guided by the following research questions:

(1) Which colours were particularly important in the Slavic world of magic?
(2) Which colour terms are found in words connected with folk medicine, i.e. the names of healing plants and the names of diseases?

It needs to be recalled here that numerous scholars have investigated the colour lexicons of Slavic languages, including Polish and Russian (see, among others, Ampel-Rudolf 1994, Badyda 2008, Bjelajeva 2005, Frumkina 1984, Komorowska 2010, 2017, Komorowska and Stanulewicz 2018, Kul′pina 2001, Narloch 2013, Paramei 2004, Stanulewicz 2009, 2016, Tokarski 2004 [1995], Uberman 2011).

2. Symbolism of colours

Before the presentation of the functions of colours in Slavic culture, let us concentrate on the symbolism of its three most important colours: black, white and red.

The colour black, according to Kopaliński (2007 [1990]: 48), is a symbol of evil, superstition, fear, gloom, worry, hatred, danger, deception, tragedy, catastrophe, destruction, sorrow, darkness, death, damnation, devil, despair, mourning, sorcery, sin, the unknown and mystery, inferiority, nothingness, ignorance

[1] For the functions of colours in the supernatural Slavic world, see, among others, Komorowska (2010: 70–82, 2022) and Stanulewicz (2022a, 2022b).

and total passivity. Although black receives mainly negative valuation, it can also have positive and neutral connotations, including fertile black earth (as opposed to brown, rusty desert), the earth, deities of the earth and underworld, constancy, absolute, wisdom, eternity, sleep and night.

White sometimes symbolizes opposites, such as life and death or consciousness and unconsciousness. Moreover, as Kopaliński (2007 [1990]: 17) claims, white is a symbol of perfection, spirituality, holiness, glory, salvation, revelation, redemption, rebirth, eternity, festivity, enlightenment, reason, truth, knowledge, timelessness, perfect wisdom, intuition, innocence, virginity, purity, honesty, temperance, marriage and friendship, sincerity, joy, merriment, happiness, simplicity and conventionality. This colour is also associated with the visible world, light, dawn, moon and time. As regards its negative symbolism, Kopaliński mentions fear, cowardice, death, and mourning.

The colour red has an exceptionally rich cultural symbolism. According to Kopaliński (2007 [1990]: 51), red is a symbol of the human body, energy, enthusiasm, courage, anger, vigour, virility, action, robustness, joy, excitement, passion, affection, love, happiness and health, light and heat, spiritual enlightenment, inspiration, creativity and leadership. Red has associations with religion: devotion, sacrifice, mercy, martyrdom, Christ's passion, resurrection as well as the love of God and the Holy Spirit. It also symbolizes sin, hellfire, anarchy, lawlessness, savagery, selfishness, hatred, danger, crime, slaughter and disease. Politically speaking, red has the connotations of rebellion, revolution, socialism and communism. In comparison with other colours, red is perceived as the most ambivalent one (Stanulewicz, Komorowska and Pawłowski 2014).

3. Functions of colours and coloured objects

In this section, I concentrate on the protective, healing and wizardry functions of colours and coloured objects in Slavic culture.

3.1. The protective function

Slavs used numerous measures protecting them from the evil which, as they thought, could affect people, homes and animals, anytime and anywhere. This evil was related to not only the dangerous elements, like drought, downpour and hail or diseases, but also to the invisible powers of witchcraft, spells as well as many to demonic figures which could be encountered at crossroads, in forests, fields and farms. Therefore, Slavs felt anxious while leaving their home, which was their safest place, to enter the unknown, untamed world full of dangers (Walencowa 1977: 194).

Slavs, above all, tried to prevent any misfortunes and thus various magic plants, objects and rituals were helpful. What was in particular well known then was all pricking, sharp, burning or strong smell-giving healing plants. Much attention was also given to colours, especially red (Leciejewicz, ed., 1972: 17).

A strong protective power could be manifested by any red object, which was the most effective against spells. Slavs commonly used red scarfs, beads, belts or ribbons which protected not only people but domestic animals as well (Moszyński 1967: 312). Even plants in the patches were adorned with a piece of red cloth. Sometimes a scarecrow or a rod with a piece of red cloth was placed in the middle of the patches so that no one could put a spell on them. It was believed that only red and crimson make the spells disappear. A passer-by who intended to harm the vegetables or flowers was to look first at the red cloth as the most visible element, and then the plants were to be safe because "only the first look is harmful" (Gustawicz 1882: 210). In the Middle Ages, it was believed that the colour red would protect people against demons and other dangers, therefore at that time in many cities, prisons and the places where justice was administered were painted red. The protective symbolism of the colour red has remained in the superstitions in Poland until now. For instance, to protect a child against "a spell" when the child's looks are praised, cautious parents or grandparents also place a red ribbon on the pram, believing it has the power to undo the spell.

The colour red of a burning torch had the protective function, along with the magical activity of walking in a circle. The magical power was attributed to going around a village, homesteads and fields with burning torches. That happened on the Midsummer Night. When the Midsummer Night was over, Serbs – from the dying bonfire – lit birch bark torches and, carrying them, went around homesteads in order to drive the evil spirit and all spells away (Ziółkowska 1989: 99). In Poland, going around the homestead with glowing embers deprived the evil spirit of access to it (Bartmiński, ed., 1996, I: 274).

One of the oldest and commonly practiced customs in Europe was the so-called "red interments". This custom was first practised by Greeks and Romans, then in the east and west parts of the Roman Empire and later in the Balkans and among East Slavs (Gross 1990: 42). Their essence was to sprinkle the dead bodies with red ruddle (i.e. iron oxide) so that the sacrificed colours would bring relief to the dead people in the spirit world.

Black and grey, as the colours of ashes and smoke, were also meaningful for Slavs. The smoke itself had a protective power. The best smoke came from the burning of blessed herbs, and Corpus Christi procession twigs or from a blessed candle. It was also believed that it was given special properties when the blessed herbs were in a wreath (Moszyński 1967: 314). Before a thunderstorm, people used willow twigs to light up the stove since they believed that "when the blessed herb comes out along with the smoke through a chimney, it will disperse the clouds over the homestead and the thunderbolt will not hit it" (Bartmiński, ed., 1996, I: 215).

A number of protective herbs were also commonly used by Slavs. For example, *baneberry* (Latin *Actaea spicata*), also known as *black root* was considered by East Slavs (in particular those inhabiting Perm Governorate) to be an amulet protecting home against fire and other calamities. The sagebrush (Latin *Artemista*, Russian *černobyl'*, *černobyl*, *černobyl'nik* / *черно-*

быль, чернобыл, чернобыльник) was supposed to scare off evil spirits. As Chodurska (2010: 44) writes, the sagebrush is known as an apotropaic plant in all Slavic areas. Its protective function is praised by poets and described by the compilers of the oldest herbaria of Central Europe. Stefan Falmirz advised to perfume the home air with herbs to "scare off the evil" (witches, evil spirits, plague and other serious diseases). Marcin of Urzędów advised to hang herbs over the gateways to protect the household members from spells.

The very toxic houndstongue (Latin *Cynoglossum officinale*, Russian *černokoren'*, *černyj koren'* / *чернокорень, черный корень*, lit. black root) was regarded in the eastern Slavic areas as an amulet protecting from real dangers, for instance, from attacks of dogs or rats (Holubý 1958: 224). What protected against thunderbolts was the white bedstraw (Latin *Galium mollugo*, Russian *černyj metlûk*, *černaâ trava* / *черный метлюк, черная трава*, lit. black grass). The devil was effectively scared off with a stick made of the plant known as *common buckthorn* and that is why the twigs of this shrubbery were usually placed over the home entrance (Rostafiński 1900, II: 217). The protective function was also attributed to the black elder. This bush was typically planted in the vicinity of peasants' homesteads and it protected them and their property against the evil, fire, plague and various diseases. However, most of all, it protected people against witchcraft (Sikora 1992).

3.2. The healing function

In the healing magic, one of the treatments was the so-called "abandoning or avoiding a disease" which could result from an incautious behaviour. Big threats were associated with the atmospheric and cosmic phenomena, the earth, fire and water (Moszyński 1967: 191) as well as with those internal ones, e.g. some bugs living in the human body. One of the reasons for illnesses was light. For instance, in Poland, one of the reasons for which children were ill was moon light, i.e. the exposition to the bright white colour. On the other hand, in Bulgaria, people believed that the Pleiades were harmful because by showing themselves from time to time in the sky, they shook off the down and vermin which fell to the ground. This brought serious illnesses to cattle, horses and sheep. Thus, when lights in the sky appeared, the domestic animals were closed indoors. Similar practices were observed during the time with no sunlight, i.e. during a solar eclipse which was believed to be dangerous to all living creatures.

Slavs treated diseases with herbs which "had to stand out by having an appropriate shape, colour and taste" (Chodurska 1993: 59). For instance, plants with yellow flowers were used to cure jaundices, herbs with white flowers cured paleness, i.e. anaemia and bleeding, while other illnesses related to the colour of blood were cured by plants whose flowers were red or whose juice looked as if it had been blood. For example, the petals of St John's wort flowers secrete red juice so they were used to cure internal bleedings (Jabłońska 1965: 88–89). More serious diseases, usually of an epidemic character, were called "black" and were cured by black or grey plants. Black plants are those plants which have the "black" component in their names, e.g. Polish *czarna jagoda* 'bilberry' (lit. black berry), *czarna borówka* (lit. black berry) / *czernica* 'blueberry' and Russian *černica*, *černika* / *черница*, *черника* 'bilberry'. As a rule, however, numerous names in this group do not point to the colour black directly; instead, they rather indicate the darker shade of the colour of the entire plant or its part (Chodurska 2010: 43). The herbs with the "black names" were used to cure "black diseases", such as black fever, black cholera, black melancholy, black death (the plague) and black weakness (epilepsy). They were used in various magical procedures. For example, the baneberry (Latin *Actaea spicata*, Polish *czerniec*) was recommended in Western Polesie as a plant curing nervous system diseases, so, quite certainly, to cure melancholy as well (Chodurska 2010). *Black horehound* (Latin *Ballota nigra*, Russian *černokudrennik* / *чернокудренник*) was considered by East

Slavs to be an effective cure for hypochondria (Annenkov 1876–1878: 61). The white bedstraw (Latin *Galium mollugo*, Russian *černyj metlûk*, *černaâ trava* / *черный метлюк*, *черная трава*) was used as a medicine for epilepsy, for strengthening the condition of the organism and as a mood booster (Rostafiński 1900, I: 310). For scaring off epidemics and plagues by incensing closed rooms and open areas, Slavs used the greater burnet-saxifrage (Latin *Pimpinellla magna*, Russian *černogolovka* / *черноголовка*). This herb was recommended in the 16th century as a preventive measure against cholera (Chodurska 2010: 44). At the same time, *salad burnet* (Latin *Poterium sanguisorba*, Russian *černogolovnik* / *черноголовник*), being dark red, was used in the treatment of heart diseases (Annenkov 1876–1878: 272). The black elder (Polish *czarny bez*) was used to treat all illnesses. The following spell is commonly known in the Polish folklore:

> ***Czarny bzie***, *święty bzie, weź moje bolenie*
> *Pod swoje zdrowe korzenie.*
> 'Black elder, holy elder, take my pains
> Under your healthy roots.'

The black elder was an inviolable shrub. This concerned, in particular, its roots. Injuring them, as the Slavic magic held, could cause a family member's death, flood or cattle pest.

As one of the healing measures, Slavs used fire, smoke and coal, the colours of which were significant. A great role in the magic of undoing spells was attributed to fire and its colour – red. Fire was used as a medical, purifying measure which destroyed evil spirits (Bartmiński, ed., 1996, I: 274). Incensing with smoke coming from seeds of henbane (Latin *Hyoscyamus niger*, Polish *lulek czarny*) was used to treat a toothache. This smoke was mixed with yellow wax; then three candles were formed and stuck to the inside of a bottomless pot; the candles were lit and the pot was put into water. A person suffering from a toothache should have his or her mouth wide open over the smoke coming from the burning candles. It was believed that henbane smoke, having “a strange odour”, removed bugs from teeth so that the teeth would stop aching (Gustawicz 1882: 263). Incensing a house with the herb smoke (e.g. of sagebrush, oak tree leaves, St John’s wort, birthwort, peony roots) was also a common way of scaring off the evil (Rostafiński 1900, II: 94).

What was also used in treating illnesses was colourful objects. The illness called erysipelas was cured with a piece of red cloth and some flax. The following procedure was used: out of the flax a ball was made which was then put on the cloth. Then, this all was placed onto the skin infected with erysipelas and the flax was burned on its four sides. After it was burnt, a woollen scrap was put onto it. This treatment procedure was repeated several times until the person recovered (Gustawicz 1882: 270). A red ribbon was worn on the neck against nose bleedings (Gross 1990: 63). In the Middle Ages, red clothing was used as a means against pox and measles.

White cloth was used to make one’s liver recover after the devil’s spell. For example, people waited until Pentecost so that the sick person could meet this devil. During that time, a family member took that person to the place with flowering plants, which was visited by samodivas or nymphs who ate those flowers. Underneath one of such plants, a pot with water as well as an offering were placed for them. Nearby, the sick person lied down, covered with white cloth. The accompanying person left and only after hearing the second cockerel, did that person return. If at least one flower fell into the pot with water, that meant that the demons brought back health to the sick person. Then, the sick person drank water from the pot and afterwards, with the accompanying person, secretly returned home so that nobody could see them (Moszyński 1967: 209).

3.3. The wizardry function

The wizardry function involved both helping in harvest, maintaining health and love as well as expelling the threats of dark forces.

For instance, abundant harvest was to be guaranteed by adding white-grey catkins from the palms blessed in church on Palm Sunday to the grain which was prepared for spring sowing. Abundant harvest was also to be guaranteed by incensing cows with the smoke coming from various herbs (e.g. sundew, white bryony) so that they could give much mill and "the butter was good" (Gustawicz 1882: 250).

In order to guarantee happiness and abundance, people used a number of magical procedures. For example, before selling cattle in the market, the cows were sprinkled with ashes in order for their owners to be affluent in money. Polish people buried the ashes from the remaining blessed ashes or from the last-year palm in the earth or ashes were added to the seed grain in order to boost harvest (Bartmiński, ed., 1996, I: 334–335). Ashes from the hair which the girl tore from underneath her arm were served by her in the tea to gain the love of the beloved person (Chodurska 2003: 169). For preventing spell, Slavs used the plant which is commonly known as *marsh woundwort* (Latin *Stachys palustris*, Russian *černozâbennik* / *чернозябенник*).

The ritual and magical functions were also played by mistletoe known as "golden twig". In the Slavic folklore, mistletoe was linked to the cult of continually regenerating nature, reviving sun, a magical symbol of life. Golden twigs were used to decorate spring palms, house interiors and under a mistletoe, a boy should kiss a girl to be happy.

It was mostly women who resorted to magic which kindled feelings. In order to draw the attention of a beloved person, people used both plant as well as animal means, taking care of specific external conditions, like those related to the light of day and night. However, if people did not use magic on their own, they usually went to a healer who typically ordered them to take medicine added to drinks or meals or to carry this medicine under their clothes, close to the skin (or perhaps under their arm) or to add it to the bath. What was the most popular in the Slavic areas was the lovage (Latin *Levisticum officinale*, see Chodurska 2003: 169). Each of its parts, eaten by a young person, made him or her immediately fall in love. What was recommended was consuming the lovage during the full moon time. It was believed that like the glowing face of the moon became bigger and bigger night by night and made the night brighter, the feelings of a person who consumed the lovage would grow. This plant was given to girls because it was believed this could bring them "the attention of all handsome boys" in the future. Girls washed their faces in the extract from the leaves or root "to make them smooth and be always admired by boys" (Jabłońska 1965: 68–69).

Another flower of love was the lesser butterfly-orchid (Latin *Platanthera bifolia*, Polish *podkolan biały*) whose characteristic shape of bulbs was seen by Slavs as a symbol of marriage. The butterfly-orchid bulbs look like two hearts connected with each other. Also, as the Slavic practice held, boys gave girls a bouquet of lady's slipper orchids as a sign of their feelings and on the basis of the way the bouquet was received, they could assess their chances of love (Sikora 1992: 15).

In Ukraine, a girl wanting to be loved, tried to obtain a thread, most preferably of the colour of love, i.e. red, from the boy's clothing or a bit of dust from the sole of his shoe. When she obtained one of those things, she put it in wax threw into fire, saying a spell wishing the boy to miss her. The boy subjected to such magic would either fall in love with her or wither and die (Moszyński 1967: 294).

4. Colour terms in the names of healing plants and illnesses

As indicated above, the colour terms related to magic are mainly found in the names of plants believed to have healing and protective properties. The most frequent colour terms found in these names include the Polish and Russian words for black and white, e.g.

- Russian: *černokoren'*, *černyj koren'* / *чернокорень*, *черный корень* (lit. black root) 'houndstongue', *černica*, *černika* / *черница*, *черника* 'bilberry';
- Polish *czarna jagoda* (lit. black berry) 'bilberry', *czarna borówka* (lit. black berry) / *czernica* 'blueberry', *lulek czarny* 'henbane', and the words for white, e.g. Polish *podkolan biały* 'the lesser butterfly-orchid'
  (Chodurska 1993, 2003, 2010).

As has been indicated above, coloured objects, including plants, were used to treat illnesses whose symptoms were of particular colours (e.g. blue skin). It comes as no surprise then that colour terms are also found in names of illnesses. The following examples are Polish names of some diseases:

- *czarny* 'black': *czarna ospa* 'smallpox';
- *biały* 'white': *białaczka* 'leukemia';
- *czerwony* 'red': *czerwonka* 'dysentery';
- *żółty* 'yellow': *żółta febra* 'yellow fever', *żółtaczka* 'jaundice';
- *różowy* 'pink': *trądzik różowaty* 'rosacea';
- *brązowy* / *brunatny* 'brown': *cukrzyca brązowa* / *brunatna* 'hereditary haemochromatosis';
- *siny* 'grey blue, livid': *sinica* 'cyanosis', *siny obrzęk* 'oedema'
  (Gonigroszek 2015, Maciejewska and Maciejewska-Szaniec 2012, Stanulewicz 2009: 202–203).

These names involve the metonymy SYMPTOM FOR ILLNESS, more exactly COLOUR FOR ILLNESS (Gonigroszek 2015: 106). It is worth pointing out that there exist other metonymy-based expressions with colour words which refer to emotional or physiological states, e.g. *być czerwonym* (*ze złości* etc.) 'to be red (with anger etc.)', *być sinym* (*z zimna* / *przerażenia* etc.) 'be grey blue (with cold / fear etc.)’ (see, among others, Komorowska 2004, 2005, 2010: 209–214, Stanulewicz 2009: 183–185, 2016).

5. Concluding remarks

As emerges from the presentation of the selected aspects of Slavic culture, colour – along with ritual practices – was an immanent part of the magical world of Slavs, playing the protective, healing and wizardry functions. Coloured objects, including red scarfs, beads, belts or ribbons, were used to protect people, animals and plants from misfortunes and evil spirits. Consequently, colour terms were used not only to describe those practices, but are also found in the names of illnesses (e.g. Polish *czarna ospa* ‘smallpox’, *czerwonka* ‘dysentery’, *żółta febra* ‘yellow fever’) and plants which were believed to cure them (e.g. Polish *czarna jagoda* ‘bilberry’, *czarna borówka* / *czernica* ‘blueberry’, *lulek czarny* ‘henbane’, *podkolan biały* ‘the lesser butterfly-orchid’).

Finally, it is worth pointing pout that black, white and red appear to be its most important colours, which coincides with the first three colour categories of the evolutionary sequence proposed by Berlin and Kay (1969).

Translated by Marcin Walczyński

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On conceptual construal in Salvador Dalí's Surrealist representations of sexuality: A cognitive linguistic perspective

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Abstract

Both verbal and visual communication rely on figurative strategies of metaphor and metonymy to give meaningful form to perception. Three Freud-inspired Surrealist classics by Salvador Dalí (1904-1989) – the newspaper gouache *Mae West's Face Which Can Be Used as a Surrealist Apartment* (1934-1935), the painting *Anthropomorphic Chest of Drawers* (1936), and the assemblage *Lobster Telephone* (1938) – represent various aspects of sexuality by means of complex interplays of visual metaphors and metonymies. Though most of them have conventional verbal counterparts, their source domains have been elaborated in novel ways. As a result, the metaphors and the metonymies function as multimodal prompts that 'open' subconscious associations and thus allow the viewer to interpret Dalí's ideas in terms of surreal scenarios related to sexuality.

Keywords

image, metaphor, metonymy, scenario, sexuality, Surrealism, visual perception

O strukturze pojęciowej surrealistycznych obrazów seksualności autorstwa Salvadora Dalí: Analiza kognitywna

Abstrakt

Komunikacja werbalna i wizualna nadaje strukturę znaczeniową bodźcom poznawczym dzięki metaforze i metonimii. Trzy klasyczne dzieła Surrealizmu autorstwa Salvadora Dalí (1904-1989) – wykonany na papierze gazetowym gwasz *Twarz Mae West, która może być używana jako surrealistyczne mieszkanie* (1934-1935), obraz *Antropomorficzna komoda* (1936) oraz asamblaż *Telefon-homar* (1938) – są inspirowane psychologią Freuda i przedstawiają różne aspekty seksualności za pomocą złożonej gry znaczeń opartych na metaforach i metonimiach wizualnych, z których większość ma konwencjonalne odpowiedniki językowe. Ich domeny źródłowe zostały jednak wyrażone na nowe sposoby. Dzięki temu wspomniane metafory i metonimie pełnią funkcję multimodalnych podpowiedzi, które w umyśle odbiorcy mają 'otwierać' podświadome skojarzenia umożliwiające interpretację dzieł Salvadora Dalí jako surrealistycznych scenariuszy odnoszących się do seksualności.

Słowa kluczowe

metafora, metonimia, obraz, percepcja wzrokowa, scenariusz, seksualność, surrealizm

1. Introduction

Language reflects various patterns of perception-based construal, such as perspective, attention, judgment / comparison, and the figure-ground distinction (Croft and Cruse 2004). Grounded in human bodily experience, they give rise to numerous conventional[1] expressions based on metaphor and meton-

[1] The conventional character of the linguistic expressions depends on the extent to which the given metaphors and metonymies motivate their conceptual structure (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 55).

ymy, which play a fundamental role in linguistic communication (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Panther and Thornburg 2007).

The art theorist and psychologist Rudolf Arnheim (1905-2007) first drew attention to the fact that such patterns also operate in visual communication (Lakoff 2006: 155). He argued that “what makes language so valuable for thinking, then, cannot be thinking in words”, but “the help that words lend to thinking, while it operates in a more appropriate medium, such as visual imagery” (Arnheim 1969: 231-232 cit. in Lakoff 2006: 154). In a similar vein, Johnson (2007: 209 cit. in Forceville, Urios-Aparisi 2009: 4) argues that in art “the processes of embodied meaning are the very same ones that make linguistic meaning possible”. Because “different dispositions of the mind are subject to the same rules” and “because the mind always functions as the whole” (Limont 2014: 75), art “is a form of reasoning, in which perception and thinking intertwine” (Amheim1969, 1974 cit. Limont 2014: 74-75).

The present paper applies such assumptions in the analysis of three sexuality-related Surrealist classics by Salvador Dalí (1904-1989) – the newspaper gouache *Mae West’s Face Which Can Be Used as a Surrealist Apartment* (1934-1935), the painting *Anthropomorphic Chest of Drawers* (1936), and the assemblage *Lobster Telephone* (1938). It argues that these works involve complex interplays of visual metaphors and metonymies. Though most have conventional verbal counterparts, in Dali’s art they have been elaborated in highly original ways and function as multimodal prompts that help the viewer ‘open’ subconscious associations providing access to Dalí’s surreal scenarios.

2. Metaphor and metonymy in visual construal

Because visual / pictorial metaphor is a fundamental pattern of construal in art, it is difficult to define it neatly (Serig 2006: 231). Aldrich (1971 cit. in Serig 2006: 232) regards it as the “seeing-as” experience, purely perceptual, which forms the basis of all art both for the creator and the viewer. For Dent (1987 cit. in Serig 2006: 232) and Dent and Rosenberg (1990 cit. in Serig 2006: 232) visual / pictorial metaphor is based on the interaction of two subject matters, of which one is more prominent than the other; it is also isomorphic with verbal metaphors, which are present even if no words are used. This places the viewer in the central position and allows them to create "the pictorial rules of 'grammar'" (Serig 2006: 232) or "visual syntax" (Yus 2009: 154). A work of art is thus "a highly complex" form "arranging different elements [...] into a coherent complete composition layout" (Arnheim 1969 cit. in Limont 2014: 80). Though such a scheme can be general, it nevertheless carries the most significant part of the meanings (Arnheim 1969 cit. in Limont 2014: 81) of paintings (Forceville 1988), cartoons, drawings, and sculptures (Kövecses 2002, Schilperoord and Maes 2009, Yus 2009), comics (Eerden 2009, Shinohara and Matsunaka 2009), as well as TV commercials (Urios-Aparisi 2009).

Metonymy is another fundamental element of visual syntax in art. Jakobson (2002: 92), for example, argues for "the manifestly metonymical orientation of cubism, where the object is transformed into a set of synecdoches". Metonymy is also the conceptual basis of portrait painting. As Kövecses (2006: 111) discusses, "it is motivated by the most natural way for humans to recognize each other: through recognizing the face of another human being." Jakobson (2002: 92) also claims that metonymy dominates in "the art of the cinema, with its highly developed capacity for changing the angle, perspective, and focus of 'shots'" and "an unprecedented variety of synecdochic 'close-ups' and metonymic 'set-ups' in general".

Metaphorical and metonymic creativity not only projects the artist's internal states, but also perceives and discovers "meanings embedded in reality" (Limont 2014: 79). These meanings are related not only to objects and events, but also to emotions. In spite of diverse subjective perspectives possible, they can be understood by various recipients in similar ways (Kövecses 2006: 227-246, Limont 2014: 79).

3. Surrealism

Dominant between the two world wars, Surrealism regarded the objective reality as incapable of dealing with the complexity of human experience. In the first *Manifesto of Surrealism* (1924), the French poet André Breton (1896-1966) asserted that the movement "rests on the belief in the superior reality of forms of association neglected heretofore, in the omnipotence of the dream and in the disinterested play of thought" (1972 cit. in Maddox 1990: 40). All opposites or 'antitheses', such as feeling vs. reason or substance vs. spirit, were to be eliminated (Forceville 1988: 151). Some of those ideas had their sources in Sigmund Freud's (1856-1939) psychoanalysis, which rejected the limitations of rational thinking and instead emphasized the role of the subconscious psyche (Maddox 1990: 42).

The manner of working of the Surrealist imagination defies the conventional principles of association. As a result, 'surreality' involves elements too distant from one another to be conjoined by the conscious action of the human mind (Breton 1976: 89-90). Instead, it is based on

> pure psychic automatism, by which it is intended to express, verbally, in writing, or by other means, the real process of thought. Thought's dictation, in the absence of all control exercised by reason and outside all aesthetic or moral preoccupations. (Breton 1972 cit. in Maddox 1990: 40)

The bigger the distance between the two 'antithetic' realities, the stronger the force of the image thus created (Reverdy 1918 cit. in Breton 1976: 73). Breton's poem "Free Union" well illustrates it:

> My wife whose hair is a brush fire
> Whose thoughts are summer lightning
> Whose waist is an hourglass
> Whose waist is the waist of an otter caught in the teeth of a tiger

> Whose mouth is a bright cockade with the fragrance of a star of the first magnitude
> Whose teeth leave prints like the tracks of white mice over snow
> Whose tongue is made out of amber and polished glass
> Whose tongue is a stabbed wafer
> The tongue of a doll with eyes that open and shut
> Whose tongue is an incredible stone
> My wife whose eyelashes are strokes in the handwriting of a child
> Whose eyebrows are nests of swallows
> My wife whose temples are the slate of greenhouse roofs
> With steam on the windows […]
> (Auster 1984: 183)

The uncommon associations create double images that map shapes and attributes, for example colours, quality of light, etc. of one object onto another (Lakoff 1987a). Surrealism assumes that such associations are reversible (Forceville 2002a: 7) because – as Breton claimed in the second *Manifesto of Surrealism* (1929) – all dichotomies "cease to be perceived as contradictions" (1972 cit. in Forceville 2002a: 6).

Metaphor and "its crucial characteristic of rendering *one* kind of thing *in terms* of *another*" thus became a fundamental strategy facilitating the "bridging" of "the seemingly irreconcilable opposites" (Forceville 1988: 151). As its function was to re(create) reality (Forceville 1988: 151), metaphorical *rapprochement* became a common Surrealist practice – the poet and philosopher Robert Champigny (1922-1984) even coined the term 'the S device' to refer to it (Sellin 1975: 19 cit. in Forceville 1988: 151).

The Surrealist idea of *picta poesis* or "the fusion of painting and poetry" meant that both these forms of artistic activity were equally capable "of revealing to the consciousness the faculties of spiritual life" (Breton 1972 cit. in Gómez de Liaño 1990: 22). Such painters as Joan Miró (1893-1983) and André Masson (1896-1987) represent the spontaneous, intuitive approach, rooted in dream and folly. René Magritte (1898-1967), Victor

Brauner (1903-1966), and Salvador Dalí (1904-1989) employ "realistic technique by which the identity of the object is firmly designated" (Maddox 1990: 40). Such technique is a close pictorial counterpart of Breton's double images in poetry.

4. Dalí's Surrealist art

Dalí believed in the power of the automatic processes, but he at the same time "sought to elaborate his psychic revelations with all the precision and artistic skill at his command, in a conscious and deliberate manner" (Maddox 1990: 42). Though his works reflect all sorts of hallucinations and aberrations, they are still full of realistic detail.

Strongly influenced by Freud's ideas of the subconscious, Dalí claimed that various objects could reveal hidden sexual desires. Not only did he frequently explore the connections between sex and food (*Lobster Telephone* Salvador Dalí 1938 | Tate 2023, Maddox 1990: 46), but he also used other sexual symbols.

