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Jan Cygan (1927–2021)

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Linguistics

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The English Plural Linguists Have Forgotten, but Speakers Have Not

Abstract: The late professor Jan Cygan, to whose memory this volume is dedicated, was fond of showing that many quirks of modern English usage are in fact vestiges of earlier stages in the history of the language. He cherished using historical data to elucidate such puzzling cases, and this paper follows in his footsteps by investigating a minor English zero plural pattern that featured quite prominently in discussions of Boris Johnson’s legacy as mayor of London, e.g.: “*Three secondhand water cannon* bought and refurbished for £322000 during Boris Johnson’s time as mayor of London have been sold for £11025” (Devlin). In order to account for such usages, this paper reviews extant research on animal zero plurals and extends the explanation argued for in Berezowski to inanimate instances. It is shown that in both scenarios, the use of the zero plural is conditioned by a cognitive factor rooted in human perception. Specifically, it is claimed that inanimate zero plurals are holdovers from the times when early military tactics and technology prevented speakers from individuating the referents of a handful of English nouns.

Keywords: cognitive linguistics, English, zero plural

Introduction

As can be amply demonstrated by any descriptive grammar, English has a broad range of minor plural patterns, both native, e.g. *goose—geese*, *wolf—wolves*, and borrowed from a variety of languages, e.g. *crisis—crises*, *seraph—seraphim*, etc. One of the former is the zero plural illustrated below:

(1) A whole French brigade was surrounded and compelled to surrender; the total bag amounting to 2,825 troops, twenty-five machine guns and **twelve assorted cannon**, and a box full of brand new Croix-de-Guerres—a discovery which delighted German war correspondents (K91).

The numeral *twelve* leaves no doubt that the nominal *twelve assorted cannon* is plural and the absence of any overt plurality marker on the noun clearly puts it in the company of animal nouns that can take zero plurals if the context is right, e.g. *buffalo*, *herring* or *antelope*. While the use of such plural forms of nouns denoting animals is duly noted in descriptive grammars and has sparked some research, to be reviewed below, inanimate zero plurals like *cannon* in (1) have not been inquired into by linguists for more than a century, and, what is even more bizarre, have disappeared from grammar books, even though their usage continues as shown above.

Inanimate zero plurals like (1) were noted and illustrated from a variety of sources in Kruisinga, Jespersen, or Poutsma, to name only three extensive volumes on English grammar published on the eve of the Great War, but are not even given a footnote in voluminous descriptive grammars printed almost a century later, e.g. Quirk et al. or Huddleston and Pullum, let alone in somewhat more compact descriptions, e.g. Biber et al. or Aarts.

The reason for the omission is neither the demise of such forms nor their extreme rarity, as in the BNC the zero plural *cannon* in fact narrowly outnumbers the inflected plural *cannons*. When the corpus was searched for *cannon*, there were 641 hits comprising both plain singular nominals, e.g. *a 20 mm cannon*, and a mixed bag of other items, including a fair share of proper names, e.g. *Geoffrey Cannon*, a number of adjectival usages, e.g. *cannon shots*, quite a few ambiguous cases that in the maximum context available in the BNC could technically be given either singular or zero plural readings, e.g. *cross-fire from the cannon*, and as many as 102 examples framed in unequivocally plural contexts. At the same time, the search for the inflected plural *cannons* returned 122 hits, out of which only 101 actually refer to guns.

Since the zero plural *cannon* is marginally more frequent than the overt plural *cannons* in a corpus of modern English, it is then obvious that the usage illustrated in (1) is not a specimen of antediluvian grammar brought back to life by fans of antiquated English, but a plural form that is actually quite popular nowadays. In the most explicit cases, its use is revealed by numerals, as shown in (1), but it may also be disclosed in more subtle ways, e.g.:

(2) The idea of a siege as a ritual conducted according to well-defined rules is clearly illustrated by the answer of the commander of the Spanish garrison at Gaeta in southern Italy when faced in the 1730s with an Austrian demand for surrender: “It is not yet time, since no batteries have been formed and **no cannon are** yet in place which would be a cause for surrender” (H8C).

(3) It was entirely within range of even **the smaller cannon** left in the castle, although depressing **the muzzles** sufficiently downwards would mean that only the far side of the ford would be bombardable (CD8).

Since the determiner *no* is compatible both with singulars and plurals, its use in (2) is in itself insufficient to conclude whether the nominal *no cannon* should be given a singular or plural reading, but the question is decided in favor of the

latter by the plural verb *are*, i.e. by agreement, and a somewhat similar mechanism may be observed at work in (3). The nominal *the smaller cannon* looks singular but technically could also be a zero plural, as the English definite article is compatible with both and the scale is tipped in favor of the latter interpretation by a later use of a noun that is plural and definite. As every cannon has only one muzzle, the use of the definite plural *the muzzles* leaves no doubt that an array of guns is referred to in (3) and, consequently, *cannon* is a zero plural.

The most inconspicuous way of indicating the plural status of *cannon* is the disuse of determiners, e.g.:

(4) Six weeks later the town, which had suffered heavily from the bombardment of English **cannon**, capitulated (EDF).

As is well-known, if an English nominal headed by a common noun is bare, it has to be either plural or uncountable, since singular countables always take a determiner. However, just like scores of other well-bounded man-made objects, e.g. a rifle, a gun, a rocket, etc., a cannon is designated by a countable noun, which leaves only a plural reading in cases like (4). Consequently, bare nominals headed by *cannon* may be safely taken to be instances of the zero plural.

Since such usages have somehow slipped under the radar of modern linguists, the goal of the paper is to plug that gap in the study of English plurals by exploring their commonalities with the much better studied animal zero plurals and showing that the examples in (1)–(4) in fact represent a somewhat broader pattern of English zero plurals that has so far not been enquired into.

The discussion is based on examples retrieved from the British National Corpus (BNC) and checked manually for their zero plural status, as outlined above. The paper is structured as follows: Section 1 reviews earlier scholarship on English zero plurals, Section 2 develops a cognitive explanation of the pattern illustrated in (1)–(4) above, Section 3 explores instances of similar zero plurals, and Section 4 draws final conclusions.

1. Previous scholarship

As has been noted in the previous section, the number of modern publications on the pattern at hand is nil. The review of previous scholarship will thus focus on the studies of the morphologically-identical pattern of animal zero plurals, with the view to identifying those features of extant explanations that can be helpfully applied to accounting for the usages in (1)–(4).

A few English animal nouns take the zero plural only, e.g. *deer*, *salmon* or *sheep*, but in most cases where such a form is available, it is in competition with the inflected one, e.g. *duck*, *giraffe* or *rhino*. Consequently, the main thrust of research on English animal zero plurals has been to identify the contextual factors which make such uses possible and it can be separated off into two main strands: an older

one argued for in quite much detail in Allan or Toupin, and a newer one broached in Berezowski.

The older account is ultimately based on an observation in Sweet, which links the use of zero plurals with hunting, e.g.:

(5) “Okay, gentlemen, today we hunt **buffalo!**” Senator Nathaniel Sherman stood in the middle of the camp clearing, his booted feet astride, clutching a hand-crafted Purdey .450 double-barreled rifle in one fist (FU8).

Specifically, Toupin claims that the use of zero plurals like *buffalo* in (5) is due to viewing animals as game (113), which has been salient in English culture since Anglo-Saxon times (107–109), while for Allan, such usages are correlated with the extent to which humans treat wild animals designated by particular nouns as sources of food and other useful products, e.g. skins, trophies, etc. (Allan 107).

Such explanations can obviously be easily extended to contexts in which hunting is not as explicitly invoked as in (5), but the referents of the zero plurals are the quarry of hunters, trappers, fishermen or anglers, e.g.:

(6) On either side there was open parkland grazed by a herd of **red deer** or, now that it was December and the males were apart, two herds (HP0).

(7) Female **squid** do not extend any parental care of protection to their eggs and may become so exhausted by the act of reproduction that they die shortly after (C96).

While the use of the zero plurals *red deer* in (6) and *squid* in (7) can be credibly accounted for by claiming that their referents are game animals and/or sources of food and trophies, such an approach is, however, unable to explain why zero plurals can also denote farm animals, e.g. sheep, or can be found in a variety of generic contexts, e.g.:

(8) There are about 2,700 species of **snake** in the world, yet only 50 or so are highly venomous (CJ3).

Snakes are neither commonly hunted for food nor sources of useful products, so the zero plural *snake* in (8) defies explanation in that framework and there are scores of further counterexamples, as has been shown in Berezowski.

The descriptive adequacy of the explanation based on the practice of hunting is thus limited, but what is even more crucial is the fact that it cannot be sensibly applied to zero plurals like *cannon* in (1)–(4), as their referents are neither game nor sources of any animal products.

The other approach to animal zero plurals, argued for in Berezowski, is based on the concept of referent individuation defined as the ability to construe referents as separate individuals (Grimm 528). Specifically, it is claimed that the availability of the zero plural is triggered by the impossibility of referent individuation, i.e. the inability of the speaker to perceive individual referents in a group. On land, that is typically the case when animals live in large herds, e.g.:

(9) On the plain I could see long, black, sinuous lines of **wildebeest**, hundreds of thousands of them, constantly on the move. These absurd-looking antelopes

cavort, buck, kick and run in all directions, making a strange honking sound. The annual migration of some one and a half million **wildebeest** is an awesome spectacle as they travel about 800 kilometers in search of water and green pastures for survival (HSG).

Those referents of the plural *wildebeest* that are the closest to the speaker may be easy to individuate, but all the rest, whether standing in the center of the herd or on its far side, are visible only partly or not at all. They are blotted out by the animals facing the observer, which makes individuating all group members virtually impossible. And when the herd starts to move as is the case in (9), doing so is even harder as the animals mix and blur.

In this approach, it is thus no wonder that the zero plural can denote farm animals that live in large flocks, e.g. sheep, but such usage does not extend to horses, cows or bulls, which can be likewise seen in large herds but are commonly given names and/or are branded, which facilitates individuation.

While on land referent individuation may depend on group size, distance or naming and branding traditions, in water it does not. Since sunlight is either reflected off water surfaces or dissipates soon after crossing it, the creatures that spend their entire lives under water remain permanently in the dark and, consequently, practically invisible for humans located on dry land or in fishing boats. Water surfaces create a cognitive barrier which prevents humans not only from individuating the animals which dwell below it, but even from noticing them at all, and that is duly reflected in the use of zero plurals, e.g. *clownfish*, *carp*, *pike*, *krill*, etc. However, if aquatic creatures surface on a regular basis and can be individuated, as is the case with sharks or dolphins, they are designated by nouns taking overt plurals.

The role of referent individuation in motivating the use of zero plurals is perhaps the most palpable in the case of whales. They have been hunted almost to extinction and for centuries were the source of a variety of useful products, e.g. blubber, ambergris, whalebone, etc., which should make the nouns that designate them paradigm examples of zero plurals if the hunting-based explanation were true. However, as shown in Berezowski, whales are predominantly designated by nouns that are overtly marked for the plural because, like any other sea mammals, they surface on a regular basis and, consequently, can be individuated by harpooners and conservationists alike.

Finally, the approach based on referent individuation is also able to account for the fact that in generic contexts, the zero plural can be taken by nouns designating practically any animal, as has been exemplified in (8) and is further illustrated below:

(10) Among the diurnal raptors, the various species of **eagle** appear to be the most important predators of larger animals (B2C).

Neither snakes in (8) nor eagles in (10) are gregarious animals and both are usually cautiously individuated by people who are intent either on avoiding the danger they can pose or admiring the majesty they display. However, species

are set up by abstracting away from the characteristics of specific individuals and generalizing over entire populations, i.e., by cognitive processes which are in stark opposition to individuating particular animals. Consequently, in generic contexts, the zero plural is available even for nouns designating solitary animals with highly distinctive features, e.g. hiss, rattle or resplendent plumage.

The approach based on referent individuation is thus able to account for many more examples of animal zero plurals than the explanations centered on the practice of hunting, but what is even more important for the purpose at hand is the fact that the key concept of that approach can be easily applied also to the referents of zero plurals like *cannon* in (1)–(4) above.

2. *Cannon* and its plurals

In order to appreciate how referent individuation can help to account for zero plurals like *cannon*, it is necessary to step back in time a bit, e.g.:

(11) The approaching fleet, now seen to be wearing banners showing the Leopards of England, did slow down and bunch together as they approached the harbour entrance, to negotiate the fairly narrow channel. Their **cannon were** very evident, as they closed, crews lining the bulwarks. Still Seton waited, calculating distance, gunners impatient at their **dozen cannon**, touch-ropes steeped in saltpetre **smoking**, fizzing, ready. As it happened, it was the enemy who opened fire first, the leading ship suddenly letting off a ragged salvo from its starboard guns, **in flame and smoke**, as demonstration and warning presumably (CD8).

Grammatically, both instances of *cannon* are evidently plural in (11), as shown by the use of the plural verb *were* and the traditional numeral *dozen*, respectively. What is equally evident historically in (11), is, though, the employment of early technology which relied on gunpowder and used saltpeter, i.e. potassium nitrate, as its key oxidizing ingredient. The result was that every time a cannon was fired, it belched out flames and a plume of smoke that shrouded the gun for a while, and if a number of them went into action at once, their entire location was soon enveloped in a dense cloud of smoke.

Under such opaque conditions, observers were obviously unable to individuate particular guns that were actually fired, which provided the same motivation for the use of the zero plural *cannon* as has been posited for animal zero plurals in Berezowski (2020). The only difference is that while in animal zero plurals the inability to individuate referents is due to natural causes, e.g. the gregarious behavior of animals or the dissipation of light in water, in the zero plural *cannon*, it was due to a side effect of primitive gun technology that prevailed for several centuries until smokeless powder was invented in 1884.

However, by the time that happened, the zero plural had already become so well entrenched in English that no later advancement in technology has so far been

able to dislodge it, even if cannon not only have become smokeless but even started to spray water and snow, e.g.:

(12). Detachments of police went after individuals and when the street was nearly clear, **water cannon** were brought in. Later it was alleged that the RUC sprayed not only those who remained on the road but also groups sheltering in shop doorways and the first-floor windows of houses, some of which were open. Passers-by, and others who had taken no part in the demonstration, were also soaked (APP).

(13) A hundred **snow cannon** have laid 10 million gallons of snow in the Park City race area known as Willi's Face (A8N).

As evidenced in (12)–(13), the zero plural pattern has been inherited by the compounds *water cannon* and *snow cannon*. The latter is recorded in the BNC only once and is outnumbered by 4 instances of the inflected plural *snow cannons*, but the former, with 19 examples, is twice as frequent as the inflected plural *water cannons*, which has merely 8 BNC records. In the fairly recent compound *water cannon*, the zero plural pattern is thus even more robust than in *cannon* itself.

3. More military zero plurals

Fundamentally similar examples of zero plural usage can be found in other early branches of the army and the navy, e.g.:

(14) But Yusuf could no longer allow the continuance of El Cid's foothold in the east. He therefore despatched a force of some **150,000 horse** and 3000 foot soldiers under the generalship of his nephew Mohammed, with orders to crush the power of the Campeador for ever (ASW).

The staggering numeral leaves no doubt that *horse* in (14) is a zero plural and the references to a force, foot soldiers and generalship clearly specify that it designates cavalymen, presumably subdivided into a number of units. Given the discussion in the previous section, the cognitive motivation behind such a usage is, however, fairly straightforward. In a large unit of cavalry, only the horsemen riding close to the observer can be fully individuated, while those riding further in the center of the formation or on its far side are visible only partly, if at all, and when the unit charges, individuating any of the cavalymen is even harder, as the speed of galloping horses blurs the picture and the dust they kick up decreases visibility.

In terms of the ability to individuate referents, viewing a large group of horsemen is thus not much different from observing a herd or flock of gregarious animals. In both cases, it is hard to do, if possible at all, which, as has been claimed in Berezowski (2020), motivates the use of zero plurals.

It has to be noted, though, that in the use illustrated in (14) and explicated above, the zero plural *horse* designates cavalymen, i.e. soldiers mounted on horses and not horses on their own. As stated and richly exemplified in Jespersen (63–64) and other grammars based on historical data, English had a zero plural *horse*,

denoting groups or herds of equines, i.e. a form parallel to *sheep* or *deer* in modern English, but its use died out in the 1600s. The animal zero plural was a holdover from Old English times and was ultimately supplanted by the inflected form *horses* that arose in Middle English.

The military zero plural remains in use as exemplified in (15); however, after the disappearance of cavalry from the armed forces the number of occasions for its use obviously dwindled and its frequency in the BNC is very low, but it survives in modern accounts of past wars. The same is the case with another military zero plural:

(15) He kept the Iranian troops and a few hand-picked detachments; one Iranian division was detached to escort Xerxes to the Hellespont and come back. From the size of his camp in 479, said to have been 2,000 yards square, he may have had up to **75,000 horse and foot** (G3C).

As in the previous example, the numeral makes it plain that *foot* in (15) is a zero plural and the reference to troops and detachments clarifies that it refers to foot soldiers, i.e. infantrymen. Given the tactics used by infantry in the past, the cognitive motivation of such usages is, however, essentially the same as in the case of *horse*. For centuries, foot soldiers fought in close formations shaped into squares or rows. While it was thus possible to individuate the soldiers positioned on the side of such formations that faced the observer, those inside or on the far side were barely visible, and if the formation moved or clashed with the enemy, the chances of successful referent individuation were even slimmer.

The motivation for the development of the zero plural *foot* is thus again provided by the inability to individuate particular foot soldiers marching or fighting in close ranks, but the disappearance of such formations after the development of machine guns made them impracticable has restricted the usage of this grammatical form to modern narratives of past military campaigns.

Another example of a military zero plural whose range of use fell prey to progress in technology can be found in modern descriptions of past naval engagements, e.g.:

(16) On the morning of 30 June 1690, while 360 miles [573 km] away near Drogheda, William III and the late King James prepared to fight the Battle of the Boyne. Torrington, with a fleet of 58 English and Dutch warships, backed by a favourable wind, reluctantly engaged a French fleet of **77 sail** under Admiral de Tourville (BNB).

The use of a numeral once again leaves no doubt that *sail* in (16) is a zero plural and the reference to an admiral clarifies that it designates warships. The cognitive motivation of such a usage is also quite straightforward. In times when sails provided a ship with propulsion, they also acted as screens hiding from view anything that was behind them. A ship or ships sailing close to an observer made thus individuating those farther away next to impossible, which, as has been shown above, motivates the development of zero plurals.

Once navy tall ships had been phased out, the number of situations in which such plurals could be used obviously plummeted, which translates into a very low BNC frequency, but they live on in modern historical narratives. Another zero plural with a similar background has, however, been far more fortunate:

(17) All around, tacking between the galleys, milling around the Doge's vessel, I see **the myriad small craft** by which for so many years Venice exerted its supremacy around the Adriatic shores (HSG).

(18) There were a number of instances when Iran used 'gunboats' or **other small craft**, often mere motor launches (HRE).

Originally, *craft* designated only small navy vessels carrying few sails, but the impact of this propulsion system on grammar was the same as described above. Since sails also acted as screens hiding from view ships of similar size sailing further away from the observer, i.e. made individuating particular craft hardly possible, they ultimately provided sufficient motivation for the development of the zero plural.

As shown by (18), the zero plural has, however, outlived the age of sail and remains in use as a common designation of small motor vessels used by the navy for a variety of purposes:

(19) The problems became clear in marshalling hundreds of **landing craft** as big as single-decker buses, but without any brakes, in a confined seaway (CCS).

(20) Oman is placing an order for three **patrol craft** with French shipbuilders after weeks of waiting in the hope that a buyer might be found for the Tyneside yard (K2C).

As evidenced by *landing craft* in (19) and *patrol craft* in (20), *craft* has given rise to compounds that inherited the zero plural. Following in the footsteps of *cannon*, as discussed in the previous section, *craft* has also diversified to a broad range of civilian uses, e.g.:

(21) I also declare another non-commercial interest as one of the members of the Thames Traditional Boat Society, which is concerned with the maintenance, preservation and use of the traditional **hand-propelled craft** of the Thames—dinghies, skiffs, canoes and punts (FX6).

(22) Most of the traffic on the narrow canals is now of a different kind: growing numbers of **pleasure craft** owned or hired by those who have discovered the fascination of the inland waterways.

(23) We reached Lerwick at dusk to moor amongst the varied **fishing craft** at the fish quay (H0C).

Whether the craft serve to ferry people and goods across the Thames (21), are used for leisure (22) or fishing (23), the compounds designating them all follow the zero plural pattern. However, what is perhaps even more remarkable about the staying power of *craft* is its spread to non-sailing contexts, e.g.:

(24) Parachutes do not fall within the definition of aircraft and neither do **hovercraft** so they, too, are excluded (CN2).

(25) On present plans, **648 aircraft** will be produced, at a cost of \$65 billion–95 billion, the first ones coming off the production line in early 1997 (ABJ).

(26) Rather than having its own satellites, AFSAT uses transponders (relay devices) on several **spacecraft** of different types (B7N).

No matter if a craft hovers above any surface (24), flies in the air (25) or travels in outer space (26), the compounds designating them consistently take the same zero plural as *sailing craft* that originally motivated that pattern centuries ago.

4. Final conclusions

The paper has examined a dataset of English zero plurals comprising *cannon*, *horse*, *foot*, *sail* and *craft*, and a variety of compounds which the first and especially the last of these nouns have given rise to. This has been the first inquiry to probe these nouns for more than a century and it warrants drawing a number of conclusions.

The most immediate one is that all these nouns remain in use and, given their atypical plural pattern, deserve to be noted in descriptive grammars of English. In some cases, the frequencies of zero plural usage is substantial, e.g. 50% in the case of *cannon*, 58% for *water cannon* and 100% in the case of *craft* and its compounds. The omission of such forms not only makes modern grammars incomplete, but may also baffle users who come across any of these zero plurals. Whether they are students or grammar buffs, they are offered neither a rudimentary explanation of that uncommon grammatical pattern nor even a confirmation that it does exist.

Secondly, and far more importantly, the paper has shown that the zero plurals under investigation are not random exceptions but form a coherent pattern sharing fundamentally similar motivating factors centered on early modern military tactics and technology. In later centuries, the fortunes of particular nouns diverged, as the demise of navy tall ships, cavalry troops and close infantry formations substantially reduced the number of occasions when the zero plurals *sail*, *horse* and *foot* could be used, depressing their BNC frequencies, while the continuing employment of guns and small vessels provided multiple occasions for the use of the zero plurals *cannon* and *craft*, boosting their BNC frequencies and giving rise to an array of compounds.

Since all the zero plurals examined in the paper share a cognitive motivation steeped in the military, they have been dubbed military zero plurals and claimed to complement the much better known group of animal zero plurals among English minor plural patterns.

Finally, the examination of English military zero plurals lends further support to the explanation of English animal zero plurals based on the concept of referent individuation argued for in Berezowski, as both groups of zero plurals can be consistently accounted for by resorting to its central notion, while the rival approach to animal zero plurals based on the practice of hunting is unable to do so.

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Relevance and Political Discourse: Cognitive Grammar Meets Relevance Theory*

Abstract: The paper seeks to account, in terms of the Cognitive Grammar (CG) approach, for what Relevance theorists call *epistemic vigilance*, a *metarepresentational human ability*, often adopted by the addressee in his/her attempts to detect and evaluate (potentially) fake messages. In this way, we wish to explore the possibility of *rapprochement* between Cognitive Linguistics and Relevance Theory. In our attempt to incorporate epistemic vigilance into the Cognitive Grammar format, we propose to set up a cognitive space called a Relevance Schema (RS), a special “module” associated with Ronald Langacker’s Current Discourse Space (CDS). We claim that epistemic vigilance is instrumental in deriving “an implicational character” of the “true”, intended message that emerges in the blended space as a result of the clash between the explicatures’ meaning and the addressee’s understanding of a “state of affairs”. In Section 2, we discuss Charles Forceville’s Relevance-theoretic account of a political poster featuring Barack Obama. This is followed by a presentation in Section 3 of Ronald Langacker’s theory of CDS. Finally, Section 4 develops an analysis of the front-page issue of the Russian independent newspaper *Novaya Gazeta* and the related article devoted to the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

Keywords: relevance, epistemic vigilance, Cognitive Grammar, Current Discourse Space, Relevance Schema, conceptual integration, political discourse

1. Fragestellung

Consider the following two utterances

1. This surgeon is a butcher.
2. This butcher is a surgeon.

The utterance in (1), which is perhaps as an equally oft-cited example in Cognitive Linguistic theory as Noam Chomsky’s sentence “Colourless green ideas

* The author would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their constructive and valuable comments. For all the inadequacies and shortcomings that remain, I alone am responsible.

sleep furiously” is in the Generative Grammar enterprise, has been analysed by Grady, Oakley and Coulson (105) in terms of the Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT) as follows:

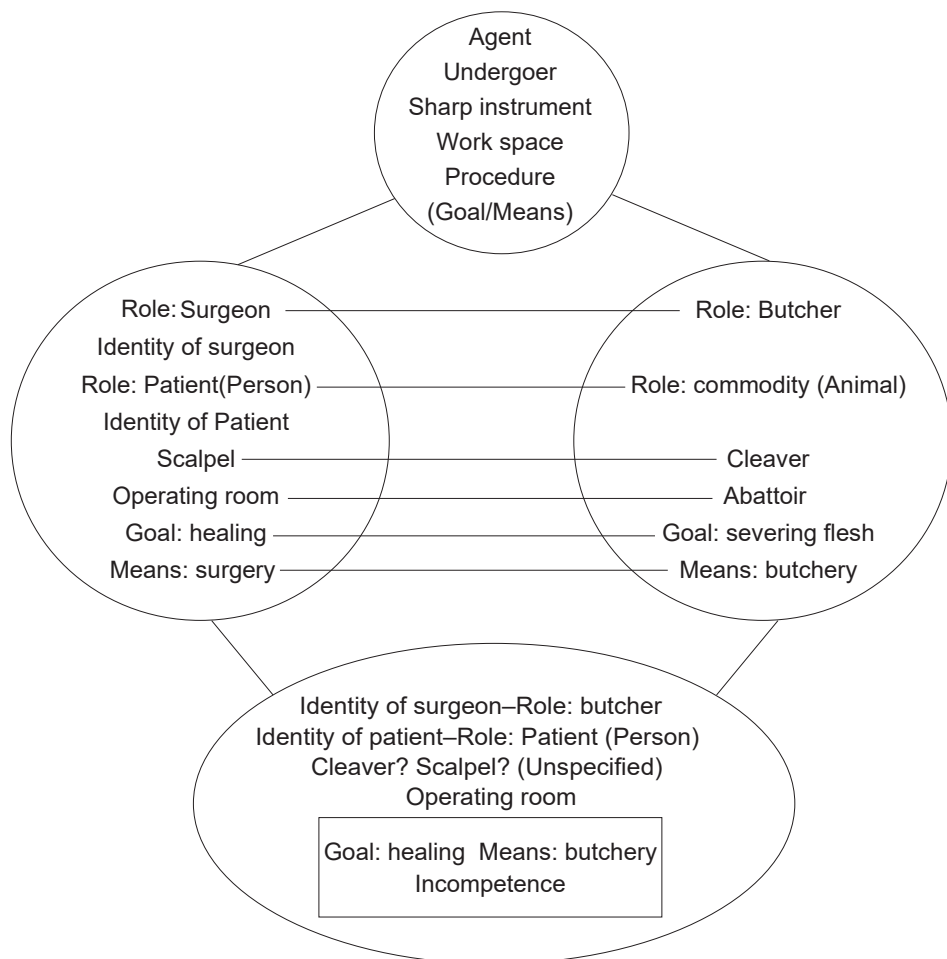


Figure 1: *This surgeon is a butcher*: A CIT analysis

The diagram depicts the process of *conceptual integration*, which is involved in our understanding of (1). What (1) effectively says, apart from its literal meaning, is: “This surgeon is incompetent; hence, do not risk being operated on by him”. As shown in the above diagram, the Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT), also known as the Blending Theory (BT), consists of four (in this case) so-called *mental spaces*.¹ Input Space 1 contains general information about a surgeon, who,

¹ Mental spaces are defined by Fauconnier and Turner (4) as “small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action. ... They contain el-

using a scalpel, operates on a patient in the operating room in order to heal him/her. Input Space 2 characterises a butcher, who severs animal flesh with a cleaver in the abattoir. The Generic Space specifies the commonality of the two Input Spaces: both the surgeon and the butcher, following special procedures, use sharp instruments to achieve their goals. The *correspondences* establish conceptual links between equivalent pieces of information found in the respective spaces: surgeon = butcher; patient = animal; scalpel = cleaver; operating room = abattoir. Finally, the Blended Space contains some (but not all) of the specifications appearing in the three spaces. Crucially, the Blended Space contains an emergent piece of information, in this case: “the incompetence of the surgeon”, which, crucially, does not appear in either of the above-mentioned spaces.

