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LINGUISTICS

The framing of climate change by Greenpeace Australia Pacific

OLEKSANDR KAPRANOV

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Abstract

In the Anglophone discursive space, there is a variety of actors, such as the public at large, media, politicians, and independent environmental organizations (e.g. Greenpeace) that are engaged in climate change communication. In particular, Greenpeace and its national branches, for example Greenpeace Australia Pacific (further – GAP), seem to utilize social networking sites (SNSs), for instance Facebook, in communicating their opinions, calls for action, and news on the issue of climate change. Currently, however, little is known about how GAP frames its climate change communication on Facebook, which is considered one of the leading SNSs worldwide. To fill the existing research gap, the article describes and discusses a qualitative study that aims at learning about how GAP's climate change communication is framed on Facebook. This is done by means of applying a qualitative framing methodology developed by Entman (1993, 2007, 2010) to the corpus of GAP's status updates on Facebook. The results of the qualitative framing analysis have revealed that GAP utilizes the following frames in its climate change communication on Facebook: *Climate Justice*, *Climate Strike*, *Deep-Sea Mining*, *Extreme Weather Events*, *Fossil Fuel*, *Fossil Fuel Corporations*, *Green Technology*, *Rising Sea Levels*, and *Urgency*. These findings are further discussed and illustrated in the article.

Key words

climate change discourse, frame, framing, Greenpeace, Greenpeace Australia Pacific

**Framing zmiany klimatu
przez Greenpeace Australia Pacific****Abstrakt**

W anglojęzycznym dyskursie istnieje wielu aktorów, takich jak szeroka publiczność, media, politycy i niezależne organizacje ekologiczne (np. Greenpeace), które zajmują się komunikacją dotyczącą zmian klimatycznych. W szczególności Greenpeace i jego oddziały krajowe, na przykład Greenpeace Australia Pacific (dalej – GAP), wydają się wykorzystywać serwisy społecznościowe (SNS), na przykład Facebook, do komunikowania swoich opinii, wezwań do działania i wiadomości na temat zmian klimatycznych. Jednak niewiele wiadomo o tym, w jaki sposób GAP formułuje swoją komunikację dotyczącą zmian klimatycznych na Facebooku, który jest uważany za jeden z wiodących serwisów SNS na świecie. Aby wypełnić istniejącą lukę badawczą, artykuł opisuje i omawia badanie jakościowe, którego celem jest poznanie sposobu, w jaki komunikacja GAP dotycząca zmian klimatycznych jest formułowana na Facebooku. Dokonuje się tego poprzez zastosowanie jakościowej metodologii framing opracowanej przez Entmana (1993, 2007, 2010) do korpusu GAP na Facebooku. Wyniki jakościowej analizy ujawniły, że GAP wykorzystuje następujące framing w swojej komunikacji na temat zmian klimatu na Facebooku: Sprawiedliwość klimatyczna, Strajk klimatyczny, Górnictwo głębinowe, Ekstremalne zjawiska pogodowe, Paliwa kopalne, Korporacje paliw kopalnych, Zielona technologia, Podnoszący się poziom mórz i Pilność. Wyniki analizy są ilustrowane w artykule.

Słowa kluczowe

dyskurs na temat zmian klimatu, frame, framing, Greenpeace, Greenpeace Australia Pacific

1. Introduction

In the Anglophone world, the issue of climate change attracts attention of a score of media, political, and societal actors (Dunwoody 2015, Kapranov 2023), such as Greenpeace, which is an independent international environmental organization with a number of national branches, for instance, Greenpeace Australia Pacific (further in the article – GAP). In its environmental and climate change-related activities, Greenpeace in general and GAP in particular are known to rely on SNSs in order to communicate their views, opinions, news, and calls for action (Coombs 2014). To date, however, there is insufficient research on GAP's climate change communication on SNSs and, to be specific, on Facebook. Furthermore, there are no published studies that report on how GAP frames its climate change communication on Facebook. Given that SNSs, inclusive of Facebook, represent a potent means of climate change communication (Shah et al. 2021), a study on how GAP frames its climate change communication on Facebook appears timely and relevant.

In order to fill in the current research gap, the present article introduces and discusses a qualitative study, whose aim is to learn about how GAP frames its climate change communication that GAP makes available on Facebook in the form of status updates. Theoretically, the study relies on the approach to framing developed by Entman (1993, 2010), who defines it “as the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote particular interpretation” (Entman 2010: 336). According to Entman (2010: 336), frames “introduce or raise the salience or apparent importance of certain ideas, activating schemas that encourage target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way”. Guided by Entman's (1993, 2010) approach, the study seeks to answer the following research question (RQ):

RQ: What types of frames are used in GAP's climate change communication on Facebook?

Further, the article is organized in the following manner. First, in section 2, I present a brief review of the recent literature on framing in climate change discourse in Australia. Second, in section 3, the present study is introduced, inclusive of its methodology, results and their discussion. Finally, in section 4, I provide a summary of the study and propose potential research directions associated with the present research.

2. Framing in climate change discourse in Australia: A review of the literature

There is a growing bulk of published studies that employ framing and framing methodology in researching climate change discourse in the Anglophone world (Fløttum 2016, Kapranov 2017b, 2018a). It is argued in the literature that framing provides an invaluable insight into climate change discourse (Guenther et al. 2024), which is communicated by a variety of actors in different Anglophone countries, for instance, in Australia (Austin et al. 2020, Boulton 2022, Crowley 2021, Daume et al. 2023, Howey and Neale 2023, Huang 2023, Hunter and Lobo 2024, McDonald 2021, Malakar et al. 2024, McHugh 2021, Sharp et al. 2024, Wright et al. 2021). Let us briefly review the recent literature (published from 2020 to 2024) on the framing of climate change discourses by Australian actors.

A number of fairly recent studies report that Australian media actors frame climate change as a domestic issue (Crowley 2021), which is manifested by the threat posed by climate change to the fragile Australian environment (McHugh 2021), for example climate change-induced coral bleaching off the coast of Queensland (Huang 2023). The fragility of Australian nature vis-à-vis anthropogenic climate change exacerbates the daily livelihood of Australian rural communities, which are thought to be extremely vulnerable to climate change (Austin et

al. 2020). The literature shows that whilst rural Australians frame their discourses on climate change from the point of view of the environment, their framing is marked by such pivotal aspects, as financial, health and social impacts of climate change (Austin et al. 2020). Additionally, the framing of climate change in rural Australia is reflective of societal actors' concerns that are, quite often, not attended to by the political actors (Huang 2023). Therefore, it is not at all surprising that, according to the literature, the leading Australian media actors frame the aforementioned issues as a conflict between the societal and political actors, with the latter offering limited efforts towards the mitigation of the situation (Crowley 2021).

Concurrently, however, the literature posits that a number of Australian political actors appear to frame the issue of climate change through the discursive lens of "climate emergency" (McHugh 2021). In this regard, it should be, perhaps, mentioned that the framing of climate change as emergency is not at all novel in the Anglophone discursive space (Kapranov 2015a, 2017a, 2017b, 2018b). In particular, climate change is routinely framed in the United Kingdom (the UK) via the discursive constructions of crisis and emergency. Similarly, Australian political actors are reported to frame their climate change discourses as (i) emergency and risk, (ii) emergency and threat, and (iii) emergency and opportunities (McHugh 2021).

Furthermore, Australian media actors frame the issue of climate change as a threat that arises due to the constantly growing volume of gas and oil extraction by Australian fossil fuel corporations (Hamilton 2001, Howey and Neale 2023, Wright et al. 2021). Specifically, the literature specifies that the framing of climate change as a threat involves two discursive foci, namely (i) an existential threat, seen as a negative impact of fossil fuels on the rise in global temperature and (ii) a localized threat, problematized as a detrimental effect of fossil fuel extraction on the local nature in Australia (Boulton 2022, Hunter and Lobo 2024). Interestingly, the literature demonstrates that the framing of climate change as a threat to the local environment is also present

in Australia's neighbour across the Tasman Sea, New Zealand (Kapranov 2024).

In addition, the literature reveals that Australian discursive contexts are characterized by the securitization of the issue of climate change (McDonald 2021). Specifically, it has been found that the link between climate change and security is framed in Australia as “the deployment of military resources in response and the existential nature of the threat to people and ecosystems” (McDonald 2021: 1). In other words, the Australian political actors tend to equate the issue of climate change with security-related problems and frame them accordingly (McDonald 2021).

Apart from the frames that involve the portrayal of climate change as a threat and a security issue, other manifestations of climate change-related framing in Australia involve moral and leadership foci that are associated with the climate change debate among a number of Australian corporate actors (Wright et al. 2021). Notably, the Australian corporate world frames its climate change discourse through the prism of hegemony, ideology, and corporate image-building (Wright et al. 2021). The focus on corporate image-building by Australian fossil fuel corporations, particularly, aligns with the literature that shows the importance of positive image-building vis-à-vis climate change by fossil fuel corporations in a number of Anglophone countries, for instance, in the UK (Kapranov, 2015a, 2018a, 2018b).

It should be mentioned that just like the current framing of climate change in the UK and New Zealand, the framing of climate change by political and societal actors in Australia involves the so-called “net-zero framing”, which presupposes zero emissions of greenhouse gasses into the atmosphere (Kapranov 2017a, 2017b, 2024, Malakar et al. 2024; Prosser and Whitmarsh 2022). Referring to the frame “net-zero”, the literature posits that currently in Australia this frame is instantiated as the frames (i) “electrify everything”, which involves the focus on green technology, (ii) “place matters”, which encapsulates liveability, inclusivity, sociality, and the environment in general,

(iii) “going green”, which addresses sustainability, and (iv) “innovation hotspot”, with problematic net-zero economy (Sharp et al. 2024).

It follows from the literature review that the major foci that are involved in the framing of climate change by Australian actors pertain to presenting climate change-related problems as a threat, a security issue, an emergency situation, a moral problem, and an aspect of corporate image-building, to name just a few. The literature, however, does not inform the readership about the types of frames that are employed in climate change discourse by GAP, i.e. Greenpeace Australia Pacific. Furthermore, as mentioned in the introduction, there is no published research that reports on the types of frames that are used in GAP’s climate change discourse on Facebook. Below, in section 3 of the article, I present and discuss a qualitative study that aims to address the current gap in the literature.

3. The present study

The present qualitative study forms part of an ongoing research project that investigates climate change discourses by several national branches of Greenpeace that are located in the Anglophone countries in the Southern Hemisphere (see Kapranov 2024). The aim of the project is to identify and analyze Greenpeace’s country-specific discourses on the issue of climate change in the aforementioned region. In this regard, it should be, perhaps, specified that the Southern Hemisphere is particularly heavily impacted by the process of climate change (Robinson and Erickson III 2015). From the vantage point of poignancy of the issue of climate change in Australia, which is one of the biggest Anglophone countries in the Southern Hemisphere, it is relevant to learn about how the Australian branch of Greenpeace, GAP, frames its climate change discourse in its communication on SNSs. Given that GAP maintains a substantial online presence on SNSs (Hendriks et al. 2016, Ritter and Brevini 2017), it looks pertinent to (i) find out about its framing

of climate change on Facebook (see the RQ in the introduction) and (ii) identify a set of frames that, perhaps, are specific to GAP, if any.

Arguably, the relevance of knowing more about GAP's framing of the issue of climate change on Facebook resonates with the literature (Arts 2004), which points to the global-local nexus in climate change discourses by Greenpeace. Let us illustrate this contention in more detail. As far as the local and global dimensions of climate change discourses by Greenpeace are concerned, it is quite possible to assume that whilst the Southern Hemisphere branches of Greenpeace, namely GAP and Green Peace New Zealand (Aotearoa), might share the same language, general tonality, and typical framing of climate change-related topics, their climate change discourses may involve distinct frames that are reflective, potentially, of the differences in (i) discursive strategies of climate change communication and (ii) local discursive foci in climate change communication, to name just a few. In line with this reasoning, it would be pertinent to identify a potential number of frames that are employed in climate change communication on Facebook by GAP and, in future studies, compare the frames with those of other branches of Greenpeace in the Southern Hemisphere.

The qualitative identification of frames in the study was based upon a corpus of GAP's Facebook status updates on the issue of climate change, which were publicly available at <https://www.facebook.com/greenpeaceaustraliapacific>. The corpus collection was facilitated by the manual search for the following keywords, which were taken from the prior studies on climate change discourse (Fløttum and Dahl 2012, Fløttum and Gjerstad 2017, Fløttum et al. 2014, Kapranov 2015a, 2015b, 2018a, 2018b, Nerlich and Jaspal 2024, Tvinnereim and Fløttum 2015): *climate change, climate change activism, climate change activist/activists, climate change adaptation, climate change demonstration, climate change legislation, climate change mitigation, climate change protest/protests, climate risk/risks, CO2 emission/emissions, extreme weather event/events, global*

warming, green technology, and renewables. The corpus cut-off was set at six months, which, according to the prior studies (Kapranov 2017a, 2017b, 2024), was deemed to be sufficient for the collection of SNS-based discourse data for the purposes of framing analysis. Based upon the cut-off criterion, the GAP's Facebook status updates, which were posted between 1 June 2023 and 30 November 2023, were downloaded and saved as Word files. Further, the Word files were processed in the statistical program Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20.0 (IBM 2011) in order to compute the descriptive statistics of the corpus. In total, the corpus was comprised of 147 Facebook status updates, which involved 7 385 words (mean words 50.2 and standard deviation words 40.9).

The present framing analysis followed the literature that described a qualitative procedure of the identification of frames (Entman 1991, 1993, 2007, 2010, Kapranov 2016, 2018c, 2020). Informed by the qualitative approach to frame identification, I examined each Facebook status update in the corpus in terms of (i) a climate change-related problem, (ii) explicit and/or implicit cause/causes of the climate change-related problem, (iii) a moral interpretation of the climate change-related problem, and (iv) a possible solution that was associated with the climate change-related problem. The aforementioned considerations were critical in the identification and labelling of frames. Importantly, it should be noted that whilst the present analysis acknowledged the involvement of multimodality (for instance, emojis, hashtags, pictures, videos, etc.) in framing, the framing analysis did not aim at shedding particular light onto the multimodal elements, since they were deemed to merit a separate investigation. The results of the qualitative framing analysis and their discussion are given in subsection 3.1 below.

3.1. Results and discussion

The results of the qualitative framing analysis have revealed that the corpus of GAP's Facebook status updates on the issue of climate change is characterised by nine types of frames that are summarized in Table 1. It should be worth noting that Table 1, in addition to enlisting the frames, provides typical examples that illustrate them. Also, it should be specified that all the examples in Table 1 are taken from GAP's official Facebook page <https://www.facebook.com/greenpeaceaustraliapacific>.

Table 1

The Framing of the Issue of Climate Change in GAP's Facebook Status Updates

#	Frames	Examples
1	<i>Climate Justice</i>	There is no climate justice without First Nations justice. 🖤🟡❤️ That's why we have joined 43 other organisations and groups (representing more than 2 million Australians) and signed a public letter saying YES to the Voice. 👉 https://www.yes.org.au/ #yes23 #writeyes #yestothevoice
2	<i>Climate Strike</i>	School students across the country are striking for the climate once again this Friday, November 17. 🗣️🌍📣 Come show your support by joining them (including outside Woodside's HQ in Perth) at your local strike. See you there! 👉 ss4c.info/nov17 #ShiftThePower
3	<i>Deep-Sea Mining</i>	Have you heard about fossil fuel giant Woodside's plans to drill in Western Australia's precious oceans? It's all a part of their deep-sea gas project known as the Burrup Hub - the most climate-polluting fossil fuel proposal in Australia today. Help us #StopWoodside 👉 https://act.gp/3ELUpHt

4	<i>Extreme Weather Events</i>	The Bureau of Meteorology has formally declared an El Niño climate event in Australia. ⚠️ Bringing with it an increase of bushfire danger and extreme heat risk.
5	<i>Fossil Fuel</i>	Petrol is a dirty, polluting, expensive, fossil fuel - and with every year that passes, our reliance on fossil fuelled cars is costing Australians billions. 🚗🌫️ In April, Transport Minister Catherine King announced there would be legislation for cleaner cars by the end of this year - but now she is refusing to confirm that timeline.
6	<i>Fossil Fuel Corporations</i>	Shell is suing Greenpeace International and Greenpeace UK and threatening an \$8 MILLION damages claim for peacefully protesting their climate destruction ❌ They are a huge multi-billion dollar corporation trying to intimidate us, but we are a movement of people determined to fight for a livable planet 🌍👊 Together we can fight the court case and put pressure on Shell to stop drilling and start paying for their climate damage!
7	<i>Green Technology</i>	Woolworths has committed to 100% electric delivery trucks by 2030 ⚡ Coles and ALDI risk falling behind in the race to electrify, so we asked customers if they want to see Coles and ALDI stepping up to make a commitment to clean air. Here's what they had to say 👉
8	<i>Rising Sea Levels</i>	Nobody should lose their home to climate change. 💔 But in Tuvalu, where Maina lives, people who have spent their whole lives by the coast are being forced to relocate inland because of rising sea levels. ...And international environmental laws fail to protect those, who don't have the resources they need to build resilience against climate change. Donate now, and help fund the fight for accountability and action on climate

		change 👉 https://www.greenpeace.org.au/donate/pacific
9	<i>Urgency</i>	Daily reminder climate can't wait

Judging from the data, we may argue that the majority of frames that are presented in Table 1 show striking similarities to the framing of climate change discourse by a score of Australian and, generally, Anglophone actors. These frames are *Climate Strike*, *Deep-Sea Mining*, *Extreme Weather Events*, *Fossil Fuel*, *Fossil Fuel Corporations*, *Green Technology*, *Rising Sea Levels*, and *Urgency*. Let us commence our discussion with these frames and, afterwards, conclude it by analyzing the frames that seem to be GAP-specific.

The GAP's framing of the issue of climate change as the frame *Climate Strike* is amply reported in the research literature (Kapranov 2023, 2024). Specifically, a number of previous studies have identified the framing of climate change as strikes and/or protest movements that take place in the Anglophone world, especially under the aegis of Greta Thunberg's climate action movement referred to as "Fridays for Future" (Niininen and Baumeister 2022, Sabherwal et al. 2021). Judging from the data (see Table 1), GAP shows solidarity with Thunberg's climate change protest movement and frames the issue of climate change accordingly, e.g. "School students across the country are striking for the climate once again this Friday, November 17" (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2023). Hence, we may contend that the frame *Climate Strike* is neither GAP-specific nor unique to Australian climate change discourses.

Similarly to *Climate Strike*, the frame *Extreme Weather Events* is profoundly described in the literature on Australian actors' climate change discourses (Austin et al. 2020, Crowley 2021, Huang 2023, McHugh 2021). The GAP's framing of climate change as *Extreme Weather Events* lends support to the literature (Austin et al. 2020, McHugh 2021), which points out

to the crucial role of anthropogenic climate change in impacting negatively upon the Australian environment and rural life, respectively, cf. “[...] an El Niño climate event in Australia. Bringing with it an increase of bushfire danger and extreme heat risk” (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2023). Likewise, the GAP’s framing of climate change as the frame *Rising Sea Levels* seems to amplify GAP’s heightened concern over the extreme weather conditions in Australia, which, in addition to bushfires and extended periods of drought (Austin et al. 2020, McHugh 2021), result in an increase in the total volume of ocean water, especially in the Pacific region, e.g. “But in Tuvalu [...] people who have spent their whole lives by the coast are being forced to relocate inland because of rising sea levels” (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2023). In this regard, it should be noted that the frame *Rising Sea Levels* is often employed in climate change communication by the political actors in the UK (Kapranov 2018a, 2018b). Arguably, the presence of *Rising Sea Levels* in the present corpus imparts GAP’s discourse on climate change a touch of affinity with the British political discourses on climate change that foreground the idea of the change in global sea levels (Kapranov 2015a).