4.1. *Mae West's Face Which Can Be Used as a Surrealist Apartment* (1934-1935)

The 31 × 17 cm gouache on newspaper features Mae West, or Mary Jane West (1893-1980) – a popular American actress, singer, and sex symbol[2] of the 1930s – best known for the film *I'm No Angel* (1933). Currently at Art Institute of Chicago, USA, it allows the viewer to recognize an apartment in the actress's face (https://pl.pinterest.com/pin/salvador-dali-face-of-mae-west-poster-in-2023--1010776710103754744/).

In the first *Manifesto of Surrealism* (1924), Breton (1976: 78) said that, however superficial such interpretation might be, some passages from William Shakespeare's (1564-1616) plays rely on the Surrealist technique of double image. Based on some

[2] Because she was a pop culture icon well known for her large bust, *Mae West* became an image metaphor-based slang expression for an "inflatable life-jacket" (Hawkins 1987: 393).

striking associations, Ariel's song from *The Tempest* (ca. 1611) meets the criterion:

> Full fathom five thy father lies;
> Of his bones are coral made;
> Those are pearls that were his eyes:
>   Nothing of him that doth fade,
> But doth suffer a sea change
> Into something rich and strange.
> (Shakespeare 1980: 6)

In the first image, the oblong shape of the bones matches the like shape of the coral skeletons[3]; in the second one, the shape and size of the eyes, as well as the quality of light reflected in them, match the like properties of the pearls.

Like Breton's and Shakespeare's poems, Dalí's gouache employs the technique of making free associations and the artistic execution of "the potentialities of the double image" (Gómez de Liaño 1990: 16). Basing on the initial six lines of Ariel's song, its rhyming pattern of ABABCC, as well as the alliterative repetition of sound segments in the initial line, the following verses describe its texture in a slightly more complex rhyming pattern of ABABCDCDEE, because it contains six rather than just two images:

> Five frantic features her face shows:
> Hair-locks are into the curtains draped;
> Where the cheeks are, the floor goes
> Soft lips are into a sofa shaped;
> Nostrils open into a fireplace;
> Of long forehead wall is made;
> Eyes – two pictures take their parallel places:
> Not a part of it does fade,
> But does witness a surreal change
> Into image rich and strange.

[3] Both the bones and the coral skeletons are made of calcium.

The texture of the gouache is thus based on metaphors which superimpose shape, tactile, visual, as well as implicitly dynamic elements of one image onto another. Parts of the face of a living person match various lifeless objects, thus reflecting Dalí's "fascination with giving life to the inanimate" (Maddox 1990: 46). The hair-locks are curtains – both can be folded. The cheeks become the floor – both are flat surfaces and, additionally, the colour of the wood of which the floor is made matches the colour of the cheeks. The lips have a shape of a sofa – the upper one becomes its back; the lower one is the seat; both the lips and the sofa share the property of softness. The nostrils are two openings of the fireplace – both elements share the properties of dark interiors and the movement of the airstream. The forehead and a part of the cheeks form the wall – again the property of flat surface is shared. The eyes become two pictures placed on both sides of the nose / fireplace; in this case, the shared properties are symmetry and the use of vision.

The image metaphors represent the occurrence of "two physically incompossible elements" which are "saliently posed in a homospatially unified figure" (Forceville 2002a: 3). The clear mapping of the features from the source image onto the target image creates the anomaly of the hybrid image that thus comes into being. The title of the work suggests that the conceptual operation proceeds from the face to the apartment, but the interpretation in the opposite direction is also possible. All the image metaphors are novel – they do not have conventional verbal counterparts.

But the overall meaning of the gouache does not depend on such metaphors only. The images that make it up are a part of more complex construal operations. First, both the lips and the sofa metonymically evoke sexual associations. Lips stand for kissing via the common metonymic relation of the body part-for-its-function – the same as in the conventional expressions *lip clap* and *lip eroticism* (Goldenson and Anderson 1994: 138-139). Slightly apart, they also reflect the physiological effect that provides access to the sexual emotion itself (Pease and Pease 2007:

204, 212). The sofa, in turn, represents a potential act of love-making via another common metonymy of the object-for-its-purpose. English is full of various expressions that reflect the role of bed in erotic contexts, for example *bed-hop*, *bed-mates*, *bed-presser*, *bedroom eyes*, *bed-swerver* (Goldenson and Anderson 1994: 25). They are all related to the most conventional euphemism for the sexual act, which is *go to bed with somebody*. Secondly, the placement of the sofa in the very centre of the room metaphorically emphasizes the importance of the bed-related associations: what is important is usually *central*; what is less important is often *marginal* (Deane 1995: 633-635). Third, the intense red colour of the lips / sofa and of the opposite wall also has clear sexual associations – sex leads to increased body temperature, which, in turn, makes one's skin look red. In this way, Mae West evokes the metaphor of lust-as-heat and associations with *hot stuff* or *a red hot lover*. The metonymies of the lips and the sofa thus make up a part of the metaphorical source domain – the underlying cognitive operation is a visual case of metonymy-within-metaphor (Goossens 2003: 363-365). Fourth, the large windows resemble enlarged eye pupils, which is another bodily symptom of sexual emotions (Pease and Pease 2007: 204, 212) – the physiological effect again provides access to its cause. Fifth, the shape of the nostrils conveys further sexual associations – *having one's nose wide open* means feeling the heat of lust. Lust is frequently represented as fire – someone can *light your fire*, make you *burn with desire*, or eventually become an *old flame* of yours (Lakoff 1987b: 410). The mappings are another novel instance of metonymy-within-metaphor. The nostrils / fireplace – much like the lips / sofa – occupy the central position in the room, which additionally underscores the importance of sexuality. Finally, the whole face is a three-dimensional structure, so the overall image represents it metaphorically as a container for the emotions – we often look for emotional cues *in* the person's face. The gouache can thus be read as an implicit invitation to come to the room and make love.

The Russian painter Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944) argued that visual stimuli could give rise to temperature-related associations (1979). He believed that “the horizontal is received as cold, the vertical as warm, and the diagonal as cold-warm” (Limont 2014: 79). The gouache extends upwards – its shape thus reflects warmth, which is another element of the above-mentioned metaphor of lust-as-heat.

Lips / sofa, eyes / windows, nostrils / fireplace, and the predominantly red colour of the forehead-face / wall all function as figurative visual referents related to the scenario of lovemaking. In a prototypical version, the scenario has the following form: erotic eye contact → kissing → sexual contact in a horizontal position on the bed. They create the prototypical visual syntax in the mind of the viewer, thus making a coherent interpretation of the gouache possible.

The six novel image metaphors representing the parts of the face as the parts of the apartment could hardly have counterparts in conventional discourse. It is in this sense that Dali’s gouache is closest to Breton’s Surrealist poem – both are full of striking associations. The remaining metaphors[4] and metonymies are conventional. However, their source domains, for example the room mapped onto the face, the redness of the lips / sofa mapped onto sexual heat, or the shared metonymic associations between the lips and the sofa, are elaborated in novel ways. The complex interplay of these patterns of conceptual construal jointly yields a highly original work of art.

4.2. *Anthropomorphic Chest of Drawers* (1936)

The Freudian influence is possibly most evident in *Anthropomorphic Chest of Drawers* (1936). The work is a 25.4 × 44.2 cm oil painting on wood, currently at Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-

[4] The implicit interpretation of the eyes as ‘windows of the soul’ possibly reflects the more complex metaphor of knowledge-as-vision.

Westfalen in Düsseldorf, Germany (https://www.dalipaintings.com/the-anthropomorphic-cabinet.jsp).

A nude, partly reclining female figure occupies the central and the largest part of the picture:

> Frail hand extended, rejecting the outside world, a disjointed figure – a chest of drawers for a chest – looks within itself, head down. Drawers pulled out, darkness within, the exterior world represented in the top right corner (it appears to be Cologne with its double-spired cathedral), seems to retreat, casting an ethereal light on the disconcerting figure.
> (realitybitesartblog 2023)

The picture shows "a woman simultaneously opening up and withdrawing" (realitybitesartblog 2023). It can be read as

> a manifestation of Freudian internalization and reclusion, the woman (with draw-handles for nipples) is engrossed by the drawers that have spontaneously opened from within her, threatening to disclose their contents – her interior world – a white cloth protruding from one. In this sense the anthropomorphic cabinet becomes a symbol of psychoanalysis.
> (realitybitesartblog 2023)

The work's message is that the subconscious, sex-based layers of the psyche play a dominant role in our lives.

Two image metaphors identify the figure as a woman: the draw-handles or knobs are the nipples of her breasts; the keyhole of a mechanical lock in the bottom drawer is the vaginal orifice. The keyhole / orifice makes it possible to unlock all the drawers / the woman's interior world because she is guided by subconscious sex-based instincts and emotions. The double images provide access to sexuality and its impact on human life via the metonymic relation of object / body part-for-its-function. Both metonymies jointly express the idea that the *unlocked* sexual instincts have control over our subconscious inner lives. They also form the basis of the metaphor which represents the human body as a mechanism.[5] The metaphor expresses the idea that our sexual instincts, once *unlocked*, can acquire full control over our psyche. In other words, the impact of sexuality is represented as a mechanical function that eliminates all conscious thought from our actions.

As much of human sexuality, for example dreams, conflicts, and repressions, has a strong emotional basis (Goldenson and Anderson 1994: 49, 93), the central metaphor of the picture represents the body, specifically its torso, as a container for the emotions – we commonly experience joys, fears, anger, etc. *in* our hearts or chests (Kövecses 2002: 184, Lakoff 1987b: 383). The prototypical seat of emotions in Western culture is thus elaborated as open drawers[6] that reveal their contents. The piece of cloth that hangs down from one of them is a metaphorical objectification of one of the hidden emotions or instincts – instead of being just an immaterial experience *in* our hearts or chests, the emotion or instinct is elaborated as a specific object.[7] The position in which the cloth is placed metaphorically represents lack of rational control as disorder or deviation from a straight pattern – people can think *straight* and they have *straight* ideas; if they lose rational control or go insane, they have *twisted* minds or their ideas become *bent* or *twisted* (Cienki 1998: 121-122).

The female figure also holds her head down as if she were interested in the contents of the drawers, which reflects Freud's idea that much of the libido is hidden and subconscious. Her lowered head also means being subject to the libido's force – she looks as if she was *sinking* into it or *falling under* its influence.

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[5] The metaphor dates back to the 17th century, but it became really influential as a result of the impact of the 18th and 19th century science (Mudyń 2008: 108-109).

[6] Dalí's drawers "symbolize the memory and the unconscious and refer to the 'idea drawer', a legacy of reading Freud's concept. They express the mystery of the hidden secrets. Most children explore every drawer, cabinet and closet of their home" (Dalínian Symbolism – Dalí Paris 2023).

[7] Other conceptualizations of emotions represent them as substances, that is, fluids or gases inside the body (Kövecses 1986: 43, 2004: 141).

The figures in the outside public world in the top right-hand corner of the picture are all up – they have control *over* themselves and they can *rise above* their emotions (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 15, 17).

The woman's extended left hand paired with her retreating posture (realitybitesartblog 2023) is the symptom-for-cause metonymic gesture that commonly means keeping another person or thing at some distance. Because the gesture expresses the woman's rejection of any emotional and / or mental involvement with the outside world, it also acquires a more abstract sense. The opposition of physical closeness-distance (Jäkel 1995: 200, Kövecses 2002: 222) forms the basis of the metaphor which represents the emotional life in terms of a physical force – we sometimes *keep at bay*, *push* or *thrust away* unwanted emotions or experiences. The construal as a whole is thus a case of metaphor from metonymy (Goossens 2003: 361-363).

The part of the picture that shows the reclining woman and the interiors of the drawers is dark; the street scene in the top right-hand corner is well-lit. Because the subconscious layers of the mind are unknown, they are dark; they thus stand in sharp contrast to the rational and public world out there, which is bright. The metaphor of knowledge-as-vision (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 48, Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 53-54, Lakoff and Turner 1989: 94) is elaborated here in a novel way.

The reclining position of the woman and her nudity function as prompts that provide metonymic access to the scenario of a prototypical sexual contact, which involves such position and nudity. However, it is also possible to interpret the position as another indication of the woman's subjection to her libido. Following Cooper and Ross's (1975) study of the *me-first* orientation, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 132-133) argue that in Western culture "the canonical person forms a conceptual reference point" to which numerous other concepts are oriented. We are *up* rather than *down* and *active* rather than *passive* – the woman in the centre of Dalí's picture denies these standard cultural orientations. She is *down* and *passive* because she is subject to the impact of the subconscious libido. The figures in the bright part of the picture are all *up* and *active* because they form a part of the canonical and rational public world.

Thanks to metaphorical understanding of importance in terms of positioning in space, what is normally hidden and peripheral – our inner world – is given prominence by being placed in the *centre* of the picture; what is normally public – the world out there – is shifted into the *margin* of the painting and its importance is thus diminished. The novelty of Dalí's message is that the less expected dimension now occupies the central position.

The internal / dark part of the picture is also much bigger than its external / bright part. The disproportion further emphasizes Dalí's Freud-inspired belief in the power of the subconscious libido via the pictorial use of two chained metaphors: the mapping of important-as-big (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 50) represents the scale of the influence of libido on human life; the mapping of strength-as-physical size (Corum 2016: 74) suggests that libido is a factor of great *intensity* and *power*.

Except for the two image metaphors, the conceptual patterns of the picture are anchored in their verbal counterparts. The latter are transferred to a visual medium in the process that involves *picta verbalis* or re-visualization of conventional linguistic content (Yus 2009: 166-167) effected in novel ways.

In most pictorial metaphors and metonymies, one term is visually depicted, but the second one is "to be inferred from the [...] context" (Forceville 2002b: 216). The woman's reclining position, the keyhole / vaginal orifice, the drawers / chest, the knobs / nipples, and the hand pushing away the public world all serve as prototypical visual referents. They facilitate the interpretation of the painting in terms of the following Freud-based scenario: the keyhole / vaginal orifice provides the sexuality-focused background → the knobs / nipples suggest tactile stimulation, hence sexual contact → the drawers / chest open one's inner world → the head oriented down means subordination to the inner world → the extended hand means rejection of the public world.

The overall effect of Dalí's picture thus depends on a multi-level pattern of figurative multimodal construal expressed in terms of various visual referents and syntactic relations between them. Though most of the elements of the pattern function also in conventional communication, in the painting their source domains are elaborated in novel ways.

4.3. *Lobster Telephone* (1938)

The 15 × 30 × 17 assemblage, also known as aphrodisiac telephone, was made for Edward James (1907-1984), Dalí's English patron and a collector of Surrealist art. A property of Edward James Foundation, it is currently placed at Tate Gallery in London, UK (https://pl.pinterest.com/pin/ 572590540093173544/).

In the book *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí,* the painter himself makes the following statement:

> I do not understand why, when I ask for a grilled lobster in a restaurant, I am never served a cooked telephone; I do not understand why champagne is always chilled and why on the other hand telephones, which are habitually so frightfully warm and disagreeably sticky to the touch, are not also put in silver buckets with crushed ice around them.
> (Dalí, Chevalier 1942: 271)

The passage is another illustration of the Surrealist cancelling of all 'antitheses' between the seemingly irreconcilable opposites (Forceville 1988: 151).

The receiver-as-lobster image is based on the metaphorical mapping of oblong and curved shapes. The telephone, especially its mouthpiece, accesses communication by means of the metonymy the instrument-for-its-function – it is also used in the related conventional expression *pick up the phone* 'start conversation on the phone'. The mouthpiece corresponds to the tail of the lobster, which contains the animal's sexual organs.[8] The juxtaposition is a more complex case of construal based on a metonymic chain (Fass 1997: 73) – first, the tail provides access to the organs by means of the-whole-for-the-part relation; secondly, the metonymy the-body-part-for-its-function motivates the reference to sexuality. Whereas the receiver is hard and durable, the flesh of the lobster is soft. The juxtaposition is an allusion to erotic conversations (Dalí, Chevalier 1993), in which the quality of the voice is usually subdued or *soft*. It is thus the locus of the synesthetic metaphor not-loud-as-soft (Yu 2003: 21-23).

All the visual prompts and their target domains make it possible to interpret the assemblage in terms of a scenario of erotic conversation, courtship, and the potential sexual contact. The telephone is the source domain of the metonymy the-precondition-for-the-whole-event – the picking up of the receiver allows the user to start the conversation and use the quality of the voice that conveys clearly erotic associations. The precondition thus provides metonymic access to the whole of the event.

The image metaphor of the-receiver-as-lobster is novel. Though the metonymies and the synesthetic metaphor are conventional, the effect of novelty is achieved by means of the unexpected juxtapositions of the source and target domains, especially representing the mouthpiece as the lobster's tail and the residue of the property of softness.

The assemblage makes implicit references to sexuality by making a close analogy between food and sex. It is possibly motivated by the fact that both satisfy elementary human needs. The assemblage thus also reflects the conventional conceptualizations of lust-as-hunger and the object of lust-as-food. They are related to the common expressions "He is *sex-starved*", "You have a remarkable *sexual appetite*", "I *hunger* for your touch", "She's quite a *dish*", and "What a piece of *meat*!" (Lakoff 1987b:

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[8] Dalí also used lobsters to cover the sexual organs of his female models during photographic sessions (*Lobster Telephone* Salvador Dalí 1938 | Tate 2023).

409), all of which form a part of the verbal background for the interpretation of Dalí's work.

5. Conclusions

As Forceville discusses (1988: 151), "Surrealism attempted to subvert existing modes of looking at reality and to propose new ways of looking by introducing radically novel metaphors." In the above-discussed Surrealist representations of sexuality, Dalí employs metaphor-based construal that defies the Aristotelian idea of metaphorical "aptness" and "discovers" similarity or contiguity between the concepts that are not close to each other in terms of the genus and the species (Aristotle 1988: 242-243, 352-353). He does it by proposing original image metaphors and by elaborating more complex and well-established metaphors in novel ways. The artist's method is thus congruent with Max Black's claim "that metaphor does not so much reflect existing similarities; rather it creates the similarity"[9] (1979 cit. Forceville 1988: 151). The metonymies reflect conventional patterns. However, whenever they appear – metonymic source domains are used in novel ways thanks to the force of the strikingly original double images to which they are related.

By intermingling the physical, animal, plant, and food worlds (Ważyk 1976: 18), Dalí's works offer an extreme illustration of Victor Shklovsky's (1893-1984) Formalist idea of defamiliarization in art (1965). They interpret conventional objects and behaviours in highly original ways, thus providing novel perspectives on human sexuality. It is mainly in this sense that the artist questions the conventional social and cultural values in a Surrealist manner.

[9] The cognitive view of metaphor has developed from Black's (1979) interaction view. See Miller (1979) and Ortony (1979) for similar ideas (Forceville 1988: 153).

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Music culture in EFL coursebooks

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Abstract

This qualitative research study analyses music culture as part of learning experiences in English as foreign language (EFL) coursebook materials for the secondary educational level. Data included four serials, twelve student books and twelve workbooks, for three levels of study (Elementary to Intermediate). The results were presented within seven categories: (1) music-related vocabulary, (2) recorded music or song (sound) – listening, (3) music as a topic of a reading/listening/speaking/writing task, (4) music of English language (pronunciation practice), (5) words related to music and sound in grammar reviews, (6) project work, and (7) visual representations of music content. In conclusion, the level of implementation of music culture and content is extremely selective, random, and highly inconsistent.

Keywords

EFL coursebooks, music-related content, music vocabulary, secondary education, textbook analysis

Kultura muzyczna w podręcznikach do nauczania języka angielskiego

Abstrakt

Niniejsze badanie jakościowe analizuje kulturę muzyczną jako część doświadczeń edukacyjnych w podręcznikach do nauki języka angielskiego jako języka obcego (EFL) na poziomie szkoły średniej. Dane obejmowały cztery serie, dwanaście podręczników i dwanaście zeszytów ćwiczeń dla trzech poziomów nauczania (od podstawowego do średniozaawansowanego). Wyniki przedstawiono w siedmiu kategoriach: (1) słownictwo związane z muzyką, (2) nagrana muzyka lub piosenka (dźwięk) – słuchanie, (3) muzyka jako temat zadania czytania/słuchania/mówienia/pisania, (4) muzyka w języku angielskim (ćwiczenie wymowy), (5) słowa związane z muzyką i dźwiękiem w recenzjach gramatycznych, (6) praca projektowa i (7) wizualne reprezentacje treści muzycznych. Podsumowując, poziom wdrażania kultury i treści muzycznych jest niezwykle wybiórczy, przypadkowy i wysoce niespójny.

Słowa kluczowe

podręczniki do nauczania języka angielskiego, treści związane z muzyką, słownictwo muzyczne, szkolnictwo średnie, analiza podręczników

1. Introduction

Textbooks are “undoubtedly the most popular teaching materials used in foreign language classes” and are “seen as valid, reliable, written by experts and authorised by important publishers or ministries of education” (Radić-Bojanić and Topalov 2016: 138–139). According to Suryani (2018), although textbooks or coursebooks may not always reflect students’ needs (not fully suited to a particular teaching and learning situation), they are an essential component in most language programs and a basic source for language learning. They provide structure and a syllabus for the learning process, with diverse content, skills to be taught and the kind of language practice through a variety of learning tasks. The evaluation of textbooks may differ concerning the particular needs identified, mainly including the *objective, language skills, content,* and *design*, as the main criteria for analysis (Suryani 2018: 259–260).

Textbooks and workbooks as an important component in teaching and learning foreign languages, provide a framework for language input and practice that occurs in the classroom. Although there are many evaluation criteria instruments developed in the literature on textbook analysis, an adaptable research instrument that could be used for researching *music culture content in EFL coursebooks,* was not identified. The evaluation criteria usually refer to the physical characteristics of textbooks, methodology, aims, approaches to teaching, and cultural information (target culture materials, learner's own culture and international target culture materials), as an in-depth or impressionistic approach. Therefore, in this research a specific research methodology was applied to answer the main research questions focused on the issue of music culture content and vocabulary as part of learning experiences in EFL coursebooks and what type of texts about music or music culture are taught in a particular context (text, exercises, dialogues) or as isolated facts. In this research, the "music-related vocabulary" was regarded as *vocabulary connected to sound, voice, music listening/performing/creation, dance, theatre,* and *media.*

2. Literature review

The role of music is recognised as "an indispensable part of a teenager's life" and if the teachers choose the right songs, they "can create a fun and memorable learning experience for the students in their English classes" (Pearson Education 2011). Music has transformative potential, shaping human experiences as *a language* of communication, a foundation for building cultural identities and conveying emotional experiences. The term "music" has many definitions, and in this research study, it is referred to as "the art of aesthetic organisation of sound material (creating - visual and sound recording, reading, and performing music by voice, instrument or digital media), at the same time it is a temporal art because it is primarily manifested and perceived by sound in the passage of time" (Marić 2018: 5). Thus, it includes musical works of different musical genres, periods and eras intended for vocal, vocal-instrumental and/or instrumental performance.

Furthermore, music, like any language, is a cross-cultural phenomenon in all human societies. Learning English with music activities (e.g. children's songs, songs for children, rhymes, chants, anthems, and popular songs) starts in early childhood education and is usually referred to as "learning English through music" (Willis 2013). Music is also used to create a pleasant environment for learning, develop language skills, increase vocabulary, and expand knowledge about culture/cultures (Pérez Niño 2010).

In defining "a song", we will acknowledge the definition in the work by Vishnevskaia and Zhou (2019: 1812), in which they note that "a song is a reflection of the existing picture in the world of native speakers, it reflects fears, anxieties, problems, joys, values, reflections, opinions, and therefore through the study of songs, another culture is more deeply comprehended". Since music as science has its own "music vocabulary" described by Chen (2023: 23) including "the various clefs, key signatures, notes, rests, and performance marks such as sharp or flat, arpeggio, trill, and tempo marks [...]", in this study, we will therefore use the term "music-related vocabulary", under which all the basic and specific terminology used in the language or discourse about music and music cultures will be acknowledged.

In the research literature there is a number of studies on the use of *songs* as a tool for teaching English (Corbett 2007, Rosová 2007, Espejo Aubero and Espejo Aubero 2008, Huber

2010, Zhang 2011, Mõts 2016, Vishnevskaia and Zhou 2019). Huber's research findings (2010: 99) show that "the majority of songs can be found in books for the lower levels" and that "the higher the level, the more likely is the use of realia, and pedagogically devised songs", with the changes in methodology, from using songs to create a pleasant learning atmosphere for learning vocabulary, to focusing on the "receptive aspect" (i.e. understanding the meaning of the songs).

In this research, we will focus on the written evidence of music content presented through sound and "language about music" in students' coursebooks. Not only may students learning EFL with music acquire a new language (L2), but they can also adapt to the new, target-language culture. Thus, didactic materials should be carefully evaluated in accordance with the linguistic and cultural background of the students and the goals set in the curriculum.

3. Research methodology

3.1. Research aim

The research was motivated by the following question: *Are music cultural content and vocabulary part of the learning experiences in English as a foreign language coursebooks for secondary level of education?* The research question was later turned into a *checklist*, which became the main research instrument. Therefore, the aim of this research was to identify the presence and analyse the frequency and role of music (sound) and music-related vocabulary in available (to the researcher) coursebooks for learning English as a foreign language (Elementary to Intermediate).

3.2. Research corpus

The research focuses on printed coursebooks from different teaching series available to the researcher. The corpus of analysis includes four series of coursebooks for three levels of study from elementary to intermediate. In total, the research corpus includes 12 student books and 12 workbooks. The total number of pages analysed is 2.458. Coursebook titles are the following (Appendix 1):

(1) "New Headway", 4th Edition (Oxford) (Elementary, Pre-Intermediate, Intermediate),
(2) "Insight" (Oxford) (Elementary, Pre-Intermediate, Intermediate),
(3) "Solutions" (Oxford) (Elementary A1-A2, Pre-Intermediate A2-B1, Intermediate B1-B2),
(4) "Gateway" (Macmillan) (A2, B1, B1+).

The research analysis corpus was chosen as a methodologically approved and good quality resource of EFL in teaching and learning, that can provide different examples of the use of music-related content and vocabulary. At this point, it is important to underline that, in this paper, the aim was not, in any case, to evaluate these textbooks in terms of quality, or to make comparisons between the titles in any other criteria.

3.3. Method of research analysis

The focus of the analysis was on the content and vocabulary connected to world music culture in different types of texts in units, reading, listening (tapescripts), speaking, and writing assignments, grammar activities and word lists from units. The quantitative and qualitative method of text analysis was used in this research, in search of music content in texts (title, paragraphs, sentences), word lists and/or unit dictionaries, tapescripts and grammar reviews. Furthermore, on each level of analysis gathered data was codified within the following categories:

(1) music-related vocabulary (names of musicians/performers/composers, institutions, music genres/periods in texts);
(2) recorded music or song (sound) with or without lyrics for listening as part of the learning activity;
(3) music as a topic of reading, listening, speaking, or writing tasks;
(4) music of the English language (pronunciation practice);
(5) words related to music and sound in grammar reviews;
(6) project work;
(7) visual representations of music content.

4. Research findings

The most obvious reason for the integration of music in teaching English is connected with mutually closely related aspects including psychological, motivational and socio-cultural aspects (communication, cross-cultural awareness and knowledge), perceptual-motor skills, and emotional intelligence. The psychological aspects include easy memorization and consolidation of vocabulary, sounds (implicitly practising correct pronunciation and intonation), and grammatical structures (improving language patterns through their repetition) (Marić 2018: 61). Music culture content and vocabulary are identified in particular contexts of learning and as isolated facts. The selected results of the gathered data will be presented within the above-mentioned seven categories.

4.1. Music-related vocabulary (names of musicians/performers/composers, institutions, music genres/periods in texts)

In the gathering of quantitative data, for each textbook the music-related vocabulary is identified through a detailed reading process of all sections of the textbooks (unit texts and word lists) as printed materials and manually writing down each word appearance, subsequently dividing words into code categories. The number of 'general new words' is calculated by counting the words from the word list, dictionaries or vocabulary lists at the end of each book. This very time-consuming process is applied in order to fully understand the overall percentage of space of the new vocabulary per level of study dedicated to the fields of music arts and culture, including not only music arts but also art in general, dance and theatre (Figure 1). The music-related vocabulary includes only 1–2% of the total number of new vocabulary on each level.

