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Coding colours: Differences across languages and their consequences for translation and language teaching

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Abstract

The concept of colour occurs in every language of the world, but contrastive research shows that the names of individual colours, functioning in one of the compared languages, do not have unambiguous equivalents in the other. The problems of the linguistic expression of colours in different languages, the history of colour terms, the formation of the semantic field of colour names and the semantics of individual words referring to colours have been investigated by numerous scholars. This paper focuses on analysing the consequences of the different organisation of the semantic field of colour for the translation from one language into another, as well as for foreign language teaching. The consequences presented here concern Polish and German mainly, but other Indo-European languages are also taken into consideration.

Keywords

colour vocabulary, translation, language teaching

Kodowanie kolorów: Różnice między językami i ich znaczenie w tłumaczeniu i nauczaniu języków

Abstrakt

Pojęcie koloru występuje w każdym języku świata, ale badania kontrastywne wykazują, że nazwy poszczególnych kolorów, funkcjonujące w jednym z porównywanych języków, nie mają jednoznacznych odpowiedników drugim. Problemom językowego wyrażania wartości barwnych w różnych językach, historii nazw kolorów, kształtowaniu się pola semantycznego nazw barw oraz semantyce poszczególnych wyrazów ze znaczeniem koloru poświęcono wiele prac językoznawczych. Niniejszy artykuł koncentruje się na analizie konsekwencji różnej organizacji pola semantycznego kolorów dla przekładu z jednego języka na drugi, a także dla nauczania języków obcych. Konsekwencje te unaocznione zostaną głównie na przykładach z języków polskiego i niemieckiego, uwzględnione zostaną jednak także inne języki indoeuropejskie.

Słowa kluczowe

słownictwo barw, przekład, nauczanie języka

1. Introduction

Although basic colour terms belong to lexical universals (see e.g. Tabakowska 2001: 181), different languages have different ways of organising the semantic field related to naming colours. The differences concern both the number of lexemes included in this field and the portions of the colour spectrum referred to by these lexemes, which makes colours one of the standard examples supporting the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. This hypothesis states that the language we use affects our perception and conceptualisation of the world to a greater or lesser extent. Therefore, colour terms, their perception, decoding and interpretation become an interesting field of linguistic research. This issue was

addressed in the 1960s by Berlin and Kay, who comparatively analysed the systems of different languages (Berlin and Kay 1969). Their research led to the first version of the theory of colour universals, which is still being developed and modified today, with new findings in neuropsychology and linguistics taken into consideration. A modified version of the theory from 1978 states that colour categories are based on certain focal colours which indisputably belong to a given category and those which are further from the prototypes. The further they are, the harder it is to classify them. Therefore, the boundaries of a given category are not fixed but rather delineated subjectively by different people. According to Leeuwen (2001), as well as Stanulewicz and Danilewicz (2016), colour and its social semiotic orientation are perceived primarily in relation to a specific positioning of a colour as a resource to create meanings in society and cultural contexts, and concerning the relationship between categorisation and vantage, which is understood as a cognitive process accompanied by two mental coordinates: the reference point and perception. What needs to be mentioned is linguistic research comparing the names of colours in Slavic languages (e.g. Bjelajeva 2005, Komorowska 2010), involving a cognitive and semantic analysis of primary colour terms in Polish and English (e.g. Gieroń-Czepczor 2011) or analysing lexemes in Italian and Polish (e.g. Skuza 2015). In reference to contrastive studies on colour, it is also worth mentioning works on semantics (e.g. Wierzbicka 2006), translation (e.g. Diadori 2012) and ancient history (e.g. Mancini and Lorenzetti 2013).

The aim of this paper is to discuss the consequences of differences in coding colours for translation from one language into another, as well as for or foreign language teaching. These consequences and the resulting translation strategies will be presented using mostly Polish and German examples; however, other Indo-European languages will be included as well.

Since the paper presents preliminary reflections, no specific methodology is applied, but in the case of further attempts to analyse this topic, it seems reasonable to use the methodology

developed by Tokarski and Waszakowa. Tokarski (2004) examines colour terms from the point of view of their prototypes and connotations, referring mostly to artistic texts and cultural facts, and taking into account highly individualised textual connotations. The aim of Waszakowa's research is to analyse the connotations of a given colour term in order to indicate individual semantic spheres to which it refers, as well as to compare the conceptualisation of a given portion of the spectrum in different languages (Waszakowa 2000b).

2. Recognising and naming colours

In order to achieve language accuracy (correctness) and the correctness of its use in specific speech acts, we must establish specified competences for using lexical material (see Florczak 2010: 62). The correctness competence is understood as an ability to distinguish correct solutions from the incorrect ones and the appropriate from the inappropriate. Florczak points out that the first kind of competence is less complicated on the level of communication since it operates on two values: true and false. Thus, it can be assumed that the process of coding colours would mean searching for approximate correlatives. We can refer to three values which are, in fact, approximate. For example, amaranth is digitally defined in Hex colour codes as #E52B50; in RGB [0-255] as 229, 43, 80; in CMYK [0–100%] as 0, 81, 65, 10; in HSV [°, %, %] as 348.1°, 81.2 %, 89.8 % (https://www.colorhexa.com/e52b50, accessed 15.11.2021). The system used for numerical specification is the hexadecimal colour model for colouring electronic documents, referred to as RGB. Graphic software or special colour pickers are used to generate such hexadecimal codes. It is therefore advisable to check the shade on the scale in the case of doubt whether a given colour is the same or very close. It needs to be remembered that the RGB model is theoretical and device-dependent, which means that on various devices, the RGB component may have slightly different spectral characteristics, which means

that every device may have its own range of colours that can be obtained.

The second competence is no longer defined so clearly with regard to translating precision, but by reference to the semantic effects and estimation of whether the speaker actually said what he/she wanted to say or whether he/she was understood the way he/she wanted to be understood. Translating names of colours seems to be surprisingly difficult when confronted with the necessity of applying both competences. A doubt arises, for example, in the case of the colour white which is differentiated by peoples of the North. It turns out that their imagination singled out at least eleven shades of white and it is difficult to find proper equivalents of them all in other languages. In the above context, the question arises whether the process of searching for equivalents is connected with the first or the second competence and whether this model of correctness can be achieved in the sense of binary options at all. While searching for an answer to the above questions it seems to be justified also to refer to the physical spectrum and therefore to an extra-linguistic referent. Badyda (2008: 27) stresses that the domain of non-linguistic phenomena to which the names of colours refer to is unchangeable and objectively measurable.

And yet, primary colours have been measured from different perspectives, which fails to lead to any interpretational unity. We can only observe discrepancies between theories (see e.g. Gage 1993: 35–36). It seems that Newton's theory presented in *Optics* (1704), strongly contradicting the existence of the basic set of colours, proved to be a challenge for discussion whether the range of measurability could solve the problem of terminology at all. In its view As Gage (1993: 168–169) points out, in Newton's theory, "all rays of refracted light are equally 'basic', 'single' or 'simple' and some of them such as green or purple and even yellow can appear in either a simple or complex form". Newton's considerations became the basis for the statement that physical values mingle with the paradigm of perception and subjective quality of colours.

Nevertheless, the pursuit of a definition of a primary colour was vigorous. Three basic colours – red, yellow and blue – were distinguished on the basis of the spatial model of Otto Runge's sphere (*Colour Sphere*, 1810). Numerous other colours can result from mixing these three colours. It is important to consider the level of their transparency and many other physical features. Runge's classification and Newton's observations inspired Goethe to reflect on colours (*Zur Farbenlehre*, 1810).

It is worth mentioning that two processes of colour mixing can be distinguished: additive and subtractive. In the former, red, green and blue or red, yellow and blue are used. Adding beams of light of various lengths contributes to achieving light of white colour on the condition that we apply the proper degree of intensity of beams and contrast of the colours. For subtractive colour mixing cyan, magenta and yellow are used. This process is carried out through the subtraction of visible radiation.

3. Colour terms in the translation process and teaching translation

It is assumed that when a researcher works on colour vocabulary, it is necessary to refer to systemically established and conventionalised facts; however, in practice, unconventional contexts are often referred to, involving subjective perception.

It is very difficult to define a borderline between objective existence and subjective feeling, i.e. perception (Rzepińska 1989: 465–467). In this context, disagreement about the colours which are recognised as the primary ones is an ambiguous issue. Yet Berlin and Kay (1969: 6) claim that names of colours have some usage stability and propose a set of basic colour terms. A basic colour term must fulfil the following criteria:

(i) It is *monolexemic*; that is, its meaning is not predictable from the meaning of its parts […]
(ii) Its signification is not included in that of any other color term. […]

(iii) Its application must not be restricted to a narrow class of objects. […]
(iv) It must be psychologically salient for informants. Indices of psychological salience include, among others, (1) a tendency to occur at the beginning of elicited lists of color terms, (2) stability of reference across informants and across occasions of use, and (3) occurrence in the idiolects of all informants. […] (Berlin and Kay 1969: 6).

Kay and McDaniel (1978: 626) distinguish primary basic colour terms (words for white, black, red, green, yellow and blue) and secondary basic colour terms (words for brown, purple, orange, pink and grey). However, Bjelajeva (2005: 11) stresses that when it comes to their connotations, despite some stability, colour vocabulary undergoes constant development and changes with transformations in different spheres of life. Similar observations were made by Wittgenstein in *Remarks on Colour*, written in 1950:

> Difficulties which we encounter pondering upon the essence of colours (difficulties which Goethe wanted to resolve in *Die Farbenlehre*) are rooted in the vagueness of our concept of 'sameness of colours' […]. It is easy to notice that not all concepts of colour are homogenous in logical respect. For example, the difference between the concept of 'colour of gold' or 'colour of silver' and the concept of 'yellow' or 'grey' (Wittgenstein 1998: 21–22).

Wittgenstein (1998: 20) also points out that a colour, depending on the perception of the environment or the angle of falling light, may seem either white or grey. Leaving aside diverse assessments coming from individual ways of perception and also a possible connection between perceiving and naming colour, it is also important to explain semantic components through which it is possible to describe features of colours in different languages (qtd in Wierzbicka 1999: 405). In different languages, colour names are often polysemous, different symbolism of colours is noted, as well as connotations, and differences in names

of basic and non-basic colour terms. The study by Bawej (2018: 87–88) can be recalled in this particular context. The author's aim was to compare Polish and German names within the translation of phrases used in general and specialist language. The analysed names and phrases refer to the following colours: white, yellow, red, blue, green and black. Bawej (2018: 232) analysed the presence colour lexemes in proper nouns, phrases and idiomatic expressions.

Completely different colour terms are likely to appear in the target language as compared to the original language, e.g. German *Grünschnabel* is Polish *żółtodziób* (literally 'yellow beak') and English *greenhorn,* German *die rote Laterne* – Polish *szary koniec* (literally 'grey end' – the very end), *keine blaue Ahnung haben – nie mieć zielonego pojęcia* (literally 'not to have a green idea' – not to have a clue). Sometimes no colour terms appear, e.g. *blauen Dunst reden – pleść androny – to talk nonsense.*

It is stressed that the Polish adjective *biały* 'white' is used to mean *light, shiny, glistening, pale* (see Boryś 2005: 26). Polish *biały*, Russian *bielyj* and French *blanc* originate from the common Proto-Indo-European root *bhel-* 'shiny, light'. But German *weiß* derives from the Proto-Indo-German root *kweit* 'to shine, to glow'; English *white* has the same origin (cf. Zausznica 1959: 443). The words for white are found in plant names, e.g. *white clover – Weißklee*, *white mustard – weißer Senf*. This connection is also found in other languages: in Czech (*bílý jetel*), French (*trèfle blanc*), Spanish (*trébol blanco*) or Russian (*белый клевер / belyj klever*), yet in English, for example, there is a word with no colour relation: *shamrock* and so is in Belarusian: *канюшына* (*kaniušyna*). Bawej (2018) gives numerous examples, including *białe tango* (white tango – the one when women ask men to dance with them), *białogłowa* (white-head – a woman), *biała niedziela* (white Sunday – the first Sunday after Easter), *biały murzyn* (white Negro – a person who works very hard and is badly treated), *biała sala* (white hall – name for one's own home when they do not go out on New Year's Eve), *biała śmierć* (white death – cocaine or sugar) – in all these cases there

are no German equivalents containing colour terms. Yet it is also possible to find expressions that turn out to be the translator's false friends, for example, *die weiße Woche* which in German means sale of underwear and *biały tydzień* in Polish a week of octave after the First Communion. It seems reasonable to try to assess whether these similarities and differences also influenced by the direction of profiling, which comes close to delineating the scale of appropriateness. This term is understood by Komorowska (2010: 39) as recognition of perceptual or conceptual field (knowledge of certain reality from a particular point of view). Accordingly, whiteness could have universal connotations. Wierzbicka defines the problem in a similar way, claiming that the notion of primary colours has its source in universals of human experience (1999: 445–446). The author's explications are based on the estimation of prototypical references according to the schema: black – night, white – day, red – fire, yellow – sun, green – vegetation, blue – sky, brown – ground (see also e.g. Komorowska 2010, Stanulewicz 2006, Teodorowicz-Hellman 1998, Tokarski 2004, Waszakowa 2000a). Taking this point of view into account, one must assume that assessment does not match the suitability scale and it moves towards the scale of correctness. The privileged position of the colour red in numerous cultures may serve as an example. Connotations with blood could refer to life and vital forces. On the other hand, for Tokarski (2004: 22–23) as cited by Bawej (2018: 76):

> prototypical paradigms do not always find confirmation in other languages and sometimes they require different conceptual paradigms for the names of colours, e.g., in contemporary Polish for the colour of yellow apart from the sun the other, secondary and territorially limited reference should be invoked, namely the one of autumn dying nature.

In Japan, for example, blood is not associated with strength and force but rather with death and passing which makes one think of the German *Heute rot, morgen tot* (*today red, tomorrow dead*). Such bipolarity becomes the cause of many problems in

translation processes. As an example of incorrect connotation, a translation failure of several second-year students specialising in translation (German Philology, University of Gdańsk) can be quoted: they translated *den roten Faden verlieren* (*to lose the thread*) as *to lose the red ribbon* (the symbol of leftism).

Words of blue can serve as other examples since the word *blau* originates from the Indo-German *bhel* (*shining, glistening*), similarly to the words for white (e.g. Polish *biały*). Yet metaphors of *blau* (blue) mean something remote, unknown (Duden 2001: 100) and in Old High German it was transformed into *blao* which meant navy blue, dark. In Russian, blue is *синий* (*sinij*) or *голубой* (*goluboj*). It is worth mentioning that the Serbian language does not use two names for yellow and blue, as well as blue and green (Ivić 2014: 11). There are examples of translation in which it is impossible to remain entirely faithful to the original. Thus, Polish *czarna jagoda* (*black berry*) means *blueberry* in English and *Blaubeere* in German, *blauer Fleck* is *siniak* in Polish (*a bruise*) – not a blue stain. *Blauhusten* is translated as *koklusz* (*Whooping cough*) – without any colour term and *Forelleblau* is simply *pstrąg z wody* (*trout sauté*).

It is interesting to go beyond the frames of basic colour terms and consider regionalisms. Bawej stresses that the translation of the Polish lexeme *modry* (*intensive blue*) is quite rare (the English equivalent of the expressions *modra kapusta* and *Blaukraut* is *red cabbage*). Following Teodorowicz-Hellman (2000: 84), Bawej states that although the expression *modre oczy* (*intensive blue eyes*) is used in contemporary Polish, in other phrasemes the adjective *modry* is used in sub-dialects and has limited collocability.

Let us present several other examples. The word for yellow which is found in Polish *żółty lak* (*yellow sealing wax*) is translated as gold: *Goldlack*, *gąska żółta* (literally yellow goose – *chavalier mushroom*) is translated into German as *Grünling* (*greenish*). It can be justified by the fact that in colloquial language, this mushroom is called *zielonka* (the green one). It is different in the case of *żółtaczek* (orange chromide) which is a yellow fish.

This word is translated as *Buntbarsch* (colourful perch) and thus a reasonable, yet not always answerable, question about the degree and limits of colour spectrum of a recipient can be posed (see Komorowska 2010b: 41). It is possible to interpret these examples as resulting from the common green-yellow area, concentration on two focal points (green and yellow) and of the dominance of green and yellow in different contexts. Another possibility may be undermining green as a primary colour, as Wittgenstein (1998: 70) does:

> What justifies the fact that green is a primary colour and not the one which was created by mixing blue and yellow? [...] How can I tell that saying "primary colour" I mean the same thing as someone else?

In a similar way, the author talks about colour terms which, in the source language, are treated as basic but in the target language as non-basic. For example, Polish *rudy* is *red* in English, *rot* in German, *червоний* (*červonyj*) in Ukrainian and so on. In all the languages, it is associated with the colour red, not its shades. The problem also appears when one attempts to name colours names that do not have a standardised name yet and translate these names. This situation may be encountered when one tries to translate names of dyes, varnishes, cosmetics (such as lipsticks), nail varnishes, eye shadows and others. It is worth mentioning that Stanulewicz (2010) analyses the names of such colours. A similar attempt was taken by third-year students of German Philology at the University of Gdańsk specialising in translation. They compiled a dictionary of non-typical names of colours in four languages (Polish, English, French and German). This dictionary classifies vocabulary considering associations from the target languages. It is worth giving an example of the colour term *bułany* (equine coat colour) which is *yellow dun* in English, *weisslichgelb* in German and *aubere* in French. But there are some terms in the dictionary whose equivalents have not been found yet. Examples include *rdzawo-pomidorowy*

(*rusty-tomato*), *tabakowy* (*tobacco*), *tęczowosiwy* (*rainbow-grey*), *węglowo-czarny* (*coal-black*), *wielbłądzia sierść* (*camel coat*), *heliotropowy* (*heliotrope*) etc.

Measurability of pigments and their specific physical and chemical properties again become an argument for using the criteria of correctness and appropriateness. Yet the existence of effective equivalents in all four languages prevents us from accepting this thesis. The reasons should be looked for in the psychology of marketing since different surveys show that 65 % of customers – while choosing a product – consider both colour and attractive name as the most important factors motivating the purchase. Certain colours influence consumers' behaviours and that is why the authors of the dictionary refer to the target recipient's imagination and associations of a given lexeme.

4. Conclusions and defining possible research fields

A few conclusions may be drawn based on the above considerations. Language as an audio-verbal system presents only descriptions of visual impressions. The connection between symbols and their referents are arbitrary and the result of differences is determined by:

(a) personal perception;
(b) collective perception;
(c) language itself (e.g. the discrepancy between names of colours – of basic and non-basic sets);
(d) cultural differences between the sender and the recipient;
(e) kinds of communication (different names will be used in advertising and in technical texts).

It would be interesting, for example, to develop schemas illustrating nets of meanings and lexical semantics connected with naming colours which could be treated as a separate domain of comparative studies (see e.g. Stanulewicz and Danilewicz 2016: 174). Foreign language students and translators could make

use of this research. Currently, the discussion is usually limited to the comparison of two languages (as in Bawej 2018, Komorowska 2010a, Komorowska and Stanulewicz 2018) or the research process concerns the work of one writer or poet or a defined literary epoch (e.g. Badyda 2008).

Apart from basic colour terms, which, in general, are not problematic in translation, texts include non-basic terms, referred to as names of variant shades. The above reflections are supposed to make translation students think about the following areas:

- What are the semantic motivations in fixed expressions that contain the colour lexemes in the source language and target language?
- To what extent are similar choices, values, judgements and cultural experiences preserved in of different languages? To what extent do they differ?
- It is the process of perceiving shades and translating their names very individualised? Does it elude categorisation in the sense of specification of the notion of colour and translation within the competence of correctness?

Translation (and translation teaching) offers a unique possibility of presenting colour terms against a wide cultural background, also in a comparison with the standard language, at the same time showing individualised semantic modifications, which is very interesting from the point of view of diachronic linguistics.

It is advisable to refer to the phenomenon of polysemy of colour terms names in the context of learning/teaching vocabulary. While some authoritative dictionaries aim at precision, foreign language course books do not always do so. Particular attention should be paid to compounds and fixed expressions, which are difficult to translate into the target language. Moreover, various ways of understanding “colourful” reality could manifest themselves in conveying the same meaning by using different colour names and in creating untypical colour names which do not exist in present-day Polish, German or other

languages. Even though dictionaries specify such differences in particular contexts, foreign language textbooks do not tend to do that. It is necessary to further analyse this subject because this short paper presents only selected examples of such problems. An example of further actions may be a study on a detailed conceptualisation of individual shades, taking into account the respondents' nationality, age, gender, the context of using language and education, as well as characteristics of understanding prototypical references of colour terms.

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Hybrid imperative forms in Polish: Problems of translations into German and English

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Abstract

The article deals with the grammatical constructions expressing the imperative in Polish with particular focus on the variations used in spoken language. Colloquial Polish often uses structures which could be described as *verb + pan/pani!* They can be used for any perfective as well as imperfective verb. One of the most popular phrases according to this pattern is the phrase *daj pan/pani spokój!* Phrasemes of this type are used mostly in slang and are characterised by brevity. The research material consists of two different databases: the National Corpus of Polish as well as the online translator Reverso Context. The article presents a number of difficulties experienced by German and English translators. It also shows why the process of translation is a balancing act between remaining true to the original content on the one hand, and creating a translation complying the requirements of the medium for which the translation is being made, on the other hand.

Keywords

grammar, imperative, translation, translation techniques, colloquiality

Hybrydowe formy trybu rozkazującego w języku polskim: Problemy w tłumaczeniu na język niemiecki i angielski

Abstrakt

Artykuł porusza kwestię konstrukcji gramatycznych wyrażających imperatywność w języku polskim ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem form używanych w języku mówionym. Potoczny język polski często używa struktur, które można opisać za pomocą schematu *czasownik + pan/ pani!* Związki frazeologiczne tego typu charakteryzują się dużą zwięzłością. Struktury te mogą zostać zastosowane zarówno dla czasowników dokonanych jak i niedokonanych. Jednym z najczęściej stosowanych związków frazeologicznych utworzonych według powyższego schematu jest wyrażenie *daj pan/ pani spokój!* Materiał badawczy stanowią dwie bazy danych. Pierwszą jest Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego, zawierający typowe użycia słów i konstrukcji językowych jak również informacji o ich znaczeniu i funkcji gramatycznej. Drugą bazę danych stanowi wyszukiwarka tłumaczeń Reverso Context (RC), będąca internetową bazą tekstów dwujęzycznych. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest ukazanie trybu rozkazującego w potocznym języku polskim oraz przedstawienie trudności powstających przy tłumaczeniu go na język niemiecki i angielski. Omówione przykłady obrazują immanentny dylemat procesu tłumaczenia, polegający na sprostaniu kilku, niekiedy wzajemnie wykluczającym się, zadaniom równocześnie: zachowaniu możliwie największej wierności wobec oryginału i sprostaniu wymaganiom mediów, dla których dany przekład zostaje dokonany.

Słowa kluczowe

gramatyka, tryb rozkazujący, tłumaczenie, techniki tłumaczeniowe, styl kolokwialny

1. Introduction

The article deals with the grammatical constructions expressing the imperative in Polish with a particular focus on the variations used in spoken language. The aim of this study is to present the

imperative in common Polish as well as to show the difficulties in translating this into German and English. The research material consists of two different databases. The first one is the *National Corpus of Polish* (NKJP). It is a collection of texts where one can find the typical use of a single word or a phrase, as well as its meaning and grammatical function. The other database is the online translator *Reverso Context* (RC), which uses millions of bilingual texts. The examples are extracted from real-life contexts, covering a wide range of registers of speech.