The frame *Urgency*, e.g. “climate can’t wait” (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2023), does not seem to be GAP-specific, since it is quite similar to the framing of climate change by a number of political as well as societal actors in the UK. Specifically, the literature (Kapranov 2017a, 2017b, 2023) emphasises that the mainstream political actors in the UK resort to framing the issue of climate change through the lens of urgency and utter necessity, especially in the context of financial costs needed to combat the negative consequences of climate change. Additionally, the actuality of *Urgency* in the corpus buttresses the literature (McHugh 2021), which reports that Australian political actors often frame their climate change discourses via a cognate frame *Emergency*.

In addition to *Urgency*, as well as *Rising Sea Levels*, *Extreme Weather Events*, and *Climate Strike*, the frames *Fossil Fuel* and

Fossil Fuel Corporations, respectively, exhibit closeness to the framing of climate change by other Australian actors, who view the issue of climate change through the prism of fossil fuel and its negative impact on the current state of affairs (Austin et al. 2020, Crowley 2021, Huang 2023, McHugh 2021). Also, it is worth mentioning that GAP's framing of climate change as *Fossil Fuel* and *Fossil Fuel Corporations* (see relevant examples in Table 1) finds their counterparts in the literature (Kapranov 2018a, 2018b, 2024), which demonstrates that Anglophone political and societal actors, first of all, in the UK, routinely frame the issue of climate change through the lens of corporate activities associated with the extraction and processing of fossil fuel (for instance, oil and gas). In this regard, the framing of climate change by GAP that involves the foci on fossil fuel and corporate actors (e.g. The Royal Dutch Shell) associated with it are not at all specific to GAP. Rather, the frames *Fossil Fuel* and *Fossil Fuel Corporations* could be argued to represent a typical framing of climate change in the Anglophone discursive space.

Yet, one more frame that is widely used by Australian political and societal actors on a par with GAP is represented by *Green Technology*. This frame, in particular, resonates with the literature (Sharp et al. 2024), which unveils the importance of eco-friendly green technology within the context of the current transitioning to net-zero economy in Australia. Moreover, GAP's framing of climate change as *Green Technology* is evocative of the prior studies (Kapranov 2017a, 2018a), which indicate that the frames similar or identical to *Green Technology* are extensively employed in climate change discourses by political and corporate actors in the UK.

Analogously to *Green Technology*, the frame *Deep-Sea Mining* does not appear to be GAP-specific. In particular, Greenpeace Aotearoa, the national branch of Greenpeace in New Zealand, has been found to frame the issue of climate change via a relatively similar frame *Fast Track* (Kapranov 2024). In this regard, it should be explained that *Fast Track* is associated with the "Fast Track Approvals Bill", which proposes to establish

a permanent fast track approvals regime for the development of infrastructure, inclusive of deep-sea mining off the coast of New Zealand (Kapranov 2024). The frames *Fast Track* and *Deep-Sea Mining* encapsulate GAP's and Greenpeace Aotearoa's negative attitudes towards the mining of the seabed and the unbridled development of offshore oil and gas fields. More specifically, GAP highlights the deep-sea location of fossil fuel extraction in the frame *Deep-Sea Mining*, e.g. "[...] a part of their deep-sea gas project known as the Burrup Hub - the most climate-polluting fossil fuel proposal in Australia today" (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2023). Concurrently with the common focus that is shared between *Fast Track* and *Deep-Sea Mining*, the frame *Deep-Sea Mining* exhibits closeness to the well-documented types of frames *Fossil Fuel* and *Fossil Fuel Corporations* by virtue of its association with the development of gas fields by big corporate actors. Notably, it should be remarked that the presence of *Deep-Sea Mining* in GAP's climate change discourse is a novel finding, given that this frame is not reported in the recent literature (see Austin et al. 2020, Crowley 2021, Daume et al. 2023, Huang 2023, McDonald 2021, McHugh 2021, Sharp et al. 2024, Wright et al. 2021).

Having discussed the types of frames that seem to be present in climate change discourses by GAP and other Australian actors, let us consider the frames that appear to be GAP-specific. Judging from the findings summarised in Table 1, only *Climate Justice* could be argued to represent a GAP-specific framing of the issue of climate change. Whilst the frame *Climate Justice* echoes, at least partially, the framing of climate change that is reported by Wright, Nyberg, and Bowden (2021) in terms of its moral dimension that is involved in corporate image-building (see Wright et al. 2021), the focus of the frame *Climate Justice* in the present corpus is on morality vis-à-vis climate change in the context of Australian Aboriginal population. Specifically, GAP views the issue of climate change as a topic that should be treated, inter alia, from the standpoint of empowerment of Australian Aboriginals, referred to by GAP as "First Nations", e.g.

“There is no climate justice without First Nations justice” (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2023). The main message in this framing consists in interrelating the issue of climate change with a change in policies and practices associated with the Australian Aboriginal community. Arguably, the refocussing of the conventional framings of climate change through the lens of green technology, fossil fuel, etc. as the frame *Climate Justice*, which problematises justice as a moral construal that equally refers to climate change and the Australian Aboriginal population, represents a GAP-specific framing, which is not reported in climate change discourses by other Australian actors. One more critical observation should be added to the discussion of the frame *Climate Justice*. It involves the reference to Australian Aboriginals as the “First Nations”. It should be, perhaps, noted that the terms “Aboriginal” and “Aboriginal population” are widely used in the official bureaucratic jargon in Australia, and they are not negatively connoted (Altman 2018, Warry 2008). However, the noun phrase “First Nations”, which is used in the framing by GAP, is evocative of the North American discursive conventions to refer to the Native American population as the “First Nations” (Flanagan 2019, Kuper 2003). Whilst it is beyond the scope of the present paper to expand upon this finding, it, nevertheless, adds a new layer of detail to the framing of climate change by GAP.

4. Conclusions

The article has presented and discussed a qualitative investigation of the corpus of Facebook status updates by GAP, i.e. Greenpeace Australia Pacific, which is a local branch of Greenpeace, one of the leading environmental organisations worldwide. The qualitative framing analysis of the corpus has revealed the presence of nine types of frames that are employed in GAP’s climate change discourse on Facebook. The juxtaposition of the frames with those reported by the literature has uncovered that the frames *Climate Strike*, *Deep-Sea Mining*, *Extreme*

Weather Events, Fossil Fuel, Fossil Fuel Corporations, Green Technology, Rising Sea Levels, and Urgency do not appear to be specific to GAP's discourse on climate change, given that the prior studies report their presence in climate change discourses by a number of Australian and other Anglophone actors.

Concurrently with these findings, it has been established that the frame *Climate Justice* seems to be GAP-specific. As far as the specificity of the frame *Climate Justice* is concerned, it emblematises a truly localised Australian perspective, which is shared by GAP in its climate change discourse on Facebook. The perspective involves putting on equal footing the construal of "justice" that applies to (i) the issue of climate change and (ii) Australian Aboriginals, who are referred to by GAP as the "First Nations". This finding opens an avenue for future studies that could explore the nexus between the issue of climate change within the discourse on decolonisation, for instance, or within the discursive space of climate change and climate justice on the one hand and the First Nations' (in)justice on the other hand.

Summarizing the findings, it seems feasible to offer the following generalisation that stems from the corpus analysis. The framing of the issue of climate change by GAP shares multiple discursive perspectives with the other Australian actors that represent political, media, and societal walks of life. Moreover, the majority of the types of frames used by GAP seem to correlate with the analogous frames that circulate in a number of Anglophone discourses, first of all British discourses on the topic of climate change. These findings allow us to claim that GAP's climate change discourse on Facebook, essentially, has much in common with the international Anglophone discourses on climate change. These findings could be further applied to researching how other local branches of Greenpeace frame their respective climate change discourses in SNSs-based discursive environments, for instance, Facebook, Instagram, and/or X (Twitter).

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Primary source

<https://www.facebook.com/greenpeaceaustraliapacific>.

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**Arabic loanwords in French
via Spanish as an intermediate language:
A semantic analysis**

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to examine the way in which, from a semantic point of view, words have passed from language A to language B by transiting through language C, on the model of the assimilation of Arabic words into French through Spanish. We are establishing a systematic classification of transition processes and their adaptation in two different historical-cultural realities (Spain of Al-Andalus and France), with the aim of examining the extent to which these double loanwords have been modified, and possibly altered. Representative examples have been selected to illustrate each process.

Keywords

historical linguistics, romance, lexicology, word formation, semantics

Analiza semantyczna zapożyczeń arabskich w języku francuskim poprzez hiszpański jako język pośredni

Abstrakt

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zbadanie w jaki sposób, z semantycznego punktu widzenia, słowa przeszły z języka A do języka B, za pośrednictwem języka C, na podstawie asymilacji słów arabskich w języku francuskim poprzez hiszpański. Tworzymy systematyczną klasyfikację procesów przejściowych i ich adaptacji w dwóch różnych realiach historyczno-kulturowych (Hiszpania-Al-Andalus i Francja) w celu zbadania zakresu, w jakim te podwójne zapożyczenia zostały zmodyfikowane i ewentualnie zmienione. Wybraliśmy charakterystyczne przykłady, aby zilustrować każdy proces.

Słowa kluczowe

językoznawstwo historyczne, romanistyka, leksykologia, słowotwórstwo, semantyka

1. Theoretical and formal aspects

French is a language which has been in almost constant contact with the Arab world from the Crusades to recent periods of colonisation. This was particularly the case during the period of Muslim Spain, commonly known as Al-Andalus, from the 8th to the 15th century. During this period, many conflicts and cultural exchanges occurred, and French borrowed a significant number of Arabic words that Spanish had already adopted. The assimilation of these words took place in two steps: the first from Andalusian Arabic into Spanish, and the second from Spanish to French. This semantic assimilation also took place on three formal levels: phonetic, morphological and semantic. It is this last aspect that is introduced here. For ease of reading, Arabic words are transcribed using the DIN 31635 system. As we shall see, several of these words were borrowed from French

to English later on, which in this case implies a three-stage transmission: Arabic – Spanish – French – English.

The semantic assimilation of old loanwords means venturing onto a slippery slope where we are often reduced to more or less plausible conjectures. As the Andalusian variant of Arabic is still not sufficiently studied, in many cases it is difficult to determine unequivocally whether a semantic change has taken place in the Arabic or Ibero-Roman environment. The rule often mentioned by authors, according to which the semantic assimilation of loanwords generally consists in restricting the meaning of a polysemic etymon, is mainly true of lexemes borrowed at present. On the other hand, it is not always confirmed in the case of old loanwords, including those which are the subject of the present analyses. The lexical polysemy of ancient languages embedded in early civilisations is not very well studied. In the case of old loanwords, it often only appears later, when foreign lexical units, initially monosemic, are enriched over several centuries by assimilation into the borrowing language of new meanings which reflect the civilisational development. The following classification of the assimilatory mechanisms of Spanish Arabisms at the semantic level is based on the dichotomy of conservation of meaning / change of meaning. Either of this semantic relation is observed at the moment of transfer of a foreign lexical unit from language A (Andalusian Arabic) to language B (Mozarabic dialect / [old] Castilian). These relationships therefore apply to the chronologically primary meaning of "borrowed" in relation to the semantics of its Arabic etymon. Starting from the original meaning of a given loan, the subsequent semantic changes will be analysed in chronological order up to its contemporary meanings. Within the framework of this semantic dichotomy, a sub-classification will be introduced: 1 – Arabism / indigenous equivalent, semantically close or identical; 2 – Arabism without indigenous equivalent. Arabisms doubling native equivalents are not uncommon in the bilingual environment. Over time, for one reason or another, this type of Arabism supplants its native equivalent(s) or vice

versa. It may also be that the Arabism and its Romance equivalent(s) persist to the present day.

The assimilation of Arabisms despite the existence of native equivalents is usually explained by the fact that the Arabic synonym (or word with a similar meaning) made it possible to distinguish, within the same class of referents present in the Arabic and Ibero-Roman cultures (e.g. fortresses), the characteristics typical of the foreign culture. Lőrinczi (1969), in his semantic assimilation of Spanish Arabisms, reduced this difference to the *moro / no moro* formula in relation to the set of referent characteristics referred to an Arabism on the one hand, and its native equivalent on the other. In fact, Arab fortresses were different from those built by the Christians, so despite the existence of Ibero-Roman names (*fortaleza, castillo*) referring to indigenous realities, the Arabic noun *al-qaṣr (alcázar)* was borrowed to designate a specific type of Moorish fortress (cf. below). The semantic relationships between the two elements of this type of lexical doublet (*moro / no moro*) underwent changes as a result of the evolution of the referents specific to historically and culturally variable Arab and Christian realities. In general, in the case of Arabism, the *moro* feature underwent more or less advanced neutralisation over time, leading either to the blurring of semantic differences between equivalents, as in the case of *alcázar / castillo* (cf. infra), or to the disappearance of one or other element of the doublet following a complete fusion of the *moro / no moro* features within a single referent, as in the case of the Arabic *guitarra*, which supplanted the indigenous equivalent *cítara* (cf. infra), or finally to the advanced semantic differentiation of the two elements of the doublet, as in the case of *alcalde / juez*.

2. Semantic assimilation processes

2.1. Conservation of meaning

2.1.1. Presence of native equivalents

The first category of semantic assimilation is where the borrowing language (Spanish in this case) already has a word designating the referent in question. This is the case with the words *alcázar*, which have just been mentioned, and also of *alcalde* (judge, mayor), *marfil* (ivory), *noria* (well), *alquermes* (vermilion), and *alcazaba* (small fortified site). Below we look at the emblematic case of the word guitar, which English then borrowed from French afterwards.

guitarra (ar. *qīṭāra*)

From Arabic to Spanish: In medieval Spain, there were two types of guitar: a Greco-Latin guitar (*cítara*) and a *guitarra morisca*, brought to al-Andalus by the Arabs and featured in Spanish iconography from the 12th century onwards (*Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X of Castile : TLF). The *guitarra morisca*, with its ovoid shape and short neck, was similar to a lute. The *cítara*, on the other hand, more closely resembled the modern guitar. Ancient guitars had double strings, the number of which could vary, which distinguishes them from today's guitars. The contemporary classical guitar, unlike the Spanish one, appeared in its present form from the nineteenth century onwards, and is the result of the evolution of the two aforementioned types. A complete fusion of the *moro / no moro* characteristics then took place in relation to the current referent, resulting in the disappearance of one element of the lexical doublet *guitarra (morisca) / cítara*. Both Spanish terms come from Greek: *cítara*, now an archaism, through Latin and *guitarra*, the name of today's instrument, also from Greek but through Arabic. The creator of the contemporary classical guitar (*guitarra clásica*) and its flamenco variant (*guitarra flamenco*)

was the Spanish luthier, Antonio de Torres Jurado. That is not to say that *guitarras moriscas* and *cítaras* have disappeared. They can be found in museums or in groups that specialise in playing old instruments. Apart from the classical guitar and the flamenco guitar, there are different kinds of acoustic guitars (*guitarras acústicas*) and electric guitars (*guitarras eléctricas*). *Un, una guitarra* in the metonymic sense also means a guitarist playing in an orchestra or band. On the other hand, *una guitarra* as a technical term refers metaphorically, given certain visual associations, to the plaster crusher.

From Spanish to French: In medieval France, the *zither* (Greco-Latin guitar) was first used. In the 13th century, the hispanism *guitarre* is noted, which proves that more or less at that time the Moorish-style guitar from the Iberian Peninsula appeared in France. The term *guitare moresche* is noted in French texts from the 14th century (*Comptes de l'hôtel de Jean, duc de Normandie*). The later evolution of this referent occurred under the influence of changes in Spain (cf. above). At the end of this evolution, in the 19th century, France adopted a Spanish-style guitar (i.e. the contemporary classical guitar). Nowadays, this Spanish term has a very broad meaning because it can refer to different types of guitar (flamenco, acoustic, etc.) and to any instrument, often folkloric, more or less similar to the guitar: Arabic guitar, Hawaiian guitar, balalaika, banjo, bouzouki, etc. In a metaphorical sense, the noun *guitar* was used as an architectural term from the 19th century onwards to designate a framework made mainly of curved pieces, used to support the projecting roofs of dormer windows. The openwork structure of this rounded framework is reminiscent of the decorative motifs of the guitar rosette. Moreover, in a metaphorical sense, this Hispanicism is present in expressions, now outdated, such as *autre guitare, c'est la même guitare* ('jingle, banal theory or hackneyed maxim').

noria (ar. *nā'ūra*)

From Arabic to Spanish: This is one of the best-known hydraulic machines in the history of mankind used to irrigate fields. Originally, widespread in Greece and the Near East, it was also used by the Romans throughout the Empire, including the province of Hispania. In al-Andalus, these machines were used on a large scale by the Arabs, who also took over the Roman norias and perfected them. At a later date, Arab versions of the norias were also used by the Catholic kings. So it is hardly surprising that the Arabic word *noria* came to supplant the native equivalent *tímpano* (from the Latin *tympanum*). Old Castilian used the form with the agglutinated article, *annoria*, which persisted as an archaism (*anoria*). In modern Spanish, there are other Arabisms for different types of hydraulic device, but only the noun *noria* has been borrowed by many languages. Over time, modernised norias began to be used in a variety of ways in other fields, such as mining. As a result of a centuries-long evolution of the referent, the *moro* trait was gradually neutralised, and various types of modern norias are entirely devoid of it. In the metaphorical sense, the *noria* refers to hard labour and a panoramic wheel in amusement parks.

From Spanish to French: *Norias* have been used in modern-day France for a very long time. In Roman times, this device was called a *tympanum*. Later, French created a number of synonymous terms, such as *moulin à eau* (watermill), *roue à eau* (waterwheel), *puits à chapelet* (chain pump) or *posaraca*. *Posaraca*, a term used in *langue d'oc* countries (Bertrand Boysset) and noted in 13th century texts, is most likely derived from a nominalised Occitan phrase [*il*] *posa [et] raca* ("he draws water and spits"). Despite this wealth of terminology, French adopted the Hispanic *noria* in the eighteenth century. This economic form proved very useful. On one hand, since it had the same meaning as its Spanish equivalent (a traditional hydraulic machine used for irrigation and consisting of a vertical bucket wheel), it was more precise than the indigenous equivalents such as *moulin à eau*, *roue à eau*, which also referred to

machines that simply transmitted the force of water. On the other hand, it replaced the traditional term *tympān*, which was characterised by a high degree of polysemy (hydraulic, architectural, medical, carpentry and printing terms).