The question now is, what happens if the order of appearance of the two agents, the surgeon and the butcher, in an utterance is different, as in (2)? More specifically, what is the emergent information in the Blended Space in (2)? Clearly, the emergent information is not primarily about the surgeon; it is about the butcher and, interestingly, it is not about the butcher’s incompetence, but rather about the latter’s “artist-like dexterity” in cutting animal flesh.² What (1) and (2) show, then, is that the kinds of elements that appear in particular blends and the order of their appearance in an utterance are *relevant* for the direction and ways the blends develop. Indeed, as noted by Fauconnier and Turner (333)

Participants in communication are under general pressures to make their communications relevant. When a blend is used in communication, it is subject to these general pressures, but part of its relevance derives from its location and function in the network. An element in the blend can fulfil the general expectation of relevance by indicating its connections to other spaces or indicating the lines along which the blend is to develop. Speaker and listener are aware of this fact, and it guides their construction and interpretation of the network. The expectation of relevance encourages the listener to seek connections that maximize the relevance of the elements *for the network*, and it encourages the speaker to include in the blend elements that prompt for the right network connection, but also to exclude elements that might prompt for unwanted connections. We will call this principle “Network Relevance”. [italics original]

The paper discusses the role of the Relevance Principle as formulated by Relevance theorists (cf. Sperber and Wilson; Wilson and Sperber) in multimodal discourse and, associated with it, the metarepresentational human ability of epistemic vigilance assumed by the addressee during the ongoing discourse. Drawing on the insights offered by Relevance Theory (RT), we stress the importance of this type of meta-representation for linguistic investigation, including its relevance

elements and are typically structured by frames. They are interconnected, and can be modified as thought and discourse unfold. Mental spaces can be used generally to model dynamic mappings in thought and language”.

² This point is worth stressing because, in contrast to Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which posits the directionality of mapping from the source domain to the target domain, the correspondences between the mental spaces do not have a direction. Furthermore, the blend, once formed, can be run by recruiting some of the elements from the initial input spaces.

for Cognitive Grammar analysis proposed and developed by Ronald Langacker (cf. Langacker, *Foundations, Cognitive and Nominal*).

According to Relevance theorists, the metarepresentational abilities include the *mindreading* process (attributing one's own thoughts to somebody else), *meta-communicative* (or *pragmatic*) *ability* (understanding and making use of communicative acts involving *explicatures* and *implicatures*) and the *argumentative* (or *metalogical*) *ability* of being *vigilant* (and thus defend oneself against mistakes or deliberate deception) (cf. Wilson; Padilla Cruz; Yus). This last ability is particularly important in today's world full of "communicative noise" created by the barrage of information, some of which is true, some appears to be true and some is outright false. Visual messages appearing on TV, in the press, and in social media, which juxtapose suggestive images with a view to steering public opinion, call for particular vigilance on the part of the public. This paper addresses the issue of the epistemic vigilance associated with the recipients' response to visual images, proposing to incorporate this type of metarepresentational ability, in the form of Relevance Schema, into Ronald Langacker's theory of the Current Discourse Space. To prepare the ground for our analysis, we discuss, in Section 2, Charles Forceville's Relevance-theoretic account of a political poster featuring Barack Obama. This is followed by a presentation in Section 3 of Ronald Langacker's theory of CDS. Finally, Section 4 develops the analysis of the front-page issue of the Russian independent newspaper *Novaya Gazeta*, which alludes to the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

2. Charles Forceville's Relevance-Theoretic account of Barack Obama's poster

In his analysis of the Barack Obama political poster, shown in Figure 2, Charles Forceville makes use of the RT model, developed by Dan Sperber and Deidre Wilson (henceforth S&W).

Following S&W, Forceville notes that normal communication is ostensive-inferential, which means that the speaker wants the addressee to know that the intended message he conveys contains *relevant* information and that his "true communicative intention" should be recognized by the addressee as an attempt to convey relevant information only. A message is said to be relevant for a particular addressee when, as Forceville observes, following S&W, it has an impact on the addressee's "cognitive environment", i.e. on the addressee's knowledge, beliefs, and emotions, but also on the time and place of the communicative event. Generally speaking, the greater the impact on the addressee's cognitive environment, the greater the relevance of the message.



Figure 2: Cartoon of Barack Obama (Forceville 61)

Source: retrieved from <http://noisyroom.net/blog/2012/06/30/obama-lies-taxes-rise/>. 17 Mar. 2022.

According to RT, an utterance is optimally relevant under two conditions, spelled by the Optimal Relevance Principle (ORP), based on the *presumption of optimal relevance* (Wilson and Sperber 7, 65):

An utterance is optimally relevant to the hearer if:

- a. [It] is relevant enough to be worth the hearer's processing effort.
- b. It is the most relevant one compatible with the communicator's abilities and preferences.

Associated with the ORP is the so-called *relevance-guided comprehension heuristic* (RCH), which is formulated as follows:

- a. Follow a path of least effort in constructing an interpretation of the utterance (and in particular in resolving ambiguities and referential indeterminacies, in going beyond linguistic meaning, in supplying contextual assumptions, computing implicatures, etc.).

- b. Stop when your expectations of relevance are satisfied. (7)

RT thus makes an important distinction between explicit information, which in RT assumes the form of *explicatures* and implicit information, or *implicatures*. Being based on *logical forms*, explicatures are propositions that are subject to *truth*

values and involve what Relevance theorists call *reference-attribution*, *disambiguation*, and *enrichment* (cf. point (a) of RCH above).³

A great deal of conversational burden falls to implicatures—implicit meanings expected to be inferred by the addressee. S&W (182) draw the distinction between explicatures and implicatures thus:

Explicature: A proposition communicated by an utterance is an *explicature* if and only if it is a development of a logical form encoded by the utterance.

Implicature: A proposition communicated by an utterance, but not explicitly, is an *implicature*.⁴

Now, as observed by Forceville, for RT to be used for the interpretation of pictures, one has to draw a distinction—just as one does in the case of verbal communication—between pragmatically inferring explicatures and pragmatically inferring implicatures. According to Forceville, in the case of Figure 2, the reference attribution, disambiguation and enrichment make the addressee draw the conclusion that the man with a long nose depicted in the poster is none other than

³ Reference attribution has to do with the fact that the hearer, upon hearing a sentence such as *Mary has gone to Paris*, must decide *which* Mary of, say, the two persons named ‘Mary’ known to him and the speaker, has left for Paris. Disambiguation takes place when only one of the meanings of, say, *Flying planes can be dangerous* (i.e. ‘Flying planes can be dangerous’ or ‘(The fact that) one flies planes can be dangerous (to this person)’ must be selected. Finally, enrichment is involved in interpreting a phrase such *(It will) take some time*. Does *some time* mean here ‘one hour’, ‘three hours’ or perhaps ‘several days’?

⁴ The following dialogue, presented in Wilson and Sperber (14), shows the difference between explicatures and implicatures:

- a. ALAN JONES: Do you want to join us for supper?
- b. LISA: No thanks, I’ve eaten.

The explicature in (b) is that Lisa has already eaten and as such her utterance is subject to truth value: if she has eaten, the proposition is true; if she has not eaten, the proposition is false. However, Lisa’s answer can be, and indeed is, interpreted as a refusal to join for supper and this is the implicature that Alan is likely to arrive at. This is how, according to Wilson and Sperber (14), he does it:

Lisa’s utterance ‘No thanks’ should raise a doubt in Alan’s mind about why she is refusing his invitation, and he can reasonably expect the next part of her utterance to settle this doubt by offering an explanation of her refusal. From encyclopaedic information associated with the concept eating, he should find it relatively easy to supply the contextual assumptions in [7]:

- [7] a. People don’t normally want to eat supper twice in one evening.
- b. The fact that one has already eaten supper on a given evening is a good reason for refusing an invitation to supper that evening.

These would suggest an explanation of Lisa’s refusal, provided that the encoded meaning of her utterance is enriched to yield an explicature along the lines in [8]:

- [8] Lisa has already eaten supper on the evening of utterance.

By combining [7] and [8], Alan can derive the implicated conclusion that Lisa is refusing his invitation because she has already had supper that evening (which may in turn lead on to further implications), thus satisfying his expectations of relevance. On this approach, explicatures and implicatures are constructed by mutually adjusting tentative hypotheses about explicatures, implicated premises and implicated conclusions in order to satisfy the expectations of relevance raised by the utterance itself.

Barack Obama, the former president of the United States. Let us note that the poster design (red-and-blue colour) brings to mind the original poster in Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign, given below:



Figure 3: The original “Obama-Hope” poster

Source: retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barack_Obama_%22Hope%22_poster. 17 Mar. 2022.

The “Obama-Hope” poster and the “Obama-Long Nose” poster lead the viewer—through the reference attribution process—to the conclusion that these two pictures portray one and the same person: Barack Obama, the President of the United States. On the other hand, the reference attribution in the case of the man with the long nose evokes the image of Pinocchio, the main character of Carlo Collodi’s book *The Adventures of Pinocchio*, a pathological liar whose nose grew longer and longer with every lie. The recognizable image of Barack Obama, despite his Pinocchio-like nose, creates thus the explicature: “Obama is a liar”. It is now up to the addressee/viewer to pragmatically infer the implicatures the communicator of this poster wants to convey, which is: “Do not vote for Obama—he is a liar”.

Note that Forceville’s analysis can be readily recast in terms of the Conceptual Integration Theory. In this case, Input Space 1 contains information about Barack Obama as the (former) President of the USA and Input Space 2, the characteristics of Pinocchio—his propensity for lying. The blend contains the novel information,

the implicature: “Do not vote for Obama—he is a liar”. We will exploit the blending mechanism of the CIT model in our analysis in Section 4.

In what follows, we present a modified version of Ronald Langacker’s theory of the Current Discourse Space incorporating, in the form of the Relevance Schema, the Optimal Relevance Principle of RT. This modified model will be used in Section 4 for our analysis of the message conveyed by the front cover of the Russian newspaper *Novaya Gazeta* and the article associated with the war in Ukraine.

3. The Current Discourse Space and the Optimal Relevance Principle

In Ronald Langacker’s theory of Cognitive Grammar (cf. Langacker, *Foundations, Cognitive and Nominal*), the *Current Discourse Space*—CDS is defined as a mental space established by the speaker and the hearer during their discursive exchange. The CDS, which is part of a *usage event*, is given in Figure 4 (Langacker, *Cognitive* 466; cf. Kardela 108).

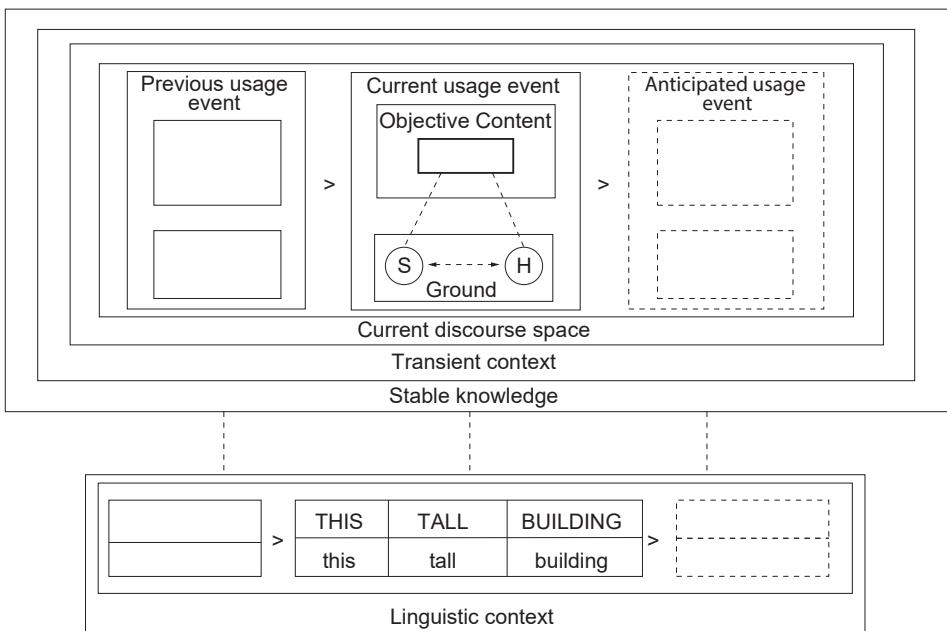


Figure 4: CDS and linguistic context

The figure presents a modified version of Langacker’s conception of *usage event*; it shows the communicative interaction between speaker (S) and hearer (H), which takes place in the CDS (upper box in the diagram). The “S–H meaning”

thus negotiated is coded by a linguistic expression—here: *the tall building* (lower box). The CDS consists of three elements: the *current usage event*, the *previous usage event* and an *anticipated usage event*. This conceptual arrangement holds at all “levels” of linguistic organization.⁵ The current usage event consists of the so-called *objective content* (OC), that is, the scene or the thing conceptualized which form the communicative content. S and H are part of the *ground*, i.e. persons and circumstances accompanying the production and understanding of utterances. The production and understanding of utterances are determined by *transient context*, which is recruited from stable knowledge for the purpose of local understanding, of “the here and now”, of a particular utterance.

Now, the cognitive mechanism which governs the discursive exchange between S and H is what Langacker calls the *apprehension of other minds*—a cognitive process based on the idea of conceptual integration, discussed above. The process, which in cognitive science is also known as *mind reading*, is presented in Figure 5 (Langacker, “Constructing” 182). The diagram represents what Langacker calls the *canonical speech event scenario*, in which the roles of the interlocutors (speaker—S and the hearer—H) alternate: S says something to H, H listens, and then H says something to S. The correspondences (dotted lines) indicate that S and H play a dual role: in the blend, the speaker (S) is also a potential hearer (H') and the hearer (H) is also a potential speaker (S').

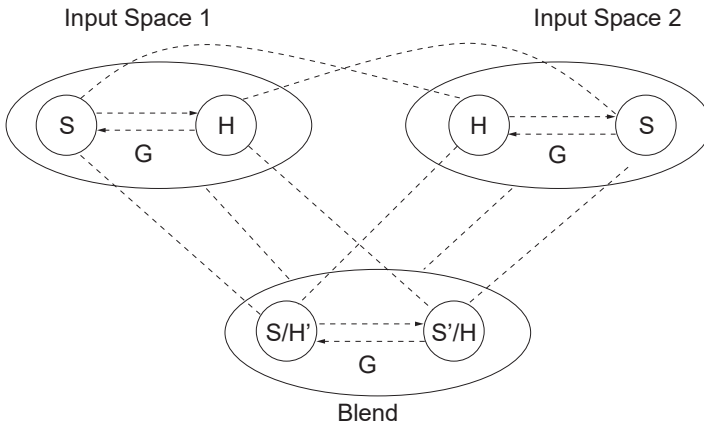


Figure 5: The apprehension of other minds

We will claim now that the apprehension of other minds in the canonical speech event scenario develops on the basis of the Speaker–Hearer discursive

⁵ In Langacker’s model of Cognitive Grammar, a linguistic unit, like *the tall building*, consists of two poles: the *semantic pole* (upper box with capital letters), which expresses the (linguistic) meaning of the expression, and the *phonological pole* (lower box), which corresponds to the “form” of a linguistic unit—its phonological, morphological and syntactic organization.

exchange which takes place in CDS (cf. Figure 4). Additionally, we stipulate that the mind-reading process itself is governed by the *epistemic vigilance*-guided Optimal Relevance Principle, the main component of what we wish to call the Relevance Schema (RS). The proposed “hybrid” CDS-RS model for Speaker-Hearer meaning negotiation process involved in the interpretation of messages, visual messages included, looks now as follows:

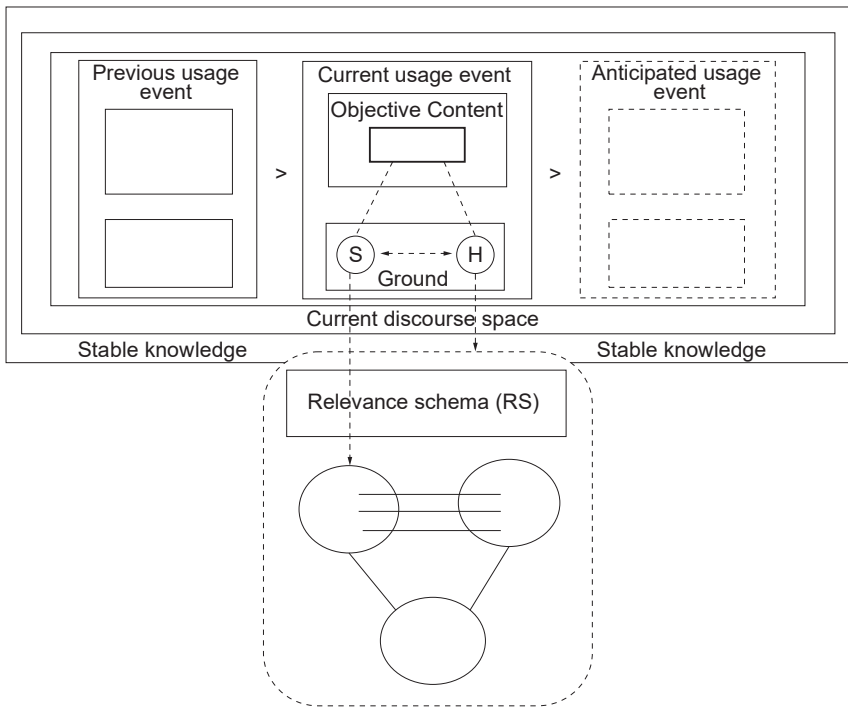


Figure 6: CDS and RS

Figure 6 represents a combined CDS-RS model of the speaker-hearer communicative exchange. The exchange takes place within a usage event, with CDS as its basic component. Governed by the epistemic vigilance-guided Optimal Relevance Principle of the RS, the hearer arrives—via establishing explicatures and implicatures—at the meaning of an utterance or a visual message. Following Manuel Padilla Cruz, we thus stress the importance of epistemic vigilance in communication, which, in Padilla Cruz’s own words, “trigger[s] shifts from a default processing strategy driven by expectations of optimal relevance to more complex processing strategies”. This happens whenever “hearers notice speakers’ linguistic mistakes, hearers realise that they have made interpretive mistakes or when

hearers discover that speakers seek to mislead them to erroneous or unintended interpretations” (365).⁶ For Padilla Cruz, epistemic vigilance is then a kind of “credibility verifier”:

... as a verifier of the reliability and credibility of both communicators and information exchanged, epistemic vigilance checks, on the one hand, interlocutors’ benevolence and linguistic or pragmatic competence, and, on the other hand, it monitors and surveys the different interpretive steps that we take as hearers, their potential or actual outcomes and the pragmatic material exploited in them in order to test their trustworthiness, usefulness and viability for the process of comprehension. If it discovers that something goes wrong or might go wrong, it is capable of instructing the comprehension module to adopt more complex and effort-demanding processing strategies than the strategy that it might make use of by default, driven by expectations and considerations of optimal relevance. ... (366)

Epistemic vigilance is thus

... able to make the comprehension module shift from the strategy labelled naïve optimism to either cautious optimism or sophisticated understanding. Such shifts would be enacted if epistemic vigilance discovers that (i) our interlocutors are not (very) competent language users, (ii) we make interpretive mistakes at either the explicit or implicit level of communication, and (iii) our interlocutors either do not behave benevolently and intentionally try to deceive us by offering information that cannot or should not be believed or play with us by inducing us to arrive at an interpretation that could be initially accepted and believed, but must be subsequently rejected. In other words, epistemic vigilance might trigger the said processing

⁶ Arguing in the spirit of Sperber et al., Marta Kisiielewska-Krysiuk (79) enumerates two types of epistemic vigilance mechanisms:

- (a) mechanisms for assessing the reliability of the speaker
 - whether the speaker is competent, i.e. able to provide true, reliable and relevant information
 - whether the speaker is benevolent, i.e. willing to provide such information and not deceive
- (b) mechanisms for assessing the believability of the communicated content
 - whether communicated information is consistent or coherent with background assumptions.

Let us note in passing that, in his critique of Sperber et al.’s conception of epistemic vigilance, Michaelian (37) observes that, as he puts it, “the lion’s share of the responsibility for explaining the reliability of testimony falls not to the vigilance of receivers but rather to the honesty of communicators, implying that vigilance does not play a major role in explaining the evolutionary stability of communication”. According to him, of the two types of epistemic vigilance, formulated by Sperber et al., one “should accept only a weakly effective form of type 2 vigilance”. (But see Sperber’s response to Michaelian’s critique) The two types of vigilance, formulated by Sperber et al., are the following (Michaelian 42):

Strongly effective vigilance: Recipients exercise bare vigilance, and, due primarily to this, they usually avoid being deceived;

Weakly effective vigilance: Recipients exercise bare vigilance, and they usually avoid being deceived, but this is due primarily to some other factor, where (Michaelian 40):

Bare vigilance: Recipients are vigilant in the sense that they monitor for (are on the lookout for) deception on the part of communicators, whether or not they often succeed in detecting it when it is present;

Effective vigilance: Recipients are vigilant in the sense that they monitor for deception on the part of communicators (they exercise bare vigilance), and this monitoring is effective, i.e. they often succeed in detecting deception when it is present.

strategies when it finds out that speakers make expressive mistakes, we make interpretive mistakes or speakers intentionally mislead us or playfully fool us for the sake of achieving effects like humour. (366)

As claimed by Relevance theorists, epistemic vigilance requires so-called “sophisticated understanding”, one of the three interpretive strategies employed by the addressee in his attempt to arrive at an interpretation. The strategies, which are the three versions of the *relevance-guided comprehension heuristic-RCH*; see above), are as follows (Mazzarella 191):

— Naïve optimism: Stop when your expectations of *actual optimal relevance* are satisfied (i.e., stop at the first relevant enough interpretation).

— Cautious optimism: Stop when your expectations of *attempted optimal relevance* are satisfied (i.e., stop at the first interpretation that the communicator might have thought would be relevant enough to you).

— Sophisticated understanding: Stop when your expectations of *purported optimal relevance* are satisfied (i.e., stop at the first interpretation that the communicator *might have thought would seem* relevant enough to you).

In what follows, we will use the proposed CDS-RS model to analyse the front page of Russian newspaper *Novaya Gazeta*, which alludes to the war in Ukraine. For our analysis to go through, we will assume that

a. the apprehension of other minds (or *mind reading*), as shown in Figure 4, is a result of the S–H meaning negotiation process, which takes place in the CDS;

b. following Wilson and Sperber, we assume that mind reading is one of the three *metarepresentational (human) abilities*, the remaining two are *pragmatic ability* and the *argumentative ability*, the latter involving an *epistemic vigilance stance*;

c. metapresentational abilities, including epistemic vigilance, are activated, in the Relevance Schema (RS), based on the contextual clues/markers appearing in the “linguistic module” of the CDS (cf. Figure 6) and on (extratextual) world knowledge;

d. the hearer’s interpretation of a message, including a visual message, conveyed by the communicator takes place on-line and is done step-by-step by the “vigilant” hearer/viewer, on the basis of the *oncoming textual information* and relevant *discourse markers* confronted with the addressee’s world knowledge;

e. at each *interpretational level* of the Relevance Schema (RS-Level), a *relevance schema switch* (RS-switch) activates the formation of explicatures and implicatures.

With this in mind, we turn now to the analysis of the front page of *Novaya Gazeta* and the related article.

4. The *Novaya Gazeta* front cover: The CDS-TCRS analysis of the newspaper's message

The front cover of the newspaper shows a group of ballet dancers dancing against the background of a “mushroom” of fire and the billowing smoke—presumably caused by a falling bomb. In the “deep” background, a discerning viewer can notice the contour of an ominous face, barely sketched. The inscription—apparently pasted—is in Russian and so is the title of the newspaper issue: *Новая газета*. The overall image of the ballet group dancing against the pillar of fire and smoke is disturbingly incongruous; the blast of fire and smoke is not a natural scene for a ballet performance. Clearly, the communicator wants to communicate some relevant information to the addressee and it is now up to the latter to get the message—to derive the (enriched) explicatures and, based on them, arrive at the implicatures. Consider the explicatures first, based on both intratextual clues and (extratextual) world knowledge



Figure 7: The front page of *Novaya Gazeta* (9 Mar. 2022)

Source: retrieved from <https://pochitaem.su/novaja-gazeta-24-2022/>. 25 Mar. 2022.

The front cover of <i>Novaya Gazeta</i> and its meaning	
Intratextual clues	Meaning
a pillar of fire and smoke	'military conflict'
a group of ballet dancers	'cultural, artistic event'
the newspaper's title: <i>Новая газета</i>	'newspaper's name'
the expressions in the expressions in the inscription: <i>новый выпуск</i>	'new' edition' [<i>новый</i> 'new' in inverted commas—a "special meaning" of 'new']
<i>Уголовный кодекс России</i>	'Russian Criminal Code'



Figure 8: The article “It Is Time to Start Dancing Tchaikovsky”
Source: retrieved from <https://pochitaem.su/novaja-gazeta-24-2022>. 25 Mar. 2022

The article by Larisa Maluykova tells the story of *Swan Lake* by Tchaikovsky, of its creation and reception in Russia and in the Soviet Union. A particularly relevant section of the article, crucial for getting to an educated Russian the intended fuller interpretation of the message conveyed by both the front-page image and the article, is the column titled “Лебединое” и большие похороны” (“*Swan Lake* and big funerals”). In English translation, this section reads as follows (The stretches of the text in bold are contextual markers which help the addressee derive “proper implications” and ultimately decipher the message conveyed both by the front cover and the article):

Those Russians who can read between the lines and be able to listen between the musical notes know all this too well: if you switch on TV and **you hear “blah-blah-blah” and then the *Dance of the Little Swans*, rest assured: there comes mournful news.**

On November 10, 1982, during the *Militia Day* celebrations, one could hear, apart from the expected large number of occasional concerts, *Swan Lake*. **Our Beloved Leonid Ilyich had died.**

The ballet gradually evolved: once the official prominent symbol of the Bolshoi Theatre and of the Russian Empire, it was finally reduced to a funeral piece: it was played in honour of Andropov and it was played in honour of Chernenko.

The putsch of 19 August 1991 started with *Swan Lake*. Greeted by the hot August morning TV news programs, Russians struggled with the TV remote control buttons; all in vain: all TV channels televised *Swan Lake*. **It became clear: something happened—the same sort of thing happened again. The result? The reactivation of the USSR!**

At the same time, *Swan Lake* became the “lake of hope” and the symbol of change, **a sign of political restauration and the last chord of the Soviet era—its swan song.**

Later on, in a popular late night show for adults, *Turn off the lights*, Hrun Morzhov deciphered the word *putsch*. In its abbreviated form read backwards, it was ГКПЧ: **Пора Уже Танцевать Чайковского [ПУТЧ = ‘putsch’—Н. К.] ‘Time to dance Tchaikovsky’ and Год Когда Чайковского Показывают [ГКПЧ—Н. К.] ‘The year in which Tchaikovsky is played and shown’.**

The article’s meaning:	
the <i>Dance of the Little Swans</i>	(i) ‘there comes mournful news’;
	(ii) ‘death’;
(iii) PUTSCH = Пора Уже Танцевать Чайковского	‘time to dance Tchaikovsky’;
	(iv) ‘the restoration of the Soviet era’

4.1. Extratextual clues

4.1.1. *Новая газета*

Новая газета: Novaya Gazeta (Russian: Новая газета, IPA: [ˈnovəjə gəˈzʲetə], lit. ‘New Gazette’) is an independent Russian newspaper known for its **critical and investigative coverage of Russian political and social affairs**. ... It is published in Moscow, in regions within Russia, and in some foreign countries. ...