Title	"New Headway" (Oxford)		"Insight" (Oxford)		"Solutions" (Oxford)		"Gateway" (Macmillan)		
Number of new words	*voc.list*	*music voc.*	*voc.list*	*music voc.*	*voc.list*	*music voc.*	*voc.list*	*music voc.*	/
Elementary A1-A2	1.203	20	714	15	869	18	1.125	21	*A2*
Pre-Intermediat e A2-B1	854	7	1.261	24	714	12	1435	16	B1
Intermediate	1.276	5	637	4	713	11	1463	22	B1 +
TOTAL	*3.333*	*31*	*2.621*	*43*	*2.296*	*41*	*4.023*	*59*	/

Figure 1
Quantitative data on the number of words of general and music-related vocabulary per book title and level of language study

Category	Vocabulary (words and phrases) in relation to world music culture
Music instruments	bass guitar*, cello*, clarinet*, drum(s)*, flute*, guitar*, harp, keyboard(s)*, mandolin, piano*, pipe, sax/saxophone*, sitar, trumpet, violin*
Personalities	*Singers and Songwriters* Amy Lee; Bjork, singer; Bob Marley, singer; Brian Jones (singer - "Rolling Stones"); Charlotte Church; Cleopatra Stratan (singer); Cyndi Lauper; Elvis Presley*(1935-77); Gareth Malone (Choir teacher - teaching singing), John Lennon (singer, The Beatles); Kiri Te Kanawa (opera singer); Mabou Loiseau (young female singer and musician- violin, piano, drums, guitar); Michael Jackson (singer); Paul Hewson ("Bono", an Irish singer-songwriter), Rubi Ali (raga singer; traditional Indian music; Robbie Williams (English singer and songwriter); Sixto (Rofriguez) (American musician, singer-songwriter); *Bands and Groups* "The Beatles" (English rock band), group "Oasis" (English rock band), "Evanescence" (rock band), Go-Go's (American girl rock band), "Rolling Stones" (English rock band), "Queen" (British rock band), The Flight of the Conchords (a New Zealand musical comedy group (duo)); *Performers of modern music style* Ben Lee and Linzi Stoppard (British musicians, electric violins) (playing with bands: Arctic Monkeys and Gorillaz); *Performers of Classical Music and Composers* Bernstein (the composer of West Side Story's music); José/Johe Antonio Abreu (composer); John Coltrane; Lang Lang (the famous Chinese pianist); Marc Yu (pianist); Michael Jackson; Mozart*/Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (picture); Nicola Bennedetti; Noel Gallagher; Placido Domingo (one of the best opera singers); Tchaikovsky; Vincenzo Galilei (famous musician, father of Galileo Galilei); Vivaldi *Musical Periods (Composers)* Baroque (1600-1750) composers: Johann Sabastian Bach, Claudio Monteverdi, Antonio and George Frideric Handel; The Classical Period: Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Ludwing van Beethoven/Beethoven*; The Romantic Period (1810-1900): Frederic Chopin, Giuseppe Verdi, Peter Tchaikovsky, Richard Wagner, Franz Liszt.
Places and institutions	Graceland (home of Elvis Presley); orchestra from Venezuela; Royal Academy of Music in London; Royal Ballet School; Royal Opera House; Sydney Opera House; The Paddington Symphony Orchestra.
Events	Glastonbury (festival); The National Youth Music Camps at the Stables Theatre in Milton Keynes; WOMAD (World of Music, Arts and Dance) festival.
Music styles/genres/types of music	ballet*, blues, classical music*, contemporary music, continual music, country music, dance music*, electro*, gothic rock, hip hop*, house*, Irish folk music, jazz*, opera*, pop*, piano concertos, punk era of rock music, R&B (Rhythm and blues), rap*, reggae*, rock*, rock 'n' roll*, samba, soul, show tunes, traditional, violin music, western music.
Song titles	Traditional song "Auld Lang Syne"; Turin Brakes "They Can't Buy The Sunshine"; "Blue Monday" by Fats Domino (lyrics, text activity); "Heartbreak Hotel" (Elvis Presly); "I believe" song, Ian Dury (1942 -2000) (an English singer, songwriter, bandleader of Ian Dury and the Blackheads) - lyrics, text activity; "Imagine" (1971); "Old Macdonald had a farm"; "Please don't stop the music"; "Sk8er Boi" by Avril Lavigne, "The Open Door" album/Amy Lee, singer; "Umbrella", "Thriller"(Michael Jackson).
Music pieces (titles)	"Sleeping Beauty" (ballet), "Swan Lake" (ballet); Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony; Broadway musical; (piano) concertos; Fifth symphony (Ludwig van Beethoven), "La Traviata" (opera), "Rigoletto" (opera); quartets; requiem; Mozart's "Requiem", symphony/symphonies*; "Flight of the Bumblebee"; "Fur Elise", Beethoven; Musical versions of the stories "Matilda" (1996), "The Witches"(1980) (stories by Roald Dahl).
Film, TV Show titles in relation to music culture and musical stories	Movie "The Jazz Singer"; "Amadeus" (film about Mozart), "Titanic"(1912); "Boys Don't Sing" title of a BBC TV programme; "The Choir" title of a BBC TV programme; "Unsung Town" title of a BBC TV programme; popular musical versions of two stories (Matilda, 1996; Witches, 1990); "West Side Story" – A Broadway musical (Leonard Bernstein); "Billy Elliot"

Figure 2

Table summary of the music-related vocabulary list from 24 printed books (12 student books with 12 workbooks, A1 – B2)

In the overall corpus analysis, the following categories are coded as (1) music instruments, (2) musicians/performers/composers, (3) places and institutions, (4) music events, (5) music styles/genres/types, (6) song titles, (7) music pieces and (8) film, TV show titles in relation to music culture, and musical stories. The results are presented as a *summary* in Figure 2. The words marked with an asterisk represent words identified in at least two different sources analysed, always referring to the overall corpus (**words with higher frequency in the materials analysed*). From a total of 1276 new words in the intermediate "Word list" with pronunciation (NHW s.b. int.), only a few words were "music-related words", e.g. *harmony*, *musical*, *gig*, and *rhythm*. For example, Unit 1 (92 words), Unit 2 (150 words), Unit 3 (119 words), Unit 4 (103 words), Unit 5 (105 words), Unit 6 (106 words), Unit 7 (96) = harmony /ˈhɑ:rməni/, musical /'mjuːzɪkl/, Unit 8 (115 words), Unit 9 (85 words), Unit 10 (114 words) = gig /gɪg/, Unit 11 (94 words), Unit 12 (97 words) = rhythm /'rɪð(ə)m/.

4.2. Recorded music or song (sound) with or without lyrics for listening as part of the learning activity

Although songs may be present in learning activities from an early age of learning English, from the EFL secondary (or tertiary) education context, in the whole corpus of analysis, only several examples of recorded music or song (sound), with or without lyrics for listening as part of the learning activity, are identified. The first example is *a music tune representation* in the form of text, found in the example of "Jaws music - duh duh duh duh" (NHW, el, wb, tapescript U7 p.85). The second example is an exercise of matching a picture with a tune played by an instrument (Insight, el.sb, 2.C: Culture, vocabulary and grammar: "Making music", p.28/listening CD1.39), that included the following instruments: a cello, clarinet, flute, guitar, keyboards, piano, drums, saxophone, trumpet, and violin. After a task of matching (task 5) the musical instruments with the pictures (*violin, cello, guitar, piano, drums, saxophone, trumpet, bass guitar*), in task 6, students are asked to search for two instruments in the text of the interview, and finally, in task 7, students are asked to listen and identify the instruments (Solutions, el.sb, U5, p.43 4.E. "It's party time!", task 7).

In a cross-curricular (Music) activity about "important periods in classical music", students are asked to listen to three short pieces of Classical Music and to choose if any illustrates a certain character, scene, or life events, and to match the pieces of music with composers in the pictures. However, in the first part of the activity, students are asked to use *imagery* (a literary device) or descriptive language to create a mental image of a place, idea, or experience based on the sound or music heard, but on the other hand, rather limiting their possibilities of "imagination" by proposing three concrete choices: (1) babies or young children? (2) a horror film? (3) death? In the following part of the activity, how likely it is that students could recognise the music pieces and be able to match them with their composers, without any previous listening to "music" practice and reading or discussing these music pieces in English. The knowledge of Classical Music repertoire may vary, as students can come from different educational systems and educational backgrounds. The listening part lacks methodological reasoning in the activity planning within the unit and overall coursebook design. For instance,

> 1. "Listen to three short pieces of classical music. Do any of the pieces make you think of 1) babies or young children? 2) a horror film? 3) death?; 2. Can you match each piece of music in 1 with its composer and picture? 1) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, 2) Frederic Chopin, 3) Johann Sabastian Bach."

In addition, examples of music or songs, in total 7 songs (Figure 3) with audio and lyrics for listening as part of the learning activity, were identified. The songs included were: (1) "They Can't Buy the Sunshine" by Turin Brakes (NHW el. sb, t.12.7, p. 132),

(2) “Money” (NHW pre-int., p.18), (3) “Sk8er Boi” by Avril Lavigne (Solutions pre-int.sb, p.9 audio 1.06), (4) “Blue Monday” by Fats Domino (1957) (NHW int. sb, song lyrics p. 119, T.2.1 lyrics), (5) “I Believe” by Ian Dury (NHW int. sb, U4, p. 33, t.4.6. lyrics), (6) “We Got the Beat” by Go-Go’s (Gateway A2, sb, p. 57 “Popular culture”, task 8, audio 1.42), (7) “Girls just want to have fun” by Cyndi Lauper (Gateway B1, sb, U1, p. 11 “Teenagers and parents”).

Examples of activities with songs		
No.	**Title of the song**	**Example from the coursebook**
1.	**“They Can’t Buy the Sunshine” by Turin Brakes**	**Song: Turin Brakes - They Can’t Buy the Sunshine (NHW el. sb, t.12.7, p. 132)**
2.	**“Money”**	**(Tapescript 2.9.) Listen to the beginning of the song “Money”. 1. According to the song, what is more important, love or money? 2. ‘The best things in life are free.’ Does the singer agree? Do you agree? (NHW pre-int., p.18)**
3.	**“Sk8er Boi” by Avril Lavigne**	**(5) Listen to “Sk8er Boi by Avril Lavigne. Complete the song with the words in the box. (*music related words: guitar, song*); (reading) (6) Choose the best summary of the lyrics (vocabulary: guitarist, concert, music), (7) Speaking. Work in pairs What do you think is the message of the song? (Solutions pre-inter.sb, p.9 audio 1.06)**
4.	**“Blue Monday” by Fats Domino (1957)**	**(t.2.1) Listen to the song “Blue Monday”. What is the singer’s favourite day of the week? What’s with the other days? Which days are ok? (NHW, Int.sb, song lyrics p.119, T.2.1 lyrics)**
5.	**“I Believe” by Ian Dury**	**Reading and listening. (3) Rules for life: Song ‘I Believe’. Look at the photo and read about Ian Dury. Who was he? Ian Dury (1942-2000) was an English rock and roll singer, songwriter, and bandleader whose career took off during the late 1970s, during the punk era of rock music. He is best known as founder and lead singer of the band Ian Dury and the Blackheads; (4) Listen to one of his songs - ‘I believe’. It expresses Ian’s philosophy on life. Is he an optimist or a pessimist? (NHW Int.sb, U4, p.33, t.4.6. lyrics)**
6.	**“We Got the Beat” by Go-Go's**	**“See the people walking down the street…” Listen to the song. Do you think this is a good song for physical exercise? Why/Why not? (Gateway, A2, sb, p. 57 “Popular culture”, task 8, audio 1.42).**
7.	**“Girls just want to have fun” by Cyndi Lauper**	**(Song lyrics; L.1.03.) “Girls just want to have fun” by Cyndi Lauper (Gateway, B1, sb, U1, p.11 Teenagers and parents).**

Figure 3
Examples of activities with songs

Examples of music culture integration are mainly connected to English bands or British popular music heritage (Figure 3, examples 1, 5), American pop culture (Figure 3, examples 4, 6), Canadian culture (singers) (Figure 3, example 3), and gender topics, by introducing students to the MTV best female video (1984) awarded song about "girl power" (Figure 3, example 7). Examples include listening to song activities with the aim of (1) introducing a theme or topic for discussion in speaking practice exercise, (2) discussing the message of the song, (3) practising grammar structures of "providing an opinion", and (4) practising "agreeing and disagreeing" on a certain topic or issue.

4.3. Music as a topic of a reading, listening, speaking or writing task

In *unit and section titles*, specific music content and related vocabulary are extremely sparse and include several examples. In the first example, the use of the verb 'singing' indicates the topic of music, in the reading and speaking task: "Going far. Singing for their supper" (NHW, el. U 11, p. 90–91). The second example is a reading and listening task with the keyword 'festival': "The Glastonbury festival" (NHW, el., Unit 12, p. 98–99). The following example titles and subtitles contain the word *music*, which indicates the theme of the text: (title) "A passion for success", Nicola Benedetti: A Passion for Music (NHW, el. U5, p. 42–43), (title) "Culture, vocabulary and grammar: Making music" (NHW Int. sb, p. 28), (subtitle) "Music for Everyone" (NHW int. sb, p. 29), and "Time out in New Zealand. Culture. Music in New Zealand" (Gateway A2, sb, p. 31). In one reading task title example the word "musicians" was used to indicate the topic of a reading task "Advanced brain activity in artists and musicians". (Gateway, B1+, wb, U8. Art attack, p. 65). In the example "The Man with fastest fingers. Ben Lee" (Insight, el. sb, p. 35), the connection of the speed of fingers in music performing was accepted as "vocabulary related to music".

The *reading texts* were connected to British music culture, including a female Scottish violinist (Nicola Benedetti), The Glastonbury festival taking place in Pilton, Somerset, and the music camp in Milton Keynes, the largest settlement in Buckinghamshire, England with several music institutions, such as Milton Keynes Music Academy, Milton Keynes Music Faculty and Milton Keynes Drum Academy. The two longest texts identified in the coursebook are "The man with the fastest fingers. Ben Lee" (270 words; example 9, Figure 4) and "Music for Everyone" (268 words; example 1, Figure 4), introducing the topic of "music as arts", "musicianship in youth music camp", "playing as a group", and "youth orchestras".

In *listening* assignments, the elements of popular culture are present in very large numbers of text examples analysed. In total, 33 examples include some references to music in general and used words related to music. From the total number, 13 examples are identified in the coursebooks of the elementary level, 15 examples on the pre-intermediate level and 5 on the intermediate level of learning. Furthermore, only a few examples include stories about young talented musicians and famous music performers and musicians. In Figure 5, we will present three examples for each level.

In developing *speaking* practice, in total 13 examples (Figure 6) are examples mainly connected to popular culture and music performance. The identified examples include from one up to five music-related words in the speaking example or explanation of the task.

In the total of 12 *writing* sections that include vocabulary related to music (music preferences, styles of music, stories about musicians), the types of writing include a questionnaire, narrative, review of an object, short biography, crosswords, informal letters, grammar practice (superlative) with vocabulary revisions, and writing discussions. The writing practice text excerpts with relation to music-related vocabulary are presented in Figure 7.

No.	Example of a reading task (with music related vocabulary)	Music-related vocabulary
1.	"Music for Everyone" (Insight el.sb, p. 30–31)	drumming/music lesson(s); the National Youth Music Camps; the Stables Theatre in Milton Keynes; play music together; musicians; play different instruments; haven't got an instrument; lots of instruments; theatre; recording studio; act, sing and dance; perform a special concert; musical theatre production; rock music; hip hop; guitar; keyboards; cello; classical music; jazz band; jazz music; jazz songs
2.	"Galileo Galilei–the father of modern science" (NHW el, wb, p.32)	a famous musician
3.	"A History of the Early Cinema" (NHW, el. wb, U7, p. 44)	silent; pianist; movie with sound; jazz singer
4.	"Movers and Shakers": Elvis Presley 1935–1977 (NHW, Int.wb, p. 99)	Elvis Presley; pop scene; John Lenon; heard; Beatles
5.	"My Crazy Uncle Joe" (NHW, Int.wb, p.109)	a part-time DJ; passionate about music; House Music; a kind of electronic dance music; to 'deejay'
6.	"Advanced brain activity in artists and musicians" (Gateway, B1+, wb, U8. *Art attack*, p. 65).	musicals; professionally trained musicians; non-musicians; pianists; two lines of music; play the top line with the right hand and the bottom line with the left; violin players; simultaneously perform; bow, strings (on a violin); excellent coordination (of hands); reading music; translation the notes into hand movement; musical skills; start to play a musical instrument; non-musical people
7.	"Time out in New Zealand. Culture. Music in New Zealand" (Gateway A2, sb, p. 31)	Kiri Te Kanawa; a very famous opera singer; famous for singing at the wedding
8.	Popular culture. 6. Read this short text about music and exercise and answer the questions (Gateway A2, sb, p. 57)	music and exercise; fast music; slow music; breathe; the tempo of music;movement; songs
9.	"The man with the fastest fingers. Ben Lee" (Insight, el.sb, p. 35)	Ben Lee; musician; play(s) the violin; violinist; Linzi Stoppard; classical music;electric violins ; play rock music; bands; concerts; plays very fast; a difficult piece of violin music called "The Flight of the Bumblebee"; the fastest violin player in the world
10.	3) Read the text and match the composers in 2 (Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Frederic Chopin, Johann Sabastian Bach) with the correct period (Gateway A2, sb. 96)	Antonio Vivaldi, Claudio Monteverdi, Franz List, Frederic Chopin, George Friederich Handel, Giuseppe Verdi, Johann Sabastian Bach, Joseph Haydn, Ludwing van Beethoven, Peter Tchaikovsky, Richard Wagner, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart The Baroque Period, The Classical Period, The Romantic Period composer(s), composition, concertos, music, Opera, quartets, sonatas, symphonies, traditional folk music

Figure 4

Examples of reading tasks (with music-related vocabulary)

Elementary level (selected examples)
1. ‘Everything was too expensive’ (...) (2) A: Did you talk to anybody interesting at the party? B: No, nobody. A: Why not? B: Everybody was dancing and the music was really loud. (...) (NHW el, sb, t.10.7, p.130). 2. (1) Elsa from Birmingham, England. (...) However, I was disappointed with the music on Saturday night. DJ’s played House music all night. I love House but this was rubbish.(...); (2) Daniel Evans from Wales. (...) I found a ticket on the Glastonbury message boards. I’m so glad I went. The music was brilliant. (NHW el. sb. t.12.8) 3. (B) He’s a teenager! He sleeps, goes to bed late, and listens to loud music.(...) (Kalaya) My sister and I go to the festival, and we sing and dance - I love it! (NHW, el. wb. p.84, U2 - tapescript)
Pre-intermediate level (selected examples)
4. “It drives me crazy!” Jack: Er-no so I rang the train company and of course I got the usual recorded message - you know the type of thing: I'm afraid all our operators are busy at the moment! Then music and 'Thank you for holding. I'm afraid our operators are still busy.' And more music, so I gave up. (...) (NWH, pre-intermediate, T.10.11. p. 132) 5. Gareth Malone. (1) A When did he start playing the piano? B When he was three. (2) A How long has he been playing the piano? B Since he was three. (3) When did he start teaching singing? B When he was 23. (4) How long has he been teaching singing? B Since he was 23. (NHW pre-int., U11, t.11.1, p. 133) 6. ‘Internet dating disasters’ *Cathy’s story.* Too good to be true! This was last summer. I was bored, and I was at home with my parents before going back to music college, so I thought I’d like to try Internet dating. (...) There was no conversation, just loud rock music, as we raced along. He’d told me, before we met, that he loved Vivaldi and the classics. LIAR! The rest of the night was just more speeding, more awful loud music. (...) Shona’s story: Mr Ego. (...) I was told about all the beautiful young models who wanted him, and the famous people he knew in the art and music industry. I was surprised that there was room at the table for me and his ego, truly. (NHW, pre-int., wb, U1 tapescript, p. 90).
Intermediate level (selected examples)
7. “Blue Monday” by Fats Domino (1957). Listening to the song “Blue Monday” What is the singer's favourite day of the week? What's wrong with the other days? Which days are ok? (Full lyrics) (NHW int.sb, p.14, p.119, t.2.1.) 8. “Listening and speaking: *Rules of life* … 4. Listen to one of his songs - I believe. It expresses Ian's philosophy on life. Is he an optimist or a pessimist?” (Full lyrics)(NHW int.s.b. p.33, t.4.6.) 9. (3) Since you whistled that tune I can’t get it out of my head. (11) By the end of the concert we were all clapping our hands to the music. (NHW Int.sb, p.127, t.8.7)

Figure 5

Examples of listening tasks (with music-related vocabulary)

No.	Text excerpts of speaking practice with music related vocabulary	Coursebook Title
1.	(10) Speaking - type of music, - band	Insight, el. sb, p. 7
2.	Speaking: “The dancer and the DJ”	NHW, el., p. 16, Unit 2
3.	Speaking. I listen to music when I do my homework.	Gateway, A2, p. 24–5
4.	2.Speaking. A: Are you interested in ballet? B: No, not really. What about you?	Gateway, A2, p. 95
5.	(Tense review) What kind of music do you think she sings?	NHW, pre-int. p. 88
6.	(1)What is Amy's mum's favourite pop group? (2) What kind of music does Amy's dad like? (3) What kind of music does Amy like?	NHW pre-int. p. 79
7.	(2 C) Culture, vocabulary and grammar: Making music. (speaking) (...) Do you think they are good or bad musicians?	NHW Int. sb, p. 28
8.	(7. speaking) Work in pairs. Discuss the questions. What kind of music do you like?; Do you play a musical instrument? What?; Do you think the Music Camp is fun or boring? Why?	Insight el.sw, p.28
9.	(Speaking). “Turn off the music.”	Insight el.sb p. 31
10.	Famous doctors. Popular culture. “How to Save a Life” by The Fray /song by American alternative rock band the Fray, 2006/; Speaking: “I love the music”; “Mee too, and I like the singer’s voice. It’s a really emotional song.”	Gateway, B1, sb, p. 49
11.	Click onto…(International cultural knowledge). “Irish music and dance”. 4.(3)How do we know that traditional Irish music is alive now?; (4) What are the special characteristics of Irish dancing?; (6) What types of music do modern Irish musicians play?; What about you? 5.(1)Have you ever heard any traditional Irish music? What do you think of it?, (2)Do you know any of the modern Irish musicians or bands in the text? Do you like them?; “What do you think about traditional Irish music? - I heard some Irish folk music at a party once. It’s good to dance to!”	Gateway, B1+, sb, p. 100
12.	(describing a past event) 4. (3) The girl really wanted to go on stage because she had a good voice. (5) She only sang one song.	Gateway, B1+, p. 104
13.	Famous doctors.Popular culture. 'How to save a life' by The Fray. I love the music; Mee too, and I like the singer's voice. It's a really emotional song.	Gateway B1, sb, p. 49

Figure 6

Speaking practice text excerpts with relation
to music-related vocabulary

No.	Text excerpts of writing practice with music related vocabulary	Coursebook Title
1.	part E - Writing - A questionnaire. What's your favourite time of the day? It's Friday because we have fun lessons in the afternoon: art, music and French.	Insight el. sb, p. 18
2.	2E-Writing- An informal letter. Linking word: and but, or. (5)1. I like rap music ______ I don't like classical music. 2. Do you watch TV ________ listen to music after school? Review 2 (2) I enjoy singing. (into) (3) My sister hates dancing. (not interested)	Insight el.sb.p. 32–33
3.	Writing 6 - Write an informal letter to your English pen friend about your hobbies and interests. Include information: • your name, age and where you live • what music you like • what instruments you play.	Insight el.sb.p. 35
4.	8E -Writing - A narrative. A memorable day. …But we sang our favourite songs together and didn't think about the horrible weather.)	Insight el.sb.p. 98
5.	verbs - crossword: (9) sing.	NHW, el. wb, p. 31
6.	Writing - A review of a gadget. Dancing Feet - shoes with music! - mp3 player, - make the music louder (7) Write superlative sentences.1) Ryan/good/guitar player. 3)you/listen to/unusual music	Insight el.wb.p. 58/59
7.	7. Write superlative sentences. 1) Ryan/good/guitar player; 3) you/listen to/unusual music	Insight el.wb p. 59
8.	Writing - discussing pros and cons: Advantages of Facebook. "Share favourite music and videos" - table.	NHW pre-int., U10
9.	Crossword: (3)Mick Jagger is a singer (6 letters), (6)Nureyew was a ballet dancer (6 letters). down - (2) Pianists and violinists are musicians (9 letters). (3) Keith Richards is a guitarist (10 letters). (7) Beethoven was a composer (8 letters).	NHW pre-int. p.83
10.	Practice makes perfect (writing) - a short biography about an actor, singer, writer, artist or musician who is dead.	Gateway A2 sb. p.101
11.	Challenge! Write about what music you like at the moment and how long you've been listening to it.	Solutions int. sb.p 33
12.	(vocabulary revision) Artists. 1. The person in charge of an orchestra: c(on)d(uctor); 2. Someone who plays music or acts on stage: p(e)rf(ormer); 3. Someone who plays music: m(u)s(ician); 4. Someone who writes classical music: c(om)p(oser).	Gateway B1+, sb, p.106

Figure 7
Writing practice text excerpts in relation to music-related vocabulary

4.4. Music of the English language (pronunciation practice)

In practising pronunciation, stress and intonation, only five tasks are identified as related to the "Music of English", for example:

(1) *Pronunciation*: can/can't; 1. Pronunciation: (2) He can/can't play the piano. (3) I can/can't play the guitar. 2. What can they do? - play the guitar, play the piano, (1) Tony <u>can play</u> the guitar, and they <u>can play</u> the piano. (4) Alice and Brian <u>can play</u> the piano, but they <u>can't play</u> the guitar. (NHW el. wb, Unit 5, p. 28),

(2) *Voice range*: "Music of English: English voice range is very wide, especially in polite requests. (Listen and repeat)" (NHW, int. sb, p. 37) - Music of English: 1. I was wondering if we could meet? 2. I could meet you in the afternoon. 3. What about Saturday afternoon? 4. Is Saturday evening any good? 5. Why don't we meet at the station? Let's meet there for breakfast. 6. Shall we say about 10 o'clock? 7. Can you make it 10.30? (NHW, int. sb, t.5.14. p. 124),

(3) *Stress and intonation* (NHW, int. sb, p. 45),

(4) *Expressions* (NHW, int. sb, p. 61),

(5) *Stress patterns* (NHW, int. sb, p. 85, T.10.8).

The following part is an example of general English sentences practising "Music of English" (without relation to music culture vocabulary) (NHW, int. wb, t.5.14., p. 124):

> (1) I was wondering if we could meet?, (2) I could meet you in the afternoon. (3) What about Saturday afternoon?, (4) Is Saturday evening any good?, (5) Why don't we meet at the station? Let's meet there for breakfast., (6) Shall we say about 10 o'clock?, and (7) Can you make it 10.30?.

4.5. Grammar reviews with example sentences using music as a topic of conversation

In grammar reviews music is used as a topic of conversation and for practising: Articles, Verb "be", Negative form of *be*, Like/love+ verb+ *ing*, *Wh* – questions, Possessive adjectives, *Can/can't* (for ability), Prepositions, Adverbs (Adverbs of frequency), Verb forms, *Be going to* (future intentions), Adjectives (Adjectives ending in *–ing* and *–ed*), Questions "about you", Gerund and *–ing* forms, *Verb+noun*, Present Simple: questions, Past Simple - negative, Irregular verbs, Present Perfect Continuous (tense review), Past Perfect, Direct and Reported Speech (Figure 8).

Grammar	Example	Coursebook
Articles	play the guitar/piano/violin (8) My sister plays the guitar on Saturday.	Gateway, A2, sb, p. 33
Verb *be*	(6)Write sentences with these words and *be*. (5) I: good at sport/good at music	Insight, el., sb, p. 7
Negative form of *be*	(5) *Read Leonie's blog post and complete the table with the negative form of be.* (...) My friend Ryan is in a samba band. <u>I'm not</u> in the band because <u>I'm not</u> very good at music, but I go to concerts. I love samba. Welcome B: Are you in a band? (4) Rewrite the sentences using the negative form of be. 4. My friends are at a concert. 5. We're into samba music. 6. You're in a samba band.	Insight, el., wb, p. 4-5, 7

Like/love + verb + *ing*	When *like* and *love* are followed by another verb, it is usually the -ing form, e.g. she loves listening to music.	NHW, el., sb, Grammar reference 3.3
Wh-questions	Asking questions: What sort of music/ like?	NHW, pre-int., sb, p. 15
Possessive adjectives	(4.) (text 1) […] She's very excited because they're at a concert and it's her favourite band. James is happy because it's his favourite festival.	Insight, el., sb, p. 8
	My sister is into music. My/Her favourite music is hip hop.	Insight el., wb, p. 6
Can/can't (for ability)	(2) He can/can't play the piano. (3) I can/can't play the guitar.	NHW, el., wb, U5, p. 28, Pronunciation
	(8) Read these examples from the text. Then choose the correct answer in the rules below. I can play the guitar and the keyboard. They can play different instruments. Some young people can't play an instrument. Can I sing? No, I can't. a. We use can + infinitive with/without to b. The negative of can is don't can/can't c. We use the same/a different form of can after all persons (I, you he, they, etc.)	Insight, el., sb, p. 30

Prepositions	9. Do you like listening <u>to</u> music? What sort <u>of</u> music do you like?	NHW, El., U5, sb, p. 44
	(U7)11/4. Are you interested <u>in</u> modern arts? 11/6. What sort of music do you like?	NHW, el., wb, p. 46
	I listen <u>to</u> music.	NHW, el., sb, GR 3.3
	He's very good <u>at</u> playing the piano.	NHW, pre-int., U1, p. 8
Adverbs	(3) She has a lovely voice. She sings beautifully. (NHW, el.wb, p.44) Rewrite the sentences using adverb form of the adjectives in brackets (3) Do you play your violin (quiet); (4) I can't play the keyboards. (good)	Insight el., wb, p. 23
Adverbs of frequency	(3) I dance/I <u>hardly ever</u> dance.; (4) a) I think Maria <u>often</u> dances. b) I think you <u>often</u> dance. - No, I <u>never</u> dance. c) Maria <u>never</u> dances but I <u>often</u> dance.	Gateway, A2, sb, U2, p. 32
	1.7. sometimes/plays/dad/ the guitar/my	Insight, el., wb, p. 21
Verb forms	(5) I don't <u>listen</u> to music. I watch TV; (6) I love <u>listening</u> to music in my car.	NHW, el., wb, U10

Be going to (future intentions)	(8) Matt is a good guitarist, and Sue has a good voice. They are going to play in a band.	NHW, el., wb, U11
	1.(4) Next week I am going to see my favourite group in concert. I've already got my ticket.	Gateway B1, wb, Grammar in Context 0.4
Adjectives	Unit 5 - progress check D: delicious or disgusting? 12. Give adjectives to describe the following: c. hip hop music	Insight, el., wb, p. 51
Adjectives ending in *-ing* and *-ed*	(A1) The concert was boring – (c) so I left before the end. 7.2.(3) You look bored. Don't you like opera?	NHW, el., wb, p. 38, 39
	Developing vocabulary: (5) They are relaxed because the music is relaxing.	Gateway, B1, wb, p. 41
	2. (1) I get very embarrassed when Dad starts singing. Dad's singing is always so embarrassing.	Gateway, B1+, wb, p. 67
Questions about you	Do you like listening to music? What kind of music do you like?	NHW, pre-int., U1, p. 8
Gerund and *-ing* forms	She is making another single. Unit 2. 11.(5) downloading music from the Internet is something illegal.	NHW, pre-int., sb, p. 15, Grammar spot

Verb+noun	put some music on	NHW, pre-int., wb, U8, p. 58
Present Simple: questions	What music do you like? What music do you listen to?	Solutions, el., sb., p. 111
Past Simple - negative	(3) Write about what these people did or didn't do before they were famous. 2) Johnny Depp/not act in films. He/play the guitar in a rock band.	Gateway, A2, sb, U7, p. 94
Irregular verbs	sing/sang/sang	NHW, int., sb, p. 159, wb
Present Perfect Continuous and tense review	When did he start playing the piano? *When he was three.* How long has he been playing the piano? *Since he was three.* When did he start teaching singing? *When he was 23.* How long has he been teaching singing? *Since he was 23.*	NHW, U 11, Life's what you make it!, exercise 4; t. 1.1, p. 133
	Present perfect continuous 3.(2) She's liked/She's been liking reggae since she went to Jamaica. (5) So far they've played/they've been playing in twelve different countries. (6) Our music teacher has only been teaching /has only taught in two other schools. (7) We've seen/We've been seeing the Rolling Stones in concert five times.	Solutions, int., wb, p. 33

Past Perfect.	(...) He <u>had bought</u> a special pipe with him, and he played a tune that no one <u>had heard</u> before. (...) Once again, he played a tune on his pipe. (...) Music was never heard again in the streets of Hamelin.	NHW, pre-int., Unit 9, p. 60
Direct speech.	Rewrite the sentences in direct speech. (6) The man told her to turn her music down. (7) Their mother asked them to sing their song.	Gateway, B1+, wb, p. 69
Reported Speech	(4) Reported speech. 1. The musicians said they couldn't play because they didn't know the music. (the audience)/The musicians told the audience they couldn't play because they didn't know the music. 2. You said you wanted to be a dancer. (me); 3. Katies said she would never go on stage again. (her music teacher); 4. She said the concert had been fantastic. (us); 6. The singer said that she was recording new songs in her studio that day. (her fans); 7. The artist said he had to stop moving. (the model); 8. The conductor said they weren't good enough to be in his orchestra. (the two musicians). (5) Put the reported speech in 4 into direct speech - *We can't play because we don't know the music.*	Gateway, B1+, p. 98

	(3) *Write* what the people actually said in each situation. The reporter asked the singer why she wouldn't answer any of his questions. She told him that she only wanted to talk about her new CD and that she wasn't going to talk about anything else. Reporter:____________________________ Singer: ____________________________	Gateway B1, sb, p. 117, Grammar guide

Figure 8
Music-related vocabulary and music as a topic
of conversation in grammar sections and reviews

4.6. Project work

In the overall corpus, only two examples of *project work* related to the topic of music are identified. The first example is a project work task about the topic of "Peace". The task assignment is the following: "Work in groups. Prepare something for an international Peace Day exhibition. Here are some ideas… - songs in English about peace." (Gateway A2, sb, p. 108). In terms of availability, already pre-selected lists of the top five, to top twenty peace songs, are easily accessible on the internet, therefore, students can choose from a variety of web sources for this project work activity. Thus, if students choose to present "songs in English about peace" through tasks of this type, they can further develop critical literacy skills and can also "provide the voices rarely heard in textbooks" (Lloyd 2003: 22 as cited in Corbett 2007). As noted by Corbett (2007), "lyrics can reach students in a new way and can *stimulate debates*, … and promote examination of contemporary social issues" (Cooper 1991:57 as cited in Corbett 2007).