2.1.2. Absence of native equivalents

In other cases, borrowing is fully justified by the absence of native equivalents. This is the case with the word *sarabacane*, and some names of edible plants such as *azerole*, as well as *curcurma* and *lime* (which has been preserved in English but not in French, which has only kept "citron"). We will examine the cases of these last two words here.

lima (ar. *laīmūn*)

From Arabic to Spanish: Different varieties of limes and lemons have been known for a very long time, as evidenced by a varied etymology that ends up in the Persian language (*līmū*, *līmūn*) and from which comes the Arabic equivalent *laīmūn*. Europe came to know these citrus fruits through the Arabs, who spread them through the East for a variety of uses, including medicinal (e.g. treating eczema or cleaning wounds) and decorative. The Arabs propagated the cultivation of these citrus fruits in al-Andalus around the 10th century, so it is highly likely that the Arabic term was assimilated by Mozarabic dialects relatively early on. The original Mozarabic form appears to be *laimon*. It was then changed to *limon* by analogy with the form *lima*, which appears in later Castilian texts (15th century). These citrus fruits spread to the courts of Castile and Aragon from the 13th century onwards, following the progress of the Reconquista. Of the two Castilian forms, *limón* and *lima*, French only assimilated the latter (*lime*), as the French form *limon* is an Arabism borrowed directly from Italian. Each of these two Arabic names, *limón* and *lima*, referred to different varieties of this citrus fruit. As ancient sources show, *limas* were smaller, rounder and sweeter tasting than *limones*. What is more, *limo-*

nes probably had more varieties than *limas*, as in old lexicographical sources *lima* is often described as an '*especie de limón*' and *limones*, according to the 18th century *Diccionario de Autoridades*, "*hailos dulces y ágricos, y mezclados de agrío y dulce*". Nevertheless, from the outset, there was terminological confusion between these two Arabisms, which persists today, as it is not uncommon for the two nouns to be used interchangeably. Latin botanical terminology is the most precise. With the exploration of new continents and territories, Europe discovered new varieties of *limas*. Today, two varieties are the most widespread: *lima ácida* or *gallega* (*citrus aurantifolia*), also known as *limón peruano* (*mexicao*), which is highly acidic and green in colour, and *lima persa* or *lima Tahití* (*citrus latifolia*), which is less acidic and yellowish in colour. Other well-known varieties include *lima dulce* (*limón dulce* or *limón de Roma*), which resembles a lemon, *lima de Cantón* (*limón mandarina*), which is similar to a mandarin orange, *lima larga*, which grows only in Australia, and *lima de Nueva Guinea*. The noun *lima* is also a synonym for *limero* (the tree that produces this fruit) and also refers to a drink made from this fruit. Following lexical conversion, it can also be used as an adjective to designate a colour similar to one of the fruit (*color lima*: light shade of green tending towards yellow).

From Spanish to French: Europe first saw an acid variety of the citrus fruits mentioned in this paragraph, thanks to Italy, where the Crusaders brought them (*Trésor de la langue française*). Genoa became the main centre for growing and distributing these fruits in the 15th century. Nevertheless, France imported them from Italy before this date, assimilating at the same time an Italian Arabism *limone* with the same etymon as its Spanish equivalent (see above). The Italianism *limon* is already noted in texts from the early 14th century. Long before, French had created a neologism with a similar meaning, *citron* (13th century). It is not clear what type of lexicogenic formation is involved here. It may be a formal and semantic

adaptation of the Latin form *citrum*, which designates the *cédrat* (Eng. *citron*, medieval form *citre*) close to the lemon, known in Europe since Antiquity, or a contamination of this form with *limon*, which would prove that French assimilated this Italianism before the 14th century. The lexical doublet *citron* / *limon* shows that medieval France imported different varieties of citrus fruit. Old French sources describe *limons* as more acidic than *lemons*, which can be sour or sweet, and which have more varieties. Over time, given the similarity between *limes* and *lemons*, the two terms became interchangeable. Today, *limon* is an archaism, a synonym for *lemon* in the current sense. *Limas*, imported from the Iberian Peninsula, appeared in France at a later date, as evidenced by the Spanish word *lime*, which was not assimilated into French until the 16th century. The old varieties of limes were different from today's because the old sources describe them as "very sweet" (Furetière 1727). Over time, under the influence of Spanish, French broadened the semantics of the noun *lime*, which now mainly refers to acidic species. Acidic *lime*, otherwise known as *citron vert* (Eng. *lime*), includes Gallet lime (*citrus aurantifolia*) and Persian lime (*citrus latifolia*). Other varieties may be acidic (e.g. *Rangpour lime*) or sweet, also known as *limettes* or *citrons doux* (sweet lemons) (e.g. Mediterranean (Palestine) lime, Tunisian lime etc.). Similar to Spanish, the noun *lime* can be used as an adjective to designate a colour similar to one of this fruit (lime colour: light shade of green tending towards yellow). The English words *lime*, *lemon* and *citron* are French borrowings.

cúrcuma (ar. *kurkum*)

From Arabic to Spanish: This plant, originally from Asia and long appreciated for its nutritional and medicinal properties, was introduced to al-Andalus by the Arabs in the 13th century. Originally, they mistakenly believed it to be a variety of saffron (*Dictionnaire étymologique*, Ménage). To name this Asian plant, they borrowed the Persian noun *kurkum* for saffron. It was not

until relatively late that turmeric began to spread from al-Andalus to medieval Europe, where it was used mainly as a seasoning for dishes and sauces, considered a cheaper substitute for the saffron that was so popular at the time, and whose cultivation in al-Andalus had been introduced by the Moors in the 9th century. The Arabs, who traded saffron on a large scale, popularised the spice in many European countries in the early Middle Ages. In some languages, the name was borrowed directly from Arabic (esp. *azafrán*), while in others, such as French (*safran*), this Arabism was assimilated through medieval Latin, as the cultivation of saffron was developed in Christian monasteries. Only in Greek do we find the noun *κρόκος*, etymologically related to its lexical equivalents in Semitic languages, Sanskrit or Persian. Turmeric is now widely used, mainly in medicine and cosmetics. The origins of the English word, although thought to have been borrowed from French, are not clearly elucidated, and may be an alteration of an Indian word.

From Spanish to French: As in other European countries, turmeric spread to France in the 15th-16th centuries thanks to Arab traders who brought it from Spain, where it was already known in the 13th century. The Hispanic term *curcuma*, found in French texts from the 16th century onwards, originally referred (like its Spanish equivalent) to a plant whose root, also known as Indian saffron, was used mainly as a spice, a cheaper substitute for the long-known saffron. The latter term, also of Arabic origin, appeared in French in the 12th century through medieval Latin (*safranum*). Over time, this term came to have more and more applications, as turmeric, in addition to its uses in cooking and medicine, is also used in cosmetology and as a yellow dye in the dyeing of materials (fabrics, wood, leather, paper etc.).

2.2. Restriction of meaning

In cases where the semantic field is restricted, borrowing is again done with or without the presence of equivalents in the native lexicon, and also according to the *moro* / *no moro* distinction.

2.2.1. Presence of native equivalents

2.2.1.1. Opposition arabism / native equivalent corresponding to the referential dichotomy *moro* / *no moro*

In addition to the complex cases of the words *alcohol* and *hasard* (chance) detailed below, both also passed into English. We also find in this category the words *algazil* (Arabic guard), *ataurique* (carved plant motif), *adobe* (terracotta brick), *alcarazas* (vase), *alfange* (Moorish sword), *almagra* (red ochre) and *alezan* (type of light brown horse).

alcohol (ar. al-kuḥūl)

From Arabic to Spanish: The semantic evolution of this Arabism means that the noun *alcohol* must be considered a loan in two ways: diachronically (from the Middle Ages to the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries) as a loan in the strict sense, and synchronically as a semantic calque, since the new semantics, borrowed from Latin and more specifically from the Latin of the alchemists, is the source of most of its contemporary meanings. The Iberian dialects borrowed the Arabo-Andalusian form *al-kuḥul* mainly in the sense of 'eye shadow' (made from galena or stibine). A restriction of meaning took place, as the Arabic etymon also referred to a 'very fine powder' (including galena and stibine). Ibero-Roman sources from the 13th century attest to the form *alcohol* and its more advanced variant *alcofol*. This was an eye care product, spread by the Arabs in al-Andalus, applied as a medicine but also as a cosmetic, whose main

ingredient was powdered lead sulphide (galena) or antimony sulphide (stibine). Eastern women used it to darken their eyelids, eyebrows, eyelashes and eye contours. Many Spanish and French lexicographical sources define this Arabism imprecisely as antimony powder, whereas the term *antimoine* actually means "shiny white metal", from which eye shadow could not be produced. The main ingredient of this powder was a dark grey crystalline ore called *stibine*, *stibnite* or *antimoine*, which possessed this metal. This lack of precision is due to the fact that the Latin term *antimonio* (Sp.) / *antimoine* (Fr.) used to refer to this ore and not – as it does today – to a metal which, until the 17th century, was known as *régule (regulus) d'antimoine*. What is more, the alchemists and physicians of the time (in their texts, the term *alcoh(f)ol* in the sense of 'fine powder' was very common) were more interested in antimony than lead, as it was thought to have medicinal properties and alchemists were particularly fond of this metal for its ability to free gold from its impurities. It is therefore hardly surprising that in these texts, written in Latin, Spanish, Italian or French, *alcoh(f)ol* is most often referred to antimony powder, hence the imprecision of contemporary lexicographers. Recent chemical analyses of micro-samples of old cosmetics have proven that this eye care product is made from galena, as emphasised by Bouysse and Girault. This product had been known on the Iberian Peninsula for a very long time (since Roman times and in the early Middle Ages), but its renaissance took place under the Arab influence, so the loan *alcohol* / *alcofol* quickly replaced pre-existing and almost forgotten Latinisms designating this product.

Another semantic evolution of the Arabism *alcoh(f)ol* took place in scientific Latin (14th-16th centuries), as European alchemists, who wrote their treatises in this language and were keenly interested in this powder, borrowed this Spanish Arabism with a great extension of meaning: fine powder based on stibine or galena > any fine powder > any fine and pure extract (prepared in pharmacy, for example) > fine and pure extract obtained by trituration, sublimation or distillation. The

next stage in the semantic evolution of *alcohol* in the Latin of alchemists is, this time, a restriction of meaning by Paracelsus, who used the term in the sense of ‘extract obtained by distillation’, probably for the first time, and then in even more restricted sense of *alkohol vini* as the equivalent of the Latin *spiritus vini* used at the time, i.e. ‘an aqueous solution obtained by distilling wine’ (ethanol). This solution is the purest essence of wine. Over time, alchemists, chemists, physicians and pharmacists began to use the elliptical form *alk(c)ohol [vini]* in a broader sense, as a subtle essence (ethanol) obtained by distilling wine or another previously fermented beverage. In this sense, the term *alk(c)ohol* gradually began to replace equivalent Latinisms, such as *aqua ardens* or *aqua vitae*. The semantics of *alk(c)ohol* in scientific Latin indicates a break between the ancient and contemporary uses of this Arabism. The extract from *Pharmacia acroamatica* (1686) by Georg Wedel, a German professor of chemistry and medicine, demonstrates this perfectly. After pointing out that the term ‘alcohol’ was used to designate any kind of fine powder, including an antimony-based eye product, he remarked: “[...] a subtle essence of liquids called volatiles, of which the spirit of wine, which is known as alcoholic because it is so subtle, is also called alcohol” (Fr. [...] *alcohol etiam prædicatur de subtilitate liquidorum nominatim spiritum, unde spiritus vino alcoholisatus audit, qui adeo subtilis est*).

Spanish gradually assimilated all the new uses of this Arabism from scientific Latin, although this did not mean that traditional semantics was neglected. From this point onwards, the loanword ‘alcohol’ has the status of a semantic calque in Spanish, as most new meanings are assimilated from other languages. Initially, the term *alcohol* in the new meanings assimilated from scientific Latin was used in scientific language. In the 18th century, Spanish sources attest to the meanings ‘extract obtained by sublimation and distillation’, and then ‘extract obtained by distilling wine’. The noun *alcohol* gradually began to include distillates of other fermented beverages, and entered common parlance, mainly in a broader sense to de-

signate all kinds of spirits obtained by distillation. In this way, it became the equivalent of indigenous terms such as *aguardiente*, and later came to designate any kind of alcoholic beverage. It should be pointed out that in the beginning, the adjectival form [*bebida*] *alcoholica* was used. The final stage in the semantic evolution of this Arabism occurred in the 19th century. At that time, given the intense development of chemistry, the noun *alcohol* became a scientific term *par excellence*, meaning 'organic compound with properties similar to ethanol'. The systematic extension of the scientific semantics of the term *alcohol* occurred through a mechanism of semantic calque, largely from French, given the important contribution of French chemists in this field (see below). As a result, these substances began to be called alcohols too, for example: *alcohol sólido*, *alcohol de menta*, *alcohol de quemar* etc. In contemporary Spanish, the noun *alcohol* also retains the meanings referring to its original semantics: the term is still used in cosmetology to designate a powder used to blacken hair, eyebrows and eyelashes, and in mineralogy to designate galena. As new meanings of the noun *alcohol* dominated its original semantics (eye shadow), the Spanish created the neologism *kohl* to refer to this cosmetic. It is used in a historical context and in reference to current events. Today, this eye shadow is made with products other than the old *alcohol*. This neologism was formed by the contamination of *alcohol* and the classic Arabic form *kuhl*. We cannot rule out the possibility that it is a loanword from the French form *kohl*, which has the same meaning.

From Spanish to French: The semantic development of this noun in French is similar to its Spanish equivalent: in its first stage it is a complete borrowing, and from the Renaissance onwards, when *alcohol* borrowed new meanings from scientific Latin that gave rise to modern meanings, this Hispanism has to a large extent the status of a semantic calque. Although this loanword is only noted in texts from the 14th century onwards in the same sense as its Spanish equivalent (eye shadow made from pulverised stibine or galena), it was most likely assimilated

in French much earlier, thanks to the import of this product from the Iberian Peninsula and also to oriental influences in court fashions following the Crusades. Eye shadow made from these minerals had been known in France since Roman times, but the influence of Ibero-Arabic culture led to a return to this product in the Middle Ages. From the Renaissance onwards, French began to assimilate new meanings for the word *alco(h)ol* from scientific Latin: fine powder > any fine, pure extract > fine, pure extract obtained by trituration, sublimation or distillation > extract obtained by distilling wine. This latter meaning appeared as early as in the 17th century. Later, the term was also applied to distillates of other fermented beverages (ethanol), and its new uses successively moved from scientific French to everyday French, where it broadened its meaning to refer to all kinds of alcoholic beverages. Initially, an adjectival form such as *boisson alcoolique* was used (see Littré). In the first half of the 19th century, the meaning continued to broaden: the noun *alcohol* began to refer to an organic compound with properties similar to those of Paracelsian *alcohol [vini]*. This new scientific semantics was mainly due to French scholars; consequently, this loan, unlike Spanish, is not a semantic calque at this stage of assimilation. Initially, *alco(h)ol*, as a generic name in chemistry, was only applied to two organic compounds: ethanol, which had been known for a long time and was called *alco(h)ol* at the time, and methanol, whose chemical composition, comparable to ethanol, had just been discovered by Dumas and Peligot. Of course, the idea of calling these two compounds *alco(h)ol* came from a Swedish scientist, Berzelius (in 1834), who named them *weinalkohol* and *holzalkohol* ('wood alcohol'), but it was French chemists in the second half of the 19th century who developed the terminological status of this noun on the basis of the new alcohols they were discovering. The entry for *alcohol* in the first volume of the *Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIX siècle* (1866) undoubtedly contributed to the assimilation of the scientific semantics of the term by other languages. Similar to Spanish, the term alcohol over time became a generic name for sub-

stances containing this chemical compound, used in various fields: solidified alcohol, camphorated alcohol, methylated spirits, etc. (see above). In contemporary French, the noun *alcohol* has also retained the meaning associated with its original semantics: very fine powder (ancient pharmacy). Similar to Spanish, as the new meanings of the noun *alco(h)ol* dominated its etymological meaning (eye shadow), French created a neologism *khôl* to designate this cosmetic, used in the historical and contemporary context. The ancestor of this term is the form *kouhel* (a deformation of the Arabo-Andalusian form [al]-kuḥūl), already noted in the 17th century.

azar (ar. *az-zahr*) 'chance'

From Arabic to Spanish: Contrary to what one might think, this loanword, as a part of the Arabic linguistic heritage, is not linked to abstract concepts but to playing activities, since *az-zahr* is primarily used to refer to a dice in Andalusian Arabic. To fully understand the complex semantic evolution of this etymon, we need to go back to classical Arabic, where *az-zahr* literally means 'flower'. The Moors introduced in al-Andalus an oriental variant of a dice game called *nard*. A flower called *az-zahrat an-nard* would have been depicted on one side of the dice. When rolling the dice, the aim was to 'have a flower' (as we have a six today), thus synonymous with a favourable throw of the dice, and then, by extension of meaning, the dice itself. This last meaning was popularised in an abbreviated form *az-zahr* in Andalusian Arabic, and the Iberian dialects borrowed precisely this meaning, even though they had an indigenous equivalent of Latin origin, *dado*. Given that the etymological meaning of the Arabic word *azar* ('flower') was unknown to the natives of the Iberian Peninsula, and that the mark of success in this game was the native word *flor*, an iconic representation of which appeared on one side of the dice, the Arabic word *azar* began to be used from the 13th century onwards in reference to other sides of the dice, which were signs of bad luck. The meaning of

azar as ‘a dice to play with’ gradually disappeared in favour of the long-existing indigenous word *dado*. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the meaning of *azar* was extended to mean ‘bad luck’, ‘misfortune’ and ‘risk’ (see Eng. *hazard*), and the contemporary basic meanings of ‘fate’, ‘chance’ and ‘destiny’ are documented from the 18th century onwards, hence the expression *juegos de azar*, among others. But if it means ‘a game of dice’, then when the element *azar* is used, the etymological meaning is updated. This Arabism in the sense of ‘risk’ also appears in the economic and administrative term *azar moral* (the synonym for *riesgo moral*), which is a structural calque of *moral hazard* in English.

From Spanish to French: This Hispanism, considered to be one of the oldest, is first noted in an Old French text in 1150 (*hasart*) (Kirkham: 115 in *Dictionnaire des mots français d’origine arabe*). Its medieval spelling is not codified (*hazart*, *hasart*, *hazard*, *hasard*). Originally, it referred to a variety of dice game adopted from the Iberian Peninsula, as well as the terminology associated with this game (chance as a winning and losing score). In comparison with the Castilian etymon, we are dealing with either the conservation of meaning or the restriction of meaning. The later semantic evolution of *hasard* is similar to the Spanish equivalent, except that the contemporary meanings are noted much earlier in French. Thus, because of the frequent *hazarz* (losing scores) in this game, the term began to be used in the figurative sense of ‘bad move’ as early as the 13th century. In the 15th century, the term was used in the broader sense of ‘risk’, ‘obstacle’ and ‘danger’ (*Songe doré de la pucelle* in *Anciennes poésies françaises*: 213 in TLF), which is now considered to be outdated. This semantics is at the origin of the golf term *hasard* (there is also an archaic form *hazard*) which means ‘obstacle, accident on a golf course’. The modern meaning “case, fortuitous event” probably appeared at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. Consequently, we are dealing with a move away from the original meaning of ‘chance’ in the expression *jeu de hasard*, lit. ‘game of dice’. The absolute and philosophical meaning dominates: ‘a game whose moves depend

on chance'. Similar to the Spanish term *azar moral*, the French equivalent *hasard moral* is a structural calque of the English *moral hazard*.

2.2.1.2. Opposition between Arabism and the indigenous equivalent corresponding to the *moro* referent

This category includes two terms, *mozárabe* and *mudéjar*, which are designations of social types (García González 2013). *Mozárabe* is a term of debated meaning, which we will not go into here. As far as *mudéjar* is concerned, the Andalusian Arabs used the nominalised participial form *mudaǧǧan* (literally 'stopped', 'fixed') to express, in condensed form, the essential point: he (the Muslim) who can stay where he is fixed. *Mudéjar*, an Arabism assimilated in this specialised sense, attested in Castilian relatively late (15th century), made it possible to characterise more accurately the complex demographic realities of medieval Spain. The Mudejars, who were largely peasants and craftsmen, were initially able to practise Islam, keep their customs and speak the native language. Later, they became the victims of social, economic and professional restrictions.