Seven *Novaya Gazeta* journalists, including **Yuri Shchekochikhin, Anna Politkovskaya and Anastasia Baburova, have been murdered since 2000, in connection with their investigations.**

In October 2021, *Novaya Gazeta*’s editor-in-chief Dmitry Muratov was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, alongside Maria Ressa, for their safeguarding of freedom of expression in their homelands.

In March 2022, **during the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine, the newspaper suspended publication due to increased government censorship.** ... The next month, a European edition of the paper, *Novaya Gazeta Europe*, was launched from Riga in order to avoid censorship; the website was blocked in Russia later that month. In July, the newspaper launched a magazine, *Novaya Rasskaz-Gazeta*, with its website blocked shortly later.

On 5 September 2022, **a Russian court revoked the print license of *Novaya Gazeta*,** based on allegations about missing documents in connection with a change in ownership in 2006. Editor-in-chief Dmitry Muratov has indicated that the decision will be appealed. (“*Novaya Gazeta*”)

4.1.2. The term *special operation* used by Vladimir Putin

A televised address by Russian president Vladimir Putin on 24 February 2022, immediately preceding the beginning of the invasion of Ukraine, addressing to the citizens of Russia and Ukraine, and the military personnel of both the Armed Forces of Ukraine and the Russian Armed Forces. ... [Putin] said:

“We have been left no other option to protect Russia and our people, but for the one that we will be forced to use today. The situation requires us to take decisive and immediate action. The people’s republics of Donbas turned to Russia with a request for help. ... In this regard, in accordance with Article 51 of Part 7 of the UN Charter ... I have decided to conduct a **special military operation**”. (“On Conducting”)

Turning now to implicatures involved in the whole interpretational process, we suggest that it takes place step-by-step and involves a series of the “interpretational levels” (RS-levels), which incorporate the three interpretive strategies employed by the addressee, proposed by Sperber et al. The process might look as follow:

RS level-1 (“Naïve Optimism”: the addressee does not know Russian)

Level-1 Explicatures (explicit interpretation via enrichment, based only on the perceived image)	Level-1 Implicatures (implicated interpretation)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — the pillar of fire and smoke — a group of ballet dancers — an ominous looking contour of a face in the background — an inscription—<i>probably</i> in Russian (if the addressee knows that the Cyrillic alphabet is not only used in Russia) — newspaper title—probably in Russian: <i>Новая газета</i> — the article’s meaning: not included 	<p>Contextual incompatibility (if noticed) may lead to a series of <i>improbable</i> implicated interpretations.</p>

The whole situation is likely to look different for those who understand the inscription in Russian, which says: “A new edition issued in conformity with the regulations of the amended Russian Penal Code”. The pasted nature of the inscription, the mention of “regulations” and “Criminal Code”, as well as the word *новой* ‘new’ put in inverted commas—all these informational signals appear to indicate that the text has been censored. These RS-switches, as we call them, “push” the interpretation of messages to the next RS- level, as shown below.

The table describes a Russian-speaking addressee who, confronted with the incompatible images, tries to arrive at a possible implicated interpretation. Assuming the stance of cautious optimism, he is expected to “stop when [his] expectations of *attempted optimal relevance* are satisfied”.⁷

⁷ Actually, one might be inclined to say that epistemic vigilance “starts” already with RS level-2, as the word “cautious” appears to suggest. One could also say that, precisely because in

RS level-2 (“Cautious Optimism”: the addressee knows Russian)

Level-2 Explicatures (explicit interpretation via enrichment, based on the perceived image)	Level-2 Implicatures (implicated interpretation)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Russian newspaper: <i>Новая газета</i>, whose front page shows a pillar of fire and smoke, a group of ballet dancers and an ominous looking contour of a face in the background; — <i>pasted</i> inscription in Russian, which contains expressions such as <i>правила</i> ‘regulations’, <i>Уголовный кодекс России</i> ‘Russian Criminal Code’, <i>новой</i> ‘new’ (in inverted commas). — the article’s meaning: included 	<p>Contextual incompatibility may lead to a series of interpretations <i>possible</i>, though <i>not intended</i> by the newspaper’s editor.</p>

Yet it is unlikely that an educated, well-informed reader of *Novaya Gazeta* should be satisfied with the message’s “attempted optimal relevance” only. On the contrary, when detecting the incompatibility between the explicatures-based information and the “actual state of affairs”, he or she will “probe deeper into the matter”, to get the intended message, guided by (i) his/her knowledge of the political situation in Russia, (ii) the general background Wikipedia-type information about the newspaper, (iii) Vladimir Putin’s use of the misleading term: “special operation”, (iv) his/her access to some other additional extratextual information (such as, say, non-Russian independent media). Thus, a well-educated Russian reader should be able to establish a link between (i) the Russian invasion of Ukraine, (ii) the related article and (iii) the front-page cover of the newspaper with a pasted censorship circumvention-like signal. In so doing, he/she will have shown “sophisticated understanding”; he can now “stop at the first interpretation that the communicator *might have thought would seem* relevant enough to him”. The table given below describes this situation:

RS level-3 (“Sophisticated understanding”)

Level-3 Explicatures (explicit interpretation via enrichment, based on the perceived image + the contextual information supplied by the article + extratextual information)	Level-3 Implicatures (implicated interpretation)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Russian newspaper: <i>Новая газета</i>, whose front page shows a pillar of fire and smoke, a group of ballet dancers and an ominous looking contour of a face in the background; — <i>pasted censorship circumvention signal-like inscription in Russian</i>, which contains expressions such as <i>правила</i> ‘regulations’, <i>Уголовный кодекс России</i> ‘Russian Criminal Code’, <i>новой</i> ‘new’ (put in inverted commas). — the article-based explicit contextual interpretation including: the reference to Russians’ ability to read between the lines, the ballet as a sign of a mournful event; the meaning of the acronym <i>putsch</i> (Пора Уже Танцевть Чайковского = ПУТЧ); — the knowledge about the Russian invasion of Ukraine. 	<p>Contextual incompatibility + additional context supplied by the article lead to a series of <i>probable</i> and <i>intended</i> interpretations, including the following:</p> <p>— “It is WAR! Russia started the war with Ukraine! DO NOT BELIEVE THE OFFICIAL RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA!”</p>

today’s world of mass media one is bombarded with deception and fake news, epistemic vigilance must be kept all the time. This issue, however, lies beyond the scope of this paper.

Let us take stock. We have proposed that a “full” interpretation of the *Novaya Gazeta* front page and the related article cannot be arrived at by the viewer/reader unless he assumes the stance of epistemic vigilance. The latter, which is associated with RS-Level-3, requires sophisticated understanding and is “awakened” as a result of the reader’s/viewer’s careful analysis of the newspaper’s front image and the article’s content. Seen in this light, the overall, *intended* CDS-RS interpretational process can be presented diagrammatically as follows:

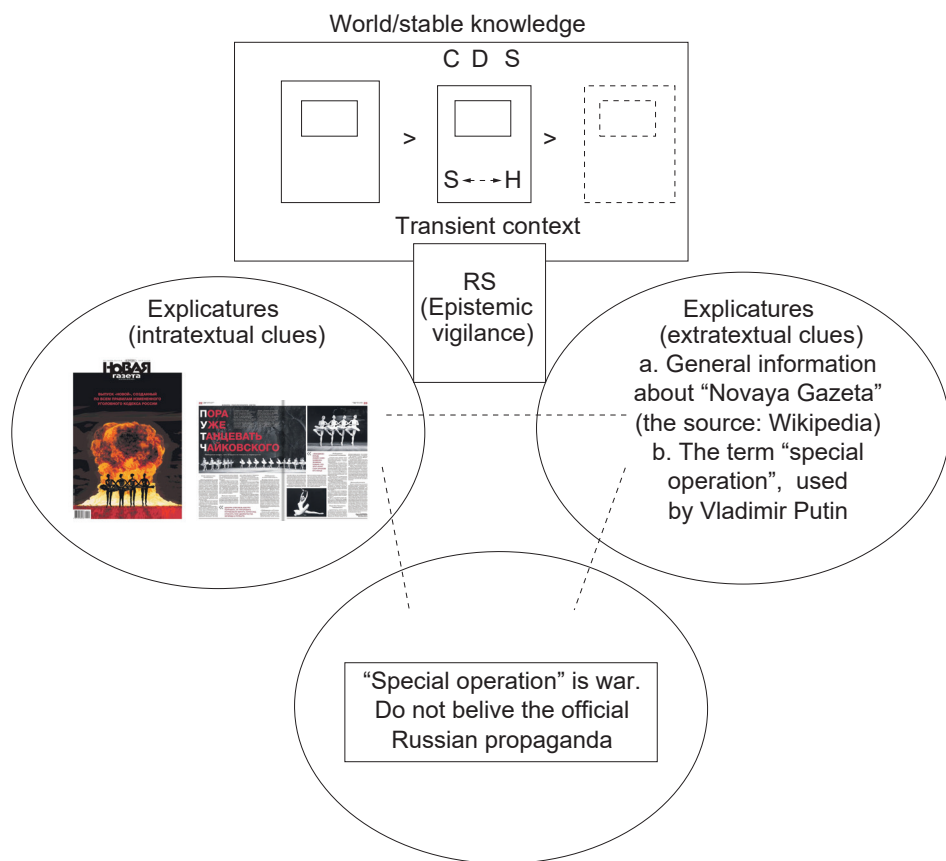


Figure 9: CDS-RS-based interpretation of the article and front-page image of *Novaya Gazeta*

Figure 9 shows the last stage (RS level-3) of the combined interpretation process of the front-page image of *Novaya Gazeta* and, related to it, the article devoted to the story of the *Swan Lake* ballet. After a series of improbable or possible, but not intended implicated interpretations, the addressee finally arrives at the *emergent* implicated message, *intended* by the newspaper’s editor: “PUTIN’S SPECIAL OPERATION” IS WAR. DO NOT BELIEVE THE OFFICIAL RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA!”

5. In lieu of a conclusion

In this paper, we have developed a cognitive linguistic analysis of a combined visuo-verbal message conveyed by the Russian newspaper *Novaya Gazeta*, associated with the war in Ukraine. In so doing, we have incorporated some of the insights offered by Relevance Theory, chiefly the Relevance Principle, into Ronald Langacker's theory of the Current Discourse Space. We have done so despite the fact that Ronald Langacker's Cognitive Grammar and Deidre Wilson and Dan Sperber's Relevance Theory are two different linguistic programs, each having its own history, methodology and research agenda. We are not alone, however, in making this kind of attempt at "inter-theoretical rapprochement". In his book *A Hybrid Theory of Metaphor: Relevance Theory and Cognitive Linguistics*, Marcus Tendahl develops a "hybrid", as he calls it, cognitive linguistic model of metaphor which incorporates many of the insights of Dan Sperber and Deidre Wilson's Relevance Theory (S&W; Wilson and Sperber), and especially of the theory's Principle of Optimal Relevance. Says Tendahl (148):

... the differing views of cognitive linguistics and relevance theory on metaphorical meaning are complementary, because both go beyond their respective emphases on image-schematic and propositional views of meaning. These two perspectives contribute different ways of looking at how metaphorical language expresses meaning. Cognitive linguistics, with its interest in metaphorical thought, studies entrenched metaphorical mappings, and has done extensive work illustrating the range of meaning correspondences that arise in the source to target domain mappings within conceptual metaphors, for instance. Relevance theory, on the other hand, explores the meanings that arise in specific contexts, and aims to demonstrate how these cognitive effects are constrained by the principle of optimal relevance. Overall, both theoretical frameworks are well equipped to make statements about why we speak and think metaphorically, but only cognitive linguistics studies the motivation for individual metaphors, classes of metaphorical statements, and metaphorical inference patterns. Furthermore, relevance theory focuses more on the role of metaphor for communication, and thus the pragmatics of metaphor, whereas cognitive linguistics focuses more on the role of metaphor in our conceptual system. We do not see these varying approaches to be at all contrary. ... Integrating the conceptual and pragmatic principles associated with cognitive linguistics and relevance theory seems very desirable.

We cannot but repeat after Tendahl: "Integrating the conceptual and pragmatic principles associated with cognitive linguistics and relevance theory seems very desirable".

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Pathways to Transition: Jan Cygan and the Neo-Philological Tradition

Abstract: Jan Cygan's (1927–2021) linguistic thinking laid out in 1976 relied on self-contained form-based structuralism, but it also incorporated elements of emerging context-based structuralism. As such, it was animated by concepts that effectively implied divergent views on the foundational postulate of linguistic arbitrariness underlying structural linguistics. Cygan approached the inner tensions of changing linguistic paradigms in a manner that may be studied as a case in linguistic ethics. This ethic manifests itself in an attitude toward the linguistic fact, as discussed through the lenses of a linguistic model. Today, it is possible to comment on the period of transition in question, falling back on the achievements of cognitive linguistics. Cygan's stance may be interpreted in terms of the IN-OUT conceptual schema. This interpretation not only highlights the merits of the position emerging from Cygan's 1976 general linguistics introduction, but it also views this position as a solution to a more fundamental problem facing linguistic ethics today and in the future.

Keywords: linguistic ethics, Jan Cygan, IN-OUT conceptual schema, history of linguistics

Introduction

Supposing we report on Jan Cygan's (1927–2021) view of linguistics today, what tense should we use for the verbs introducing the reported clause: the present or the past? Should we suggest Cygan says something that we might want to hear today, or that he simply said something that others heard but which perhaps no longer holds for certain? This question is pertinent for scholars who presently succeed

Professor Jan Cygan in the institute he originally led. But it also has relevance for the study of language, as it is now caught up between two separate, disciplinary silos of linguistic research and literary studies research. Late structuralist thinking on language embodied in the writings of Jan Cygan forms part of the history of linguistics. In Jan Cygan's Poland, this linguistics accidentally cohabited with philology, a non-discipline according to effective official taxonomy today, and for this reason alone, Cygan's linguistics might be viewed as out of step with what will be seen as publishable, priority research. But his view of language—its method, scope and ambition—might also be held to encapsulate something different altogether: a permanently valid ethics of language study for now and for the future. In this regard, Cygan's legacy allows the much-diversified contemporary linguistics to revalorize the synergy of goals extending from the rational to the empirical while maintaining the rigour of intellect. This rigour stems from the awareness of the need for self-constraint when establishing linguistic facts—a particularly valuable, though intangible, testamentary asset in Cygan's linguistic ethic.

Obviously, this text touches just the surfaces of Jan Cygan's heritage, yet it hopes to mark one of the crucial pathways of transition from self-contained form-based structuralism to context-based structuralism—a Hamilton moment in the efforts to break from the compartmentalization of linguistic research. In this article, we discuss this moment of transition by characterizing first the setting for the transition (Section 1) and then, with the transition described, we argue for the validity of Cygan's heritage through the image-schematic lens of contemporary cognitive-linguistic research. On a broader philosophical plane, the discussion at this stage revolves around “naturalist” vs “extra-naturalist” tensions (Kuźniak) that arise from the adoption of the CONTAINER schema, which itself underlies the transition in question (Section 2). The article reiterates critical insights from Cygan's work and its value to linguists and linguistics of today (Section 3).

1. Transition in progress: A case of realist scholarship

In contrast with the bulk of contemporary textbook grammars of English, Cygan's 1976 *Strukturalne podstawy gramatyki angielskiej* [Structural foundations of English grammar] was intended to explain general linguistic “foundations of English grammar”¹ (7). The driving question, then, was “not so much to explain how [grammar] works in English, but why it does so” (7), and the ambition was, accordingly, to demonstrate the systematicity of English. This goal was to be achieved in steps, with chapters covering English phonology and orthography, morphology, word classes, verb phrases, nominal phrases, clauses, and sentences. But these individual chapters were preceded by an introductory one. In it, Cygan

¹ All citations from *Strukturalne podstawy...* (Cygan) translated into English by M. K. and M. L.

set out theoretical concepts on which to rest the study of the grammar of English. Consequently, the introduction amounted to a mini-lecture on what linguistics, as he knew it, could say about the grammar of a language. We want to map out important steps he took in this introduction.

Cygan opened with the ancient definition of language as “the organ” of communication and immediately linked it with the modern theory of language functions (Buehler cited in Cygan). The basic language functions—expressive, impressive and informative—were inscribed into the axiomatic model of the speaker, the receiver and the reality where the communication act takes place. But they were cast as a hierarchy; the third function was shown to be primary, and the two remaining ones were ultimately dependent on symbolization of an objectively existing object. In the final analysis, functionalism appeared to be framed in structuralist terms.

This ruling came with a qualification. Linguistic forms were in the main symbols, Cygan insisted, with the exception of a small group of deictic elements. These forms had adjustable meanings, which resulted from the circumstances of reference. There was more. Their role in language was of “capital importance” (12). But did not that contradict the ruling that language was essentially based on symbolic signification? Cygan did not explain.

Instead, he proposed another step. He defined the problem of language as the question of “why sounds produced by human beings signify something” (12). The key to the problem was in the language form, or else the element situated between the substance of non-linguistic reality and the sound substance of a language. Just as symbolization trumped expression and impression as language functions, the phonological substance of a language preceded its graphic substance. The study of linguistic form concentrated on the region between two substances—the language substance and the extra-linguistic substance. But the schema appeared to have a gap, and Cygan admitted that. Surely, if the linguistic form was essentially phonetic, the reasons to entertain the distinction between linguistic and non-linguistic substances were not quite clear, all the more so because Cygan qualified the latter as “the world around us”, “reality”, “accident”? (12) Cygan admitted that the distinction was “somewhat artificial”; he explained that the artifice was a corollary of human exceptionalism (*homo loquens*), and he accepted it (12).

The consecutive sections introduced more distinctions and another hierarchy. The linguistic form may be discussed in terms of grammar and lexis, because forms generally fall into a closed or an open class of elements. This distinction implies that grammar and semantics should be viewed as separate, albeit mutually dependant, ways of dealing with linguistic forms. Grammar focuses on syntagmatic relations; semantics deals with paradigmatic relations, and both kinds of relations are held together by the postulate of textuality (Cygan builds on the notion of “textual elements” at this stage) (16). Cygan stressed the importance of minding the distinction between grammar and semantics, and he proposed that “semantic meaning should follow formal description” (17) in a grammar book. It is another

striking reversal of the radical view on language arbitrariness expressed earlier. The succession of arguments implied (without arguing explicitly) that although symbolization may be postulated as purely arbitrary systematicity, it may be discussed only as a material hierarchy, because publishing a book on grammar entailed, for Cygan, a purpose to grammar. Cygan sailed through these apparent contradictions without stopping to view them as critical problems of theory.

But he did offer a way to view them as problems of scholarly ethics. Grammar, as Cygan consequently explained, may be discussed for different purposes and through different conceptual lenses. The distinctions between grammars—descriptive, comparative, contrastive, prescriptive, paradigmatic grammar, generative-transformative (Cygan 18–19)—are legacies. Cygan implied that they emerge from traditional practices of discussing grammar, rather than principles of linguistics themselves (for instance, he said, the traditional distinction between morphology and grammar was conditioned by specific group-level characteristics of Greek and Latin). This reality, in any case, allowed Cygan to define his work as a specific application of grammar: his book, he stated, was concerned with “systemic” or “system-structure grammar” (20). This grammar relied on accepted categories—“sentence”, “clause”, “group”, “word”, and “morpheme” (20). Or, as Cygan added, in English, the traditional distinction between morphology and grammar has no *raison d'être* (23).

This laid the groundwork for a passage that is of special interest to us. Cygan stressed that Saussure’s idea that language is a global structure *où tout se tient*, where everything holds together (24), was no longer accepted unreservedly. Language was this, but more still. Cygan cited J. R. Firth’s distinction between “structure” and “system” to explain that language was systemic in a poly-systemic sense. This was followed by a statement that we want to look at closely.

... [Linguistic] structure is a train of elements that manifest themselves all at a time, next to each other (in writing) or one after another (in speech). Meanwhile, systemic structure requires that elements become manifest based on a choice of element from among existing possibilities. ... One may venture saying that the structure is syntactic in character, while the system is paradigmatic. Or building on the convention of our writing, we may say (with the explicit quotation mark) that a structure is as if “horizontal” whereas the system is “vertical”. The structure is a sequence of elements coming “one after another”; the system is a choice: “one instead of another”. (Cygan 24)

It might be expected that, writing in 1976, Cygan should generally be exempt from accounting for issues that seem foundational only to the linguists who came later and who, for that matter, were trained on Lakoff’s critique of Putnam. It will be remembered that this criticism picked on the fact that formalist accounts of meaning postpone, rather than solve, the problem of meaning, so far that the correspondence (reference) concept of meaning does not explain the fact of meaning itself. Cognitive linguistics attacked this gap with its rediscovered account of meaning as something materially-grounded in human bodily existence. It is possible to view Cygan’s train of thoughts as evidence to the effect that embodied reason

blows the lid off structuralist formalism in structuralist arguments themselves; this happens when a structuralist exposition needs to rely on open metaphors to ensure coherence of its reference-based account of language. There is direct evidence of such contradiction in Cygan's text. In the passage quoted above, he insisted on orthographic devices that mark out metaphors that were both auxiliary for and constitutive of his argument.

Apparently, the motivation here was to stress that the words are employed merely for the advancement of the expository purposes of his book. This betrays his commitment to "objectivism", which was to be fiercely attacked as a simulacrum by a whole generation of cognitive linguists. But at the same time, it is patently clear that the charges brought against formalist linguistics by cognitive linguists (and its related analytic philosophy of language) could not be levelled against Cygan in good faith. Cygan discussed language as a systematic structure, in which it is conceived as composed of discrete elements that make up categories. But at the same time, he treated the linguistic structure, and therefore the systematicity of language, as cognitively engaging. The manifestation of the linguistic structure—as shown in the quoted fragment—fits the natural cognitive moment of human conceptualization. The point is of consequence. Cygan talks about speech sequence as presented to the human conceptualizer "all at once", a contradiction that may be solved only when we consider "now" as an essentially human, embodied category (it is the "human now", the perceptual moment of the cognitivist account). The study of linguistic structure is enabled by the faculty of embodied, metaphorical thought; the linguistic structure is seen as essentially human-scale. This is fundamentally a cognitive approach, although not expressed in terms of the future generation of cognitive linguists.

Of course, it is impossible to determine what Cygan actually meant, nor is it desirable for our argument. We are simply content to observe that, writing in 1976, Cygan clearly did not seem obliged to pre-empt a cognitivist peer-review snipe at his wording. And, consequently, for some today, his account may sound naïve or simplified, too formal to compete with cognitive linguistics, and too deductive, or simply humanist, in its method to match modern computational linguistics where the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic may be reduced to the mathematical. Equally, it may be taken for granted that the modern critical linguist will view Cygan's implication in structuralist contradictions (Lakoff and Johnson; Lakoff) as a serious flaw, or at least a significant shortcoming.

But what is really interesting about Cygan's humanist structuralism is not simply that it may be viewed in hindsight as unaware of its flaws. Cygan's argument becomes especially interesting when we question *what kind of mistake* these flaws putatively fall into. For the modern linguist, Cygan the structuralist sits on a theoretical tinderbox insofar as his argument originates eventually from the centrepiece of twentieth-century linguistics, or else Saussure's synchronic radicalism; thus, it carries the inherent potential, tensions and contradictions of Saussure's theory. The

modern linguist is tempted to view Cygan's structuralism as abortively hubristic in its postulates, or at least fraught with contradictive tensions that arise between a descriptive ambition to model language and a scholarly ambition to understand language. Our present time's hubris regarding Cygan's structuralism may even feed on untoward erudition: indeed, such world-known linguists as Jakobson appear to have occasionally lost the plot on the concept of arbitrariness in Saussure's theory (Harris).

But Cygan's treatment of linguistic theory strikes us as contradictory only if you focus just on the limits of the structuralist model. It is far less contradictory if you consider how Cygan knowledgeably addresses the limitations of this model no less than *through* these alleged contradictions. In the passage above, Cygan the structuralist may insist that the vertical and the horizontal metaphors of the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic are accidental, that they derive from the human experience of literary practice, that they merely illustrate independent principles of structuralist linguistics. But at the same time, Cygan the linguist, understands that it is that very accidental experience of grasping the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic in language through metaphors that makes the distinction relevant, meaningful, or even possible. If you insist on a metaphor to illustrate a concept, this concept appears fundamentally unstable and less than discrete, perhaps even suggesting that this concept and its illustration be practically indistinguishable. If you rely on accidents to make general points, the accidental is less than arbitrary. The result might be that Cygan's advocacy of form-based linguistics could question its own formalism in his pedagogy of linguistics, where linguistics is understood as something that humans grasp with their intellectual faculties.

What this example hopefully shows is that Cygan's position on language could be seen as partly explicitly formulated and partly implicitly enacted. Or at least, the implicit performative dimension of his linguistic method is what may come across for some scholars today as a model ethical attitude to the study of language. To provide intellectual elbow room for structuralism without forfeiting Saussure's postulates—that is a practical transition for linguistics. It is also an ethical stance toward the reality of practicing linguistics.

2. Transition complete: Between “naturalism” and “extra-naturalism” (Kuźniak)

The transition sketched out above throws in relief one element, namely the role of the linguist in linguistic inquiry. This role appears to have been generally overlooked or deemed less than central when structuralism formulated its programme. However, if we assume that a human being along with its entire cognitive-perceptual repository is not the ultimate benchmark against which the epistemology of language and the interpretation of the linguistic outcome is to be construed, then the ethos of linguistics becomes an important focal point for a theory of language. On

this account, the language of description should be non-reductionist and rationalist, as the burden of proof admits the existence of facts beyond direct human perception, whether at the micro or macro level, including transcendental speculation. This approach may be summed up as extra-naturalism. The principal assumption is that the extra-naturalist perspective, due to its broader scope of research interest, may offer guidance as to the aesthetics of linguistic description for researchers favouring conflicting paradigms. In this way, extra-naturalism may also avoid the traps behind its approach (see Section 4). The roots of the naturalist/extra-naturalist dichotomy in thinking about the substance of *la langue* and, broadly, the philosophy of research in linguistics can be found at the image-schematic-level of our conceptualization, strictly the CONTAINER schema (see Johnson; Krzeszowski). The CONTAINER basis of language and linguistics may be subsumed under the label of “form-based linguistics”, which groups various strands of the neo-philological tradition of research ranging from structuralism (both American and European versions) through generative linguistics (e.g., Chomsky *Structures* and *Aspects*), functionalist approach (e.g., Beneviste; Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens), to post-structuralism (e.g., Langacker; Lakoff).

Fifty years after the conception of Cygan’s book, what is the state of linguistics relative to the problem of linguistic form? Perhaps the achievement of cognitive linguistics, specifically its ambitious programme of reconceptualizing philosophy of language, may be of use in addressing this question. As Kuźniak (1) argues,

[f]orm-based linguistics, irrespective of the underlying paradigm, takes for granted the CONTAINER ontology of language as its subject matter of study. The options are essentially two-fold: linguists may focus on the IN-side of the CONTAINER, thus boosting what in the philosophy of language is called internalism, or they may profile the OUT-side, thus promoting what in the philosophy of language is referred to as externalism. ... The IN-OUT aspects of CONTAINER topology were given a comprehensive treatment by Mark Johnson and subsequently enriched in the studies undertaken by Tomasz Krzeszowski. In consequence, the notions of epistemic or epistemology are also to be understood here along the lines drawn by cognitive linguistics, which takes as its departure point a human-scaled “envisionment of the world”. ... Despite the differences, most linguistic programs, whether IN or OUT-oriented, seem to belong to one naturalist ‘family’, as they more or less explicitly propagate explanation of linguistic facts within the bounds of the sensually graspable world by consistently positioning a human being on top of the hierarchy of beings. ... In other words, form-based linguistics, regardless of the provenance, assumes that the knowledge is most attainable through recourse to the potential of the human cognitive-perceptual apparatus. In this sense, the existing paradigms may be jointly referred to as anthropocentric.

Given the above, is Cygan a naturalist or an extra-naturalist? His strong insistence on the domination of the symbolic function of language appears to put him in the “hard” naturalist camp. But at the same time, his introductory pages go to some length to sketch out the limits of radical structuralist thinking. He inconspicuously turns to functional structuralist ideas; for instance, when he assumes that grammar is motivated by such factors as may be grasped and exposed in a textbook for people who hope to teach English.

So, while Cygan's diction may and will often sound anthropocentric and naturalist, his method mirrors the axioms of extra-naturalism² (as discussed by Kuźniak). This approach has the potential to accommodate two seemingly conflicting forces: anthropocentrism on the one hand and awareness of the limitations of anthropocentric epistemology on the other. This virtue is under threat today, and it should be seen as a value, if not for its merits, then certainly for the sake of intellectual diversity.