In the second example, that task is connected to a pair group activity in researching and preparing a presentation on a band or life and work of a music composer or performer from the student's country.

> (e.g. Project. 9) Work in groups. Choose a famous composer, singer, or group from your country. Prepare a presentation about them. Include information about their life and work. *i - Inside information*: 1) Evanescence is an American band. People call their style "gothic rock". 2) This song is from their 2006 album "The Open Door". The music comes from a part of Mozart's "Requiem". 3) Amy Lee, the singer in the band, says this is her favourite piece of music ever. She heard it for the first time when she saw a film about Mozart called "Amadeus". (Gateway A2, sb p. 97)

4.7. Visual representations of music content

In the context of the visual representation of music content in printed books, only several presentations are identified in the overall corpus. Firstly, "samba music" in "Welcome A: Hello. *picture 3* - samba music" (Insight, el. sb, p. 5). In the second example, "music notes in a picture" are used to illustrate a music lessons correlation activity "Culture, vocabulary, and grammar - British schools: (2) __13__ Music, (3) Which lessons do you hear these words in? 2. Mozart, Tchaikovsky, the Beatles." (Insight, el, sb, p. 18). The third example is an illustration of the phrase "sore throat", a condition marked by pain in the throat, presented with an image with the text "figaro, figarrch! (*scrambled notes*)" (NHW, pre-int, p. 88). The fourth example is a picture of Sydney opera or town used as an illustration in connection to Australia and the town of Sydney. The fifth example is a picture of the famous conductor Gustavo Dudamel, used as a text illustration in a gap-fill exercise but without mentioning the person in the picture. Dudamel is famous for his work with youth orchestras in Venezuela, therefore, the music-related vocabulary is partly connected to the selected image (e.g. *an orchestra from Venezuela*; *young musicians*; *local orchestras*; *concert halls*; *professional orchestras*; *Placido Domingo, one of the best opera singers*; Gateway, A2, sb, p. 111). Finally, a picture of an orchestra is used in a listening task in which students are asked to recognise and connect the sound of the instruments with their appearance and location in the orchestra, e.g. “Look at the photo of the orchestra. Can you find these instruments? Listen, check and repeat – cello, clarinet, flute, guitar, keyboards, piano, drums, saxophone, trumpet, violin” (NHW, int. p. 28, CD 1.39). In conclusion, it is evident from these mentioned examples[1] that the images are used as text illustrations, sometimes lacking connection with the main text on the page, or lacking description of *what* or *who* is being presented, not identifying the name of important contemporary musicians, such as in the fifth example.

5. Discussion and conclusion

The research analysis corpus was chosen as a methodologically approved and good-quality resource that can provide different examples of the use of music-related content and vocabulary. The method of analysis included identification and codification (checklist) of all music content in the coursebooks, including sound recordings, texts about music and musicians, song lyrics and music-related vocabulary. The main focus of the analysis was on content and vocabulary connected to (world) music culture in different types of texts in units, reading, listening (tapescripts), speaking and writing assignments, grammar activities and word lists from units.

In this research a specific research methodology was applied to answer the main research question: *Are music cultural*

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[1] Note: In terms of gender inequalities, there are no examples identified that are connected to the profession of musicians, contrasting female and male instrument players, performers or composers within a task or assignment. The overall number of male or female musicians in the coursebooks was not analysed in this research paper. However, one example of inequality is noted in a task where from 10 “jobs” or “professions” represented in images of people in uniforms, 4 are female – *nurse, hairdresser, journalist, receptionist,* while 6 are male representations – *pilot, architect, dentist, taxi driver, accountant,* and only “a lawyer”, is presented both as female and male profession.

content and vocabulary part of learning experiences in English as a foreign language (EFL) coursebooks for the secondary level of education? The findings show sparse traces of music culture content and vocabulary in English coursebooks for the secondary level of education (A1 – B2). A rather limited representation of music sound and music-related vocabulary is identified in the 24 books, as learning materials analysed. Recorded music or song (sound) with or without lyrics for listening as part of the learning activity, are identified in 7 examples. Texts with music as a topic of reading (9 examples from one sentence to 270 words), listening (33 examples), speaking (14 examples) or writing task (12 examples), are mainly connected to popular music culture (mostly singers and bands of pop and rock music) with several examples dedicated to classical music, covering a rather small selection of names of composers, musical periods, musicians (pianists, violinists, opera singers, choir conductors etc.). In a table summary of "Music-related vocabulary" presented in this paper, all the *names of musicians/performers/composers, institutions, music genres/periods in texts*, are presented to provide a detailed overview of the type of music cultural content and vocabulary present, as a part of learning experience in the analysed EFL coursebooks. In pronunciation practice, only a few examples identified have "touched upon" the "Music of English language (pronunciation practice)". Example sentences related to music and sound in grammar reviews are presented in detail, to provide a data summary for future research on the role of music in ELT and for rethinking and further quality improvement of the ELT language teaching material design practice. Only two project work tasks are identified in connection to music as a topic or part of the project work activity. Visual representations of music content are rather minimal and lack proper text illustrations and explanations, guiding students to understand their role within the task or activity.

In conclusion, the analysed coursebook serials, as individual titles, merely introduce music as a cultural and linguistic phenomenon. Depending on the themes and topics chosen for the coursebooks, the level of implementation of music culture and content is rather sparse, extremely selective, random, and highly inconsistent through the levels of study, even within the same title serial. This research study therefore aims to contribute to the gap in the research literature on the role and place of music culture in EFL coursebooks, as primary teaching and learning materials in EFL instruction at elementary, pre-intermediate and intermediate levels.

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Appendix 1

The list of textbooks and workbooks included in the research corpus

1. "New Headway" Elementary (A1 - A2) Student's Book, Fourth edition, Liz Soars & John Soars, Oxford University Press, United Kingdom, (2011) 2017, p.159, ISBN 978-0-19-47692-9
2. "New Headway" Elementary (A1 - A2) Workbook without key, Fourth edition, Liz Soars & John Soars, Oxford University Press, United Kingdom, (2011) 2017, p.87, (with DVD-rom), ISBN 978-0-19-477053-8
3. "New Headway" Pre-Intermediate (A2 - B1) Student's Book, Fourth edition, John Soars & Liz Soars, Oxford University Press, United Kingdom, (2012) 2016, p.159, (with DVD-rom) ISBN 978-0-19-476966-2
4. "New Headway" Pre-Intermediate (A2 - B1) Workbook, Fourth edition, John Soars & Liz Soars, Oxford University Press, UK, (2012) 2018, p.96, (with DVD-rom) ISBN 978-0-19-476963-1
5. "New Headway" Intermediate (B1 - B2) Student's Book, Liz Soars & John Soars, Oxford University Press, UK, (2012) 2019, p.159, (with DVD-rom) ISBN 978-0-19-477020-0
6. "New Headway" Intermediate (B1 - B2) Workbook, Liz Soars & John Soars, Oxford University Press, United Kingdom, (2012) 2016, p.95, (with DVD-rom) ISBN 978-0-19-477022-4
7. "Insight" Elementary Student's Book, Fiona Beddall, Oxford University Press, Uk, 2013/2017, p.135, ISBN 978-0-19-401106-8
8. "Insight" Elementary Workbook, Kate Haywood, Oxford University Press, 2013/2017, p.144, ISBN 978-0-19-401111-2
9. "Insight" Student's Book Pre-Intermediate, Jayne Wildman (Fiona Beddall), Oxford University Press, UK, 2013/2018, p.143, ISBN 978-0-19-401107-5
10. "Insight" Workbook Pre-Intermediate, Mike Sayer & Rachel Roberts, Oxford University Press, UK, 2013/2018, p.136, ISBN 978-0-19-401112-9
11. "Insight" Student's Book Intermediate, Jayne Wildman (Cathy Myers & Claire Tracker), Oxford University Press, UK, 2013/2018, p.143, ISBN 978-0-19-401108-2
12. "Insight" Workbook Intermediate, Paul Hancock, Oxford University Press, UK, 2013/2018, p.136, ISBN 978-019-401113-6
13. "Solutions" Elementary (A1-A2), Tim Falla & Paul A Davies, Oxford University Press, UK, 9780194551502
14. "Solutions" Elementary (A1-A2), Tim Falla & Paul A Davies, Oxford University Press, UK, 9780194551557
15. "Solutions" Pre-Intermediate (A2-B1), Tim Falla & Paul A Davies, Oxford University Press, UK, 9780194551656
16. "Solutions" Pre-Intermediate (A2-B1), Tim Falla & Paul A Davies, Oxford University Press, UK, 9780194551700
17. "Solutions" Intermediate (B1-B2), Tim Falla & Paul A Davies, Oxford University Press, UK, 9780194551809
18. "Solutions" Intermediate (B1-B2), Jane Hudson, Tim Falla & Paul A Davies, Oxford University Press, UK, 9780194551854
19. "Gateway" Student's Book A2, David Spencer, Macmillan, London, (2011) 2017, p.166, ISBN 978-0-230-72338-2
20. "Gateway" Workbook A2, David Spencer, Macmillan, London, (2011) 2017, p.128, ISBN 978-0-230-72339-9
21. "Gateway" Student's Book B1, David Spencer, Macmillan, London, (2011) 2019, p.159, ISBN 978-0-230-72344-3
22. "Gateway"Workbook B1, David Spencer, Macmillan, London, (2011) 2019, p. 127, ISBN 978-0-230-72345-0
23. "Gateway" Student's Book B1+, David Spencer, Macmillan, London, (2011) 2022, p. 159, ISBN 978-0-230-72350-4
24. "Gateway" Workbook B1+, David Spencer, Macmillan, London, (2011) 2019, p.127, ISBN 978-0-230-72351-1

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Poverty in the neoliberal tale of language textbook

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Abstract

This article presents the results of the critical analysis of English language textbooks. The research was focused on the textbook images of poverty to show possible contributions of educational materials to promoting a neoliberal system. The research methodology was based on content analysis realized with ATLAS.ti 7 qualitative data coding program, and Critical Discourse Analysis allowing for the analysis of discursive strategies at thematic, grammatical, lexical, and compositional levels. The analysis of the texts showed clear tendencies regarding the presentation of the problem of poverty, with privatizing responsibility for its causes and effects, marginalizing systemic solutions, a high degree of generality, objectifying people affected by poverty and presenting the issue in an optimistic light. The textbook message fits into the neoliberal story of equal opportunities for every human being, at the same time trivializing the analyzed problem and limiting the possibility of reflection on the systemic contexts of poverty.

Keywords

content analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, textbooks, poverty, neoliberalism

Ubóstwo w neoliberalnej opowieści podręcznika językowego

Abstrakt

W artykule przedstawiono wyniki krytycznej analizy podręczników do języka angielskiego. Badania koncentrowały się na podręcznikowych obrazach ubóstwa, aby pokazać potencjalną rolę, jaką pełnią materiały edukacyjne w promowaniu systemu neoliberalnego. Metodologia badań opierała się na analizie treści realizowanej za pomocą programu do jakościowego kodowania danych ATLAS.ti 7 oraz na krytycznej analizie dyskursu pozwalającej na analizę strategii dyskursywnych na poziomie tematycznym, gramatycznym, leksykalnym i kompozycyjnym. Analiza tekstów wykazała wyraźne tendencje w przedstawianiu problemu ubóstwa, z prywatyzacją odpowiedzialności za jego przyczyny i skutki, marginalizacją rozwiązań systemowych, dużym stopniem ogólności, uprzedmiotowieniem osób dotkniętych ubóstwem i ukazywaniem problemu w tonie optymistycznym. Podręcznikowy przekaz wpisuje się w neoliberalną opowieść o równych szansach dla każdego człowieka, trywializując jednocześnie analizowaną kwestię i ograniczając możliwość refleksji nad systemowymi kontekstami ubóstwa.

Słowa kluczowe

analiza treści, krytyczna analiza dyskursu, podręczniki językowe, ubóstwo, neoliberalizm

1. Introduction

The unquestionable popularity of teaching English worldwide is related to the popularity of language learning materials, including textbooks. Although their main goal is to teach students the basic skills (speaking, writing, reading, listening), the question of how they realize this remains open. The texts, exercises, or pictures included in the textbooks cover different topics and the choice of materials illustrating these topics depends on the decisions of the publishers and authors. Critical analysis of textbooks focused on their hidden curriculum proves that specific difficult and controversial topics are avoided. This phenomenon has even gained the specific name of *vanilla content*, and the acronym PARSNIP (from the words: politics, alcohol, religion, sex, narcotics, isms, and pork) is used to refer to potentially controversial content (Banegas 2010). The conceptual scope of individual terms expressed by the acronym is extensive, including possible references to political and social problems. For the purposes of this study, the authors decided to analyze how one of these problems – poverty – is presented in the textbooks. One of the important reasons behind this choice is the seriousness of this phenomenon in the world and the increase in the number of people exposed to extreme poverty in recent years (The World Bank 2022, United Nations 2022, World Economic Forum 2022). At the same time, it is important to see this problem in association with the dominant neoliberal ideology, proclaiming individual freedom, agency, and equal opportunities for each person, while releasing the state from all obligations and responsibilities. As Dixon notes,

> Neoliberalism […] postulates that poverty is an objectively knowable social phenomenon. It theorizes that poverty's causal explanation is grounded in the inappropriateness of the hopes, aspirations, and goals of those living in poverty. It moralizes that the poor have a moral obligation to critically assess the consequences for themselves and others of their decisions not to work even when

> work is available, for which they should be held responsible. It concludes that the work-shy poor-by choice — the undeserving poor — cannot be trusted not to abuse tax- finance welfare support. […] The neoliberal poverty discourse is, essentially, a discourse on human nature. It asserts that the poor can choose not to be poor. (Dixon 2012: 1)

The notion of poverty as one of the main global problems and perceiving the neoliberal system as the one trying to neutralize or “nullify” this problem (also by privatizing responsibility for its causes and effects) was the basis for the main research question of our analysis. Thus, we concentrated on how the issue of poverty is presented in English language textbooks to find the possible connections between the image of poverty on the pages of textbooks and their role in promoting or contesting the neoliberal ideology.

One of the first pieces of research devoted to the neoliberal contents of textbooks was published by Auerbach and Burgess (1985), who analyzed American textbooks for immigrants. The authors pointed out that in addition to learning the language, they also prepared for a particular type of job: low-paid and low-prestige. Contemporary textbook research is focused on the analysis of how textbooks present social classes, the world of work and how they construct individualistic and efficient neoliberal identity (Babaii and Sheikhi 2018, Bori 2018, Gray and Block 2014, Pogorzelska 2023). The authors of the research are also engaged in the exploration of consumerism, tourist discourse in educational materials, superficial multiculturalism, and celebrity culture, as well as marketization and instrumentalization of language learning (Babaii et al. 2019, Babaii and-Sheikhi 2018, Bori 2018, Kramsch and Vinall 2018, Pogorzelska 2023).

2. Methodology

The research methodology was based on content analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis. Using content analysis methodology, the authors used inductive and deductive coding (Friese 2012, Patton 2015, Saldaña 2013). In practice, this meant that coding was realized with a previously prepared list of codes, but this list was expanded and refined in the process of a cyclical return to the analyzed texts. The application of Critical Discourse Analysis stemmed from its basic assumption concerning the ideological entanglement of language and its role in reproducing inequalities. The critical aspect of discourse analysis entails the unveiling of the implicit ideologies and perspectives communicated through language, which are often treated as universally accepted truths (Fairclough 2001, Machin and Mayr 2012).

The source of the texts for analysis was textbooks used around the world and published by leading British publishing houses. The list of textbooks contained 19 B1/B2 level titles and since some sets included a student's book and a workbook, the analysis comprised a total of 32 books. The analysis covered texts of more than 50 words, which guaranteed their informative value and logical coherence. After selecting the texts, they were transcribed in the ATLAS.ti 7 qualitative data coding program, which was also used for the first and second coding cycles. In the first cycle, the texts were marked with an appropriate code if it was possible to extract a direct or indirect reference to the problem of poverty. This way, 104 texts were isolated and subjected to the second coding cycle, which was repeated and modified many times and consisted in assigning codes derived from the Critical Discourse Analysis to fragments of texts. In practice, it involved coding these fragments with the application of discursive strategies present at various levels: thematic, grammatical, lexical, and compositional (Fairclough 2001, Molek-Kozakowska 2018, Pogorzelska 2023), both in quantitative and qualitative aspects.

The analysis of the thematic level made it possible to encode the detailed subject matter (causes, symptoms, solutions of the problem) of the texts and the use of presuppositions. The latter are statements of the nature of certainties that do not need to be justified, allowing phenomena to be presented as natural and causeless (Machin and Mayr 2012, Van Dijk 2006). Moreover, thematic analysis is also related to the level of generality of the message. In this part of the research, the presence of depersonalizing strategies such as aggregation (referring to people using *many, thousands, majority*, etc.) or genericization (describing individual people only as members of a specific community: *poor people, the poor*, etc.) is sought (Van Leeuwen 1996, 2008).

The analysis of the grammatical level consisted of examining whether and how the agency of the described actions is expressed in a given text. This level of the research can show whether textbook characters are activated or passivated, and thus whether they are presented as actively participating in reality and causative or as objects of someone's activity (Van Leeuwen 1996, 2008). This stage involves examining the presence of impersonal structures (e.g. nominalizations and passive voice) as well as structures with an object or with inclusive "we" (Fairclough 2001, Machin and Mayr 2012, Van Dijk 2006, Van Leeuven 2008). Another aspect was the analysis of the level of the modality of the texts: depending on the phrases used, the texts can be characterized by low or high modality, expressed by specific markers (e.g. *maybe/ probably/perhaps* for low modality or *must/certainly* for high modality) (Mautner 2011).

The lexical level of analysis was focused on examining the presence of specific terms, e.g., euphemisms. In contrast, the study of the compositional level referred to the structure of the text as a whole, in which certain topics occur in a specific order, which allows emphasis on some threads and marginalizes others (Fairclough 2001, Molek-Kozakowska 2018).

3. Results

3.1. Thematic level

The analysis of the thematic level made it possible to extract texts describing the causes, symptoms, and solutions to the problem of poverty. Only 15% of the fragments referred to the causes of poverty. In one-third (33%), references were found to symptoms, while the overwhelming majority (80%) described the solutions to the problem. Most of the solutions suggested were related to charity actions (66% of texts in this category) of various organizations or individuals, such as running a shelter for persons experiencing homelessness or volunteering in different campaigns (e.g. Borkowska et al. 2022: 190, Haywood et al. 2020: 38, Mitchell and Malkogianni 2022: 66). Charitable work directed at persons living in poverty was often described by the stories based on a similar scenario, with main roles played by people from Western countries providing aid, and the grateful, but silent recipients of such support coming from the Global South. The text titled *If they hadn't owned a goat…*, presenting the story of Beatrice Biira, is representative for this type of narration:

> Beatrice Biira, her mother and her seven brothers and sisters lived in a small village in Uganda. They were very poor and basic necessities were a luxury. If her family had had $20, they would have paid for Beatrice to go to school, but they didn't have this kind of money. When Beatrice was nine, a life-changing event happened to them. The family was given a goat by a small charity called Heifer International. Within three months of receiving the goat, Beatrice and her family had raised enough money from the sale of the goat's milk to send Beatrice to school. Although she was much older than the other children in her class, she did well, studied hard and soon won a scholarship to a school in Massachusetts, USA […]. Beatrice has many people to thank for their support and encouragement along the way. But most of all, she's grateful to that first goat. (Wildman et al. 2015: 96)

While the textbooks are full of wordage suggesting individual responsibility, references to system solutions, for which states and governments would be responsible, are very difficult to find in the analyzed material. If they appear in the context of solving the problem of poverty, they are presented as the bodies to be mobilized for action, not as the main decision-making and executive force. For example, in one of the articles, we find a description of an expedition of three Norwegian bloggers to a clothing factory in Cambodia:

> The three friends leave Cambodia absolutely devastated, but with a promise to tell everyone about the girls and the price they pay for us to wear cheap fashions. They have already managed to make the Norwegian Parliament take action against companies which produce clothes in such an unethical way. Their programme, Deadly Fashion, has been seen by millions of people around the world… Will this encourage people to boycott firms which do not care about the idea of fair trade and exploit children to make huge profits? Time will tell! (Rosińska and Edwards 2019: 8)

In another text we find information about a famous footballer, Marcus Rashford, who is attempting to bring about social change, and he has persuaded the British government to fund school meals for children in need (Rybak et al. 2022: 12). Governments, therefore, appear as parties to be reminded and mobilized to take action but are nowhere mentioned as the main driving force for desired change. They are replaced in this role by charity activities, as suggested below:

> The head of the World Food Programme says that Bezos and the other space billionaires could save millions of people from hunger by donating the money that they are spending on rockets. Instead of preparing to send our factories into space, we should be fighting for our planet. (Wood 2022: 23)

Another feature of the texts is the widespread use of presuppositions. Below are three representative examples:

> In the mid-1930s hard times returned. America was suffering from the Great Depression and across the country, millions of people were out of work. (Wildman et al. 2015: 22)

> In an ideal world, there would be no poverty, homelessness, or suffering. In real life, however, homelessness is still a major issue. (Dooley 2020b: 44)

> It also means that in families where children have to work during the day, they can attend school in the evening. (Cornford and Watkins 2019: 37)

Whether it is about events from the past, as in the first passage, or contemporary problems, such as experiencing homelessness or child employment, thanks to presuppositions, the situations are presented as causeless "that's how it is/was". Such a presentation severely limits any opportunities for constructive discussion – the phenomena caused by people and their concrete actions are naturalized as part of the reality we can come to terms with, but changing it is beyond our imagination.

Another feature of the texts is their high degree of generality. In 82% of the texts, poverty is described without details, and generality is often achieved through nominalization (see below) and depersonalization. People living in poverty are commonly depersonalized through aggregation when presented as an unspecified number ("So many children around the world are starving or treated badly", McBeth et. al. 2022: 92). Depersonalization is also achieved through genericization i.e., presenting people as a mass of indistinguishable individuals who have only one feature (e.g., homeless people/the homeless, poor communities). In some cases, it is impossible to see people at all, as a place replaces them:

> It’s cheap, simple solution to the problem of water pollution in poor countries around the world. (Rybak et al. 2022: 229)

> Srinivasa Ramanujan [...] came from a poor village where he received little to no formal education at all. (Borkowska et al. 2022: 166)

Referring to a place, as in the last examples, makes it possible only to mention the problem, but the concrete people experiencing poverty are invisible. Characters who appear in these few texts where poverty is described in a more detailed way and a reader can find out real experiences of real people, either live in the Global South, or belong to history. For example, one of the most poignant descriptions of poverty and hunger found in the textbooks comes from 19th-century Dicken’s novel, *Oliver Twist* (Borkowska et al. 2022: 80-81). Referring to a topic as being limited to certain geographical areas or past times makes it easier to distance from it and not treat it as a matter of importance here and now.

3.2. Grammatical level

One of the most frequently repeated features of selected texts at the grammatical level is the use of nominalization in the form of phrases such as *poverty, famine, hunger, starvation, homelessness, and hardship*. The use of nominalizations allows only a general reference to the problem, as the issue remains in the sphere of an abstract noun with no connection with its real symptoms, as one can see below:

> This organisation operates in 190 countries to save and protect children’s lives and help them fulfill their potential. [...] Its aim is to reduce child mortality and poverty. [...] This is a worldwide organisation that is trying to tackle all acts of discrimination and the inequality that leads to poverty. (Rybak et al. 2022: 269)

As mentioned, poverty is usually presented as a causeless phenomenon. Even if there are references to this problem's roots, they are nominalized and framed as *unemployment, economic crisis, global crisis, and environmental issues.*

Another grammatical feature of the texts is the use of the passive voice to describe people, as the following examples illustrate:

> Cotton has been grown in Mali for hundreds of years and the crops have been harvestedby people like Makandiafing Keita for generations. In the past, life on cotton plantationswas difficult and while big profits were being made by major companies, the workers were badly paid and the living conditions were very poor. (Wildman et al. 2015: 70)

> Often […] they're left homeless and helpless in a foreign land. In many cases, their health is badly damaged because of poor nutrition and disease. (Dooley 2020b: 44)

The use of the passive voice contributes to the objectification of people without homes, which is particularly visible in the description of the proposed solutions, as in the text about people experiencing homelessness:

> They're given help applying for jobs, advice about interviews, and even placed on training schemes. They are also provided with instruction in life skills. (Dooley 2020b: 46).

Even if the passive voice is not used, people are often passivated by using structures with an object. The effect is similar as in the case of passive voice – poor people are presented as the objects of somebody else's actions:

> Oxfam is a British charitable organization focused on relieving poverty and hunger around the world. It was founded in Oxford in 1942 with the original aim of helping to feed the starving

> citizens of Greece during the famine there caused by the Axis occupation during World War II. (Dobb et al. 2022: 259)

> […] 1.3 billion tons of the food that is produced in the world every year isn't actually eaten. […] If this mountain of food actually reached consumers, it would feed three billion hungry people. (Rybak et al. 2022: 115)

Describing the thematic level, attention was drawn to the privatization of solutions to the problem of poverty, which was manifested in a small number of texts indicating the responsibility of the state in this respect. In addition, privatization is also conveyed using the inclusive "we" commonly used in the texts, which is most aptly summed up in the quote: "If we all work together, we can make our world a better place for everyone" (Dooley 2020b: 44). Attributing responsibility to the inclusive "we", in fact, blurs the cause and, consequently, also puts the blame on those who are in no way responsible for the described negative phenomena. At the same time, in most texts where an unspecified joint responsibility is implied, low-modality verbs are used:

> […] maybe it could help solve world hunger in developing countries. (Spencer and Cichmińska 2019: 43)

> […] we should take action against companies which employ children. (Rosińska and Edwards 2019: 9)

> Tonight's documentary […] will also analyse how a massive distribution of wealth might enable the reversal of the social injustice we are seeing today. (Rosińska et al. 2022: 215)

Using such verbs instead of those indicating high modality (e.g. *have to* / *must*) does not imply the problem's urgency or seriousness but rather its relative insignificance.

3.3. Lexical level

A characteristic feature at the lexical level is the use of euphemisms that refer to the problem of poverty but in a much milder and more indirect way. In such cases, for example, a phrase replacing *hunger* is *food shortages*, and people affected by poverty are described with the use of soothing, general expressions, e.g., *low-income people*, *people in need, underprivileged groups* or *vulnerable people*. These phrases are most often used in the context of the activities of charitable initiatives, which makes readers suppose that they are referring to poor people. A similarly veiled way of description can be found in the following examples:

> […] people in developing countries who are struggling to improve their lives. (Bowie et al. 2019: 99)

> Smithfield has always had a strong desire to make sports available to children of every age and social demographic. (Evans and Dooley 2020: 115)

In one text we can read about "families whose incomes put them below the breadline" and "politicians who need to try to balance the books" (Rosińska et. al. 2022: 215), so both framing problem and solution are mitigated by specific lexical choices.

Describing the methods of depersonalization, it was pointed out that in some texts, people are replaced with references to a place. In addition, even these references are mitigated by using euphemisms when places are described in the following way:

> Fatema lives in a village in a rural part of Bangladesh. It's an underserved area, and it was largely cut off from the modern world. (Rybak et al. 2022: 274)

> 14-year-old Joshua was born on a council estate. Like many of his peers, Joshua experienced hard times and misfortune in his early life. (Wildman et al. 2015: 56)

> […] we bring sports close to home in disadvantaged communities. (Falla and Davies 2020: 21)

> A group of kids from a historically underprivileged neighbourhood in the American Midwest. (Brayshaw et al. 2020: 41)

In all the examples cited, we are dealing with suggestions open to interpretations of the problem, but poverty is quite effectively erased. For example, the phrase *a historically underprivileged neighborhood* can have many meanings and only the context suggests that one of the features of the neighborhood is poverty.