2.2.1.3. Opposition between Arabism and the indigenous equivalent corresponding to the *no moro* referent

Here, too, we come across two terms that are specific to the Arab-Andalusian world: *marane* (a Spanish Jew or Moor who was forcibly converted to Catholicism and remained faithful to his religion) (García González 2013) and *patache* (a small sailing boat used by the Christians).

2.2.2. Lack of native equivalents

This category includes the words *arrobe* (unit of weight, which by a complex process gave the word *arobase*, i.e. the symbol @),

azulejo, *genette* (short spear), *maravedi* (coin), and also *azimut* and *alcove*, which have entered the everyday language.

acimut (ar. *as-sumūt*)

From Andalusian Arabic to Spanish: In the case of the noun *as-sumūt* (literally ‘directions’), a specialisation of meaning took place in the Arabic language because the Arab astronomers, on the basis of their scientific discoveries, created a term based on this noun. This term was linked to an astronomical tool perfected by the Arabs called the *astrolabe*, and later adopted by the Europeans. A whole series of astronomical terms (*zenith* and *azimuth*) were introduced into European languages from the texts of Andalusian astronomers of Arab origin (including Ibn as-Saffar), particularly in the 11th and 12th centuries. In 1270, a work entitled *Libros del saber de astronomía* (based mainly on these texts) commissioned by the King of Castile, Alfonso X, was published. This was the first time the term was used in a borrowed form. With the development of the sciences, this term broadened its semantic scope. It is currently used in navigation, cartography, engineering, mining and ballistics.

From Spanish to French: Of the three main astronomical terms of Arabic origin, *zénith*, *nadir* and *azimut*, only the latter was assimilated by French through Spanish. Medieval Latin was the intermediate language for the first two. Their Spanish equivalents *z(c)enit* and *nadir* were also borrowed directly from scientific Latin. The nouns *azimut* and *zénith* share a common Arabic etymology. The only difference concerns an initial morphological form, because the initial form of the loan *zénith* is *samt* (literally ‘direction’), whereas the exact etymon of the form *azimut* is the plural of *samt* with the agglutinated article (*as-sumūt*). Although, according to French lexicographical sources, the noun *azimut*, in the same sense as its Spanish etymon, was borrowed in the 16th century (TLF), it is highly likely that it had already appeared in the astronomical language of medieval French, because English sources state that Middle English

borrowed the term from French at the end of the 14th century. Initially, the spelling *azimuth* dominated, and has been preserved in English. Only Richelet's *Dictionary* (1680) propagated the contemporary spelling; however, Quillet (1965) uses the floating spelling *azimuth* or *azimut*. The semantic evolution of *azimut* in French was similar to its Spanish equivalent (see above). Originally, this term only appeared in scientific texts in the astronomical context. Over time, its various specialised meanings were gradually borrowed from other languages in which new theories of azimuth were published. Here the contribution of French scientists should not be forgotten. As in Spanish, the entry *azimut* appeared relatively late in general dictionaries (it appears in Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* of 1690) and the first dictionary definitions were not very precise. Precise definitions, similar to those we use today, only appeared in the 18th century. Here is the definition in Diderot's *Encyclopaedia*: "azimut of the sun or a star is the arc of the horizon between the meridian of a place, any given vertical, in which the sun or star is located". From the 20th century onwards, the noun *azimut* also encompassed various non-scientific meanings. These are the expressions *dans tous les azimuts*, *tous azimuts* lit. 'in all directions'. These new meanings, initially linked to the etymological meaning of 'directions', first appeared in military vocabulary.

alcoba (ar. *al-qubba*)

From Arabic to Spanish: The Arabic etymon originally referred to a dome and a vault (García González 2012) and later, by metonymic usage, to a building in which a dominant architectural element was the dome. This type of building, initially widespread in Persia, with a square floor plan and a main room used to store valuables and objects of worship, was taken over by the Arabs as a prototype for buildings, not only Moorish, representing religious architecture, such as mausoleums, mosques, synagogues etc. This type of building became a key element in the architecture of the Arab world, a characteristic

feature of the al-Andalus landscape. As a result, the word *alcoba* soon appeared in Iberian dialects, initially used in the same sense. Later, this type of building had a wider application that was not linked to religious functions. These buildings contained niches for sleeping, often with a dome-shaped vault, which is why the Arabic noun *al-qubba* began to designate this niche in the 14th century through a metonymisation mechanism. The Arabism *alcoba* also took on this new meaning. Over time, this noun came to refer to the bedrooms found in Moorish buildings, which were representative of Islamic architecture and were later adapted for habitation following the Reconquista. From then on, *alcoba* became a synonym for the indigenous noun *dormitorio* “bedroom” (García González 2012). This Arabism continued to expand its semantic range as the equivalent of *dormitorio*, also in reference to ancient and contemporary European architecture (stylised like Arabic architecture).

The noun *alcoba* in its basic sense (the sleeping room) is a classic example of Arabism, reflecting the changing relationship between Arab and Christian culture over the centuries. This is accompanied by the evolution of the characteristics of the referent to which this noun refers: oriental characteristics, a symbiosis of Moorish and Christian characteristics in the old *dormitorios* and a modern European style in today's rooms. The Arabism *alcoba* also refers to a sleeping compartment in a carriage. It also has metaphorical meanings in reference to historical and current conditions. In the metonymic sense, the noun *alcoba* referred to a traditional meeting of the kings of Mexico in the palace, and in the metaphorical sense, *alcoba* refers to a type of fishing net. A phraseological expression *secretos de alcoba* (intimate details of erotic life) is based on the metonymisation mechanism.

From Spanish to French: The loan *alcove* (the form of the time has no circumflex accent), adopted into French in the 17th century (*Trésor de la langue française*), is characterised by a restriction of meaning because it assimilates only the old meaning of the Spanish etymon (a niche for sleeping, often with a domed

roof). At that time, the Spanish noun *alcoba*, which was characterised by a more advanced semantic evolution, generally referred to a sleeping room with a vaulted ceiling. The French *alcôves* of the time were, admittedly, much less oriental in style than the old Iberian *alcobas*. This is particularly true of the vaulted ceiling, a much more characteristic feature of the latter. This fundamental meaning of the name *alcôve* has survived to the present day. Over time, French *alcôves* were also used as meeting places, so company chairs became an essential part of the furniture. A typically French alcove was the *alcôve des Précieuses* (also known as the *ruelle*), which appeared in the 17th century. It was an intimate part of the salon or bedroom, between the bed and the wall, where certain ladies of quality (the *Précieuses*) received guests or held literary and social salons, hence a derivation of the time *alcôviste*, referring to a fine mind who frequented *alcôves*. The literary context is the origin of uses of *alcôve* in the sense of ‘place for somewhat confidential literary discussions, confidential literary salon’. For example, in Jean-Christophe by R. Rolland we read: “he was tired of hearing nothing but talk about literature, – actors, authors, publishers, backstage chatter or literary alcoves”. Until the mid-18th century, French alcoves, separated from the main room by a platform, columns and a balustrade, were often used as reception rooms. Later, the bed was replaced by the sofa, and the word *alcôve* began to refer to a more intimate meeting place, becoming synonymous with *boudoir*. This type of alcove was popular in France mainly in the 19th century. In this context, the word is associated with bourgeois disapproval of “women of ill repute” and a “fin de siècle” lifestyle. These new uses of the alcove are at the origin of expressions based on the mechanism of metonymy (place for trial), such as *secrets d'alcôve*, *confessions d'alcôves* etc.: “Where journalism does not mop up the small facts [...] the chronicle of the house, the indiscretions of the alcove” (Gozlan, *Le notaire de Chantilly*, 1836). Today’s alcove is designed not only to hold a bed. In general, they are recesses built into a room for a particular purpose. There are,

for example, living-room alcoves equipped with a table and wall-mounted benches.

3. Conclusion

The processes have been classified here according to the mechanisms involved in Spanish semantic assimilation, which therefore takes place along the lines described in the introduction.

With regard to the assimilation of Spanish to French, the classification of loanwords remains based on the opposition between preservation and change of meaning. The secondary classification criterion will be xenisms / hispanisms referring to adopted referents / hispanisms referring to the pre-existing referents.

From the point of view of the transition to French, the mechanisms of assimilation of Spanish words are schematically by conservation or by restriction of meaning. In the case of conservation of meaning, these may be either xenisms (words referring to foreign realities), as in the case of the words *alcade*, *alcazar* or *arobe* (which gave its name to the @ symbol), hispanisms referring to adopted referents (*guitare*, *curcuma*, *azimut* etc.), hispanisms referring to pre-existing referents (*alcool*, *noria*, *adobe* etc.), or both (*alkermès*). The same taxonomy accounts for the same processes in cases of restrictions of meaning: xenisms (*almagra*, *ataurique* etc.), loanwords referring to adopted referents (*genet*, *sarbacane* etc.) and loanwords referring to pre-existing referents (*alcôve* etc.). The majority of these words have been assimilated in English, generally with a meaning based upon the old French meaning; but it would be interesting to investigate further into this specific matter too.

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The ethics of speechwriting in the contemporary practice of the profession¹

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Abstract

The present paper challenges the criticism found in literature on speechwriting that “deception is inherent in the practice of ghostwriting” and therefore, writing speeches for other people is “unethical” by juxtaposing it with findings from the author's research on *Speechwriting in British and American Politics and Business: A Study of the Practice, Profession, and Speechwriting Ethics*, funded by the National Science Center. For the purpose of this paper, I use the terms *speechwriting* and *ghostwriting* interchangeably. Specifically, I discuss two ethical aspects involved in *speechwriting*: audience deception and writing against a *speechwriter's* conviction. Critics have also argued that ghostwritten speeches fail to genuinely reflect the speaker's “honest,

¹ This research is funded by National Science Centre in Poland under the project “MINIATURA no UMO- 2017/01/X/HS2/01089”. The author accessed government and business speechwriters during two international, (bi)annual professional speechwriters' conferences: The Professional Speechwriters Association World Conference in Washington DC and Cambridge Speechwriters' & Business Communicators' Conference organized by the European Speechwriters Network. Due to the anonymous nature of the *speechwriting* profession, the author promised to secure the identity of the survey respondents. Thus, I'm referring to the respondents as ‘speechwriter for,’ hereafter abbreviated to (SW for ...), or by identifying their nationality, or an area (e.g., business) in which they operate.

independent ability and achievement.” My research indicates, however, that although deception is always a possibility in communication, speechwriters are dedicated to ensuring the speaker’s authenticity, and the concept of *ethopoeia* is pivotal to comprehending the role of a speechwriter.

Keywords

ethics, speechwriting, ghostwriting, survey, ethopoeia

Etyka pisania przemówień we współczesnej praktyce zawodowej

Abstrakt

Na podstawie wniosków z badania autorki na temat *Pisania przemówień w polityce i biznesie brytyjskim i amerykańskim: Studium praktyki, zawodu i etyki pisania przemówień*, finansowanego przez Narodowe Centrum Nauki, autorka kwestionuje argument występujący w literaturze przedmiotu, jakoby „oszukiwanie [odbiorców] [było] nieodłącznym elementem praktyki ghostwritingu.” Autorka omawia pojęcie oszustwa w tym zawodzie oraz porusza kwestię pomijaną w literaturze przedmiotu, jaką jest pisanie na tematy niezgodne z osobistymi przekonaniem pisarza przemówień. Krytycy profesji twierdzą, że przemówienia pisane przez osoby trzecie nie odzwierciedlają autentycznych, indywidualnych umiejętności i osiągnięć mówcy. Autorka zwraca uwagę na fakt, że przemówienie jest zawsze efektem pracy zespołowej. Pisarze przemówień w ankietowanych organizacjach dążą do zapewnienia autentyczności mówcy, a koncepcja *ethopoei* jest kluczowa dla zrozumienia prawdziwej roli i misji współczesnego pisarza przemówień.

Słowa kluczowe

etyka, speechwriting, ghostwriting, ankieta, ethopoeia

1. Introduction

Speechwriting is a widespread practice in most large organizations and governments around the world, including the White House, European governments, the European Commission, NATO, WTO, the Silicon Valley tech companies, or banks. Critics have argued that ghostwritten speeches fail to genuinely reflect the speaker's "honest, independent ability and achievement." Bormann (1984) raised questions about ethical aspects of this activity, such as responsibility and audience deception. Knapp and Hulbert (2017:1) argue that *speechwriting* can create "a false impression of a communicator's knowledge, competence, or qualifications."

The present paper challenges arguments found in literature on *speechwriting* that the practice of writing speeches for other people is "deceptive" and therefore, is "unethical" (Borman 1961) and that ghostwritten speeches "are not to be taken as representative" of a speaker's "honest, independent ability and achievement" (Bormann 1961: 265). Although deception is always a possibility in communication, the surveyed speechwriters are dedicated to ensuring the speaker's authenticity; they believe it is their task to provide as accurate an account of the speaker as possible without turning the speaker into someone they are not. The concept of *ethopoeia* is pivotal to comprehending the role of a speechwriter.

Three main assumptions underlie the widespread use of executive ghostwriters (Seeger 1992: 501),

First, it is assumed that most executives are simply too busy to engage in the time-consuming task of writing speeches [...]. Second, the use of a ghost in preparing a speech is little different than drawing on the expertise of an accountant or engineer [...]. Third, it is assumed that the audience is somehow aware that the speaker has expert assistance in preparing his or her speeches.

In what follows, I address each assumption starting with the last one.

(1) The audience is aware that the speaker has expert assistance in preparing his or her speeches.

Today the presence of speechwriters is well known, and “viewed as a necessary element for crafting an effective public image” (Riley and Brown 1996: 711). A speechwriter “is not a recent development, a reaction to twentieth-century media demand” (Humes 1997: 5). *Logography* or *wordsmithing* has been known since antiquity (Riley and Brown 1996: 712) and is connected to the origins of rhetoric (Knapp and Hulbert 2017). The idea of democracy and rhetoric were born at the same time in Athens, in the fifth century BC. The moment democracy was born, rhetoric became critical, and the art of persuasion became a currency of politics. Instead of commanding things into being, democratic leaders would now have to persuade and cajole the public. Nowadays, dozens of men and women worldwide help craft executive speeches and other communications across a broad spectrum of business, political, and academic institutions every day and “public knowledge of the involvement of speech writers in major addresses has made clear the value of speech writing for any speaker who wishes to be effective” (Tarver 1987: 6).

The White House speechwriters have influenced “the increasing acceptability of the speech writing function by a huge number of business and government speakers,” (Tarver 1987: 5).² Moreover the “White House model can even be said to have had an impact beyond the boundaries of the United States” (Tarver 1987:5).³ According to Campbell and Jamieson (1990:

² Yet, with few exceptions (Kjeldsen et al. 2019), literature on speechwriting is produced mainly in the United States.

³ Professional speechwriters’ conferences, e.g. The Professional Speechwriters Association World Conferences in Washington DC and Speechwriters’ & Business Communicators’ Conference organized by the European Speech-

10), “virtually all presidents had collaborators in creating their rhetoric.” In fact, only Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson, wrote their own speeches. American political *speechwriting* dates to the presidential years of George Washington. His famous Farewell Address, for instance, was ghosted by Alexander Hamilton (Schlesinger 2008). In the 1880s, Chester Arthur employed a friend named Daniel Rollins to help draft presidential messages. Yet, it was not until the 1920s that the White House hired a speechwriter. Judson Welliver was the first White House staff person whose chief responsibility was to craft oratory for President Warren Harding. Calvin Coolidge increased the number of speeches with the assistance of Judson Welliver and others. This precedent changed the perception of the president’s office. The president would be seen as a leader “whose fate was determined by the quality of his staff as well as his own efforts” (Denton and Woodward 1985: 206). The *speechwriting* position in the White House coincided with the establishment of the first radio stations in the United States in the 1920s. Radio became a powerful tool the President could utilize to communicate with the people.

The “first person to be given the title of speechwriter in the White House was Emmet J. Huges who wrote for President Eisenhower” (Collins 2017: 7). But it was not until 1960s and President Kennedy’s Special Counsel Ted Sorensen that speechwriters started to be recognized nationally. Sorensen was known for his unique ability to combine the duties of a top presidential advisor and speechwriter. However, the reliance on the help of top presidential advisors in connecting presidential *speechwriting* with policy deliberations ended with the Kennedy presidency (Hult and Walcott 1998: 467). Since the Lyndon B. Johnson presidency, *speechwriting* has been “delegated to professional speechwriters who are often weakly connected to the

writers Network gather dozens of international speechwriters who seek inspiration and advice from notable White House speechwriters.

President and the policy deliberation process,” and “often too poorly informed about administration objectives and policy proposals to write accurately and persuasively about them” (Hult and Walcott 1998: 466). The establishment of a Writing and Research Department in the White House in 1969, the first *speechwriting* office, under president Richard Nixon, solidified the disjunction of policy deliberations and *speechwriting*. Speechwriters became separated from policy advisers.

(2) The use of a ghost in preparing a speech is little different than drawing on the expertise of an accountant or engineer.

The existence of professional speechwriters in governments worldwide demonstrates that the institutionalization of *speechwriting* has also become a fact beyond the White House. As a result, Kenneth Collier (2018: 12) argues, “speeches are the product of the complex institutional arrangement of the speechwriting process. The presidency” – and other high-profile offices by extension – “may speak with one voice, but its message often reflects the efforts of many people.” The institutionalization of the *speechwriting* process brought more people and perspectives into the speech production process. As Kjeldsen (2019: 5) notes, “most speakers seek feedback, advice, and a second opinion [...]. The re-drafting and finalizing of speeches then are already the combined efforts of more than just the speaker.” In addition, given the immense “variety of issues, audiences, and goals, relying on one or two speechwriters to fully anticipate the political and foreign policy impact of [...] speeches is risky” (Collier 2018: 39).

Out of twenty survey respondents, seventeen identified as *speechwriters* and five as *ghostwriters*, or both as speechwriters and ghostwriters. Campbell and Jamieson (1990: 29) argue that *ghostwriters* and *speechwriters* are used interchangeably, but the difference between the two is that the activity of *ghostwriters* is concealed, while the activities of *speechwriters* are known.

The present study does not provide sufficient evidence to confirm the implications of this distinction. Only one respondent pointed out that being a speechwriter “is a recognized role in the organization, facilitating and helping to organize the communication of the speaker” (SW for WTO official). The specific steps involved in the composition process – “research, organize, focus, draft, and edit” (Murray 2005) – are identical for both *speechwriters* and *ghostwriters*. Moreover, as section 2.3 indicates, regardless of their title, the job of the respondents surveyed in the present study includes collaboration with the speaker, getting the speaker’s message across, and providing “as good an account of the speaker as possible” (speechwriter for British PM).

(3) Most executives are simply too busy to engage in the time-consuming task of writing speeches.

As *speechwriting* professionalized, the act of crafting a speech has separated from the process of conceiving it (Collier 2018). *Speechwriters* nowadays play an essential role in shaping the public image of leaders worldwide through words. Although the process of drafting speeches has evolved from the classical steps of *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, and *actio* advanced by Cicero (Herrick 2017), Jameson (1988: 204) argues that “the responsibility for discovering (*inventio*), structuring (*disposition*), and expressing argument in apt language (*elocutio*) resided more centrally with the speaker than now does.” In ideal world, politicians or businesspeople would be capable of doing all their writing and thus presenting a genuinely authentic self. Given the reality of modern times, however, the “self” must be at least partially managed or invented by their staff. But “[i]n the best case a speechwriter only ‘brushes up what’s already there.’ They edit out all the boring parts” (SW for Dutch government). The ethical aspects of whose ideas are expressed in a speech have become one of the critical issues of this multifaceted subject.