2. Imperatives in Polish

The *imperative* (command, appeal) is perceived as one of the oldest functions of speech. The Greek philosopher Protagoras wrote about it as early as 500 years B.C. The first works of Polish linguistics about this topic appeared in the 1960s and 1970s. Among them were the works by Kotarbiński (1966: 53-60), Klemensiewicz (1969: 10-11), Jodłowski (1976: 61), and others. Imperatives are constructed in standard Polish in various ways. They can be directed to any grammatical person. For example, the imperative forms of the verb *dać* are as follows:

Singular	**Plural**
1. niech dam!	1. dajmy!
2. daj!	2. dajcie!
3. niech da!	3. niech dadzą

The verb forms in the second person contain the information about the person (second person singular or plural) and the mode (imperative). The third person can also be used for addressing persons with whom the sender of the message is not on first name terms (*niech pan/pani da!*, *niech panie/panowie/państwo dadzą!*). The person and the verb of *niech pan/pani da!* and *niech panie/panowie/państwo dadzą!* match each

other. To make these phrases more polite, users can add the verb *proszę* at the beginning or the end of the phrase.[1]

Contemporary Polish, however, loves expressions like *daj pan/pani!* (*give it!*), *idź pan/pani!* (*go away!*), etc. These grammatical forms are very broadly used in colloquial Polish. They are imperative forms addressed to a person with whom the sender of the message is *not* on first name terms. Instead of using the complete three word phrase, the sender chooses only the imperative verb form for second person singular (eg. *daj*) and adds to it the address form of *pan* or *pani*. Being, therefore, a hybrid form between the informal (*ty*) and the formal (*pan/pani*), these forms are characterised by the lack of cohesion between the grammatical person and the form of the verb. The reason for their popularity seems to be obvious. Saving the word *niech* makes the phrase shorter and less rigid. Iwona Łuczków (1997: 89-90) sees this kind of sentence as being strongly emotive. In the literature she lists, several opinions have been presented about the use of such structures. For instance, Kleszczowa and Termińska (1983: 120) perceive them as being necessarily unkind, and Doroszewski (1962: 56) as well as Labocha (1988: 214) argue that they can be abusive or rude. At the same time, other works, for instance by Tomiczek (1983: 81-82) or Labocha (1988: 214) underline that in some social groups their use seems to be preferred to the strict formal form.

The structure described above could be used for any perfective as well as imperfective verb. Therefore, it could be described as:

verb + pan/pani!

Examples:

– No, bo *pomyśl pan*, panie, błędy były wyraźne, a Odnowy nijakie.

[1] There also exists an even more polite version using the verb *proszę* and infinite, eg. *proszę dać*. The verb, however, obviously does not have the morphologic form of imperative.

– A ot, *siadaj pan* z nami i tak kaszy zostanie.
– Nie można powiedzieć alkoholikowi – *pij pan* jeszcze ten miesiąc potem zobaczymy.

Collocations of this type have a long history in Polish. One of the best known quotations from Polish literature is a hybrid of the above described type. It comes from *Potop* (*The Deluge*) by Henryk Sienkiewicz, laureate of Nobel Prize for Literature in 1905. It is expressed during a sword duel by the novel's protagonist, Andrzej Kmicic. As he realizes that his opponent is clearly superior to him, he pronounces the famous words: *Kończ waść, wstydu oszczędź!* (*Finish – spare the shame!*[2]). The novel takes place during the Golden Age of the Kingdom of Poland. The historical events described in it took place in the time span of 1655–1657. *The Deluge*, however, was published more than two hundred years later (in 1886). For this reason, Sienkiewicz uses archaic language, employing many outdated words and phrases. The personal pronoun *waść* stands in for the contemporary *pan*.

Hybrid phrases of this type continue to be very popular. Many of them are to be found in the movie *Nie lubię poniedziałku* (I Hate Mondays) by Tadeusz Chmielewski from 1971. They are used by taxi drivers ("*Wsiadaj pan*!" ['Hop on[3]'], "*Spływaj pan*!" ['Get lost mister']), industry workers ("Kurka wodna, *ratuj pan* nasz plan!" ['Hey man, holy cow, save our plan']), CEOs talking to their employees ("Dobra, dobra, *daj pan* te papiery, to

[2] H. Sienkiewicz, *The Deluge, Vol. I: An Historical Novel of Poland, Sweden and Russia*, translated by Jeremiah Curtin, Project Gutenberg 2001, p. 101. Reprint of the first edition from 1891. It is worth noting that Curtin, Sienkiewicz's first translator, labelled all parts of the Trilogy with subtitles referring to Russia, although the territories described in the novels belonged to the Kingdom of Poland during the time of action. They also dealt with the conflicts of Poles and Ukrainians rather than Russians. One possible explanation for this inaccuracy could be the shape of the political map at the time of the translations (that is, the end of the nineteenth century). Perhaps, Curtin intended to make it easier for an American audience to put the novels into the right geographical context.

[3] The translations of the following movie dialogs come from the website *YIFY Subtitles*.

podpiszę!" ['Alright, alright, gimme these papers, I'll sign']; "No to *naciskaj pan*!" ['Press it yourself']), construction workers ("Panie dźwigowy! *Złaź pan* na dół! Zacięła się ta winda, *coś pan ją montował* w Maszynohurcie!" ['Mister craneman! Get down! The lift you installed in Maszynohurt broke down']; "*Wyłącz pan* na chwilę tę betoniarkę!" ['Turn this thing off, will you!']; "*Przestań się pan* kręcić!" ['Stop snooping around!']), random people on the street (" Po angielsku, *pokaż pan*!" ['Let me see']; "Te, panie, *chodź pan*, *pchniesz pan*!" ['Hey, you! Come here! You'll push with us!']) and mechanics in an automobile repair shop ("*Nie przypominaj mi pan*, bo mnie zaleje!" ['Don't bring it up']; "*Chodź pan*!" ['Come here!']; " *Dawaj pan* do tyłu!" ['Get back! Get back!']; "*Dawaj pan* na podnośnik!" ['Get on the ramp!']). The examples show that using this hybrid form of imperative is not restricted to a certain social stratum or occupational group.

It is worth noting that the movie quotations refer only to the masculine pronoun *pan*, and not to the feminine pronoun *pani*. Admittedly, most of the characters in the movie are men. However, a similar tendency can be observed while reviewing the examples from the NKJP. Most of the verbs seem to occur much more frequently in the masculine than in the feminine version, for example the frequency of *bierz pan!* and *bierz pani!* is respectively 9 and 1, *mów pan!* and *mów pani!* – 11 and 2, and *idź pan!* and *idź pani!* – 50 and 2. Sometimes, no feminine version can be found at all: *idźże pan!* and *spadaj pan!* lack a feminine equivalent.

As previously mentioned, the pattern *verb* + *pan*/*pani!* can be used for any verb. However, some verbs tend to be used more often than others. One of the most popular phrases according to the pattern is the phrase *daj* + *pan*/*pani* + *spokój!* (*give it peace!*, *give up!*). The inherent part of this phraseme is the noun *spokój*. It covers a broad range of meanings like *tranquility*, *quiet*, *calmness*, *calm*, *silence*, *stillness*, *rest*, *peacefulness*, *order*. Analogically, the idiom can be used in many different types of situations, eg. as a reaction expressing indignation. To

explain all the possible meanings of the phrase would go beyond the scope of this article but the following examples are going to outline the extent of its semantical field. The NKJP includes *daj pan spokój!* 15 times while its feminine equivalent of *daj pani spokój!* is to be found in the NKJP only 4 times. "Daj Pan Spokój" was also chosen by the musicians Marcin Rys, Marcin Skała, Michał Tyburcy and Paweł Kaczmarczyk for the name of their band, which, once again, speaks to the popularity of the phrase.

3. Challenges faced by German translators while translating hybrid imperative forms

Hybrid imperatives seem to be a Polish peculiarity that presents quite a challenge for translations into English or German. The first question is what should be used to replace the lack of cohesion. German, similarly to Polish, makes a distinction between the formal way of saying *you* (*Sie*, third person plural) and the informal (*du*, second person singular). *Give* (*it to me*)*!* would therefore be expressed either as *geben Sie* (*mir das*)*!* or *gib (mir das)!* Replacing the verb in the third person plural with a verb in the second person singular would result in a completely incomprehensible expression *gib Sie!*

Analysing the translations of hybrid imperatives into German found in the RC, we can distinguish two basic approaches. The easiest way, it seems, is to *keep the imperative,* only remove the hybrid, and replace it with either a *formal form* or *informal form*.

Formal forms of an imperative:

- Zróbmy tak, *daj pan* 55 dolarów, a dostaniesz pan skarpety… i dorzucę tę dwururkę.
  Ich sag Ihnen was, *Sie geben* mir 55$, und ich gebe Ihnen die Socken… und noch die 12er-Flinte dazu.
- I *przestań pan* się wydzierać!
  Also *hören Sie* auf, hier herumzuschreien!

– *Spadaj pan!*
  Verschwinden Sie!

Informal forms of an imperative:

– *Daj pan* piwo i kolejkę whiskey.
  Gib mir ein Bier und einen Schuss Whiskey.
– Dalej Panie sędzio, *kończ Pan* ten mecz!
  Mach schon, *pfeif endlich*, Schluß Mann!
– *Mów pan*, tylko nie opuszczaj rąk.
  Behalte deine Hände oben und sag etwas.

The examples above show the translations from a structural point of view. Although the morphologic peculiarity is left out, they present a quite accurate interpretation of the original. In some cases, however, especially when we are dealing with idioms, literal translation does not seem possible. The original imperative sentence is then being translated into a sentence which has a similar illocutionary force as the original hybrid imperative. The forms of Polish and German sentences differ from each other and the translation then becomes an implicit act. Some of the difficulties can be observed in the following examples:

– *Mów pan* po ludzku.
  Geht's noch deutlicher?

Po ludzku is an idiom meaning *understandable*. Thus, each part of the Polish phrase is colloquial. So is the German rhetorical question *Geht's noch deutlicher?* Evidently the translator decided to keep the colloquiality of the phrase rather than translate it word for word.

Another case in which literal translation seems to be problematic is when translating texts from movies. It should be noted that the translator of movie dialogs must ensure that the translation is as brief as possible. Audiovisual translation requires translators to work within the confines of significant limitations. Such translation must thus necessarily be *constrained*

translation (Hasior 2019: 64–65). Surely, one trait of the hybrid imperative is its shortness, as in the following in Polish. From several possible variations, the translator chose the one which seemed to be the shortest:

– I *daj pan* w jednocentówkach.
  Und ich will sie in Einern.

For similar reasons, the translator of the next sentence cut the phrase *nie rób pan tego*. Preventing the person mentioned in the sentence from doing something seems to be self- explanatory enough and so the phrase containing the hybrid imperative seems to be redundant:

– *Nie* rób pan tego, bo kierownik musi zobaczyć…
  Aber der Manager muss Sie sehen.

Apart from these rather seldom cases of implicit acts, a great majority of the translations are ones using the formal form. Informal forms are rarely used. Aleksandra Markiewicz (1999: 129) argues that the choice between the formal and informal form depends on the relationship between the sender and the receiver. If the situation suggests that the sender treats his or her partner with defiance, the informal form seems to be more appropriate. On the other hand, when the sender seems to have more respect for his or her partner, the formal form would be more adequate.

As in the previous examples, I had difficulties finding any sentence with the hybrid imperative form for the feminine pronoun. In fact, while looking through a number of commonly used verbs, I did not succeed in finding any single one combined with *pani*.

Some of the hybrid phrases are more semantically rich than others. For instance, the imperative *daj pan/pani spokój!* can be used in a variety of situations. Its purpose is to cause somebody to stop doing something, but its translation depends to a great extent on the context in which it is expressed. Among the verbs

often chosen for translation there are the following verbs: *verschwinden* (*to disappear*), *kommen (to come), aufhören* (*to cease*), vulg. *verarschen* (*to kid sb*). To underline the high level of colloquiality, often the noun *Mann* (*man*) is added. The formal form and the informal form seem to be represented to a similar extent. Less often, the phrase is translated with some variation of an illocutionary act. Here again, the database of the RC includes only sentences with the masculine pronoun *pan*.

Formal forms of an imperative:

- No cóż… *Daj pan spokój.*
  Naja, jetzt… *kommen Sie* schon.
- *Daj pan spokój*, to pomysł wprost z "Fatalnego Zauroczenia". Taki manewr, rozumie pan?
  Kommen Sie, das ist doch das klassische Manöver wie in " Fatal Attraction"!
- *Daj pan spokój*, to jakieś wariactwo.
  Hören Sie auf, Mann, das ist doch Schwachsinn!

Informal forms of an imperative:

- Och, *daj pan spokój…*
  Geh schon, *verschwinde*!
- No *daj pan spokój*, przecież przeprosiłem.
  Wir wollen, dass *du verschwindest*.
- *Daj pan spokój* i nie zawracaj mi głowy, dobra?
  Verarsch mich nicht, Mann, OK?

As was mentioned previously, some sentences present quite a challenge for translators. Because German is a language less fusional than Polish, literal translations are often longer. For this reason, in the examples of audiovisual translation that follow, the part of the phrase containing *daj pan spokój* was treated as redundant and cut:

- To nie może być nasz jedyny wybór, *daj pan spokój.*
  Uh. Das kann doch nicht die ganze Auswahl sein.

– *Daj pan spokój*, jesteśmy jakieś sześć przecznic od gościa, którego śledzimy.
Wir sind sechs Blöcke von dem Typen entfernt, den wir stalken.

The translator of the next sentence decided to replace the phrase *daj pan spokój* with another one, having apparently another meaning but being at the same time an illocutionary act conveying the intention implicitly:

– Akurat! – *Daj pan spokój*.
Sie wurden gerade befördert.

4. Challenges faced by English translators while translating hybrid imperative forms

Unlike Polish, English verb forms for both the formal and informal are identical. That is likewise true for creating imperative forms. Thus, the hybrid construction can only be translated into one possible form of imperative.

Imperative forms:

– No to… *daj pan* polski!
OK, *give me* a Polish one.
– *Pij pan* ten sok ze śliwek.
Drink your prune juice.
– *Podpisz pan* papier, to poczujesz się lepiej.
Sign this and you'll feel fine.

English translators, just as their German colleagues, experience a number of difficulties with the translation of some phrases. They sometimes provide a seemingly different sentence from a semantic point of view. The illocutionary force of both the original and its translation, however, is similar. So *mów pan po ludzku* (similar to the German translation previously) is replaced by an English equivalent, being a colloquial rhetorical question:

– *Mów pan* po ludzku.
– What are you talking about?

The next sentence expresses a complete indifference as to what the receiver of the message is going to do or undertake. The Polish phrase is an invitation to do whatever he likes, while the English translation conveys the same message in an implicit act:

– *Rób pan*, co chcesz.
  It's a free country.

In the next sentence, the sender of the message would like to convince someone to buy something for his wife. While the Polish original is an explicit illocutionary act, the English equivalent gives the reason for buying, thus being an implicit act:

– *Kup pan* to żonie.
  Your wife deserves this.

Reviewing the online dictionary led me to the conclusion that an overwhelming majority of hybrid imperative forms are translated into English as imperatives. Another thing to mention is that the sentences with the pronoun *pani* seem to be used very rarely.

The phrase *daj pan/pani spokój!*, on the other hand, is mostly translated with one of the following verbs: *to come on, to give (it) up, let (it) be*, or *get out*. Optionally, the colloquiality signalled in Polish by the hybridity can be expressed by the vernacular pronoun *man*. As was the case in the German translations, the database of the RC includes only sentences with the masculine pronoun *pan*.

Imperative forms:

– Proszę pana, *daj pan spokój*, Todd, Todd.
  Sir, *come on*, Todd, Todd.

- *Daj pan spokój*, nie potrzebujemy fałszywej skromności.
  Come on man, no false modesty now.
- *Daj pan spokój*, wszystko się wydało.
  Give it up, man – there's no surprise left in it.
- *Daj pan spokój*, panie Abdullah.
  Let it be, Abdullah sir.
- *Daj pan spokój*.
  Get out of here.

In some cases, the phrase *daj pan spokój* is replaced by another sentence, giving an explanation about why the receiver of the message should stop doing something, rather than only urging him to do so:

- No *daj pan spokój*.
- That's the best I can offer.
- Dobra, *daj pan spokój*.
- It's not important.

In the last example the idiom was replaced by another English slang phrase, conveying a similar meaning:

- *Daj pan spokój*.
- Give me a break.

5. Conclusion

Imperatives in standard Polish are constructed with a verb in either the informal form, consisting of one word (an exception from this is the first person singular) or the formal form, consisting of three words. In colloquial Polish, however, the imperatives are often constructed by means of the informal verb form and the formal pronoun *pan* or *pani*. The form created in this way can be used for any perfective as well as imperfective verb. Therefore, it could be described as verb + pan/pani! It is worth noting that the scheme is used more often for the masculine pronoun *pan*, than it is for the feminine pronoun *pani*. One of

the most popular hybrid imperative phrases is the phrase *daj pan/pani spokój!* (*give it peace!*, *give up!*). The idiom is broadly used in a number of different situations.

Hybrid imperatives are a Polish peculiarity that presents quite a challenge for translations into foreign languages, such as German or English. German translators mostly translate it using the formal form of the imperative. Less often, informal imperative forms are used. The idiom *daj pan/pani spokój!* is mostly used with one of the following verbs: *verschwinden* (*to disappear*), *kommen* (*to come*), *aufhören* (*to cease*) or vulg. *verarschen* (*to kid sb*). To underline the high level of colloquiality, the noun *Mann* (*man*) is often added. In the case of this phraseme, both formal and informal forms seem to be represented to a similar extent.

English translators mostly keep the imperative, replacing the hybrid with a suitable verb form. The phrase *daj pan/pani spokój!*, on the other hand, is mostly translated with one of the following verbs: *to come on*, *to give (it) up*, *let (it) be*, or *get out*. Optionally, the colloquiality signaled in Polish by the hybridity can be expressed by the vernacular pronoun *man*. Although hybrid imperatives can be constructed for both masculine and feminine pronouns, the examples found in the RC contain only phrases with *pan*.

It cannot be stressed enough that the material analysed in this article presents but a small register of speech, being not only spoken language, but often colloquial or even offensive language. These kinds of sentences obviously require corresponding translation procedures. Because of the structural homo-geneity of the original sentences, their translation involves only a small range of translation techniques. Moreover, it can be assumed that the authors of the translations quoted here are not professional interpreters. Their main emphasis seemingly lies not so much on the artistic aspect of translation but rather on its higher effectiveness. Nowadays, more and more translations are conducted by non-professionals, presenting an interesting subject for further linguistic research.

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Polish-English cognates and doublets: Morphosemantic evolution of selected Proto-Indo-European roots into related lexemes in Polish and English

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Abstract

The following article will attempt to visualise the relationship between Polish and English by presenting selected examples of cognates and doublets (so called 'etymological twins', or related words found in one language) in both languages, following their etymology and the semantic and morphological changes to which they were subject. The evolution of the Proto-Indo-European roots **lendh-* 'loin', **sh₂el-* 'salt' **ph₃i-* 'drink' **seh₁-* 'to impress, insert; to sow, plant' will be investigated, as well as the morphological and semantic changes the words descending from these roots have undergone, such as the use of metaphor, metonymy, specialisation or generalisation. Doublets and cognates in Polish and English will be presented and described.

Keywords

Proto-Indo-European, etymology, doublet, cognate

Polsko-angielskie wyrazy pokrewne i dublety. Ewolucja morfosemantyczna wybranych rdzeni praindoeuropejskich w pokrewne leksemy w języku polskim i angielskim

Abstrakt

W niniejszym artykule unaocznię pokrewieństwo między językiem polskim i angielskim przedstawiając wybrane przykłady słów pokrewnych występujących w obu językach, prześledzę ich etymologię oraz zmiany semantyczne i morfologiczne jakim podległy. Zbadam ewolucję rdzeni praindoeuropejskich **lendh-* 'lędźwie, **sh₂el-* 'sól **ph₃i-* 'pić, poić **seh₁-* 'wciskać; sadzić, siać', a także zmiany morfologiczne i semantyczne, jakim podległy słowa wywodzące się z tych rdzeni, takie jak użycie metafory, metonimii, specjalizacji czy uogólnienia. Zaprezentuję i opiszę dublety i słowa pokrewne (ang. *cognates*) w języku polskim i angielskim.

Słowa kluczowe

praindoeuropejski, etymologia, dublet, wyraz pokrewny

1. Theoretical background

1.1. Introduction

All Indo-European languages have undergone significant changes since the first Proto-Indo-Europeans stepped out of their cradles. The proto-language divided into families, dialects, and finally, separate languages to take the forms we know today, and these forms – if we consider living languages – are neither final nor unchanging.

The research on words descending from a common root provides an insight into the evolution of languages and confirms that Polish and English are sister languages descending from the common Proto-Indo-European source and often following similar semantic patterns.

This paper will attempt to visualise the relationship between Polish and English by presenting selected examples of cognates and doublets (so called 'etymological twins', or related words found in one language) in both languages, following their etymology and the semantic and morphological changes to which they were subject. The evolution of selected Proto-Indo-European roots will be investigated, as well as the morphological and semantic changes the words descending from these roots have undergone, such as the use of metaphor, metonymy, specialisation or generalisation. Doublets and cognates in Polish and English will be presented and described.

1.2. Historical-comparative linguistics and lexical semantics

In order to understand the angle of this article's research, let us consider the definition of comparative-historical linguistics, as it is through this tool that the matter shall be addressed. Historical (also: diachronic) and comparative linguistics is the scientific study of language change over time. All living languages evolve – "divergence or death is the normal fate of languages" (Ringe, 2009). There are several principles which this field of study follows, such as describing changes languages undergo, the reconstruction of languages no longer used, and the ancestral languages of today's tongues, as well as descriptions of how the languages relate to each other and how they can be grouped into language families. Furthermore, comparative-historical linguistics studies words' etymology, i.e. the history of words, and can trace the origin of related words in different languages to the common ancestral proto-word in a reconstructed proto-language, as well as account for the history of the semantic changes that related words underwent (Radford et al. 1999).

Another angle of research used in the present article is lexical semantics. As Geeraerts (2017) states: "Lexical semantics is the study of word meaning. Descriptively speaking, the main topics studied within lexical semantics involve either the inter-

nal semantic structure of words, or the semantic relations that occur within the vocabulary." The former topic is the focus of the attention of historical semantics, which ha s been written about by Sieradzka-Baziur (2017): "Historical semantics in linguistics is the direction of research on the meaning of linguistic units in the diachronic approach" (translation: W.K.-U.). The present article focuses on contrasting Polish-English cognates from a diachronic perspective. As explained by Rychło (2019: 16), including a diachronic perspective in contrastive linguistics will not result in the same discipline as historical and comparative linguistics, "because historical and comparative linguistics does not aim at explaining similarities and differences between the modern languages, but instead compares [...] languages with a view to reconstructing the common ancestor or the changes which occurred in the languages under comparison".

It is a study which helps us understand language, its use now and in the past, as well as the provenance of words and expressions in daily used , which are much more comprehensible indeed if we know their origin, e.g. *bibuła* (Pol. 'blotting paper'), is a derivative of Lat. *bibere* 'to drink' (*bibulus* 'thirsty, absorbent'), and ultimately means 'drinking (paper)', as this kind of paper was used for dr inking in ink stains. Expressions and words such as *to eat humble pie*, *symposium*, and the correlation between *salt*, *halogen* and *rosół* (Pol. 'broth') will be discussed in further sections.

1.3. Cognates

How can one be certain that an ancestral mother tongue in fact existed? Linguists investigate basic words, which might have been used by pre-modern societies to name objects in the world surrounding them and the activities that they performed. Such words are still used today throughout the Indo-European community. T he Swadesh lists can be utilised for this purpose. These lists are compilations of basic concepts, first collected by Morris Swadesh in 1950 (originally comprising 215 words

[Swadesh 1950: 161]), which can be used for lexicostatistics or historical-comparative linguistics. Such words from different languages are compared, and if they demonstrate morphological and phonetic similarities (apart from obvious semantic ones), then a conclusion can be drawn that such words have descended from a common ancestral source. Examples of such related words are presented in Table 1. Numerals are also worth comparing for such a purpose (see Table 2).