Extra-naturalism thus holds that our understanding of reality is principally an incomplete expression of the knowledge of any phenomenon, including the natural language. Extra-naturalists believe that ontological and epistemological Truths are actually beyond the scholarly, within which (i.e., the level of human perception and cognition) only approximative statements of reality can be produced (Kuźniak 5).

Naturalists, on the other hand, claim that research undertakings should be grasped as facts rather than the Truth, and that the world is describable by natural means, i.e., without recourse to the transcendental. (5)

What conjoins the two apparently rivalling camps is a set of assumptions underlying linguistic discourse, and they are manifest in Cygan's work. Indeed, it is particularly attractive as a demonstration of how linguistic assumptions sustain a tentative balance between the IN and OUT poles of form-based linguistics. Cygan avoids radicalism in thinking. He consistently adheres to the self-contained view of language, but his method of exposition, including the incorporation of fundamentally different perspectives, points to his awareness that linguistic description relies on a scholarly model. It might be then recommended to look into some of the quotations from Cygan (Ch. 1) to see how his research position—often through implicit address—marks up the foundational naturalist position with the avenues beyond what this position logically admits. Or putting it in other words, it is now justified to go back to Jan Cygan's argument, this time firmly using the present tense to report on his stance.

A point of reference for this exploration is a set of universals discussed in Kuźniak (7), which seem to underlie—and thus reconcile—naturalist and extra-naturalist philosophies of linguistic inquiry.

- Language is a fact;
- Language is a biological-cultural phenomenon;
- Any linguistic system is composed of symbolic units;
- As a system, language is composed of functional elements.

² “Extra-naturalism thus holds that our understanding of reality is principally an incomplete expression of the knowledge of any phenomenon, including the natural language. Extra-naturalists believe that ontological and epistemological Truths are actually beyond the scholarly, within which (i.e., the level of human perception and cognition) only approximative statements of reality can be produced. ... Naturalists, on the other hand, claim that research undertakings should be grasped as facts rather than the Truth, and that the world is describable by natural means, i.e., without recourse to the transcendental” (Kuźniak 5).

Cygan discusses language as a fact, but this is not a neopositivist understanding of facts understood as collections of scientific statements circumscribed under the ontological formula X IS Y. Cygan understands language in Saussurean terms and, in this regard, he views language as a social phenomenon. But he immediately situates such conceived phenomenon in between the three components, the speaker, the listener, and the surrounding objective reality. Cygan stresses the functional aspect of language by referring to Plato's notion of *órganon*, thereby positing the INSTRUMENT-based view of language as primary but also accentuating its biological [material] footing.

One of the oldest definitions of language is found in Plato: it is a tool (*órganon*) with which one speaks to another. This model of language as a tool proved useful as late as the 20th century: it allowed us to define the functions of language on the basis of the analysis of a normal speaking situation.

In this situation, language is situated among three elements: the speaker (A), the listener (B) and the objective reality surrounding them (O). (11)

— Language is both a mental and material entity

Cygan makes further reservations concerning the nature of language by implicitly addressing its mental-material nature. This, in turn, evokes Saussure's distinction between *la langue* (language seen as an abstract entity) and *la parole* (language seen as a material entity). This dual nature of language as a social phenomenon necessitates that our determination of language ontology becomes intrinsically epistemic, i.e., amenable to the constraints of the human cognizing capacity, where abstraction derives from the contemplation of the here and now of the discourse situation. This concept transpires in the narrative of Cygan's lecture as a twofold way of seeing language phenomena, wherein recourse to *la parole* in some way naturally

[m]ore precisely, in a specific situation, the issue is not about language, but about a particular linguistic text, spoken or written (since language is available to us only in texts); nor is it only about the speaker and the listener, but also about the sender and the receiver in general (**it can be the author and the reader**). And finally, it is **not necessarily about reality** but about all the "things" (**including abstract, imaginary things**) that the object of conversation concerns. (11, emphasis M. K. and M. L.)

— Language facts are epistemic representations of the entire ontological reality

Going 'epistemic' rather than 'ontological', Cygan quotes the open-ended catalogue of research observations and makes reservations by exemplifying his argument through exceptions that actually inform us about the "model" conceptualization of linguistic facts. This, again, conveys with it an approximative rather than definitive mode of argument formation and presentation.

This complete situational pattern occurs often, but not always. Instead of a speaker, for example, there may be an inscription. There may also be no listener (when someone excitedly speaks to themselves). Finally, there may be neither speaker nor listener (in a dictionary), but the symbolic function always exists. (11–12)

— Language has structure (form) and meaning (substance); Language is indeterminate in substance

For Cygan, the symbolic functions seem to operate in language invariably. This is foundational for any symbolic representation, as it forms an inalienable assembly of form and meaning. But Cygan ultimately realizes that the postulate of symbolic invariance is not exceptionless. By choosing the “epistemic” (approximative) pathway of conceptualization, he mentions deictic forms that do not make up “true” symbols (12). In fact, he argues that these elements form a rather small group in language, but later, however, adds that deixis plays a pivotal role in language.

Language is thus an instrument of representation by means of symbols. Linguistic forms are, in their vast majority, symbols. Only a small group of forms exemplify another technique: these are indicative elements. ... And although, as we shall see, deictic elements occupy a crucially significant place in language, the bulk of elements is symbolic. (12)

— Language is describable and analysable

Interestingly, Cygan sees the form-substance interplay in terms of a two-dimensional spatial conceptualization of relations, where the systemic plane of language (vertical relations) intertwines with its structural plane (horizontal relations). The model, as such, forms a continuum of planes from language substance through language form to an extra-linguistic substance (see Figure 1, below). Central still seem grammatical and lexical components, but for Cygan, an extra-linguistic substance still falls within the scope of linguistic research. Language appears as a relational entity, the ontology of which extends beyond the realm of form to cover the substantive facts, whether described as linguistic or extra-linguistic. This approach to language places Cygan among linguists who, though tightly linked to naturalist (language form-substance based) thinking, admit the need to explore facts that go beyond language, as these may still be considered relevant to the work of a linguist.

At the other end, the connection between linguistic form and extra-linguistic substance occurs at the level of semantics, i.e. the mutual assignment of linguistic forms and elements of the surrounding world; these relations are called meaning, and they fall within the scope of interest of linguistics (13).

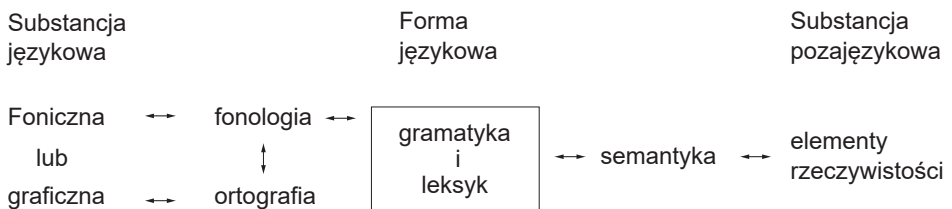


Figure 1: Systemic-structural relations in language (Cygan 13)

— As an entity, language has ecological properties, for example, sustainability, resilience, and diversification

This universal is explicitly addressed in Cygan's work and exemplified in Figure 1, above, where ecological aspects are mentioned in the form of extra-linguistic substance; that is, the elements of external reality. The reality as such is still viewed by Cygan as objectively given rather than constructed or mediated *via* conceptual operation in mind, but the prospects for incorporating the elements of extra-linguistic substance as part of language inquiry are open. Cygan, in this respect, clearly distances himself from the scepticism concerning the place of semantics in linguistics and, thus, from the relation of language to the outside world, as boldly expressed by, *inter alia*, American structuralism (Bloomfield) or Chomsky's (*Structures and Aspects*) early generative-transformational approach.

The universals presented above indicate a synthesis of naturalist (rational-empirical) philosophy of intellectual undertaking to which extra-naturalism may also subscribe. The overarching belief is that a systemic account of the research object is entirely achievable within the nature of the mind and the universe. If any fact established through the rationalist-empiricist method is to be dismissed, it should be done based on updated evidence within the bounds of the same rationalist-empirical tradition. The extra-naturalist version of linguistic epistemological universals, although largely contingent upon the rationalist-empirical heritage, would, on the other hand, sceptically shift the focus of the linguistic undertaking from the achievable into the principally non-achievable. To put it differently, the shift would be from the positive finalist (naïve?) conception of knowledge as a set of facts to the negative non-finalist (realistic?) conception of knowledge as a set of inherently approximate factual statements. As already mentioned, the product of such reasoning would entail seeing linguistic facts only as an approximation of the Truth. Appreciating this distinction could have a practical value for dry disputes among linguists, who often think about the facts they present as True, rather than as 'true' (a great qualitative difference). The stakes are high, and if the extra-naturalist approach is admitted to mainstream linguistics, it may mean a spectacular stage entrance, which along with its 'renewed' perspective on the theory of knowledge, may significantly add to the naturalist linguistic reflection on the WHAT, with no dramatic necessity to overturn the existing status-quo (Kuzniak 8).

3. Towards conclusions

What inspirations can new generations of linguists draw from the life work of Jan Cygan today, when the tradition he embodied is questioned by claims of modern technology-driven methods?

Before it was plugged into the mathematical-algorithmic compound of science, the structuralist tradition was much closer to the cognitive tradition than it

may seem today. What is meant by the cognitive tradition is much older than the third generation of cognitive linguistics; in fact, the origins of cognitivism may well be traced back to Condillac, who hesitated on and finally rejected Locke's claim (Harris and Taylor) that language formation was arbitrary. But why would structuralism, when compared with data-driven linguistics, seem closer to the tradition that it competed with? The first and the second generation of structuralists—Saussure's and Jakobson's generations, respectively—practised human-scale linguistics. It will be remembered that, while agreeing on principles, models may differ in use because their volume range makes for a big cognitive difference for those who use models. As once said in reference to an earlier watershed moment in human learning, huge numbers (or for us—sets) may be “conceived” of, but they cannot be “imagined” (Lewis 98–99).

In the period of professor Jan Cygan's life work, the philological tradition, which does not draw a sharp contrast between linguistic and literary interests, was an obvious choice; it commanded respect from across the board of language studies. But today, it may be argued that it used the formal language of structuralism to talk about systematicity based on proofs that appear dwarfed by modern big data evidence. In fact, general statements and observations about the structure of English syntax were routinely supported by deductive rather than purely inductive forms of argumentation. As viewed today, they appear to have been based on the expert consensus of linguists rather than robust evidence—if today's data sets should determine the measure of robust evidence. Interestingly enough, linguistics seems to have fallen back on two related, but distinguishable, versions of itself. It appealed to the radical structuralism of Saussure when it explained the economy of its model and to the functional structuralism of Jakobson (Joseph) when it sought to explain its findings. The strength of that kind of linguistics was that its arguments were psychologically relevant, human-scale and easily implementable in language teaching or language use. They were compatible with literary studies under the umbrella of philology.

Of course, big data is also inextricable from the philological tradition because corpus processing depends on human interpretation—if not directly, then indirectly. In the final analysis, the mounting pile of language data is based on human interpretation of sound words. But this organic dependence of formal methods on the human judgment will be hidden from view so far as the experiences of data-driven linguistics and pre-data linguistics are, psychologically speaking, distinct for those who practice them. The point is a weighty one, so far that the culture of linguistics and the culture of informatics have different potentials.

Jan Cygan's thinking about language should occupy a permanent place of interest for students of linguistics *because* his linguistic heritage is that of a transition period. It admirably represents the shift from the linguistic paradigm of thinking about the “hard-wired” IN-aspects of language to the recognition of its OUT-er attributes as legitimate issues in a linguistic endeavour. The IN-OUT dichotomy arises, as said above, from the ontology of the CONTAINER schema. Conceived as

CONTAINER, language may be metaphorically discussed at the image-schematic level as having its IN and OUT features. This view accords with the widely-adopted approach in linguistics (regardless of the paradigm) that language has its mental (IN) and material (OUT) manifestations. This dual ontology of language recalls other dualities encountered in the world, e.g. processual-(wave)/discrete (particle) nature of light. Indeed, the transition towards the validation of the OUT properties of language was spectacular as it marked the “velvet” revolution of research perspective at both vertical and horizontal dimensions. Vertically, the perspective has been taken down to encapsulate the bottom, i.e. the corpus data of real language use; horizontally, the perspective has broadened to take account of the contextual horizons of language research interest. Last but not least, philosophically, the discussion has panned out to embrace the extra-naturalist epistemology of a linguistic work which is no longer seen as an exclusive post in the fenced-off laboratory (the place of objective *knowledge production*) but rather immersed in the Universum of the Anthropos, the realm of *knowledge pursuit* where the objectivity of facts is naturally constrained by the Inaccessible Truth.

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On the Diminutivisation of Polish Nouns: Small Is Not Always Beautiful

Abstract: Situated at the interface between grammar, semantics and discourse, the cornerstone of the cognitivist approach to language and grammar, the paper presents some interrelations between these fields. As an illustration, the author analyzes some aspects of the morphological category of Polish diminutive. Like in other Slavic languages, it is highly productive; Polish diminutivises adjectives, adverbs, pronouns and verbs, but it is the noun that undergoes the process most easily and most frequently. The analysis focuses on the most productive type of nominal structures, i.e., synthetic diminutives. The discussion is inspired by Ronald Langacker's cognitive grammar, and it is within this framework that the analysis presented in the paper is carried out, with the aim of describing cognitive processes that underlie, and give rise to, the polysemy of diminutive structures. Analysed from the cognitivist point of view, diminutivisation can be seen as making use of the same basic cognitive mechanisms that are operative in other areas of language production and use: metonymy, metaphor and blending.

Keywords: basic level, category prototype, cognitive mechanism, conceptual integration, polysemy, entrenchment, metonymy, metaphor, nominal diminutive, diminutive suffix

Chcę mówić do ciebie tak, jak ludzie
mówią do dzieci, które dobrze znają.
(Wierzbicka, "Prototypy" 74)

Introduction

Professor Jan Cygan's work covers a wide spectrum of topics pertaining to language or individual languages. A prominent philologist, he specialised in English, but considered his native Polish to be of equal interest to a grammarian. The scope of his work spans over all levels of language, from phonetic and phonological

characteristics of individual sounds to phonological processes, to stress patterns and sentence intonation, to properties of alliterative verse. His interest in historical linguistics prompted fascinating comparisons between English and/or Polish and such languages as Greek, Latin or Old Germanic. Even though he did not carry out his research within the framework of cognitive linguistics (most of his work actually precedes its full development), some of his contributions to the theory of language show striking cognitivist insights. To quote just one example, in a paper on prepositions, he discusses their grammar from the nearly canonical cognitivist perspective (Cygan, "Kilka uwag"). Contributing to the monograph dedicated to his memory is an honour, but—in view of those achievements—also a challenge that makes one feel woefully inadequate.

In the present paper, I decided to focus on the interface between grammar, semantics and discourse, the interrelation which is present—albeit implicitly—in Jan Cygan's thought about language and which constitutes the cornerstone of the cognitivist approach to language and grammar. As an illustration, I will deal with the morphological category of the diminutive. It might then be appropriate to begin with John Taylor's statement: "Since English lacks a diminutive, I shall take most of my examples from Italian" (Taylor, *Cognitive* 173). Mine will come exclusively from Polish. Moreover, although the supposed absence of the category in English is usually taken for granted and treated as a piece of common wisdom, like some other linguists, I am inclined to disagree. I will not challenge this opinion here (but cf., e.g., Schneider, *Diminutives*; Lockyer, "The Emotive"); however, at this point, it might be worthwhile to mention that diminutives are commonly believed to create grave problems to translators working on Polish-English and English-Polish (literary) translation. The former group find it difficult to provide proper equivalents, while the latter are believed not to use the equivalents frequently enough (c.f., e.g. Lockyer, "Such a Tiny"; Biały, *Polish and English*; Wierzbicka, *Cross-Cultural* 25 ff.).

As is well known, in Polish, like in other Slavic languages, the category of the diminutive is highly productive. Polish diminutivises adjectives (e.g. *mały* "small" → *malutki*, *maleńki*, *maluśki* → very small), adverbs (e.g. *szybko* "quickly" → *szybciotko* → "very quickly"), pronouns (*taki* "such" → *takusieńki* "such.DIM"), and occasionally even verbs (*plakać*—"cry" → *plakusiać* → "cry.DIM"). However, the most productive category of diminutives involves nouns and noun suffixation; analytic formations are limited to cases that are discussed briefly in Section 8 below. In the text which follows, I shall focus on the most productive types of structures, i.e. synthetic nominal diminutives.

1. The state of art

Even though some linguists claim that research on the diminutive demonstrates the "niche character of the field" (Solak, *Natalia Długosz* 219, transl. E. T.), Polish and/

or Slavic diminutives have been investigated by many scholars and looked at from different theoretical perspectives. Works written in the structuralist vein focus upon the rich morphology and offer long, although usually rather inconclusive, lists of diminutive suffixes. Indeed, for Polish, the numbers—e.g. those reached by following Natalia Długosz’s comparative analysis (Długosz, “Porównanie”)—are quite impressive: seven suffixes for nouns of masculine gender, a further seven for feminine gender, eight for neuter gender and six for *pluralia tantum*. Works that focus on semantics and/or pragmatics of diminutives often offer valuable insights. Thus, for instance, Heltberg (“O deminutiwach”) makes (implicit) reference to the inherent fuzziness of borders that separate individual senses of polysemous diminutives, while Jurafsky (“Universal Tendencies”) classifies diminutive meanings in terms of radial categories, which grasp the inherent polysemy of diminutive lexemes. The polysemous character of the meaning of diminutives is the matter of general consensus, as is the conviction that diminutives do not have to convey the notion of smallness (cf., e.g., Lockyer, “The Emotive”; Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi, “Morphopragmatics”). With reference to this last property, most authors emphasise the emotional load of diminutive lexemes and the role of the pragmatic context of their use (cf., e.g., Biały, *Polish and English*; Długosz, “Porównanie”). What is lacking in those analyses is a coherent theoretical framework that would embrace the wide array of senses; in this respect, the most promising proposal is that made by John Taylor as part of his cognitive study on linguistic categorization (Taylor, *Cognitive*, Ch. 9.2.). Taylor’s discussion of the diminutive was inspired by Ronald Langacker’s cognitive grammar, and it is within this framework that the analysis presented further in this paper is carried out, with the aim of describing the cognitive processes that underlie, and give rise to, the polysemy of diminutive structures.

2. Discrete vs. fuzzy

Langacker’s cognitive grammar has challenged basic tenets of classical and generative structuralism. In general, the most fundamental requirement that conditions modelling language and grammar from the point of view of the cognitive theory of language opposes the main assumption on which alternative models are based; that is, the postulate of sharp categorial distinctions and discrete category membership. In view of the present subject, three basic tenets of pre-cognitivist structuralist models of language and grammar seem particularly vulnerable.

First, the cognitive model erases the clear-cut border which—ever since the appearance of de Saussure’s theory—has separated diachrony from synchrony as two radically different approaches to the study of language. Abolishing the distinction, or replacing it with the “diachrony within synchrony” approach (cf. Kellermann and Morrisey, *Diachrony*), makes it possible to appreciate the relevance of etymological origins of language for synchronic studies as well as to consider

metaphorization, the basic cognitive mechanism of human mind, as a process developing in time and going through consecutive stages. For Jurafsky, various meanings of a diminutive do constitute a radial category, with peripheral meanings (associative) clustered around a prototype that makes the core of the category. But the picture is rather static, showing the stable result of a process, while it is the latter that an analyst of cognitivist persuasion tends to focus upon: metaphorization is seen as a process, rather than a product, with particular members of categories changing under the influence of changeable linguistic and extralinguistic (cultural, situational) contexts.

Second, challenging the existence of a precise demarcation line between semantics and pragmatics—even though the challenge makes the linguist’s position rather uncomfortable—allows to account for “associative”, “connotative” or “emotive” elements of meaning in terms of the crucial difference between meanings that are objective (i.e. shared by a speech community and found in language dictionaries) and subjective (i.e. context sensitive, such as is to be found in encyclopaedias). Predictably, the borderline between these two is fuzzy too, although coherent analyses facilitate operationalization.

Third, there is no clear-cut distinction between the emotional load of words, diminutives in particular, and their conceptual (or intellectual) meaning. As in the other two cases, these elements merge, in differing proportions.

The three types of fuzziness underlie the workings of three basic cognitive processes that condition the creation and the use of diminutives in the same measure as they condition the creation and use of other manifestations of language. Metonymy (Section 4) involves relations between concepts within a single cognitive domain, *the pars pro toto* relation being the most frequent and most familiar type. Metaphor (Section 5) involves juxtaposing elements taken from two or more cognitive domains. Conceptual integration (Section 6), the last and the most general of the three, reveals the ability of human mind to make different spheres of cognition overlap, giving rise to novel conceptualizations.

3. Category prototype

In agreement with the cognitivist principle of embodied meaning, the fundamental property of language is its functioning as reflection of embodied experience. The basic experience of humans involves direct contacts of their bodies with the physical reality that surrounds them and with which they interact; this is reflected in ways that people think and speak about the world. Part of that experience is the perception of properties of physical objects, and one such property is the ability to perceive and assess physical size. It comes as an obvious consequence that the prototype of the linguistic category “diminutive” would enter the language to serve as a label for a diminutive physical object; thus *kotek* “cat.DIM” is a “small

cat” and *stonik* “elephant.DIM” is “a small elephant”. But the reality that people experience is mediated by what the human beings know about the world, by what this reality is for them, or what it seems to be from their particular point of view. Thus the diminutive *stonik* refers to an entity that is conceived as “small”, even though in absolute terms it is “big”, because the assessment is made relative to other animals and other objects that we know. Therefore, in fact, *stonik* stands for “an elephant that *we judge to be small as elephants go*”. This pragmatic component is obviously relevant to the semantics of diminutives.

4. Metonymy

Again, part of our basic experience is experiencing “wholes” as being bigger than “parts of wholes”. Thus, it is natural that the *pars pro toto* metonymy should underlie the concept of diminutiveness. Equally natural is the fact that a great number of entities which people do not bother to count, because they consider them to be too small, too similar to one another and/or too insignificant for individuation, will be conceptualized as homogeneous (or, in cognitivist parlance, as substances) and referred to by uncountable (mass) nouns; for instance, *śłoma* “straw” or *trawa* “grass”. When necessary (in terms of effective communication, which is the main purpose of linguistic activity), individual elements that comprise the substance will be referred to with countable nouns: then they are conceptualized as individual, and individuated, objects, small in relation to the mass they are parts of, hence *śłomka* “a straw.DIM” or *trawka* “a (blade of) grass.DIM”. Perhaps less obviously, the fruit called *gruszka* (“a pear.DIM”) is conceptualized as a part of the tree on which it grows, with both entities being perceived as countable. Significantly, notwithstanding the substance-to-object shift, such diminutives are still prototypes of their respective categories.

5. Metaphor

As is well known, the regularity that underlies the process of metaphORIZATION is defined as the transfer “from the ‘real’ physical or spatial world or the ideational domain to create more qualitative, evaluative, and textual meanings” (Jurafsky, “Universal Tendencies” 541). The definition grasps semantic and pragmatic characteristics of the typical metaphor, although the border that separates metaphor from metonymy is yet another instance of “fuzziness”: it is difficult, or impossible, to say where exactly one cognitive domain ends and another one begins. Therefore, there are expressions which rest in the conceptual space situated “in between” metonymy and metaphor—in a seminal paper by Louis Goossens (“Metaphonymy”), they are described as metaphonymies. As a linguistic category, diminutives are no

exception. The word *rączka* (lit. “little hand”) is a case in point. Primarily a label for “a small hand” (a category prototype, cf. above), with the prominent notion of reduction in physical size, it is also used to mean “something used to handle something else”—as is its English equivalent “handle”. While English does not use a formal diminutive, other cognitive aspects are the same in both languages: the notions “a small hand” and “a handle”, although different referentially, share the crucial concept of grasping (the prototypical object of the activity being a physical, three-dimensional object). Other properties do not appear in the name: presumably, they had not been considered important enough.

In both languages, the relationship is metonymical: a case described above as the *pars pro toto* relation and the conceptualization of size that is inherently connected with it. Interestingly, in Polish, metaphorical meaning, rather than the metonymy, prevails in the idiomatic expression *złota rączka* (lit. “golden hand.DIM”, fig. “handyman”, “jack-of-all-trades”), where the metonymy (hand conceptualized as a [crucial] part of a person) is accompanied by metaphorical extension of meaning: the main property of gold is its value (metonymy), and the value of gold is (like) the value of manual skills (metaphor). The above example illustrates metonymical and/or metaphorical relationships between countable objects; analogous mechanisms operate on substances. An example of the latter is *mleczko (kosmetyczne)* (lit. “milk.DIM”, fig. “lotion”), which does not involve the concept of reduction in size (that is, it does not mean “a small [amount] of milk”), but rather in the number of properties: *mleczko* (“lotion”) is “somewhat like milk, but not quite so”.

Linguists and psychologists who describe the process of metaphorization from the cognitivist perspective agree that the crossover between the domains of space and time, with time being conceptualized in terms of the cognitively simpler domain of space, gives rise to one of the most fundamental conceptual metaphors. Since neutral temporal expressions show the domain of space—*chwila* (“a while”)—as an “object existing in the domain of time”, it could be reasonably expected that diminutives might conform with the same procedure. This is indeed the case: *chwilka* (“a while.DIM”, “a short while”), conceptualized as “a small object existing in the domain of time”, is one of the many examples.

Words that in traditional grammatical descriptions are referred to as “abstract nouns” undergo processes analogous to those described for concrete objects and substances. As an example, we might consider:

- (1) Osobiste *ambicyjki* wyrastają ponad sprawy Polski. (WO, 13 Nov. 2021)¹
Personal aspirations.DIM exceed Polish causes.

As in the examples given above, the motivations referred to in (1) are “somewhat like real aspirations, but not quite so”. In the internet corpora *ambicja* (“aspiration”) collocates, among others, with adjectives *wysoka* (“high”) or *szlachetna*

¹ To mark sources of some examples, the following abbreviations will be used: WO—*Wysokie Obcasy* weekly; GW—*Gazeta Wyborcza* daily; DF—*Duży Format* weekly.

(“noble”): in our reality, having aspirations is a good thing. Therefore reducing them either in size or in number of properties must be considered as referring to something of a value “smaller than positive”, cf. the internet collocation *niewielkie ambicje* (“low aspirations”). “Small aspirations” are not beautiful; far from it: they do not deserve respect.

6. Conceptual integration: Evaluation

The emotive meaning component of the diminutive is recognized by all researchers—irrespective of the theoretical approach chosen and linguistic materials analysed. “Small is beautiful”, many sing in unison, but at the same time, the majority do not fail to notice that this is not always the case.

Typically, diminutives are associated with “baby talk”, or, more generally, with the world of children (Wierzbicka, “Podwójne”; Jurafsky, “Universal Tendencies”). The advocates of this interpretation argue that, on one hand, children are small (literally) and beautiful (as objects of affection); on the other hand, we would like to make the world less intimidating for children via its (metaphorical) reduction. This could be perhaps described in terms of iconicity: diminutive words reflect a diminutive world. Or, within a diminutive world, the distance between interlocutors is naturally small, and the (literal and/or metaphorical) reduction of distance—a condition for intimacy—corresponds to the use of “small” words.

The question arises why diminutives, characteristic for child’s speech and expressing affection, should become wicked, derogatory or downright offensive when used outside situations that typically call for “baby talk”. It seems that it is here that the theory of conceptual blending should provide the linguists with useful instruments. Consider:

(2) A na drugie danke, buraczki pan łaskawy życzy czy ogóreczki?

And for the main course.DIM, do you wish beet roots.DIM or cucumbers.
DIM, my good sir?

The waiter who addresses an adult customer with (2) “reduces” their world to the diminutive size. At the same time, the reduction of social distance (cf., e.g., Schneider, *Diminutives* 15; Gorzycka, “A Note” 151) is supposed to create a friendly atmosphere. The customer may fall for it, but he may also feel offended when they blend their current mental space (two adult actors) with that involving an adult-child interaction—a situation that they may not be willing to appreciate.