2. Research method

A survey was the primary research method to elicit insights into contemporary *speechwriting*. The respondents included speechwriters to European Prime Ministers and governments of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Australia, and Canada; a European Commissioner, a WTO official, and the Director of National Intelligence (USA). Out of the twenty respondents, twelve were government speechwriters, five were business speechwriters (USA, France), one worked in a US Presidential Foundation, one was a freelance speechwriter (Finland), and one wrote speeches for the Vice-Chancellor at the University of Cambridge (Great Britain). Speechwriters were asked to complete a printed version of the survey or respond to an online survey on SurveyMonkey. The data was provided voluntarily by the respondents. The survey included both open-ended and close-ended questions, which concerned various aspects of a speechwriter's job. In the sections that follow, I focus on ethical aspects of the profession, such as 1) a possibility of audience deception, 2) writing against speechwriter's convictions, and 3) ways of achieving a speaker's authenticity.

3. Speechwriting ethics: writership, not ownership

Three positions have dominated the literature on the ethical aspect of *ghostwriting*: 1) "the ethicist position" (Bormann 1961; 1984: 2) "the organizational position," and 3) "the speechwriter's position" (Riley and Brown 1996: 712-714). Today, the discussion would not be complete without the implications of AI in professional communication.

3.1. The ethicist position

The ethicist argument advanced by Bormann (1961: 265) that *ghostwriting* is "unethical and deceitful" and represents "a kind of audience deception akin to plagiarism," originates

with, as Seeger (1984: 354) argues, “the classical view of *ethos* as presented by Aristotle and the view of the perfect orator presented by Cato and Quintilian. The speaker deceives the audience because “a speechgiver relies on the words of another to fortify personal ethos” (Riley and Brown 1996: 711).

Ghostwriting for US presidents was once considered “an unthinkable sharing of responsibilities” (Denton and Woodward 1985), yet today, “almost every statement spoken by major political, business, and academic leaders was written by someone else” (Einhorn 1991: 115). However, even today, the work of speechwriters is treated “if not deceptively, then at least discreetly” (Tarver 1983: xiii). As Tarver (1983: xiii) argues, a public acknowledgement of a speechwriter’s contribution by stating, “I wish to close with an expression of appreciation for the work of my speech writer on this talk,” would significantly hamper the effectiveness of most speeches.

In 2020, *The Professional Speechwriters Association* (PSA), an organization dedicated to supporting and advancing the profession of *speechwriting* by offering access to industry-specific knowledge and best practices, created *The Speechwriter’s Code of Ethics* (ProRhetoric). The preamble of the Code recognizes the ethical dilemma inherent in the profession,

Speechwriting is and always will be ethically fraught. The very attempt of one human mind to write an expression to be issued by another human mouth—that mouth usually owned by a figure vastly more influential than the writer—makes speechwriting an ethically complicated job.

The Speechwriter’s Code of Ethics outlines several principles that professional speechwriters are expected to adhere to maintain credibility and trust, including: “[s]peechwriters never plagiarize”, “[s]peechwriters are willing to speak “truth to power,” and [s]peechwriters use all their abilities to make clients better communicators” (ProRhetoric). Thus, ethical behavior in *speechwriting* involves originality and integrity, courage to

confront the speaker about deceptive, misleading, or false information, and commitment to enhancing communication aligned with the speaker's intentions and values.

The ethicist argument, discussed further in section 2.3, is rejected by most survey respondents. According to survey respondents, ethical concerns arise when there is insufficient collaboration between the speechwriter and the speaker (SW for Danish government SW; American business SW), or when a speaker delivers a speech written by lobbyists or sponsors, potentially compromising their independence and integrity. But if the message is genuinely the speaker's own, professional assistance in crafting the speech is seen as acceptable (SW for Norwegian government).

The ethicist argument has recently emerged in discussions on the implications of AI communication tools for professional writing. Confronted with a choice between an AI tool and a human speechwriter, an involvement of a human seems essential "to communicate genuine ideas and feelings to other human beings" because "good writing demands good thinking," instead of having "ChatGPT scour the Internet and spit back something like what they [speakers] would have said themselves" (Murray 2023).

3.2. The organizational position

The organizational position views speechwriters as any other "specialists in support of organizational goals" (Riley and Brown 1996: 713; Richardson 2017: 4-5). "Ghostwriting is efficient for a principal. No one considers hiring an accountant to be unethical" (American business SW), or "coaching in sports" as deceptive (Finnish freelance SW). The mission of speechwriters is to "use all their abilities to make clients better communicators" (PSA Code of Ethics). Speakers "lean on those who can best assist [them] so that [they] are freed to spend time on the things that need your greatest attention" (American business SW). This

perspective is captured convincingly by another American business speechwriter who noted,

I try to explain to skeptics that businesspeople do not view writing as their 'core competency.' It's a skill they farm out to a professional writer. I often say, "You wouldn't take out your own gall bladder. You would hire a surgeon. In the same way, you hire a writer for a speech because speechwriting isn't something you know how to do."

Munter and Hamilton (2014: 48) argue that "[g]roup writing is increasingly prevalent in business today." In organizations, such as the World Trade Center, *speechwriting* "is a recognized role in the organization, facilitating and helping to organize the communication of the speaker" (SW for WTO official). Business and public leaders use speechwriters in the name of efficiency and effectiveness due to "numerous responsibilities, lack of time and energy," and the "essential and extensive use of mass media" (Einhorn 1981: 41). Leaders turn to ghostwriters for assistance because they may not have "highly developed rhetorical skills" (Campbell and Jamieson 1990: 10) and because they should "talk with someone else about [their] writing. Discuss [their] ideas, or [their] overall organization, or specific points;" it is through collaboration that speakers benefit "from a wealth of talents and differing sources of credibility" (Munter and Hamilton 2014: 47).

3.3. The speechwriter position

Speechwriters do not view their activities as an ethical problem and disagree that "speeches are not to be taken as representative of honest, independent ability and achievement" (Bormann 1961: 262–267). Most survey respondents rejected the ethicist argument as "ridiculous" (SW for British PM), "definitely not true and really a nonsensical opinion" (SW for Dutch PM), or simply "stupid" (American business SW).

The speechwriters under study operate on the assumptions that:

- (1) *The speaker owns the speech.* The first rule of *speechwriting* is that “the words aren’t yours; you don’t speak them, you don’t own them, you don’t live with their unspooling into the world” (Richardson 2017: 5). “The speechwriter works for a principal, who is the owner of the speech. The speechwriter should facilitate the delivery of the ideas of the principal and try to maintain an open channel of communication” (SW for WTO official). Speechwriters “write what the boss would write if he/she had the time and inclination and to write what the audience needs to hear” (American business SW).
- (2) *The speaker collaborates with the speechwriter.* Ideally, a speech writing process should be a collaboration between a speechwriter and a speaker. “I know, after hours and hours of dialogue, what the person I write for want to say, and how he wants to say it. If I fail to write what he wants and how he wants it, he will tell me, and he has never said anything that he doesn’t believe in. He just doesn’t have time to personally write and prepare everything by himself.” (SW for Swedish PM).
- (3) *The speechwriter only assists the speaker in achieving the speaker’s goals.* “No speech should ever be delivered that the speaker does not entirely endorse/own/feel comfortable with. That being the case, our role is to assist the speaker to get his message across. There is no deception.” (SW for Cambridge University Vice Chancellor).
- (4) *The speechwriter is there to provide “as good an account of the speaker as possible”* (SW for British PM). The “goal of good speechwriting isn’t to turn the speaker into someone they’re not. The goal is to help them present their best version of themselves” (American business SW).

The “art of capturing a client’s voice in a believable and engaging manner,” Kristine Bruss (2011: 25) argues, is inevitable for *characterization*, which is “[o]ne of the most distinctive stylistic virtues of speechwriting.” This aspect of speech preparation, as

Bruss (2011: 26) points out, calls to mind “an ancient practice seldom mentioned in our contemporary rhetorical vocabulary: *ethopoeia*, literally “character-making” (ethos, “character” + poiein, “to make”).”

Ethopoeia, Bruss (2011: 26) argues, “is a multidimensional activity involving the assessment and representation of ideas and words well-suited to the character of a given speaker.” This quality manifests itself in “thought, language, and composition.” According to Aristotle, characterization is often equated with authenticity, or “appropriate style,” which reflects one’s “age, gender, place of origin, moral state, and education.”

Bruss (2011: 30) further notes,

the primary aim of character portrayal is plausibility; the ‘ethical style’ expresses character through the use of words that are suitable and fitting for the character being portrayed. Such words ensure that a speaker meets socially and culturally conditioned expectations with respect to character types.

As Duffy and Winchell (1989: 104) argue, ghostwriters must find a “voice” which,

though not precisely the voice with which the client ordinarily speaks, captures the essence of the person, and creates the image the speaker intends. The process is not imitative, it is representational. The ghostwriter seeks to establish through language a persona that is both interesting and believable. The first criterion of the ghostwritten speech or book is that it sounds like the person with whom it will be most intimately identified, the client.

Thus, “for *ethopoeia* to be effective, writers must understand what sort of words would be appropriate for different types of characters” (Bruss 2011: 30). For speechwriters collaborating directly with the speaker, characterization is essential to crafting a good speech; “it’s a continual process” (American business SW); “I work directly with the speaker, and I don’t think that you can get authenticity without that” (SW for Danish

government). A successful characterization should leave the audience with the impression that “no one should be able to deliver the speech you write other than the speaker you wrote it for” (American SW). Speechwriters strive for a speaker’s authenticity by “trying to find things that only this one speaker could say” (SW for British PM); “using words and jokes only they would use. By being sensitive to what a person in that position can/can’t say” (SW for Dutch PM), by “listen[ing] hard, review[ing] previous work, try[ing] to capture the language appropriate to the place and time” (American SW); by “referenc[ing] previous speeches and writings to find phrases and wording that can be re-used in order to convey a consistent message” (American SW).

However, presenting a speaker’s authentic self through speeches requires understanding that speakers, like any human, have complex characters. And that a specific character comes into the light or is amplified in relation to particular people or situations. Richardson (2017: 9) notes that political speeches are an “intensive form of identity formation, a becoming through speaking of the political self, realised transindividually. That is, realised in relation [...] identity, not as a set of masks but rather the coming into prominence of affective formations.” Thus, *speechwriting* is not unethical if it does not change character but amplifies it. A limited access to the speaker professional speechwriters experience may cause that authenticity to be “often edited out by the approval process” (SW for Canadian government).

4. Writing against speechwriters’ convictions

While scholarly literature on *speechwriting* overlooks the ethical implications of composing speeches that may compromise a speechwriter’s personal beliefs or values, this study sought to address this gap by posing the following question to speechwriters: “Would you write/Have you ever written a speech without

believing in the ideas the speech presented, or a speech against your own convictions?”

Survey responses revealed a clear division: some speechwriters viewed writing such speeches as part of their professional duty or a valuable learning experience, while others adamantly refused to compromise their beliefs. The ethical dilemma of writing against one's convictions is perceived to be more pronounced in politics. As one speechwriter from France noted, the dilemma “applies more to politics. In business, this dilemma doesn't really arise.” Political speechwriters believe in the importance of helping speakers articulate their views effectively, even if they personally disagree.

Consequently, most political speechwriters surveyed in the study agreed that:

- (1) “occasionally that is the task. As long as it is not too important an issue, that is something that will be inevitable sometimes” (SW for British PM).
- (2) “as a professional speechwriter or any employee in a ministry, it is your duty to assist any elected politician in carrying out their policies” (SW for Norwegian government).
- (3) “I'm helping the speaker find his/her thoughts and voice, not expressing mine” (American business SW).
- (4) “I would and I have a million times. Speechwriting is a trade. A speech reflects the opinions of a speaker, not of a writer. It's not about us.” (SW for Dutch PM).
- (5) “it is healthy to write for positions you disagree with, as you can learn new things and employ the Socratic method” (SW for Australian government).

Interestingly, the ethical aspect of writing against one's convictions is a significant issue for the surveyed American business speechwriters. They expressed a strong reluctance to write speeches for “a tobacco executive, a so-called pro-life group, or groups hostile to gay people;” “an anti-abortion or right-wing group, a Republican political candidate at this moment in time, a tobacco company, or Purdue Pharma.” Additionally, one

respondent noted, “[t]here are moral principles of mine I wouldn’t cross in writing a speech if the speech was aimed at doing harm to people—I’d quit first—but I could write things that go against my politics.” For instance, “the closest I’ve come to this is in having a speaker invoke God in closing, as I’m an atheist. That was fine for me, because I’m helping the speaker find his/her thoughts and voice, not expressing mine.”

5. Conclusions

Although deception is always a possibility in communication, “persuasion in itself is a two-edged sword that can be used for both good and bad” (SW for Danish government); speeches can both mislead an audience and serve as channels of communication in a democratic society. Given the myriad issues politicians and businesspeople must address, they often rely on professional speechwriters whose expertise they can benefit from.

The perception of the profession as unethical and deceitful is outdated and idealistic, stemming from two main factors: first, idealism about public office and “way too high expectations of key political figures” (SW for Dutch government); second, limited public understanding of the speechwriting/ghostwriting profession, as well as an outdated understanding of the requirements of leadership. Leaders and businesspeople need others to talk about their ideas. Collaboration, getting the speaker’s/leader’s message across, and providing “as good an account of the speaker as possible” [SW for British PM] are operating principles of speechwriters.

Political speechwriters believe in the importance of helping speakers articulate *their* views effectively, even if they personally disagree. The ethical aspect of writing against their fundamental values or convictions is a prominent issue for American business speechwriters. While some speechwriters view writing contrary to their convictions as part of their professional duties or a learning experience, others draw clear ethical lines they will not cross, especially when it involves promoting harmful or

morally objectionable views. Writing against one's convictions remains complex, influenced by personal values, professional responsibilities, and the context in which the speech is delivered.

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Image schemas revisited: The academic teaching context

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Abstract

The paper addresses issues from the area of the interface between theoretical linguistic courses and their possible practical implementation for university language didactics. Specifically, it illustrates didactically implementable procedure of introducing students into the embodiment premise, fundamental for Cognitive Linguists' views on language, and follow-up analyses of language expressions, which show the extent to which configurations of image schemas organizing human cognitive functioning can be discovered in semantic structures of the expressions. Image schemas-based analyses allow one to uncover differences in usage of reflexive morphemes Polish *się* 'self' and English *-self*; assumed equivalents: English *wash* and Polish *myć / umyć* 'wash'; and subtle differences in distribution of semantically related English lexemes *see*, *look(at)* and *watch*.

Key words

cognitive semantics, embodiment, image schemas, linguistic courses, university didactics

Powrót do schematów wyobrażeniowych: kontekst nauczania akademickiego

Abstrakt

Artykuł niniejszy obejmuje problematykę z obszaru przenikania się teorii językoznawczych i ich możliwej implementacji w dydaktyce akademickiej kształcenia językowego. Jako przykład działania dydaktycznego osadzonego w obszarze wspólnym dla teoretycznego i praktycznego wymiaru kursów językoznawstwa proponuję procedurę wprowadzenia studentów do zasady ucieleśnienia języka, jako fundamentalnego założenia Językoznawstwa Kognitywnego, i analizę struktur semantycznych wybranych wyrażen, wykorzystujących schematy wyobrażeniowe „odkryte” w trakcie warsztatu. Analizy te pozwalają ustalić źródło różnic między morfemami zwrotnymi a polskim i angielskim, oraz zdefiniować subtelne różnice semantyczne między podobnymi czasownikami *see*, *look at* i *watch*.

Słowa kluczowe

semantyka kognitywna, ucieleśnienie, schematy wyobrażeniowe, językoznawstwo, dydaktyka akademicka

1. Introduction

1.1. Theoretical context

The present paper stems from my long-term interests in the academic didactics area, where theories of language offer research outcomes that have a potential to explain grammatical phenomena to a remarkable degree. Specifically, since Turewicz (1986) I have been applying Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987 [1983], 1991, 2008) analytic tools to various aspects of English, seeking possible explanations for its grammatical patterns (Turewicz, 1986, 1994, 1997, 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2010b, 2016, 2016a), which reflect construals that appear to be conceptually different from their assumed Polish

counterparts. What differentiates the present paper from my earlier works is that the perspective on language structure assumed here is that of *image schemas*, as postulated and defined by Johnson (1987, 2005), Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Johnson (1999).

The argumentation presented in the paper does not contribute to the theoretical discussion on the ontological status of image schemas, which can be found, for example, in Hampe (2005). Rather, it dwells on the question of the extent to which image schemas, as pre-intellectual cognitive structures, are inherent or skeletal elements in language expressions of various degrees of complexity, 'around which' specific conceptual material is organized. Nevertheless, should the argumentation and sample analyses postulated in this paper be found valid, Zlatev's (2005)¹ criticism concerning image schemas / semantic structure interface would be weakened.

¹ In his contribution to Hampe and Grady (2005), Zlatev maintains that the notion of image schema is too polysemous to satisfy the criterion of scientific term. Instead, he argues: "I will explicate and explore some of the evidence for the hypothesis that linguistic meaning is grounded in mimetic schemas" as "an alternative (and arguably better) account of what image schemas were designed to do: explain the possibility for linguistic meaning to arise". It is not my aim here to enter theoretical discussion, however, Zlatev's definition of what mimetic schemas are, especially in the point referring to consciousness (ii), implies that it is possible to objectively define the difference between image schemas and mimetic schemas: "A particular bodily act of cognition or communication is an act of bodily mimesis if and only if: (i) it involves a cross-modal mapping between proprioception (kinaesthetic experience) and exteroception (normally dominated by vision), unless proprioception is compromised (cross-modality). (ii) it consists of a bodily motion that is, or can be, under conscious control (volition). (iii) the body (part) and its motion correspond "either iconically or indexically" to some action, object or event, but at the same time are differentiated from it by the subject (representation). (iv) the subject intends the act to stand for some action, object, or event for an addressee (communicative sign function)" (Zlatev 2005: 315). Relevant as the issue may be for cognitive linguistics theoreticians, I do not find it crucial in the context of postulated analyses. Indeed, I disagree with the statement that "The presented analysis also has implications for the nature of image schemas of the more abstract type, e.g., CONTAINMENT, that are similar to those suggested by Dewell (this volume): Rather than being prior to and independent of language as claimed by, e.g., Dodge and Lakoff (this volume), they are largely constituted by language itself" (Zlatev 2005: 3014-315). The statement

The understanding of the very term *image schema* assumed for the procedure and sample analyses presented below is that advocated by Lakoff and Johnson's original presentations, as reflected in quotations from Mark Johnson's text "The philosophical significance of image schemas" (Johnson 2005:15-33).

George Lakoff and I (Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987) coined the term "image schema" primarily to emphasize the bodily, sensory motor nature of various structures of our conceptualization and reasoning. We wanted to stress that image schemas are not archetypes of some allegedly pure form-making capacity (as Kant had held), nor are they merely abstract knowledge structures (such as Schank and Abelson's (1977) notion of a "script"). Instead, image schemas are the recurring patterns of our sensory-motor experience by means of which we can make sense of that experience and reason about it, and that can also be recruited to structure abstract concepts and to carry out inferences about abstract domains of thought.