Table 1

Similarities between Indo-European words

PIE	***ph$_2$ter-**	***meh$_2$ter-**	***swésor-**
Mod. English	father	mother	sister
Old English	fæder	mōdor	sweostor
German	Vater	Mutter	Schwester
Latin	pater	māter	soror
Ancient Greek	patḗr	mḗtēr	-------
Sanskrit	pitṛ	mātṛ	svasṛ
French	père	mère	sœur
Spanish	padre	madre	-------
Russian	-------	mat’	sestra
Polish	(stryj ‘uncle’)	matka	siostra
PIE	***widhewa *h$_2$wi-dhh$_1$-uh$_2$-**	***nokwt-**	***h$_2$stḗr-**
Mod. English	widow	night	star
Old English	widewe	næht	steorra
German	Witwe	Nacht	Stern
Latin	vidua	nox (noctis)	stella
Ancient Greek	-------	nýx (nyktós)	ástron
Sanskrit	vidhavā	niś	stṛ
French	veuve	nuit	étoile
Spanish	viuda	noche	estrella
Russian	vdova	noch’	-------
Polish	wdowa	noc	-------

PIE	***bhreh$_2$-ter-**	***dhugh$_2$-ter-**	***suH-nú-**
Mod. English	brother	daughter	son
Old English	brōþor	dōhtor	sunu
German	Bruder	Tochter	Sohn
Latin	frāter	-------	-------
Ancient Greek	fratér	thygátēr	hyiós
Sanskrit	bhrātṛ	duhitṛ	sūnu
French	frère	-------	-------
Spanish	-------	-------	-------
Russian	brat	doch’	sin
Polish	brat	córka	syn
PIE	***snigwh-**	***séh$_2$u-l/n-**	***meh$_1$n-s-**
Mod. English	snow	sun	moon
Old English	snāw	sunne	mōna
German	Schnee	Sonne	Mond
Latin	nix (nivis)	sōl	mensis ‘month’
Ancient Greek	nifas ‘flake’	hḗlios	mḗn ‘month’
Sanskrit	snih ‘sticky’	sūnu	mās ‘month’
French	neige	soleil	mois ‘month’
Spanish	nieve	sol	mes ‘month’
Russian	sneg	solntse	mesyats ‘month’
Polish	śnieg	słońce	miesiąc ‘month’

Table 2

Similarities between Indo-European numerals

PIE	***Hoi(H)nos**	***dwoh$_1$**	***treyes**
Mod. English	one	two	three
Old English	ān	tpeġen, tpa	Þrēo
German	eins	zwei	drei
Latin	unus	duo	tres
Ancient Greek	heîs	dýo	treîs
Sanskrit	eka	dvi	tri
French	un	deux	trois
Spanish	uno	dos	tres
Russian	odin	dva	tri
Polish	jeden	dwa	trzy

PIE	***kwétwōr**	***penkwe**	***dḱm̥tóm**
Mod. English	four	five	hundred
Old English	fēoper	fīf	hundred
German	vier	fünf	hundert
Latin	quattuor	quinque	centum
Ancient Greek	téttares	pénte	hekatón
Sanskrit	catur	pañca	śaṭ
French	quatre	cinq	cent
Spanish	quatro	cinco	ciento
Russian	chetire	pyat'	sto
Polish	cztery	pięć	sto

The numerals presented in Table 2 do not display such vocabulary gaps as the words presented in Table 1. Probably that is because numerals were brought to Europe (and parts of India) by the Proto-Indo-Europeans and were not borrowed from the aboriginal Europeans. According to Kortland (2010: 18),

> The wide attestation of the Indo-European numerals must be attributed to the development of trade which accompanied the increased mobility of the Indo-Europeans at the time of their expansions. Numerals do not belong to the basic vocabulary of a Neolithic culture, as is clear from their absence in Proto-Uralic and the spread of Chinese numerals throughout East Asia.

The last column in Table 2 visualises the evolution of the word *hundred* in Indo-European languages. It is on the basis of these differences that the *centum* and *satem* languages have been distinguished (named after the words for *hundred* in Latin and Avestan, respectively). The *centum* languages, being the peripheral dialects of Proto-Indo-European, were the first to separate from the PIE language family. English, being a *centum* language itself, underwent the characteristic phonetic change from the soft PIE **ḱ* to the English *h*, as in the word *hundred*. Polish, on the other hand, underwent the sound change typical of the central dialects of PIE, which were the last to separate; the **ḱ* changed into an *s*, which can be observed in the Polish *sto* (Milewski 1969: 176).

1.4. Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Indo-Europeans

The similarities between the words presented in Table 1 and Table 2 in the previous section are too considerable for them to be a coincidence. Linguists conclude that most Indo-European languages are related and come from Proto-Indo-European, the reconstructed mother tongue of most languages spoken in Europe and India. PIE is estimated to have been spoken as a single language from 4500 BC to 2500 BC during the Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age and the first impetus for the Proto-Indo-Europeans to disperse was the domestication of the horse (Mallory, Adams 1997). The Kurgan hypothesis (Fortson 2004), first formulated by Marija Gimbutas, argues that Proto-Indo-Europeans may be identified with the archaeological culture of the Kurgans, which is the Russian word for a burial mound – *kurgan* – in which the Kurgans buried their dead. This people may have lived between the Black and Caspian Seas approximately six thousand years ago.

Their culture bears many similarities to what we know of the Proto-Indo-European culture, which has been reconstructed on the basis of language study. By comparing similar words in Indo-European languages which we have records of, we can deduce where and how they lived, what they ate, what tools they used and what the place they inhabited looked like.

Based on the above, conclusions can be drawn about the territories they initially inhabited. Language study enables scientists to learn about non-material aspects of culture, which would be impossible should we rely solely on archaeology.

According to Brinton and Arnovick (2006), there are a number of facts that we can assess about the Proto-Indo-Europeans based on the study of language, the most interesting of which are:

- they worshipped gods, engaged in rituals and had priests and seers,
- their society was patriarchal,

- they cultivated a variety of crops and kept a number of domesticated animals,
- they made use of diverse skills and comparatively advanced tools,
- they used a variety of different means of transportation, such as rowed or poled vessels, as well as walking, and horse riding, which were important in their migrations,
- they measured the year in agricultural terms as well as according to the lunar month,
- they oriented themselves in terms of natural phenomena: east was associated with the dawn and west with the dusk ,
- they counted using the decimal system and may also have had a counting system based on twelve,
- their society was based on reciprocity with great importance attached to exchange, compensation, restitution, hospitality, oath-making and gift-giving,
- oral poetry was very important and made use of a special, very rich vocabulary,
- they knew snow, cloudy skies and thunder (although the words for rain differ),
- they knew boggy terrain and uncultivated land or forest and they encountered lakes,
- they knew different kinds of trees and animals characteristic of the temperate climate of eastern and central Europe.

Language studies enable us not only to reconstruct the proto-languages, but also to investigate how languages forming one language family are related to one another and to track their evolution.

Linguists have adopted the image of a genealogical tree to envisage language evolution, and have borrowed biological terms (such as *mother-language*, *sister languages*, *ancestors* and *descendants)* and, naturally, the very idea of evolution, to describe the changes languages undergo.

1.5. Cognates, doublets and borrowings

How can one be certain that the cognates presented in Tab.1 are not, in fact, borrowings? Indeed, there are many similar words in Indo-European languages (and outside of them) which bear close resemblances, such as the English *computer,* the Polish *komputer*, the Russian *компьютер* [komp'yuter], the Hindi कंप्यूटर [kampyootar]. However, such loanwords have not undergone the phonetic changes, which words native to a language (or ones which have been in use in a language for a considerable length of time) are susceptible to. What is more, the word *computer* is a relatively new one, invented to name a relatively recently developed device, and thus the resemblances of the words in different languages are due to their having been borrowed, and not the words' common ancient ancestry. What is interesting is that there seems to be a well-known, although little studied, rule about lexical borrowing which claims that a language borrows what it lacks in its culture and environment (Deroy 1956: 57, after Quentel 2018:34).

A convincing definition of cognate was provided by Trask (2000: 62, after Rychło 2019: 17), who stated that a cognate is "one of two or more words or morphemes which are directly descended from a single ancestral form in the single common ancestor of the languages in which the words or morphemes are found, with no borrowing".

The following examples of cognates found in Indo-European languages illustrate word evolution, together with language-specific phonetic changes, proving the words' common ancient ancestry.

(A) PIE **h_1d-ont-* 'tooth', Latin *dentis* 'tooth', Polish *dziąsło* 'gum', English *tooth*. In this example, Grimm's Law can be observed in the case of English, which states that the PIE **d* became the Germanic *t*, and the PIE **t* became the Germanic *th*. In the case of Polish, we observe palatalisation of the PIE **d* into Polish *dzi*. Such phonetic changes have been described by linguists in detail and cognates can be identified on their basis.

Moreover, borrowings and the approximate time of their appearance in a language can be identified based on the level of their phonetic evolution comparable to the time periods of given phonetic changes in a language. A word borrowed into a language before a specific phonetic change will undergo that change, whereas a word borrowed after the occurrence of that change will not bear the traits of that alteration.

(B) Thus, another example of related words are the ones descended from the PIE *$\acute{g}rh_2$-*no*- 'grain': the English *kernel*, the Polish *ziarno*, the Latin *grānum*. The Latin word has been borrowed into Polish and English, forming words such as *grain, granulka*/*granule, granit*/*granite,* or *granat*/ *grenade*, *pomegranate.* T he semantic evolution is based on the concept of 'consisting of grains, breaking up into grains, small pieces'. Interestingly, the Polish *granat* translates to as many as four distinct English words: *pomegranate*; *grenade*; *navy blue*; *garnet*, and meant 'consisting of many grains'; originally it referred to the fruit and subsequently to the weapon; with the colour in reference to the fruit – first it named a purple, scarlet shade, and the semantic shift occurred later – the gem in reference to the fruit's grains and colour. In the Latin borrowings, we do not observe the sound changes typical of Polish and English, and which the words native to these languages (*kernel*, *ziarno*) have undergone.

When a cognate is borrowed into a language, a doublet may come into existence, e.g. Polish *ziarno* 'grain' and *granulka* 'granule'. Cognates , however, are not the only possible source of doublets. In spite of the fact that the term doublet is widely used by numerous linguists, views diverge on what a doublet is and what it is not. Bloomer provides a valuable insight on the matter in his article *Types of Linguistic Doublets* (1998), in which he compares and contrasts linguists' view on the matter. Thus, a general consensus among most linguists states that doublets must occur in one given language, there can be more than two in number (e.g. triplets), they can represent various word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.) and, depending on their

source, they can be base forms, derivations or compounds. Additionally, there must be a phonological and semantic difference between the lexemes constituting the doublet, though stipulations on the nature of the semantic divergence vary. Doublets can come into existence by means of lexeme differentiation in one language or they can be transmitted by borrowing and they must descend from a common source.

A "common source" is understood in two distinct manners: (1) the words must go back to a single etymon (in a diachronic sense), and (a) the doublet participants either go back to an etymon with or without the same inflexion (e.g. Fr. *août* 'August' ≈ Fr. *auguste* 'venerable, majestic', both from the Lat. *augustus* 'sacred, majestic, venerable'), or (b) one doublet participant goes back to an etymon with or without inflexion, and the other to the same etymon with a different inflexion (e.g. *spoil,* from the Lat. *spoliare* 'rob', and *spoliate*, from the Lat. *spoliatus* 'robbed, ruined, wasted'). (2) The common source is understood in a synchronic manner, where, even though only one of the doublet participants may have existed in the language at an earlier stage, both can be traced back to a common base morpheme which explains their structure as derivations or inflected word forms (e.g. Ger. *gesandt* 'sent' [obsolete] ≈ *gesendet* 'sent', both from *senden* 'send' or Pol. *przygotować* 'prepare' ≈ *ugotować* 'cook', originally 'prepare', both from *gotować* 'cook, prepare, ready'). Yet another approach (3) is that the doublet participants need not derive from the same source, even though, similarly to the previous example, only one of the words had existed in the language at an earlier stage (e.g. *kingly* ≈ *royal*). Thus, if all of the above criteria are agreed on to form doublets, type (1) would be etymological doublets ([1a] pure etymological doublets, [1b] mixed etymological doublets), type (2) morphological doublets (in this category three subtypes can be distinguished: [2a] inflexional doublets, [2b] morphosyntactic doublets, [2c] derivational doublets), type (3) lexical doublets. Furthermore, "most of the subtypes can be separated further according to whether the

difference in meaning between forms at the current synchronic state is denotational or connotational" (Bloomer, 1998: 2).

Another classification of doublets can be made by segregating them according to the route through which they entered a language. Thus, doublets can be categorised with regard to (1) the route through which the words forming a doublet entered the language, and (2) based on the language from which one of the words forming a doublet has been borrowed (Kamola-Uberman, 2018).

The route criterion determines several types of doublets:

(a) native-native provenance; a word in one language split into two or more separate lexemes, e.g. *shadow*, *shade*, *shed*, all from the Old English *sceadu* 'shadow, shade', or the Polish *pochwa* 'sheath, case; vagina' and *poszwa* 'pillowcase, cover', both of which expressed the same meaning of 'that which covers, a cover' in the 16th century, and were used interchangeably (for examples of usage see Buttler 1978: 49);

(b) native-borrowed provenance, where one word is native and the other is borrowed from a different language, e.g., native Germanic *word*, and *verb*, a borrowing from Latin, both ultimately from the PIE **werh₁-* 'to speak'. In Polish, an example of such a doublet is the previously mentioned *ziarno* 'grain' and *granulka* 'granule', both ultimately from the PIE **ǵrh₂-no-* 'grain';

(c) borrowed-borrowed provenance, which can be observed mainly in English, which boasts a long history of borrowings from Latin and French, especially from Norman French in the earlier period and Central French in the later period, e.g. *flame* (French) and *conflagration* (Latin), both ultimately from the PIE **bhleg-* 'to shine, flash, burn'; *canal* (Norman French) and *channel* (Central French), both ultimately from the Latin *canalis* 'groove, channel, waterpipe'. There are also words borrowed from Spanish and French which form doublets in both English and Polish: *sauce*/*sos* (from French) and *salsa* (from Spanish), all ultimately from the PIE **sh₂el-* 'salt'.

As regards the criterion of the source language, in the case of English, the main languages from which it borrowed are Latin,

French, and the Scandinavian languages, but it also borrows heavily from Greek, Italian, Spanish, Arabic, Dutch and German. According to surveys conducted by Finkenstaedt, Wolff, Neuhaus, and Herget (1973), Williams (1986), the makeup of English vocabulary can be presented as follows: Latin (including words used exclusively in scientific, medical or legal context) 29 %, French 29 %, Germanic 26 %, Greek 6 %, other 10 %. According to Skeat (1892), English consists of 178 Anglo-Saxon root words and 280 root words descended from other languages, the majority of which were borrowed from Latin or Greek (after Javed, Xiao, Nazli 2012).

In the case of Polish, we can mention Czech, Latin, German, Italian, French, Russian, Turkish and English as the main sources of loanwords (Walczak 1995). Bańko, in an entry to the PWN Language Counselling Centre from 2011, estimates the number of Polish loanwords based on etymological information in the PWN Grand Dictionary of Foreign Words as follows: French 5,889, Latin 5,806, Greek 4,096, English 3,593, German 2,978, and Italian 1,250. H e enumerates only the languages which have been mentioned at least 1,000 times.

Mostly, however, doublets are formed not only by pairs of words, but it is also possible to find whole families of related words in a given language. Comparing these families of related words in two or more languages allows for an insight into the words' evolution and how the human mind finds correlations and parallels between concepts, and thus names certain phenomena in certain ways.

2. Examples of borrowings, cognates and doublets in Polish and English deriving from a common Proto-Indo-European source

2.1. PIE **lendh-* 'loin'

The English *loin* and its Polish counterpart, *lędźwie,* both ultimately originate from the PIE **lendh-* 'loin', although in the case

of English the lexeme is a borrowing, so they cannot be considered cognates.

In Polish, it is an originally Slavic lexeme found in other Slavic languages, e.g. the Czech *ledví* (arch.) 'thigh, groin, (horse) entrails'; the Russian (arch.) *ljádvieja* 'thigh'; the Serbo-Croatian *ledvija* 'loins'; the Old Church Slavonic *lędviję* 'loins'. All derive from the Proto-Slavic **lędvьje* 'loins, kidneys' which is a collective noun deriving from the Proto-Slavic **lędvo* 'loin, kidney'. Derivatives in Polish include the archaic *lędźwica* or *lędźwina* 'inner upper thigh; bird rump; kidney' and *polędwica* 'fillet, tenderloin'. In two of the mentioned cases we observe the suffix *-ica,* which denotes the concept of 'pertaining to; made of', similarly as in *miednica* 'pelvis; basin', originally 'made of copper (miedź)' or *mietlica* 'a type of grass; Agrostis', originally 'similar to a broom (miotła)'; and in the case of the third lexeme a suffix *-ina* is visible, similarly as in other words naming meat, e.g. *sarnina* 'deer meat' (*sarna* 'deer').

In the case of English, the native lexeme was the Old English *lendenu* 'loins' deriving from the Proto-Germanic **landwin-* (source also of German *Lende* 'loin', *Lenden* 'loins'; the Old High German *lentīn* 'kidneys, loins', the Old Saxon *lendin,* the Middle Dutch *lendine*, the Dutch *lende*, the Old Norse *lend* 'loin', and related words, such as the Old Norse *lunder* 'ham, buttock', the Old High German *lunda* 'tallow').

Loin, in Middle English *loyne,* is a borrowing from *loigne*, *logne*, variants of the Old French *longe* 'loin', which derives from the Medieval Latin **lumbea*, from **lumbea caro* 'meat of the loin', a feminine form of **lumbeus*, an adjective used as a noun, from the Latin *lumbus* 'loin', from the PIE **londh-wo.* Related words in English include *lumbar* 'pertaining to or situated near the loins', which was formed by the addition of the suffix *-ar*, similarly as in *alveolar* 'pertaining to the sockets of the teeth'; *lumbago* 'weakness of loins and lower back' (which is also present in Polish); *loin-cloth* 'cloth worn about the loins'; probably *lambada* 'sensual Brazilian dance using pronounced movement of the hips'; *sirloin*, a variant spelling of *surloin*, from the French

surlonge, literally 'upper part of the loin', from *sur* 'over, above' + *longe* 'loin', from the Old French *loigne*; *numbles* 'edible viscera of animals, entrails of a deer', which entered English through the French *nomble* 'loin of veal, fillet of beef, haunch of venison', from the Old French *numbles*, *nombles* (plural) 'ditto', dissimilated from **lombles*, plural of **lomble*, from the Latin *lumbulus*, diminutive of *lumbus* 'loin'.

Numbles descended from the Middle English *umbles* 'offal', with loss of *n-* through the process of metanalysis, i.e. a reinterpretation or a transfer of morphemic boundaries, in this case resulting in a reinterpretation of the boundary between the word and an article preceding it, similarly as in the case of other English words, such as *an adder*, earlier *a nadder*, *an apron*, earlier *a napron*. *Umble pie* 'pie made from umbles' was considered low-class food, and through the similarity in pronunciation with *humble* (the *h* was silent), the proverb *to eat humble pie* 'make a humble apology and accept humiliation' was created.

Thus, the Polish *lędźwie* and the French *lombes* 'loins' and *longe* 'loin, tether, thong', as well as the Old English *lendenu* 'loins' can be considered cognates. *Lędźwica* and *polędwica* are an example of a doublet (derivational doublet of native-native origin), as are *loin* and *numbles* (mixed etymological doublet of borrowed-borrowed origin).

All of the above lexemes semantically adhere to the concept of *loin*, denoting meat, organs or edible animal parts from that bodily region, medical conditions connected with that bodily region, the movement of that bodily region, or clothing worn about that region, thus presenting metonymy.

2.2. PIE **sh₂el-* 'salt'

The Proto-Indo-European **sh₂el-* 'salt' proves to be a rich source of related words in Polish and English. The word descended into the Latin *sāl* 'salt', and the form *salsus* 'salted' (from the past participle of Old Latin *sallere* 'to salt') became the basis for

a number of words which have been borrowed into Polish and English.

The first example is the Spanish *salsa* 'type of sauce', originally 'something salted, seasoned' from the Vulgar Latin **salsa* 'condiment'. The word was borrowed into Polish and English around the 19th century. Later it was used to name the genre of music through the use of metaphor, as it was a mixture of Latin jazz and rock, similarly to the salsa sauce consisting of various chopped, mixed ingredients.

In French, the word took the form *sausse*, which in English and Polish became the loanwords *sauce* and *sos*. A s in the case of *salsa*, it referred to 'something salted, tasty spice, condiment'. The written records of the word date back to the mid-14th century in English and to the 18th century in Polish. The adjective *saucy* 'resembling sauce', which later evolved to mean 'impertinent, cheeky' (with an alteration *sassy*, back-formed into *sass* 'impudence') was formed by using a metaphor 'piquancy in words or actions'.

Sausage, in Middle English *sausige*, was borrowed from the Old North French *saussiche* (corresponding to the Modern French *saucisse*), from the Vulgar Latin **salsicia* 'sausage', from *salsicus* 'seasoned with salt', from the Latin *salsus* 'salted'.

The Polish *salceson* 'headcheese, brawn' has its source most probably in the Italian *salsiccione* 'sausage', as it was imported to Poland from Italy around the 15th – 17th century.

Salami is yet another sausage name that was borrowed by both Polish and English circa the 19th century. It derives from the Italian *salami*, plural of *salame* 'spiced pork sausage', from the Vulgar Latin **salamen*, from **salare* 'to salt'.

The Latin **salare* is a rich source of derivatives in both Polish and English, e.g. *salad*, which is a borrowing from the Old French *salade* (circa 14th century), from the Vulgar Latin **salata*, literally 'salted', which in turn is an abbreviation of *herba salata* 'salted vegetables', as vegetables seasoned with brine were a popular Roman dish. Other examples of borrowings include the Polish *sałata* 'lettuce' (originally: 'a dish comprised

of vegetables cut into pieces', and, lettuce being the most common ingredient of salads, it acquired the name itself), and *sałatka* 'salad'; the *ł* [w] points to an early loan; *salaterka* 'salad-bowl' is a borrowing from the French *salatière*.

Salary is another example of a Latin derivative; initially, it probably meant 'salt money, a soldier's allowance for the purchase of salt' or 'annual income from the sale of salt'. It entered English through the Anglo-French *salarie*, from the Old French *salaire* 'wages, pay, reward', from the Latin *salarium* 'an allowance, a stipend, a pension', which is the noun use of a neuter of adjective the *salarius* 'of or pertaining to salt; yearly revenue from the sale of salt', as a noun, 'a dealer in salt fish'.

Saltpetre (*saltpeter*), in Middle English *salpetre* was borrowed from the Old French *salpetre*, which derived from the Medieval Latin *sāl petrae*, literally 'salt of the rock' – named so because of its resemblance to salt settled on rocks and being found as an incrustation, from the Latin *sāl* 'salt' + *petra* 'rock, stone'. The a lteration of the first element is from the folk-etymological association with the native Germanic *salt* (which is a cognate to the Latin *sāl*). The Polish counterpart *saletra* 'saltpetre', attested since the 17th century , is a borrowing from the Medieval Latin *saletrum.*

In Greek, the PIE root took the form *hals* 'salt', and borrowings can be found both in Polish and in English: *halogen* (halogens are the chemical elements fluorine (F), chlorine (Cl), bromine (Br), iodine (I) and astat (At) which form salts in their reaction with metals; the halogen lamp contains inert gas with a small amount of one of the halogens); *isohaline/izohalina* – an isoline on the map connecting points with the same degree of salinity. *Halite/halit*, i.e. salt rock, a mineral whose main component is sodium chloride.

In Germanic languages, the PIE root descended into the Proto-Germanic **saltom* (which is also the source of Old Saxon, Old Norse, Old Frisian, and Gothic *salt*, Dutch *zout*, German *Salz*), into the Old English *sealt* 'salt' and finally the Modern English *salt*. *Silt*, originally 'sediment deposited by seawater', is

also of Germanic provenance, probably from a Scandinavian source (in Norwegian and Danish related word *sylt* 'salt marsh' exists), or from the Middle Low German or Middle Dutch *silte, sulte* 'salt marsh, brine', from the Proto-Germanic **sult-ja-* (source also of Old English *sealt*, Old High German *sulza* 'salt-water', German *Sülze* 'brine'). *Souse* 'to pickle, steep in vinegar' has been borrowed from the Old French adjective *sous* 'preserved in salt and vinegar', but is ultimately from a Germanic source, probably from the Frankish **sultja* or some other Germanic source, from the Proto-Germanic **salta-* 'salt'.