When used with the intention to offend the interlocutor, the reduction strategy can be purposefully denigrating and scornful:

(3) Dziewczynko, odejdz stąd! Zasłoń nosek!

Girl.DIM go away! Cover your nose.DIM! (GW, 28 Oct. 2020)

or, as a proof that English DOES have (a couple of) diminutives:

Get lost, *girlie!* Cover that little nose of yours!

An MP in the Polish parliament addressed (3) to an opposition lady politician. Even outside the political context, the latter had full right to feel offended by the speaker's reducing the world of a parliament debate and her own position in it to the situation when a wicked little girl pokes her nose in adult people's affairs and does not care to wear face mask in the middle of the pandemic.

Writer Szymon Twardoch performs a similar act when commenting on the behaviour of a group of Polish politicians:

- (4) [The politicians who are offended by the results of presidential campaign in the US] tupią nóżkami i zaciskają oczka... (DF, 25 Oct. 2021)
stamp their feet.DIM and squeeze shut their eyes.DIM.

The mental space in which nasty children throw a tantrum becomes superimposed on one including adult politicians reacting to a political event of a great significance.

Blends of this kind can become quite complex, as in:

- (5) [The president is] przyssany niczym niemowlę do matczynego cycka partii...
sucking as a baby on the motherly tit.DIM of the party.
W Belwederze nie zasiada głowa państwa, tylko co najwyżej główka. (GW, 3 Sep. 2021)
In the presidential palace does not reside a head of state but at best head.
DIM.

In (5), the "child's space" is very elaborate: a suckling baby, the natural owner of a small head, feeds at his mother's breast. The agent within the other space is the president, metaphorically, the head of state. Reducing the size of the head, and as a result, diminishing the metaphorical size of the presidential office, gives to (5) its stinging satirical colouring. As a marginal remark, consider the analogous effect of adjectival diminutives:

- (6) [Dziennikarze] przymykali oko na wiele podlutkich tekstów. (GW, 15 Nov. 2021)
[Some journalists] turned a blind eye to many vile.DIM texts.

The texts mentioned in (6) were *podle* ("vile"), but ostensibly, the villainy was small, which might justify disregarding it. By default ("small is beautiful"), the property could actually make the texts acceptable, if not nice to read. While it might be taken to tally with the observation that the use of a diminutive can be motivated by the speaker's wish to soften a negative emotion (cf. Lockyer, "The Emotive"), disregarding things that are *podle*, or actually like them, calls for negative evaluation: "turning a blind eye" to vile things is bad. The two assessments clash, and (6) becomes a case of irony. In her important paper on English diminutives (believed to exist, after all), Dorota Gorzycka states that "the same diminutive formation can have positive or negative connotations, depending on the context in

which it occurs, but never at the same time” (Gorzycka, “A Note” 155). While the first part of the statement is obviously true, the ironic use challenges the second part. However, an attempt at substantiating this claim would require going beyond the limits of the present paper. At this point, one last example must suffice. Telling a journalist about his work and social status, a young man says:

(7) Prowadziłem [w Gdańsku] pub *Fantomatyka VR*: piwka, gierki, imprezki dla sektora IT. (DF, 8 Nov. 2021)

I ran [in Gdańsk] the pub *Fantomatyka VR*: beers.DIM, games.DIM, parties.DIM for the IT section.

In fact, talking to us in (7) are two voices. The customers talk about their activities in the pub with affection, while the young man who organizes the event for them considers the job as professionally degrading.

7. (Basic) level shifts

In the historical development, some diminutives become basic level terms and lose the diminutive meaning—in either the literal or extended sense. The outcomes of this process vary. When the neutral item becomes obsolete, the formally diminutive form may achieve a neutral non-diminutive meaning, as in: *klatka* (“cage”): (originally small, now of unspecified size) from **kleć* “cage”. The formerly diminutive noun can be raised to the basic level, where it co-exists with the neutral item, the two having cognate but differing meanings, as in *kamera* (“camera”) vs. *kamerka* (lit. “small camera”, webcam), or *szkoła* (“school”) vs. *szkółka* (lit. “small school”, a nursery garden). The *double entendre*, or ambiguity resulting from the use of the ex-diminutive in its original diminutive sense, is resolved by context—linguistic, situational or cultural.

Neutral ex-diminutives can give rise to formations situated both below and above the basic level, as in *woda* “water” → *wódka* (“water.DIM”, originally “little water”, spirits) → *wódeczka* (lit. small little water, voddie), or *wódka* → *wóda* (“little water.AUG, liquor”).²

8. Analytic diminutivisation

In Polish, a language with very rich morphology, analytic diminutives are—predictably—rather infrequent. They seem to be context-sensitive and motivated by—more or less ad hoc—pragmatic needs. Thus, beside the synthetic formal diminutive *ślonik* (“elephant.DIM”, cf. Section 1 above), there exists the analytic phrase *mały słoń* (“small elephant”). Free from the emotive component, it results

² I owe this example to Wolfgang Dressler, personal communication.

from mere assessment of size. Analytic diminutives are more literal than their synthetic counterparts; hence, subtle differences in meaning. Thus, *ślonik* is small as elephants go, while *mały śłoń* is just smaller than other members of the same category (cf. e.g. Gorzycka, “A Note” 155). One might perhaps say that synthetic diminutives categorize by prototype, and analytical ones by schema. Both types of diminutivisation can be mixed, creating chains as: *śłoń* (“elephant” → *mały śłoń* (“small elephant”) → *ślonik* (“little elephant”) → *mały ślonik* (“small little elephant”). A cursory survey of English translation equivalents demonstrates the use of “small” for analytic and “little” for synthetic diminutivisation.

9. Entrenchment and decomposition

In agreement with the cognitivist model of language, which holds that in a grammar, general rules exist besides a structured inventory of linguistic units, frequently used (or entrenched) formations—notably such diminutives that are raised to the basic level—are not decomposed in the process of language production or reception. In other words, they are used as undivided wholes. Some linguists refute this assumption, arguing that it finds no definite affirmation in psycholinguistic research (cf. e.g. Wolfgang Dressler’s view, personal communication), but it is precisely basic level ex-diminutives that are a case in point. On the other hand, the fact that they seem to be stored as part of mental lexicon of a competent speaker does not preclude the very speaker’s conscious realization of the role of, for instance, diminutivising suffixes in their mother tongue.

The focus of the present paper is not on morphology, but it could be useful to suggest that it might be just this knowledge that makes native speakers’ reluctant in using the suffix *-ka* with masculine nouns and create a feminine noun as part of the ongoing battle of linguistic discrimination of women. Since the suffix *-ka* has a double function, either making non-diminutive feminine nouns or feminine diminutives, Polish speakers tend to protest against such word formation as in *polityk* (“politician.MASC”) → *polityczka* (“politician.FEM”, but also, significantly “politician.FEM+DIM”). Nobody wants to become “a little lady politician”, although nobody protests against, for instance, being a *nauczycielka* (“teacher.FEM”); due to long and frequent use, the word functions as a non-composed linguistic unit.

The process is not limited to Polish; in a recent conference on diminutives Nicolas Royer-Artuso (“Beyond”) stated that his female French colleagues did not like being called *chercheuses* (lady researchers), though they did not object against visiting their well-entrenched *coiffeuses* (lady hairdressers).

10. Restrictions

The feminine : diminutive opposition invokes the crucial problem of restrictions on (noun) diminutivisation. At this point, it must suffice to propose that these can be formulated on exclusively pragmatic grounds. Recent developments within the theory of linguistic worldview might provide answers to many questions and help to solve numerous problems. Some seem relatively simple: we can form—and use—the diminutive *deszcz* → *deszczyk* (“rain” → “slight rain.DIM”) while *ocean* → *oceanek* (“ocean” → “little ocean.DIM”) could only come to exist in a world different from ours. We can suffer from *katar* → *katarek* (“cold” → “little cold.DIM”), but *pandemijka* (“pandemic.DIM”) can only be a sarcastic judgment of a sceptic’s irresponsible decisions, because this is what we believe things are like in our world.

11. Conclusions

The bibliography given at the end of this paper is only a meagre selection of what has been said about the diminutive and diminutivisation in Polish and English. However, not much has been written on the subject from the cognitivist point of view. The aim of the present paper was to show the potential of the approach. Although the shift of focus from the ready product to the ongoing process makes the linguist’s life more difficult, it opens valuable theoretical perspectives. Diminutivisation can be seen as making use of the same basic cognitive mechanisms that are operative in other areas of language production and use: metonymy, metaphor and blending. Thus, it contributes to a general theory of language, and at the same time makes it possible to provide a comprehensive description of diminutivisation, seen as a cognitive process, instigated and restricted by a broad context of use.

Research on diminutives can turn into a never-ending story. The above discussion does not aspire either to a great depth or to being comprehensive in any sense of the world. It leaves numerous questions unanswered, or even not asked. Why is the diminutive *dziewczątka* (“little girl.DIM”) neuter, while the neutral word, *dziewczyna* (“girl”) is rightfully feminine? Why is *środeczek* (“the very centre.DIM”) more central than *środek* (“centre”)? What mental spaces intertwine to produce the image of the psychologist Marek Kotański’s home, as remembered by one of his colleagues:

- (8) Mama I babcia chodziły wokół niego i jego ojca, obsługując ich na paluszkach i przygotowując kanapeczki, ciasteczka i klusieczki... (DF, 25 Oct. 2021).

[His] mother and grandmother attended to him and to his father, serving them on tiptoe.DIM, preparing sandwiches.DIM, cakes.DIM and dump-
lings.DIM

These, like many others, have to be left to furnish future projects.

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Jews and Other Nations in Selected Translated Versions of the Bible*

Abstract: The English noun ‘Jew’ is the lexical equivalent of the Hebrew word *yehudi* (in plural *yehudim*), which is used in opposition to *goyim* as members of all other nations. These two nouns are rendered in various languages in a considerable number of different ways. The article focuses on their translational equivalents in Greek, Latin and in numerous selected Polish and English versions of the Bible. The confrontation of these equivalents yields what I elsewhere call “the Bible translation imbroglio”. Yet, this chaos has no adverse impact on faithful Jews and Christians for whom the Bible is a sacred text. This is so because for every faithful reader, every contact with the Bible in whatever version, at least in principle, constitutes a fresh *unique* religious experience, and the number of such unique experiences certainly exceeds the number of all existing versions of the Bible. Every individual experience of this kind is tantamount to creating a new target version of the Bible, even if the particular source text remains unaltered. Pious readers believe that the Bible is the way by means of which God sends His Word carrying His Message to people, and that this Word remains unchanged, even if words in different languages carrying this message may be different, unstable and inaccurate.

Keywords: Bible, Jews, pagans, nations, peoples

Introduction

The noun ‘Jew’ is systematically used in English versions of the Bible as the lexical equivalent of the source word יְהוּדִי *‘yehudi’* (in plural *yehudim*), nearly synonymous with ‘Israelite’ and ‘Hebrew’, in contrast with גּוֹיִם *‘goyim’*, referring

* Fragments of the Bible cited in the article: Est 2:5; Ps 9, (78) 79, (95) 96, 117, 118, 149; Mt. 5:46–47, 2:29–32 (Simeon’s Canticle—Kantyk Simeona); Acts 13:46–48, 15:23; Rom 10:12; Gal 3:28; Heb; Rev 15:3. All biblical examples and all versions of the Bible cited in the article are accessible on the internet under the following addresses: 1. Bible Hub, <https://biblehub.com/>, 2. study-bible, <https://studybible.info/>, 3. Bible Gateway, <https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/>, 4. Biblię Polskie, <http://bibliępolskie.pl/zonline.php>.

to members of all other nations and rendered in more than one way in various languages. What follows focuses on how these two words are rendered in Greek (including several versions of the *Septuagint*), in Latin (at least two versions of the *Vulgate*) and in numerous selected Polish and English versions of the Bible. The provided material illustrates what I elsewhere call “The Bible translation imbroglio” (Krzeszowski, “The Bible”).

1. *Yehudi* and its lexical equivalents in other languages

In the *Hebrew Bible*, the word יהודי ‘Yehudi’ refers to one of Yaakov’s (Jacob’s) 12 sons, who inherited one part of the land from his father. Yaakov lived in the Land of Canaan, Haran, and Egypt and was the founder of the 12 tribes of Israel (Gen 25–26) in ca 1700–1650 B.C.¹ At the end of the seventh century B.C., after the Hebrew population’s expatriation to Babylon and Assyria, and particularly after the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C., the word *Yehudai* became nearly synonymous with ‘Israelite’ and ‘Hebrew’, because it was not interchangeable with them in all contexts.² The noun *Hebrews* was usually used by foreigners, particularly the Egyptians, while Israelites used it with reference to themselves when communicating with foreigners. The *Jewish Encyclopedia* additionally states that the words *Hebrews* and *Israelites* respectively referred to the same people before and after the conquest of the Land of Canaan (1901–1906). *Yehudi* is systematically used throughout what in the Christian Bible constitutes the Old Testament; for example, in the Book of Esther (2:5):

שׂוֹשַׁן
 ’š—*a certain*
 יהודי
 yə-hū-dī,—*Jew*
 הָיָה
 hā-yāh—*there was*
 בְּשׁוּשַׁן
 bə-šū-šan—*in Shushan*
 הַבִּירָה
 hab-bî-rāh;—*the citadel*
 וְשֵׁמוֹ
 ū-šə-mōw—*(and) whose name*
 מְרַדְּכָי
 mā-rə-do-kay,—*[was] Mordecai*

¹ According to the Torah and the Old Testament of the Christian Bible, Jacob was a grandson of Abraham. God gave Jacob the name Israel, which is an eponym meaning ‘one who fought with God’. The episode is described in Gen 32:24–32. Judah was one of Israel’s twelve sons. Thus, the name of the state Israel derives from Jacob-Israel, and the name of one region of Israel, i.e. *Yehuda* (Yudah/Juda) is derived from the name of one of Jacob-Israel’s sons.

² Sporadically, the word יהודי ‘yehudi’ appears with reference to times even before the Babylonian captivity (cf. 2 Kings 16:6, 25:25; Jeremiah 32:12, 34:9, 36:14. 21. 23, 38:19).

In the *Brenton Greek Septuagint*, these words are rendered as:

Καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἦν Ἰουδαῖος ἐν Σούσοις τῇ πόλει, καὶ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Μαρδοχαῖος.

The Latin version in the *Clementine Vulgate* reads:

Erat vir **Judæus** in Susan civitate, vocabulo Mardocheus erat **vir iudæus** in Susis civitate vocabulo Mardocheus.

Later translated versions of the Bible are based either directly on Hebrew sources or, in a considerable number of cases, on one of Greek and/or Latin versions. As can be expected, due to inevitable “grapevine effects” (cf. Krzeszowski, “Bible Translations”), they are not always mutually compatible. In the course of phonological changes taking place in all vernacular languages, *Yehudi* via its Greek and Latin parents evolved into a number of their descendents, such as the German ‘Jude’, French ‘Juif’, Italian ‘Giudeo’, English ‘Jew’, Polish ‘Żyd’, etc. However, their contextual and connotative meanings usually underwent significant changes. The Polish word ‘Żyd’ well exemplifies such changes. The noun ‘Żyd’ (in plural *Żydzi*) or ‘Żydowin’ and the adjective ‘żydowski’ are used in all parts of most Polish versions of the Bible as the lexical equivalents of the source words *yehudi/yuda*, including the above-quoted Book of Esther (2:5): “Był **maż Żydowin** w mieście Susan/imieniem Mardocheus”. Incredibly, this rendering, at least according to the title page, is based on the Latin text (“z pilnością według Łacińckiey Biblii”).

In *Biblia Tysiąclecia* (all editions), ‘Żyd’ appears in the Book of Esther (1:1) but not in the verse 2:5., where *yehuda* is not translated at all, which is a case of avoidance strategy. In *Nowa Biblia Gdańska*, the most accurate rendering of the source phrase. i.e. ‘maż judzki’ is used. (For more examples and an extensive discussion, see Krzeszowski, *The Translation* 419–425; “Żydzi”).

Every instance of the use of the words ‘Żyd’ and ‘żydowski’ in the Polish versions of the Old and New Testament is a verbal anachronism, much like using the word ‘Iraq’ to refer to ancient Mesopotamia or the word ‘Iran’ to refer to ancient Persia, which would be very good examples of verbal anachronisms (cf. Krzeszowski, “Żydzi”).³ Even if it is true that Polish-speaking and English-speaking contemporary Jews use these words when referring to their nation in the course of their entire history (according to the Bible at least since the times of Abraham), one cannot ignore the fact that the Polish word *żyd* **had not come into existence before the second millennium AD**. The earliest-attested instance of this anachronism as used in biblical translations appeared in 1561 in the so-called *Biblia Leopoldy* the first Polish extant complete target text of the Bible. On the title page, the original languages from which it had been translated are called “Żydowski, Łaciński i Polski (sic!)”.⁴

³ As explicated by Merriam-Webster Dictionary ‘anachronism’ is “something (such as a *word* (emphasis supplied), an object, or an event) that is mistakenly placed in time where it does not belong in a story, movie, etc.”. www.merriam-webster.com/

⁴ Curiously, in *Biblia Leopoldy*, the word ‘żydzi’ appears at the beginning of Chapter 5 of the book of Ezechiel in the sentence for which no source sentence can be found either in the Hebrew

2. Letter to Hebrews

The Letter (Epistle) entitled “Πρὸς Ἑβραίους” (one of the New Testament Letters, sometimes erroneously attributed to St. Paul) has occasioned several particularly noxious cases of this type of anachronistic mistranslation in some Polish target versions of the New Testament sharply contrasting with target versions in other languages. The Latin and English versions, without any exceptions, read “Ad Hebraeos” and “To the Hebrews”, respectively, even if the nouns ‘Letter’ or ‘Epistle’ occasionally occur in English versions. In *none* of the surveyed English versions is the word ‘Jews’ used in the title of this letter. Likewise, in all Italian versions, only ‘Ebrei’, never ‘Guidei’, is used. In all Russian versions, only ‘евреям’ is used, since ‘жид’ is absolutely inappropriate due to its strongly negative axiological load charge. It is interesting to note that in Czech, ‘Židum’ is used (*Biblia Kralická*), in contrast with the Slovak ‘List Hebrejom’ (*Nádej pre každého*) and related nouns in other surveyed Slavic versions. *The Orthodox Jewish Bible* stands out in that in this version, the letter appears under the title “Yehudim in Moshiah”.

Several Polish versions of the Bible are flawed with the anachronistic use of the noun ‘Żydzi’, not only in the title of the Epistle, but also in the adjective ‘żydowski’, while mendaciously referring to the language of the purported original version. In this respect, *Biblia Leopoldy* positively differs from *Biblia Brzeska*, *Biblia Jakuba Wujka*, *Biblia Gdańska*, and *Przekład Mariawitów*. The title page of *Biblia Leopoldy*, published in 1561 in Cracow (Kraków) by Marek Szarfenberg, reads:

Biblia, to jest księgi Starego i Nowego Zakonu, na polski język z pilnością według łacińskiej Biblii od Kościoła krześcijańskiego powszechnego przyjętej, nowo wyłożona. **Podstawa tłumaczenia** Wulgata.

This title sharply contrasts with

Biblia Brzeska Biblia święta, tho iest, Księgi Starego y Nowego Zakonu, właśnie z **Żydowskiego** Greckiego y Łacińskiego, nowo na Polski język, z pilnością y wiernie wyłożone. Brześć Litewski, nakł. M. Radziwiłł, 1563, 2°.

Biblia to jest Księgi Starego y Nowego Testamentu według Łacińskiego przekładu starego, w kościele powszechnym przyjętego, na Polski język z nowu z pilnością przełożone, z dokładaniem textu **Żydowskiego** y Greckiego, y z wykładem Katholickim, trudniejszych miejsc, do obrony wiary świętej powszechnej przeciw kacerstwóm tych czasów należących: przez D. Iakuba Wujka z Wągrowca, Theologa Societatis Iesu. Z DOZWOLENIEM STOLICE APOSTOLSKIEY, a nakładem Iego M. Księdza Arcybiskupa Gnieźnieńskiego, etc. wydane, Kraków, Druk. Łazarzowa, nakł. S. Karnkowski, 1599, 2°.

BIBLIA SWIĘTA: To jest, KSIĘGI STAREGO Y NOWEGO PRZYMIERZA Z **Żydowskiego** y Greckiego Języka na Polski pilnie y wiernie przetłumaczone. Cum Gratia et Privilegio. S. R. M., Gdańsk, A. Hünefeldt, 1632, 8°. Wydanie przedstawia u góry karty tytułowej dwie

Bible or, indeed, in the *Septuagint* or the *Vulgate*. The intruding additional sentence which precedes verse 1 was apparently added by the translator to emphasize the sinful behavior of the Hebrew people. It reads as follows: “Przez ogolenie włosów na głowie y na brodzie/znaczy wielkie a rozmaite zatracenie żydów przez złości ich/o przyszłych złych rzeczach które miały przyść na Jeruzalem”.

alegoryczne postacie z mieczem i gałązką oliwną. W pośrodku jest tytuł dzieła, pod tym apoteoza zmartwychwstania, poniżej po bokach Mojżesz i Aaron, a między nimi obraz Królestwa Pokoju według słów Izajasza 11, 6–8.

Moreover, “Πρὸς Ἑβραίους” in *Biblia Jakuba Wujka* is rendered as “Do Żydów” and in *Przekład Mariawitów* as “List Św. Pawła do Żydów”, which is obviously inconsistent with the title page of this version:

Pierwsze wydanie Pisma św. **Nowego Testamentu**, przetłumaczone przez bpa Kowalskiego: „Nowy Testament po polsku, czyli święta Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystusa Ewangelia, tł. bp. Jan M. Michał Kowalski, Płock 1921”. **Tłumaczenie z łacińskiej Wulgaty z uwzględnieniem tekstu greckiego**. Zawartość: „Słowo wstępne” [4 strony] napisał biskup staro-katolickiego kościoła Maryawitów Jan Marya Michał; Porządek Pism Nowego Zakonu od kościoła chrześcijańskiego przyjętych [1 strona]; Przedmowa ŚŚ Hieronima i Jana Chryzostoma na czterech ewangelistów [4 strony]; na końcu spis rzeczy [2 strony]; spis treści, skorowidz skrótów i znaków pisma [1 strona] i na ostatniej stronie skorowidz skrótów Ojców Kościoła oraz ważniejsze omyłki w druku. Całość 966 stron.

3. Other nations

People other than Hebrews/Israelites are consistently called גוֹיִם ‘goyim’ (gowyim), which is translated into other languages in a number of different ways and, which is more important, particular vernacular versions are internally inconsistent in that particular source lexemes are differently rendered in different places of the same particular target version. Such inconsistencies occur in many target versions of both the Old and the New Testament. Psalms 9 and 117 (116), as well as Simeon’s Canticle, saliently represent this translational predicament.

3.1. Psalm 9

In Hebrew, Psalm 9:19 (20)–20 (21) reads:

יִשְׁפָּט
 yiš-šā-pā-tū—let be judged
 גוֹיִם
 gō-w-yim,—the nations
 עַל-
 ‘al—in
 נֶגְדְךָ
 pā-ne-kā—Your sight
 הַשָּׁמַיִם
 šī-tāh—put
 הַיְהוָה
 Yah-weh—Yahweh
 מִן-הַיִּירָא
 mō-w-rāh—in fear
 לָהֶם
 lā-hem—they

יָגִיד
 yê-dā-‘ū—[that] may know
 גּוֹיִם
 gō-w-yim;—the nations
 אֲנָשִׁים
 ’ē-nō-wōš—men
 הֵמָּה
 hēm-māh—they [are]

In consistence with the source text, in the *Septuagint (Brenton Greek)* and—renumbered as 20 and 21—in the *Clementine Vulgate*, these two verses are worded as

Ἀνάστηθι Κύριε, μὴ κραταιούσθω ἄνθρωπος, κριθήτωσαν ἔθνη ἐνώπιόν σου.
 Κατάστησον, Κύριε, νομοθέτην ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς, γνώτωσαν ἔθνη ὅτι ἄνθρωποι εἰσι διάψαλμα.
 Exsurge, Domine; non confortetur homo: judicentur **gentes** in conspectu tuo.
 Constitue, Domine, legislatorem (?) super eos, ut sciant **gentes** quoniam homines sunt.

Yet, the *Authorised King James Version*, purportedly based on one of the Vulgates, displays the said inconsistency in the following way:

Arise, O LORD; let not man prevail: let **the heathen** be judged in thy sight.
 Put them in fear, O LORD: *that the nations* may know themselves *to be but* men.

The same inconsistency appears in the *American King James Version* and the *Updated King James Version*. In most other English versions, including those based on the King James Version/Bible of 1611, rather than on other King James versions, the noun *goyim* in verses 20 (19) and 21 (20) is rendered as ‘(the) nations’.

In several unique cases, the identity of the noun in the two verses is preserved by repeating nouns other than ‘(the) nations’:

Heathen | the Heathen (*Modern Spelling Tyndale-Coverdale*)
 the Heathen | the Heathen (*Bishops Bible*)
 the Heithe | the Heithe (*Coverdale’s Translation*)
 the heathen | the heathen (*Geneva Bible*)
 the Heythen | the Heythen (*Great Bible*)
 the Heythen | the Heathen (*Matthew Bible*)
 the Gentiles | the Gentiles (*Catholic Douay-Rheims*)
 the gentiles | the gentiles (*The Scriptures*)
 the Goyim/Hashem | the Goyim (*Orthodox Jewish Bible*)
 the *nations* {heathen} | the *nations* (*King James: Purple Letter Edition*)
 the heathen | them (*Good News Translation*, which stands out by using the personal pronoun ‘them’ instead of ‘heathen’ in verse 21)

In brief, the same source Hebrew noun גּוֹיִם ‘goyim’ used in verses 20 (19) and 21 (20), in various English target texts is inconsistently rendered in a variety of ways, which are not always consistent in preserving the original identity of the nouns as they occur in the two verses. Polish versions of Psalm 9 also display numerous inconsistencies. Thus, translators of *Biblia Tysiąclecia* (1980, 3rd ed.), in which these two verses are numbered as 20 and 21, are surprisingly inaccurate, in that they not only inconsistently select lexical equivalents of *goyim*, but curiously present

them in the opposite order in comparison with those King James versions which do not preserve the original identity of the two lexemes:

Powstań, o Panie, by człowiek nie triumfował; osądź **narody** przed Twoim obliczem.
Przejmij ich, Panie, bojaźnią; niech wiedzą **poganie**, że są tylko ludźmi.

However, Jakub Wujek's rendering, quoted here after the 1923 edition, which is based on Latin versions, unlike some of its English kins, is consistent:

Powstań, Panie, niech się nie zmacnia człowiek: niech będą sądzeni **narodowie** przed oblicznością twoją. (Wujek 1923)

Postaw, Panie, zakonodawcę nad nimi, aby wiedzieli **narodowie**, iż ludźmi są. (Wujek 1923)

In other Polish versions, the following sequences of nouns occurring in the two verses have been attested:

ludzie | pogani (*Psalterz Floriański*)

lud | pogani (*Psalterz Puławski*)

narodowie | narodowie (Wujek 1923)

narody | narody (Wujek 1962, *Biblia Gdańska* 1881/2017, *Biblia Warszawska*, *Biblia Poznańska*, *Przekład Nowego Świata* 1975, ks. J. Kruszyński, F. T. Aszkenazy)

ludy | narody (*Biblia Warszawsko-Praska*)

narody | poganie (*Biblia Tysiąclecia*, *Biblia Paulistów*)

ludy | ludy (*Nowa Biblia Gdańska*, Śląskie Towarzystwo Biblijne, Ks. Jan Szeruda)

This confrontation of selected Polish renderings shows that the translators of *Biblia Tysiąclecia* (all editions) are inconsistent, not only in comparison with Hebrew source texts and with Wujek's versions, but also in a rather puzzling way with *Biblia Warszawsko-Praska*, where the first occurrence of *goyim* is rendered as 'ludy' and the second one as 'narody', whereas in *Biblia Tysiąclecia* the first occurrence of the same Hebrew nouns are rendered as 'narody' and the second one as 'poganie'!