3.4. Compositional level

The compositional level refers to the structure of the whole text and a recurring pattern, identified in 63% of texts, is their division into two parts: the first presents the causes and/or symptoms of poverty and the other one is focused on the solutions, which is well illustrated in the fragment below concerning the project of one of the organizations:

> The World Bank defines extreme poverty as living on less than \$1.90 a day, but it's not just about money; people living in extreme poverty also lack safe homes, clean drinking water, enough food, access to healthcare or education, and they often work in dangerous conditions. The Borgen Project is a non-governmental organization with one mission: to end extreme poverty. […] The Borgen Project now has volunteers working in over 900 US cities and in many other places around the world. The aim of the organization is to spread the word about extreme poverty. […] Extreme poverty is still a major issue in our modern world, but the good news is - thanks to campaigning by organisations like the Borgen Project – the situation is improving. (Dooley 2020a: 70)

Very often, a word or phrase that signals the possibility of a happy outcome (*fortunately, the good news is, let's hope*) is used either to separate the two parts or, as in the text quoted above, underline the accessibility of a solution. Such structure, supported by particular, uplifting expressions, contributes to creating the optimistic tone of the message conveyed. The text below serves as a good example of a textbook approach – optimistic and carefree, but detached from the realities of many people's lives, also by suggesting that serious problems (lack of freedom, control of the rich over everything, environmental disaster) belong to fictional dystopias:

> In 1516, Sir Thomas More wrote his famous book about a perfect society, which he called Utopia. A utopian society is very progressive and has very little crime, violence or poverty. A dystopian society is basically the opposite of that. These societies have governments that use cruelty and fear to totally control their populations. Police or other government agents constantly watch people to make sure they are behaving properly and use violence or imprisonment if they are not. Ordinary citizens have little or no freedom as the rich and powerful control everything and get all the economic benefits. As well as terrible inequality, these societies usually have very serious environmental issues. Fortunately, at the present, dystopian societies exist only in fiction as writers and filmmakers create them to warn us about possible dangers in the future, if positive changes do not happen. (Dobb et al. 2022: 261)

4. Discussion and conclusions

The analysis of the texts showed clear tendencies regarding the presentation of the problem of poverty. First, most texts refer to possible solutions, which seem to be at hand, accessible and available thanks to individual people or charities. Second, systemic solutions related to state activity are either effectively removed from view or described as possible additional support that governments can be encouraged to do, without being the driving force in the process of preventing or combating poverty. Third, the texts suggest individual responsibility through a thematic concentration on these issues and the frequent use of appropriate grammatical structures with an inclusive "we".

Moreover, poverty and its associated problems are usually described with presuppositions and with a high degree of generality, without referring to specific people – their voices, experiences, features, and identity components. In many texts, people are either portrayed as an indistinguishable mass by reference to place, or they are completely erased. Problems are presented in the form of nominalization, which allows them to be referenced in an impersonal and causeless way, depriving them of the human dimension. A similar function is performed using passive voice, objectifying people and excluding their agency, needs, and feelings. Moreover, euphemisms used in the texts and their structure create an optimistic message whose inseparable final accent is a reference to solutions. All the strategies described above perform similar functions, allowing for *polishing* problems - showing them in an optimistic, light version that does not require reflection on the systemic causes of poverty and making it possible to trivialize complex, serious issues by offering simple solutions.

By avoiding individual stories, detaching problems from the broader socio-political background, presenting them in general, and anonymizing people, textbooks fit into the neoliberal story of equal opportunities for every human being, ignoring multiple identity components such as gender, origin, or health status. The polishing of poverty is also related to the broader issue of social class erasure (Block 2015, Grady 1997). As Gray and Block claimed, in the textbook world, where everybody belongs to the middle class, there is no room for showing systemic class differentiation because it would contradict "the neoliberal mantra […] which allows poverty to be explained by individual ficklessness or lack of aspiration" (2014: 68). Class erasure is an element that fits into the zero-drag approach – the individual is freed from all constraints, whether class or otherwise. Textbook characters confirm this approach being devoid of the complicated ballast associated with belonging to a different class and the consequent limitations. This way, textbooks can easily promote individualism, combined with a belief in success as a simple sum of willingness, determination, and hard work (Pogorzelska 2023).

The textbook message reproduces the ubiquitous neoliberal tale about individual responsibility for the causes and solutions to the problem. At the same time, with the plethora of proposed solutions being the responsibility of either private individuals or charities, there is no mention of the responsibility of states, governments, or large corporations. Presenting a different perspective would inevitably lead to conclusions that would threaten the foundations of the ideology, but this is precisely what contemporary schools need. It is not an easy task, but the first step is to be able to critically deconstruct the textbook contents that we often perceive as neutral and free of any ideology.

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Emotions experienced by FL learners in a post-COVID classroom

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Abstract

The process of returning to face-to-face education was not easy and more often than not accompanied by mixed feelings, from joy to fear and uncertainty (Witkowski et.al. 2021). The aim of this paper was to examine students' emotions associated with FL learning in a post-COVID classroom. The sample in question constituted 103 secondary school students from the Silesian Voivodship in Poland, who had spent almost three semesters at home on distance learning, and, at the time of completing the questionnaire in September 2022, were entering the first school year of study without any COVID-19 restrictions. The emotions studied were related to the classroom environment, namely, the lesson organization, teaching materials, the person of the teacher and peers, to name a few. The findings show that a large majority are in favour of face-to-face learning and appreciate a direct language contact that is available in a real classroom setting. The data collected allowed for formulating suggestions on how to improve the post-COVID classroom learning to meet students' expectations and deal with habits transferred from remote education.

Keywords

emotions, FL learning, FL learners and teachers, post-COVID classroom

Emocje doświadczane przez osoby uczące się języka obcego w klasie postcovidowej

Abstrakt

Powrót do nauki stacjonarnej był procesem trudnym i nierzadko towarzyszyły mu mieszane uczucia, od radości po strach i niepewność (Witkowski i in., 2021). Celem niniejszego artykułu było zbadanie emocji uczniów w stosunku do nauki języka angielskiego w klasie szkolnej po okresie pandemii. Badania objęły grupę 103 uczniów szkół ponadpodstawowych z województwa śląskiego w Polsce, którzy prawie trzy semestry spędzili w domu uczestnicząc w nauce zdalnej, a w momencie wypełniania ankiety, we wrześniu 2022r., rozpoczęli pierwszy rok szkolny bez jakichkolwiek ograniczeń związanych z COVID-19. Badane emocje dotyczyły środowiska klasy szkolnej, począwszy od sposobu organizacji lekcji i materiałów dydaktycznych po osobę nauczyciela i relacje między rówieśnikami w danym oddziale edukacyjnym. Wyniki pokazują, że zdecydowana większość ankietowanych opowiada się za nauką stacjonarną i ceni sobie bezpośredni kontakt z językiem, który jest możliwy tylko i wyłącznie podczas zajęć kontaktowych. Zgromadzone dane pozwoliły na sformułowanie wskazówek dotyczących poprawy warunków do nauki w klasie postcovidowej, aby sprostać oczekiwaniom uczniów i poradzić sobie z nawykami przeniesionymi do sali lekcyjnej ze środowiska nauki zdalnej.

Słowa kluczowe

emocje, nauka języka obcego, uczniowie i nauczyciele, klasa postcovidowa

1. Introduction to emotions

In trying to find a consensus on the definition of emotion, (Kleinginna and Kleinginna 1981) stated that emotion should say something about the way we feel when we are emotional; mention the physiological, or bodily, basis of emotional feelings; include the effects of emotion on perception, thinking, and behaviour; point out the driving or motivational properties of certain emotions such as fear and anger; and refer to the ways in which emotions are expressed in language, facial expressions, and gestures. Following Op ‘t Eynde and Turner (2007), emotions have at least three characteristics:

1. An emotion is an affective reaction which can be determined and described relatively precisely (for example, enjoyment, anger, pride, sadness); and can be attributed to a cause or an incident, (for example a student's enjoyment in learning or a teacher's anger about students' misbehaviour).
2. The experience of an emotion is related to situations which are of importance for an individual. If a situation, an event, or a context is significant for us or if we are touched by something, emotions are likely to be evoked. Learners will experience joy, frustration, anxiety, pride, or satisfaction if the learning topic or the learning process is relevant to them.
3. As soon as an emotion is experienced, it becomes the centre of the awareness of a person, also leading to an increased self-awareness.

2. Emotion characteristics

Emotions can be described by means of eight indicators (Pekrun 1992, Hascher 2007):

(1) the valence of an emotion,
(2) the arousal level,
(3) its intensity,
(4) duration,
(5) the frequency of its occurrence,
(6) the time dimension,
(7) the point of reference,
(8) and finally, the context of an emotion.

How emotions go together from a psychological point of view has been interestingly pictured in the circular model of affect by Yik (in Szorc 2012).

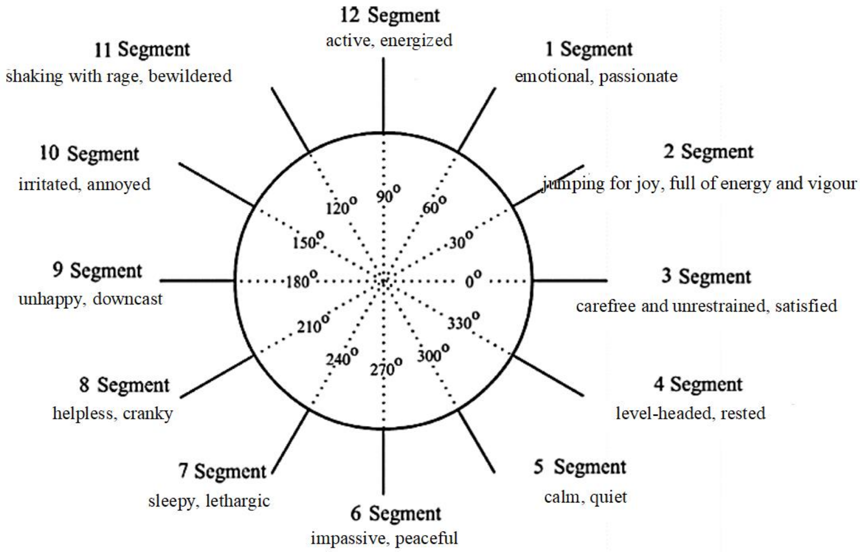

Figure 1
Yik's circular model of affect (adapted from Sztorc 2012)

Based on Szorc (2012), the model places emotions in such a way that the closer they are to each other, the stronger the relationship between them. Emotions at opposite ends of the circle are opposite to each other. More specifically, the circle consists of twelve segments, each of them placed on a clock face, with the following parameters: 3 – pleasure, 9 – dissatisfaction, 12 – activation, 6 – deactivation. On the basis of this circular affect, emotional states can be classified according to two basic parameters:

- the extent of emotion, i.e. the level of activation of emotions (deactivation or activation),

– the hedonic tone of the emotions, i.e. the valence of the emotion (positive or negative).

For learners, Arnold's (2009: 146) emotions include feelings about themselves, the classroom environment, about their teachers, about other students, about using English in class, about the teachers' command of English, about the instructional methods, and about the teaching resources the teacher makes use of, such as textbooks or the Internet.

2.1. Emotion types

Positive emotions "serve to enhance the ability to be aware of and notice things in the environment and in the case of language learning, enhancing awareness of language input". Other researchers (e.g. Dewaele et al. 2017, Fredrickson and Losada 2005) argue that positive emotions encourage curiosity, risk-taking, experimenting, willingness to interact and communicate in the new language, and support autonomous learning. They can motivate learners when they lead to feelings of success and achievement and enhance the learner's sense of self-esteem, encouraging them to invest further in learning and to make use of the range of learning opportunities available through the media or the Internet or through opportunities to use their English out of class. For a language learner, positive emotions serve to enhance the ability to be aware of and notice things in the environment and in the case of language learning, enhancing awareness of language input. Generally speaking, lower dropout rates, higher attendance records, increased engagement, deep rather than surface learning, and improved grades have been reported in education to be the result of positive classroom climate. Negative emotions, on the other hand, can demotivate learners due to a sense of frustration and disappointment when learners fail to achieve their goals, losing confidence in their ability to succeed and discouraging them from investing further time and energy in language learning.

2.2. Emotions in the lockdown

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the students were caught up in a carousel of emotions, both positive and negative ones. What prevailed among negative emotions was anxiety about the possibility of catching COVID-19 while traveling between home and school or at the school itself , and, more specifically, the feeling of uneasiness thinking that the teacher or fellow students might see their home settings or hear the voices in their homes (Kaisar and Chowdhury, 2020). Also, being anxious was a reaction to the fear of being disconnected during online classes ,being recorded during the activity, as well as losing control and concentration. Students' anger and/or frustration were found due to not being able to hear or take the entire class because of the failures of the Internet connection. In some cases, the students responded with annoyance to time-management problems, both the in-class ones like multitasking and fast pace of work caused by the teacher's lack of organization, and through their own thought such as getting a late start. Yet another concern was voiced by students because of not being able to understand teacher's instructions and explanations or express what they wanted to say. Another negative emotion the students experienced was boredom during online classes due to the technical problems related to the lack of a fast Internet connection, as well as repetitiveness, monotony and predictability of what happened throughout a whole lesson or a specific class. Last but not least, students were dissatisfied with loads of time spent at the computer and its consequences, such as mental fatique or exhaustion (Długosz and Liszka 2021).

2.3. Emotions after the lockdown

From the studies conducted in the second half of May 2021, in line with the school opening, we learn that students return to regular schooling full of fear, stressed and often discouraged. There is no statistical difference between primary and secondary school students when it comes to assessing direct contact with the teacher and with peers in a real classroom environment (Witkowski et.al. 2021). Most responses included:

- fear of being laughed at by their peers,
- fear of being negatively evaluated by teachers,
- fear of being embarrassed,
- concern that others in the class may be more proficient,
- hesitance to perform in front of peers,
- frustration by lack of vocabulary and grammar.

About 30% of young people have positive feelings about coming back to full-time off-site education. They feel joy, happiness and curiosity. To be more specific, the emotions gathered were connected with the following:

- direct contact with teachers and colleagues,
- learning in classrooms instead of in front of the computer,
- leaving house,
- the possibility of using sports equipment and school fields,
- participating in extra-circular activities, such as interest clubs,
- implementation of school projects,
- reducing the amount of work from home,
- using English in a classroom rather than on-line in a chat room,
- performing activities in front of the class,
- taking part in a group based activity rather than individual ones,
- receiving immediate feedback from the teacher or other learners.

Significant differences appear in the assessment of the importance of learning in classrooms. Such a need is more often indicated by primary school students. What has been evaluated positively by secondary schoolers involved the opportunities to leave the house and spend time with classmates during school breaks and after lessons. Differences in these indications may partly explain a more positive attitude of younger students towards returning to school (Witkowski et al. 2021).

3. The current study

The aim of the current study was to investigate emotions accompanying learners in the process of getting accustomed to the "new situation" of stationary learning after the COVID-19 lockdown in secondary schools in Poland. The exact time of the study encompassed September 2022, being the beginning of the first school year without any COVID-19 restrictions since March 2020. As compared with lower-level education (pre-schooling and primary schooling) this level of education was marked by a much longer time of distance instruction, divided into four time spans. The very time-length constituted the first period of school closure from March 25, 2020 to June 28, 2020 (announced by the Ordinance of the Ministry of Education of 20 March 2020), the second phase of closing from 26 October 2020 to 30 May 2021, (announced by the Ministry of Education of 16 October 2020), and the third distance education period initiated on 20 December 2021 to 9 January 2022 (implemented by the Ministry of Education of 16 December) and the fourth one from 27 January 2022 to 27 February 2022 (implemented by the Ministry of Education of 26 January 2020).

The research questions referred to the type of (positive/negative) emotions that students associate with the post-pandemic school in general, the factors that generate most positive and most negative emotions, as well as the scope of school or classroom changes the sample would recommend, and, finally, the mode of education (online/offline) they favour after all.

3.1. The participants

The learners who participated in the study represented 103 secondary school attendees (83 females and 17 males) from the Silesian Voivodeship in Poland, including the cities of Będzin, Bytom, Chorzów, Katowice, Sosnowiec and Tarnowskie Góry. The sample in question constituted third grade students who had spent almost three semesters at home on distance learning. At the time of completing the questionnaires in September 2022, they were entering the first school year of study without any COVID-19 restrictions. The emotions taken into consideration were limited to the context of an English lesson. Each of the research participants declared having 5 hours of English weekly.

3.2. The tool

The tool consisted of a questionnaire which, apart from the background information section, included the main part devoted to an attempt to name students' emotions corresponding to the situation of a stationary re-learning. The measurement consisted of the questionnaire in the shape of a table with six sections to go through. In each, the learners were requested to identify emotions they had towards the classroom environment, the lesson itself, lesson materials, and participants (the person of the teacher, the peers and the learners themselves), in line with Yik's circular model of affect. In addition to that, the informants were asked to indicate one most negative and most positive emotional reaction from those provided, and briefly justify their choice. Below the close-ended questions there was a list of more open questions concerned with learners' suggestions for the present-time (post-pandemic) schooling related to learning English, and their attitude towards online learning in general.

Table 1
The main part of the questionnaire used in the study

CATEGORY	COMPONENT	NEGATIVE EMOTIONS						POSITIVE EMOTIONS					
		U[1]	H	L	F	A	I	S	FE	P	C	LH	AT
Classroom environment	Seating arrangement												
	Equipment												
	Code of conduct												
	Climate												
The lesson	Topics												
	Evaluation												
	Homework												
Materials	Textbook												
	Teacher-made												
	Listening												
	Reading												
	Speaking												
	Writing												
	Vocabulary												
	Grammar												
	Phonology												
The teacher	Use of English												
	Time management												

[1] U = Unhappy, H = Helpless, L = Lethargic, F = Furious, A = Annoyed, I = Impassive, S=Satisfied, FE = Full of Energy, P = Passionate, C = Calm, LH = Level-Headed, AT = Active.

	Conduct management												
	Problem solving												
	Interaction with students												
	Feedback												

Peer students	Attitude												
	Communication												
	Cooperation												
	Support												
	Proficiency in English												

Students themselves	Perceived English proficiency												
	Relative standing among peers												
	Preparation for classes												
	Attitude towards the teacher												
	Attitude towards peers												

3.3. Data presentation and discussion

3.3.1. Classroom environment

As shown in Table 2, the classroom environment evoked more positive than negative feelings among the sample.

Table 2
Classroom environment

COMPONENT	U	H	L	F	A	I	S	FE	P	C	LH	AT
Seating arrangement	47						50			10		
Equipment		41		2			50			10		
Code of conduct	52						51					
Climate	47						50			10		

The seating arrangement, to start with, appears to be a fairly satisfying class component, referred to as such by almost half of the learners. Nearly one tenth of the examined reacted to the current classroom seating with a feeling of calmness. A little less than half of the learners admitted being unhappy about the status quo. When it comes to the class equipment, the situation was very similar because as many as 50 participants felt satisfied with its quality, and 10 learners did not worry about it. Negative feelings expressed by the sample involved helplessness and fury voiced by 41 and 3 learners respectively. As far as the thought of the code of conduct is concerned, students expressed half positive and negative thoughts (being satisfied vs being unhappy about it). Finally, the classroom climate matched the results of the above-mentioned seating arrangement. When asked about the most unfavourable component of the classroom interior, the respondents mentioned the code of conduct most of all. They expect a lot of changes to be done here, starting from using language applications on a daily basis.

3.3.2. The lesson

The lesson itself gave rise to the superiority of negative emotions over positive ones.

Table 3

The lesson

COMPONENT	U	H	L	F	A	I	S	FE	P	C	LH	AT
Topics	40	40					21			2		
Evaluation	61	2					40					
Homework					70		21			12		

This was most noticeable with lesson topics about which 80 respondents were negative (40 voices of unhappiness and 40 of the feeling of helplessness in the teacher's choice of issues to be covered). Positive voices being in the minority corresponded to the feeling of being satisfied with a list of topics (21 learners) and the peace of mind that choosing certain issues brought for 3 respondents. Feelings of unhappiness and helplessness in the number of 61 and 2 successively occurred among the sample regarding evaluation. Those satisfied with the grading system constituted slightly less than half of the questioned learners. The homework assignment made 70 people feel annoyed while 21 and 12 showed contentment and calmness respectively. The biggest loads of bad emotions occurred at the thought of homework. The learners argued their annoyance with cheating and downloading everything from the Internet, the imitative nature of the tasks and discouraging deadlines.

3.3.3. Materials

In the case of class materials it was the textbook that left much to be desired.

Table 4
The materials

COMPONENT	U	H	L	F	A	I	S	FE	P	C	LH	AT
Textbook	14	30		5	14		40					
Teacher-made	1						30		72			
Listening	50						50					3
Reading	50						50					3
Speaking	50						50					3
Writing	50						50					3
Vocabulary	50						50					3
Grammar	50						50					3
Phonology	50						50					3

Grading their negative emotions, the learners most often felt helpless (30 of them), 14 people showed a lack of satisfaction and annoyance whereas 5 participants were furious about the coursebook contents. A completely different picture of the situation emerged with teacher self-made materials. Here, almost three quarters of the sample were passionate about their teachers' extra materials while another 30 learners were happy whenever they were supposed to work on them. Only one person expressed a negative opinion that translated into being unhappy. The situation of half-satisfaction and half-dissatisfaction was observed as regards language skills practised during English classes. Apart from listening, tasks related to reading, speaking and writing were approached by learners with energy. The same full of energy reaction was expressed by the sample responding to the language subsystems. Extreme emotions, as mentioned above, appeared in relation to supplementary materials. The respondents would like to change the frequency of using the textbook in favour of other more interesting files, as well as updating more old-fashioned materials.

3.3.4. The teacher

The person of the teacher evoked positive emotions in the majority of the examined learners.

Table 5

The teacher

COMPONENT	U	H	L	F	A	I	S	FE	P	C	LH	AT
Use of English	3						50			50		
Time management		19		19			50			50		
Conduct management	3						50			50		
Problem solving	60						35			8		
Interaction with students							75	25				3
Feedback							81					22

As far as the teacher's command of English is concerned, almost all learners responded positively (50 of them expressed satisfaction and another 50 voiced calmness), having an advantage over 3 people who claimed being unhappy about it. Time management, maybe not to such an extent, but still generated positive feelings among the sample. 19 learners felt helpless about it and the same number of subjects reacted with fury. Conduct management, on the other hand, was appreciated by most of the respondents except for 3 people who were unhappy about it. Unfortunately, the issue of problem solving seemed to be responsible for an increase in bad emotions. Most learners felt unhappy and a handful were helpless in this matter. Only one third of the participants evaluated the teacher's ways of solving in-class problems in a positive way. What gained best results, though, was the teacher's interaction with students, where all learners declared having good emotions being divided into three quarters of those who were satisfied, almost one quarter of students who come with energy to school because of that, and finally 3 people who are motivated to take part in each English class actively. Almost the same was true of the feedback given to the students. Two thirds of the sample were satisfied with the teacher's guidance and the remaining number of people were more active during English lessons. All in all, most negative feelings appeared with classroom problems and the teacher's ineptitude while dealing with behaviour issues.

3.3.5. Peer students

When asked about their attitudes towards classmates, none of the students responded. Positive reactions were noticed next to the interpersonal communication. Almost half of the respondents expressed satisfaction and the other half emphasized the increased on-task activity. Both admitted spending their breaks actively playing chess, table tennis or mini table football. 3 persons said that they cannot wait for the lesson breaks.

Table 6

Peer students

COMPONENT	U	H	L	F	A	I	S	FE	P	C	LH	AT
Attitude												
Communication							50	3				50
Cooperation							50	3				50
Support							50	3				50
Proficiency in English												

The cooperation and support they receive from their classmates caused the same exact positive reactions. The last category, that is English proficiency, was in fact left unanswered. Instead of the emotion chosen, the learners left a note that it was difficult for them to judge.

3.3.6. Students themselves

The students in their self-assessment were more decisive and performed slightly better as compared to previous classmate evaluation.

Table 7

Students themselves

COMPO-NENT	U	H	L	F	A	I	S	FE	P	C	LH	AT
Perceived English proficiency	65	15					20					
Relative standing among peers	65	15					20					
Preparation for classes	30						65	8				
Attitude towards the teacher					13			15				75
Attitude towards peers					10	10		3	80			

The majority of the examined seemed dissatisfied with their command of English (65 people altogether). 15 learners even showed helplessness about it and just as many as 20 students seemed happy about their English. The same was true with learners' position among peers. What they perceived more positively was the person of the teacher. 75 of the subjects were active during English classes, 15 learners admitted that they were bursting with energy in the classroom being motivated by the teacher, and just 13 students felt furious about the teacher. This emotion of fury was recognized among one tenth of the respondents, equaling the number of people being indifferent (impassive). Most of the respondents (80) reacted with great energy to meeting their peers at school. Another 3 people felt satisfaction at the thought of meeting their peers. Negative emotions were divided between those angry about it (10 people) and indifferent towards their classmates (another 10 people). All things considered, most positive feelings were brought by peer presence and direct contact.

3.3.7. Online vs offline mode of learning

As regards modes of learning, the majority (nearly 90) of the learners in question would like to remain permanently in the off-site form of education, though under multiple conditions. First, they would introduce some of their "online habits" into the teacher's classroom practicum. These include:

1. Speaking exercises should be performed in front of the screen within chatrooms to lower language barriers and inhibitions.
2. Homework assignments should be sent to teacher's via e-mails, as it was previously the case during the COVID-19 lockdown, to save time for discussions and feedback during lessons.

Secondly, the teacher should implement a greater selectivity of materials to reduce the number of boring exercises, such as reading and listening textbook activities, worked on during a single lesson.

Those students against a traditional English lesson, on the other hand, complained about the predictability of lessons that often translated into discouragement and boredom among them.

4. Conclusions

As seen from the results of the study, the learners under investigation are very much into offline studying. Their emotions differ as to the classroom environment component and participant, and can be named in line with the Yik's circular model of affect. The classroom-related surroundings have been assessed in a two-fold way, reflecting students' satisfaction and dissatisfaction. What learners criticize largely includes the code of conduct rules, voice their objections, probably due to the homeschooling habits, such as laziness and poorer engagement into the lesson. When it comes to the lesson organization, it gave rise to feelings of satisfaction and unhappiness, the latter being mostly related to homework assignment. Also, the issue of home study was a cause of annoyance among the sample. The immediate reason for the very situation might be little homework assigned or having more time for completing it. In the materials section, students were notorious for criticizing coursebook and expressing unhappiness. Their expectations concerned teacher's greater care while choosing task types. The teacher as such evoked a multitude of emotions, most visible being feelings of unhappiness as far as dealing with classroom problems was concerned, and satisfaction with receiving teacher's feedback. The former situation could be accounted for a completely different (easier?) classroom management at the time of the pandemic, the latter being the reason why learners were so willing to participate in English classes. Peer students gathered only positive emotions divided between the feeling of being satisfied with communication, collaboration and support, as well as being active in school life, concerning both lessons and break time. The students themselves were very negative in their self-evaluation of English proficiency and position among peers presumably because of their low self-esteem and the like. They reacted with energy and passion at the thought of teamwork and peer integration at school. All the emotions displayed hereby correspond with learners' reactions to traditional learning. Their optimism about future offline studying has taken over minor unfavourable opinions on real classrooms. The activities that do not match their English proficiency level, their repetitive character, as well as teacher routines and predictability of proposed forms of work have their justification in the literature (cf. Kruk and Zawodniak 2017). It is very often the case that students face boredom related to the lesson monotony, however, this tedious repetition is also or above all the characteristic of online learning (Kruk 2020).

5. Further studies

One of the directions of the future research might be around students' emotions relative to time. It would be of interest to check the attractiveness of traditional learning among the youth in the future. Another option is to compare the outcomes of this study based on secondary schoolers with different groups of students, such as young learners and adult language users. Last but not least, an interesting line of inquiry would concern teachers, particularly, teacher emotions and teacher awareness of students' feelings expressed as a result of the post-Covid classroom learning.

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Speech and language therapy in pandemic distance learning

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Abstract

The aim of the study was to diagnose, during the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020, Polish speech, and language therapists on the topic of online therapy. The results were collected from 191 speech therapists on several key topics: speech therapy activity, tools used, interest in thematic training, contact with multilingualism of children and place and conditions of working remotely. The author used questionnaires as well as conducting interviews to collect the data. The analyses show that most of those interviewed used online therapy during the pandemic. Most of them were under 30 years of age and used Messenger. The respondents active online were mostly employed in state education. The respondents did not report much supervision of the therapy. Most would be happy to have training in the use of new technologies for distance work. There has been little contact with multilingual children in online speech and language therapy. Most respondents are reluctant to continue online therapy after the pandemic. Further research should be undertaken to diagnose these new working realities and the attitudes of speech and language therapists to these changes.

Keywords

speech therapists, online SLT, pandemic COVID-19

Terapia logopedyczna online podczas pandemii

Abstrakt

Celem artykułu była diagnoza polskich logopedów na temat terapii online podczas pierwszej fali pandemii COVID-19 w marcu 2020 roku. Zebrano wyniki od 191 logopedów na kilka kluczowych tematów: aktywność logopedyczna, wykorzystywane narzędzia, zainteresowanie szkoleniami tematycznymi, kontakt z dziećmi wielojęzycznymi oraz miejsce i warunki pracy zdalnej. Autorka wykorzystała do zebrania danych zarówno kwestionariusze, jak i wywiady. Analizy pokazują, że większość respondentów prowadziła terapię online w czasie pandemii. Większość z nich miała mniej niż 30 lat i posługiwała się aplikacją Messenger. Respondenci, którzy byli aktywni online, byli w większości zatrudnieni w edukacji państwowej i nie zgłaszali dużego nadzoru nad terapią. Większość byłaby zadowolona ze szkolenia w zakresie korzystania z nowych technologii do pracy na odległość. W terapii mowy i języka online kontakt z dziećmi wielojęzycznymi był niewielki. Większość respondentów była niechętna kontynuowaniu terapii online po pandemii. Należy podjąć dalsze badania w celu zdiagnozowania tych nowych realiów pracy i postaw terapeutów mowy i języka wobec tych zmian.