In Slavic languages, there are also a number of derivatives, as the PIE root descended into the Proto-Slavic **solъ-* 'salt' (cognates in other Slavic languages include Czech *sūl*, Russian *sol'*, and Old Church Slavonic *solъ* 'salt'). The adjective *słony* 'salty' was a basis for *słonina* 'bacon, lard, pork fat', literally 'something salted', with the suffix *-ina*, similarly as in other names for meat, e.g *wieprzowina* 'pork' (*wieprz* 'hog') or *cielęcina* 'veal' (*cielę* 'calf'). *Solić* 'to salt', from the Proto-Slavic **soliti* 'to salt, season with salt, make salty' is a source of *solnica* > *solniczka* (a diminutive) 'salt shaker' is also a derivative with the suffix *-ica*, often denoting tools or containers, as in *donica* 'flower pot', from the Proto-Slavic **dojьnica* 'a container used for milking' (from *doić* 'to milk'), as well as *solanka* 'brine', with the suffix *-anka*, similar as in *grzanka* 'toast' (from *grzać* 'to heat') or *leżanka* 'couch, chaise longue' (from *leżeć* 'to lie down').

The traces of the PIE root are also found in *rosół* 'broth', in Old Polish 'brine' formed from the Proto-Slavic **orzsolъ* 'brine, salty water used for preserving food', from the Proto-Slavic **orz-soliti* 'season with salt, preserve with salt', from the Proto-Slavic **soliti* 'to salt'). The prefix *roz-* is common in most Slavic languages and derives from the Proto-Slavic **orz(ъ)-* 'separately, from, of', from the PIE **er-* 'to separate' (*-z* probably added under the influence of the Proto-Slavic forms of contemporary *bez* 'without', *przez* 'through', *wz-*).

Interestingly enough , the Polish words *słód* 'malt', *słodki* 'sweet', *słodycz* 'sweetness; sweets' are *also* ultimately derived

from the PIE **sh₂el-*. The Proto-Slavic **soldъkъ* 'tasty, palatable; sweet; pleasant, nice' had a suffix **-ъkъ* layered on the primary adjective †*soldъ* 'ditto', which derives from the PIE **sh₂el-dū-*, most probably 'seasoned with salt, salty' > 'tasty, palatable' > 'sweet', the derivative of which is also noted in the Lithuanian *saldus* 'sweet', and Latvian *salds* 'sweet'.

A great number of lexemes derived from the PIE root **sh₂el-* namely salted dishes: *sos*, *salsa*, *sauce*, *sausage*, *salceson*, *salami*, *słonina*, *rosół*, which does not seem unusual, as salt has been a widely used preservative, as well as seasoning. Examples of cognates include *salt*, *sól*, *sāl*; *słodki*, *saldus*, *salds*.

Examples of etymological doublets include *słony* and *słodki* (mixed etymological doublets of native-native origin); *sałata* and *sałatka* (derivational doublets of borrowed-borrowed origin); *sos* and *salsa* (pure etymological doublet of borrowed-borrowed origin); *sauce* and *salsa* (pure etymological doublet of borrowed-borrowed origin); *rosół* and *solanka* (mixed etymological doublets of native-native origin), *halit* and *sól*, *halit* and *salt* (mixed etymological doublets of native-borrowed origin), *salceson* and *salami*, *sausage* and *salami* (mixed etymological doublets of borrowed-borrowed origin).

2.3. PIE **seh₁-* 'to impress, insert; to sow, plant'

The PIE root **seh₁-* descended into Latin as *semen* 'seed of plants, animals, or men; race, inborn characteristic; posterity, progeny, offspring', figuratively 'origin, essence, principle, cause' (from the PIE **séh₁mn̥* 'seed') and is a source of numerous English words, such as *semen*, *disseminate* 'to scatter or sow for propagation', from the Latin *disseminatus*, the past participle of *disseminare* 'to spread abroad, disseminate', from *dis-* 'in every direction' + *seminare* 'to plant, propagate' (in Middle English *dissemen* 'to scatter' was present); *inseminate*, with an earlier meaning 'to cast as seed', which derived from *inseminatus*, the past participle of the Latin *inseminare* 'to sow, implant', from *in-* 'in'+ *semen* 'seed'; and in Polish, a borrowing *inse-minacja*

'artificial insemination' exists, which can be considered a lexical doublet of the originally Slavic *zapłodnienie* 'insemination', although with a specialised meaning pointing to 'artificial (and not natural)'.

Other Latin borrowings which exist both in English and Polish are *semi narium* 'a teaching method based on the active participation of students; a teacher or priest school', *seminar* 'a class at university in which a topic is discussed by a teacher and a small group of students', and *seminary* 'a training college for priests or rabbis'. The latter, attested in English since the mid-15th century, is a borrowing of the Latin *seminarium* 'plant nursery, seed plot', figuratively, 'breeding ground', from *seminarius* 'of seed', from *semen* 'seed'. *Seminary* and the Polish *seminarium* started to be used in the sense of 'a school training priests', later the word was applied to name any school, in Poland especially *seminarium duchowne* 'priest school', *seminarium nauczycielskie* 'teacher school'. *Seminarium/seminar* 'special group-study class for advanced students' was borrowed via the German *Seminar* 'group of students working with a professor'. Metaphorically the professor 'sows knowledge onto the seed plots of the students' minds'.

This Latin lexeme descended into French, which in turn again proved a source of loanwords in both Polish and English. The English adjective *seme* 'covered with a small, constantly repeating pattern' displays no Polish counterpart; it was borrowed from the French *semée* 'strewn, sprinkled', the past participle of *semer*, from the Latin *seminare* 'to sow', from *semen* 'seed'. An example where both Polish and English borrowed the same lexeme is *sezon/season* 'a period of the year; proper time, suitable occasion' (in English it displaced the native Middle English *sele* 'season', from the Old English *sǽl* 'season, time, occasion'), from the Old French *seison*, also *saison* 'season, date; right moment, appropriate time (for sowing)', from the Latin *satio* 'a sowing, planting', from the past participle stem of *serere* 'to sow'. The meaning evolved from the 'act of sowing' to the 'time of sowing',

especially 'spring, regarded as the chief sowing season' and finally was extended to *season* in general.

In English, the verb *to season* 'improve the flavour of by adding spices' is a borrowing from the Old French *assaisoner* 'to ripen, season', from *a-* 'to' + root of *season*, a metonymy of the notion that fruits become more palatable as they become ripe.

In Polish, there is also a great number of originally Slavic lexemes descended from the PIE root **sehᵢ-*, such as *siemię* 'seed' (usually used in the collocation *siemię lniane* 'flax-seed'), from the Proto-Slavic **sě́mę* 'seed', and from the PIE **séhᵢmn̥* 'seed'. *Siać* 'sow' (often used with prefixes: *dosiać*, *obsiać*, *nasiać*; frequentative *siewać*, usually with prefixes: *obsiewać*, *zasiewać*, *wysiewać*, *posiewać* (all naming sowing in different manners); the last example being a source of *posiew*, used especially as a medical term *posiew krwi/moczu* 'blood/urine culture', metaphorically "growing bacteria on a Petri dish similarly to growing seeds in a field", which derived from the Proto-Slavic **sěti/séjati*, *séjǫ* 'throw, sprinkle grain into properly prepared soil'. Other derivatives include *siew* 'a sowing', *siewca* 'sower; propagator'. *Siać* 'sift', usually used with a prefix *przesiać*, the frequentative *przesiewać* 'sift through' derives from the Proto-Slavic **sěti/séjati*, *séjǫ* 'sift', which is formally identical to *siać* 'sow', but semantics and disparate cognates in Baltic languages point to a primary separateness of these two lexemes; it is a descendant of the PIE root **sēį* - 'sift', a source of *sito* 'sieve' (from a proto-form **sehᵢy-tom*). A suffixed Proto-Slavic form **na-sěti* was a source of *nasiono* 'seed', *nasienie* 'semen', as well as a diminutive *nasionko* 'small seed', *nasienny*, used especially in a botanical term *okrytonasienne* 'flowering plant, Angiospermae' (*okryty* 'covered') or *nagonasienne* 'gymnosperms' (*nagi* 'naked').

In English, one can also find originally Germanic descendants of the PIE root, such as *sow*, from the Middle English *sowen*, from the Old English *sāwan* 'to scatter seed upon the ground or plant it in the earth, disseminate', from the Proto-Germanic **sēdiz* 'seed', from **sēaną* + **-þiz*, corresponding to the Proto-Indo-European **sehᵢtis*; 'seed', from the Old English

sǣd, from innovative Germanic **sēdą* 'seed', from **sh₁-tós*; and also a derivative *seedling* 'a young plant, especially one raised from seed and not from a cutting'.

Semantic change includes metaphor, as in the case of *seminarium/seminar* 'sowing knowledge, cultivating students' minds as if sowing seeds and cultivating a plot' and *disseminate* 'to spread widely, especially information; to metaphorically sow information widely'. The notion of 'throwing, spreading' seems to be an important part of the semantics of words connected with *seed, sow*, etc., which is nothing out of ordinary considering that the activities are connected with cultivating crops. The s pecialisation to 'seed of animals/humans' is visible in *semen/nasienie*, connecting crop cultivation with breeding.

The Polish/English cognates include *siemię* (*nasiono*) and *seed*; *siać* and *sow*; *siew* and *sowing*; *nasienie* and *semen*.

An example of a lexical doublet is *inseminacja* and *zapłodnienie*, with a specialisation of the borrowed lexeme to 'artificial insemination'. Etymological doublets include *nasienie* and *nasiono* (a pure etymological doublet of native-native origin); *siemię* and *nasiono* (a mixed etymological doublet of native-native origin); *semen* and *seed* (a mixed etymological doublet of native-borrowed origin).

2.4 PIE **ph₃i-* 'drink'

Another word root worth mentioning is the Proto-Indo-European **ph₃i-* 'drink'. It is the source of many Polish words descending from the Proto-Slavic **piti* 'to drink': *pić* 'to drink', *pijalnia* 'pub, a place for drinking' (with a suffix denoting 'a place where', as in *sypialnia* 'bedroom' from *sypiać*, frequentative form of *spać* 'sleep' + *alnia*), *piwo* 'beer' (the original meaning is 'a drink', later specialized into 'an alcoholic drink made from malt and water with the addition of hops'; the morphology is similar as in *paliwo* 'fuel' from *palić* 'burn'), from which a derivative, *piwnica* 'basement' earlier: 'a place for storing beer' was formed; *pitny* 'drinkable' (especially used in the expressions

miód pitny ‘mead’, *woda pitna* ‘potable water’); *pijak* ‘drunkard’, *pijany* ‘drunk’. *Poić* ‘to make one drink, to give to drink’ comes from the Proto-Slavic **pojiti* ‘to make one drink’ is a causative verb from the Proto-Slavic **piti* ‘to drink’, from which descends *poidło*, diminutive *poidełko* ‘drinker, drinking fountain’; *pijawka* ‘leech; a (blood)-drinking animal’, from the Proto-Slavic **pьjavъka*, from the Proto-Slavic **pьjati* ‘drink’, a frequentative verb. *Pić* ‘chafe, pinch; bother’ also descends from the Proto-Slavic **piti* ‘adhere firmly’ > ‘chafe, pinch’ with a metonymic change from ‘to drink’ > ‘to adhere, cling, stick’, probably through indirect contextual meanings ‘absorb liquid, moisture’, ‘drink clinging with one’s mouth’. There are also prefixed forms: *napój* ‘drink, soft drink’, *napitek* ‘drink, beverage’, *upojny* ‘intoxicating, entrancing’. *Pieróg* ‘dumpling’, comes from the Proto-Savic **pirogъ* ‘food made of dough consumed during feasts’, from the Proto-Slavic **pirъ* ‘drinking, libation, feast (with drinking)’.

It seems that in Germanic languages the PIE root did not survive, and thus only loanwords from Latin and French based on it can be found in English. In Latin, we observe *pōtāre* ‘to drink’, *pōtiō* ‘a potion, a drinking’, also ‘poisonous draught, magic potion’. Through the Old French *pocion* ‘potion, draught, medicine’, *poison, puison* ‘a drink, especially a medical drink’, later ‘a (magic) potion, poisonous drink’ it entered English creating *potion* and *poison*, respectively, the former entering English in c. 1300, the latter in c. 1200.

The Latin *bibere* ‘to imbibe’ is also ultimately a descendant of the PIE **ph₃i-* (from the Proto-Italic **pibō*, from the Proto-Indo-European **píbeti*/**píph₃eti* ‘to drink, to be drinking’) and an ancestor of a number of lexemes in English and Polish. In the former language we find *beverage*, a borrowing from the Old French *bevrage*, from the Old French *boivre* ‘to drink’ (in Modern French *boire* ‘to drink’); *imbibe,* from the Old French *imbiber, embiber* ‘to soak into’ and directly from the Latin *imbibere* ‘absorb, drink in, inhale’, from in- ‘into, in, on, upon’ + *bibere* ‘to drink’*; imbrue,* which first carried the meaning ‘to soak, steep’

and next, in the mid-15th century , 'to stain, soil', from the Old French *embruer* 'to moisten', which probably is a metathesis of *embevrer* 'give to drink, make drunk'; *beer* (most probably it was a sixth century. West Germanic monastic borrowing of the Vulgar Latin *biber* 'a drink, beverage', and because of that we find a number of related words in other Germanic languages) as well as *bib* 'a piece of cloth fastened around a child's neck which soaks up any spilt liquids or is worn while drinking to prevent the clothes from getting stained'.

In Polish, the Latin *bibere* was a source of words such as *bibuła* 'blotting paper, (paper) which soaks up any ink spills' (from the Latin *bibulus* 'drinking readily), as well as the colloquial *biba* 'a drinking party' from the Latin *bibō* 'I drink'.

An interesting borrowing descended from the common PIE root is *symposium*/*sympozjum* which has been recorded in English since the 16th century, when it meant 'gathering, party', from the Latin *symposium* 'a drinking party', from the Greek *symposion* 'party with drinking, a social gathering of the educated', from *syn-* 'together' and *posis* 'drinking', from a stem of Aeolic *ponen* 'to drink'. A symposium usually took place after dinner because the Greeks did not drink at meals. The pleasure of the meeting was intensified by intellectual and agreeable conversation, with the accompaniment of music or dancers and other entertainment.

Semantic change oscillates around the concept of drinking including: drinking people, animals, things one can drink or occasions that feature drinking, tools and containers which either metaphorically 'drink' or are used to store liquids for drinking. The concept of drinking alcohol is a pervasive one.

There are no Polish-English cognates, as only borrowings descended from the previously discussed root survived in English. An example of a Polish-French cognate is *pić* and *boire*.

Doublets include *napój* 'a drink', *napitek* 'a drink, beverage', *picie* 'a drink' and *piwo* 'beer; originally: a drink' (a mixed etymological quadruplet of native-native origin); *beverage*, *beer*, *potion*, *poison* (a mixed etymological quadruplet of borrowed-

borrowed origin), *biba* and *sympozjum* 'a meeting of the educated, originally: a drinking party' (a mixed etymological quadruplet of borrowed-borrowed origin). An example of a lexical doublet is *bibuła* and *krepina* 'crepe paper'.

3. Conclusion

English and Polish vocabulary, although considerably different at first glance – English being a Germanic language and Polish a Slavic one – shares many common features, both descending from the common ancestral Proto-Indo-European language. There is a considerable number of cognates (lexemes descended from the same ancestral root, without borrowing) in Polish and English, as well as doublets in both of these languages. Both Polish and English display doublets of various origins, showing a great diversity of borrowings, in the presented examples usually from Latin and French. Oftentimes, both Polish and English borrowed the same lexeme which suggests that in both languages a need for naming a new concept arose. This illustrates that concepts and a general view of the world and how it works are shared by speakers of both languages, which is not surprising, considering the relative geographical proximity of both language regions and their participation in Western European culture (though Polish reflects influences of the Eastern European and Asian cultures as well). Some of the words' meanings evolved in unpredictable ways, as was in the case of *słony* 'salty' and *słodki* 'sweet' – the concept of 'tastiness' winning with the apparent difference of the tastes themselves. Some of the associations seemed rather far-fetched at first, as in the case of *pieróg* 'dumpling' descending from the PIE **ph₃i-* 'drink', or *seminar* descending from the PIE **seh₁-* 'sow', but proved sensible when investigated in detail.

Investigating cognates in related languages is a valid source of information about the languages, their level of relatedness and the history of the languages we use today.

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Time conceptualisation: A case study of the colourful future

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Abstract

The following article discusses the phenomenon of time with reference to the colour domain. As it has been proved by a number of studies mentioned in the text, the phenomenon of time has been widely analysed from numerous perspectives; yet, the cognitive one is the most prominent and the most significant one for this work. As follows, the key idea for the discussion presented below is centred around the contribution of the colour domain as far as the conceptualisation of time is concerned. In order to prove the role of the colour domain for time conceptualisation, the analysis presented in the article is based on the concept of the future reference, which is exemplified by a comparative study between English and Polish corpus data. The major conclusion from the analysis is that although the colours used for conceptualisation of the future reference are rather limited in their representation, they are still responsible for modifying the qualitative grounds of time-namely they are responsible for introducing axiological aspects of time.

Keywords

time conceptualisation, the colour domain, corpus analysis, axiology

Konceptualizacja czasu: Studium przypadku barwnej przyszłości

Abstrakt

Niniejszy artykuł dotyczy zjawiska czasu w odniesieniu do domeny kolorów. Jak zostało udowodnione w pracach wymienionych poniżej, zjawisko czasu jest szeroko analizowane; jednakże, perspektywa kognitywna jest najbardziej dominującą i najbardziej znaczącą dla niniejszej pracy. Aby udowodnić wpływ domeny kolorów na konceptualizację czasu, analiza przedstawiona w tym tekście odnosi się do rozumienia przyszłości na podstawie badania korpusowego, w którym porównane zostały dane językowe z języka polskiego i języka angielskiego. Najważniejszym wnioskiem z w/w analizy jest fakt, iż reprezentacja kolorów używanych w konceptualizacji przyszłości nie jest liczna, natomiast w znacznej mierze kolory przyczyniają się do zmian jakościowych w konceptualizacji czasu- a mianowicie są one odpowiedzialne za wprowadzenie aspektów aksjologicznych.

Słowa kluczowe

konceptualizacja czasu, domena kolorów, analiza korpusowa, aksjologia

> Of all the scientific intangibles that shape our lives, time is arguably the most elusive – and the most powerful. As formless as space and being, those other unseen realms of abstraction on which we are helplessly dependent, it nonetheless affects all material things [...]. Without it we could barely measure change, for most things that change on this Earth and in the universe happen in time and are governed by it. Stealthy, imperceptible, time makes its presence known by transforming our sense of it into sensation. For though we cannot see, touch, or hear time, we observe the regularity of what appears to be its passage in our seasons, in the orchestrated shift from dawn to dusk to dark, and in the aging of our bodies. We feel its pulsing beat in our hearts and hear its silence released in the precise ticking of a clock (Langone 2000: 7).

1. Introduction

As the above quotation presents, the phenomenon of time, being an invisible and omnipresent background for our life, has a significant influence on the way particular concepts are construed, perceived and interpreted. Among innumerable approaches that explain this phenomenon, the perspectives that are adopted focus on the psychological aspects of time (Husserl 1928, Waliński 2014), ego-based models or time-based models (Evans 2004, 2007)), metaphorical realisations (Lakoff and Johnson 1999), or philosophical ones (Łukasiewicz 1961, Oaklander 2011), to name only a few. As Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (2016) points out, it is difficult to observe time in a direct way thus it is a natural thing to use different conceptual domains to provide frames for organising and understanding time references. The major focus of this work is to present how time is conceptualized by means of the conceptual domains of colours, with special attention paid to the future reference. Thus, the aim of this article is to contribute to research about tenseless time by addressing the following question: What does the construal of time reveal by means of the colour domain as far as time perception is concerned? In order to find an answer to this question, the concept of the future will be studied on the basis of a comparative study of data from English and Polish.

2. Time construal

The linguistic and semantic conceptualizations of time are very often presented as the discussion of time‘s passage (prototypically in the Western culture from the past to the future – thus, imposing a linear order of events). Such conceptualization is connected with both the flow of time as well as time units that, to a significant extent, are culturally conditioned. On the one hand, the discussion of time subsequently provokes the question of temporal horizons; on the other hand, it must touch

upon various conceptual representations by means of which time becomes a concept to access and cognize.

Since time has been a concept analysed and discussed from a number of perspectives, for the sake of this article only some of them have been selected. As far as the phenomenological approach is concerned, according to Husserl (1928), one should analyse time with reference to memories or expectations, thus the present, past or future references are properties of consciousness. Yet, Kastenbaum (1994) develops these ideas further and proposes that basic elements underlie time perspective which include:

(a) protension: the property explaining temporal extension by considering what will happen in the future;
(b) retrotension: the property explaining temporal extension by considering what happened in the past;
(c) density: the property that allows one to group together past or future events;
(d) coherence: the property based on the cognitive past-present-future organisation of time;
(e) directionality: the property that allows one to perceive movement towards the future.

The above mentioned properties signal that people impose boundaries on the flow of time, which, exemplified by a human life, is organised around past or present experiences as well as around the ones that are yet to come (which suggests also a psychological and sociological perspective). As Jaszczolt (2012) points out, many factors (including culture, society, history or geography) are emphasised by linguistic expressions presenting a temporal reference; however, these lexical representations are linked to the concepts of anticipating, remembering or simply experiencing. Further, Jaszczolt (2012) underlines that although the time construal may refer to real time (or not) and it may be culture-specific or universal, it may also consist either of primitive units or it may be perceived as an atomic whole. Nevertheless, Davies (2012: 11) claims that:

> The labels 'past' and 'future' may legitimately be applied to temporal directions, just as 'up' and 'down' may be applied to spatial directions, but talk of the past and the future is as meaningless as referring to the up and the down.

As given in the above quotation, labelling time reference is conditioned by the contextal and situational requirements that demand certain linguistic realisations. Yet, Davies (2012) finds no point in talking about the past or future. Nonetheless, following Łukasiewicz (1961), the present is real to the extent that it is actual and it exists here and now. The past then is perceived as real only if it influences the present (otherwise it is only a possibility) and the future is real on the condition that one can project into it or anticipate it from the present.

Another perspective, still more significant for the present work, is the one proposed by cognitive linguistics. Lakoff and Johnson (1999:138) highlight that in defining time we follow the metaphorical conceptualisation enhanced by metonymies, among which one can find: "successive iterations of a type of event stand for intervals of time". Additionally, they (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999:139) claim that "literal time is a matter of event comparison" where "most of our understanding of time is a metaphorical version of our understanding of motion in space". Thus, one of the most commonly applied mechanisms to conceptualize time is the use of spatial metaphorical schemas to present events or speakers as moving objects. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 151) explain this conceptualisation in the following way:

> Every day we take part in 'motion-situations' - that is, we move relative to others and others move relative to us. We automatically correlate that motion (whether by us or by others) with those events that provide us with our sense of time, what we call 'time-defining events'. In short, we correlate time-defining events with motion […]. Thus, in a motion-situation, motion is correlated with time-defining events.

According to Evans (2004: 46-49), this correlation procedure is based on the mechanism of "experiential correlation" and "perceptual resemblance". As Marchetti (2007) explains, the former initiates conceptual associations because of correlations between two different kinds of experience, whereas the latter's function is to establish links with reference to the perceived resemblance and characteristics shared between the concepts. Further, Marchetti (2007) also highlights that this experiential correlation and perceptual resemblance are a starting point for context-dependent meanings which, expressed by particular lexical representations and by means of recurrence, serve as grounds for implicatures or situated references. Evans (2004:99-101) calls it "a pragmatic strengthening" since once certain implicature is by means of convention linked to a particular form, the sense that results from it can be applied in another context not necessarily related to the original one.