3.2. Psalm 117

Various renderings of Psalm 117 (116) exhibit a few more inconsistencies. The Hebrew source text of Psalm 117 (116) reads

הַלְלֵי

(hal·lu)—praise

יְהוָה

(Yah·weh)—Yahwe (the LORD)

כֹּל-

(kol-)—all

גוֹיִם

(go·v·yim;)—nations (you Gentiles)

בְּחֻדָּה

(be·chu·hu)—laud

כֹּל-

(kol-)—all

הַעַמִּים

(ha·'um·mim.)—peoples!

Swete's Septuagint and *Vulgata Clementina* respectively render it as “Αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, αἰνεσάτωσαν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ λαοί” and “Laudate Dominum, omnes **gentes**, laudate eum, omnes **populi**”.

In various English versions, the following pairs of the two Hebrew words are used:

nations | peoples (*King James Version, New International Version, Aramaic Bible in Plain English*)

nations | peoples! (*Berean Study Bible, New American Standard Bible*)

nations! | people! (*Amplified Bible, English Standard Version, Christian Standard Bible*)

nations | people of the earth (*New Living Translation*)

nations! | people of the world! (*God's Word, Bishop's Bible of 1568*)

Gentiles! | peoples (*New King James Version*)

Gentiles | people (*Coverdale Bible of 1535*)

Nations | everyone (*Contemporary English Version*)

nations! | foreigners! (*NET Bible*)

Polish renderings of Psalm 117 (116) display a similar lack of consistency:

pogany | ludzie (*Psalterz Floriański*)

pogani | ludzie (*Psalterz Puławski*)

poganie | narodowie (*Wujek 1923*)

narody | ludzie (*Biblia Gdańska*)

narody | wy-ludy (*Psalmy Dawida. Trans. P. Byczewski*)

narody! | ludy! (*Księga Psalmów. Trans. B. Goetze. 1937*)

narody | ludy! (*Chwała Boża: Psalterz Dawidowy. Trans. F. T. Aszkenazy. 1927*)

narody | ludy (*Biblia Warszawska / Brytyjka, Biblia Tysiąclecia [all editions], Przekład Toruński*)

ludy | narody (*Biblia Poznańska, Biblia Warszawsko-Praska, as opposed to Goetze!*)

narody | plemiona (*Psalmy. Trans. I. Cylkow 1883, Nowa Biblia Gdańska 2012 [Śl. Tow. Biblijnej], Biblia, to jest Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Przymierza. Poznań: Ewangeliczny Instytut Biblijny 2016*)

In brief, the Hebrew nouns גוֹיִם (go·v·yim) and הַאֲמִיּוֹת (ha-'um·mim), consistently rendered in all the *Septuagintas* as ἔθνη and λαοί and in all the *Vulgates* as **gentes** and **populi**, have not been accurately rendered in the selected English and Polish versions. In English, the prevalence of ‘nations’ over the rare occurrences of the more appropriate ‘Gentiles’ clearly suggests their relation with Greek and/or Latin versions. The pronoun ‘everyone’ in *Contemporary English Version* is certainly more general than the nouns ‘peoples’, while the noun ‘foreigners’, in *NET Bible*, semantically closer to the original Hebrew ‘goyim’, is completely out of place in this position. These two inaccuracies cannot be explained in any obvious way.

3.3. Simeon's Canticle

One of the available Greek source texts of “Simeon's Canticle” and the Latin *Clementine Vulgate*, respectively, read:

Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, **Δέσποτα**, κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ· ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου, ὃ ἠτοίμασας κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν **λαῶν**, φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν **ἔθνῶν** καὶ δόξαν **λαοῦ** σου Ἰσραήλ. (*Berean Greek Bible*)

Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace :quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum, quod parasti ante faciem omnium **populorum** : lumen ad revelationem **gentium**, et gloriam plebis tuæ Israël.

Thus, in Greek, two nouns (in their appropriate grammatical forms—**λαῶν/λαοῦ** and **ἔθνῶν**—are used in verses 31 and 32.

In Latin (all versions of the Vulgate), three different nouns in their appropriate grammatical forms are used: 1. ‘populorum’—from ‘populus’, denoting people in the most general sense; 2. ‘gentium’ and 3. ‘plebis’—from ‘plebs’, denoting the social stratum of free people as opposed to slaves. The words ‘populus’ and ‘plebs’, though they are partly synonymous, are *two different* lexemes, while in Greek **λαός** and **λαοῦ** are two grammatical forms of only one lexeme. This lack of lexical congruity between Greek and Latin source texts generated a considerable chaos (imbroglio) in later vernacular target versions exhibiting more or less pronounced traces of their Greek or Latin affiliations. Interestingly enough, the *King James Bible* (1604–1611) and *Jakub Wujek’s Bible* (1599), the two vernacular versions which may be considered classical and which were created at approximately the same time, differ in this particular respect. Whereas Jakub Wujek, evidently under the influence of a Latin version, uses three different lexemes in their appropriate forms, i.e. *narodów, poganów, ludu*, the sequence of nouns in King James Version involves only two nouns, i.e. *people, Gentiles, people*. The fact that the single Greek noun **λαός** was rendered in Latin as two different nouns. i.e. by *gentium* (a possible plural dative case form of ‘gens’ “ludy obce”, “poganie”) and by ‘plebs’ has led to a considerable chaos, clearly perceivable in the following presentation of selected English and Polish versions:

English versions

the peoples | *the Gentiles* | Your people (*Berean/Borean? Literal Bible*)
 the peoples | nations | Thy people (*Concordant Literal Version*)
 the peoples | the nations | Your people (*Green’s Literal Translation*)
 all nations | the Gentiles | your people (*New International Version*)
 all people | the nations | your people (*New Living Translation*)
 all peoples | the Gentiles | your people (*English Standard Version*)
 all people | the Gentiles | Your people (*Borean Study Bible*)
 all people | the Gentiles | thy people (*King James Bible*)
 all peoples | the Gentiles | Your people (*New King James Version*)
 all people | the Gentiles | Thy people (*21st Century King James Version*)
 all the peoples | the Gentiles | Your people (*New American Standard Bible*)
 all the peoples | the Gentiles | your people (*New American Bible (Revised Edition)*)
 all peoples | THE GENTILES | Your people (*New American Standard Bible 1995*)
 all people | the non-Jewish | people your people (*New Century Version*)
 all peoples | the other nations | Your covenant people (*The Voice*)

all people | unbelievers | your people (*International Standard Version*)
kol haammim (all the peoples) | the Nations | Your Am (people) [YESHAYAH 42:6; 49:6] (*Orthodox Jewish Bible*)
all peoples | the *Goyim* | your people Isra'el. (*Complete Jewish Bible*)
all peoples | those who do not know God | your people (*Worldwide English New Testament*)
all the peoples | nations | Thy people Israel (*Young's Literal Translation*)
all the peoples | nations | Thy people (*Concordant Literal Version*)
all the people | nations | people of thee (*Emphatic Diaglott New Testament*)
all peoples | the Gentiles | your people Israel (*Modern Literal Version*)
all the peoples | the unveiling of nations | thy people Israel (*Rotherham Emphasized Bible*)
all people | the goyim | your people (*exeGesés Companion Bible*)
all people | the [unconverted] Gentiles | your people (*An Understandable Version*)
all nations | the Gentiles | your people (*Bible in Basic English*)
all the peoples | **an unveiling of (or: a revelation belonging to and pertaining to) ethnic multitudes (or: nations; non-Israelites; = pagans/Your people, Israel.** (*John Mitchell New Testament*)
all people | the Hey/the | yi people (*Coverdale's Translation*)
all people | the non-Jewish people | your people (*International Children's Bible*)
every people | the Gentiles | your people (*J.B. Phillips New Testament*)
open for everyone [to see]/the non-Jewish nations | your people Israel (*The Message*)
all nations | the people who are not Jews | Your people [the Jews] (*New Life Version*)
all people | the gentyls | thy people (*Great Bible*)
alle pupilis | hethene men/thi puple (*John Wycliff's Translation*)
all mankind | the Gentiles | thy people Israel (*Daniel Mace New Testament*)
all the nations | the heathen | your people (*Goodspeed New Testament*)
all the world | the nations | Israel thy people (*Living Oracles New Testament*)

Polish versions (based on either LXX or Vlg)

wszystkich **narodów** | **poganom** | **ludu** (*Biblia Brzeska*, Ks. Eugeniusz Dąbrowski—*Nowy Testament* from *Wulgata* [1973])
wszech **ludzi** | **narodów** | **ludu** twego (Szymon Budny)
wszystkich **narodów poganów ludu** twego (Wujek 1923)
wszystkich **ludzi** | **poganom** | **ludu** twego (*Biblia Gdańska* 1881?)
wszystkich **ludzi** | **pogan** | **twojego ludu** (*Nowa Biblia Gdańska* [2012])
wszystkich **ludów** | **pogan** | **ludu** (*Biblia Poznańska*)
wszystkiego **ludu Poganom ludu** twego (*Nowy Testament*—Rakowski [1606])
wszystkich **ludzi** | **pogan** | **ludu** Twojego (*Przekład toruński Nowego Przymierza*, 1st ed.)
wszystkich **narodów** | **pogan** | **ludu** Twego (*Biblia Tysiąclecia*, 5th ed.)
wszystkich **ludzi** | **pogan** | twojego **ludu** (ŚLĄSKIE.TOW.BIB.)
wszystkich **ludów** | **pogan** | Twego **ludu** (EIB.BIBLIA.2016.LIT)
wszystkich **ludzi** | **pogan** | **ludu** Twojego (TOR.NOWE.PRZ)
wszystkich **ludów** | **narodów** | twego **ludu**, Izraela (*Przekład Nowego Świata* 1997)
wszystkim **narodom** | **pogan** | **ludu** Twego (*Biblia Paulistów* 2008–2011)
wszystkich **ludów** | **pogan** | Twego **ludu** (*Biblia, to jest Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Przymierza. Przekład z języka hebrajskiego, aramejskiego i greckiego*. 1st ed. Poznań: Ewangeliczny Instytut Biblijny 2016)
wszystkich **ludów** | **narodów** | Twojego **ludu** (*Biblia pierwszego Kościoła. Przełożył oraz przypisami opatrzył ks. Remigiusz Popowski SDB*. 1st ed. Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Vocatio 2016)

wszystkim **ludom/ narodów**/Twojego **ludu** (*Słowo Życia—Nowy Testament* [Parafraza NT])
wszystkich **ludów** [??]/ *nothing* /twojego **ludu** Izraela. (Andrzej Mazurkiewicz—*Nowy Testament* [2019])

4. Other examples

English and Polish versions of other parts of the New Testament abound in similar inconsistencies well represented by the respective English and Polish versions of Rom 10:12, Gal 3:28, Acts 15: 23, and Rev 15:3.

4.1. Rom 10:12

In translated versions of **Rom 10:12**, the translation imbroglio manifests itself in a variety of renderings of the Greek and Latin nouns *ιουδαίος*/Judaeus ‘Jew’/‘Żyd’ and *ελλην*/Graecus ‘Greek’/‘Grek’, respectively.

Greek and Latin source texts of Rom 10:12 read

οὐ (Not) γάρ (for) ἔστιν (there is) διαστολή (difference) **Ἰουδαίου** (Jew) τε (between) καὶ (and) **Ἑλληνο**s (Greek); ὁ (-) γάρ (for) αὐτὸς (the same) Κύριος (Lord) πάντων (of all) πλουτῶν (is rich) εἰς (toward) πάντας (all) τοὺς (those) ἐπικαλουμένους (calling) αὐτόν (Him). (*Berean Interlinear Bible*)

Non est **Judæus**, neque **Græcus**: non est servus, neque liber: non est masculus, neque femina. Omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Jesu. (*Clementine Vulgate*)

In the selected English and Polish target versions, the relevant fragment of the Greek and Latin source versions “ου γαρ εστιν διαστολη **ιουδαιου τε και ελληνο**s” and in Latin “non enim est distinctio **Iudaei et Graeci**”, respectively, have been rendered as follows:

For there is no difference between **the Jew and the Greek** (KJV)

there is no difference between Jew and **Gentile** (NIV)

there is no distinction between **Jew and Greek** (*English Standard Version* and many other versions)

And he makes no distinction in this, not for **the Jews, neither for the Aramaeans** (*Aramaic Bible in Plain English*)

No matter if that person is **a Jew or a Gentile** (*Contemporary English Version*)

For there is no distinction of **the Jew and the Greek** (*Douay-Rheims Bible*)

because there is no difference between **Jews and Gentiles** (*Good News Translation*)

Jew and Gentile are on precisely the same footing (*Weymouth New Testament*)

And in this, it does not discriminate between the Jews and the Syrians (*Lamsa Bible*)

Remember that the Lord draws no distinction between Jew and non-Jew (*The Voice*)

Albowiem niemasz różności **Żyda i Greczyna** (Wujek 1923)

Gdyż nie masz różności między **Żydem i/a Grekiem** (*Biblia Gdańska* all versions and many (?) other versions)

bo nie masz różnicy między **żydem i greczynem** (Jaczewski)

Nie ważne jest więc, kto jest **Żydem, a kto poganinem** (*Słowo Życia*)

bo nie ma rozróżnienia, **Judejczykowi i Grekowi** (Andrzej Mazurkiewicz [2019])

bo nie masz różnicy między **żydem i Greczynem** (Trans. bp F. Jaczewski)

Bo niemasz różnicy pomiędzy **żydem a grekiem** (Trans. abp A. Symon)

Albowiem niemasz różności i **Żyda, i Greka** (Rakow.NT)

Bo nie masz różności i **Judowina i Greka** (Szymon Budny 1574)

In brief, in Rom 10:12, **Ἰουδαίου/Judaeus**, have been rendered in English and Polish as ‘Jew’, ‘the Jew’, ‘a Jew’, ‘Jews’, ‘the Jews’, ‘Żyd’, ‘żyd’, ‘Judejczyk’, ‘Judowin’. **Ἕλληνας** and **Graecus** have been rendered as ‘Greek’, ‘the Greek’, ‘Gentile’, ‘a Gentile’, ‘Gentiles’, ‘non-Jew’, ‘Aramaean’, ‘the Syrians’, ‘Greczyn’, ‘greczyn’, ‘Grek’, ‘grek’, ‘poganin’.

4.2. Gal 3:28

The same opposition between **Ἰουδαίου/Judaeus** and **Ἕλληνας/Graecus** appears in Gal 3:28, but is not identically rendered in the selected English and Polish target versions. The possible source texts in Greek and Latin read:

οὐκ ἐνὶ **ἰουδαίῳ** οὐδὲ **ἐλλήν** οὐκ ἐνὶ δούλῳ οὐδὲ ἐλευθερῳ οὐκ ἐνὶ ἀρσεν καὶ θήλῳ πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἐστε ἐν χριστῷ ἰησοῦ (*Stephanus New Testament*)

non est **Iudaeus neque Graecus** non est servus neque liber non est masculus neque femina omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Iesu (*Latin Vulgate*)

Non est **Judaeus, neque Graecus**: non est servus, neque liber: non est masculus, neque femina. Omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Iesu. (*Clementine Vulgate*)

In a few English and Polish versions, nouns and noun phrases different from those appearing in Rom. 10:12 are used, which can be illustrated by the following examples (Worldwide English [New Testament] © 1969, 1971, 1996, 1998 by SOON Educational Publications):

The Jews and other people are alike. The same Lord is Lord of all people. He richly blesses all who call out to him. (Rom 10:12)

vs.

There is no longer any difference between a Jew and one who is not a Jew; between a slave and a free man; between a man and a woman. When you are in the body of Christ Jesus, you are all alike. (Gal 3:28)

It’s exactly the same no matter what a person’s religious background may be: the same God for all of us, acting the same incredibly generous way to everyone who calls out for help. “Everyone who calls, ‘Help, God!’ gets help” (Rom 10:12: *The Message*, © 1993, 2002, 2018 by Eugene H. Peterson)

vs.

In Christ’s family there can be no division into Jew and non-Jew, slave and free, male and female. Among us you are all equal. That is, we are all in a common relationship with Jesus Christ. Also, since you are Christ’s family, then you are Abraham’s famous “descendant”, heirs according to the covenant promises (Gal 3:28)

In Polish, **ἐλλήν** and **Graecus** are nearly always accurately rendered as ‘Grek’ or ‘Greczyn’, with a few difficult-to-justify exceptions, in which they are rendered as ‘poganin’ and as ‘nie-Żydzi’:

Nie ma już Żyda ani **poganina**, nie ma już niewolnika ani człowieka wolnego, nie ma już mężczyzny ani kobiety, wszyscy bowiem jesteście kimś jednym w Chrystusie Jezusie. (*Biblia Tysiąclecia*, all editions)

Nie ma już podziału ludzi na Żydów i **nie-Żydów**, na niewolników i wolnych, na mężczyzn i kobiety; wszyscy jesteście jedno zjednoczeniu z Jezusem Chrystusem. (*Biblia Warszawsko-Praska*, where the grammatical number has been changed from singular to plural, which is also difficult to account for)

Nie ma już więc różnicy między Żydem a **poganinem**, niewolnikiem a człowiekiem wolnym, mężczyzną a kobietą—zjednoczeni w Chrystusie Jezusie wszyscy stanowicie jedność. (*Słowo Życia*)

Greek and/or Latin source text of **Acts 13:46** read:

παρησιασαμενοι δε ο παυλος και ο βαρναβας ειπον υμιν ην αναγκαιον πρωτον λαληθηναι τον λογον του θεου επειδη δε απωθεισθε αυτον και ουκ αξιους κρινετε εαυτους της αιωνιου ζωης ιδου στρεφομεθα εις **τα εθνη** (all *Septuagints*)

Tunc constanter Paulus et Barnabas dixerunt: Vobis oportebat primum loqui verbum Dei: sed quoniam repellitis illud, et indignos vos iudicatis aeternae vitae, ecce convertimur ad **gentes** (all *Vulgates*)

Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to **the Gentiles** (KJV)

Other English versions render **(τα) εθνη/(ad) gentes** as ‘the Gentiles’ or ‘gentiles’ everywhere except: the [*unconverted*] Gentiles (An Understandable Version), the Gentyles (*Coverdale Bible* of 1535), the Gentyls (*Great Bible*), the gentyls (*Tyndale Bible* of 1526), the nations (*Literal Standard Version*, *Young’s Literal Translation*, *Darby Bible Translation*), **the nations** (the ethnic multitudes; the Gentiles; the non-Jews) (*Jonathan Mitchell New Testament*), other nations (*God’s Word | Translation*), the non-Jewish people (*New Heart English Bible*), the ethnicities (*Literal Emphasis Translation*), **the goyim** (*exeGesis Companion Bible*), the hethen men (*John Wycliffe’s Translation*). In Polish, the two nouns are rendered as ‘pogan’/‘poganów’ in all versions.

4.3. Acts 15:23

Polish target versions of **Acts 15:23** are less consistent (²³ γ). This verse in Greek and Latin, respectively, reads:

“Ρά παντες δια χειρὸς αὐτῶν· Οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς ἐξ **ἐθνῶν** χαίρειν (*Greek New Testament*)

Benbentes per manus eorum apostoli et seniores fratres his qui sunt Antiochiae et Syriae et Ciliciae fratribus salute” (all *Vulgates*)

In all English versions, the plural nouns (**ἐξ) ἐθνῶν/ (ex) gentibus** are rendered as (of) ‘[the] Gentiles’ or one of possible orthographic variants, which is consistent with “they wrote letters by them after this manner; The apostles and

elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren which are of **the Gentiles** in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia” (KJV).

In selected Polish versions, the following range of renderings have been attested: **z pogan** (Budny, Gdańska 1881, Brytyjka, Toruńska, and others), **z poganów** (Wujek 1923), **z Poganów** (Rakow.NT), **pochodzącym z pogan** (Gdańska 2017, Dąbrowski Gr. 1961), **z pogaństwa** (Jaczewski), **z pośród pogan** (Szczepański), **nothing** [Za ich pośrednictwem wysłano też pismo: Apostołowie i starsi bracia przesyłają pozdrowienie braciom z Antiochii, Syrii i Cylicji.] (Dąbrowski from *Wulgata* 1973), but also Za ich pośrednictwem wysłano więc pismo: Apostołowie i starsi bracia przesyłają pozdrowienia braciom **pochodzącym z pogan** w Antiochii, Syrii i Cylicji (Dąbrowski from Greek 1961)], **pogańskiego pochodzenia** (*Biblia Tysiąclecia*, *Biblia Poznańska*), **nawróconym z pogaństwa** (*Biblia Warszawsko-Praska*).

4.4. Rev 15:3

Finally, **4.6 Rev 15:3** is presented here as a particularly conspicuous example of the translational chaos, partly caused by the fact that there exist as many as *four* different Greek versions of the noun phrase appearing at the end of this verse, and each version has evidently served as the source phrase in various English and Polish renderings of this fragment of the New Testament: **των εθνων**, **των αγιων**, **των αιωνων**, and **των αιωνων εθνων**.

These four noun phrases appear in the following Greek versions of verse 3, for convenience quoted here *in extenso*:

και αδουσιν την ωδην μωσσεως δουλου του θεου και την ωδην του αρνιου λεγοντες μεγαλα και θαυμαστα τα εργα σου κυριε ο θεος ο παντοκρατωρ δικαιοι και αληθινοι αι οδοι σου **ο βασιλευς των αγιων**. (Stephanus—Robert Estienne, *Novum Testamentum Graece* 1550)

και αδουσιν την ωδην μωσσεως του δουλου του θεου και την ωδην του αρνιου λεγοντες μεγαλα και θαυμαστα τα εργα σου κυριε ο θεος ο παντοκρατωρ δικαιοι και αληθινοι αι οδοισου **ο βασιλευς των αιωνων** εθνων. (LXX_WH—*Septuagint LXX Greek OT & Westcott-Hort Greek NT with NA26/27 variants*)

και ἄδουσιν τὴν ᾠδὴν Μωϋσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν τοῦ ἀρνίου λέγοντες, μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά τὰ ἔργα σου, κύρι θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ· δίκαιοι καὶ ἀληθινοὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου, **ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν**. (*Tischendorf Greek New Testament*)

καὶ ἄδουσιν τὴν ᾠδὴν Μωϋσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν τοῦ ἀρνίου λέγοντες, Μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά τὰ ἔργα σου, κύριε ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ· δίκαιοι καὶ ἀληθινοὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν. (*Tregelles Greek New Testament*)

και αδουσιν την ωδην μωσσεως δουλου του θεου και την ωδην του αρνιου λεγοντες μεγαλα και θαυμαστα τα εργα σου κυριε ο θεος ο παντοκρατωρ δικαιοι και αληθινοι αι οδοι σου ο βασιλευς των αγιων. (TR—F. H. A. *Scrivener's Textus Receptus*)

καὶ ἄδουσιν τὴν ᾠδὴν Μωϋσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν τοῦ Ἀρνίου, λέγοντες Μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά τὰ ἔργα σου, Κύριε ὁ Θεός ὁ Παντοκράτωρ· δίκαιοι καὶ ἀληθινοὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ

σου, ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν. (*Nestle Greek New Testament* as well as in Robinson-Pierpont *Byzantine Greek New Testament*, f35 group of Byzantine manuscripts, *Berean Greek Bible*)
καὶ ἄδουσιν τὴν ᾠδὴν Μωϋσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν τοῦ ἀρνίου λέγοντες: Μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά τὰ ἔργα σου, κύριε, ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ· δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν **αἰώνων**. (*SBL Greek New Testament*)

Notably, all versions of the Vulgate render this phrase as ‘rex saeculorum’, which corresponds to one of the congruent Greek versions,, in which **τῶν αἰώνων** is used:

et cantant canticum Mosi servi Dei et canticum agni dicentes magna et mirabilia opera tua Domine Deus omnipotens iustae et verae viae tuae **rex saeculorum**. (*Latin Vulgate*)

et cantantes canticum Moysi servi Dei, et canticum Agni, dicentes: Magna et mirabilia sunt opera tua, Domine Deus omnipotens: justae et verae sunt viae tuae, **Rex saeculorum**. (*Biblia Sacra Vulgata*)

et cantantes canticum Moysi servi Dei, et canticum Agni, dicentes: Magna et mirabilia sunt opera tua, Domine Deus omnipotens: justae et verae sunt viae tuae, **Rex saeculorum**. (*Clementine Vulgate*)

Only *Orthodox Jewish Bible* corresponding Hebrew phrases and supplies English glosses in brackets: “Great and marvelous are your ma’asim (works), Hashem Adonoi Tzva’ot; Tzedek (Righteousness) and Emes (Truth) are your derakhim (ways, paths), **Melech kol HaGoyim**” (King of all the Nations). [SHEMOT 15:1; YEHOSHUA 1:1; TEHILLIM 111:2; 145:17].

In the majority of English versions, the phrase concluding verse 3 has been rendered as “king of nations” or one of its numerous minor variants involving the use of the definite article ‘the’ and capital letters at the beginning of the two nouns.

Among various idiosyncratic cases, the following ones are the products of translators’ unrestrained creativity:

And they sing the song of Mosheh the servant of Elohim, and the song of the Lamb, saying, “Great and marvellous are Your works, יהוה El Shaddai! Righteous and true are Your ways, **O Sovereign of the set-apart ones!** (*The Scriptures* 1998)

And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou **King of saints**. (*King James Bible*)

and they sing the song of Moses, servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, 'Great and wonderful are Thy works, O Lord God, the Almighty, righteous and true are Thy ways, **O King of saints**. (*Young’s Literal Translation*)

They sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying: “Great and marvelous are Your works, Lord God Almighty! Just and true are Your ways, **O King of the saints!** (*New King James Version*)

And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvelous are thy works, O Lord God, the Almighty; righteous and true are thy ways, thou **King of the ages**. (*American Standard Version*)

And they sang the song of Moses the Servant of God and the song of The Lamb. They were saying: “Great and marvelous are your works, LORD JEHOVAH God Almighty. Just and true are your works, **King of the universe**”. (*Aramaic Bible in Plain English*)

and they were singing the song his servant Moses and the Lamb had sung. They were singing, “Lord God All-Powerful, you have done great and marvelous things. You are **the ruler of all nations**, and you do what is right and fair”. (*Contemporary English Version*)

And singing the canticle of Moses, the servant of God, and the canticle of the Lamb, saying: Great and wonderful are thy works, O Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, **O King of ages**. (*Douay-Rheims Version*)

and they sing the song of Moses, servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, “Great and wonderful [are] Your works, O LORD God, the Almighty, righteous and true [are] Your ways, **O King of holy ones!** (*Literal Standard Version*)

They sang the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, “Great and marvelous are your works, Lord God Almighty. Righteous and true are your ways, **O King eternal**”. (*New Heart English Bible*)

And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and wonderful thy works, O Lord God, Omnipotent Ruler; just and true thy ways, **King of the holy**. (*Smith’s Literal Translation*)

And they are singing the song of Moses, the bond-slave of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and wonderful are Your works, Lord God Almighty! Righteous and true are Your ways, **O King of the ethnicities!** (*Literal Emphasis Translation*)

In brief, the following renderings of the final phrase of verse 3 have been attested in the selected English versions of Rev. (15:3):

King of nations
 the king of nations
 Sovereign of the set-apart ones
 King of saints
 King of ages
 King of the ages
 King of the universe
 the ruler of all nations
 King of holy ones
 King of the holy
 King eternal
 King of the ethnicities

In Polish target versions, the most frequent rendering of the phrase in question is ‘król świętych’ and is clearly rooted in the Greek **αγιων**, rather than the Latin **seculorum**, which is rather surprising, given that most Polish versions, as claimed by their translators, are based on one of the Vulgates:

I śpiewają pieśń Moizesza sługi Bożego, i pieśń barankową, mówiąc: Wielkie i dziwne sprawy twoje panie Boże wszechmocny. Sprawiedliwe i prawdziwe drogi twoje **królu świętych**. (Szymon Budny)

I śpiewające pieśń Mojżesza, sługi Bożego, i pieśń Barankową, mówiąc: Wielkie i dziwne są sprawy twoje, Panie, Boże wszechmogący! sprawiedliwe i prawdziwe są drogi twoje, **Królu wieków!** (Wujek 1923)

A śpiewali pieśń Mojżesza, sługi Bożego, i pieśń Barankową, mówiąc: Wielkie i dziwne są sprawy twoje, Panie Boże wszechmogący! sprawiedliwe i prawdziwe są drogi twoje, **o Królu świętych!** (*Biblia Gdańska*)

A taką śpiewają pieśń Mojżesza, sługi Bożego, i pieśń Baranka: Dzieła Twoje są wielkie i godne podziwu, Panie, Boże wszechwładny! Sprawiedliwe i wierne są Twoje drogi, **o Królu narodów!** (*Biblia Tysiąclecia*, 3rd ed.)