Three important aspects of image schemas can now be emphasized. First, image schemas are an important part of what makes it possible for our bodily experiences to have meaning for us. The meaning is that of the recurring structures and patterns of our sensory-motor experience. As such, it typically operates beneath the level of our conscious awareness, although it also plays a role in our discrimination of the contours of our bodily orientation and experience. Meaning structures of this sort are part of what Lakoff and I (1999) call the "Cognitive Unconscious" (Johnson 2005: 22).

Accordingly, as far as theoretical stance is concerned, I follow the conception of image schemas as representational structures of sensory motor experience, part of unconscious rather than conscious cognitive functioning. As such, image schemas can

evidently disagrees with Johnson's (2005:21) position defined as "Because we must constantly *interact* with containers of all shapes and sizes, we naturally learn the "logic" of containment (for the CONTAINER schema)" (emphasis mine). As I see it, the "logic" of containment that is learned via interactions with containers allows very young children to successfully manipulate mugs before the language period.

both organize human everyday cognitive functioning and provide grounds for the formation of language structure and, thus, can be traced within both lexis and grammar.

1.2. Linguistic education context

Implementing Cognitive Linguistics into academic didactics is by no means easy, at least in the context of the Polish educational system. To begin with, students of foreign languages base their understanding of what language and grammar are on pre-university educational experience. Typically, in view of their limited formal knowledge of the grammatical system of Polish, the term *grammar* evokes prescriptive rules of the foreign language they have been learning, in this case English. Next, courses in linguistics included in university curricula of philology provide an opportunity to discover *grammar* as an object of linguistic research, except that the courses are founded on the definition of language as a mental system independent of bodily experience (de Saussure, Chomsky) on the one hand, and the descriptive tools, grammatical categories' terms, inherited from Greek – Alexandrian School tradition (the system of eight word-classes, comprising correlates of modern grammatical categories: noun, verb, participle, (definite) article, pronoun, preposition, adverb, and conjunction, declination and conjugation systems and principles of sentence structure analysis and description), on the other one (Chisholm 1911).

Considering the above, regardless of how insightful language structure analyses based on cognitive linguistics may be, the conceptualization of language as a cognitive system rooted in sensory-motor experience, postulated within cognitive linguistics, may be too hard to understand, making cognitive linguistics analyses of specific language structures hardly comprehensible. Consequently, I believe it crucial for a student encountering both theoretical aspects of cognitive linguistics and analyses of cases rooted in its methodologies to truly comprehend what it means that *language, semantic structure has its sensory*

basis, derives from basic sensory experiences: seeing, hearing, touching, which also underline human non-linguistic cognitive functioning.

In what follows I present a procedure and sample analyses that aim at discerning by the students the nature of embodiment premise, illustrated by the synergy between pre-intellectual cognitive functioning, on the one hand, and semantic structures of selected language expressions, on the other one: (i) reflexive morphemes Polish *się* ‘self’ and English *-self*; (ii) English *wash* and Polish *myć / umyć* ‘wash’ (iii) semantically related English lexemes *see, look(at)* and *watch*.

2. From what we experience to what we say

2.1. The workshop

In Turewicz (2016a) I postulate a workshop during which students / participants discover image schemas that are inherent in such everyday activities as drinking coffee or tea. During the first phase of the workshop, physical gestures involved in performing and accomplishing the activity are identified. Next, during a follow-up discussion, image schemas that cognitively organize the gestures are discerned. The discoveries and discussion lead to postulating semantic analyses of predicates, in which reference to image schemas allows one to grasp subtle similarities and differences that obtain among them.

Thus, an everyday activity such as drinking tea or coffee can be defined in terms of a sequence of the following gestures:

I reach out for the mug/ cup

Raise it to my lips

Take a sip

Put it back

Reach out for the mug/ cup

Raise it to my lips

Take a sip

Put it back

Reach out for the mug/cup
Raise it to my lips
Take a sip
Put it back
And so on...
(Turewicz 2016a:17)

The follow-up discussion has led the workshop participants to the conclusion that such movements or gestures are neither planned nor designed, people simply *know exactly what to do to achieve intended effects without conscious planning*: reaching out for the mug / cup is not preceded by a “decision” how to stretch one’s arm for the hand to reach the location of the container with the beverage in it from the perspective of the person’s actual position. Nevertheless, should the stretching arm movement (incorporated in the reaching out movement) be a matter of a mere chance, presumably it would result in hitting the mug against some surface and breaking it while performing. Consequently, successful reaching for coffee or tea in a *container*, such as a mug or a cup, need not be consciously planned but the gesture of reaching for the mug / cup appears to require “some *cognitive though pre-intellectual effort* consisting in identification of the *path* that the arm has to follow to the *goal* from the actual *source* position” (Turewicz 2016a:17). In other words, to succeed in performing the gesture involves prior identification of the position of the mug / container – the *goal*₁, the actual position of the person – the *source*₁ and the route that the stretching arm has to follow to reach the goal – the *path*₁, to be represented henceforth as (source – path – goal)₁.

Similarly, once the mug / cup is in one’s hand, it has to cover the distance between its initial location to the lips, hence another gesture involving the source-path-goal trajectory is performed, except that the source, the path and the goal are different: the location of the mug / cup – *source*₂, the route from that location to the lips – *path*₂, the lips – *goal*₂. Because this gesture consists in bringing mug / cup along *path*₂ to the lips – *goal*₂,

(source – path- goal)₂ other questions discussed during the workshop are: (i) What directs our cognitive behavior – the movements – so that we know *how to handle an empty mug / cup and how to handle it when full* once we have reached it? (ii) What makes it possible for us *to estimate the physical effort enabling successful grasping and handling of the mug / cup* at subsequent stages of drinking?

Agreeably, successful *raise of the mug / cup to one's lips* requires cognitive mastery in handling / manipulating a *container* (a mug / a cup) along the (source – path – goal)₂ route combined with *up-down* orientation and use adequate physical effort to guarantee maintaining *equilibrium / balance* when the full container 'travels' to the lips. Simultaneously, the gesture requires proper 'estimation' of the *force* with which the arm muscles tighten to overcome some *barrier* – the weight of the mug / cup, and the relaxing position of any part of human body, here the arm, in 'no action' state, to accomplish the (source – path – goal)₂ gesture directed upwards.

Next, once the (source – path – goal)₂ route of the mug / cup is accomplished, the very 'taking a sip' gesture is *also* cognitively organized by source – path – goal pattern: the beverage from the center of the mug / cup (*source₃ / container₁*) 'follows' a particular route (*path₃*) to get precisely to the inside of the mouth (*goal₃* and *container₂*). Simultaneously, this gesture involves cognitively estimated adequate physical effort (*force*) to maintain *equilibrium / balance* so that the tea or coffee, regardless of its weight (*barrier*), gets precisely into the mouth / human body (*goal₃* and *container₂*). Accordingly, the activity of 'taking a sip' is cognitively organized by a *configuration* of cognitive patterns: source – path- goal, container, force-barrier and equilibrium.

Finally, the 'putting the mug / cup back' gesture is also organized by source-path goal schema, where the *goal₄* is the initial position of the mug / container, the *source₄* correlates with the lips and the *path₄* is the route from the lips to the initial position of the mug / cup. Importantly, because some of the

beverage has been absorbed by *goal*₃, i.e., *container*₂ – the mouth / body, the weight of the mug / cup has changed, which requires adjusting the force needed to handle the *container*₁ – barrier, and maintain balance during the (source – path – goal)₄ gesture.

2.2. Discussion and theoretical issues

In view of the argumentation above, the following image schemas have been identified as organizing subsequent gestures involved in the activity of drinking coffee: force-barrier (the action of arm muscles), source-path goal, up-down (the trajectory the arm/hand ‘travels’), container (for the identification of the object to be manipulated: the mug/cup and the human body), full-empty, equilibrium / balance (for safe manipulation of a ‘full → empty’ container). There may be more cognitive patterns involved in organizing the activity of drinking coffee or tea, e.g. *mass* for the beverage, nevertheless, as they are not directly relevant for the present argumentation, I will focus on those which appear to be crucial for cognitively correct organization of the movements.

Undoubtedly, to accomplish drinking one’s coffee or tea, the gestures enumerated above are repeated a number of times, and each time the movements are performed in an established order: (i) reaching out for the mug → (ii) raising the mug to the lips → (iii) taking a sip of the beverage → (iv) putting the mug back, whereas each of the gestures – (i), (ii), (iii), (iv) – is organized by a *configuration* of image schemas as characterized above. In other words, an accomplished *activity of drinking* coffee / tea involves *repeating* again and again a *sequence of similar gestures* (i)→(ii)→(iii)→(iv), each of them based on a *configuration of image schemas*, which brings us to the concepts of *iteration* (“the process of doing something again and again” – CALD 2008: 767) and *cycle*² (“a group of events which happen in a particular

² Johnson (1987: 119) defines it as follows: “Most fundamentally, a cycle is a temporal circle. The cycle begins with some initial state, proceeds through

order” (CALD 2008: 347)), inherent in the structure of the concept *iteration*. In view of Johnson’s words “Many complex image schemas are built up from the basic ones through processes of combination, superimposition, and further elaboration or specification” (Johnson 2005: 21), the *iteration* and *cycle* are complex image schemas.

Considering the fact that both *iteration* and *cycle* are identified as image schemas (Hampe 2005:2), the activity of drinking tea / coffee appears to be organized by a *configuration* of complex image schemas: iteration, cycle, which themselves are configurations of more basic schemas: source-path-goal, container, up-down, force-barrier, equilibrium. As may have been realized, to accomplish each cycle, the person performing the physical gestures has to spend some energy, because without energy no movement is possible. Hence, a reasonable question is ‘Why do people customarily drink their coffee or tea (or more reasonably, eat breakfast) as ‘first thing in the morning’ if the activity requires *spending* some energy? Again, speculative³ as it may be, the reasonable answer is that people *invest* some energy to drink coffee or tea or simply eat breakfast to get *more* energy to begin the day.

According to the above mode of reasoning, the gestures within each cycle, incorporate *energy transfer*: investing energy from phase (i) of the cycle through phase (ii) to absorbing energy with accomplishment of phase (iii), to spending some energy to accomplish phase (iv), which results in absorbing *more energy than invested*. Hence, the formula (i)→(ii)→(iii)→(iv), while representing a cycle in configuration of image schemas organized by iteration image schema (which organizes the activity of drinking coffee / tea) *itself* represents *energy transfer* resulting in

a sequence of connected events, and ends where it began, to start anew the recurring cyclic pattern.”

³ The word *speculative* here is used in the sense it applies to linguistic / philosophical tradition of Modists, whose postulates of *modi essendi*, *modi intelligendi* and *modi significandi* were speculative to the extent they were rooted in pure reasoning, with no chance for objective / scientific support (Bursill-Hall 1972).

enriching the original $source_1$ which becomes the beneficiary as $goal_3$. In this fashion, within each cycle (i) – (iv), the accomplishment of phases (i) – (iii) *correlates* the performer of respective gestures – $source_1$ with the beneficiary / recipient of their effect – $goal_3$. More conveniently, the *cognitive behavior* involved in drinking coffee or tea can be described as follows: some energy from the $source_1$ e.g. a human body, is directed (\rightarrow) to $goal_1$ which correlates (/) with $source_2$, from which *energy* is transmitted (\rightarrow) to $goal_2$ which correlates (/) with $source_1$ (the human body) causing some kind of *change* (+) in $source_1$, to be represented by modified and simplified formula:

$$source_1 \rightarrow goal_1 / source_2 \rightarrow goal_2 / source_1 +$$

The correlation between source of emitted energy to perform an activity - performer ($source_1$) and the recipient of the effect of the activity accomplishment ($goal_2 / source_1 +$) evokes the concept of *reflexivity*. Indeed, in view of Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (1990: 990) definition of the adjective *reflexive* as "1 a: directed or turned back on itself", I argue that within cycle the sequence of gestures represented by the simplified formula $source_1 \rightarrow goal_1 / source_2 \rightarrow goal_2 / source_1 +$ reflects *reflexivity* image schema.

To the extent the reasoning presented above is logical, the *reflexivity* image schema, as a configuration of image schemas which represent 'recurring patterns of our sensory motor experience' is *embodied*. Simultaneously, it is a *cognitive schema* as 'it also plays a role in our discrimination of the contours of our bodily orientation and experience', during such activities as drinking coffee or tea, which are founded on *meaning structures* defined by Lakoff and Johnson (1999) as the "Cognitive Unconscious".

Importantly, the *reflexivity* image schema characterized above in terms of a configuration of image schemas is fully compatible with the definition of the concept *reflexivity* in logic and mathematics, defined as "(logic and mathematics) a relation

such that it holds between an element and itself” (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/reflexivity>, accessed 19.08.2024). The question that remains to be addressed is: Is the reflexivity image schema as discussed above inherent in language / semantic structure?

2.3. Image schemas in semantic structure

As I argue in Turewicz (2016a: 20-23), the characterization of the reflexivity image schema matches also dictionary definitions of the adjective *reflexive*: “*adj* describes words that show that the person who does the action is also the person who is affected by it” (*Cambridge Advanced Learner Dictionary* 2008: 1194, CALD henceforth) and “1 a: directed or turned on itself” (*Webster Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary* 1990: 990, WNNCD henceforth). The study questions addressed and discussed in that work were: (i) To what extent reflexivity schema organizes semantic structure in reflexive pronouns in Polish and English? (ii) Can, on more general grounds, image schemas analysis account for subtle differences among ‘similar’⁴ language expressions in English? (iii) Can an analysis implementing image-schema theory contribute to better understanding of similarities and differences between meanings / semantic structures of language expressions intra and inter linguistically? In what follows I revise those analyses and extend the study to new cases.

2.3.1. Reflexive morphemes

Presumably, most typical examples of language expressions categorized as related to the notion of reflexivity in Polish and English are the reflexive pronoun *się* ‘self’ in Polish and its assumed

⁴ The very term ‘similar’ is vague, nevertheless I decided to use it to ‘grasp’ a perspective of a learner of English as a foreign language, (typically) educated on the basis of a bi-lingual dictionary, who strives to find out which word in my own language is a true equivalent of the English word in focus.

English equivalent, the derivational suffix *-self*. The Polish pronoun *się* is characterized by *Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny PWN* (1981: 686) [The Dictionary of Correct Polish PWN] as follows

Zaimek *się* **1**. Tworzy stronę zwrotną czasowników wskazując, że sprawca tej czynności jest jednocześnie jej odbiorcą
 [The pronoun *się* **1**. is used to form reflexive voice of verbs pointing to the performer as simultaneously its recipient/beneficiary]

In view of the dictionary definition referred to above, the reflexivity image schema represented in the formula $source_1 \rightarrow goal_1 / source_2 \rightarrow goal_2 / source_1 +$ evidently grasps the essential facet of semantic structure of the Polish reflexive pronoun *się*: the correlation that holds between performer and recipient is reflected in the correlation between $source_1$ and $goal_2 / source_1 +$.

As far as the English dependent morpheme *-self* is concerned, neither of the dictionaries (CALD 2008, WNNCD 1990) is very helpful as regards its meaning / semantic structure; both focus on its syntactic distribution. Similarly, other sources offer morphological definitions of the form *-self* as a suffix which, when attached to a personal pronoun, e.g. *myself*, points to identity of the object and the subject of the sentence as the requirement for the occurrence of the *reflexive pronoun* (<http://www.economist.com/blogs/johnson/2013/02/grammar>). Also, pedagogy-oriented grammar books, such as *Longmans Advanced Learner's Grammar* (2008), offer syntax based characterization of *-self*, which foreground the *identity of the subject and the object* of sentences with the morpheme. Again, the comparison of the definitions allows one to argue that the formula $source_1 \rightarrow goal_1 / source_2 \rightarrow goal_2 / source_1 +$ is inherent in the semantic structure of the dependent morpheme, where the $source_1$ and $goal_2 / source_1 +$ are morphologically encoded in the form of respective reflexive pronoun: *myself*, *yourself*, *themselves* etc.

Accordingly, the image schematic analyses of functional and syntactic definitions of the Polish reflexive pronoun *się* and the English suffix *-self* allow to discern what the reflexive voice predicates share, which is the *reflexivity image schema*. Nonetheless, because *się* is an independent morpheme whereas *-self* is a dependent one, the *reflexivity image schema* operates in the languages at different levels of semantic / grammatical organization: in the case of *się* the source₁ and goal₂/source₁+ is defined syntactically (the subject), whereas in the case of *-self* the source₁ and goal₂ /source₁+ is defined morphologically in the stems of reflexive pronouns.

2.3.2. Verbs

2.3.2.1. Wash – *myć* / *umyć*

Another pair of examples that are interesting in the context of learning English as a foreign language are the English verb *wash* and its assumed Polish equivalent *myć*. The words are viewed as equivalents by bilingual dictionaries, however, their distributions in respective language systems differ. The point in focus is awkwardness of English **wash myself* contrasted with grammaticality of Polish *myć się* ‘wash myself’. The cross-linguistic *discrepancy* is related to the level of language systems on which reflexivity image schema (source₁→goal₁/source₂→goal₂/source₁+) organizes conceptual content of language expressions. Namely, *wash*, unlike *umyć*,⁵ is defined as either *transitive* or *intransitive* verb. The intransitive use of the verb requires no direct object, which implies that the only *recipient / affected element* of the activity is the performer encoded in the subject. Accordingly, the intransitive usage of the English verb

⁵ In view of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 2008) definitions of perfective / imperfective processes, English *wash* and Polish *myć* differ in that the former is a perfective verb whereas the latter is not. Therefore, I view it more appropriate to pair as equivalents *wash* and *umyć* – the perfective infinitive of *myć*.

wash points to *reflexive image schema* in the semantic construal with the verb. Simultaneously, the fact that its assumed Polish equivalent is a transitive verb excludes the presence of a reflexivity image schema in the semantic structure of *umyć*. In other words, the simple verb form *wash* (intransitive) incorporates the information that the beneficiary of the washing is the performer at *lexical level (as an intransitive verb)*, whereas the absence of the reflexivity schema in Polish *umyć – transitive verb* leaves the beneficiary / recipient unspecified and the reflexive *–się* does the job identifying the intransitive correlation between the performer and the recipient on *syntactic level*.

2.3.2.2. See, look (at), watch

From the perspective of a learner of English as a foreign language, English words *see*, *look (at)*, *watch* may be troublesome because, on the one hand, they refer to the activity of visual perception, whereas, on the other one, their distribution and usage imply differences among them that are semantically relevant. In what follows, I offer analyses of their semantic structures implementing the theory of image schemas.

See

CALD (2003:1129) defines the verb *see* first of all in the sense ‘use eyes’: “[I or T] to be aware of what is around you by using your eyes”. Interpreted from the perspective of sensory motor behavior, the definition implies that the language expression *see* encodes a situation of *letting* visual information into the mind (be aware) by *keeping one’s eyes opened* (using your eyes). To the extent the sensory - motor behavior interpretation of the dictionary definition is legitimate, the semantic structure of *see* can be analyzed in terms of a configuration of image schemas: *container*, *blockage*, *force – barrier*, *end of path*. Namely, in the configuration of image schemas defining the semantic structure of the verb, (i) the mind functions as a *container* to which visual information has access when the eyelids are raised; (ii) when

closed, the eyes function as a *blockage* for the mind/*container*, because no information can get into the mind; (iii) for the eyes to be opened (the information has free access to the mind), the eyelid muscles behave according to the *force – barrier* image schema; (iv) the flow of information is ‘absorbed’ in the mind (like beverage is ‘absorbed’ in the body), hence the mind / container is also construed as the ‘end of path’ for the flow of information by the *end of path* schema.