Additionally, Evans (2004: 31) points out that "temporality is a real and directly perceived subjective experience" that is paraphrased as a subjective sensory-motor phenomenon. In order to underpin this phenomenon, people use "perceptual moments" (Evans 2004: 22-27) which serve as an operational basis for the perceptual processing of time. The most significant role is ascribed by Evans (2004: 108) to *duration* which is defined as "the interval holding or extending between the two boundary (beginning and ending) events" and which, at the same time, reveals the primary durational nature of time.

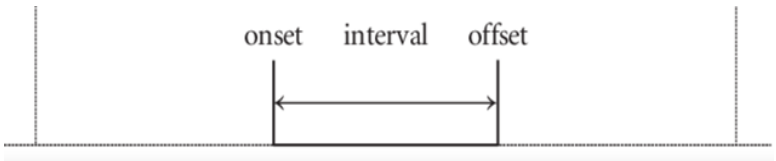

Figure 1
(adapted from Evans 2004)

As Figure 1 illustrates, the duration concept may serve as grounds for the conceptualisation of time, which is further supported by Evans (2004: 112) who claims that "it is our awareness of and ability to assess magnitude of duration which first and foremost allows us to distinguish past from present".

However, as far as the conceptualisation of time is concerned, Evans (2007: 733–734) links it with temporal cognition via both subjective and real temporal experiences. He (Evans 2007: 735) continues by stating that this subjective experience is connected with our ability to access and sense duration, simultaneity and points of time. Further, Evans (2007) proposes cognitive models for temporal cognition, namely the Moving Time Model and the Moving Ego Model. In the former, Evans (2007: 751) argues for a representation where the ego's position is correlated with the experience of the present and, at the same time, it functions as the reference point for other temporal locations of other temporal concepts (see Figure 2).

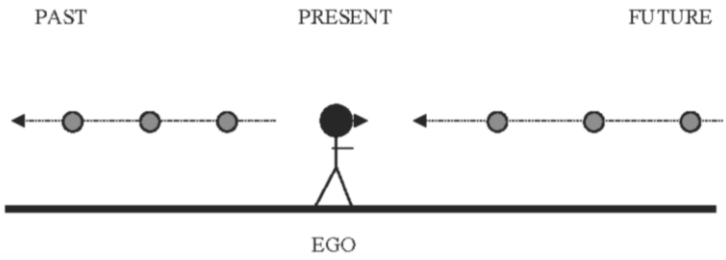

Figure 2
(adapted from Evans 2007)

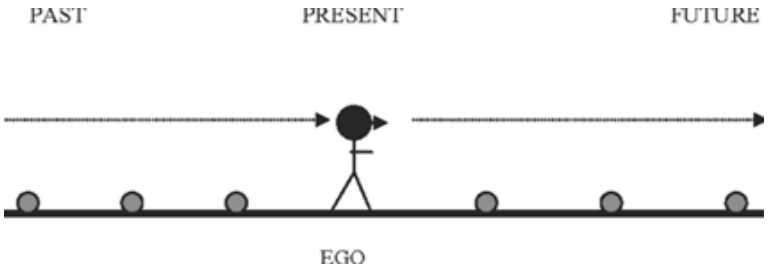

Figure 3
(adapted from Evans 2007)

In the Moving Ego Model, these are the temporal events that serve as locations, ergo it is only the ego that moves – see Figure 3 (Evans 2007: 753).

Another cognitive approach is exemplified by Radden and Dirven (2007: 304) who suggest that time and space are inseparable. They (Radden and Dirven 2007: 304) explain this mutual interdependence by relating it to absolute reference frames and relative frames (where reference objects relate relatively to physical space and objects). As follows, Radden and Dirven (2007: 307) state that what counts in our spatial cognition is the basic relationship between a thing and its measured property and this relationship is defined as the property of extent. In their opinion, extent means a static relationship (e.g length), a dynamic relationship (e.g distance made in the result of the motion) or a static relationship that can be recognised as dynamic (e.g. distance covered in metaphorically represented motion) (Radden and Dirven 2007:307).

Nevertheless, Jaszczolt (2009) advocates the view that the conceptualisation of time as well as physical time must be defined with reference to modality. In her opinion, if temporality is expressed, it presents a given degree of distancing from certainty, usually triggered by separating oneself from the here and now, with 'zero' degree of detachment for present experiences. Yet, the past will have its stronger or weaker representations, with the future or the present having strong or weak representations as well (frequently depending on evidence).

3. Adjectives

Bearing in mind that the research question for the present work focuses on collocations connected with the future in terms of colours, providing some general understanding of the lexical category of adjectives is justified. Since it has been a widely discussed topic from a number of perspectives, for the sake of this article the classification of adjectives presented by Hornby (1989) will be discussed in the following part. In his definition

of adjectives, he focuses on their function, namely on their facilitating the reconstruction of the naïve world by showing the presence of reality in consciousness or organising realities in the objective world. In the result, Hornby (1989) presents the following classification of adjectives:

(1) adjectives connected with the perception by senses (visual, auditory, olfactory, taste, touch or all senses used together at one time);
(2) adjectives connected with the perception of time;
(3) adjectives connected with human ability;
(4) adjectives that are connected with emotional characteristics;
(5) adjectives connected with ethical, moral or psychological qualities of a person with reference to negative and positive evaluation;
(6) adjectives connected with abstract signs denoting abstract concepts;
(7) adjectives connected with the human state, the order of objects in the real world or such subject matter that demands muscle tension or the result of such tension.

Without any doubt, the above classification reveals the conceptual/semantic fields that reflect human cognitive practices, especially their pragmatic value. What is meant by it is that, although prototypically from a cognitive point of view, adjectives are scanned summarily (Langacker 2008), they signify an evaluation component in accordance with the practical importance namely by means of linking associative reasoning performed by particular language users. Such language behaviour aims at solving the question of the values and anti-values within a given group, ergo enhancing the unity of this group. It should be noted then that ethno-specific features of a language reflect not only a certain worldview, but also the method of knowing it, thus marking the relationship between language and thought. Also, as Stanulewicz, Komorowska and Pawłowski (2014) point out, the cultural elements touch upon colour symbolism which, in turn, is represented by means of fixed phrases.

As far as the research question of the present work is concerned, it seems that adjectives representing colours to mark time characteristics and time horizons (undoubtedly by means of some metaphorical conceptualisations) fall under a few of these categories. Obviously they belong to the first category, since colour perception is a sensual experience. But clearly their function is that of adjectives from the second category, namely to help with perceiving and conceptualising time. As well as that, some axiological values are frequently attributed to colours, on the basis of cultural, psychological or linguistic features, so in this aspect they bear resemblance to group four and five of the above classification.

4. Case study

Since the core interest of the present work is in revealing time conceptualisations by means of the colour domain, special attention will be paid to the way the future reference is represented.

As it has been shown above, the common conceptualization is via imposing temporal horizons with reference to subject-object-movement ideas. However, in this article the focus is not on establishing conceptualisations for time horizons but rather on revealing the function of colour modifiers in temporal expressions connected with the future. Additionally, it will be shown that depending on the particular conceptualizations, selected lexical representations carry axiological charge connected with time, making this concept lose its neutral status as far as its perception is concerned.

4.1. Methodology

In order to examine the lexical representations of collocations for the word *future*, Sketch Engine (available at https:// app.sketchengine.eu) has been used. By means of this tool, the

following English corpora (accessed from January to March 2021) have been browsed:

(1) British National Corpus (BNC);
(2) British National Corpus (BNC) tagged with CLAWS;
(3) Brexit Corpus;
(4) British Web 2007 Corpus (ukWaC);
(5) English Web 2018 Corpus (enTenTen2018);
(6) British Academic Written English (BAWE) Corpus.

In order to see if certain conceptualisations of the future are language universal, the comparison has been made with the Polish word *przyszłość*, on the basis of the data included in Polish Web 2012 (plTenTen12, RFTagger).

Since the focus of the research is on the collocations connected with the *future* perception of time by means of colours, only the data where the *future* is modified by a number of adjectives (adjective predicate + future - Adj. N) have been taken into account. In the visualisations below, the bigger the word circle is, the more frequently it occurs in the corpus.

4.2. Visualisations

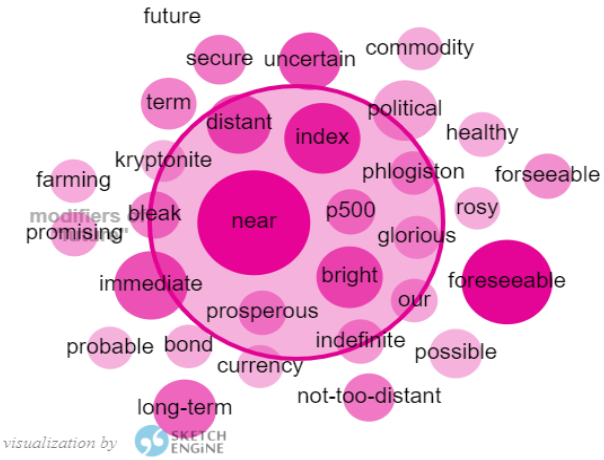

Figure 4
British National Corpus (BNC)

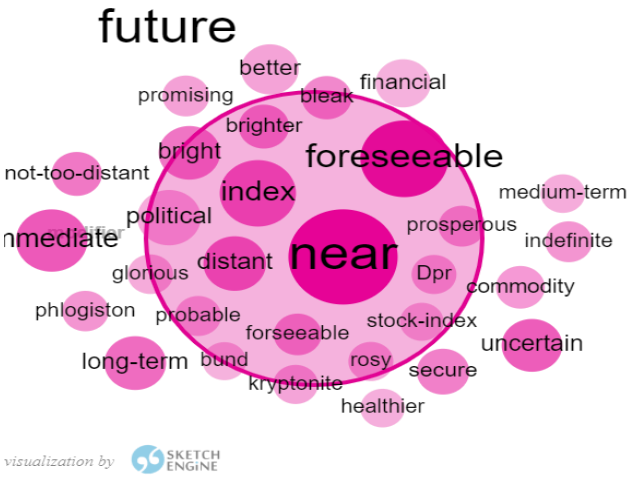

Figure 5
British National Corpus (BNC) tagged with CLAWS

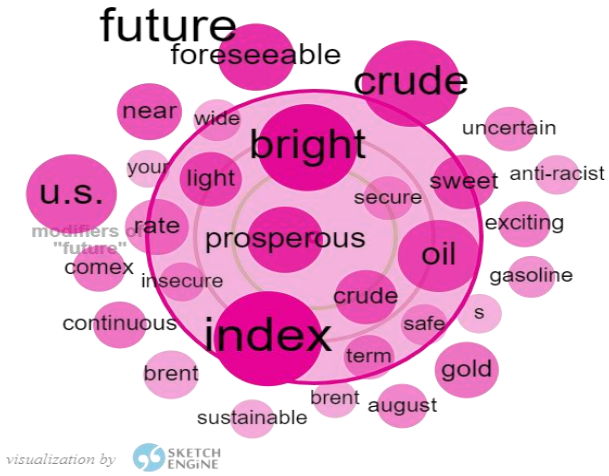

Figure 6
Brexit Corpus

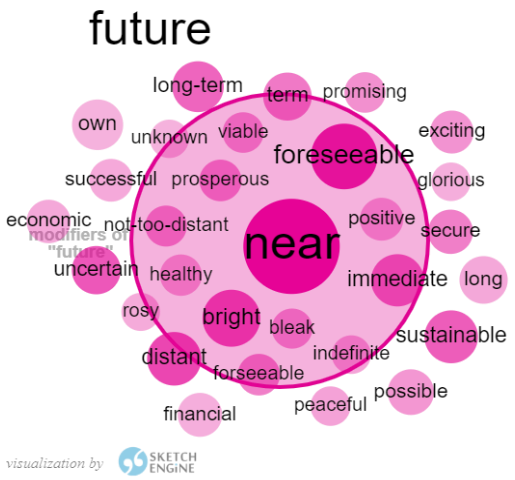

Figure 7
British Web 2007 Corpus (ukWaC)

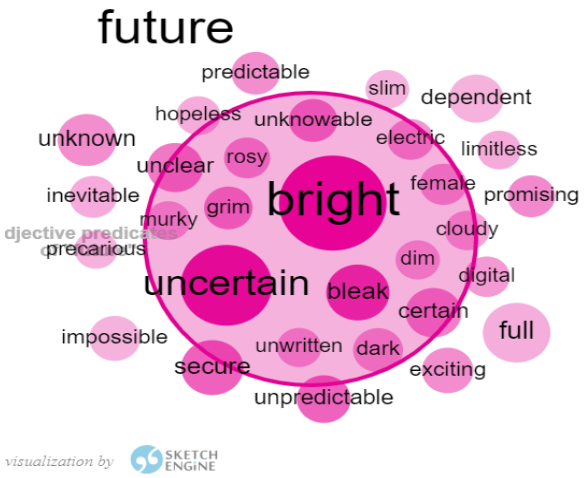

Figure 8
English Web 2018 Corpus (enTenTen2018)

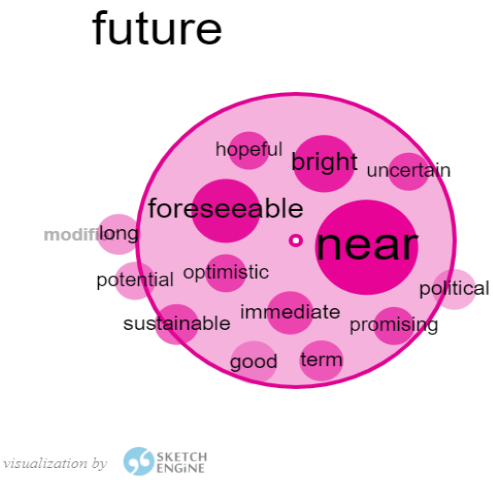

Figure 9
British Academic Written English (BAWE) Corpus

Figure 10
Polish Web 2012 (plTenTen12, RFTagger)

4.3. Data analysis/ interpretation

The above results confirm that the most frequently used conceptualisation of *future* is realised by means of the metaphorical perceptions of time in terms of the distance covered in space: for English, the adjective *near* is used in a large word circle in the BNC, the BNC tagged with CLAWS, the British Web 2007, and the British Academic Written English corpus. Other adjectives, appearing relatively often in the above data and modifying the future by means of distance relations are: *distant* and *not-too-distant*. However, a more interesting case concerns the adjective *foreseeable* because this modifier of future definitely refers to the group of adjectives where there is the use of senses in order to represent time reference – in other words, the future is metaphorically represented as an object (the process of reification) which can be seen in a way that the better the vision, the closer the time reference.

As far as the use of the colour domain in the conceptualisation of time is concerned, for the English corpora discussed above, the results prove that in the Brexit Corpus and in the English Web 2018 Corpus *future* is most of all *bright* (this adjective is also present in the other previously mentioned English corpora but its prominence is not as obvious). Other adjectives connected with colour perception and the future are *light*, *rosy*, *dark*, *bleak*, *gloomy* and *murky*. Except for *rosy* which bears some colour saturation – similar to pink, the rest of the adjectives are placed on the ends of the scale of light-dark. Yet, 'rosy' bears also another interpretation with reference to the future-namely it is frequently translated as 'promising'.

Taking into account the Polish Web 2012 corpus, the results are to a large extent similar to the ones for English. The adjective that metaphorically modifies *future (przyszłość)* the most often is *niedaleki (near)* and it exemplifies temporal horizons by means of the distance covered by a motion. Other instances of adjectives that support the spatial understanding of time relations in Polish are *bliski (close)*, *daleki (far)*, *odległy (distant)*,

nieodległy (not-too distant). Thus, similarly to English, Polish terms show that as far as space relations are used with reference to time, they are based on the same metaphorical understanding of the future as an object (the process of reification) that is located at some position ahead of the ego.

In addition, it should be noted that the application of the colour domain in Polish in shaping time reference is also similar to the English one. Namely, the most often used adjective that modifies the future in terms of colours is *świetlany,* which can be translated into English as *bright*, *luminous* or *of light*. There are also two more adjectives that are based on the colour perception, which are *jasny* (*light, bright*) and *niejasny (dim, faint)*. One must remember as well that the Polish *niejasny* has another understanding of something not being clearly expressed. Undoubtedly, Polish and English share one more similarity as far as the use of colours for future time conceptualisation is concerned- the adjectives are placed on opposite ends of the light-dark scale, yet in Polish only this opposition is present. This Polish-English resemblance is also visible in the fixed phrase *widzieć przyszłość w czarnych barwach / to see the future in dark colours.*

A natural question that comes to mind is what colours tell us about time conceptualisation and understanding. In the opinion of the present author, the conceptualisation of time by means of colours is responsible for the qualitative change in the concept of time itself. To be more precise, the future reference of the concept of time by means of the light/ dark differentiation adds axiological value to this concept. As has already been mentioned, colours are frequently assigned a symbolic meaning. It is common knowledge that the cultural symbolism connected with the adjective *light* is that it is associated with positive values and the cultural symbolism connected with the adjective *dark* is negatively associated. Thus, when modifying the concept of the future time by means of the colour domain, the perception of future (and what follows the conceptualisation of these terms) is supplemented with the axiological charge, mostly positive or

negative as presented by the above data from English and Polish.

5. Conclusions

The above discussion of the concept of time is centred around the ideas by means of which the concept in question seems more tangible or simply more defined. As it has been presented in the theoretical part of this article, there are numerous approaches and perspectives that contribute to the explanation of this phenomenon; yet, for the sake of this discussion, only the ones that have most significantly contributed to the present reasoning have been selected. The research question assumed that attention should be paid to the colour domain which serves as a useful tool for the conceptualisation of the future reference. As has been proved by the analysis of data from English and Polish corpora, there are two dominant terms that mark colour distinctions, namely these are light and dark. Another significant concluding point refers to the fact that the role of the colour terms used for conceptualisation of the future temporal reference is to introduce axiological charge, ergo to enhance some of the culture-based symbolism of colours.

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The role of working memory in acquiring new structures and lexicon when learning English as a second language

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Abstract

The following paper discusses working memory as it functions during the acquisition of a second language by children. It analyses the results of a study conducted over a 12 month period on a group of 12 Polish children ages 10 to 14, learning English as a second language. The focus of this longitudinal study was the role that the verbal working memory plays in the acquisition of new structures; namely, the extent to which processing new information in working memory is essential to learning grammar and the possibility of developing strategies of using working memory itself during the learning process. The method adopted was a comparison of several oral tasks, including repetition and postponed repetition. As the conclusion to the discussion, certain didactic implications are presented, such as the need to control and modify the didactic process as to the degree to which it relies on working memory.

Keywords

verbal working memory, short-term and long-term memory, sensory memory, reproductive vs. reconstructive memory, postponed repetition

Rola pamięci roboczej w pozyskiwaniu nowych struktur i słownictwa podczas nauki angielskiego jako drugiego języka

Abstrakt

Artykuł omawia kwestię werbalnej pamięci roboczej wykorzystywanej w trakcie przyswajania gramatyki języka drugiego przez dzieci. Analizuje on wyniki badań przeprowadzonych w ciągu 12 miesięcy na grupie dziesięciorga dzieci w wieku 10–14 lat od lutego 2020 do lutego 2021, które uczyły się języka angielskiego. To badanie skupia się na roli jaką odgrywa werbalna pamięć robocza dla przyswajania nowych struktur; konkretnie stopnia w jakim pamięć robocza jest wykorzystywana w trakcie przyswajania gramatyki oraz możliwości rozwoju strategii nauczania, aby zwiększyć efektywność wdrażania nowych struktur. Badanie polegało na porównaniu rozmaitych ćwiczeń ustnych, w tym powtórzeń I opóźnionych powtórzeń. We wnioskach przedstawiono sugestie dydaktyczne związane z potrzebą regulowania stopnia obciążenia pamięci roboczej w trakcie wdrażania gramatyki.

Słowa kluczowe

werbalna pamięć robocza, pamięć krótkotrwała I długotrwała, pamięć sensoryczna, pamięć odtwórcza I rekonstrukcyjna (mechaniczna i logiczna), opóźnione powtórzenie

1. Introduction

During any language processing, verbal working memory, understood as a mental capacity to store and make mental operations on linguistic elements, plays a crucial role. Interestingly

enough, it is in the course of language learning that its role appears most important (Gathercole 2007). Second language learning, likewise, relies on our ability to hold and process elements of language in working memory, but the strain on it becomes far heavier because of the amount of linguistic information that may be new or uncertain. While extensive research into working memory has been conducted within the area of language processing, it has mostly focused on the use of the first language (Gathercole 2007) or the more general processes of an already bilingual mind (Kurcz, Okuniewska 2011). A further insight is still needed into the mental process of acquiring and internalising new structures or vocabulary from the point of view of verbal memory.[1] That is why the following paper analyses the stages that a newly acquired element follows in terms of different types of memory, and shows what the process reveals about the degree to which this element has been learnt.

2. Phases of memory – an explanation of key terms

In second language learning, the stages of semantic memory are analogous to other forms of language processing, i.e. sensory memory, short-term, working and long-term memory (Kurcz 1992). In this distinction, the most immediate sensory memory (the echo for auditory and the iconic for visual information) happens without any conscious processing of the information received. It is this stage of the reception of any incoming data that accounts for our ability to copy or repeat a word, or a series of numbers or letters right after hearing or seeing them, without really understanding them. However, in order to repeat a particular element, it first needs to be successfully recognised. As a result, when one is exposed to an unknown word in a second language, there appears the question as to the extent to which

[1] While such applied linguistic approaches as Arabski (1996) require modern development, an insight from the fields of both SLA and cognitive psychology is still needed (Wen 2012) as it would provide an opportunity for a more direct practical use.

not knowing the word one has heard may, or may not, hamper the sensory stage of memory.

The next stage is short-term memory (STM), that is, the stage in which we become conscious of the information received, but do not yet process it. In practical terms, our attention must be directed to a given piece of information to filter out the distracting additional elements, which, in turn makes us aware of the incoming information. During L2 learning, the awareness of each new item becomes complicated when a student comes across too many confusing elements. Each new unknown item distracts attention away from what has already been heard and makes it much harder to store the items in the STM. Experiments indicate that the capacity of the STM is 7±2 elements of anything, be it a number, a word or a letter (Miller 1956); however, it was later discovered that recognisability and meaningfulness of the items stored have an influence on how much can be kept in the STM (Kurcz 1992).[2] This can further indicate that L2 words are less likely to reach the STM if they are not actively known.

Once we reach the stage where the elements need to be stored and attended to sufficiently long to conduct mental operations on them, (to calculate on them, use them for other purposes than originally intended etc.) we reach the stage of working memory. In second language learning, we make use of working memory in most learning situations, from making a passive transformation, to answering listening comprehension tasks, or in speaking – when embedding one clause into another, up to revising larger parts of material for exams. Gathercole (2007) claims that the verbal working memory becomes even more important in learning an aspect of language than it is in processing

[2] Cowan (2005) argued for three to five items, with the same proviso that the meaningful chunking of the elements, mental strategies or rehearsing the elements to be remembered can lengthen that number. It should be noted at this point that the term *working memory* does not have a consistent definition among different scholars, and what Cowan (2005) refers to as the *working memory*, in this discussion is part of the *STM*.

it. Learning an aspect of L2 relies on working memory even more.

In order to see how this reliance on the verbal working memory changes, depending on the structure of a sentence, be it in L1 or L2, we can compare the following two sentences:

(1) Angela McCarthy will give a lecture on her new book at the local library.
(2) Angela McCarthy, who has recently published a new book, will give a lecture at the local library.

We can immediately see that (2) requires working memory to a greater extent since the subject and the predicate of the main clause are separated by a relative clause, which forces the speaker and the listener to keep more items in mind before reaching the predicate.[3]

Let us now see the same sentence from the perspective of a Polish L2 learner, who might not be familiar with the word *lecture* in English. His or her attention becomes distracted by associations with the similar sounding Polish word *lektura* (meaning 'required reading') and can become confused by what, to his or her mind, might be a double appearance of the same meaning – 'lecture' (misunderstood as a 'required reading') and 'her new book'. We can see how in learning a second language, the working memory is additionally burdened. Various obstacles, such as new meanings of words (but also unrecognised sound distinctions, unknown structures and numerous additional distractions) require much more of the working memory. Each confusing item is like an unknown variable X in a mathematical formula. Whenever more of those unknown elements appear, the number of variables multiply, contributing to what has been described by Penny Ur (1991) as a "compulsion to

[3] In the present analysis, the *working memory* will be described in accordance with Baddeley (1986), where its crucial components: *central executive*, *phonological loop, visuo-spatial sketch pad* and *episodic buffer* contribute to its operation and connect it to the other stages of memory; namely, *sensory memory*, *STM* and *LTM*.

understand everything', i.e. a psychological need, when exposed to a second language, to decipher all of the elements before attempting to grasp the meaning of the whole utterance.