Śpiewali pieśń Mojżesza, sługi Bożego, i pieśń Baranka, mówiąc: Wielkie i dziwne są dzieła twoje, Panie, Boże wszechmogący; sprawiedliwe są drogi twoje, Królu narodów. (*Biblia Warszawska*)

Śpiewają oni pieśń Mojżesza, sługi Bożego i pieśń Baranka: „Dzieła Twoje są wielkie i godne podziwu, Panie, Boże, Władco wszechrzeczy! Sprawiedliwe i wierne są Twoje drogi, **Królu Narodów!**” (*Biblia Poznańska*)

I śpiewali pieśń Mojżesza, sługi Bożego, oraz hymn na cześć Baranka: Wielkie są Twoje dzieła i przedziwne, Panie, Boże wszechwładny! Twoje drogi pełne są sprawiedliwości i prawdy, Królu narodów! (*Biblia Warszawsko-Praska*)

I śpiewają pieśń Mojżesza, niewolnika Bożego, i pieśń Baranka, mówiąc: „Wielkie i zdumiewające są twe dzieła, Jehowo Boże, Wszechmocny. Prawe i prawdziwe są twe drogi, **Królu Wieczności!**”. (*Przekład Nowego Świata*, Świadkowie Jehowy)

Śpiewali oni pieśń Mojżesza, sługi Boga, i pieśń Baranka: „Wielkie i godne podziwu są Twoje dzieła, Panie, Boże Wszechmocny. Twoje drogi są sprawiedliwe i niezawodne, **Królu narodów!**” (*Biblia Paulistów*)

I śpiewają pieśń Mojżesza—sługi Boga, i pieśń Baranka, mówiąc: Wielkie i wspaniałe * są Twoje dzieła, Panie Boże, Wszechwładco. Sprawiedliwe i godne zaufania ** są Twoje drogi, **Królu świętych.** (Śląskie Towarzystwo Biblijne)

a śpiewali pieśń Mojżesza, sługi Boga, oraz pieśń Baranka. Jej treść była następująca: *Wielkie są Twoje dzieła, Panie, Boże Wszechmogący. Budź one zdumienie. Sprawiedliwe i słuszne są Twoje drogi, Królu narodów.* (*Stare i Nowe Przymierze* [EIB]. Lit. trans. Ewangeliczny Instytut Biblijny w Poznaniu)

I śpiewają pieśń Mojżesza, sługi Boga, i pieśń Baranka, mówiąc: Wielkie i dziwne są Twoje dzieła, *Panie, Boże Wszechmogący!* Sprawiedliwe i prawdziwe są Twoje drogi, o Królu świętych! (*Przekład Toruński*)

A śpiewali Pieśń Moyzesza sługi Bożego, i Pieśń barankową, mówiąc: Wielkie i dziwne uczynki twoje, Panie Boże wszechmogący! sprawiedliwe i prawdziwe drogi twoje, Królu świętych! (*Nowy Testament—Rakowski*)

i śpiewali pieśń Mojżesza, sługi Bożego, i pieśń Baranka mówiąc: Wielkie i dziwne są dzieła twoje, Panie Boże Wszechmogący! Sprawiedliwe i prawdziwe są drogi twoje, **o Królu wieków!** (Ks. Eugeniusz Dąbrowski *Nowy Testament* from *Wulgata* 1947)

i śpiewając pieśń Mojżesza, sługi Bożego, i pieśń Baranka: Wielkie i dziwne dzieła twoje, o Panie, Boże, Władco wszechrzeczy! Sprawiedliwe i proste drogi twoje, **o Królu narodów!** (Ks. Eugeniusz Dąbrowski *Nowy Testament* from Greek 1961)

i śpiewali pieśń Mojżesza, sługi Boga, oraz pieśń Baranka: „Panie, wszechmocny Boże, dokonujesz wielkich i wspaniałych rzeczy! Jesteś Władcą wszystkich narodów”. (*Słowo Życia*)

i śpiewają pieśń Mojżesza sługi Boga i pieśń baranka mówiąc: wielkie i zadziwiające twe czyny Panie, Bóg Wszechwładca, sprawiedliwe i prawdziwe twe drogi **królu epok** (Andrzej Mazurkiewicz—*Nowy Testament* (2019), based on the Codex Bezae and Codex Claromontanus)

In brief, the following renderings of the final phrase of verse 3 have been attested in the selected Polish versions of Rev. (15:3):

Król świętych
 król świętych
 Król wieków
 Król narodów
 Król Narodów
 Król Wieczności
 Król epok
 Władca wszystkich narodów

5. Conclusions

Translational inaccuracies affecting the two main Hebrew nouns *yehudim* and *goyim* appear in selected Greek, Latin, English and Polish versions of the Bible, and are best exemplified by the anachronistic use of such nouns as ‘żydowini’ and ‘żyd’/‘żydzi’ in numerous Polish versions of the Bible. They are grave translational trespasses. In comparison with them, such axiologically questionable, contemptuous nouns as ‘heathen’, ‘pagans’, and ‘poganie’ as renderings of *goyim*, which appear in a significant number of English and Polish versions and occasional inconsistencies in the use of attested equivalents of the two Hebrew source nouns *yehudim* and *goyim* in particular places of the Bible, may be treated with some tolerance as relatively innocuous.

The existing translational imbroglio, with all its grapevine effects, is not only going to continue but will grow, because fresh, “updated” versions of the Bible, motivated by theological, cultural, political and artistic needs, regularly come into existence. This situation is absolutely inevitable, because regardless of various social determinants, individual reception by particular readers of the Bible in every language and in every version also varies. Even if one tries to imagine the impossible situation that all people can access the Bible in the original languages—Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek—they will still understand it and interpret its meaning in a number of different ways, which are completely unpredictable.

In view of this, one may be tempted to ask whether producing more translations increasing the chaos makes any sense. The only sensible answer is that such a question makes little sense. On one hand, for philologists and applied linguists this ever growing translation series is an inexhaustible source of empirical data. For poets, composers and all creative artists it is a blessed source of inspiration. On the other hand, for faithful Jews and Christians, every contact with even the smallest part of the Bible is expected to be experienced as a prayer linking man with God. No language can adequately express what particular believers experience when they pray to the Highest Entity. The translation imbroglio cannot change the fact

that for faithful Jews and Christians, the Bible is a sacred text. For the faithful, every contact with the Bible in whatever version may constitute a *unique* religious experience. The number of such experiences is certainly immeasurably greater than the number of all existing versions of the Bible. In fact, these individual experiences generate new versions of the Bible, even if the particular text itself may remain the same. In theological terms, one might say that God sends His Word carrying His Message to people, and that this **Word** remains **unchanged**, even if **words** in different languages carrying this message may be different, unstable and inaccurate.

The belief in the permanence of God's Word is rooted in the Old Testament, where one of the Psalm states:

דְּבַרְךָ
(de·va·re·cha)—your word
נִצָּחַ
(ni·tzav)—is settled
בַּשָּׁמַיִם
(ba·sha·ma·yim.)—in heaven (Psalm 119:89)

This assertion is rendered in Greek as Εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, Κύριε, ὁ λόγος σου **διαμένει** ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ (Brenton Greek Septuagint) and in Latin as aeternum Domine verbum tuum **perstat** in caelo (Vulgate).

This is why fragments of the Bible which are read during Roman Catholic celebrations are referred to as “*Verbum Dei*” (“*Oto Słowo Boże*”) or “*Verbum Domini*” (“*Oto Słowo Pańskie*”) rather than “*Verba Dei*” or “*Verba Domini*”.

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Jan Cygan and Linguistic Change in Polish in Wrocław after 1945

Abstract: The paper discusses changes in pronunciation of Polish in the Polish population in Wrocław after 1945, when almost all German citizens were expelled from the city. The paper reviews various interpretations of the changes in the literature, presents relevant demographic factors shaping the accents, and interprets their influence and the outcome of demographic processes, supporting them by anecdotal evidence, relating them also to Jan Cygan's accent.

Keywords: sociolinguistics, linguistic change, accents of Polish, variation of Polish pronunciation

Jan Cygan, when I heard him for the first time in 1976 in Wrocław, spoke with a distinct accent. His pronunciation was typical of the Lwów variety of the Polish language. This variety was spoken in the south-eastern regions of pre-1945 Poland, or in present-day Western Ukraine (cf. Kurzowa). Cygan was born in 1927 in Lwów and was raised and educated in this city. Nowadays, it is known as L'viv,¹ Львів, in Ukrainian. One can still hear this accent in the speech of the Polish-speaking inhabitants of today's L'viv. After 1945, interwar Poland's eastern territories were annexed by the Soviet Union. As a result, Lwów and its vicinity became part of Soviet Ukraine. Jan Cygan himself provided a brief description of the urban variety of Polish there, pointing out the characteristic neutralisation of certain oppositions in unstressed syllables with regard to the degree of openness of vowels (370), so that, for example, inflectional forms *żołnierz*, *żołnierza*, *żołnierzowi*, when pronounced the Lwów way, could be written down in standard spelling as *żolnirz*, *żulnierz*, *żulnirzowi*. In standard Polish, the value of the relevant vowels

¹ In ISO 9 Latin transliteration.

is unchanged (Cygan 371). This quality makes the Lwów variety so distinct that its rhythm and intonation can be easily distinguished. My last meeting with Jan Cygan was in 2019, and he still had this accent of Polish.²

In this paper, I will briefly outline what linguistically happened in Wrocław and the New Territories between 1945 and 2022 and what explanations of the processes can be found in the literature, offering my own interpretation³ of how they occurred. There is one serious shortcoming of any studies of this issue: there are few serious empirical studies of the linguistic changes there, especially in large cities; one has to use one's own memories and memories of other people. In this paper, I will focus on how the pronunciation of Polish changed after 1945 in Wrocław; obviously, most of the changes also occurred in other Western and Northern parts of Poland, especially in larger towns. My discussion will be limited to the area of pronunciation, as the type of accent is clearly discernible in any speech, even in a small sample. In contrast, one needs a large sample to study grammar and an even larger one for a study of vocabulary. First, there will be a sketch of the historical background to the linguistic changes, then a discussion of some demographic factors. Next, I will compare the linguistic situation in Wrocław to that in other countries, especially in the new town in England called Milton Keynes. Finally, I will present my hypothesis about the most important factors in the change. As the history of my family is in many respects similar to the history of life of Jan Cygan, I will provide the necessary comparison whenever I feel it helps me make my point.

Jan Cygan spoke the standard dialect of Polish as regards syntax and inflection; he had a regional accent and certainly regional vocabulary, which I would not notice, as my predecessors came from the same region. However, I do not have this accent, though my father—from Cygan's generation—had some traces of it. My mother spoke only the standard dialect because of her social background and because her family was on the move from 1918⁴ till 1949. While Cygan's accent did not sound marked in 1976, it did so in 2019. In 1976, one could still hear a wide variety of Polish accents in the streets of Wrocław, while in 2019, the typical type of pronunciation was, and still is, that of standard Polish, at least in my experience. Until 1945, Wrocław and the Western and the Northern areas in present-day Poland

² Interestingly, Ukrainians who live in Wrocław either because of economic migration or because of the war that Russia is waging against Ukraine in 2022, and who speak either Ukrainian or Russian, when using Polish can be perceived as having some phonetic features of the traditional eastern varieties of Polish, which were influenced by East Slavic languages.

³ My interpretation was presented at various meetings and conferences, and I would like to thank some of the participants, especially Dennis Preston and Peter Trudgill, who believed I was on the right track, and Antoni Furdal, who believed I was not. My thanks also go to Bogusław Wyderka and Krzysztof Kleszcz for their comments.

⁴ Her mother was born in 1900 near Żmerynka (today Ukrainian *Жмеринка*), and in her life moved across postwar Poland from Hrubieszów to Wrocław. Though she used some Yiddish borrowings (*meszugene* רענעגערשמ) and borrowings from Ukrainian (her expression was *bijte me kocjubą* Бий його коцюба), she spoke only the standard.

used to be in Germany, and to avoid any ideological associations, I will call them the New Territories.⁵

Some linguists in general do say that the dialect of Polish spoken in the New Territories is the “purest” standard Polish; this is what two influential linguists-cum-celebrities say, Miodek about Wrocław, and Bralczyk about the New Territories in general (qtd. in Augustyniak-Żmuda 1–2), and because of their media exposure, this view is often repeated. Typically, neither of the two linguists refers to any empirical research; most likely, they use their impressions, Bralczyk, however, has never spent any longer period of time outside the Warsaw region. They likely repeat stereotypes disseminated in Polish linguistic literature. I will describe these stereotypes below. The two linguists who did carry out empirical studies, Augustyniak-Żmuda and Zielińska, disagree; they argue that one can find a wide variety of accents in the New Territories. However, while Bralczyk and Miodek most likely note their impressions about the dialects of people born after 1945, the other two studied the language of those born before 1945, and outside large cities, the accent spoken by this group of people is certainly often not standard. Wyderka, who did carry out research on the issue, however, confirms the view that standard Polish is spoken in the New Territories (Wyderka, “Przemiany” 464), most probably referring to younger people. It is fair to conclude, however, that we do not know precisely what linguistic features people in the New Territories have in their Polish and what is their demographic distribution. We can note isolated examples: Jan Cygan had a regional accent. In February 2022, I spoke with a man in Jelcz-Laskowice, a town with some 15,000 inhabitants. He had a distinct eastern accent and kindly answered my sociological questions: he was born in 1941 in a village in the Lwów region. However, it is not common to meet a young person who has a non-standard accent, though there are some cases: Piotr C., fifty-ish, has some regional phonetic features.

Unfortunately, as noted, I cannot use empirical data for this paper, as there were no significant sociolinguistic studies of who speaks what variety of Polish in Wrocław, or in other New Territories of Poland. What I can use is essentially anecdotal evidence, i.e., my memories: I was born in Wrocław and have lived in the city all my life. Though there are two volumes of a study that has the promising title *Polszczyzna mówiona Wrocławia*, the authors also use anecdotal evidence, most often noting their impressions of the dialects people from their own social group speak. This paper is about Polish as spoken in a large city, and it has to be noted that Polish spoken in other regions in the New Territories was certainly different. In some regions, for example in those in which there was an indigenous pre-1945 Slavic group, such as the Gdańsk area, Masuria, Upper Silesia, including the Opole region, contact with immigrants with indigenous Polish dialects had some influence

⁵ The New Territories had various names after 1945; for propaganda purposes they were called regained/recovered territories (*ziemie odzyskane*), cf. Grębowiec; the English Wikipedia entry has a reliable discussion https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Recovered_Territories.

on the languages spoken (cf. Zielińska). However, Wrocław was sociologically and demographically a unique city among those in the New Territories, and the linguistic changes followed political and sociological changes. I will describe these below.

Before 1945, from the 13th century, for about 700 years, Wrocław was outside political structures of the kingdom or the state of Poland (cf. Mühle). It was the seat of an independent duchy; in fact, a number of duchies later, it went to Bohemia, briefly was in Hungary, when Bohemia fell under the rule of the Habsburgs was annexed into Prussia, found itself with Prussia in the German Empire, and finally was conquered by Soviet troops in May 1945 (Hargreaves). Since that date, Wrocław has been in the Republic of Poland. Roughly every 200 years, Wrocław was under a different political authority. However, after 1945, for the first time, the vast majority of the inhabitants were forcibly expelled and new people came from Poland, as well as from the pre-war territories of Poland. Jan Cygan came from Lwów, while my father came from a village near Stanisławów (now Ukrainian Ivano-Frankivsk). In general, every second person moved about 200 km across Poland just after the war (Okólski). Cygan travelled 600 km to reach Wrocław; my father travelled 750 km. The social mobility certainly contributed to the disappearance of non-standard Polish varieties.

In 1939, Breslau had more than 620,000 inhabitants (Goliński 465); in August 1945, there were 189,500 German citizens (who I will call Germans later on) left in Wrocław; at the beginning of 1947, 17,000 Germans; later in 1947, 4,000 Germans; and at the end of 1948, 2,400. In contrast, in 1945, there were 43,000 Polish citizens—a sizeable group was that of prisoners from before 1945; at the end of 1946, 185,000; and in 1947, 224,800. The 1939 size of the population was reached again in 1981 and surpassed in the 1990s (Kaszuba). These facts are significant, as Wrocław was the largest city annexed into Poland after 1945.

While there are no detailed studies of the varieties of Polish spoken by the new population,⁶ one can form some broad generalizations based on the social background of the speakers, their place of origin and their social status. I will present here a general picture of the demographics in Wrocław, referring to the literature for a detailed breakdown. The pioneering empirical study was that of Irena Turnau, in which she studied registrar documentation in Wrocław. A useful summary of various studies, which do not differ significantly, can be found in Bergman. I will use it from here on. The new inhabitants came predominantly from villages (63.2%) and small towns, i.e., those with fewer than 100,000 inhabitants (16.9%); together the two groups constituted 80.1%. They came from various geographic parts of Poland: c. 73% in 1947 and c. 66% of all newcomers came from southern

⁶ There were also other languages spoken in the new population; for example Yiddish or various dialects of Ukrainian (some considered separate languages, cf. the Rusyn dialects). They were always in the minority; most speakers of Yiddish went elsewhere after the 1940s, and especially after 1968, mainly to Israel (cf. Ziątkowski, Waszkiewicz 2000). Most likely most of the speakers of those languages were multilingual, and Polish was one of their languages.

and central provinces (Polish *województwa*) in post-1945 Poland. From eastern areas of pre-1945 Poland, there were 22% of inhabitants in 1947 and 29% in 1950, or, to view it in a different way, in both 1947 and 1950 more than 50% came from the Poznań, Kraków, Łódź, Kielce, Rzeszów, and Warsaw provinces, roughly 10% in each subgroup. 8% came from the Lwów area. 49% of those born before 1945 had a peasant origin and 35% had a working-class origin; together, that constitutes 84% of the population of the immigrants. 60% had primary, or lower, education. The linguistic conclusion is obvious: the prevailing majority of new inhabitants of Wrocław did not speak the standard dialect and were from areas in which the linguistic features of dialects differed remarkably.

The statistics correspond to the general statistics about the historical stratification of Polish society (Lubaś); however, a very significant difference was that in other areas in Poland, dialects formed a dialect continuum, and that was not the case in Wrocław. A similar situation could be found in other comparable⁷ cities in the New Territories; for example, in Szczecin (Kołodziejek and Dąbrowska). While social and linguistic changes that originate thanks to urbanization are well known, what was unusual was the size of the population and the rapidity of social changes. The British new town Milton Keynes, which I am going to compare to Wrocław at a later point, was planned to have 250,000 inhabitants and, in contrast to Wrocław had a continuous history, i.e., its inhabitants came from the region (Milton Keynes City Council).

The social changes, one could suppose, would bring about rapid changes of linguistic behaviour. Because of these factors, linguists were given an extraordinary laboratory in which to study linguistic change. However, most accounts of the linguistic changes in the Wrocław area mention the fact that there were only few empirical studies (cf. Wyderka, “Przemiany”, “O rozwoju”; Zielińska). In general, linguists set out to demonstrate that this melting pot rapidly produced a unified standard variety of Polish, which was what was expected from them by the political authorities (cf. Kłoskowska). The new population in the New Territories was supposed to rapidly integrate with the population elsewhere in Poland, and that would include also the outcome of linguistic changes (cf. Rospond “O integracji”). The new Polish community was expected to be homogenous with respect to ethnicity and language. Some scholars suggest that the new inhabitants themselves expected there would be political, cultural and linguistic integration with the respective structures of the prevailing community in Poland (cf. e.g., Thum; Zielińska). I will return to this issue at a later point.

Wyderka (“O rozwoju”) discusses several important reasons why linguists did not study the new linguistic situation in as detailed manner as it deserved. First, the political pressure, which I have mentioned. Second, the traditional methodology of

⁷ By similar, I mean those that were big enough and in which there was no significant pre-war indigenous Polish population. Thus, Wrocław and Szczecin were unlike Gdańsk or Opole, in which there was a Polish (or Slavic) population before 1945.

Polish dialectology—used to describe slow processes in close-knit communities in rural areas—which the linguists knew how to use, was ill-suited to a study of this linguistic situation, in particular to the rapidity of change and to change in urban areas, and Polish linguists did not know the methods developed elsewhere. There were no empirical studies on a large scale; those that were carried out were small and not consistent methodologically. Lack of empirical studies also led Polish linguists to adopt hypothetical theoretical constructs, such as the emergence of so-called new mixed dialects. Wyderka (“O rozwoju” 9) attributes them to a 1973 paper by Szymczak. In short, hypothetically, linguistic features from various dialects would produce a new dialect, in which one could find a mixture of those features. This would normally be the case, according to some sociolinguists, Trudgill (*New-Dialect*) in particular. This, however, has not been realized.

What is perhaps most worrying is that in Polish linguistics, in which arguments from authority were often traditionally accepted as true, the hypotheses not derived from empirical data, i.e., those that can be falsified, are repeated to this day. In a popular scholarly web page on dialects in Poland, there is a section on new mixed dialects, but Halina Karaś in the relevant section explains that in fact there are no new mixed dialects.⁸ I might add also the fact that traditionally, Polish linguists have had a very strong prescriptive bent, and, as the population of Polish citizens predominantly spoke non-standard dialects, and because the pre-war social organization was rapidly changing, they were busy with prescriptive activities after 1945. What is interesting, and what was often noted in studies of Polish culture, Poles with peasant or working-class origins adopted the values of upper classes (*szlachta*, noblemen), not of their own social group (cf. Tazbir), which were considered not prestigious. Those values included also linguistic behaviour, i.e., there was an internalized cultural pressure in non-standard speakers to adopt the standard dialect of the upper classes.⁹

Let us return to demographic changes, which quite likely had an effect on spontaneous linguistic changes. To repeat, the new inhabitants spoke a wide variety of dialects. What about the reproduction of those dialects? We have to take a look at the basic social environment: the family. Bergman in his studies notices

⁸ This view is repeated over and over again, cf. for example the official page of the Ministry of Education, in which one can find a statement “terytoria na zachodzie i północy Polski odzyskane po zakończeniu II wojny światowej. Na obszarach tych występują nowe dialekty mieszane.” Without any examples, which are provided for other dialects that are discussed (<https://zpe.gov.pl/a/polszczyzna-niejedno-ma-imie-terytorialne-zawodowe-i-srodowiskowe-odmiany-wspolczesnego-jezyka-polskiego/D17EgtYEO>).

⁹ Bajerowa has some typical statements about the linguistic changes in post-war Poland. She says that after 1945, there were new participants in high culture, they attempted [!] to use the standard dialect, even though they had no preparation in it: “rzesze ludzi wkraczały w życie kulturalne usiłując używać języka ogólnego mimo braku odpowiedniego przygotowania” (38) The standard language spoken by people of non-upper-class origins is said to be “general” but impoverished [sic!] (40).

that speakers with similar social background tend to bond together and to form endogamous marriages, in which cultural patterns, including linguistic patterns, were basically similar and would be reproduced. Unfortunately, there is no detailed study of the social background of spouses. Most likely, both spouses spoke the same dialect, as language is one of the primary ways of demonstrating social and cultural identity. That means that their children also spoke their dialect in their primary socialization. From my primary school days (1964–1972), I do not remember any non-standard phonetic features in my peers. I do remember that their parents did have non-standard accents. However, on the recording of Renata K., described in more detail later in this paper, she had the Lwów accent before her school days. It has to be remembered that after 1945 in Poland, children were socialized quite early outside their families in pre-school facilities, as most women had to work to support their families. My siblings and I went to nurseries and kindergartens before school, from the age of 3. It is quite likely that children in primary school, after they passed through the pre-school facilities, already exhibited some levelling of the dialects spoken at home towards the standard, and that this was acceptable to other children.

If we move to social interactions outside families, the dialect differences could lead to misunderstanding, and cases of that were noted by Rospond (“O integracji”) in his once-influential paper. On the other hand, Nieckula (*Polszczyzna mówiona Wrocławia*. Vol. 1) says there was no misunderstanding, and in his social environment, in which standard Polish was most likely used, that was certainly true. The findings of Zielińska from her wide-ranging studies, carried out from 2009 to 2013, seem to be conclusive, however. About 65 years after the war, her interviewees, born before 1940, remembered many cases of misunderstanding, which would suggest they found such situations very difficult; otherwise, they would not remember it. The speakers certainly wanted to resolve the difficulty and, first, dropped features that marked the speaker distinctly as low-class, for example mazuration (mazurzenie). This again was noted by Rospond (“O integracji”), and they adopted more prestigious features, i.e., those of standard Polish. There is the question, though: how did the dialect shift proceed? What were the methods of diffusion?

The traditional mechanisms for dialect shift that have been offered by Polish scholars are usually external to the language (cf. Bajerowa); according to them, the standard dialect was disseminated by schooling and by the mass media. The influence was considered only top-down; the teacher’s standard dialect was to be copied by pupils and students, they were then corrected by the teacher, and they thus learned the standard. The same can be said about mass media: until recently, participation could be only passive. However, this model does not explain why in Poland the Podhale or the Silesia regions do retain their own dialects (some say languages; cf. Czesak), despite the long exposure to schooling and the media, and even though the schooling system actively suppressed non-standard dialects (cf. Kłoskowska 256). This is because language change really happens through the

face-to-face interactions of participants in speech acts (cf. Trudgill, *New-Dialect*, extensive literature), who acclimate to the speech of their interlocutors. Teachers typically do not accommodate their language habits to those of their students. So the mechanisms favouring dialect shift had to be those that could be found in dialogue. While Trudgill (“Colonial dialect”) thinks that the issues of social identity are irrelevant in new dialect formation, and that a new dialect is formed automatically, by selection of phonetic features, the development of Polish dialects after the war shows that they were important. Silesian and Podhale dialect speakers stress their social identity by using their highly-distinctive dialects, but the uprooted inhabitants of the New Territories felt they have to forge a new, nation-wide identity by shifting from the dialects they were speaking to the “best” one, i.e., the standard. This is stressed by Zielińska in her study. Actually, the Lwów accent was usually considered to be attractive and prestigious (cf. Kurzowa), but was not adopted by the new Wrocław population. Furthermore, spontaneous change was frowned upon, which I hope to show via example of the names of geographic entities.

The immigrants were uprooted;¹⁰ they found themselves in a foreign land, in a foreign city. But they were not allowed to tame the land, to domesticate it, by using new Polish names for geographic entities, coined by themselves, even when they wanted to. One can note the suppression of spontaneous names for various entities of Wrocław. There is a hillock in the central part of the city, originally a part of fortifications, *Taschenbastion*; later on it was called *Liebichs-Höhe* after *Liebich*, the investor of the architectural structures on it. By false analogy, “Liebich—Liebe—miłość (love)”, it was called *Wzgórze Miłości* (love hill) by the new inhabitants. The official name now is *Wzgórze Partyzantów* (partisans’ hill), which is just as unrelated to the history of Wrocław as the spontaneous name. The street *Tilsiterstrasse* was named *Tylżycka*, a spontaneous loan translation; later, it was “correctly” renamed *Elcka* (Kruszewski 133); Kruszewski calls these names unauthorized, “samowolne”. Nothing was really gained by changing the name from *Tylżycka* to *Elcka*. The district now called *Kłokoczyce* had the spontaneous name *Głogczyce*, based on the original German form *Glogschütz* (Kruszewski 10).

This pattern of blocking spontaneous naming can be found in general in changes in the names of geographical entities in the New Territories. It is also better documented. I will use one example. The task of giving Polish names to the settlements was assumed by the official Committee for Settling of Place Names (Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji). The general idea was that the names were supposed to stress the Polish heritage of the New Territories and “prove” that Poles have every right to them.¹¹ Committee members did not feel obliged to

¹⁰ The original title of Thum’s book *Die fremde Stadt*, and the title of the Polish translation stresses this fact; the English title is *Uprooted*.