I would argue that in the configuration of image schemas organizing semantic structure of the verb, the source-path-goal schema may not be *salient*, because for the cognitive activity of seeing any point / location in the visually accessible surroundings can be such a source, from which the information travels along a path to the goal / at the end of path – the eyes / mind. It should be borne in mind, however, that the end of path schema is a part of the source-path-goal schema, hence, evidently, the end of path schema presupposes the source-path-goal in the configuration, which need not be active in the act of seeing and, by the same token, redundant for characterization of the semantic structure of *see*.

Look (at)

The verb is defined by CALD (2008:845) as follows: “[...] direct your eyes in order to *see*” (emphasis mine), hence, the definition of *look (at)* incorporates that of *see*. Accordingly, the configuration of image schemas incorporated in the semantic structure of *see* is shared by the two lexemes. Simultaneously, the definition hints upon the difference between semantic structures of the two predicates in its ‘direct your eyes in order [...]’ part. In terms of image schematic analysis, this part of the definition of *look (at)* points to the source-path-goal image schema in its semantic structure (direct ... to). The goal here correlates with a fragment of reality, object or scene, towards which opened eyes are directed.

Evidently, the fact of directing one’s eyes at some point involves investing some energy in the movement of the head by

the intentionally acting human body, aiming to obtain information. Thus, the source-path-goal image schema defines a path of fictive motion⁶ between the source – the mind with eyes opened, and the goal – the object(s) that the seeing is intentionally directed at. Next, because in *look at* the goal of intentional directing the eyes is an object the agent wants to see, i.e. receive backward information about, the object becomes the source of the backward information flow according to the source-path-goal image schema, whose goal correlates with the source of the intentional directing the eyes. Accordingly, the semantic structure of *look (at)* incorporates a configuration of *source-path-goal* image schemas: from the mind to the object of interest for the agent – (source-path-goal)₁ and from the object to the eyes / mind – (source-path-goal)₂, in which source₁ correlates with goal₂ enriched by the absorbed information, hence represented as source₁+. The configuration represented formally as *source₁→goal₁/source₂→goal₂/source₁+* points to reflexivity image schema as the factor organizing semantic structure of the predicate; the reflexivity image schema inherent in the semantic structure of *look (at)* accounts for the difference between the verb and *see*. Simultaneously, the predicates share such image schemas as container, removal of restraint, force-barrier, up-down (eye lids movement).

Watch

CALD (2008:2638) defines the meaning of *watch* as: “to **look at** something for a period of time, especially something that is changing or moving”. Following the path of reasoning postulated so far, let us assume that the configuration of image schemas organizing the meaning of *watch* incorporates that of *look (at)*, which, in turn, incorporates the configuration of image schemas defining *see*. Thus, the following image schemas appear to organize the semantic structure of *watch*: container, removal of restraint, force-barrier, up-down, end of path and reflexivity

⁶ Here I implement the term postulated by Langacker (1987, 2008).

image schema: $source_1 \rightarrow goal_1 / source_2 \rightarrow goal_2 / source_1+$. There remains to identify the difference between the meaning of *look (at)* and *watch*. CALD definitions we base our analyses on imply that the values of $goal_1 / source_2$ of $source_1 \rightarrow goal_1 / source_2 \rightarrow goal_2 / source_1+$ are different in the semantic structures for *look (at)* and *watch*. Precisely, in the case of *watch* the goal is *something that is changing or moving*. Bodily experience of change in one's location as well as the ability to register a change in the location of moving objects lead to the formation of image schemas *moving object / motion / change*, therefore, the part of the definition *something that is changing or moving* points to these image schemas in the semantic structure of *watch*. The combination of *moving object / motion / change* with reflexivity image schema implies changing value of $goal_1 / source_2$ in $source_1 \rightarrow goal_1 / source_2 \rightarrow goal_2 / source_1+$ hence multiple links between the mind and the moving object, which points to activation of *iteration* image schema in the configuration organizing semantic structure of *watch*. In other words, because motion and change are inseparable from the experience of passage of time, in the case of *watch* the link between the brain / mind container and the goal defined as moving object are defined by iteration and reflexivity image schemas, which implies that the predicate has a temporal dimension in its semantic structure.⁷

In view of the above reanalysis of semantic structures of the three verbs: *see*, *look(at)* and *watch*, the predicates share the configuration of image schemas defining the semantic structure of *see*. The difference between *see*, on the one hand, and *look (at)* and *watch*, on the other one, is motivated by the presence of reflexivity image schema in the meaning / semantic structures of the latter ones (*look (at)* and *watch*). Moreover, the difference between *watch* and *look (at)* can be explained with reference to the iteration image schema defining the multiple $goals_1 / sources_2$ of the reflexivity image schema $source_1 \rightarrow goal_1 /$

⁷ Here I refer to Lanagcker's definition of perfective profile.

$source_2 \rightarrow goal_2 / source_1 +$; which contribute to the semantic structure of *watch* a temporal dimension.

A more insightful analyses of semantic structures of *see*, *look(at)* and *watch*, would uncover other image schemas in the configurations organizing meanings of the three words. Nevertheless, despite possible limitations, the analyses allow to account for a number of nuances of usage. For example, the analyses offer tacit explanation why *look* does not allow 'extending in time' complements, while *watch* is incompatible with momentary objects of no temporal extension, as illustrated by the sentences below.

**We looked at the film for a few minutes.*

**All of the sudden the policeman watched the woman.*

3. Conclusions

The paper addresses issues from the area where university didactics should overlap with linguistic theories. Specifically, I have tried to offer a solution to the problem of difficulties that students of philology may experience during courses in cognitive linguistics, related to its unorthodox conception of language as rooted in sensory-motor experience. The idea of the workshop agrees with Jonhson's (2005: 21) statement that through "[...] informal phenomenological analysis of the structural dimensions of our sensory-motor experience, most of the basic image schemas will show themselves." Simultaneously, in spite of the fact that my intention here has not been to contribute to the theoretical discussion on image schemas in "unconscious cognition" and language, the outcome of the workshop has implications for such a debate in illustrating cases of implementing the theory to *explanatory* analyses of language expressions at different levels of its organization. To the extent the workshop can successfully introduce students into the idea of embodiment of language and the analyses convincingly illustrate the

synergy between thus identified image schemas and semantic structure, the aim of the paper has been achieved.

Obviously, the analyses are preliminary in that the identification of image schemas organizing semantic structure of a predicate needs more precise characterization of the structure of the *configuration* the image schemas belong to. Presumably, Langacker's (1987, 2008) concept of *point of access* to a *matrix of domains*, evoked for the characterization of semantic poles of symbolic structures, could inspire research into the impact that *configuration* of image schemas may have on the meanings encoded by 'similar' lexemes: *see, look(at), watch*. By the same token, differences in configurations of image schemas may reflect crucial differences among languages at all levels of the language structure, as illustrated by pairs: *się* and *-self, myć / umyć* and *wash*. Indeed, the analyses may encourage research into the extent to which image schemas can be implemented to specific *grammatical* phenomena within a language and between languages, especially in view of Langacker's works (1986, 2008), in which the proponent of Cognitive Grammar argues and demonstrates that image schemas are important facets in definitions of semantic poles of grammatical categories. What I find challenging is the possible implementation of image schema theory analyses to lexicography, mono- and bilingual / multilingual dictionaries, and the area of translation. Should image schemas prove to be the level of cognitive structure shared by different semantic systems, different languages, the type of analysis could contribute to better understanding of what languages share and how they differ, and thus more successful communication among people using different languages but united in fundamental cognitive processes.

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LITERARY STUDIES

**Susan Ferrier:
“The Scottish Jane Austen”**

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Abstract

The paper delves into the life and literary contributions of Susan Ferrier (1782-1854), a Scottish writer contemporary to Jane Austen. Despite the initial popularity of her novels, Ferrier's works have largely been overshadowed by Austen's enduring fame. The article examines Ferrier's literary output and compares it with that of Austen to reveal both similarities and differences.

In recent years, there has been a renewed interest in Ferrier's works among readers and scholars, leading to a modest revival of her literary reputation. This paper aims to contribute to the ongoing critical reassessment of Ferrier's literary legacy and highlight her distinct voice in early 19th-century fiction.

Keywords

Susan Ferrier, novel of manners, Regency Era, Scottish literature

Susan Ferrier: „Szkocka Jane Austen”

Abstrakt

Artykuł omawia życie i wkład literacki Susan Ferrier (1782-1854), szkockiej pisarki współczesnej Jane Austen. Pomimo początkowej popularności jej powieści, twórczość Ferrier została w dużej mierze przyćmiona sławą Austen. Artykuł przygląda się twórczości literackiej Ferrier i porównuje ją z twórczością Austen, ukazując zarówno podobieństwa, jak i różnice. W ostatnich latach wzrosło zainteresowanie zarówno czytelników jak i literaturoznawców twórczością Ferrier, co doprowadziło do skromnego ożywienia jej reputacji literackiej. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest przyczynienie się do trwającej krytycznej oceny dziedzictwa literackiego Ferrier i podkreślenie jej odrębnego głosu w literaturze z początku XIX wieku.

Słowa kluczowe

Susan Ferrier, powieść społeczno-obyczajowa, era Regencji, literatura szkocka

1. Introduction

In 1813 Jane Austen published one of her most popular and much-loved novels – *Pride and Prejudice*. Five years later, in 1818 in Edinburgh, a Scottish writer Susan Edmonstone Ferrier¹ published her first novel *The Marriage: A Novel*.² It was

¹ I have previously written about Ferrier and her status of “forgotten writer” in a blog post (see Sienkiewicz-Charlish 2023). This article is a revised and extended version of that blog entry.

² The novel exists in different versions. The first edition was published by Blackwood in 1818 in three volumes. The second edition published in 1819 contains a number of changes. In 1841 the novel was revised with a number of changes and some additional sections and published by Richard Bentley in his Standard Novels series. Bentley’s 1881-1882 edition of *Miss Ferrier’s Novels* in 6 volumes goes back to the first, 1818, edition (For this and more information on the differences between the different editions see the critical edition

immensely popular and sold 1,500 copies within the first 6 months. The French edition appeared in 1825. Big sales meant that the publisher was willing to pay £1,000 for her second novel *The Inheritance* (1824) and a remarkable £1,700 for the third, *Destiny, or the Chief's Daughter* (1831). Today Austen remains one of the most popular writers and a focus of academic study whereas Ferrier's works have largely been forgotten. In recent years, however, there has been a renewed interest in Ferrier's first novel, *Marriage*, which was reissued first by Virago in 2018 and next by The Association for Scottish Literary Studies in 2020. In 2022 as part of Women's History Month a celebration of Scotland's "forgotten Jane Austen" was held at an Edinburgh hotel that was once the townhouse where the author lived with her family (Campsie 2022).

2. Who was Susan Ferrier?

Susan Ferrier was born on the 7th of September 1782 in Lady Stair's Close in Edinburgh's Old Town. She was the youngest of 10 children of James Ferrier and Helen Coutts. Her father was a Writer to the Signet (a society of Scottish solicitors) and at one time a principal clerk at the Court of Session (together with Sir Walter Scott), her mother was the daughter of a farmer. She was educated at the family home in Edinburgh's New Town. Since her father was a factor to the Duke of Argyll, Susan was often a visitor to Inveraray. Thus, Susan Ferrier came from a family that was well-known in Edinburgh "society" and early on she became acquainted with different members of Edinburgh's literary circle including Robert Burns, Henry MacKenzie, Joanna Baillie and Walter Scott who became her close friend (Yeo 2006). In Inveraray, she also became friends with the Duke's niece, Charlotte Clavering, and together they decided to write a novel; however, they quickly discovered that their styles and approaches to writing differed too much – Susan thought that

of *Marriage* by Dorothy McMillan, especially "Notes on the text" 1-lii and "Appendix A: The 1841 Edition" 469-488).

writing should not only be entertaining, but also didactic. In a letter to Charlotte, she wrote:

Part of your plot I like much, some not quite so well – for example, it wants a *moral* – your principal characters are good and interesting, and they are tormented and persecuted and punished from no fault, of their own, and for no possible purpose. No, I don't think, like all penny-book manufacturers, that 'tis absolutely necessary that the good boys and girls should be rewarded, and the naughty ones punished. [...] But as the only good purpose of a book is to inculcate morality and convey some lessons of instruction as well as delight, I do not see that what is called a *good moral* can be dispensed with in a work of fiction. (Ferrier, Ferrier and Doyle 1898: 75)

In the end, Charlotte only contributed one short sub-chapter to Ferrier's first novel *Marriage* entitled "The History of Mrs. Douglas" [the only chapter with the title] (Yeo 2006). The novel was published anonymously in 1818 – perhaps because some of her fictional characters were based on real and recognizable people of her acquaintance, but more likely it was connected with the position of women in Georgian Society and the fact that their role was confined to the domestic sphere. In another letter to Charlotte, she urged her to keep their plans for writing a novel secret: "One thing let me entreat of you: if we engage in this undertaking, let it be kept secret from every human being. If I was suspected of being accessory to such foul deeds, my brothers and sisters would murder me, and my father bury me alive [...]" (Ferrier, Ferrier and Doyle 1898: 77). Even after her first novel was successful and met with positive reviews, she was determined to keep her authorship a secret, writing in her diary: "I never will avow myself [...] I could not bear the *fuss* of authorism!" (Ferrier, Ferrier and Doyle 1898: 178).

All her novels were published anonymously, and it was not until the Harper&Bros American edition of 1847 and Richard Bentley's UK edition of 1852 that her name appeared on the title pages of her works (Ferrier 2020: xi). At the time of their

publication, there was a lot of debate as to who the author of the novels was; in fact, many readers attributed them to Sir Walter Scott. Ferrier refers to this in one of her letters to Miss Walker, adding: "Whose ever it is, I have met with nothing that interested me since!" (Ferrier, Susan, John Ferrier, and John Andrew Doyle 1898: 144). Scott might have not written the novels but is known to have appreciated and supported her writing. In his diary entry of March 27, 1826, criticizing a new work that he had been reading, he wrote, "The women do this better. Edgeworth, Ferrier, Austen, have all given portraits of real society far superior to anything man, vain man, has produced of the like nature." And in his conclusion to *A Legend of Montrose* (1819), Scott went as far as calling Ferrier his "sister shadow" (Scott 1819) Her last published novel was dedicated to him.

Ferrier visited Scott first at Ashiestiel Farm on the banks of the River Tweed in the Scottish Borders (in 1811), and later at his new residence, Abbotsford House (in 1829 and 1831). Her account of the visits entitled "Recollections of Visits to Ashiestiel and Abbotsford" appeared posthumously in the magazine *Temple Bar* (1874) and it includes some lines that Scott wrote impromptu in her autograph album.³

Ferrier never married and kept house for her father until he died in 1829. Beginning in the early 1830s, she began to suffer excruciating headaches and vision loss, which kept her confined to the house for long stretches. By the time of her death in 1854, she was almost blind. She left the beginning of a fourth novel, *Maplehurst Manor*, unfinished. She is buried in the family plot in St Cuthbert's Churchyard in Edinburgh (Yeo 2006).

³ Ferrier's autograph album shows that she was well-acquainted with some of the most prominent writers of the time. It includes contributions from Joanna Baillie, Thomas Campbell, Maria Edgeworth, James Hogg, Mathew Gregory Lewis, Henry Mackenzie, Sir Walter Scott and William Wordsworth among others. Microfilm of the album is held in the National Library of Scotland (See "Appendix B: Susan Ferrier's autograph album" in: Ferrier 2020: 497-505).

Despite their initial popularity, by the late 19th century the novels of Susan Ferrier had fallen out of readers' favour. In 1893, Charles Townsend Copeland wrote in *The Atlantic*:

As happens with most writers who do not at first give their names to the public, Miss Ferrier has paid the price of anonymity by being twice unknown: for a long time, she was not found out [...] and now for many years she has been forgotten. It has been my lot, and doubtless others have had the same experience, to find any mention of *The Inheritance*, or even of *Marriage*, received with a blank look, followed by the eager inquiry of who wrote it, and at last by the civil subsidence of interest which commonly greets a reference to old novels.

In recent years Ferrier's work has met with greater scholarly interest, which also contributed to a modest degree of critical rehabilitation. In 2017, a Scottish crime writer Val McDermid said she was hoping to revive Susan Ferrier's reputation as one of Scotland's great novelists and included the writer in her Edinburgh-wide literary-art installation, "Message from the Skies" (Thorpe 2017). In 2020, a new critical edition of *Marriage* edited by Dorothy McMillan was published by the ASLS. If one considers the number of online reader reviews of *Marriage* on *Goodreads*, there is also a noticeable rise in recognition of the writer among non-academic readers – this change, in my opinion, can be attributed, at least partially, to Val McDermid's endorsement of the writer. The label of "the Scottish Jane Austen" also helps here as it is a common marketing strategy to sell new or "forgotten" writers by aligning them with popular writers.

3. Ferrier vs. Austen – similarities

At first glance, the obvious parallels drawn between Ferrier and Austen's novels are understandable. First of all, both writers provided a satirical, often amusing critique of high society in the late 18th and early 19th centuries focusing in particular on the female experience. Moreover, they share an interest in similar

themes: love, marriage, social class, and female education. The opening line of *The Inheritance* also sounds rather familiar: “It is a truth, universally acknowledged, that there is no possession so deeply rooted in human nature as that of pride.”⁴

In Ferrier’s novels, just like in Austen’s, marriage is portrayed as a fundamental social institution. It is often seen as a means of securing one’s social status and financial stability. The characters in her novels struggle with the pressure to marry well and have to face the consequences of making good or poor marital choices. Love is frequently pitted against societal conventions and norms. The meddling of family members in the romantic lives of the characters is also a recurring theme.

Similarly to Austen, Ferrier employs satire and humour to critique the superficiality and even absurdity of the institution of marriage. However, her tone is much more moralistic, and throughout her novels, Ferrier repeatedly explores the consequences – both positive and negative – of the characters’ marital choices. She highlights the impact of these choices on individuals, families, and society as a whole, demonstrating how marriages can shape the course of one’s life.

Moreover, just like Austen, Ferrier provides keen observations of the character of her protagonists. Consider the following examples:

Mr Adam Ramsay was a man of a fair character and strong understanding, but particular temper and unpleasing manners – with a good deal of penetration, which (as is too often the case) served no other purpose than to disgust him with his own species. (*Inheritance*, vol.I, ch. XVII)

Mr M’Dow’s principal object in this world was self...He was no dissembler; for a selfish dissembler is aware, that, in order to please,

⁴ Ferrier read and admired Austen. Her letters mention both *Pride and Prejudice* and *Emma* which she thought was “excellent” (Ferrier, Susan, John Ferrier, and John Andrew Doyle 1898: 128). In her Introduction to *Marriage* Dorothy McMillan argues that the opening line of *The Inheritance* is “a kind of homage to Austen, but a rather clumsy one” (Ferrier 2020: xlvi).

one must appear to think of others, and forget self. This fictitious politeness he had neither the tact to acquire, nor the cunning to feign. (*Destiny*, vol.I, ch. VI)

Arguably, these examples are reminiscent of character descriptions that we can find in Austen's novels.