The last stage is the long-term memory (LTM), which requires the full internalisation of new notions into the cognitive structure in the case of semantic memory. In the case of procedural memory, its presence is displayed by a fully automatic performance, i.e. complete fluency combined with a good speed of production (the autonomous stage according to Anderson 1985). The first (semantic) aspect of long term memory is related mostly to the knowledge of the system – the linguistic competence, while the other procedural aspect is related to the communicative skills, i.e. the linguistic performance.

In teaching practice, it is rare for the taught material to reach the LTM directly. In the case of skills, it takes place through practice, by going through the cognitive and associative stages to the autonomous one (Kurcz 1992) and in the case of semantic knowledge it usually happens through a change in the cognitive structure (understanding) and repetition.[4] In either case, the working memory needs to be engaged first, and the degree of its individual development (especially in its verbal aspect) may to some extent determine the efficiency of learning.

The study that has been conducted and is presented in this paper aims at verifying two questions; firstly, how much having a well-developed working memory (in the sense of having efficient strategies for using it) can help someone in learning a second language; and secondly, whether it is possible to develop those strategies without disrupting the process of L2 learning. In other words, the study aimed to discover if it is really worthwhile to turn attention to the development of verbal working memory in one's students and if so, how to achieve this.

[4] Ausubel (1967) and Brunner (1971) described extensively the most efficient ways of changing the cognitive structure of learners and engaging the LTM by formulating the approaches known as *meaningful learning* and *discovery learning* respectively.

3. The study and its participants

As has already been mentioned, 12 participants, between the ages of 10 and 14 (at the time of the study), were asked to perform various linguistic tasks over a period of twelve months between February 2020 and February 2021. There were six males and six females in the group. All were native speakers of Polish and they all were learning English as a second language. Their level of English ranged between A1 and B1,[5] with three of the participants making sufficient progress over the time of the study to make a shift within the framework from A2 to B1. They displayed a variety of skills and handicaps which, to some extent, may have influenced the results of the study. Each of these factors will be addressed in the analysis of the results.

As has already been indicated, during any L2 production the level of knowledge of the second language considerably influences how much we burden the working memory, as each confusing word or structure places demands on it. Therefore, an additional task was undertaken, this time in the participants' native language, to verify the extent to which the observed results were the reflection of their verbal working memory and the extent to which they depended on their command of English. This task, conducted in the form of postponed repetition of one passage from the Polish translation of A. A Milne's *The House at Pooh Corner* [*Chatka Puchatka*] (1948) revealed discrepancies in one student as to the verbal working memory and their command of English, as was shown later during the actual study. Out of the five students who showed symptoms of certain learning deficits, such as dyslexia or attention deficits, four conducted the task with difficulties suggestive of weaker verbal memory (not being able to keep a longer Polish sentence in mind, replacing many phrases with synonyms, and changing the structures of the sentences heard). One child, however, showed no such problems in the Polish task, repeating all sentences correctly, with only two paraphrases of individual words.

[5] *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR).

The fact that in the majority of cases (both with and without learning deficits) there was a correlation between the verbal working memory in the L1 and the students' ease of learning in the L2 (with one striking exception) may not only indicate the importance of verbal working memory as a factor in learning an L2, but also the presence of other important factors that are at play.

Among other things, this preliminary task in the students' L1 confirmed the earlier findings that such factors as dyslexia, attention disorders, etc. complicate the operations of the working memory. The c*entral executive*, the component of the working memory which coordinates various forms of attention, is inevitably forced to perform more operations when the speaker has attention deficits, while various forms of dyslexia involve difficulties in transforming spoken and written forms, where the *phonological loop* and *visuo-spacial pad*, (the remaining components of the working memory) are essential (Kurcz 2011: 99-100). The group included one participant diagnosed with dyslexia, one with attention disorders and one with both. Additionally, two participants who showed such consistent similarities in the types of mistakes they were making to those of the dyslectic subjects, were treated as such, under the assumption that, though not officially diagnosed, they did have learning deficits, similar to the subjects diagnosed with them.

The actual study was comprised of a variety of oral tasks that aimed to verify how well a particular learner of English coped with different aspects of memory, with a particular focus on working memory. The study's other aim was to examine the potential for change in this respect and the correlation between the degree of improvement of the working memory and the participants' command of English. The tasks included the following:

- repeating individual words, known and unknown earlier;
- reading sentences with known and unknown structures;

- repeating spoken sentences of varied length and complexity (postponed repetition);
- making grammatical transformations of written sentences of varied length and complexity;
- speaking with a varied degree of authenticity.

The tasks were organised in a rising order of the expected demands on the working memory as well as the command of English.

4. Types of memory and types of knowledge

When processing a second language, its different levels become revealed, i.e. various degrees of how active or passive a particular aspect of the L2 is. This feature is closely linked to the previously mentioned aspect of the working memory, i.e. the central executive, especially with regard to the coordination of attention. The active knowledge of a particular word or structure will be uttered correctly whether or not full attention is directed to it, while the passive knowledge can reveal itself when additional hints direct the students' attention to a particular structure.[6]

4.1. Distinguishing between phases of memory

The types of tasks mentioned above aimed at revealing two things; firstly, the phase of memory engaged at a particular point and secondly, the state of knowledge of a particular participant. As an illustration, when a participant was to read:

(3) he did not speak any foreign language

and instead said:

(3a) *he speak any foreign language,

[6] Needless to say, other hints to help find mental links to retrieve a particular piece of information are frequently necessary; however, attention remains the prerequisite in these cases.

it suggested a lapse in the STM but, at the same time, could have indicated that the past simple and present simple tenses may not have become a part of the LTM and the active knowledge of the speaker's English. This, in turn, suggested a need to practice such a structure more. If that interpretation is correct, we could make a claim that the working memory was burdened in this case.

However, if this type of mistake coincided with other mistakes of the same type, i.e. omissions of words resulting in mistaken forms in past simple negations, it gave grounds for claiming that the learner failed to actively know the past simple tense. If mistakes persisted, in spite of drawing his or her attention to it, the problem in question was most likely the passive knowledge as well. In such cases, conducting exercises which would burden the working memory would have been of no use, since its full demands were placed on understanding the structure and not on remembering actual sentences.

4.2. Reconstructive and reproductive type of memory

Another way of verifying the phase of memory was to compare the results of subjects' tasks against the type of strategy they involved when retrieving a particular word, phrase or sentence from their memory; namely, whether the subjects employed *reconstructive* or *reproductive* memory. Reconstructive memory is employed when we store certain abstract principles which lead us to the original matter to be recalled, while reproductive memory happens when we store an image or a given material in exactly the way we saw, heard or read it (Reber 1985: 431). Typically, the reconstructive memory coincides with more mistakes or differences from the original but also with longer retention while the reproductive memory means repeating something verbatim, exactly the way we heard or read it; not necessarily with understanding. As a result, the material stored in this way is easier to forget.

5. The findings

In the case of the tasks conducted in the study described here, the reconstructive memory would be employed when the subject focused on the meaning of the text to be repeated, which provided him or her with links to the original material. The reproductive memory was mostly revealed in the focus on words rather than meaning, which led the subject to produce nonsensical, ungrammatical utterances, without realising it. Since reconstructive memory coincides with the necessity to conduct mental operations on the text to be retrieved, the symptoms of using reconstructive memory (such as focusing on the meaning of the original text) were indicative of the working memory. Using the reproductive strategy could have been symptomatic of the sensory memory or the STM. As in the preliminary task in the L1, such symptoms were synonyms and paraphrases. However, in the case of a second language, which posed far more lexical and structural difficulties, a few additional strategies were noticed, such as simplifications and omissions.

5.1. Simplifying structures

Simplifications occurred when the subject recognised or guessed at the meaning but did not have the active knowledge of the structure used, and so replaced it with the one he or she knew. An example of this situation was repeating the sentence:

(4a) After I had sat down, he said that business was very bad.

as

(4b) *After I sat down, he said that business is very bad.

This shows that the subject retrieved the meaning but was not familiar with the past perfect tense or the rules of reported speech, so he or she used the known structures instead. Other

examples of this phenomenon in the case of the same and other students were: replacing future continuous with future simple, *if* with *when* in the case of the first conditional, or instead of saying *began to unload – unloaded* etc.

An important feature of this type of mistake is that the student recreates a meaningful utterance with the knowledge that he or she has. Although in a number of cases this strategy coincided with other problems, resulting in serious mistakes, this attempt can still be interpreted as a successful way of coping with gaps in knowledge and memory. As such, it should be understood as an efficient strategy of using the working memory.

5.2. Omitting a word

Another very typical mistake was omitting a problematic structural element, e.g. instead of saying *open up* saying *open*, instead of *admitting to – admitting* etc. While many of these changes occurred in the case of prepositions or even adjectives, the most intriguing (and also the most frequent) occurring omission was the omission of articles. This phenomenon occurred in all types of tasks, not only in speaking or oral transformations, but even in reading individual sentences. In several cases, the omission occurred three times in a row in the same sentence even after the instruction was given to pay attention to individual words when reading.

Apart from a possible lapse in the STM, namely failing to consciously register this word, one factor leading to such an omission could be the absence of articles in Polish – the L1 of the subjects of the study. The fact that some students failed to repeat it so consistently indicates that most likely it is not part of the cognitive structure of these students. They have heard the explanation of what articles are; however, no successful change occurred in their conceptual framework. As a result, they seem to be blind (when reading) and deaf (when listening) to it. In the context of these findings, it becomes a hopeful phenomenon when, in repetition tasks, certain students start inserting

articles where they have heard nothing, as it suggests that this part of speech is beginning to form itself in the conceptual framework of their grammar.

An important conclusion to be drawn from this type of mistake is that even though the participants seem to have failed to repeat an element of the utterance, they still managed to recreate it in a way that made sense to them. In this way, they showed symptoms of using the working memory and revealed which structural or lexical elements they still needed to work on.

5.3. Postponed repetition as a speaking task

Certain types of mental operations occur when attempting to say something of your own, rather than merely repeating an artificially created sentence. It can be seen that the brain activity changes from surface operations to deeper layers of the cortex with both hemispheres, rather than only the left one, becoming involved (Grabowska, 2011). That is why some exercises that were conducted aimed at the types of speaking activities which would vary in range from fully automatic to authentic.[7] When mistakes occured in them, it was possible to verify the type of memory involved and the linguistic competence of the students.

A very useful task for this purpose was the postponed repetition task. Postponed repetition is a type of exercise in which the subject hears and repeats a sentence which is too long to retain in sensory memory or the STM. In the L1 the strategy that the speaker uses to retrieve missing elements is mostly that of focusing attention on the meaning and using reconstructive memory. The lapses in memory reveal themselves in the use of

[7] The exact distinction of speaking as divided into authentic and automatic, together with the criteria that it involves, can be found in Wenzel (2001). In this study, the criterion that mattered was the degree to which the speaking is focused on the language or on the message that it carries. In the case of postponed repetitions we are clearly dealing with message-centred utterances if we compare them to regular repetitions and with more focus on language if we compare them with spontaneous speech.

synonyms and paraphrases.[8] In the L2, the strategy can differ depending on the individual. The deciding factors should be subject to further research; however, the present study shows these factors to be among other things: the level of the L2, the sense of security in one's own abilities and the individual level of verbal working memory.

However, in one case it was observed that a student was able to change the strategy after an indication from the researcher to focus more on the meaning of what she was to say and not on the actual words. Until that point, she had been unsuccessfully trying to repeat the text verbatim and was becoming lost after three or four words; however, after the suggestion to focus on the meaning, she was able to repeat compound sentences, though with the characteristic replacements, suggestive of the reconstructive memory.

All in all, the types of mistakes made during that exercise resembled those that occurred during spontaneous speech, with several important differences. The mistakes common for both spontaneous speech and postponed repetition were simplifications, omissions and various grammar errors (e.g. in tense constructions, prepositions, word replacement etc.). What differed was a narrower range of both vocabulary and structures in free speech, and a much greater reluctance to speak in free speech. Both of these differences indicate that the postponed repetition is a desirable tool in learning to speak; nevertheless, on certain occasions the students experienced a block and were unable to repeat anything during the postponed repetition task. Each time the reason was the confusion as to the structures used (e.g. the student was unfamiliar with the passive voice and could not repeat anything because of it). Alternatively, the student chose to try repeat the text in spite of not understanding the essential elements, which resulted in meaningless utterances consisting of the last two or three words heard or of several words taken

[8] The preliminary task of the L1 postponed repetition in which the participants repeated heard sentences from a passage in *Chatka Puchatka*, consistently showed this tendency.

out of context uttered at random without any apparent care as to the content.

5.4. Didactic implications

During the course of the study, several solutions were tried out in order to verify what can be done to improve the amount of information processed during a given task or even throughout the whole lesson. Additional observations were conducted to check what strategies students employed intuitively in order to put less effort into the working memory and what could be done to counteract them.

One of the strategies used to ensure that the participants employed the working memory in a more efficient way was to keep delaying certain tasks for ever more extended periods of time. As an example, an activity that required conducting transformations at the sentence level could be done orally, with the understanding that the child would have to write down the exercise after finishing it orally. This was intended to direct their attention to the need to keep the various elements in their mind for as long as they could.

To illustrate how important this seemingly minor change in conducting their activities was, suffice it to say that when they conducted the tasks without any hint as to what to focus their attention on, they failed even in the more basic repetition exercises. This direction of attention did not always come directly from the instructor. In the course of the study, they learnt what to expect at which point of the meeting and at times directed their attention appropriately themselves. Nevertheless, given all direct and indirect cues as to what to focus their attention on, their use of the working memory increased considerably.

Another example of a typical situation where we can modify the degree to which the student avoids or tasks the working memory is fulfilling any one sentence exercise. A procedure noticed in some participants was to read the part of the sentence that had already been provided, give a solution to the task and

move on to the next task. Avoiding reading the whole sentence with the solution included thus allowed them to use less working memory. That was so because the first time they only read the parts of the sentence, and the STM was sufficient for it (they did not have to process the information, they only had to read it word by word), then they focused on the task and provided the solution. In such cases, depending on whether the task was so hard that they were forced to handle it in portions or if it was sufficiently doable to deal with it as if it was an element of actual communication, one could make different modifications. One thing that could be done was to ensure that they could repeat the whole sentence, and only if the task turned out to be too difficult, to allow them to do it the easier way.

6. Concluding remarks

From the above discussion, one can infer several conclusions. The most important of these would be that firstly, the capacity of the verbal working memory and a learner's command of English are two related, but separate phenomena. Secondly, that the mistakes which occur during the acquisition of new structures can be either a symptom of the individual working memory capacity or of the actual state of a learner's knowledge. Thirdly, the fact that even minor changes in the order of the activities or the manner in which a teacher conducts them can considerably modify how much the working memory is being used.

The next outcome of this discussion should concern the extent to which a teacher should burden or lessen the effort within the working memory capacity, not making it unnecessarily easy at times, at other times, however, not mistaking the difficulty of the language level with futile complications which do little more than provide distractions away from the linguistic teaching point. Noticing this difference not only in one's own teaching, but also in external tests and coursebooks is another potential outcome of this paper.

Lastly, the importance of controlling the difficulty level of the language as opposed to mere confusion and burden on the working memory can be seen in other aspects of second language teaching, such as listening or reading comprehension, not only in the acquisition of grammar. The practice of eliciting in general can be seen from the perspective of working memory, when, rather than presenting new material we try to activate memory traces from the long-term memory. Most of the paper relied on understanding the working memory as a process involving mental operations on new material (Baddeley, 1986) while the working memory can also be understood in terms of linking the processed information with the LTM (Cowan, 2007). Since the aim of this paper was to show the practical relevance of verbal working memory in ELT rather than to participate in an ongoing discussion regarding the exact understanding of the term, both aspects of this notion can be seen as equally relevant and contribute to the improvement in SLT to an equal level.

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The exploration of the doubleness of belonging in Naim Kattan's *Farewell Babylon*

AHMED JOUDAR

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Abstract

This paper studies the origin of Jewish existence in Iraq by examining *Farewell Babylon*, written by Naim Kattan, a Jewish Iraqi writer who lives in Canada. In past decades, Jewish communities moved from one location to another as a result of displacement and emigration, thus the Jewish diasporic movements created new territories. This paper explores the sense of doubleness of belonging by investigating a Jewish diaspora . The investigation studies the relationship between home and neighbours in Kattan's text which focuses on the concepts of belonging, the 'Self' and the 'Other.' The study of the relationship between Jewish identity and Arab identity in Iraq permits us a wide knowledge of the concept of belonging.

Keywords

Baghdad, belonging, Iraq, Jewish identity, Naim Kattan

Badanie dwoistej przynależności w *Farewell Babylon* Naima Kattana

Abstrakt

Artykuł bada pochodzenie żydowskiej obecności w Iraku na podstawie *Farewell Babylon*, autorstwa Naima Kattana, żydowskiego pisarza irackiego, który mieszka w Kanadzie. W ostatnich dziesięcioleciach społeczności żydowskie przenosiły się z jednego miejsca do drugiego w wyniku przesiedleń i emigracji, w ten sposób żydowskie ruchy diasporyczne tworzyły nowe terytoria. Niniejszy artykuł analizuje poczucie dwoistości przynależności poprzez badanie żydowskiej diaspory. Badane są relacje między domem a sąsiadami w tekście Kattana, który koncentruje się na koncepcjach przynależności, „jaźni" i „Innego". Badanie relacji między tożsamością żydowską a tożsamością arabską w Iraku pozwala nam na uzyskanie szerokiej wiedzy na temat pojęcia przynależności.

Słowa kluczowe

Bagdad, przynależność, Irak, tożsamość żydowska, Naim Kattan

1. Introduction

In *Farewell Babylon,* Kattan depends on two main elements (home and neighbours) in the construction of his text. This paper is going to explore the relationship between these elements and how the writer uses them in his text, as both terms represent the space that refers to the doubleness of belonging. The concept of 'home' is a unique challenge for Iraqi Jews because it represents a nation that extends beyond the map's boundaries. They desire to look for a space that connects them to their original roots in order to conserve the relationship between the 'Self' and the land because space is important to affirm their presence. The process of the exploration of the 'Self' for Iraqi Jews is an attempt to distinguish the imaginary boundary which is created between 'them' and the 'Muslims' in Baghdad.

2. The doubleness of belonging to Iraqi identity

Kattan's text draws an imaginary line that extends between the 'Self' and the 'Muslims', 'here' (the Jewish district) and 'there' (Muslim's district). These boundaries control the behaviour of individuals both inside and outside of their locations as their behaviour is influenced by identity, belonging and culture. Thus, these boundaries are one of the elements which create differences between communities. According to Gregory:

> this space of potential is always conditional, always precarious, but every repertory performance of the colonial present carries within it the twin possibilities of either reaffirming and even radicalizing the hold of the colonial part on the present or undoing its enclosures and approaching closer to the horizon of the postcolonial (2004: 19).

The interrelation between spaces and places becomes a symbol to create a form of belonging for individuals inside and outside the boundaries; therefore, this action produces a conceptual change in the community. In Baghdad, the relationship between the identity of Arab Muslims and the identity of Arab Jews, between 'us' and 'them', is established sometimes in the space of dialogue and other times through conflicts. The language of dialogue and its meaning are expressed through the ambiguity and ambivalence in the space where the 'Self' and the 'Muslims' meet together at the 'cutting edge'. As Homi Bhabha points out:

> The act of interpretation is never simply an act of communication between the I and the You designated in the statement. The production of meaning requires that these two places be mobilized in the passage through a Third Space, which represents both the general conditions of language and the specific implication of the utterance in a performative and institutional strategy of which it cannot 'in itself' be conscious. What this unconscious relation introduces is an ambivalence in the act of interpretation (2004: 156).

Through indirect communication, language involves the ambivalence to the act in the third space. T herefore, the function of language does not always convey the intention of the speaker and thus negatively affects the reader's understanding (Bauman 1991: 1) as any understanding is prospective at this moment due to creating a space of transforming thoughts. Soja clarifies that the 'third space' is a "radical challenge to think differently, to expand your geographical imagination beyond its current limits" (1996: 2); therefore, the third space is a free zone which is in between two locations, with each one of them trying to control the other.

In literature, the third space is the meeting point for a group of people when they cannot meet in their real locations. Additionally, the narration sometimes introduces real situations through the imagination in which texts can travel in locations where bodies cannot do so physically. The concepts of 'home' and 'neighbours' deconstruct the discourse in order to create interaction between them as Kattan's text presents one such strategy. Based on the definition of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari of 'concept' as "the inseparability of a finite number of heterogeneous components traversed by a point of absolute survey at infinite speed" (1994: 21), Kattan in his text uses the 'concept' to create a space of meanings that expresses the performance of a group of ideas in a heterogeneous environment. The content of space is related to a certain point which permits the movement of these ideas to infinity; therefore, the concept of the 'home' which the writer creates in his text from a certain point, draws the imaginary borderline in a certain space and time.

The concept of 'home' in Kattan's text can be connected with Benedict Anderson's definition of the concept of 'nation' (1983: 6). According to Anderson, the nation is an imagined political community that is conceived as inherently limited and sovereign. The nation fixes boundaries in which people imagine being connected to the land where they were born. Anderson claims that the modern nation can grow if citizens let go of some of the

cultural concepts related to history, religion and faith in sacred texts and belief that the ruler has a divine connection . However, the communities in the diaspora exceed the nation because their movements are outside of the borders of their native lands. Deleuze and Guattari mention the "need to see how everyone, at every age, in the smallest things as in the greatest challenges, seeks a territory, tolerates or carries out deterritorializations, and is reterritorialized on almost anything – memory, fetish, or dream" (1994: 67-68). The process of the territorialization of people's thoughts does the same thing that it does with social fields. Therefore, the locations cannot be permanent because they continue to determine new locations to inhabit.

Based on Deleuze and Guattari's view, one can conclude that nations grow by continuously moving people from one location to another . For instance, the diasporic movements create new territories and sometimes participate in a re-creation of other territories as Jewish diaspora communities; therefore, people cannot claim that they belong to a single location. Furthermore, the exiled people live in double locations, physically in the host country and imaginatively often in their country of origin ; therefore, they have a duality of existence as Said points out "most people are principally aware of one culture, one home, or one setting" (2000: 186) while "exiles are aware of at least two, giving them a plurality of vision give[s] rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions" (2000: 186). This plurality generates an absence of uniform cultural identity because most of the exiled people mix their original culture with the acquired one and thus they create a hybrid identity, such as Kattan's, with multiple cultures (French and Canadian) in addition to his original culture (Iraqi).

Erich Gruen challenges the perspective that claims that there is a positive conception of the Jewish diaspora concerning modernity and Jewish emancipation, thus he sees that a darker picture of the Jewish diaspora is more common. Jews believe that the deliverance is in the homecoming and its restoration but Gruen sees that they are "the people of the Book" (2002:

232) and the text represents "the portable temple" (2002: 232), thus, there is no need to restore the homeland. Therefore, he claims that both images are:

> the whole idea of privileging homeland over diaspora, or diaspora over homeland, derives from a modern, rather than an ancient, obsession. The issue is too readily conceived in terms of mutually exclusive alternatives: either the Jews regarded their identity as unrealizable in exile and the achievement of their destiny as dependent upon reentry into Judaea or they clung to their heritage abroad, shifting attention to local and regional loyalties, and cultivating a permanent attachment to the diaspora (Gruen 2002: 234–235).