Słowa kluczowe

logopedzi, terapia logopedyczna online, pandemia Covid-19

1. Introduction

Logopedics (SLT "speech and language therapy") has existed in the social awareness for many years. It is difficult to pinpoint the date of the beginning of the practice of speech therapy in Poland, but considering the available data it is a distant vision, dating back to the beginning of the 19th century (Kierzek 2015: 74). Some of the first efforts to improve human speech were made by doctors and surdopedagogists (including Jan Siestrzyński, Władysław Ołtuszewski), and in time they were joined by linguists: Tytus Benni, Józef Tadeusz Kania, Irena Styczek, Leon Kaczmarek, and others. From today's perspective and considering the ongoing discussions in the speech therapy community, this kind of therapy in our country, initiated years ago, has still not reached "a state to meet the social needs and capabilities of specialists" (Ostapiuk et al. 2018: 371). In 2013, only about 3,000 speech therapists authorized to practice this profession were employed in various types of educational institutions, and the situation has not significantly improved in subsequent years (Netques 2020, Pelletier 2020).

The second half of the twentieth century brought a division in speech therapy into so-called professional specialties (surdologopedist, balbutologopedist etc.), the status of which is still not clearly defined (Tarkowski 2016, Pluta-Wojciechowska and Sambor 2017). A separate problem is the difficulty to justify the separation of two different professions in the base of the classification of professions and specialties: speech therapist and speech teacher. The lack of elaboration of arrangements on this issue, as well as on the recognition of speech therapy as an independent field of science, raises objections from many people involved in the education of speech therapists in Poland (Klasyfikacja 2020, Rocławski 2004: 365, Tarkowski 2018: 399).

Against the backdrop of these domestic issues in the speech therapy community, it is important to note the international issues that speech therapists learn about when making contacts at foreign conferences or seeking information - for example, on the websites of such organizations as CPLOL/ESLA, ASHA, IALP. The fact is that there is great variation between countries in the forms of child speech evaluation. In Germany, speech therapists are not employed in public schools and kindergartens, but only in the medical service sector, reimbursed by the Health Insurance Fund. In the multilingual Netherlands, speech therapy diagnosis of children is performed by a team of specialists at Audiology Centers/Clinics, while in the UK it is performed by a pediatrician or a so-called Health Visitor at the school. In the US, on the other hand, speech therapists work both in health care facilities and in educational institutions. At international meetings of speech therapists, however, a broad, inclusive approach to the speech therapy profession prevails. The interdisciplinary dimension of diagnosis and therapy, reliability in assessing the effectiveness of speech therapy interaction, and adherence to ethical standards of treatment at every stage of the profession are emphasized (Scope of Practice 2016). A speech therapist is a socially conscious specialist in verbal and non-verbal communication, speech disorders, voice, spoken and written forms of language in children, adolescents, and adults. In the era of changes that are taking place in the ways of communicating in the world with the development of new digital technologies, this is a profession subject to strong social pressure to face new challenges. It is becoming increasingly important in this profession to develop key competencies of the 21st century, such as the ability to learn quickly, use the project method, employ/learn various forms of entrepreneurship, communication, foreign language skills and the efficient use of ICT (Kołodziejczyk et al. 2011). The last skill mentioned here can be in the form of tele practice (which is a form of tele medicine), distance learning (at-home schooling, e-learning, b-learning (blended learning), online therapy (Rudnicka et al. 2018: 64, Ptaszek et al. 2020, Kurulishvili 2015, Chomczyński 2015, Domagała-Zyśk 2020, Jatkowska 2019, CPLOL Covid 19 Statement).

The outbreak of the global COVID-19 virus pandemic announced by the WHO in March 2020 has put many professional groups in a position of having to adapt to new conditions and sanitary requirements. Some lost their jobs, while others quickly found their way into the new reality. Speech therapists, as a professional group that bases its activities on a stationary face-to-face relationship (so-called face2face) with other human beings, found themselves in a difficult position, and it might seem that they failed to face the first March wave of the pandemic.

Such a preliminary diagnosis may be supported by the survey already cited here, conducted in 2010-2013 in 27 EU countries by CPLOL, entitled "The Netques project", which identified ten general competencies that are the least important in a speech therapist's work. Respondents (academics, speech therapy graduates and employers) listed the use of e-learning applications and the ability to adapt to new information technologies, among others, in addition to activities such as writing scientific papers in foreign languages and conducting research projects (Netques Project Report).

Speech therapy organizations have responded to the pandemic by issuing recommendations and guidance in the form of general guidelines (e.g. PZL, CPLOL/ESLA) or by providing detailed, updated information and articles on their websites free of charge, referring to the latest global research (e.g. ASHA). Also noteworthy are the Polish statistics collected by LIBRUS (Nauczanie zdalne 2020), which clearly show that the first wave of the pandemic was a very heavy burden for parents. As many as one-third of those surveyed had problems with equipment, while 26% of parents in the IV-VI grade group spent a minimum of five hours a day studying with their children.

According to Ptaszek and colleagues (2020) critical analysis of the pandemic led to a set of conclusions and recommendations for teachers. Among them, at the forefront was the demand to explore the methodology of remote education, the principles of assessment with digital tools, the development of creativity in the use of open educational resources and original authoring materials. Attention was also paid to student well-being, to so-called digital hygiene, offline time, and individual learning styles.

An interesting thread taken up in analyses of therapists' working methods is the comparison of inpatient (traditional) therapy with remote counseling (Jatkowska 2019, Rudnicka et al. 2018). These comparisons are no longer aimed at demonstrating the superiority of any of the working methods, but at highlighting the importance of including online therapy in the basic repertoire of therapists' working methods. As therapists in the field of psychology noted in their research, "this form of public health activity has great potential to bridge the gap between the needs of service recipients and the limited capacity and resources for conventional treatment" (Rudnicka et al. 2018). At the same time, it is a therapy that poses different challenges to its participants than its traditional, inpatient form. In turn, the combination of inpatient meetings and online therapy can prevent the undesirable effects of not having direct contact with patients when they develop, for example, a decline in motivation to continue working. Certainly, care should be taken to regulate the conduct of online activities and to raise awareness of the risks that are associated with the nature of online communication. Attention should be paid to these issues not only by psychologists or speech therapists, but by all users of new media who undertake any online activity. One can agree with the thesis that distance speech therapy does not exclude the ethical and professional conduct of such activity, but without the development of good practices in this regard it will continue to be a procedure based only on proposals of standards and not on their actual legal legitimacy (Latocha and Małachowska 2020).

The aim of the article is to diagnose, during the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020, Polish speech, and language therapists on the topic of online therapy.

2. Self-study among speech therapists based on questionnaires and interviews

To diagnose the reaction of Polish speech therapists to the pandemic-enforced changes in their work, a study was conducted using a diagnostic survey method. For this purpose, an original questionnaire was used, and then placed in a Google form, which can be categorized as CAWI (Computer Assisted Web Interviews) techniques (Badania Cawi 2020). The solution adopted allowed respondents to complete the survey at a convenient time (which in a pandemic situation is a great asset) and provided a sense of anonymity. The form was made available from 27.04.2020 to 18.06.2020, thanks to, among other things, the involvement of the staff of the psychological-educational clinic and was posted on several popular online forums. Respondents' participation in the survey was voluntary. We received 191 responses from an age-diverse group of speech therapists living in Poland and one response from a parent without speech therapy training, which we decided to omit from further statistical analysis. Many respondents (188) were mainly between the ages of 20 and 60. Only three were over the age of 60. The group of respondents consisted of 189 women and 2 men. The vast majority in the surveyed group of speech therapists were postgraduates (121 people). A much smaller group consisted of graduates of 5-year studies (33) and undergraduate studies (15). Outside of this compilation were those who graduated with a speech therapy specialty in Polish philology or declared a wide variety of forms of education acquired, which were difficult to put into a statistical framework. Socio-demographic data, i.e. the respondents' place of residence and their age, are shown in Table 1.

The speech therapy specializations of respondents declared in the survey varied widely, with a clear predominance of single-specialty general speech therapists (89) and neurologists (46). In addition, a combination of general speech therapy and neurology was quite often declared as a specialty (14). The least frequently indicated single specialties were educational speech therapist, school speech therapist and surdologopedist.

Table 1
Age of respondents and their place of residence (source: own study)

Place of residence	Age				
	20-30 (N=48)	30-40 (N=51)	40-50 (N=65)	50-60 (N=24)	Over 60 (N=3)
Rural areas (N=36)	8	8	10	9	0
City of up to 50,000 inhabitants (N=42)	7	16	15	4	0
City of 50,000-150,000 inhabitants (N=36)	5	8	18	4	1
City of 150,000-500,000 inhabitants (N=25)	13	5	3	3	1
City with more than 500,000 inhabitants (N= 53)	15	14	19	4	1

In addition, individual directed interviews were conducted with six female speech therapy graduates from Gdańsk, who represented all the age ranges included in the survey (23-65 years old). The selection of people for these interviews was purposive, which could certainly have influenced their conduct and the information obtained. Participation in the interview was voluntary. The interviews took place via instant messaging or phone calls. The qualitative data collected in this way was confronted at the summary stage with the quantitative data collected from the questionnaires.

2.1. Analysis of the collected results

The quantitative data presented in the form of statistical analyses described later in the article address such issues as:

(1) conducting online therapy during the pandemic (speech therapists active and inactive online);
(2) conducting online therapy before and after a pandemic;
(3) tools, platforms, apps, and aids for online therapy;
(4) training needs on the use of new technologies in speech therapy;
(5) scope of online assistance for multilingual children;
(6) online therapy venue and content supervision.

The analysis of the above issues was carried out by dividing them into five age groups (20-30 years, 30-40 years, 40-50 years, 50-60 years and over 60 years). Sometimes, for the clarity of the argument, the above age groups were combined into two: 20-40 years and over 40 years. In such a dichotomous division, the place of residence and the respondent's remote work in specific employment were considered.

The first question (*Did you conduct online speech therapy during the pandemic?*) was answered in the affirmative by 138 speech therapists (72%). The remaining respondents declared that they did not conduct online speech therapy during the pandemic (38%). These data are shown in Figure 1. The distribution of these data in relation to the age group of the respondent is shown in Figure 2. The breakdown shows that the activity of online speech therapists during the pandemic was highest in the 40-50 and 20-30 age groups. Among the most frequently cited reasons for not taking up online therapy were lack of interest in therapy on the part of the patient, the speech therapist's lack of faith in conducting online therapy, and lack of preparation for this form of therapy.

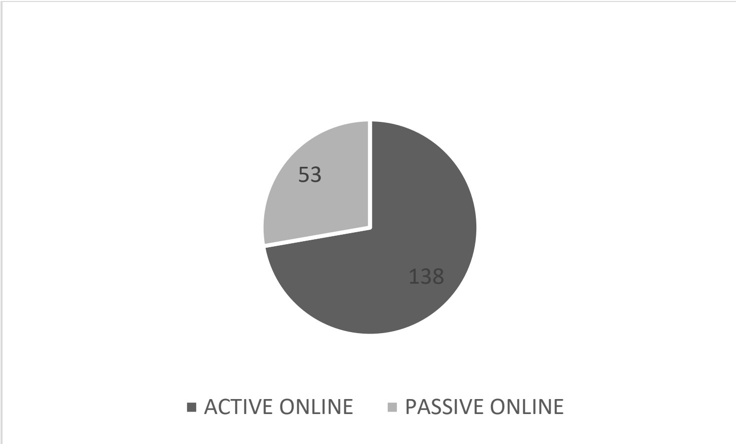

Figure 1
Online activity of respondents during the pandemic
(source: own study)

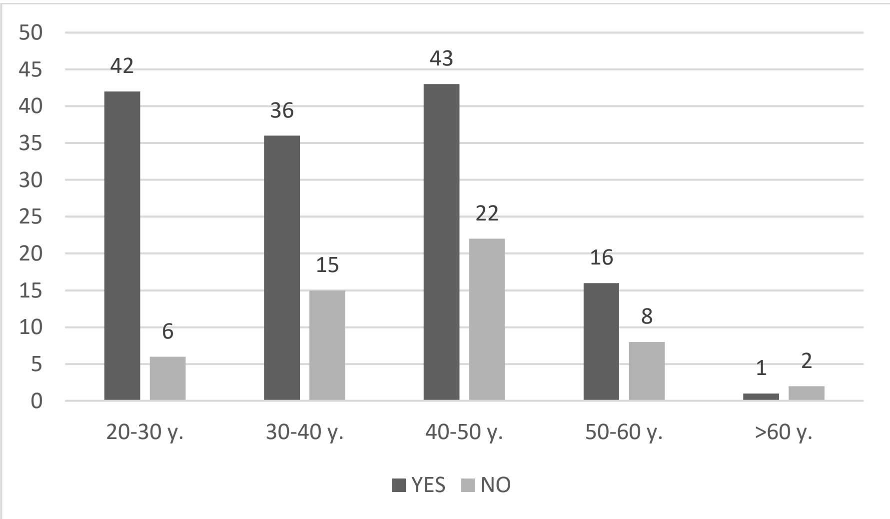

Figure 2
Age of respondent vs. provision of speech therapy during pandemic
(source: own study)

Table 2 shows the figures relating to those active and inactive online during the pandemic against each age group. In the youngest group, as many as 88% of speech therapists were engaged in online therapy. In the 30-40 age group, engaged speech therapists accounted for 71% of the group, in the 50-60 age bracket engagement was 67%, while in the 40-50 age group it was as high as 66%. The lowest engagement of 33% was recorded in the group of the oldest speech therapists over 60, but it is worth noting that this is the group represented by the smallest number of respondents. The percentages presented here show a noticeable decrease in the number of active online speech therapists during the pandemic as their age increases (see Figure 3).

Table 2

Comparison of speech therapists' activities from different age groups during the pandemic (source: own elaboration)

Age group	Number of speech therapists active online	Percentage calculated relative to the number of respondents in the stated age range	Number of speech therapists not active online	Percentage calculated relative to the number of respondents in the stated age range
20-30 years (N=48)	42	88	6	12
30-40 years (N=51)	36	71	15	29
40-50 years (N=65)	43	66	22	34
50-60 years (N=24)	16	67	8	33
Over 60 years (N=3)	1	33	2	67

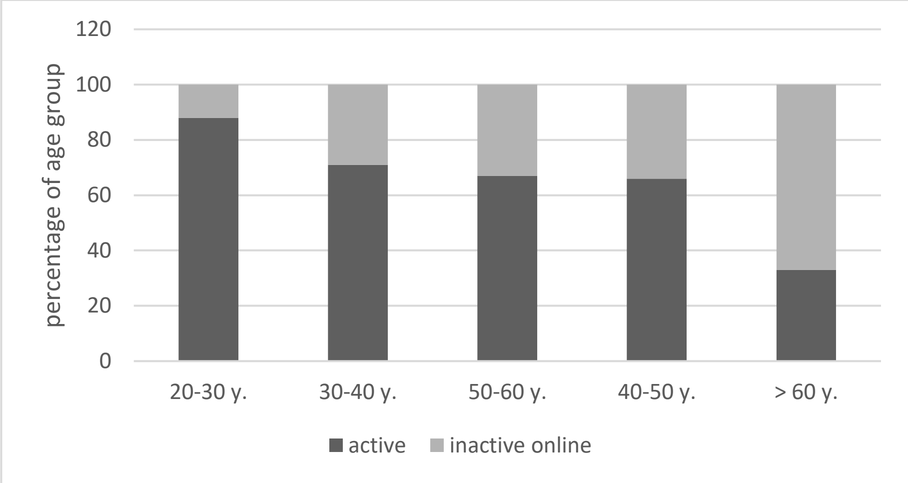

Figure 3
Percentage comparison of speech therapists' activities from different age groups (source: own elaboration)

The responses to the second question (*Would you be interested in providing speech therapy online once the pandemic is over?*) provide interesting data that lead to the observation that 51% of speech therapists in the online inactive group during the pandemic and 64% of speech therapists in the online active group during the pandemic gave answers of "rather not" and "definitely not" – which can be interpreted as a lack of enthusiasm to conduct online therapy.

In comparison, positive answers to the same question "rather yes" and "definitely yes" were given by 26% of speech therapists in the inactive group online during the pandemic and 23% of speech therapists in the active group.

Thus, it can be concluded that many speech therapists participating in the survey did not express a desire to teach online classes after the pandemic. To this observation, it is worth adding that 15% of the total number of speech therapists participating in the survey chose the answer: "I have no opinion". Figures 4 and 5 show the number of individual responses to the second question in the groups of speech therapists active and inactive during the pandemic.

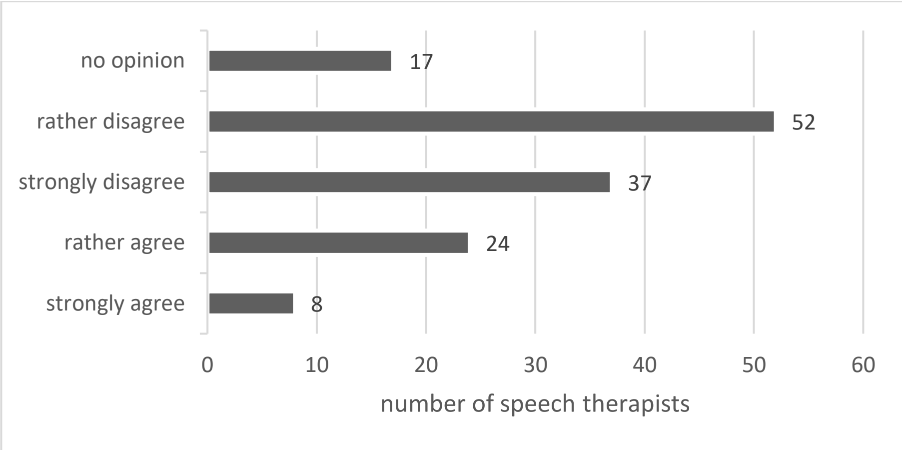

Figure 4

Logopedists *active* online vs. response to the second question: would you be interested in providing speech therapy online once the pandemic has passed? (source: own elaboration)

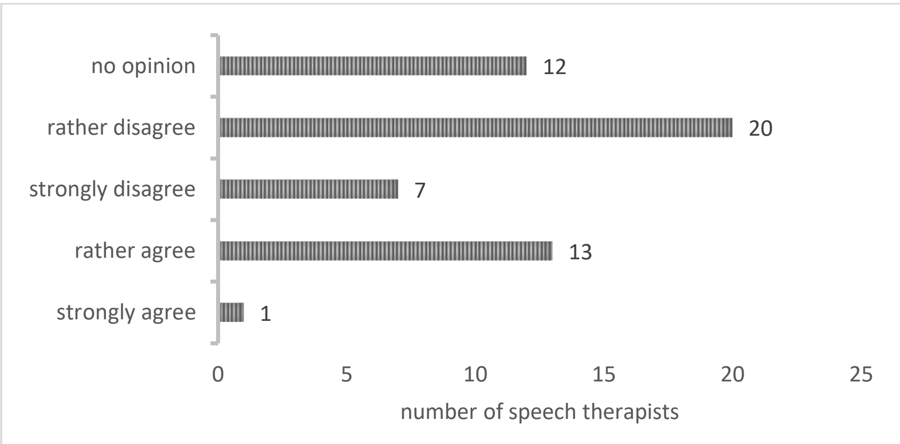

Figure 5

Logopedics *inactive* online vs. response to the second question: would you be interested in providing speech therapy online once the pandemic has passed? (source: own study)

For the sake of clarity of argument, the five age groups have been combined here in the analysis into two ranges: 20-40 years and over 40 years (see Table 3).

Table 3

Distribution of numbers of the youngest group of respondents (20-40 years old) according to place of residence (source: own summary)

The youngest group of respondents – age range 20-40 years (N=99)				
Village	City up to 50,000	City 50,000-150,000	City of 150,000-500,000	City with more than 500,000
16	23	13	18	29
16%	23%	13%	18%	29%

The data presented in Table 3 shows that the younger group of respondents are mostly (60%) people living in cities with more than 50,000 residents. The most frequently indicated places of employment that allowed the group aged 20-40 to work remotely were state education, self-employment, private education, private health care, state health care, respectively. When asked whether there was substantive supervision during online therapy, 28% of respondents answered in the affirmative, 24% indicated that there was no supervision, while 47% skipped answering this question.

Analysis of the data shown in Figure 6 allows us to note that only about 20% of the youngest speech therapists within the range of 20-40 years of age (99 respondents) declare their willingness to conduct speech therapy classes online once the pandemic passes. An analysis of “rather yes” and “definitely yes” responses in this age group leads to this conclusion. Interestingly, such answers were twice as often given by young speech therapists who conducted online therapy during the pandemic compared to those who were inactive. This raises the following question: for what reason does this younger group of speech therapists, who at the same time present the highest level of activity during the pandemic in this research, not declare to be more motivated to conduct online therapy after the pandemic?

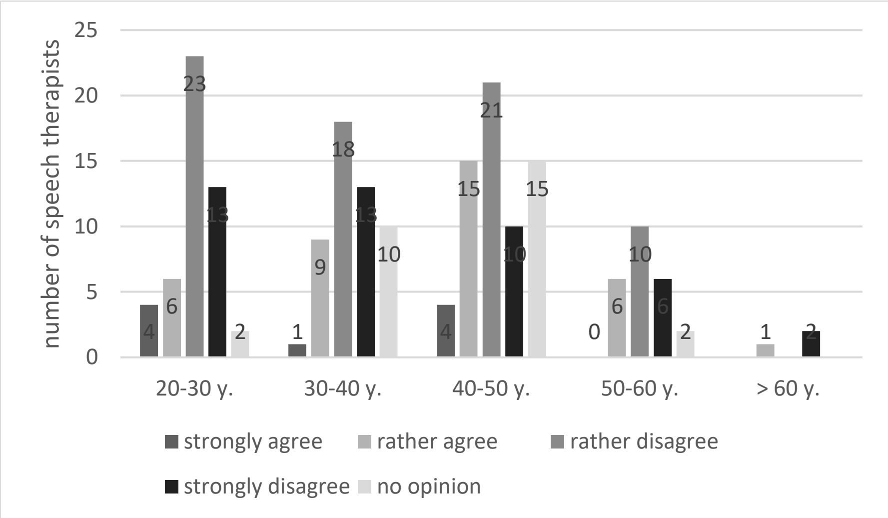

Figure 6

Age group vs. answer to the second question: Would you be interested in providing speech therapy online once the pandemic has passed? (source: own elaboration)

In seeking an answer to a question posed in this way, one would have to consider this group's responses to the third question: *would you see a need for training on the use of new technologies in speech therapy?*

Such a question was answered positively ("rather yes" and "definitely yes") by 72 speech therapists from the group of 20–40-year-olds (73% of the group). Considering only the young speech therapists who were inactive online during the pandemic (21% of the group), as many as 95% of the group declared their willingness to participate in the multimedia training. It is noteworthy that only 8 of this youngest group of speech therapists had conducted online therapy before the pandemic – which represents only 10% of young people active online during the pandemic.

To the fourth question: *have you ever provided online speech therapy assistance to multilingual children?* a positive answer was given by six respondents of this group.

Broadening the view of the problem of remote speech therapy are the statements of individual respondents typed in the space provided for their own comments, as well as the answers given during the online interviews. For example, in the group of the youngest speech therapists (20-30 years old) are the opinions of three people. One of them, an undergraduate, wrote:

> "I believe that online therapy is not a substitute for real contact and 'live' classes. However, I think it is a great solution in the alternative of no classes at all and downtime in therapeutic activities, as this downtime can mean regression. I treat this form of interaction with patients as the minimum work we can undertake to maintain continuity of activities. However, I would not like to replace traditional therapy with remote therapy in the future, when in-person meetings are possible."

Another post-graduate speech therapy respondent's statement included the topic of the stages of speech therapy proceedings, which are difficult to conduct online:

> "Online classes provide many opportunities to sustain therapy during limited contact with people, and thus help them. However, there is no doubt that it is impossible to conduct a full speech therapy diagnosis without face-to-face contact. It is also difficult to call out the sounds and fix them. In my opinion, preparing online classes requires more time commitment and more effort from the therapist."

A speech therapist with a master's degree who was interviewed online pointed out similar difficulties in diagnosis:

> "Such a remote diagnosis would not be objective, because the conditions would not be natural for the child. Children are not used to interacting, because on the screen there is usually a story, games. Hardly any child is used to Skype, for example."

One junior speech therapist pointed out the issue of education:

> "In the current situation, the most important thing for speech therapists in Poland is to create a union to fight for the rights of speech therapists and for the unification of the speech therapist education system in Poland. Every speech therapist has a slightly different education, but it is important that all speech therapists are well-educated."

Among speech therapists under the age of 40, Messenger was used the most. Applications such as Skype, ZOOM, WhatsApp were also among the more popular.

The place of residence of the older group of respondents (over 40 years of age) is shown in Table 4. Analyzing this data, most of the older respondents – like the younger ones – reside in cities with more than 50,000 residents (59%). The most frequently indicated places of employment that allowed this group to work remotely were state education, private education, private health care, state health care and self-employment, respectively. When asked whether there was substantive supervision during online therapy, 40% of people answered in the affirmative, 22% of people reported that there was no supervision, while 38% of people skipped answering this question.

Table 4
Distribution of numbers of the oldest age group according to place of residence (source: own elaboration)

Older group of respondents – age over 40 (N=92)				
Village	City up to 50,000	City 50,000-150,000	City of 150,000-500,000	City with more than 500,000
19	19	23	7	24
21%	21%	25%	8%	26%

The group of speech therapists over the age of 40 (92 people) is slightly more likely than the younger group to say they would like to provide online speech therapy after the pandemic. "Definitely yes" and "rather yes" answers were given by 26 speech therapists, accounting for 28% of this group. Similarly, to the group of speech therapists under 40, the older group is more likely to declare their willingness to conduct online therapy after the pandemic in those who were active online during the pandemic (30% of the group) compared to those who were inactive (25% of the group).

The answers of the group over 40 to the third question are interesting: *would you see a need for training on the use of new technologies in speech therapy?* As many as 85% of the older group responded positively to this question. Considering the portion not active online at the time of the pandemic, 81% of this group said they would like to receive training on new technologies, with 50% answering "definitely yes." The group over 40 actives online during the pandemic declared an interest in multimedia training at 87%. It is noteworthy that only 2 people, among this older group active online, had conducted online therapy before the pandemic.

To the fourth question: *Have you ever provided online speech therapy assistance to multilingual children?*, a positive answer was given by two respondents of this group.

In the group of speech therapists over 40, printed book materials and Messenger app were used most frequently. Messengers such as Skype, WhatsApp and MS Teams were used slightly less frequently.

In casual statements, in the form of summative comments or talking during an interview, many senior speech therapists shared their thoughts during the first wave of the pandemic. Here are some of them:

> "Online therapy, paradoxically, brought me, the therapist and parent closer together. It allowed shy children to relax, which I hope will be maintained when I return to inpatient therapy […]. In therapy, the most important thing is direct contact with the patient, and no platform can replace that […]. Very bad is the provision of speech therapy classes in education. 45 minutes each in groups of 2-4 people. This is not therapy. Especially in kindergarten, where each child requires individual attention. In my opinion, such classes are a farce, not therapy. I believe that reducing the time of classes to 30 minutes in the kindergarten is completely sufficient and only individually."

> "Conducting online classes would be possible if everyone had access to free high-speed Internet, was equipped with the right equipment and had similar applications installed that they knew how to use. Unfortunately, the realities of our world are different: things are different in big cities, and different in villages […]. Sometimes I simply don't have the conscience to burden parents of already overburdened toddlers with remote work to install and learn to use more applications, when they simply don't have the time to do so, or simply their Internet capabilities, which were sufficient up to now, are now not up to the task. As for the speech therapy work itself (because I'm also a teacher), while there is still some training for teachers on remote work, there is nothing for specialists."

One experienced speech therapist from the older group pointed out the specific difficulties of online therapy during an interview:

> "Not all cases can be diagnosed (e.g., mutism is difficult, autism at the stage of diagnosis). It can be just as difficult with a 2,3, -year-old with ORM (delayed speech development). Certainly, online therapy is warranted for the 'big bag' of dyslalia."

3. Conclusions

Analysis of the results of the questionnaires and interviews on the conduct of online therapy during the pandemic leads to the following conclusions:

(1) Most of the respondents (72%) were active online during the pandemic conducting speech therapy online. Before the pandemic, the number of respondents conducting speech therapy online ranged from 2-9%. Therefore, it can be concluded that the pandemic significantly mobilized speech therapists to conduct online therapy.
(2) The group of younger respondents (aged 20-30) showed the highest online activity during the pandemic (88%).
(3) Overall, few speech therapists declare their willingness to conduct online therapy after a pandemic. Considering the age criterion (the pre-40 and post-40 group), younger people are slightly less likely to declare their willingness to conduct online speech therapy after a pandemic (20%) compared to the older group (28%). This may be related to the generally less therapeutic experience of some of the younger group. However, among speech therapists in the younger group who conducted online therapy during the pandemic, this willingness is higher than among the younger group who did not conduct online therapy during the pandemic.
(4) Considering the entire group of respondents (191 people), speech therapists not active online during the pandemic would be slightly more likely to conduct online therapy after the pandemic (26%) than those active online during the pandemic (23%). The younger group of respondents who were not active online during the pandemic (under the age

of 40) are more likely to say they would be willing to receive training in the use of new media in speech therapy (95%) than the older group (81%). Thus, it can be concluded with some probability that the young speech therapists active online want to continue providing online therapy, while the group of young respondents not active online in the pandemic intends to take courses in the use of new media.

(5) Respondents active online during the pandemic used a wide variety of tools, with Messenger, printed materials (books, workbooks, etc.), Skype, Zoom, WhatsApp, and MS Teams leading the way.

(6) Most of the respondents provided online therapy as part of their employment at state educational institutions;

(7) The group of respondents who have ever provided online speech therapy assistance to bilingual children is small, at 4% of the total respondents. The reasons for this phenomenon would have to be sought in further research.