4. Ferrier vs. Austen – differences

However, there are also notable differences between the two writers. First of all, whereas Austen uses wit and subtle irony to criticize the norms and conventions of Georgian Society, Ferrier's style tends to be more overt and comical. Her characters and situations are often exaggerated for comical effect. For example, in *Marriage*, there is a doctor who talks about nothing else but food, there is a woman who hosts a literary circle where the ladies do nothing but try to out-quote one another, and a woman of charity who gives none of her own money or time to the poor, but instead hustles all her guests for their money. Not to mention three spinster aunts who are remarkably ill-bred and ignorant but convinced that they move in the best society and possess wisdom no one else does. Indeed, some of the more comical scenes of the novel involve them. Thus, Ferrier's approach to satire can be seen as more direct and less subtle. Moreover, her style is at times much more sentimental. For example, when in *Marriage* Mary meets her estranged mother, we read:

“I am now to meet my mother!” thought she; and unconscious of every thing else, she was assisted from the carriage, and conducted into the house. A door was thrown open; but shrinking from the glare of light and sound of voices that assailed her, she stood dazzled and dismayed, till she beheld a figure approaching that she guessed to be her mother. Her heart beat violently – a film was upon her eyes – she made an effort to reach her mother's arms, and sank lifeless on her bosom! (vol. II, ch. XII, 200)

The moral-didactic tone of the novels combined with sentimental scenes puts Ferrier's fiction much closer to the fiction of Frances Burney or Henry Mackenzie rather than that of Austen.

Secondly, Ferrier is also notable for her focus on religion: the characters that we are supposed to think are the finest have strong faith, but the shallow, self-centred, and dishonest characters are agnostic. The narrator typically exhibits the same moralism. For example, in *Destiny* when Reginald, up until this moment the hero of the book and betrothed to his gentle childhood sweetheart Edith, makes a secret declaration of love to the worldly, dazzling, but superficial Florinda the narrator thus describes this scene:

And again he pressed her hand to his lips, and a long silence ensued; each seemed as though they feared to break the spell which blinded their hearts and senses to the self-delusions, which all unregulated minds, and selfish spirits, so passionately love to indulge. (vol. II, ch. XLVII)

Finally, Austen's novels are predominantly set in rural or provincial England, with a focus on the countryside and small villages. Her characters are members of the English gentry and the plot usually revolves around a relatively small group of characters that belong to one community. Ferrier's novels are less spatially limited – we move between Scotland and England and between rural and urban places which allows the writer to explore another theme implicit in her narratives: the contrast between Scottish and English cultures. Her characters often travel to/from England (and also France), and this feature of the narrative means that we can look at both countries through the eyes of different protagonists. The motif of travel provides many opportunities to describe various characters and social and economic aspects of life together with the panorama of the Scottish country. Although her fiction contains passages describing (and contrasting) English and Scottish landscapes, her primary interest lies in the contrast between English and Scottish man-

ners and customs, which she often presents comically as when Lady Juliana demands beefsteak at breakfast (Ferrier 2020: 31) or experiences “horror and amazement at the hideous sounds” of bagpipes (Ferrier 2020: 250).

Thus, the novels of Susan Ferrier are centred on problems of contact and communication. They create a model of the world in which the most important factor is culture. Although Ferrier is clearly biased towards Scottish manners and attitudes, her novels are not built on a simple opposition of virtuous mistreated Scots vs. amoral imperialistic English. Her novels feature good and bad characters both on the North and the South end of the border. She establishes links between different individuals whether they are English, Scottish, or a combination of the two. The character flaws that she portrays stem from deficiencies in her characters’ moral, intellectual, and spiritual growth rather than from their country. For instance, in *Marriage*, the polite and well-educated Mrs. Douglas is contrasted with the ill-bred Scottish aunts whereas in *The Inheritance* the virtuous Black sisters, who are Scottish, contrast sharply with Mrs. St. Clair, who is a cunning character. Moreover, Ferrier deromanticizes the Highlands by focusing on domestic themes of daily life and consequently painting a more realistic picture of the place that goes beyond wild moors and tartan.

If Ferrier’s acute social satire and humour resemble the writings of Burney and Austen, then in her construction of narratives that explore issues of regional and national identity she is closer to Maria Edgeworth’s Irish novels (though I think Ferrier’s engagement with issues of national identity is less prominent than in Edgeworth’s novels) and there is also an echo of Scott’s writing in her depiction of Scottish character types and dialect. Because of these features, some scholars including Juliet Shields (2005) and Benjamine Toussaint (2016) have suggested that Ferrier’s novels can be seen as examples of the “National Tale”. As Toussaint argues, “Ferrier uses domestic fiction to rewrite the story of Scotland outside of the colonial discourse of Samuel Johnson and the romantic discourse of male Scottish

writers” (Toussaint 2016: 45-46). However, Toussaint’s discussion of Ferrier’s first novel *Marriage* shows that casting it as the “National Tale” might be too reductive and she underlines a polythonic and polythematic character of the novel. Dorothy McMillan in her Introduction to *Marriage* wonders if it helps to call the novel a National Tale (Ferrier 2020: xxxiii) suggesting that “Ferrier is perhaps less interested in nation than in relationships between birth and nurture and nurture and place” (Ferrier 2020: xxxv). Indeed, this thematic interest of Ferrier becomes evident if we consider all three novels. Her novels might explore multiple meanings of nationhood, but they always do so within the context of domestic relations. In her novels marriages that are based on romantic sentiment or are arranged on impulse lead to disappointment and resentment of one another. On the other hand, marriages formed with reason and mutual understanding tend to be more enduring and powerful for both partners. In her treatment of the themes of love and marriage (but also education) Ferrier reveals herself as a shrewd commentator on human nature and a keen observer of manners.

5. Conclusion

Although Ferrier’s fiction shares many similarities with that of Jane Austen there are notable differences between the two writers. To read Ferrier simply as “Scottish Jane Austen” is to do her injustice. She was a writer in her own right. She did for Scotland what Jane Austen did for England and Maria Edgeworth for Ireland – left a literary portrait of a country and its people during the Regency Era. If such a thing as ‘literary canon’ really exists it should include Susan Ferrier as well as Mary Brunton, Elizabeth Hamilton, Catherine Sinclair, and others.

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REVIEWS

**Untangling the Moomin phenomenon:
A review of *Philosophical and
Translatological Wanderings
in Moominvalley*
by Hanna Dymel-Trzebiatowska¹**

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1. Introduction

Writing the first Moomin novel during World War II, Tove Jansson would probably never have thought that her characters would not only win the hearts of so many readers all over the world, but also make a brilliant career in popular culture (see e.g. Dymel-Trzebiatowska 2024a), let alone bibliotherapy (Dymel-Trzebiatowska 2017).² The Moomin series consists of nine novels:

¹ Dymel-Trzebiatowska, Hanna (2023). *Philosophical and Translatological Wanderings in Moominvalley*. Trans. Patrycja Poniatowska. Lausanne – Berlin – Bruxelles – Chennai – New York – Oxford: Peter Lang. Series *Studien zur Germanistik, Skandinavistik und Übersetzungskultur* 24, edited by Beate Sommerfeld, Stefan H. Kaszyński, Andrzej Kątny and Maria Krzysztofiak. ISBN 978-3-631-89704-1. 228 pages.

² Tove Jansson wrote about herself in *Bildhuggarens Dotter* (1968, English translation 2013). See also the biography of Jansson by Westin (2007, Polish and English translations – 2012 and 2020 respectively) and the collection of her letters (Jansson 2014, Polish and English translations – 2016 and 2020 respectively).

- *Småtrollen och den stora översvämningen* (*The Moomins and the Great Flood*), 1945;
- *Kometjakten/ Kometen kommer* (*Comet in Moominland*), 1946;
- *Trollkarlens hatt* (*Finn Family Moomintroll / The Happy Moomins*), 1948;
- *Muminpappans bravader / Muminpappans memoarer* (*The Exploits of Moominpappa / Moominpappa's Memoirs*), 1950;
- *Farlig midsommar* (*Moominsummer Madness*), 1954;
- *Trollvinter* (*Moominland Midwinter*), 1957;
- *Det osynliga barnet* (*Tales from Moominvalley*), 1962;
- *Pappan och havet* (*Moominpappa at Sea*), 1965;
- *Sent i november* (*Moominvalley in November*), 1970.³

This year the Moomin series is celebrating the 60th anniversary of its presence in Poland. In 1964, the first Polish translation of the third book of the series, *Trollkarlens hatt*, came out. The book, translated by Irena Szuch-Wyszomirska, was published under the title *W Dolinie Muminków* [lit. In the Valley of Moomins] (see e.g. Rogoż 2011). Paradoxically enough, the Polish version of the first book of the series, *Småtrollen och den stora översvämningen*, entitled *Małe trolle i duża powódź*, translated by Teresa Chłapowska, was published as the last one – in 1995, exactly 50 years after the appearance of the original. It is also worth noting that Polish readers – as signalled in footnote 2 above – may learn about Tove Jansson's life from her biography written by Westin (2012) and the collection of her letters (Jansson 2016).

A year before the 60th anniversary of the presence of the Moomins in Poland, Peter Lang released *Philosophical and Translatological Wanderings in Moominvalley* by Hanna Dymel-Trzebiatowska. This monograph is a translation of her best-

³ See e.g. Westin (1988) and Dymel-Trzebiatowska (2023). It is worth noting that apart from the nine Moomin books, Tove Jansson also published five picture books (including two books with photographs by the author's brother Per Olov Jansson) and numerous comic strips which first came out in a newspaper (see e.g. Dymel-Trzebiatowska 2018, 2024b, Tomas 2017). The comic strips were co-authored by her brother Lars Jansson.

selling monograph entitled *Filozoficzne i translatoryczne wędrówki po Dolinie Muminków*, originally published in Polish by Gdańsk University Press in 2019.

2. Philosophical wanderings in Moominvalley

As the title of the monograph indicates, the author concentrates on two broad thematic areas. One of them is the presence of philosophical ideas in the Moomin series. In the analyzed books, Dymel-Trzebiatowska identifies an array of hypotexts written by two Ancient Greek philosophers, Socrates and Parmenides, as well as by later philosophers and psychologists, including Oswald Spengler, José Ortega y Gasset, Henri Bergson, Edvard Westermarck, Mikhail Bakhtin, Karen Horney, Antoni Kępiński, Carl Gustav Jung and Sigmund Freud.

Let us present an example of a “philosophical trip” the reader of the monograph is invited to take. In Chapter Five entitled “Life Is a Dream”, the author discovers traces of the ideas promoted by Parmenides of Elea, considered to be the precursor of ontology. His metaphysical poem “On Nature” initiated a debate about what exists and what seems to exist, encompassing the boundaries between being awake and dreaming (see e.g. Drozdek 2011). Some characters in Jansson’s novels find it difficult to distinguish between reality, dreams and imagination. For instance, in *Moominland Midwinter*, when Moomintroll wakes up while the other members of his family are dormant because it is the time of their hibernation, the reality around him is not what he saw in the other seasons of the year. His thoughts revolve around the unknown world, so unreal to the point that he has doubts about what is real and what is a dream (p. 45).

Also in Chapter Five, Dymel-Trzebiatowska enumerates a number of questions Jansson apparently asks her readers in relation to the performance of *The Lion’s Brides* in *Moominsummer Madness*, recalling the concept of *theatrum mundi* whose roots are found in Plato’s dialogue *Laws*: “When reading about

the events at the floating theatre, do we not take part in a play titled *On Those Reading about the Events at the Floating Theatre*? Or are we a dream dreamt by the inhabitants of Moominvalley? Or perhaps characters in the books they read?” (p. 47).

On another trip, in Chapter Nine entitled “Crisis”, the reader will follow the intricate paths of Jungian psychoanalysis (see e.g. Dudek 2010). In *Moominpappa at Sea*, Moominmamma, having tried – unsuccessfully – to create her new garden on the island where the Moomin family wants to start a new life, descends into the unconscious. The unconscious happens to be the island itself, behaving like a living organism, “[a] locus where [...] one can [...] reintegrate one’s psyche” (p. 89). Eventually, “Moominmamma accepts the island/unconscious, stops trying to impose her principles on it and no longer runs away from it” (p. 88), coming to understand that wild flowers may be more beautiful than her garden flowers.

Searching the Moomin novels for the inspirational ideas initially put forward by the philosophers and psychologists mentioned above, the author of the monograph proves that Tove Jansson deliberately wrote them both for children and adults, crossing the traditional boundaries between books for younger and older readers (see also Dymel-Trzebiatowska 2015). It is worth recalling here that a recently published anniversary edition of *W Dolinie Muminków* contains a preface by the Nobel-prize winning writer Olga Tokarczuk (2024⁴) who admits that the Moomin books happened to be the fairy tale of her adulthood – which obviously confirms their double address. Tokarczuk (2024: 8) clearly states that some passages are excellent in depicting the human need to search for the meaning of one’s own life and the meaning of the existence of the world. Tokarczuk appreciates the wisdom and depth of the books; moreover, she

⁴ The introduction to the 2024 edition of *W Dolinie Muminków* is part of the essay entitled “Psychologia według Muminków [Psychology according to the Moomins]” by Tokarczuk originally published in the magazine *Charaktery* in 1997.

observes that their characters are psychologically convincing, despite their fantastic disguise.

3. Translatological wanderings in Moominvalley

The second part of the monograph explores the Polish translations of the Moomin series (see also Dymel-Trzebiatowska 2020). The series has been translated into fifty-one languages, including English (see e.g. Berry 2014, Strandberg 2018), Finnish (see Strandberg 2018) and Portuguese (see Sainio 2016). As regards the Polish versions of the series, four volumes were translated into Polish by Irena Szuch-Wyszomirska and the remaining five by Teresa Chłapowska:

- *Małe trolle i duża powódź*, trans. Chłapowska, 1995;
- *Kometa nad Doliną Muminków*, trans. Chłapowska, 1977;
- *W Dolinie Muminków*, trans. Szuch-Wyszomirska, 1964;
- *Pamiętniki Tatusia Muminka*, trans. Chłapowska, 1978;
- *Lato Muminków*, trans. Szuch-Wyszomirska, 1967;
- *Zima Muminków*, trans. Szuch-Wyszomirska, 1969;
- *Opowiadania z Doliny Muminków*, trans. Szuch-Wyszomirska, 1970;
- *Tatuś Muminka i morze*, trans. Chłapowska, 1977;
- *Dolina Muminków w listopadzie*, trans. Chłapowska, 1980.

Although in many parts of our planet, children – and adults – have the opportunity to read about the adventures of the Moomins in their native languages, the translations, as Dymel-Trzebiatowska notes, “have not been either thoroughly or extensively researched. Neither have they been examined in-depth in terms of any particular translatory issue or any single volume” (p. 99). The monograph largely fills in this gap – as regards the Polish versions of the novels by Jansson. Its author concentrates on selected, albeit crucial, aspects of translating the series from Swedish into Polish.

In Chapter One of the second part of the monograph, entitled “Not Only about the Muskrat, Who Is (Not) a Musk Deer: Translating Anthroponyms”, the author analyzes the translation of anthroponyms. The choice of this object of study is obvious: “anthroponyms have an especially relevant part in narratives if they are meaningful and intentional names, which is a frequent device in comic writings and children’s literature” and the microcosm created in the Moomin novels is “inhabited by an impressive array of untypical figures, whose species-names and proper names quite frequently reference their appearance, personality and/or origin” (p. 105, see also Bertills 2002, 2003). The author concentrates on the following translation techniques: transfer/copying, transcription/transfer with modified spelling, literal translation, substitution (frequently with a nonce word) and (partial) reduction. While discussing the Polish versions of the proper names used by Jansson, the author not only identifies the employed translation techniques, but also looks at the names from the point of view of the reader, which is related to the double address of the series. For instance, the Polish equivalent of *Moomintrollet* ‘Moomintroll’ is *Muminek*, the translation of this name involved transfer, reduction and substitution, and the effect is more child-oriented (p. 117). The author identifies cases of the loss of meaning, e.g. the transfer of the dog’s name *Ynk*, meaning commiseration or lamenting (p. 114); the loss of the allusion implied by the original name, e.g. *Gafsa*, referring to a quarrelsome woman in Fenno-Swedish, rendered as *Gapsa* in the Polish text (p. 120); and errors, e.g. *Bisamrättan* translated as *Piżmowiec* ‘musk deer’ instead of *Piżmak* ‘muskrat’ (pp. 110–111). Also, the author observes an unusual translation practice: the Polish name of a character may be a substitution basing not on the source language material, but on the illustrations made by Tove Jansson. This is the case of *Paszczak* whose original name is *Hemulen*. Swedish *hemul* (indefinite form of *hemulen*) is an archaic word which means ‘(legal) warrant’ and is used in legal contexts, whereas Polish *Paszczak* is derived from *paszcza* ‘maw’. In the

illustrations, this character is depicted as a creature with a long maw, which inspired one of the translators of the Moomin series to coin his Polish name (pp. 129–130).

In Chapter Two, the author delves into translating the humour of the Moomin books (see also Dymel-Trzebiatowska 2016), whereas Chapter Three concentrates on the translation of the names of dishes and beverages. Again, the author identifies the employed translation techniques and evaluates the effect taking into consideration the double address of the novels. As regards humour, the author remarks that “some episodes are equally amusing to both adults and children, while the comic appeal of other scenes is more geared to only one of these reader groups” (p. 155). Having carefully analyzed the translations of a number of passages replete with humour, the author of the monograph arrives at the conclusion that “[t]he translation of the comic in the Moomin books defies any easy evaluation, especially if it is to be appraised in conjunction with the double-address mode of the source texts” (p. 180). As regards the translation of the words for dishes and beverages, the author states that in view of the double address of the Moomin series, the analysis she carries out “does not suggest any obvious prioritisation of one reader group” because “some choices made by the translators stand as an indisputable testament to their acknowledgement of an adult readership” (p. 208), whereas other choices indicate that the translators were aware of the limited competencies of younger readers.

Although the second part of the monograph concentrates only on selected translation problems, they belong to the most frequent difficulties faced by translators. The author demonstrates that meaningful names, humour and (culinary) culture – coupled with the double address of the Moomin novels by Jansson – presented an enormous challenge to the translators. Nonetheless, the Polish translations are evaluated positively: “For the most part they convey the stylistic qualities of the series and preserve a range of elements that were potentially vulnerable to purification” (p. 215).

4. A final word

As Dymel-Trzebiatowska remarks in the “Brief Conclusion”,

The reading of the nine Moomin volumes is an extraordinary adventure that knows no end and never makes one bored. The series is like a magic Chinese box in which one discovers new secret spaces, and then secret spaces within secret spaces – new and unexpected vistas and sites that come as a surprise in books which have for years been traditionally classified as children’s literature (p. 211).

This passage – aptly using a comparison of the Moomin book series to “a magic Chinese box” – actually reflects the author’s fascination with its complexity. The readers of *Philosophical and Translatological Wanderings in Moominvalley* are invited to embark on a journey into this magic Chinese box during which they will have an opportunity to experience a wealth of intellectual discoveries, meeting the characters created by Tove Jansson, as well as – indirectly – the prominent philosophers and psychologists whose ideas gave great depth and colour to the adventures of the Moomins.

Finally, it should be noted that on the 60th anniversary of the presence of the Moomins in Poland, Hanna Dymel-Trzebiatowska (2024b) published her second monograph on the series by Tove Jansson, entitled *Przechadzki po Dolinie Muminków: Perspektywa filozoficzno-literacka* [Strolling through Moominvalley: A Philosophical and Literary Perspective]. Let us cherish the hope that this monograph will also be translated into English so that it can reach a wider audience.

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