Gruen asserts that the Jewish diaspora began a long time before the destruction of the Temple, which happened in 70 CE and that this diaspora continued because there were large waves of voluntary migrations where five million ancient Jews lived in the diaspora far from their original home. Some thinkers solidify the concept of the 'diaspora' as a social process that features like a closed concept while James Clifford elaborates that the concept of 'diaspora' is a dynamic concept that includes overlapping features of politics, society, and culture. Thus, the concept of 'diaspora' is flexible and covers the chaotic tangents which increase the imaginative prospects as Clifford explains the conceptual borders of Jewish diaspora:

> The history of Jewish diaspora communities shows selective accommodation with the political, cultural, commercial, and everyday life forms of "host" societies. And the black diaspora culture currently being articulated in postcolonial Britain is concerned to struggle for different ways to be "British" – ways to stay and be different, to be British and something else complexly related to Africa and the Americas, to shared histories of enslavement, racist subordination, cultural survival, hybridization, resistance, and political rebellion. Thus the term diaspora is a signifier, not simply of transnationality and movement, but of political struggles to

> define the local, as distinctive community, in historical contexts of displacement (1994: 308).

In the diasporic communities, the emphasis is on belonging to the original home and at the same time, the negotiation is with transnational belonging; therefore, the concept of the doubleness of belonging is present here. Based on the clarification of Linda Hutcheon:

> doubleness is what characterizes not just the complicitous critique of the postmodern, but, by definition, the twofold vision of the postcolonial – not just because of the obvious dual history […] but because a sense of duality was the mark of the colonial as well. Doubleness and difference are established by colonialism by its paradoxical move to enforce cultural sameness […] while, at the same time, producing differentiations and discriminations […] (1989: 161–162).

As a result of the problems that are produced by colonialism, such as discrimination, differentiation and racism, the double sense of belonging appears through the consciousness of diasporic communities. Therefore, double consciousness creates a recognition of the 'Self' and a simultaneous sense of belonging to the national culture. Although it is hard for the individual in the diaspora to fully integrate into the host country, it is also impossible to fully return to the original home. Therefore, the doubleness of belonging affects both identities. Theorists of the diaspora introduce important arguments related to the Jewish diaspora studies since the Jewish diaspora is often seen as a model (Safran 2003: 437- 41) of studying the doubleness of belonging.

When the concept of 'doubleness' deconstructs, it leads to a stabilization of the concept of 'diaspora.' The individuals in the diaspora are often located between two paradoxical relations of belonging because the double sense of belonging embodies the contradiction between belonging to the homeland or to the host country. Some individuals in the diaspora experience deter-

ritorialization but cannot achieve reterritorialization as they are displaced from two homes and live in a third one, as in the case of Naim Kattan who currently lives in Canada after his exile from Iraq and his emigration from France. Therefore, these three homes create an unsettling sense of belonging for him. Clifford, in his definition of diaspora, tries to narrow this tension because the double experiences, sometimes, can push the individual to a feeling of isolation. Clifford presents several possibilities to the concept of 'diaspora' in order to preserve the concept of 'doubleness' and also emphasize the political conflicts which override borders.

Moreover, the establishment of Israel creates a new concept of 'diaspora' for Oriental Jews, especially for those identifying as Iraqi Jews. Because Israel succeeded in detaching them from their original home and at the same time, it deals with them as second-class citizens, they find themselves strangers in Israel as Shohat claims that

> the Israeli establishment regards Arab Jews as irremediably Arab – indeed, that Iraqi Jews were allegedly used to determine a certain toxin's effect on Arabs suggests that for genetic/biological purposes, at least, Iraqi Jews are Arabs. On the other hand, official Israeli/Zionist policy urges Arab Jews (or, more generally, Oriental Jews, also known as Sephardim or Mizrahim) to see their only real identity as Jewish (1999: 5).

The division of Jewish identity in Israel, the concept that you are Jewish but still Arab, creates a sense of duality. It is evident that Israel was founded by the displaced and exiled Eastern Jews but some of them left Israel and chose to live in another country because they felt that they were marginalized in their imaginary homeland. Furthermore, several Arab Jews have a sense of belonging and connection to their places of birth more than a sense of belonging to the imaginary homeland (Israel). The concept of the doubleness of belonging shows the difficulty of the case of Arab Jews as they never belong to a single nation. Therefore, the third home for these kinds of individuals can be

the solution after the impossibility to be in one of the first two homes as both of the first two homes reject each other.

Kattan, in his texts, expresses the Jewish consciousness of the doubleness of belonging in which he presents the Jewish identity by concentrating on the experiences of Jews in the diaspora, which appear clearly in his texts. Therefore, this phenomenon must be investigated by exploring the double sense of belonging and studying the movement between locations in the text of Kattan's *Farewell Babylon*. The double sense of belonging means the desire for movement as this movement enables the writer to move between locations, thus it helps him to present a better understanding of Jewish identity. In one scene of *Farewell Babylon*, the narrator shows the sense of belonging to Babylon when he describes the students' journey to Babylon and what their teacher tells them about the history of Jews there:

> Only the Jews can feel the upheaval of a living past under these piles of stones […] we came here as captives, the slaves of Nebuchadnezzar. But we triumphed over defeat. On this ground, we wrote the Talmud. The descendants of captives, the sons of slaves were great scholars, great philosophers. Are we worthy of our ancestors? (2005: 79).

These words elaborate that the sense of belonging of the Jews to Babylon exists not only physically but also in their souls and imaginations. Surely, the title of Kattan's novel, *Farewell Babylon*, involves evidence of the connection of Jews to the land of their ancestors. Kattan clarifies this idea, in his book *La Mémoire et la Promesse*, evoking his feelings when he says:

> Je suis parti de Bagdad, emportant le rêve d'un lieu fixe, héritier de vingt-cinq siècles d'histoire en unpoint donné. Nous étions entourés de nomades, les empires s'étaient édifiés puis effondrés, et nous, les fils de prisonniers de Nabuchodonosor étions toujours là et pourtant nous étions nous aussi des nomades, nous avons

> appris qu'il n'y a de lieu que de passage et que Dieu habite tous les lieux[1] (1979: 14).

In another scene in *Farewell Babylon*, the narrator seeks a sense of belonging to the majority community in Baghdad by looking for sexual experience in their community:

> We were all Jewish. But as soon as we crossed the threshold of the house, we changed our identities. In this exotic land, the Jewish accent would seem out of place. Speaking an adopted language, we would carry on only simple business negotiations and any embarrassment would be superfluous. With our new faces, we would become unknown (Kattan 2005: 153–154).

He tries to hide his original identity when he visits the "Maydane",[2] the area which is known as the red–light district. In that area, identities, nationalisms, classes, and boundaries disappear while the control is for the power of masculinity, thus he gets a temporary sense of belonging to their community. Therefore, he and his friends try to speak with Arabic accents, but they fail because their Jewish accent is clear and thus, they are forced to remove the Arab mask: "'Are you from Baghdad?' I asked with a Jewish accent. 'I come from Karbala. My father is a mullah,' she said in the purest Muslim accent" (Kattan 2005: 158). Obviously, the mask of the majority can no longer work with him; therefore, he uses his real identity to continue his relationship with the girl:

> I barely had time to look at them when I felt a hand pulling on my manhood. It was the one–eyed woman. I was dumbfounded to see a woman go so directly to an unknown man. I had to shed my old

[1] English translation: 'I left Baghdad, took away with me the dream of a fixed place, heir of twenty-five centuries of history at a given point. We were surrounded by nomads and empires which had been built up and then collapsed. We were the sons of prisoners of Nebuchadnezzar still there and yet we were also nomads. We have learned that all places are passageways and God dwells in all places'.

[2] *Maydane* is an Arabic term which means 'the Square' in English.

> beliefs and accept this complete reversal of roles. Here the women were totally nude. According to the laws of the desert, this physical nudity was naturally accompanied by moral nudity. The boundaries between what was real and what was dreamed became evanescent. Obscenity had no meaning since everything was obscene (Kattan 2005: 192).

In the scene above, the narrator's description goes beyond religious or ethnic features to shift into gender; therefore, the shifting into sexual stimulation helps to reverse the roles and embodies a psychological role instead of classifying the world into the 'us' and the 'them.'

As Baghdad's community is multicultural and multi-religious, Kattan focuses on the relationship between his community and the Muslim community in Baghdad. The imaginary boundaries draw the map of the cultural and historical relations between these two communities. In the first decade of the 20th century, Jews integrated deeply into Iraqi society and Baghdad was particularly prosperous with their culture. Along with Muslims, the Jews contributed in developing the society and culture in Iraq as they had an intimate connection in the prominence of Arab poetry, novels, and magazines. But Iraqi Jews got more attention through Western connections, particularly the Alliance Israélite school in which Kattan completed his studies, which later was the road to continue studying in Paris . However, the attempts of Western Jewish leaders to change Iraqi Jews never reach their planned results because Iraqi Jews attempted to protect their ethnic and cultural identities even after political changes, so Kattan's experience represents a true example of preserving Iraqi Jewish identity. But the narrator realizes the difference between Jews and Muslims when he refers to a group of people who attract him, and they are known as 'Bedouins':

> I would beg my mother to lift me above the enclosure. Speaking to the closest Bedouin, I would shout with the secret satisfaction of crossing boundaries that adults would not have the audacity to

> transgress: 'Ammi, Ammi. Uncle, Uncle.' The respect I owed to every older man required me to use this familial term. In these circumstances, it tasted of the forbidden. In the Muslim dialect, I would address the stranger. The tall Bedouin would spin around his *akal* and turn his head. Trembling with fear and courage, I would toss off, in my best Muslim dialect, 'May God help you.' And the man, still talking to his camel, would answer, 'May God keep you, my son.' And so he became my uncle and I his son. In the world of childhood, I was neither Jew nor Muslim, and without running any risk I could speak directly to a Bedouin (Kattan 2005: 41–42).

Kattan uses the term 'Bedouin' to refer to a group of people who inhabit outside the cities, of the "vigorous men with chiseled faces who conversed with their camels with the familiarity reserved for humans" (Kattan 2005: 41). Kattan's description is a reference to 'Arab masculinity' as Julie Peteet clarifies that:

> Arab masculinity (rujulah) is acquired, verified, and played out in the brave deed, in risk-taking, and in expressions of fearlessness and assertiveness. It is attained by constant vigilance and willingness to defend honor (sharaf), face (wajh), kin, and community from external aggression and to uphold and protect cultural definitions of gender-specific propriety (Peteet 1994: 34).

The sense of belonging to Iraqi identity allows the narrator to get into all districts of Baghdad and outside of Baghdad, though people in these districts have different religions, cultures, ethnicities and nationalisms. The political changes in Iraq and the u rban sprawl in Baghdad help, in that the districts of the city are to open to all people regardless of their religion and nationalism; therefore, it becomes impossible to control the boundaries between these districts. This condition helps the Jews to integrate with the majority community. The optimism of youth encourages the narrator to cross boundaries physically, at a time when his family and parents are afraid of this crossing. Baghdad, like other multicultural cities, has large spaces that involve Muslims, Jews, Christians, Arabs, and Kurds. There-

fore, the diversity of society helps the narrator to create a wide space of dialogue in the text. He imagines borders that help him in the negotiation between popular and strange things as the boundaries which the narrator draws in the text embody the dual tension visible and invisible between neighbours. In each scene of his narration, he presents a new neighbourhood in which he deconstructs terms and vocabularies, thus deconstructing the foundations of the pure and bounded community. Moreover, the narrator is never limited to the mention of boundaries between districts in Baghdad but also mentions crossing boundaries when he decides to go to study in Paris. In this scene, he describes the real moment of crossing Iraqi boundaries:

> My whole family was there. The pain of separation was mixed with relief at leaving these walls which were being covered with shadows […]. These faces looking at me, moving away from me, which I saw through the window of the bus – they were Iraq. All that remained of it for me. And I hoped I would be able to take away forever, within myself, its last reflection. It had to be so. In that way, my childhood would be preserved. I would enter the new world without cutting off a privileged part of it, without dispersing my dream and memories … We would cross the desert and the next day I would be in Beirut, the first step on the road to the West (Kattan 2005: 217–218).

Kattan's text involves all religions in Iraq and the different accents of the Arabic language in order to demonstrate the interference between cultures. Furthermore, the cultural identity constructs and reconstructs the third space from a chaotic territory; therefore, the construction of identity in this way enables Kattan to imagine the relationship between individuals and communities. This is what postcolonial and poststructuralist thinkers discuss in their theories. The writer in the double diasporic situation attempts to control the construction of identities and draw imaginary borders from infinite thoughts. Deleuze and Guattari claim that:

> What matters is not, as in bad novels, the opinions held by characters in accordance with their social type and characteristics but rather the relations of counterpoint into which they enter and the compounds of sensations that these characters either themselves experience or make felt in their becoming and their visions. Counterpoint serves not to report real or fictional conversations but to bring out the madness of all conversation and of all dialogue, even interior dialogue (1994: 188).

3. Conclusion

To conclude, I argue that Kattan uses the concept of neighbours to refer to the exchange of dialogue and the interaction between Muslims and Jews through crossing imaginary borders. But that kind of dialogue represents a chaotic conversation between them which sometimes leads to conflict, thus the concept of the doubleness of belonging reflects the critical prospects of the conflict between Muslims and Jews as a result of the cluttered relationship between them as nations and their locations. In *Farewell Babylon*, the writer focuses on the experience of Jews in Iraq as the text exemplifies the tension between Muslims and Jews, thus it is important to solve that conflict in order to break down imaginary boundaries between the land and identity.

Furthermore, the text shows us how the narrator moves across the imaginary boundaries instead of settling in a single place as a result of the sense of loneliness that forces the individual to be in a provisional location. Therefore, the realization of loneliness and unsettledness open up wide avenues of thinking beyond the boundaries for individuals regardless of their ethnicity or religion. In this paper, I affirm that the doubleness of belonging is one of the multiple relationships between Arabs and Jews as well as between Arab Jews and Kurdish Jews, thus that doubleness leads to a wide space of thoughts. As a result, I affirm that the doubleness of belonging is not only an am-bivalent relationship of an individual between their homeland and host country, but also an ambivalent relationship between the Self and its location inside the homeland.

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Philip Kindred Dick's *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch*: The will to power as the axiological source of hallucinogenic and technological dystopia

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Abstract

The paper investigates the ways in which hallucinations induced by hallucinogenic drugs with the help of technological devices distort the human perception of reality within the fictional world of Philip K. Dick's novel, *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch*. It also examines how the axiological order of this fictional world is negatively affected by power games played by the main protagonists and how these games refer to Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophical notion of the will to power. By underlining the novel's narrative intersections between technology and axiology, this paper shows that within *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* the continuity of civilisational development proves to be dystopian in its essence.

Keywords

dystopia, the will to power, hallucinogens, technology, axiology, trans-humanism, Philip Dick

Trzy stygmaty Palmera Eldritcha Philipa Kindreda Dicka: Wola władzy jako aksjologiczne źródło halucynogennej i technologicznej dystopii

Abstrakt

Artykuł bada, w jaki sposób halucynacje indukowane przez halucynogenne narkotyki za pośrednictwem technologicznych urządzeń zniekształcają ludzką percepcję rzeczywistości w fikcjonalnym świecie powieści Philipa Dicka *Trzy stygmaty Palmera Eldritcha*. Sprawdza on ponadto, w jakiej mierze na aksjologiczny porządek powieściowego świata negatywnie oddziaływają gry o władzę prowadzone przez główne postaci i jak odnoszą się one do wywodzącej się z filozofii Fryderyka Nietzschego idei woli mocy. Podkreślając te punkty narracyjne, gdzie przecinają się zagadnienia dotyczące technologii i aksjologii, artykuł wskazuje, że w fikcjonalnym świecie *Trzech stygmatów Palmera Eldritcha* ciągłość cywilizacyjnego rozwoju w istocie swej nosi znamiona dystopii.

Słowa kluczowe

dystopia, wola mocy, halucynogeny, technologia, aksjologia, transhumanizm, Philip Dick

1. Introduction

Philip Kindred Dick's *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* (1964) is a novel that focuses on the human perception of reality, both on how this perception is subjected to a given state of mind and how it can be altered. Epistemological and ontological questions challenge the constructed reality of the text which, based on the characters' choices, generates complex dynamics of events and in which hallucinogens and technology play major roles.

In *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* the main function of combining hallucinogenic drugs with technological devices is to change the user's perception. The reasons for altering the

state of mind are either hedonistic or driven by the thirst for power. For the purpose of clarity I will divide the protagonists of the novel into two main groups: those characters who rule over interplanetary colonists and make them dependent on illusions created by the use of hallucinogenic drugs enhanced by technology, and those characters whose living conditions are subject to the will of others, but who are no less egocentric than their rulers. There are also characters who would like to live peaceful and normal lives and who play the structural role of counterbalancing the axiological paradigm under which the members of the first two groups operate.

The plot of the novel is driven by the fact that the Earth became uninhabitable due to global warming and that the political power – embodied by the United Nations – is distracted and corruptible, letting drug dealers supply colonies in the Solar System with their illegal products. It may be claimed that, like in the utopian tradition, the axiological order of the world presented in dystopian fiction shapes its space and, at the same time, is shaped by the space of the fictional world.[1] The structure of the dystopian axiological order informs us about the source of dystopia *per se*, understood as an effect of the actions taken by human beings. *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* seems to be exemplary in this matter because of its detailed exploration of the motives that lie behind actions undertaken by a power-hungry group of individuals that have an impact on the living conditions of the colonists and other characters of the novel. The dialectics of the above division is in line with the argument of Urszula Terentowicz-Fotyga that: "[t]he defining plot pattern of dystopia, focusing on the relation between the individual and the state, translates into a particular construction of space, in which the boundary between the space of the indi-

[1] The interrelation of spatiality and the axiological order as a defining feature of the utopian tradition is discussed by Artur Blaim in *Gazing in Useless Wonder: English Utopian Fictions, 1516-1800* (2013). See also Terentowicz-Fotyga's "Defining the dystopian chronotope: Space, time and genre in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*" (2018).

vidual and the space of the state becomes a crucial locus of signification" (Terentowicz-Fotyga 2018: 16). Even if the drug and technology dealers of *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* who invade the bodies and minds of their clients are not the state's representatives, they are in good standing with the novel's United Nations, the sole and corrupted political hegemon while, by contrast, the colonists are deprived of any political power. The colonists are unable to go beyond the spatial boundaries fixed by a power-hungry group of individuals; they can either stay on polluted Earth or be relocated to one of the interstellar colonies where the living conditions are highly difficult. The fact that the main political body in the novel (the United Nations), is characterized as a "windowless monad" (Dick 1991: 10) points to its pathologically insulated nature. It turns out that the United Nations cares only about retaining its own status quo and its sphere of influence, regardless of the costs that both Earth's inhabitants and the colonists bear in consequence of actions taken by the power-hungry individuals. That the United Nations lets drug dealers operate in the Solar System in exchange for huge bribes clearly points to the dystopian nature of the fictional world as "[t]he structuring theme of dystopia is the relations between the individual self and oppressive, monolithic state" (Terentowicz-Fotyga 2018: 15). In Dick's novel, the state, embodied by its multiplied version the United Nations, is inert, immune and unreachable for the average individual, and immune, unprotective of its subjects from the hallucinogenic and technological dystopia that, in a sense, is an imaginative dystopia within a political dystopia. The United Nations' insulation and corruption also signify the crisis of the axiological orders on the guard of which the member states stood in the past. In *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch*, individuals are left on their own and therefore have to define their own axiological order.

My argument is that the individual ambitions of the novel's main protagonists are driven by the will to power which is the axiological source of hallucinogenic and technological dystopia in the novel. As Adam Roberts observes in *The History of Science*

Fiction, "Nietzsche's 'will to power' did not originally mean 'power over others' (it could equally well be rendered 'creative power' or 'self-knowledge'); but it was taken by many [...] to mean exactly that" (Roberts 2006: 126). The will to power is not a will to life, it is a will to take risks, to overcome individual weaknesses, in order to become fuller in an egocentric, joyous and immoral way, and to develop one's potential according to one's needs, even if these may be considered evil by those who belong to the "unclean" mass: "[t]ruly, we do not prepare a home here for unclean men! […] like a wind I will one day blow among them and with my spirit take away the breath from their spirit" (Nietzsche 1961: 122). As will be shown in the following chapters, Palmer Eldritch is able to possess the minds of other people when they take a drug, Chew-Z, which he brings from another galaxy. Eldritch's attitude corresponds with Nietzsche's logic of "the revaluation of all values" (Nietzche 1968: 545) where the latter claims that it is desirable for highly developed individuals to rule in line with the values that they create for their own interest, even if these may cause others to suffer.

The will to power is understood in this article in the sense explained by Martin Heidegger in his *Nietzsche* monography: "[e]very willing is a willing to be more. Power itself only is inasmuch as, and so long as, it remains a willing to be more power. […] In will, as willing to be more, as will to power, enhancement and heightening is essentially implied" (Heidegger 1991: 60). At this point the concept of the will to power meets a much more recent concept of transhumanism whose progressive model assumes overcoming the natural limitations of mankind in the pursuit of "broadening human potential by overcoming aging, cognitive shortcomings, involuntary suffering, and our confinement to planet Earth" (humanityplus.org/philosophy/transhumanist-declaration/). As one of the founders of transhumanism, Max More, writes "[t]he essence of life is what Nietzsche called the will to power – life's perpetual drive toward its own icrease and excellence. Extropic life can thus never manifest self-sacrifice or worship of superior beings" (More n.d.).

In *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch*, Dick explores the question of accelerated evolution and interplanetary voyages made possible due to scientific research and discoveries, but his dystopian vision is in contrast to transhumanist optimism. Transhumanist beliefs are based on the assumption that nature is insufficient, slow and blind, so it should be improved. Transhumanists declare that they "advocate the well-being of all sentience, including humans, non-human animals, and any future artificial intellects, modified life forms, or other intelligences to which technological and scientific advance may give rise" (humanityplus.org/philosophy/transhumanist-declaration/). *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* presents a world in which the higher beings would rather try to enslave others than to help them develop and attain a higher level of perfection.

The social order of the fictional world of *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* seems to function as a negative utopia sensu Lyman Tower Sargent defining it as "a non-existent society described in considerable detail and normally located in time and space that the author intended a contemporaneous reader to view as considerably worse than the society in which that reader lived" (Sargent 1991: 9). However, as Peter Stockwell observes "(d)ystopia is not the opposite of utopia. The contrary of utopia (no place) is our reality (this place); dystopia is a dis-placement of our reality (Stockwell 2000: 211)". Sargent's definition works as a theoretical frame of the structure of Dick's novel chronotope as long as it maintains its "normal" attributes. Hallucinogens combined with technological devices change the very structure of the novel's chronotope (sensu Bakhtin), thus the hallucinogenic and technological dystopia should be differentiated from the dystopia of *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch's* "real" world characterized by the Newtonian space-time where the rules of classical physics construct the physical boundaries. The hallucinogenic and technological dystopia of *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* functions within the theoretical frame of Stockwell's definition where an ordinary ("normal") chronotope

collapses and the reality is displaced in both the temporal and spatial dimensions.

2. Explorating the hallucinogenic and technological dystopia

2.1. The hallucinogenic dystopia

The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch's fictional world is set in the future where habitable celestial bodies in the Solar System – the Moon, Mars, Venus, Saturn and Pluto – are colonized, due to the global warming that makes living on Earth extremely difficult. However, environmental conditions in the colonies are also adverse, which accounts for the massive use of the drug called Can-D. The following description of the colony on Mars illustrates conditions which average, poor human beings have to face:

> For settlers on a howling, gale-swept moon, huddled at the bottom of a hovel against frozen methane crystals and things, it was something else again; Perky Pat and her layout were an entree back to the world they had been born to. But he, Leo Bulero, he was damn tired of the world he had been born to and still dwelt on. ... .
> "That Can-D," he said to Miss Jurgens, "is great stuff, and no wonder it's banned. It's like religion; Can-D is the religion of the colonists." He chuckled. "One plug of it, wouzzled for fifteen minutes, and –" He made a sweeping gesture. "No more hovel. No more frozen methane. It provides a reason for living. Isn't that worth the risk and expense?" (Dick 1991: 13).