(8) Substantive supervision of online therapy during the pandemic was not carried out in 19% of the younger group (under the age of 40) and in 13% of the older group of speech therapists (over the age of 40). This thread would need to be studied separately when the exact rules of remote online speech therapy are known.

The analyses presented here contradict the thesis that Polish speech therapists have failed to face the first wave of the pandemic. Their involvement can testify to their adaptation to dynamically changing social expectations and to the desire for critical reflection on the professional responsibility of this group. The data presented here are a contribution and an encouragement to deeper reflection on the future of the speech therapy profession in Poland.

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"In the dream he was awake": Ontological instability in James Robertson's *The Fanatic*

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Abstract

Set in the seventeenth and late twentieth centuries, James Robertson's first novel *The Fanatic* (2000) is not only a powerful exploration of Scottish history and the interrelationships between past and present, but also an example of historical metafiction, concerned with the nature of historical and fictional reconstructions. As this article argues, the world model created in *The Fanatic* is characterized by inherent epistemological and ontological instability, visible at all levels of the text's construction. The two plot lines, the seventeenth century past and the twentieth century present, initially set apart, increasingly blur and permeate each other until finally it is impossible to tell what is past and what is present, what is "real" and what re-constructed or imagined. The ontological status of the narrated events is equally unstable, as they often turn out to be be false memories, hallucinations or delusions of the characters, while the fictionality of the characters is foregrounded by means of intertextual allusions. Finally, the status and reliability of the seemingly objective, heterodiegetic narrator becomes increasingly questionable as the story unfolds. Far from despairing of the possibility of offering a reliable historical reconstruction; however, the novel celebrates the very instability, which allows for constant imaginative reinterpretation and renewal of the past in the present, and of reality in fiction.

Keywords

Scottish history, Covenanters, Gothic convention, metahistory, metafiction

„Śniło mu się, że nie spał”: Ontologiczna niestabilność w powieści Jamesa Robertsona *The Fanatic*

Abstrakt

Powieść *The Fanatic* Jamesa Robertsona, której akcja toczy się w Szkocji w XVII oraz XX wieku, należy uznać za przykład historycznej metafikcji, podejmującej problematykę związków między przeszłością a teraźniejszością oraz natury historycznych i fikcyjnych reprezentacji. Artykuł dowodzi, że model świata stworzony w powieści *The Fanatic* charakteryzuje ontologiczna i epistemologiczna niestabilność, widoczna na wszystkich poziomach konstrukcji tekstu. Dwa główne wątki, siedemnastowieczny i dwudziestowieczny, choć z początku wydają się niezależne od siebie, z biegiem akcji coraz częściej zaczynają się przenikać, co sprawia, że niemożliwe staje się ustalenie, co należy do przeszłości, a co do teraźniejszości, co jest „prawdziwe”, a co wyobrażone. Status ontologiczny opowiadanych wydarzeń również jest niestabilny, często bowiem okazuje się, że są to fałszywe wspomnienia, halucynacje lub złudzenia bohaterów. Status samych bohaterów także jest podważany przez aluzje intertekstualne, wskazujące na ich fikcjonalność. Wreszcie status i wiarygodność pozornie trzecioosobowego, heterodiegetycznego narratora w miarę upływu czasu z również okazują się coraz bardziej dyskusyjne. Powieść nie jest jednak wyrazem rozpaczy w obliczu niemożności zaoferowania wiarygodnej historycznej rekonstrukcji; wręcz przeciwnie, to właśnie owa niestabilność pozwala na ciągłą reinterpretację i odnawianie się przeszłości w teraźniejszości i rzeczywistości w fikcji.

Słowa kluczowe

historia Szkocji, kowenanterzy, konwencja gotycka, metahistoria, metafikcja

The second half of the 1990s abounded in important symbolic and political developments in Scotland. In 1996, the Stone of Scone made its way back to Edinburgh after sitting for seven hundred years in St Edward’s Chair in Westminster. In 1997, the Labour Party’s victory in the polls brought an end to Conservative rule (not too popular in Scotland) as well as a promise of a devolution referendum. The referendum duly took place, and in 1998 the Scotland Act established the Scottish Parliament and government, the first since the Act of Union of 1707. This was certainly a milestone in Scottish history and a tangible institutional expression of a distinctive Scottish identity.

Identities, however, are complex constructs rather than natural or organic givens (cf. Anderson 1991). As sociological surveys revealed growing levels of Scottish national feeling and scholars debated the state of the Union and a possible dissolution of Britishness, the nature of Scottish identity and Scotland’s national aspirations also became a subject of scrutiny. Was it, as some scholars suggested, that “Britishness, as a largely instrumental device, [was] shed, revitalizing pre-Union identities” (Keating 365), in this case the Scottish one? Or was modern Scottishness a new construct, moulded by forces such as the welfare state, European integration, or opposition to centralisation and privatisation under the Conservative government? Or did the “contents” of identity – as well as its political implications, including the possibility of independence – perhaps differ from individual to individual? Were they in some cases based on culture and history, in some cases on modern institutions?

The “revitalization” hypothesis, in any case, poses quite a few problems in its own right. A “revitalize[d] pre-Union” Scottish identity would be primarily grounded in the history and culture of the seventeenth century, a particularly turbulent period of religious controversy and civil war in Scotland, with its bitter disputes between Covenanters, radical Presbyterians following their inner sense of election and opposed to royal interference in the matters of Church organization, and Episcopalians, relying on the spiritual and political guidance of bishops appointed by the king. Thus at least two questions immediately present themselves: one concerning the way in which such a "pre-Union" identity might be accessed and (re-) constructed, the other about the meaning and relevance of such a legacy three hundred years later, in a modern and largely secular state.

These questions are addressed in James Robertson's *The Fanatic*, published in 2000.[1] This was a novelistic debut for Robertson, holder of a doctorate from Edinburgh University on the subject of history in the novels of Sir Walter Scott, author of a short story collection *Close* and editor of a book of *Scottish Ghost Stories*, as well as a political activist involved in the Scottish national movement who soon went on to become the first Writer-in-Residence at the Scottish Parliament in 2004. The author's creative and political background – with its intersection between the real and imaginative/metaphysical: Scottish history, politics, literature and Gothic ghosts – informs the construction of the fictional world in *The Fanatic* as well as the novel's main thematic concerns.

For *The Fanatic* is a book tantalizingly poised between – between past and present, between history and fiction, and between literary tradition and (post)modernity. The novel follows two plots and two timelines, charting the seventeenth-century conflicts immediately prior to the Union, and the much more recent months preceding the 1997 general election, which for many constituted the first step towards the dissolution of the said Union. The seventeenth-century plot line follows the history of Major Thomas Weir, a Presbyterian "saint" executed in 1670 for incest and witchcraft, and of James Mitchel, his protégé, executed in 1678 for the attempted killing of Archbishop James Sharp. The twentieth-century sections of the book show its modern protagonist Andrew Carlin, who works as a ghost of

[1] For a discussion of Robertson's novels in the context of Scottish identity, see Philip (2011: 171-188).

Major Weir in Edinburgh Old Town, researching Weir’s (and Mitchel’s) history in the hope of uncovering and understanding its hidden significance. Carlin is also a historian of his own past, trying to overcome personal traumas and arrive at a viable version of his own identity. Thus *The Fanatic* is both a powerful evocation of crucial moments in Scottish seventeenth- and twentieth-century history and an exploration of the inter-relationships between past and present (at both personal and national level) and of the nature of historical reconstructions and fictional representations. In what follows, I intend to examine these (meta)historical and (meta)fictional aspects of the novel,[2] suggesting that the world created in *The Fanatic* is characterized by unknowability and ontological instability visible at all levels of the text: from the paratextual epigraphs preceding the text proper, through the construction of the fictional world to its intertextual and thematic concerns.

The Fanatic opens with a series of epigraphs from seventeenth-century Scottish texts. These provide an introduction to the novel’s spatial and temporal setting as well as several of the historical characters whose lives will cross on its pages. Thus, an excerpt from Sir John Lauder’s *Journals* presents Major Thomas Weir, a Presbyterian “saint”-turned-fiend (and then one of the most famous of Edinburgh’s numerous ghosts) and his sister and partner in witchcraft and incest, Jean. Lauder himself, a well-known Scottish lawyer and memoirist, is also an important figure in the book. A quotation from a sermon by Hugh Binning foreshadows the preoccupation with the Covenanters, while a snatch of a satirical poem introduces Archbishop James Sharp, a Covenanter-turned-Episcopalian, whose assassination provides a focal point for the seventeenth-century plot.

At the same time, all three passages are linked by the motif of doubleness and duplicity, of the unknowability of both human beings and the world as such. All of them are concerned

[2] My thinking about the nature of history as well as historiographic metafiction has been primarily influenced by the writings of Hayden White (1976, 1992, 2005, 2008) and Linda Hutcheon (1988).

with differences between reality and appearance, truth and deceit/delusion/illusion and the difficulty of ascertaining the truth. Things, as the epigraphs warn, are not what they seem. The quotation from Lauder's *Journals* is built of a set of contrasts between Weir's outward "show of godliness" and his inward moral corruption, and between the physical "frailty" of the body and the enormity of transgression. While Lauder is obviously shocked by this, he is still able to feel human sympathy towards both Weir and his sister. This kind of leniency, I suspect, would not go down well with Hugh Binning, the leading Covenanter minister who is the author of the next epigraph. Like Lauder, however, Binning is also concerned with the way outward appearance masks the ugly truth: "albeit [the world] seems a fine and beautiful thing in the eyes of them that know no better […] yet the truth is […] it is near the grave". Finally, deception, as already mentioned, is the explicit subject of a stanza from a satirical poem on Archbishop James Sharp. In other words, right from the start the reader is warned about the unknowability of the world and human motivations as well as the impossibility of arriving at incontestable truth.

What is more, the juxtaposition of the quotations, right at the beginning of the novel, requires that the reader engage in a complex process of comparing and contrasting sources, making judgments about their reliability and underlying world view, inferring character and mentality from the tone of voice, and the socio-cultural background from the language and themes taken up by the writers of the epigraphs. This foreshadows the preoccupations of many of the characters in the novel, who are all in their different ways busy interpreting texts in search of truth, whether it is the Covenanters, like Weir and Mitchel, endlessly analysing the Bible, or lawyers like Sir John Lauder, producing and scrutinising legal documents. In particular, the process by which the reader becomes engaged in the imaginative reconstruction of the past from available textual evidence foreshadows and parallels the research undertaken by Andrew Carlin, the protagonist of the modern plot. The reader, in other words, becomes a historian, faced with authentic sources from the period, from which he/she tries to (re-)construct a coherent narrative, activating interpretative strategies associated with historical research. She/he is also invited to repeat the creative process of a writer of historical fiction, who interprets and then imaginatively transforms his/her sources. As such, even before the text proper begins, the reader is already faced with metaliterary and metahistorical questions about history and fiction, as well as the ontological status of both.

If the epigraphs already implicate the reader in a complex metaliterary and metahistorical game, the Prologue to the novel, subtitled "(Bass Rock, March 1677)" takes the questioning of the distinction between (historical) truth and fiction even further. In terms of the plot, the Prologue obviously functions as an exposition, introducing the time and place of the action, as well as one of the novel's main characters: James Mitchel, the titular fanatic. As Mitchel floats in and out of sleep, the main contours of his story (the assassination attempt, the interrogation, the torture) emerge from his memories and solidify into the actual situation of his imprisonment on Bass Rock. Yet, while the use of verifiable historical details gives the passage an air of authenticity and reliability, the uncertain, liminal quality of the experience (between night and day, dream and waking, past and present) throws doubt on its ontological status:

> James Mitchel was dreaming. This kind of dream that mocks, constantly slipping in doubts: this is real, this is not real.
> In the dream he was awake and lying in bed. The room was heavy and warm with the smell of woman. He lay there in the growing light and felt the sadness rise from the pit of his belly, a physical thing […] The dawn squeezed into the room. He reached out for Lizzie, and felt cold stone. […] He was lying in a tiny, damp cell that smelt of salt and urine. (*F* 1[3])

[3] Henceforth in the references the title will be abbreviated to *F*. All references are to: James Robertson, *The Fanatic*, London: Fourth Estate, 2001.

The world in *The Fanatic* is itself "a kind of dream that mocks, constantly slipping in doubts: this is real, this is not real". Indeed, as has already been suggested, the question "what is real" is the central problem in the novel. However, as is the case with Mitchel's dream in which he was awake, both the characters', and the reader's, assumptions about the nature of the world are constantly undercut. For the novel not only projects an unknowable world of shifting appearances, where nothing is what it seems. It also progressively undermines the very basis on which we might with any certainty build our notions of (fictional) "fact" or "truth". In other words, the world model created in *The Fanatic* is characterized by inherent epistemological and ontological instability. This instability is visible in the construction of the fictional world: its characters, plot, and setting. It is reflected in the narrative technique, with the status and reliability of the seemingly objective third person narrator becoming increasingly questionable as the story unfolds – not least because the narrated events turn out to be false memories, hallucinations or delusions. Finally, it is visible in the compositional arrangement of the two plot lines, the past and the present. Initially kept neatly apart in their respective sections under headings such as "Bass Rock, March 1677", "Rotterdam, January 1667", or "Edinburgh 1997", they begin to blur and permeate each other until finally the reader no longer knows what is past and what is present, what is "real" and what imagined.

Instability seems to be an inherent feature of the world presented in the historical parts of the novel. Seventeenth-century Scotland in *The Fanatic* is a country torn apart by conflicts between people who are ready to lay down their lives, or, alternatively, kill, for their convictions.[4] However, underneath fanaticism one senses that the level of violence manifesting itself in battles, rebellions, witch hunts, assassinations and public

[4] For a general introduction to this period in Scottish history, see, for example, Lynch (1992: 247-299) or Mitchison (2002: 153-222). For a more extensive discussion of the depiction of the Covenanters in *The Fanatic* see Vījea (2010: 133-134).

executions is directly proportional to the underlying uncertainty about the nature of reality. On the religious and political level, society is divided into Covenanters and Episcopalians. Each faction professes a different version of Christianity, from technicalities of prayer and church organization to the most vital questions of salvation, and each posits a different vision of social order. As they fight out their differences on battlefields and in courts, the heads of the executed, rotting above Edinburgh’s Tolbooth, mark the temporary victories of one or the other side. Yet neither of the sides, for obvious reasons, can prove the ultimate truth of their convictions: the very existence of opponents throws doubt on one’s own beliefs. At the same time, on the margins, a new, secular and atheist vision begins to emerge, questioning the very idea of God and the truth and value of religion.

It is not only a world in which the split of public opinion makes it impossible to arrive at a uniform interpretation of reality and a reliable moral or political judgment. Despite the vehemence of religious convictions, it is also a world of unpredictable changes of allegiance. Thus people’s true character and motivations are a mystery, and no one can be trusted to be who they appear to be. Again, on the political plane, the most spectacular of such swings of persuasion is the case of James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, signing the Covenant in 1638 and defending its cause on the battlefield, only to turn royalist, leading an army of Catholic Highlanders and “Irishes” against the Covenanter forces. Mitchel’s arch-enemy and the target of his assassination attempt, Archbishop James Sharp, is also a turncoat: a Covenanter sent to England to fight against bishops, only to return an archbishop himself. The same kind of uncertainty as to people’s real character, and the lack of grounds on which to make reliable judgments, stands behind the witch hunts reported in the novel. Thus, one by one, ordinary, respectable wives and mothers are accused, tortured, and found guilty of witchcraft. The accusations are levelled by Jonet Douglas, herself a highly mysterious character, a girl who at first is mute yet apparently understands five languages, then mysteriously regains the power of speech. Here, too, the true motivations remain elusive, while a profound suspicion of outward appearances erupts in violence.

But the supreme example of people's ultimate unknowability is provided, obviously, by Major Thomas Weir, one of the central characters in the novel, a Presbyterian "saint", a respected member of the "godly" party, an inspirational preacher, a pillar of the community. As it turns out, however, this façade hides not just plain physical brutality, but all kinds of sexual excesses, including incestuous relationships with his sister and stepdaughter, as well as "carnal dealings with a mare and a cow" (*F* 185). Yet Weir is not simply a hypocrite, but a man misled as to his own nature and the nature of his religion. A justified sinner, he experiences a spiritual awakening in the best Calvinist tradition, and trusts he can do no wrong. In a chilling moment of revelation, however, he realizes that a beautiful woman in his bed is not a body, but a spirit, not a she, but a he, not a bride from the Song of Songs but the devil himself, and that he has been chosen not for salvation, but for damnation. Weir's example has deeply unsettling implications for the whole world in which he lives, both in the political and religious sphere. It also becomes a constant source of anxiety for Mitchel, already deeply unsure about the reality of his election and the exact nature of his calling.

The stability of, and in, the fictional world is further undercut by the unchronological arrangement of the plot and by the narrative technique, which makes heavy use of flashbacks. This is sometimes reflected in section titles such as "Bass Rock, June 1677/ Edinburgh, April 1670". In other words, the narrative is frequently not an account of the past, but an account of memories of the past: memories which can already be distorted by the processes of forgetting, embellishing or plain self-deception. What is more, as the opening passage has already implied, memories share the same dubious ontological status as dreams. This equivalence is strengthened by frequent suggestions that the events described are hallucinations, as the characters are shown to doubt their memories or even their present experience. For example, Weir comes to doubt the truth of his spiritual awakening; Mitchel is uncertain whether he really received a visit from his wife in the prison on Bass Rock; while Jean Weir questions if she hears real or imaginary voices. Scenes like this throw doubt not only on what "really" happened, but also on the reliability of the narrator.

The past/memory/dream equivalence acquires a further dimension by the juxtaposition of the seventeenth-century plot with the storyline set in the present. In this way, the past/dream association becomes a matter not just of the characters' personal history, but of Scottish national history. And, as has been amply demonstrated by metahistorical reflection undertaken by both historians and literary critics, the ontological status of the past and the study of the past is notoriously dubious: historians are perhaps alone in studying what literally does not exist. However, if the ontological status of the seventeenth-century fictional world is further destabilized by the introduction of the present plot, it is equally true that the ghosts of the past haunt and destabilize the present.

And some people make money on it. Hugh Hardie, who meets Jackie Halkit in the first modern section of the novel, desperately needs a ghost for his business: he runs ghost tours of Edinburgh and his last ghost has just walked out on him. In contrast to the historical sections of the novel, the names and details of Hardie's and Halkit's meeting seem at first glance mimetic enough. In fact, however, both figures are intertextual ghosts straight from Walter Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*, where characters bearing the same names famously complain about the fictional plots of novels: "The inventor of fictitious narratives has to rack his brains for means to diversify his tale, and after all can hardly hit upon characters or incidents which have not been used again and again, until they are familiar to the eye of the reader" (Scott 1818: ch. 1). Meanwhile, real stories of prisoners of the Edinburgh Tolbooth, stories "of guilt, crime, imposture, folly, unheard-of misfortunes, and unlooked-for change of fortune […] with examples sufficient to gorge even the public's all-devouring appetite for the wonderful and horrible" (Scott 1818: ch. 1), remain untold. The stories of Major Weir and James Mitchel – both prisoners of the Old Tolbooth – are precisely the kind of story that the stones of the Tolbooth might tell. It is thus entirely fitting that Hardie should employ Andrew Carlin and give him all the details that he needs to start on his quest to uncover a forgotten story of the Tolbooth in a pub called *The Heart of Midlothian*. At the same time, however, the ontological status of the present sections of the novel is immediately undermined by these intertextual allusions, and the novel exposes its own (meta)fictionality.

If Hugh Hardie and Jackie Halkit are intertextual ghosts, Andrew Carlin is a character haunted and haunting in a Gothic manner.[5] Carlin not only plays a ghost for tourists, but is remarkably like a ghost himself. In fact, he is introduced into the novel as "a ghost out of [Jackie Halkit's] past" (*F* 14), and he immediately impresses Hugh Hardie with his spectral appearance. Over six foot tall, his complexion floury white, he is a sinister presence, filling people with inexplicable unease, and he has a habit of mysteriously appearing and disappearing. The Gothic tradition is also evoked in his regular conversations with a mirror, carrying overtones of a split personality, and suggesting that his stories may be confabulations rather than accounts of real experiences. A product of a dysfunctional marriage between a bullying father and emotionally unstable mother, Carlin is a lonely character, a social misfit, alienated and rejected by his peers, and haunted by guilt associated with the incident where he becomes involved in the death of a drug addict.

Carlin's ghostly, liminal status is established early on in the novel, when he is described as "the kind of man that might slip between worlds, if such a thing were possible. He inhabited his

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[5] For a general introduction to Scottish Gothic see, for example, Ducan (2012). For a thorough analysis of the use of Gothic conventions in *The Fanatic* see Morace (2011: 22-36).

days like a man in a dream, or like a man in other people's dreams" (*F* 22). He also has an ability to "reach out and touch things that were long gone. […] It was like having second sight in reverse" (*F* 24). Thus Carlin habitually lives in two worlds: the world of his memories, revealed through frequent flashbacks, and the world of the present, over which he increasingly loses control. His habit of seeing through the present into the past turns modern Edinburgh around him into a "dreamscape", with layers of the past and present superimposed on one another. When he undertakes his research into Major Weir, he begins to see not just images from his own past, but a whole ghostly seventeenth-century city underneath the modern façade, and remember not just his experiences, but experiences of other people. These have a frightening immediacy: as Carlin says "Real stuff disna feel real and the dwammy stuff does" (*F* 52).

Thus, as the "dwammy stuff" – the seventeenth-century part of the novel – becomes more real, the ontological status of the "real" twentieth century one grows increasingly problematic. It is not only that Carlin's memories are revealed to be unreliable: in a conversation with his mirror he recalls an incident from his student days, which, on the evidence provided by other people involved, could not have happened. It is also the present events: Carlin's research into Weir and Mitchel – that may be entirely a product of his imagination. This obviously affects the reader's trust in the reliability of the seemingly objective third person narration. The narrator thus presents Carlin's visit to the library, where he is served by a Mr MacDonald. MacDonald not only gives Carlin a number of books on Major Weir and seventeenth-century history, but also leads him to make a connection between the history of Weir and that of James Mitchel. In addition, he produces a copy of *Ane Secret Book*, a private supplement to Sir John Lauder's more public (and fully historical) *Journals*. This Gothic "found manuscript" supplies fascinating details omitted from official documents, giving insight into the hidden, private side of both Weir and Mitchel (and Lauder), and becomes the main source of Carlin's seventeenth-centuryobsessed dreams. However, as the mirror tells Carlin, he never went to the library – he spent his days sick in bed. While one cannot entirely trust talking mirrors, a later visit to the library related by the third person narrator reveals that there is no record of any secret book in the catalogue, nor has the library ever employed a man by the name of MacDonald.

If this suspends the present storyline in dreamy regions of ontological uncertainty, between memory and dream, it also further problematizes and destabilizes the relationship between the past and present plots of the novel. Although the sections set in the past precede the sections set in the present, and at first seem to have an existence independent of the present plot, as the novel progresses, it becomes increasingly obvious that they are inextricably connected, and that the connection is much deeper and more complex than the possible patterns of contrast or correspondence we might at first expect. Thus, as Carlin begins to read Lauder's *Ane Secret Book*, itself a document of dubious existence, the present section trails off and we move to "Edinburgh, April 1677" to witness the meeting between Lauder and his father-in-law, described in the past tense by the third person narrator who so far has seemed quite reliable. Is this, then, a heterodiegetic objective and omniscient narrator, situated outside the fictional world? Or is it all Carlin's imagination?

Such doubts as to the reliability of the past account multiply: soon the section titles are "Edinburgh, April 1997/July 1668", collapsing the past and present. While Carlin duly performs his haunting duties in the Old Town, he first begins to hear Lauder's voice in his head, then sees the district as it was in the seventeenth century, and finally, the crucial moments of Mitchel's life stand before his eyes, and are narrated in the present tense: his association with Weir, his jobs as a teacher, the years when he lives, yes, "like a spectre" (*F* 135) in Edinburgh, up to the formation and botched execution of his design to assassinate Archbishop Sharp, and finally his apprehension. Is the present tense of the account *praesens historicum*, or is it literally present, as Carlin is making up Mitchel's story from scraps of information he found in historical books in the library, filling in the missing details with his imagination? Or, perhaps, can the past be a constant living presence, really haunting Carlin? In a novel full of talking mirrors, secret manuscripts and disappearing librarians, one cannot rule out the possibility of such ghostly intrusion. What is more, after this, it is impossible to trust the reliability of even those sections of the past narrative which have no such obvious connection with Carlin and his research, and are compositionally separate from the present storyline.

The same ontological instability pertains to the scene of Mitchel's trial, which is the climax of both the past and the present plot. In the section entitled, again, "Edinburgh, 1 May 1997/ January 1678", Jackie Halkit visits Carlin, to find his flat in a state of absolute disorder. The reason, as Carlin explains, is that "They pit him on trial" (*F* 257), evidently suggesting that the court proceedings against Mitchel took place in his humble abode. Then he relates the trial in the same objective, omniscient style which we have come to associate with the historical sections of the novel. Yet, even there, the growing certainty that the past account is just a product of Carlin's imagination is undercut. For right after Carlin complains about not having finished *Ane Secret Book*, and being left with loose ends, the loose ends are, to a certain extent, tied up. "Edinburgh 10, 11, January 1678", through the third person narration, closely allied with, but not solely restricted to, Lauder's point of view, revisits and draws together all the principal characters in the historical part of the novel, including Jean Weir the hanged witch and Jonet Douglas the malicious witchhunter, John Eleis the staunch lawyer and George Mackenzie the corrupt one. George Hickes, Archbishop Sharp's chaplain, is already busy concocting an account of Mitchel's trial, presenting him as the devil incarnate and an associate of the beastly Thomas Weir, while Mitchel himself is perfecting his dying speech by means of which he wants to be remembered by posterity. Finally, there is also

Lizzie Mitchel, listening to the breathing of her baby daughter, the identity of whose father she will never know (the father may equally well be her husband, or her husband's jailer on Bass Rock). Between them, all those characters represent the legacy that seventeenth-century, pre-Union Scotland bequeaths to the Scotland of the twentieth century: the private and the public, fanaticism and rationality, cruelty and compassion, law and inner light. Still, as in the case of all the previous historical sections of the novel, the ontological status of this Scotland, whether, again, this is Carlin's imagination, or a *bone fide* fictional representation of historical reality, remains elusive and uncertain.

However Gothic, uncertain and weird Carlin seems to be, his brush with seventeenth-century Scotland seems to bring some kind of acceptance of his life, if not quite a psychological integration. The account of Mitchel's trial is shared by Jackie Halkit, and is the first instance of full and real communication between Carlin and other characters in the novel. He smashes the mirror and concludes his research, feeling that "he had set them both [Weir and Mitchel] free and that they didn't need somebody going around play-acting on their behalf" (*F* 293). In a symbolic gesture, he leaves his Weir costume to a homeless girl, giving up his ghostly job if not the role of a medium between the past and the present. In the section set "after everything else is over […], beyond the last page" (*F* 295), Carlin muses on both the inevitable gaps in our knowledge of the past and the human commitment to remember despite the past's ultimate uncertainty and unknowability:

> It might be a feeble, helpless, tiny gesture, but it was something. An acknowledgement, a sign that you had once existed. […] There was a kind of comfort in the way he was. He saw the worlds shifting and sliding over one another. You could slip between them. You could feel them moving through you. It was an amazing, miraculous feeling, if you only had the time for it. That was what you had to have: time. (*F* 306-307)

In the last analysis, then, both timelines appear equally ontologically unstable, equally problematic, as *The Fanatic* reveals the past to be a construct of the present, the present to be constructed by the past. From a metafictional point of view, this ontological instability is hardly surprising, for after all, all novelistic worlds are fictional, no matter how mimetic or how fantastic they are, no matter when their plots are set. Far from despairing of the fact, however, the novel celebrates the very instability, which allows for constant imaginative reinterpretation and renewal of the past in the present, of reality in fiction. As the past flows into the present, informing it and being transformed by it, to finally open up to the uncertain future, the history of Mitchel and Weir, told anew, becomes a message to 1997 Scotland facing the devolution referendum and the possibility of future independence. In the last paragraph of the novel

> When he put the last coin down the last chute he would find he’d hardly spend a thing. For a while, it would be as though time had slowed to the pace it had had when he was a child. When he stepped back out into the afternoon, he would have to be grateful for that and then let it go. And outside, the people, the houses, the cars, the city and the long walk back into it, for a while at least they would be what was real. (*F* 308)

Where the beginning of *The Fanatic* was suspended between past and present, dream and reality, its last words are suspended between the present and the uncertain future, “real”, in this context, being perhaps the most richly ambiguous of all the ambiguities in the novel.

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The impact of organized religion on the social status of women in Alice Walker's *By the Light of My Father's Smile*

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Abstract

Alice Walker's novel *By the Light of my Father's Smile* (1998), as her prose in general, addresses issues of religious, ecology, feminism and sexuality. The article discusses the novel's depiction of the impact of organized religion on the social status of women with reference to both the novel's cultural settings and Alice Walker's personal experience. By deliberately breaking taboos about speaking openly of the sexual experience of women of color, the author intends to make her readers aware of the harm organized religion often causes to women all over the world. In her opinion, patriarchy unethically uses gender norms, as a way to benefit men over women. Walker thus commits herself to encouraging men who have been misguided by patriarchy to change their behaviour and righting their wrongs. She also strives to give oppressed women more confidence and courage to defend their freedom and independence.

Keywords

Black Feminism, United States, Christianity, patriarchy, sexuality

Wpływ zorganizowanej religii na status społeczny kobiet w powieści Alice Walker *W świetle uśmiechu mojego ojca*

Abstrakt

Powieść amerykańskiej autorki Alice Walker *By the Light of my Father's Smile* (W świetle uśmiechu mojego ojca), podobnie jak inne jej dzieła, porusza kwestie religii, ekologii, feminizmu i seksualności. W artykule omawiam sposób przedstawienia w powieści wpływu zorganizowanej religii na status społeczny kobiet, zarówno w odniesieniu do kontekstu kulturowego świata przedstawionego, jak i osobistych doświadczeń Alice Walker. Autorka, celowo łamiąc tabu otwartego mówienia o doświadczeniach seksualnych kobiet innej rasy niż biała, zamierza uświadomić czytelnikom, jak wielkie szkody kobietom na całym świecie wyrządzają instytucje religijne. Jej zdaniem patriarchat w nieetyczny sposób wykorzystuje kategorie płci w celu dominacji mężczyzn nad kobietami. Celem autorki jest zachęcenie czerpiących korzyści z patriarchatu mężczyzn do zmiany swojego zachowania i do naprawienia błędów. Walker stara się także dodać otuchy i odwagi do walki o wolność i niezależność uciskanym kobietom.

Słowa kluczowe

czarny feminizm, Stany Zjednoczone, chrześcijaństwo, patriarchat, seksualność

1. Introduction

Alice Walker became internationally known in the 1980s with the publication of *The Color Purple* and its subsequent film release. From the 1960s, she has been active in environmental, feminist and animal rights causes. Her fiction often confronts such issues as *racism, sexism and neocolonialism.* Being both Black and a woman, she is conscious of her position in the American artistic environment. In the preface to her book *The Same River Twice* (1996) she confesses: "I belong to a people so wounded by betrayal, so hurt by misplacing their trust, that to offer us a gift of love is often to risk one's life, certainly one's name and reputation". Although she has attained fame and recognition in many countries, she still identifies with "her people", by which expression she does not mean only African Americans and Africans, but all suffering and humiliated people. Although Walker often risks her reputation, she keeps pronouncing on inconvenient and politically incorrect themes and keeps struggling for the improvement of these people's conditions. She has also campaigned against female genital mutilation. However, her political activity is only one method of her fighting against violence, racism and sexism. By elaborating on very controversial themes and breaking taboos in her writings, she greatly contributes to spreading the knowledge of human suffering, and finding ways of improvement.

By the Light of My Father's Smile,[1] published in 1998, like Walker's previous works again touches upon a number of serious issues. Through uniting such themes as spirituality and sex, religion and bodily experiences, the author often provides controversial, even provocative, scenes and images. The novel focuses on two African American women, Susannah and her sister, Magdalena, whose lives remain highly influenced and constrained by patriarchy. After the death of their father, they go on a trip to visit the last known location of Mundo – a tribe that lives in the Sierras of Mexico.

Since religion has always been one of Walker's main concerns, it is useful to briefly mention some of her previous statements before analyzing the novel. In April of 1995 she gave a lecture at Auburn Theological Seminary, presenting exploration of her own spiritual quest.[2] Walker claims that people are naturally good and do not need to practice any religion to be

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[1] Henceforth in the references the title will be abbreviated to *BTL*. All references are to: Alice Walker, *By the Light of My Father's Smile*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1999.

[2] The text of the lecture was published under the title "The Only Reason You Want to Go to Heaven Is That You Have Been Driven Out of Your Mind" in Walker's (1997: 1-27) collection of essays *Anything We Love Can Be Saved*.

'saved'. With all respect to God, Love and teachings of Jesus, she is at the same time strongly disappointed by organized religions, their ideologies and practices. She is aware of the fact that "[i]n fact, millions of people were broken, physically and spiritually, literally destroyed, for nearly two millennia, as the orthodox Christian Church «saved» them from their tradition worship of the Great Mystery they perceived in Nature" (Walker 1997: 17). Analyzing her memories of religious practices in her family and community, Walker also provides a detailed critique of Christian doctrines, and opposes them to her notion of paganism. According to Walker (1997: 17), "«Pagan» means «of the land, country dweller, peasant», all of which my family was. It also means a person whose primary spiritual relationship is with Nature and the Earth". We find an embodiment of this notion of paganism in the image of Walker's fictitious Mundo tribe, her own invention of an idyllic community living in harmony with Nature. However, the Mundo also performs another function: it serves as a contrast to the 'civilized' world, dominated by men and religion, and makes the flaws of the Western world more visible.

This article deals with the novel's portrayal of the means by which organized religion and established institutions within society influence the way of treating women. I will start my analysis by outlining the depiction of Christianity. In the second part, I will turn my attention to specific cases, which make clear the influence of religion on the treatment of women. I will also outline Walker's attempts of encouraging her audience to question the system of patriarchy and to find possible ways of living in harmony with Nature.

2. The depiction of Western spirituality

The representation of the Western culture in *By the Light of My Father's Smile* is most easy to grasp through comparing it to its critique. In Walker's novel all presented aspects of the fictitious Mundo tribe constitute a complete antithesis to the Western world. It must be mentioned, however, that in describing the Mundo, the author focuses only on their teachings and theoretical aspects of their culture, whereas in the case of Western culture the reader learns a lot about people, their behavior and the way of functioning of the sociological institutions, without becoming acquainted with their cultural heritage. Thus, these two matters can hardly be related to each other and every comparison is condemned to be inaccurate and only partly true.

To start with, Walker gives a detailed analysis of the customs and traditions of the Mundo and explains their values and oral traditions. She shows that the tribe has its own prayers, songs and stories, which illustrate a reverence towards Mother Earth, humanity, and all living creatures. There is a Mundo prayer "Mama help us to help you", which is a part of the Mundo initiation song. It serves as an introduction to the book, and runs as follows:

> Anyone can see that woman is the mother
> of the oldest man on earth
> is it not then a prayer
> to bow before her?
>
> Anyone can see that man is the father
> of the oldest woman on earth
> is it not then a prayer
> to bow before him? (*BTL* 161)

Yet, Walker's narrative technique is criticized by Maria Lauret, because "in this novel, ideas often have to stand in for narrative development; they are talked through by the characters" and conveyed "by telling, rather than showing" (Lauret 2000: 208). This approach is also visible is Walker's construction of Mundo beliefs and practices. There are no descriptions of people's behavior that would help the reader to create an image of the tribe; the Mundo traditions and spirituality are made visible almost merely through the testimonies of a local boy, Manuelito. Through his narration, the reader has the impression of an idyllic community, possessing great wisdom and noble morality. For instance, Manuelito informs Susannah's and Magdalena's father, Mr. Robinson (or rather his ghost who, from his spiritual perch, watches upon the lives of his daughters) that "[a]mong the Mundo is the teaching of nonpossession of others. [...] There is one other soul in each of our lifetimes to which we are primarily drawn. It is a body and a soul attraction" (*BTL* 96) or "We know woman and man as equals. Differently beautiful, as the elders would say" (*BTL* 162). Apart from Manuelito's testimonies, the impressions of the Robinsons are occasionally announced; for example, Susannah sees the Mundo as kind-hearted, naive people who cannot believe in the terrible things Christians try to make them believe in:

> I thought about the Mundo, whom I had not really thought about in years. They had never understood how woman could be considered evil, either, since they considered her the mother of corn. When hearing of her original sin of eating the forbidden fruit, they scratched their chins again and said, even more gravely, Perhaps this is the one biggest lie that has unraveled your world (*BTL* 81).

Dhavaleswarapu (2018: 231f.) describes how the relation between religion and sex is being misused by Christian tradition and patriarchy:

> Biblical projection of innate inferiority of women by birth and the projection of women as the descendants of the frail temptress Eve, and women's acceptance of such dictum under patriarchal pressure have subsumed their identity not only on the religious front, but even on the personal front. The projection of sex as a cardinal sin and its depiction only as a tool to procreate, make the subject for women a taboo to discuss or negotiate. Religion further influences gender norms and activities of a society. Development of sexuality and its reception are in turn influenced by religious beliefs and sexual politics, developed and disseminated by patriarchy.

Thus, whereas the Mundo tribe is Walker's own invention of a utopian world, inhabited by peaceful, modest and virtuous people, the 'outside' world is the exact opposite to it in every respect: real life is shown with all its cruelty and injustice, as ruled by greed and bad men, who find pleasure in oppressing women.

In the depiction of the Western world, often "Walker […] lets her character speak for herself", as Lauret (2000: 212) observes in the scene where Susannah talks about burning her books. Indeed, there are numerous situations in the novel where the characters formulate opinions already expressed by Walker in her previous books. In consequence, the whole novel is a very clear manifestation of the author's attitude toward Western culture and, in particular, its Christian ideals. In *By the Light of My Father's Smile* the reader does not witness any expressions of Christian spirituality or virtues. Nearly everything that is showed or told about Western culture demonstrates people's greed and selfishness. The institutions which are supposed to care for people and their well-being deteriorate the already existing problems: as Susanna's friend, Irene, tries to comprehend why " CIA helped to drug people in America", she reaches the conclusion that "your [American] government floods your communities with drugs, horrible ones [...] and then it comes in and arrests the young men for having them" (*BTW* 174).

Christianity is superficial, full of violence, hypocrisy and full of unjust accusations towards women. The religion fails to give meaning to people's life; Magdalena, lying in the hospital, reflects about the world of her students: "a world that was steadily turning to shit. Had always been shit. Money was the god of the culture into which they were born, and would live to hustle and die" (*BTL* 120).

The greatest paradox of the novel is that Mr. Robinson, who is an agnostic, masquerades as a minister. Being an anthropologist, he does so in order to receive funds for a project to study a tribe called the Mundo, of mixed African and Mexican descent. However, for Walker such a situation obviously is not very surprising, since such – and also much worse – things happened so often in the history of Christianity. Among other things, this hypocrisy spoils Walker's approach toward Christianity and her image of the Christian God. In the essay called "The Only Reason You Want to Go to Heaven Is That You Have Been Driven Out of Your Mind" she reveals her strongest arguments against Christianity:

> I try to imagine my mother and other women calling on God as they gave birth, and I shudder at the image of Him they must have conjured… That some people enslaved and abused others was taken for granted by Him. He ordered the killing of women and children, by the hundreds of thousands, if they were not of his chosen tribe. […] Christianity, we were informed, had fought long and hard to deliver us from *that* ["heathenism"]. In fact, millions of people were broken, physically and spiritually, literally destroyed, for nearly two millennia, as the orthodox Christian Church "saved" them from their tradition worship of the Great Mystery they perceived in Nature (Walker 1997: 13-17).

As Dhavaleswarapu (2016: 46-48) points out, when patriarchy collaborates with any religion that privileges men over women, the patriarch of the family becomes more of a dictator than a loving, doting father. In the process of preaching Christianity, Mr. Robinson thrusts Christian ideals not only on the Mundo, but even on his family. He does not take all that is holy and wholesome in it, but rather gets inspired by the dictum of gender disparity and woman's subordination to man. He starts thrusting gender norms of performativity onto his daughters, who are not eager to accept them. As a result, his daughter Magdalena feels that he "wrecked her life", she begins to despise her father and is not capable of forgiving him. Walker through the novel argues that in a patriarchal world that is unkind to the sexuality of young women and girls, sexual status alone is used as a standard to measure their worthiness.

While in the book's reality Western culture, with its love to money, is dominating the whole world, it is Mundo spirituality, which proves to be the only thing that survives after everything else becomes meaningless. The fact that Mr. Robinson, a sham Christian missionary, does not go after his death to the Christian heaven or purgatory, but rather finds his way to the Mundo after-life, is a clear sign of the rightness of Mundo beliefs. He then finally realizes his mistake of patriarchal arrogance, and tries to reconcile with his daughter in the afterlife. The minister meets his former disciple, Manuelito, who was and still is Magdalena's lover. Manuelito instructs Senor Robinson about Mundo beliefs and customs Robinson had failed to investigate; the boy helps him to fulfill two tasks one is supposed to do after their death and he teaches Mr. Robinson the Mundo initiation song in order to prepare the latter for the reconciliation with Magdalena. Manuelito even revises the Christian teachings he had heard from Mr. Robinson:

> Did you really think we did not know we should love one another; that the person across from us is ourself? That stealing is bad; that wanting what other people have is hurtful to us? That we are a part of the Great Spirit and loved as such? What people does not know these things? (*BTL* 148).

> We understood maybe only one thing about your Jesus Christ: that he was what you call a ghost. That he came back to spy on the confusion he had left. That he stayed only long enough to sort things out. To tell his people not to worry; to absolve them from blame. We were glad to hear he had returned from the dead; this made perfect sense to us. And also we liked him. He resembled a Mundo! Though we never believed he had a physical body that could actually be seen (*BTL* 150).

3. The position of woman in Western culture

3.1. Differences between men and women

Another issue that makes the influence of the culture on people's life well visible is how it treats women. The difference in approaches toward men and women are deeply rooted in each society, and there are barely any civilizations in the world that treat these two sexes wholly equally.

Walker does not mention much about the Mundo treatment of women. We do not know, how Mundo society was structured and what their role models looked like. However, there are some elements that can make the reader assume that there were particular tasks for women and men; there is a description of women pottering, which indicates that there were separate domains, or in the already quoted scene when the Mundo people hear about the original sin it is mentioned that men heard it and women were informed by the men – which indicates that only men were going to church and hearing Robinson's sermons. The preacher recalls the behavior of Mundo girls: "Their own daughters […] were […] demure, interested in women's things" (*BTL* 18). Thus, Mundo women seem to feel free and happy and this is the most important thing; no matter how they reach this goal. We do not know, however, what their organization of childcare looks like and how far the responsibilities of their mothers reach. Although Walker does not explicitly tell anything about the role of women in her fictional tribe, through the narrative it becomes clear that the way the Mundo treat women is far more advantageous than it is in the case of Western cultures.

But then again, Walker's novel provides a wide range of situations from Western culture in which different approaches toward men and women become apparent, and, through the way of presenting certain characters and events, she also gives some explanations of the existing state-of-affairs.

The main female characters are presented as curious, spontaneous persons. They yearn for a personal freedom and an unimpeded expression of their own nature. The most striking example of such joyous person is Magdalena, "Magdalena the self-possessed, both willful and serene" (*BTL* 207), whose spontaneity is turned by her father into a tragedy for her and her family. In her childhood, her greatest passion is to spend time with

Mundo boys who "[teach] her […] how to leap from one formidable boulder to another without breaking the leg [and] to run like the wind" (*BTL* 18). However, she is always tamed by her father who neither tolerates her love for playing with boys, nor does he understand her passion for riding horses. The punishment he imposes on her after finding her making love with her childhood friend, Manuelito, puts an end to Magdalena's attempts of finding any more pleasant activities. This one particular event prevents her from further explorations of her surroundings and her own sexuality, and becomes her trauma which haunts her until the end of her life. She loses all her interests and finds her final and only satisfaction in eating: as her father notices some time after inflicting his punishment, she "especially [seems] to take perverse pleasure in gobbling food" (*BTL* 40). Having given up any other pleasures, Magdalena is condemned to this one passion and she finally dies from obesity.

All three women from the Robinson family have passions which men either do not understand or do not accept; for instance Mr. Robinson recalls his first reaction on his wife sleeping naked: "at night [she] wore nothing at all. Oh, what does God care about what I wear? she had asked the first night we slept together and I was stunned by her beauty, naked, but also profoundly shocked" (*BTL* 16). Another example of these different natures is Susannah's marriage; she would quarrel with her husband "because she loved wearing high heels, which indeed made him look quite short" (*BTL* 7). Because of a number of such misunderstandings, and other ways of perceiving the reality, their marriage does not last long. After leaving her husband, Susannah tells Irene "I do not [want to get married]. I am already married to a life of experimentation, change […]. If I marry I'm afraid I'll turn to stone" (*BTL* 179). Apart from Magdalena, who is too heavily hurt by her father, the Robinson women are also very curious and frank. Mr. Robinson recalls, "I had the feeling that nothing of importance ever escaped [Langley's] interest; that she was as open as a sea anemone to the prickling realities of the world. She was alive in her thoughts and her passions in a way that I had ceased to be" (*BTL* 165). Langley also has the ability to understand other people, which she explains as follows: "I believe my own senses [...] I feel others because I feel myself" (*BTL* 165). Susannah is open to the surrounding world as well; her husband names her "a woman of curiosity" (*BTL* 46).

By the Light of My Father's Smile does not contain many portraits of men. The most detailed descriptions are those of Mr. Robinson and Petros, Susannah's husband. Although they have different places of origin and very different life experience, their masculine nature is the same: they do not understand their women and, being brought up in patriarchal societies, take it for granted that they are entitled to rule over their wives and children. On the contrary to women, men are not curious, and if they discover there is anything wrong in their family or environment, they are not able to right it. Since they are unable to understand many problems, they prefer to establish rules and create sets of rights, or simply to follow the already existing ones. Such a tendency can be observed in Mr. Robinson's reflections:

> Spare the rod, spoil the child. One says that and swallows down one's immediate protest. Stifles the voice that hates the rod. Would never, on its own, have even thought about the rod. There was something in me, I found, that followed ideas, beliefs, edicts, that had been put into practice, into motion, before I was born. And this "something" was like an internationalized voice, a voice that drowned out my own. Beside which, indeed, my own voice began to seem feeble. Submissive (*BTL* 30).

When Robinson fails to tame his daughter's behavior, the only way he finds to solve his problem is to beat Magdalena. He is not even aware, until a very long time afterwards, of the fact that he follows the rules established by his ancestors, his male ancestors in particular. Walker's final evaluation of this event, and of the father's attitude is easily noticeable in the final scenes of the novel; although it is Magdalena who was "wild. Disobedient.

Wayward and head-strong" (*BTL* 26), it is the father who has to apologize and admit his guilt in the end.

The novel gives also one example of a male character, which is even more ordinary than Robinson and Petros. Pauline briefly mentions her father:

> my father's stereotypical belligerence, hostility, maudlin and abusive bullying were not all there was to him. There was a whole other side… When he was in his right mood, as my mother called it. After he'd bathed and napped and had a good dinner, after he'd reviewed our report cards and found them satisfactory, after he'd forgone a first drink and lured my mother into their back bedroom, he was a father full of funny stories and play. He was a father who loved to repair things, a father who played the guitar (*BTL* 98).

His primary instincts, however, are eating, drinking and sex. By stating that all his defects are "stereotypical", Pauline expresses her general opinion about men.

3.2. The influence of organized religion on motherhood and matrimony

The images of femininity and masculinity provided in *By the Light of My Father's Smile* compose a picture of a world whose all aspects, including these, which are a women's domain, but are ruled by men. Obviously, one of these areas that are also dominated by men is motherhood. In the book *Mothers and Children,* published in 2001 by Susan Chase and Mary Rogers, there is a very detailed description of the notion of motherhood as an institution, which fits very well to the depiction of motherhood in Walker's novel. In the chapter entitled "The Institution and Experience of Motherhood" we find an extensive definition of the institution of motherhood:

> To think of motherhood as an institution, then, is to focus on a society's specific mechanisms of shaping what mothers do and

> how they feel about what they do, as well as others' treatment and expectations of mothers. In other words, as an institution, motherhood is a human invention rather than a natural phenomenon. This idea allows us to consider how motherhood changes over time and varies across societies. (…) Indeed, an anthropological review of 186 contemporary societies reveals that, after infancy, mothers have primary responsibility for children in only 20 percent of societies (Chase 2001: 60-61).

Apparently, Western countries do belong to these 20 percent of societies and this seems to be only a small part of the world's population. However, taking into consideration the depiction of motherhood, it is only the Western, patriarchal society that constitutes a matter of Walker's exploration. Almost each chapter of the novel portrays a mother – unfortunately, every single mother is a subject to this widely discussed and strongly criticized by Chase Western institution of motherhood. Further explorations of the notion of motherhood by Chase run as follows:

> Bernard criticizes the modern Western institution of motherhood, especially its requirement that mothers suppress their own needs and desires, as oppressive to women. […] Adrenne Rich also criticizes the institution of motherhood in her classic text, *Of Women Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*, published in 1976. She decries motherhood as a patriarchal institution, by which she means that men, as politicians, scientists, doctors, religious leaders, fathers, and husbands, have exerted legal, technical, and ideological control over all aspects of reproduction as well as the social meanings attached to motherhood and non-motherhood (Chase 2001: 61).

We find many indications of religious influence on the institution of motherhood and other established institutions within societies: the most shocking example is Lily Paul's mother. She and her husband, being very devout, follow their conjugal duty, and they "th[ink] birth control mean[s] murder" (*BTL* 103). As Pauline reports, "Babies dropped out of my mother's body every year, like apples falling to the ground […]. She had to wear a tight band around her lower body to hold her uterus is place" (*BTL* 102-103). Although Pauline's mother's health became worse and worse, she does nothing to prevent it from further deterioration. Lily Paul relates to Susannah the development of her mother's illness: "She began to hate her body […]. It was too fecund by half. Five children would have left her room to move around. She could eventually have caught her breath. With ten this was impossible" (ibid.). Although Pauline's mother grows sick, this does not change her and her husband's attitude toward child-bearing. Nor do they stop sleeping together, although it is, as Pauline assures, only her father's pleasure (*BTL* 133).

People who follow their Christian duties from their own will are depicted as pitiful; but those who spread the religion are responsible for the evil evoked by Christianity, and dangerous. According to the image constructed by the novel, the main guilty are priests and missionaries. Different characters in the novel repeatedly express their opinion about missionaries' and priests' blameworthy behaviour, for instance while talking about genital mutilation Manuelito says: "Anthropologists, like the priests and the missionaries, have known about this for a long time. Without protest" (*BTL* 166). The masquerading as a minister Robinson, "preaching about stuff he hardly knew, or cared, a thing about" (*BTL* 91), serves as a good example of the missionaries' ethics. Although he himself does not believe in God, he feels that he should serve for the Mundo as a model of a virtuous Christian and respected father, and so he badly punishes Magdalena for her disobedience. Through this act he comes between her and her mother and forces Langley to choose between him and Magdalena: Magdalena says that "[a]fter the beating she [the mother] was warm to me and cool to him for several weeks. Then, it simply evened out again" (*BTL* 27). In letting it be like before, Langley betrays her daughter. Magdalena does not forgive her until her death: "When she was dying I used to visit and read to her. She would doze, and then I would stop reading and stare at her face. I was trying to remember how it felt to love her. For I ceased loving her when she abandoned me" (*BTL* 120). Thus, the father's interference in the upbringing of the children effectively destroys all friendly relationships within the family.

Dhavaleswarapu (2016: 45-46) argues that children are discriminated by patriarchy on many counts like religion, sex, race, education and gender. The examples from the novel make visible why mothers in many cases are not in a position to negotiate the interests of their children. Black women, especially torn under tripartite curses of racism, sexism and classism, are not in a position to protect the interests of their children all the time. Thus, girls face utmost gender discrimination.

3.3. Ways of coping with the problem of being subjugated

The novel provides various cases of women's discrimination, but also many ways of their coping with it. For me, the most hopeless situation is that of the women from the Ethiopian tribe Nuer, who are forced to wear heavy ceramic disks in their bottom lips. While it is true that the women's horrible position is not originally caused by Western people, nor by their religion, we can still witness the harmful effects of Christian influence on the tribe's women. This is how Mr. Robinson recalls his wife's words describing her experience:

> While I was there I stayed with missionaries who deplored everything about the tribe. Except these practices. They thought that since the women were the enforcers they had originally dreamed them up and were not oppressed by them. Besides, they said it was these symbols of tribal culture – the disks, the iron collar – that made the tribe unique. I said, but the lips and the necks of the women are raw and infected. And because the collars can never be taken off, their necks are never washed. They shrugged and said they passed out cotton swabs, and gallons of alcohol (*BTL* 165).

Whereas the status of the Nuer women is already appalling, and Christianity is supposed to care for people's mutual love, one would expect the missionaries to plead for the oppressed women. However, Langley's colleagues only shrug their shoulders; they are totally indifferent to the women's suffering. Thus, the women's situation is a lost cause; there is nobody from the outside to help them and they themselves do not undertake any attempts to change their condition. Walker, through the speech of Langley, explains why the women do not oppose this treatment: "By now they are the enforcers […]. They have no memory or record of a time when they did not wear disks and did not wear iron collars with penises on them" (*BTL* 165).

Nonetheless, there are also women in Walker's novel who are given the chance to see their position in the society more objectively – and this is the first step that must be taken by women in order to free them from the trap of men's domination. One of them is Petros' mother, who is a woman born into the world ruled by men and the Church. She is trained to accept everything quietly and she does not bring the legitimacy of this system into question – until the moment when Susannah arrives at her house and starts to make remarks and ask questions. However, Petros' mother is so used to her own pitiful life that she wants rather to let it be as it is, than to accept the consequences of what might happen if she starts to yearn for freedom:

> As [Susannah] forged ahead, I saw a shift occur in my mother's look. Very odd. For I had known it all my life to be a face with a certain limited range of emotional expression. I did not recognize the looks she was beginning to give my inquisitive wife. I saw my mother begin to awaken, against her will. As if from ancient sleep. To shake herself, as an animal after hibernation might do. I saw her rouse her memory. I saw her look down at herself, as if for the first time since girlhood, over sixty years ago, and see all the black clothing surrounding her, and her kerchief,

> black, in all this Greek heat, tied under her chin. I saw that she feared what might happen to her, under Susannah's curious questions (*BTL* 46-47).

The next stage of women's awakening and fighting against their discrimination in *By the Light of My Father's Smile* is visible through the person of Pauline. Her childhood is "worse than being cooked and eaten by the witch" (*BTL* 101). She is betrayed by her own, very pious, parents as they make her drunk and leave her alone with Winston. Her own mother, who has ten children of her own and apparently not a very happy conjugal life, tries to pass her own misfortune on Pauline. When it turns out that Pauline is pregnant, she says only "how lucky [you were] Winston was around and that he was someone who wanted [you]" (*BTL* 105). To Pauline's problems with her husband, she replies only "a married woman ha[s] to do what her husband want[s]" (*BTL* 107). Despite a lack of support, Pauline somehow manages to gain an education and start a life on her own, which her mother considers to be "abandoning" her and does not forgive Pauline until her own death. The reader does not learn what the mother's motives are, but as we see, her piety only makes her act against herself and against her daughter. However, the attitude of her mother[3] and all experience Pauline

[3] The problem between Pauline and her mother approaches another question as well. Namely, Pauline repeatedly tells Susannah that she felt betrayed by her mother. On the other hand, we witness how Pauline loved her mother regardless all her faults "I loved her with all my daughter's heart; hearing that she dies blaming me for abandoning her caused me to suffer" (*BTL*, 129). June, who does not forgive her mother her 'betrayal', has to do this after her death. Thus, Walker conveys a message that children should have understanding for their parents. She is convinced that every mother hurts her children: "I've discovered that the world is full of mothers who've done their best and still hurt their daughters: that we have daughters everywhere" (Walker 1997: 13), but she ascertains that daughters should forgive their mothers and vice versa:

> "I felt then, as I do now, that we daughters must not forsake our mothers, who have been led – by men holding books that justify despicable behavior toward women and Nature – into the very evils Nature and common sense would have them avoid. And we mothers must stand by our daughters, and protect them from harm, using what wits we have left

has to go through does not make her weak nor does it destroy her own will; on the contrary, it makes her stronger and more ambitious. Pauline manages to become "a powerful, bold, opinionated woman" (*BTL* 106) and becomes a feminist. However, the term 'feminist' may not be quite adequate since feminist theology has been accused of not including the concerns of women of color (Lysik 2009: 139). Hence, even though Walker does not explicitly tell whether Pauline is black or not, the character suits Walker's definition of a womanist very well.[4] Pauline proves that one of the most important moments in liberation from the direct domination of men is taking control over one's own sexual life. Gena, her first lover, teaches her how to take pleasure from sex. Pauline stresses the significance of their sexual intimacy: "It had this incredible nurturing quality; it was the kind of affectionate sex that seemed designed to reconnect me to myself, to keep me alive" (*BTL* 132), thus explaining the meaning of the novel's subtitle. When Lily Paul meets Susannah in a women's club, they start detailed discussions on Pauline's story of survival and general problems of oppressed women, for instance their orgasmic freedom. Whereas Walker seeks to express in the novel her reflections about "how organized religion has systematically undermined and destroyed the sexual and spiritual beliefs of millions of indigenous people" (Walker/White 1998), most of her messages are conveyed through Pauline's dialogues with Susannah, for instance "Women all over the world have been brainwashed to think sex is not meant to be pleasurable to them, only to the men fucking them" (*BTL* 130). Showing all the suffering and cruelty of the world is, however, not Walker's only goal. The

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after five millennia of patriarchal destruction, domination and control" (Walker 1996: 172).

[4] Parts of the definitions mostly suitable for Pauline: "1. A black feminist or feminist of color… Usually referring to outrageous, audacious, courageous or *willful* behavior. Wanting to know more and in greater depth than is considered «good» for one. 2. A woman who loves other women, sexually and/or nonsexually. […]". See also: Alice Walker's *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens* and *King, Debra Walker (2018). "Alice Walker's Jesus: A Womanist Paradox". Forum on Public Policy Online 1.* Oxford: Oxford Round Table.

reader becomes the witness of how at least one of the male characters, Mr. Robinson, manages to understand his cruelty and how he struggles to right his mistakes.

The novel's final lesson takes place after everyone's death, in the Mundo afterlife. After a very long time of preparation, everybody is ready to participate in a great family's reunion. Eventually, Magdalena and Manuelito can fulfill their destiny and make love together by the light of Magdalena's father's smile. It takes Mr. Robinson a long time to prepare himself for this ceremony. In the same manner in which Manuelito helps Magdalena's father to get rid of his Western way of thinking about sex, Walker gradually prepares the reader for her vision of an undisturbed and joyous love, without false shame, and among blessing and kisses from the parents.

4. Conclusion

By the Light of My Father's Smile is a strongly autobiographical novel. It bears many signs of Walker's personal experience such as descriptions of Langley's trips to Africa; and similarly there are allusions to her personal struggles of defending victimized people. In this fashion, the essence of Walker's novel carries one of her most important messages, which is to show the daily tribulations that women and minorities have to face. Through her words she illuminates the unpleasant lives of discriminated people who cope with everyday difficulties of a patriarchal society. She not only portrays the situation of American women, but also makes many references to oppressed peoples all over the world, such as women in Iran or Gypsies in Europe. Walker transgresses even the limits of good taste, for instance while portraying Pauline's childhood, in order to reveal what many people refuse to notice on their own. Moreover, she presents the negative consequences of blind obedience toward traditional religions and puts into question religious doctrines, for example through letting Irene make a remark on religious books that contain instructions about the size and shape of the stones to be used for stoning of women. Walker's intention is to make people aware of the flaws of organized religion and to convey the tragic truth about women all over the world. Moreover, Walker strives to provide strength to oppressed women to fight for a better future and to encourage both sexes to question the patriarchal system.

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