Perky Pat Layouts, Inc. is responsible for the production and distribution of the equipment that, when employed together with Can-D, provides users with a mind-altering experience that lets tchem dissociate from the hardship of their actual existence and sink into a hallucinogenic vision. The equipment seems to be a miniaturized world of dolls whose names are Pat and Walt

and participants in the hallucinogenic sessions are able to play the roles of one of the characters as long as they are under the influence of the drug. It is not explained how exactly Can-D works in connection with the Perky Pat Layout. Nevertheless, this is how Sam Regan, one of the colonists on Mars, experiences the displacement of reality during a hallucinogenic-technological session:

> He was Walt. He owned a Jaguar XXB sports ship with a flat-out velocity of fifteen thousand miles an hour. His shirts came from Italy and his shoes were made in England. As he opened his eyes he looked for the little G.E. clock TV set by his bed; it would be on automatically, tuned to the morning show of the great newsclown Jim Briskin. […]
> Walt shut off the TV, rose, and walked barefoot to the window; he drew the shades, saw out then onto the warm, sparkling early-morning San Francisco street, the hills and white houses. This was Saturday morning and he did not have to go to his job down in Palo Alto at Ampex Corporation; instead – and this rang nicely in his mind – he had a date with his girl, Pat Christensen, who had a modern little apt over on Potrero Hill.
> It was always Saturday (Dick 1991: 23).

Enjoying his restful weekend, flying a Jaguar airship, watching TV, staying in bed, and dating, "Walt", an employee in a corporation, leads a life of a single, wealthy person whose existence seems to be modeled on the hedonistic lifestyles propagated in soap operas and TV advertisements. Even though Sam-Walt has a job, he does not need to work because Saturday is a constant temporal frame in the imaginary San Francisco. Even though his body stays on Mars, his consciousness is displaced from his real life and explores "San Francisco", due to the Perky Pat Layout and Can-D's effects that engage only the mind of the user. His experience is consistent with scientific (neurobiological) findings:

> Environmental objects might be altered in size ("Visual illusions") or take on a modified and special meaning for the subject ("Altered

> self-reference"). Subjects may perceive light flashes or geometrical figures containing recurrent patterns ("Elementary imagery and hallucinations") influenced by auditory stimuli ("Audiovisual synesthesia"), or they may envision images of people, animals, or landscapes ("Complex imagery and hallucinations") without any physical stimuli supporting their percepts (Halberstadt et al. 2018: 257).

The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch's exploration of the mind-altering potential of hallucinogenic drugs seems to be compatible with all of the above quoted brain effects. Sam Regan sees objects that are bigger than they really are. His environment, as well as his identity, are altered and he feels as if he is experiencing the whole parallel universe of imaginary life in the imaginary city. The effect of dissociation from the actual self is combined with the effect of spatial relocation, producing a simulation of an entirely different chronotope. Can-D visions hold Sam under a spell until the effects of the drug wear off. Nevertheless, Sam's memory prevents him from being fully involved in the enjoyment because, however convincing, hallucinatory visions cannot completely cover their insubstantiality.

> An illusion, he thought, pausing in his shaving. In what way? He tried to think back; Sam Regan and Mars, a dreary colonists' hovel… yes, he could dimly make the image out, but it seemed remote and vitiated and not convincing. Shrugging, he resumed shaving, puzzled, now, and a little depressed. All right, […] maybe he did remember that other world, that gloomy quasi-life of involuntary expatriation in an unnatural environment. So what? Why did he have to wreck this? (Dick 1991: 24)

Firmly resolved not to care about the hardship of his existence on Mars and to lead Walt's life, – at least as long as Can-D works – Sam calls Pat, his beautiful companion. He gets disoriented once again when she recalls their recent conversation which he is sure they did not have. Probably Pat remembers a conversation she had with some other Mars colonist who "visited" the world of Perky Pat and played the role of Walt just before Sam

entered it, using the layout belonging to him without his consent. When they meet and go to the beach, Pat asks him about the time they are in and his confusion increases; but still, he does not want to ruin the atmosphere of a careless holiday: "'Well, I guess it's –' And then he could not recall; it eluded him. 'Damn,' he said crossly. 'Well, it doesn't matter'" (Dick 1991: 25). The ontological structure of the San Francisco Sam is in does not really interest him; he only wants the experience to continue. Additionally, he wants to do things that he would not do in the colony as he knows they are morally wrong. For example, he plans to have an affair with Fran Schein, another colonist. They are both married and – what Sam seems to overlook – by deciding to take a drug together, they betray their partners before the Can-D session take them into the drug-induced reality. Fran-Pat says to Sam-Walt, trying to justify herself: "'I used to be Fran,' she said over her shoulder, 'but that doesn't matter now. I could have been anyone before, Fran or Helen or Mary, and it wouldn't matter now. Right?' 'No,' he disagreed, catching up with her. Panting, he said, 'It's important that you're Fran. In essence'" (Dick 1991: 25). It seems that Fran's line of reasoning, justifying their cheating is based on the separation of the body from the mind: " 'We're here,' she said presently, 'to do what we can't do back at the hovel. Back where we've left our corruptible bodies. [...] And since we're here, and we can do things denied us at the hovel, then your theory is we ought to do those things. We ought to take advantage of the opportunity'" (Dick 1991: 25). From the above statement, one can draw the conclusion that Sam and Fran believe morality to be a set of rules imposed on them "back there", and in contrast, "here" they are given a chance to live a different life, so these rules may – or even should – be discarded, in accord with the egocentric attitude that characterizes almost every individual in the novel with the significant exception of a Christian woman, Anne Hawthorne. She alone consciously tries to stand against the predominant axiological order of the novel's fictional world (and eventually fails by taking Can-D). Nevertheless, Sam's conversation

with Fran is interrupted by the voice of Fran's husband, Norm, that Sam hears from the inside of himself:

> [...] in the limbs of his body, an alien mastery asserted itself; he sat back, away from the girl. "After all," Norm Schein thought, "I'm married to her." He laughed, then.
> "Who said you could use my layout?" Sam Regan thought angrily. "Get out of my compartment. And I bet it's my Can-D, too."
> "You offered it to us," the co-inhabitant of his mindbody answered. "So I decided to take you up on it." (Dick 1991: 25).

The most important element of the scene which is quoted in part above is the possibility of not only the human mind but also the human body to be possessed – at least partly – by some alien force or being (one not acknowledged by the possessed subject as their own). By the same token, the two most important boundaries that should separate an individual from the outer world – the boundaries between their body and mind and what lies beyond them – are breached without their consent. The eponymous Palmer Eldritch also appears as such an abusive, violating, and thus dystopian force; the description of him possessing Barney Mayerson, the precognetic consultant at Perky Pat Layouts, Inc., corresponds with the experience Sam Regan has: "[h]e heard, then, a laugh. It was Palmer Eldritch's laugh but it was emerging from – Himself" (Dick 1991: 106). The question of Palmer Eldritch's possessive power appears to be partly answered by Leo Bulero, the head of Perky Pat Layouts, Inc., in his conversation with Felix Blau, the head of a private police organization: "'Eldritch's power works through that drug,' Leo said. 'As long as he can't administer any to me I'm fine.'" (Dick 1991: 97). Palmer Eldritch's power operates via the drug called Chew-Z, creating an illusionary pseudo-reality that – from the external point of view (that is, from the point of view of those who comprehend the danger that Eldritch constitutes for drug users) – bears the signs of dystopia understood as an unpleasant displacement of reality. The ontological status of such a pseudo-reality can be defined as a simulacrum. Simulacrum,

Jean Baudrillard's famous term (1981), is understood here in the following sense:

> Baudrillard sketches four successive phases of simulacra. Firstly, he argues, the image is taken as 'the reflection of a profound reality'. Then the image 'masks and denatures a profound reality'. The first phase Baudrillard associates with Platonism and the second with Marxism. Thirdly, following Nietzsche, Baudrillard contends that the image also 'masks the absence of a profound reality', and finally, with simulation, 'has no relation to any reality whatsoever: it is its own pure simulacrum' (Pawlett 2010: 198).

The hallucinatory vision's absence of substance does not lessen the effect it has on distorted human perception. When Eldritch's staff manages to capture Leo Bulero, inject him with Chew-Z, a drug made of the lichen brought by Eldritch somewhere from the Proxima Centauri system, and tie him to a chair in an almost empty room, Eldritch informs Bulero that he stole the lichen from the Proxers, who "use it themselves, in religious orgies. As our Indians made use of mescal and peyotl" (Dick 1991: 41). After that, Palmer Eldritch starts to claim that the Chew-Z experience is genuine, in contrast to Can-D which "is obsolete, because what does it do? Provides a few moments of escape, nothing but fantasy" (Dick 1991: 47). Trying to convince Leo Bulero, Eldritch points at a "gluck", a monster he invents and places in a hallucinatory surrounding of their conversation: "the glucks showed you with absolute clarity that this is not a fantasy. They could actually have killed you. And if you died here that would be it. Not like Can-D, is it?" (Dick 1991: 47). The possibility of being killed by non-existent creatures seems to be a decisive factor that supposedly proves the genuineness of the experience Chew-Z provides. However, even if Palmer Eldritch's imagination is able to envision surroundings that appears as "real" on the level of the intoxicated mind, the natural-born body is the one which "awaits" its "owner" until the Chew-Z effects wear off:

> "When we return to our former bodies – you notice the use of the word 'former,' a term you wouldn't apply with Can-D, and for good reason – you'll find that no time has passed. We could stay here fifty years and it'd be the same; we'd emerge back at the demesne on Luna and find everything unchanged, and anyone watching us would see no lapse of consciousness, as you have with Can-D, no trance, no stupor. Oh, maybe a flicker of the eyelids. A split second; I'm willing to concede that."
> "What determines our length of time here?" Leo asked.
> "Our attitude. Not the quantity taken. We can return whenever we want to. So the amount of the drug need not be – "
> "That's not true. Because I've wanted out of here for some time, now."
> "But," Eldritch said, "you didn't construct this – establishment, here; I did and it's mine. [...] "Every damn thing you see, including your body." (Dick 1991: 47).

Palmer Eldritch, as a ruler of the hallucinatory realm, is able to fully govern it as long as he wants, claiming that the effects of Chew-Z depend neither on Newtonian time nor on the Chew-Z dose taken by the user. It seems, then, that what Chew-Z does exactly with the structure of reality, apart from its visionary potential that can be directed by Palmer Eldritch, is time-stopping when the mind leaves the body for the time that the Chew-Z works. Nonetheless, without the body the mind cannot operate within the frames of the material reality that is conditioned not only by the laws of classical physics, but also – on the social level – by the desires of egocentric individuals and corrupted political institutions.

The type of the hallucinogenic dystopia that is induced by Chew-Z is, then, characterized by two main features: it is timeless and experienced only on the level of the mind, while the natural-born body of the experiencer stays in the place where the rules of classical physics are applicable. Taking into consideration that "Newtonian mechanics could not be applied to events in which there occurred velocities comparable to the velocity of light" (Heisenberg 2000: 58), it is sensible to assume that in the world of *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* the

visions induced by Chew-Z occur at the speed of light, because only then can time stop, according to Einstein's findings that "time does 'stop' at relativistic speeds, but you have to get to practically the speed of light itself to get the most extreme situation" (einstein.stanford.edu/content/relativity).

When Leo Bulero finally escapes from the insane labyrinth of the hallucinogenic dystopia that Palmer Eldritch has envisioned in an attempt to possess Bulero's mind, Leo realizes that there is no escape from both the hallucinogenic and political dystopia other than in a spiritual order "that underlies the play of phenomena which we call 'reality'" (Dick 1991: 58). This hidden spiritual force is extrinsic to, and thus independent of, any individual existence: " it's something in me that even that thing Palmer Eldritch can't reach and consume because since it's not me it's not mine to lose" (Dick 1991: 121). Its nature, however inexplicable, is different than the immoral and egocentric will to power that drove Bulero until his encounter with Eldritch.

2.2. The technological dystopia

Palmer Eldritch is "the well-known interplan industrialist [...], who had gone to the Prox system a decade ago at the invitation of the Prox Council of humanoid types; they had wanted him to modernize their autofacs along Terran lines. Nothing had been heard from Eldritch since" (Dick 1991: 8). From the above quotation, the reader learns that the range of the fictional world of *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* goes beyond the borders of the Solar System, for human-like species have settled colonies as far as the Proxima Centauri system, and possibly even further into interstellar space as no one knows where Palmer Eldritch really was. The fact that the exploration of outer space is possible due to technological progress is crucial as it is technology that structures the dystopian dynamics of *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch*. Not only does technology allow for interplanetary voyages and colonization but it also is responsible

for the production, distribution and operation of the Perky Pat Layout.

It is significant that Eldritch's first appearance in the novel takes the form of a voice transmitted from an electronic device. As the plot unfolds, the eponymous character manifests himself in many forms with the help of multiple technological transmitters, either creating holographic representations or speaking through electronic devices. Also, the stigmata of Palmer Eldritch's body appear as technological improvements:

> He had enormous steel teeth, these having been installed prior to his trip to Prox by Czech dental surgeons; they were welded to his jaws, were permanent: he would die with them. And – his right arm was artificial. […] And he was blind. At least from the standpoint of the natural-born body. But replacements had been made – at the prices which Eldritch could and would pay; that had been done just prior to his Prox voyage by Brazilian oculists. They had done a superb job. The replacements, fitted into the bone sockets, had no pupils, nor did any ball move by muscular action. Instead a panoramic vision was supplied by a wide angle lens, a permanent horizontal slot running from edge to edge (Dick 1991: 86).

Technological advancement, known as cyborgization, has changed Palmer Eldritch's human body into a partly robotic organism. Such advancements are welcomed by transhumanists who view them in terms of desired "morphological freedom": "We favour allowing individuals wide personal choice over how they enable their lives. This includes use of techniques that may be developed to assist […] possible human modification and enhancement technologies" (humanityplus.org/philosophy/transhumanist-declaration/). Dick's vision seems to challenge the very source of the transhumanist view of the postulated posthuman – by showing that such a view is no less dystopian than any other corrupted utopian ideal. And this source is the will for never ending progress for the sake of an imagined state of constant happiness, a "lasting bliss" (Bostrom n.d.) without suffering.

The transhumanist posthuman seems to be a philosophical construct that assumes a peaceful coexistence of highly developed entities without paying sufficient attention to the fact that the moral development inscribed into a transhumanist perspective should not be taken for granted, for it may not accompany the development of consciousness. Even though at the time Dick was writing *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* the notion of transhumanism was not in use yet, the view of the future posthuman in a transhumanist sense is deconstructed in the novel's dystopian vision of its characters' wavering identities as they steal one another's projected lives.

Palmer Eldritch and Leo Bulero are more intellectually developed than most humans because they have undergone a treatment called "E Therapy" offered by an "ex-Nazi-type German doctor" (Dick 1991: 107). "E Therapy" increases brain function by accelerating its natural evolution. Those who were treated by Dr. Denkmal are called "bubbleheads" due to their enormously large frontal lobes. Neverteheless, "E Therapy" did not make Leo Bulero and Palmer Eldritch more empathetic and the price they have to pay in consequence is their aching loneliness which seems to drive their need to possess not only things, but also – as it is in Palmer Eldritch's case – the minds and bodies of others: "[w]ith vast trailing arms he extended from the Proxima Centaurus system to Terra itself, and he was not human; this was not a man who had returned. And he had great power. He could overcome death. But he was not happy. For the simple reason that he was alone. So he at once tried to make up for this; he went to a lot of trouble to draw others along the route he had followed" (Dick 1991: 107). Palmer Eldritch's loneliness seems to be caused by his refusal to empathize with other human beings; he only wants them to feel what he feels. There is no reciprocity on his part because he sees himself as a human being of the highest order.

Palmer Eldritch's view of himself corresponds with Nietzsche's view on the superman who should go through absolute solitude to discover himself and who should not care about

those whom he has categorized as belonging to the rabble: "[l]ife is a fountain of delight; but where the rabble also drinks all wells are poisoned" (Nietzsche 1961: 120). Nietzsche glorifies solitude – a price which must be paid for the freedom that allows an individual's will to power to manifest and act. However, without others, solitude is neverending, and because of that it may turn into the thirst for power over those who are despised because of their inabilities to be on the same level of advancement as the superman; and thus „[o]ur longing for a friend is our betrayer" (Nietzsche 1961: 82).

The poetic pathos Nietzsche uses to stress the assumed extraordinariness of the position of the superman as an enlightened entity that knows and feels much more than common people seems to be echoed in one of the most prominent transhumanists manifestoes, Nick Bostrom's *Letter from Utopia*: "I fear that the pursuit of Utopia will bring out the worst in you. Many a moth has been incinerated in pursuit of a brighter future" (Bostrom n.d.), and further: "I am one of your possible futures. One day, I hope, you will become me". It is Palmer Eldritch who hopes that one day everyone will be possessed by him, but not because he would like them to be like him, but because he does not care about beings who he considers worse than himself. Leo Bulero becomes dispirited when he thinks about his clients' ungratefulness: "what is there of equal value for us? he asked himself, and felt melancholy. He had, by manufacturing the Perky Pat layouts and raising and distributing the lichenbase for the final packaged product Can-D, made life bearable for over one million unwilling expatriates from Terra. But what the hell did he get back? My life, he thought, is dedicated to others" (Dick 1991: 14). It is, then, resentment rather than contentment that grows out of the economic exploitation of others (as they pay for his products), which indicates that solitary achievements dictated by the will to power are not enough to bring lasting satisfaction.

Richard Hnatt and his wife Emily, who was once married to Barney Mayerson, also go to Munich to take the risk of being

treated by Dr. Denkmal. The risk associated with the "E Therapy" is that of possible mental regress, instead of progress. Even though Emily does not feel comfortable with the whole idea, she acquiesces to her husband, who is eager to become more evolved than he is at present:

> "It makes me nervous," Emily whispered; she held a magazine on her lap but was unable to read. "It's so – unnatural."
> "Hell," Hnatt said vigorously, "that's what it's not; it's an acceleration of the natural evolutionary process that's going on all the time anyway, only usually it's so slow we don't perceive it. I mean, look at our ancestors in caves; they were covered with body-hair and they had no chins and a very limited frontal-area brain-wise. And they had huge fused molars in order to chew uncooked seeds."
> "Okay," Emily said, nodding (Dick 1991: 36).

The atmosphere of Dr. Denkmal's clinic, intertextually gothicized, evokes something rather gloomy and gruesome: "They faced a gigantic chamber of scientific gadgets and two Dr. Frankenstein tables, complete with arm and leg brackets. At the sight Emily moaned and shrank back. 'Nothing to fear, Frau Hnatt. Like electra-convulsive shock, causes certain musculature reactions; reflex, you know?' Denkmal giggled. 'Now you must, ah, you know: take off your clothes.'" (Dick 1991: 37). It appears that neither the country in which the clinic is placed, nor the atmosphere is incidental. It is common knowledge that the Nazis experimented with people, and dreamed of breeding a perfect race, based on the supposed "Aryan features". The source of such ideas might be traced back to Nietzsche's superman who creates his own values rather than follow any traditional morality:

> [t]here are those who sit in their swamp and speak thus from the rushes: 'Virtue – that means to sit quietly in the swamp. We bite nobody and avoid him who wants to bite: and in everything we hold the opinions that is given us.'

> And again, there are those who like posing and think: Virtue is a sort of a pose. Their knees are always worshipping and their hands are glorifications of virtue, but their heart knows nothing of it (Nietzsche 1961: 119).

Even if Nietzsche condemns any idea that restrains individual progress (for example, the racism on which the Nazi movement was based), his somehow bellicose writings were used for Nazi propaganda purposes. Where Nietzsche addresses nature in his idea of the progress that should lead to the superman, the Nazis combined pseudo-scientific jargon with actual experiments on enslaved human beings in order to create their version of the superman. Richard Hnatt emphasizes that "E Therapy" is "natural", whereas Emily is frightened and considers the process unnatural. As it has been mentioned previously, there is also a risk of regression:

> Denkmal bent down beside him, suddenly serious. "I want you to understand; every now and then this therapy – what do you say? – blasts back."
> "Backfires," Hnatt said gratingly. He had been expecting this.
> "But mostly we have successes. Here, Herr Hnatt, is what the backfires consist of, I am afraid; instead of evolving the Kresy Gland is very stimulated to – regress. Is that correct in English?"
> "Yes," Hnatt muttered. "Regress how far?"
> "Just a trifle. But it could be unpleasant. We would catch it quickly, of course, and cease therapy. And generally that stops the regression. But – not always. Sometimes once the Kresy Gland has been stimulated to –" He gestured. "It keeps on. I should tell you this in case you might have scruples. Right?"
> "I'll take the chance," Richard Hnatt said (Dick 1991: 39).

Richard Hnatt's ambition of intellectual superiority over the majority who cannot afford "E Therapy" costs irreparable damage to his wife's brain, which manifests both through her pottery drafts and her lack of memory: "The ideas were good – but Emily had done them already. Years ago, when she had designed her first professionally adequate pots: she had shown him sketches

of them and then the pots themselves, even before the two of them were married. Didn't she remember this? Obviously not" (Dick 1991: 40). That Richard Hnatt wants to use Emily's pots as part of the Perky Pat layout for Can-D users seems to be just another indicator of his exceedingly ambitious character driven by the will to power. He does not have scruples in his efforts to get a better position on the social ladder, being ready to sacrifice even his relatives for the sake of his career.

"E Therapy" is an element of dystopian reality of the first level ruled by the laws of classical physics. Nonetheless, between this and the next level, governed by the laws of modern physics, there is a vast realm of technologically created, flexible non-places that can be described with the help of the category of simulacrum mentioned in the previous chapter. Simulacrum is "produced from miniaturized cells, matrices, and memory banks, models of control – and it can be reproduced an indefinite number of times from these" (Baudrillard 1994: 3) as artificial, immaterial (not palpable) visual representations that blur the boundaries between the real and the unreal. They are non-places – not in the anthropological sense defined by Marc Auge (1992), but because they do not physically occupy any territory. As Baudrillard expresses it, "the ideal coextensivity of map and territory disappears in the simulation whose operation is nuclear and genetic, no longer at all specular or discursive. It is all of metaphysics that is lost" (Baudrillard 1993: 3). A technologically created simulacrum does not change the original structure of space-time as presented in *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch's*, however it prolongs the hallucinogenic effect of drugs because of the fact that it distorts perception. The dystopian dimension of the technologically induced hallucinations lies in their intentional nature: in Dick's novel, simulacrum is intended to enslave the perception of its targeted subject by those who are projecting it. When Leo Bulero refuses to cooperate with Palmer Eldritch, the closed room they are in suddenly blows up in his face (Dick 1991: 41). Shortly thereafter he finds himself in totally different setting: "[h]e opened his eyes, and found

himself sitting on a grassy bank. Beside him a small girl played with a yo-yo" (Dick 1991: 41). There are no limits in creating simulacra other than the imagination of its creator when it comes to hallucinogenic dystopia, but there are technical limitations when it comes to technological dystopia as the latter form of dystopia depends on the technological progress of mankind. Thus, the hallucinogenic dystopia in *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* is not independent of technology; the two kinds of dystopia specified at the beginning of this article work together, changing the perception of reality whose ontological nature may be best described as follows: "[r]eality is that which when you stop believing in it, it doesn't go away" (Dick 2011: 67).

3. Conclusion

In this article I tried to prove that the dystopian axiological order of Philip Dick's *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch's* is rooted in Friedrich Nietzsche's notion of the will to power. All dystopias' axiological sources lie in the choices that human beings make, and, by the same token, are connected with the will. Dick's novel explores the issue of technology, the constitutive structural element of the science-fiction genre, and is essentially a product of the progress of science, i.e. an effect of the human effort to understand and change their environment for the better. However, science is of no use if deprived of the physical impact which can obviously be produced and gradually strengthened by technology. A progressive, scientific worldview may fuel development in many fields and make people's lives easier, but on the other hand, it may also be damaging because of its pursuit of a never ending change for better living conditions. Dick's vision shows that the supposedly utopian vision of constant progress, which in point of fact exploits human beings and nature as its resources, has a dystopian potential. *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch's* multidimensional dystopia also puts a special emphasis on hallucinogenic drugs that, when combined with

technology, have damaging effects on human beings who, by taking drugs, try to lessen their suffering caused in huge part by the overambitious supermen of their devastated world.

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