¹¹ As late as in 1984, Rospond (*Słownik* 11) says that for Silesia and Pomerania, his dictionary confirms that they are historically Polish (“jest potwierdzeniem historycznej polskości tych ziem”), and adds a horrific statement that a nation has the right to those territories which it named (“prawa

conform to the wishes of the inhabitants of the cities or villages. One of the best known examples of their attitude is the name of *Lötzen* (cf. Wagińska-Marzec; Rospond, *Słownik*), which had the historical pre-1945 Polish name *Łuczany*. This was changed to *Gizycko*, to commemorate *Gizewiusz*. In general, the names adopted by the new settlers after 1945 were changed to “better” ones, even though in many cases, they were just as arbitrary as those given by the settlers. The only recognized method of changing a name was by official means.

If we look at the processes of dialect shift in the New Territories from a wider perspective, we must note that they were in a way similar to processes that occurred in some other territories, such as in the USA, Australia or New Zealand. In those countries, there was little influence of indigenous languages and a mixture of various dialects of English. Peter Trudgill (*New-Dialect* 26–30) suggests that in those environments, new dialects were created in a deterministic way; he thinks that American, Australian or New Zealand Englishes came into being in an automatic way, as a result of linguistic accommodation, which arises from social interaction. However, this did not happen in the New Territories, even though the linguists referred to earlier did believe that new mixed dialects would originate. One factor that could make the social situation different in the New Territories than that in the British colonies was the fact that the British colonies were discontinuous; they were far removed from England, while people in the New Territories mixed freely with other people in Poland. Indeed, historical sources suggest that the movement in and out of the New Territories was quite intensive in the years just after the war (Kaszuba 40–41).

Another social experiment, quite similar to the one in Poland, was the establishment of new towns in the UK; for example, Milton Keynes. However, while some of the patterns of linguistic change there are certainly similar to those in Poland, in particular the role of children of various age groups (cf. Trudgill, *New-Dialect* 27–30), researchers note that what in fact occurs is regional dialect levelling (Kerwill and Williams), i.e., new-town speakers’ dialect becomes more similar to the dialect in nearby Reading. Dialect levelling there does not result in standard dialect adoption. This has not happened in Poland; in most areas in Poland, what is noted is a significant dialect shift from non-standard dialects to the standard one. However, Polish linguists think, as I do, that the standard dialect of Polish is far more widespread among second and third generation speakers in the New Territories than elsewhere in Poland. In what follows, I will reconstruct what happened, adding explanations based on available demographic data.

There are now three generations of adult inhabitants of Wrocław: the immigrants, their children and their grandchildren, and a fourth generation of pre-adults. Bergman notes that in 1950 there were already statistically more young

narodu do tych ziem, które sam ponazywał”), horrific in view of the fact that Berlin, Chemnitz, Dresden are etymologically Slavic names, or that towns like Olkusz, Wolbomierz or Olsztyn (near Cracow) have etymologically German names.

people in Wrocław than in the core Polish regions. In 1985, those born in Wrocław before 1960 constituted 51% of the population, and those born until 1985 made up 74.5%. This is a result of the fact that the birth rate in the New Territories exceeded that of other areas in Poland (Bergman 66; cf. Okólski).¹² After 1945, in Poland in general there were two demographic peaks (Główny Urząd Statystyczny): 1950–1960, this group went to primary school from 1957 to 1967 and reached adulthood 1975–1985; the other, flatter, peak was in 1970–1990, and this group went to school 1977–1997 and reached adulthood 1988–2008. These data are consistent with my experiences; my three siblings and I are in the first group. To conclude, in Wrocław, very young and young children very quickly dominated numerically, and this had its effects on the transmission of language. Typically (Kerswill and Williams), pre-school children replicate the dialect of their parents and tend to change their dialect when they go to school and meet their peers. As usual, language accommodation results from social and linguistic interaction.

I had access to some documentation of this process in the New Territory, specifically in Jelenia Góra, though it has been unfortunately destroyed. There were tape recordings of Renata R.,¹³ born in 1953—judging by her childish voice in the recordings, they were done in the late 1950s¹⁴ from her pre-school days in Jelenia Góra—there was obviously no metadata. In the recordings, she had the Lwów accent.¹⁵ When I met her in 1973, she spoke only the standard dialect, and her parents had some faint traces of the eastern accent; interestingly, it was her mother who had a stronger accent. This was interesting because in my social group, women usually had the standard accent, while men did not—for example, my father’s peers. This confirms the belief that women adopt linguistic innovations quicker and tend to use the prestige norm (cf. Milroy and Milroy) more, perhaps because their social relations are far more extensive than those of men, so their needs of accommodation are greater.

The New Territories data, anecdotal though they are, so far support the sociolinguist view that a new dialect appears after two generations (Trudgill, *New-Dialect* 28). To repeat, in 1976, with the first generation reaching adulthood, various accents could be heard in Wrocław, and there was huge variation of linguistic features (cf. Rospond, “O integracji”; Wyderka, “Przemiany”), though they were

¹² In the Szczecin area, the birth rate in 1950 reached astonishing 49 births per 1000 people (Okólski 34). In Wrocław from 1949 to 1953, it was 40–43 (Górczyńska et al. 80). From 1950–1956, the average fertility rate in Wrocław (117) exceeded the average Polish fertility rate (100) and was the highest among the five largest cities in Poland. In 1950–1951, it was nearly twice as high as that in Kraków (Górczyńska et al. 81).

¹³ My brother’s wife.

¹⁴ In Poland, the production of consumer tape recorders started in 1958 (Tułodziecki).

¹⁵ There are recordings from the 1980s, some of which have been made available; however, there has been no description of the data (Majewska-Tworek, Zaško-Zielińska and Pęzik). The recordings are available on spokes.clarin-pl.eu/. Most of them, however, seem to be recordings from the social circle of the researchers.

unusual in the late 1990s. However, in contrast to what Trudgill (*New-Dialect*) suggests, no new dialect came into existence, most speakers, including adults, switched to the standard. My hypothesis is that the factor that was decisive in the acceptance of the standard was the numerical domination of children in their primary social groups, i.e., families. Children, who most likely spoke different dialects at pre-school and school, had somehow to resolve communication problems, and they adopted the language of their teachers.¹⁶ Moreover, because of the strong prescriptive tendencies and the standard language ideology, schools also actively suppressed any non-standard dialects (and other languages). Children brought linguistic innovations home and their parents accommodated to their children's dialect because, first, the parents felt that the new community had to be unified politically, culturally and linguistically nation-wide, and, second, as the example of the new geographical names shows, they believed that the approved changes could only be instilled from the top, from the authorities.

At this point, one may go back to Jan Cygan's speech and wonder why he, like some people of his generation with the eastern accent, preserved his dialect until his final days. That was not the rule. There were three strategies for people with regional accents. Preservation of the accent would be one; another would be to change to the standard. Waclaw O., born in 1921, felt ashamed of his eastern accent and tried to eradicate it. I could not hear any non-standard features in his speech in the 1990s when I met him. His wife, born in 1917, spoke the pure standard accent to the point of being hypercorrect. What is interesting is that their daughter, Maria O., a speaker of standard Polish, went to Poznań when she was 16–17 years old. A shopkeeper identified her as a speaker of the Lwów accent, i.e., a person from Wrocław,¹⁷ which shows that the accent was used in the family in the mid–1960s. Finally, a third strategy is possible. At the beginning of the 1980s, I asked an elderly cloakroom attendant in the Ossolineum library whether he had been with the library in Lwów before 1945, and he answered in the affirmative. I expressed my surprise that he did not have the accent and he switched over to the dialect with evident relish. He was a bidialectal person. Cygan always had the eastern accent, and it is evident from his paper and from my talks with him that he treasured it and speaking it was evidently a sign of his social and cultural identity for him.

¹⁶ I assume that teachers generally had the standard accent; however, some elder teachers in my secondary school (II Liceum) had distinct features of the eastern pronunciation. I do not recall any teacher in my primary school having an accent.

¹⁷ I would like to thank the two sisters, Anna D. and Maria O., for sharing their memories with me.

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The English Auxiliary Clusters as a Case of the Grammatical Category Concentricity

Abstract: The English auxiliary clusters are unique among similar clusters in Indo-European languages in their structure, which is characterized by sequentiality. The lack of any possibility of reversing the sequence auxiliaries in such clusters begs the question concerning this strict ordering as the reflection of mutual relations obtaining between grammatical categories rendered by periphrastic formations based on those auxiliaries. As will be indicated in the present article, this strict sequentiality characterizing the position of auxiliaries is the reflection of the relations between the grammatical categories signalled by periphrastic formations participating in auxiliary clusters, which is characterized by concentricity in the sense that one grammatical category is embedded in another category.

Keywords: auxiliaries, proposition, passive voice, aspect, tense, epistemic distalness

1. Preliminary remarks

What makes the English language unique among Indo-European languages is the possibility of forming elaborate auxiliary clusters. The late Prof. Jan Cygan in his 1976 publication entitled *Strukturalne podstawy gramatyki angielskiej* in the chapter devoted to verb groups observed that the English maximum verb group can consist of as many as five elements, and corroborates this claim by presenting such a structure as *(it) might have been being eaten*. One of the features characterizing the English auxiliary clusters is their sequential invariability. While the first auxiliary, i.e. the one opening such clusters, will carry the tense specification and thus can be treated as a sort of ‘privileged’ constituent in the sense that it may not swap its position with other auxiliaries, it is not clear why the remaining auxiliaries cannot swap their positions. In other words, it is not clear why such a combination as *they might have been laughing* is the only option, while such a formation as **they*

might be having laughed is unacceptable.¹ It will be argued here that this strict sequentiality characterizing English auxiliary clusters reflects mutual relations obtaining between the grammatical categories whose exponents are the said auxiliaries on the one hand and, on the other, the relation of these categories to the meaning of the verb lexical item forming the lexical core of such clusters. It will be indicated in the subsequent parts of this article that such grammatical categories as voice and aspect are closer to the lexical core of the whole predicate as regards the sequence of the exponents of grammatical categories in the maximum auxiliary cluster, while the categories which are rather loosely related to the meaning of the lexical core and are more related to the pragmatic and modal specification of the clause—and thus are further from the lexical core—are closer to the specification of grammatical categories associated with T(ense) and C(omplementiser) as regards the structure of the whole clause.

The article is organized as follows: first, the sequentiality of the English auxiliary clusters will be analyzed in detail. Then, a brief characterization of each grammatical category signalled by auxiliary combinations will be presented. The characterization of the grammatical categories will be followed by a presentation of the meaning of the verb lexical item functioning as the lexical core of the whole predicate. This will provide the point of departure for an analysis regarding the relation between the sequentiality of the English auxiliary cluster and the meaning of the verb lexical item functioning as the lexical core of the predicate. It will be argued that this strict sequentiality characterizing English auxiliary clusters is closely related to the semantic properties of the lexical core on one hand and the propositional properties of sentences on the other. The relations between grammatical categories signalled by auxiliary clusters will be shown through postulating the derivational properties of auxiliary clusters set in the minimalist program theory.

2. The English auxiliary clusters

For the purpose of the analysis presented in the subsequent parts of this publication, prof. Cygan's original example will be slightly modified and the structure to be analyzed is *they might have been being eaten by tigers*. This section will be devoted to a characterization of grammatical categories featuring the above example and a brief description of their formal exponents. The auxiliary cluster *might have been being eaten* features a modal auxiliary as well as non-modal ones, i.e. *have* and *be*, which, along with participial forms, will function as the formal exponents of

¹ A similar problem is signalled in Quirk et al. (152). However, no explanation is offered therein as to why such formations as **have been being examining* and **is having been examined* are unacceptable. In normative grammars of English, such as e.g., Biber et al., Huddleston, or Huddleston et al., such auxiliary clusters are presented in a detailed way; however, the problem voiced above is not raised, mainly due to the didactic angle adopted in the above works.

diverse grammatical categories. Since modal auxiliaries collocate with infinitival forms, it can be said that, as is generally presented in the literature on this issue, the English infinitive can assume quite an elaborate form consisting of the exponents of various grammatical categories. This claim can be corroborated by the following comparison:

- (1) *They might have been being eaten by tigers*
- (2) *They are believed to have been being eaten by tigers*
- (3) *Some people expect them to have been being eaten by tigers*

As can be noticed from the above examples, *(to) have been being eaten* can be analyzed as a periphrastic infinitive consisting of exponents of three grammatical categories which can function as a constituent following a modal auxiliary, as well as an infinitival predicate in a raising construction as in (2), or a predicate in Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) construction as presented in (3).

Cygan (102) notices that the sequences of auxiliaries in such an auxiliary cluster is as follows: 1. *m* 2. *have* 3. *be* 4. *be* 5. *v*.² The first position is occupied by a modal auxiliary (*m*) whose paradigms pattern with lexical verbs as regards the tense specification, i.e. *v* : *v-ed*,³ as in, e.g.

- (4) *work/works* : *worked*
stay/stays : *stayed*
sleep/sleeps : *slept*
write/writes : *wrote*
go/goes : *went*
can : *could*
may : *might*
shall : *should*
will : *would*

It may be a bit surprising that verb lexical items and modal auxiliaries should share similar paradigmatic distinctions; however, as will be argued in the subsequent parts of this article, this paradigmatic similarity is not coincidental. As will be argued later on, the English formal distinction *v* : *v-ed* is not the exponent of the deictic specification attributed to the grammatical category ‘tense’ but should be related rather to epistemic, i.e. modal, than deictic specification.

With the interpretational particulars connected with modal auxiliaries aside for a while, let us concentrate on their formal properties. In contrast to other West

² In the traditional literature on the English verb phrase, auxiliaries are treated as auxiliary verbs, and as such are contrasted with full, lexical verbs, as in Cygan or Kaplan. Palmer (*Mood*), just like Quirk et al., treats auxiliaries as a class which is distinct from lexical verbs. If one adopts the characterization of verbs as lexical items capable of forming a predicate, then such a property cannot be attributed to auxiliaries in Modern English. Hence, auxiliaries and verbs, as regards the English grammar, should be kept apart.

³ In the case of modal auxiliaries, there is no 3rd p. sg. ind. marking *-es*, due to the preterit-present character inherited from the Old English modal paradigms.

Germanic languages, English does not allow for modal auxiliaries featuring perfect formations. Such Dutch and German formations as:

(5) Dutch

*Hij heeft ziek kunnen zijn*⁴

He has ill can-inf be-inf

‘He has been able to be ill’

(6) German

*Er hat das Lied nicht singen können*⁵

He has the song not sing-inf can-inf

‘He has not been able to sing the song’

are examples of modals in perfect formations.

In German, modals can also be found in perfect formations as in, e.g.:

(7) German

Er hat das Lied nicht gekonnt

He has the song not could-past part.

‘He could not sing the song’

These examples show that what in English is classified as an auxiliary, in Dutch and in German merits the status of a verb. Examples (5), (6), and (7) show that modals can feature perfect formations, due to the fact that their paradigms comprise such non-finite forms as infinitive as well as past participle. Moreover, (7) shows that the German modal *können* ‘can, be able to’ can behave like a transitive verb, due to the ability to take direct object in form of noun phrases. Thus, it can be assumed that the first position occupied by modals in the English auxiliary clusters is the only possible location of modals because of their paradigmatic deficiency, i.e., modal auxiliary paradigms are deficient in the infinitival as well as participial forms. This means that the English modal auxiliaries must be characterized as functional units whose main function, apart from signalling modality, either root, deontic, or epistemic, is also the indication of finiteness through the specification of tense. The only constituents they collocate with are infinitival expressions, to which we now pass.

Examples (2) and (3) show that what follows modal auxiliaries should be treated as complex infinitival formations consisting of other auxiliaries. Analyzing the organization of the infinitival formations in (2) and (3), one can notice the following formations signalling grammatical categories which are to be analyzed in the subsequent parts of this article. These periphrastic auxiliary formations can be presented as follows:

⁴ Dutch and German examples come from Boogaart and Helbig and Buscha.

⁵ According to Helbig and Buscha (115) the infinitival form of a modal is a ‘substitute infinitive’ (*Ersatzinfinitiv*) which: “[i]n der Verbindung mit dem Infinitiv wird bei den Modalverben die Partizip II-Form durch die Infinitiv-Form ersetzt” ‘in connection with the infinitive, the form of the past participle is substituted for the infinitival form as regards modal verbs’ [translation—J.M.]. The same seems to be the case as regards Dutch. The only difference between such Dutch and German formations is the sequence of the infinitival forms of the lexical verb and the modal.

(8) *have + x-en, be + x-ing, be + V_{trans}-en*

where the notation *x-en* or *V-en* stands for the past participle either of a lexical verb, i.e. *V* or *V_{trans}* in the case of transitive verbs, or some other auxiliary; hence, the categorically neuter symbol *x*. The symbol *x* in that case will stand for the copulative auxiliary *be*, whose paradigm contains such non-finite forms as *being* and *been*. For some reason this constituent appears to play a most important role in English auxiliary clusters. If one assumes that the periphrastic formations presented in (8) are two element formations in which the auxiliary stands for the exponent of the grammatical category and the other constituent carries information vital for the interpretation of the whole proposition as well as of a sentence, the organization of the infinitival formations presented in (2) and (3) can be schematically presented as follows:

(9) (I) *have + x-en*
 (II) *been + x-ing*
 (III) *being + V_{trans}-en*
eaten
have been being eaten

The analysis of (9) shows that non-modal auxiliaries in contrast to modal ones, as mentioned earlier, are characterized by full paradigms embracing non-finite participial forms, which makes them licit constituents of periphrastic formations whose exponents are such non-modal auxiliaries as *have* and *be*.

The inspection of (9) reveals one more thing. The periphrastic formations listed in (8) seem to be embedded in one another, i.e. the relations obtaining between them appear to be characterized by asymmetry. The fact that (II) *be + x-ing* is embedded within (I) *have + x-en* partly explains why the formation *be having laughed* is unavailable in English. In order to fully explain the sequence of embedding periphrastic formations as presented in (9), one should have a closer look at the grammatical categories signalled by these periphrastic formation.

3. Grammatical categories—voice

The survey of the grammatical categories rendered by the English periphrastic formation presented in (8) and (9) will start with a brief and cursory characterization of the meaning of the verb as the lexical core of the whole predicate. This step is necessary in order to determine the hierarchy of grammatical categories related to the meaning of the verb Lexical Item (LI). In other words, it would be advisable to have a cursory look at the meaning of the verb in general in order to find out which aspects of the meaning of this lexical category are signalled by the periphrastic formations dealt with in this article.

The meaning of the verb is characterized by a greater complexity in comparison to the meaning of the noun. The meaning of nouns, which appears to be

correlated with the function expressions headed by them play in the structure of proposition, makes them licit heads of referential expressions. Such formations refer to beings, either concrete, observable, or abstract, unobservable, which are asserted to exist in extralinguistic reality.⁶ The meaning of the verb can be best described, after Bach, as an ‘eventuality’, which, according to Parsons, can be classified into four types: events (accomplishments), events (achievements), states, and processes.⁷ These four types are coded lexically through a category which is known as lexical aspect or *Aktionsart*. What is, however, essential in the meaning of the verb is the assumption that: “eventualities have participants of various kinds” (21). These participants are nothing but arguments of verb LIs, which are rendered by nominal phrases or prepositional phrases. Thus, it can be assumed that the meaning of a verb will be characterized by a sort of relational character, which manifests itself in the form of relations obtaining between beings referred to by the arguments if the meaning of a given verb lexical item is characterized by more than one argument.⁸ The meanings of arguments must be combined with the sense of the verb into a structured construct through forming a proposition and it is this notion that is vital in analyzing the category of voice.

In the literature on voice, three voices are distinguished, active voice, passive voice, and middle voice.⁹ For obvious reasons, the last case will not be taken into account. Since the analyzed example (1) features passive voice, we will be mainly concerned with the relation between the two voices and their relation to proposition. Generally speaking, a proposition, in very broad terms, can be characterized as a mental construct based on two units, i.e. subject and predicate. The latter unit is formed due to the relational character of the meaning of a verb. As regards the locus of noun phrases in propositions, they may assume the function of a subject or feature a predicate as a part of a verb phrase in case the number of arguments presupposed by the meaning of a given verb is higher than one. Availing ourselves of the idea presented in Liebesman (“Predication” and “Sodium-free”), we will postulate that what is essential as regards the organization of a proposition is the

⁶ Here we will ignore the issue of nominalisations, i.e. nominal expressions derived from verbs, as it is presented and analyzed in Abney and Rozwadowska.

⁷ A similar classification of verbs can be found in Pustejovsky. See also Borer.

⁸ This remark appears to be a gross oversimplification. Verbs will differ in the number of arguments. There is a group of verbs whose meaning is characterized by no arguments, *to rain*, *to snow*, *to hail*. Such verbs as *to yawn*, *to sigh* have one argument. It would be difficult to attribute any relational interpretation to these two groups of verb. It could be argued that propositions featuring verbs belonging to these two groups do portray a kind of one argument relation. In the former group, it would be associated with the expletive *it* while in the latter it would be associated with DP functioning as the subject. Still other verbs such as *to write*, *to build*, *to read* will be characterized by two arguments, while such verbs as *to give*, *to show* will have as many as three arguments. It is the last two groups, i.e. monotransitive and ditransitive, that will be taken into account because of the possibility of forming the passive voice. All other verb classes will be ignored here.

⁹ In the case of ergative language one distinguishes between ergative and antipassive.

relation of ascription obtaining between a VP functioning as a predicate and the NP functioning as a subject and being one of the arguments of a given verb. This ascriptional relation between the two constituents of a proposition is signalled in languages with rich inflection through the phenomenon termed in the literature as ‘Subject–Verb Agreement’. It will be assumed here that a proposition is not a configurational, but a hierarchical, formation with the sequence of the constituents forming a given proposition being the result of linearisation obtaining at some realisational plane, e.g. Phonological Form (PF) in the minimalist program.

Let us suppose that lexical item $Z_{(Rel)}$ is characterized by a relational meaning which calls for two arguments realised by two noun phrases, i.e. expressions which are referential. The two types of meanings will be signalled by means of relational and referential indexes. Thus the formation of a proposition will consist in combining lexical items and phrases with relational and referential indexes. Thus, we could say that the meaning of $Z_{(Rel)}$ is characterized by two slots that must be filled by two constituents with referential indexes, i.e. $X_{(Ref)}$ and $Y_{(Ref)}$. The slot filling operation is referred to by Frege as saturation and in the case of a two argument $Z_{(Rel)}$ the saturation will be a two-step process. The first step is the saturation of the slot in which a constituent with the referential index $Y_{(Ref)}$ forms with $Z_{(Ref)}$ a constituent which reflects a highly intimate semantic relation between the sense of $Z_{(Rel)}$ and $Y_{(Ref)}$. This step corresponds to the formation of VP in the narrow syntax with $Z_{(Rel)}$ corresponding to V and $Y_{(Ref)}$ corresponding to its complement. With $\{...\}$ standing for an unordered set and ‘>’ standing for the semantic relation between the senses of two constituents characterized by intimacy, the first step can be presented as $\{Z_{(Rel)} > Y_{(Ref)}\} = VP$. The other nominal expression with the referential index, i.e. $X_{(Ref)}$, will be coded, due to the fact that $\{Z_{(Rel)} > Y_{(Ref)}\}$ acquires the ascriptional index partly due to the relational meaning of Z. The ascriptional index of this formation indicates that the contents of $\{Z_{(Rel)} > Y_{(Ref)}\} = VP$ will be ascribed to $X_{(Ref)}$, thus forming the whole proposition. What has so far been said can be presented as follows:

$$(10) \text{ Prop} = \{X_{(Ref)} < \{Z_{(Rel)} > Y_{(Ref)}\}_{(Ascr)}\}$$

with the symbol ‘<’ standing for ‘is ascribed to’. In the literature on predication, this relation of ascription is said to be mediated by a functional head Prp in Bowers (1993), or through the predication operator $\langle \pi, \langle e, p \rangle \rangle$ in Åfarli and Eide.¹⁰ For the purpose of the analysis presented in this article, what is of significance as regards proposition is what is the subject and what is ascribed to it. As has already been signalled, the relation of ascription is signalled through inflectional means, i.e. nominal grammatical categories such as Number and sometimes Gender are additionally signalled on either the auxiliary or lexical components of the predicate.

¹⁰ More on the relation between predicate, proposition, and predication can be found in Davidson.

If the above analysis is on the right track, then it could be assumed that two such sentences as

- (11) a. *Tigers eat people*
 b. *People are eaten by tigers*

are based on two different propositions, despite that fact that the lexical material is the same.¹¹ The difference is in which constituent functions as the subject and what is ascribed to it. In (11 a) *eating people* is ascribed to *tigers*, while *being eaten by tigers* is ascribed to *people*, which can be shown in (12).

- (12) a. [tigers_(Ref) < [eat_(Rel) > people_(Ref)]_(Ascr)]
 b. [people_(Ref) < [[be eaten_(Rel)]-by tigers_{(Ref)]]_(Ascr)]}

In (12 b) [...] stands for the ordered sequence of constituents derived due to the linearisation syntactic rules of the English grammar operating at PF, while ‘-’ signals that the prepositional phrase *by tigers* functions here as an adjunct whose presence is not obligatory in passive formations, but, if present, it also participates in the relation of ascription.

The above analysis leads to the conclusion that the grammatical category of voice is a grammatical device related to the formation of a proposition through determining which of the referential expressions being formal realisations of arguments induced by the meaning of a verb characterized by the relational meaning is to be coded as the subject as an ascribable constituent and what should be ascribed to this constituent in form of predicate. It is noteworthy that the formal exponent of passive formations in English is the periphrastic formation consisting of the auxiliary *be* and the past participle *v-en*.¹² It could be cautiously assumed that past participles featuring passive formations are actually adjectives, which share with verbs the property of forming predicates, i.e. ascribable constituents. What makes past participles and adjectives different from verbs is the fact that past participles and adjectives are deficient in inflectional means of expressing finiteness of a clause.¹³ Hence the presence of the auxiliary *be*.

¹¹ Thus, we do not subscribe to the point of view widely represented in the generative grammar, that the passive voice is the result of transforming an active verb into the correspondent passive participle whose ending *-en* is characterized by the property of Case-absorption, as it is presented in Jaegli.

¹² There is one more expression through which passive voice can be formed, i.e. *get + v-en*. However, this formation will be ignored in the present article.

¹³ In Polish, for instance, this relation of ascription in passive formations is signalled on the auxiliary constituent as well as on the form of the past participle, e.g. *ja zostalem pobity* (masc. sg. 1st p. past tense), *ja zostalam pobita* (fem. sg. 1st p. past tense), *(ty) zostales pobity* (masc. sg. 1st p. past tense), *(ty) zostalas pobita* (fem. sg. 1st p. past tense), *(on) zostal pobity* (masc. sg. 3rd p. past tense), *(ona) zostala pobita* (fem. sg. 1st p. past tense), *(ono) zostalo pobite* (neut. sg. 3rd p. past tense). Ignoring the plural number forms, it can be noticed that the past participle in Polish passive formations carries the gender specification in the past tense, i.e. *pobity* (masc.), *pobita* (fem.) and *pobite* (neut.). Such forms pattern with adjectival forms, e.g. *dojrzały* (masc.), *dojrzała* (fem.), *dojrzałe* (neut.).

On the basis of what has been said above, it could be concluded that only DPs rendering arguments of a given verb can feature active and passive formations, which would point to the conclusion that such a semantic property of verbs as transitivity is crucial for the relation between active and passive voice. The English proposition is characterized by one property which may appear unexpected; namely, transitivity as one of the properties of the meaning of verbs appears not to be crucial as regards the relation between the active and passive formations. In English it is possible for DPs featuring prepositional phrases functioning as adjuncts to play the role of the ascribable constituents in passive propositions, which would imply that transitivity does not play a leading role in forming passive formations as regards English.

Kageyama makes a distinction between regular passives and peculiar passives. Regular passives are formed on the basis of the past participle of either mono- or di-transitive verbs. Peculiar passives are based on DPs functioning as the subject, which in the active version would function as complements of prepositions forming PPs functioning as adjuncts. The latter formations are also characterized by preposition stranding. Peculiar passives can be formed on the basis of intransitive as well as transitive verbs, with the complement DP being intact by the process of forming the proposition as in, e.g.

- (13) *This building was always/often walked in front of by the Japanese emperor.* (past participle of an intransitive verb)
- (14) *This bridge has been walked under by generations of lovers.* (past participle of an intransitive verb)
- (15) *This cup has been drunk beer out of.* (past participle of a transitive verb)
- (16) *This hall has been signed peace treaty in.* (past participle of a transitive verb)¹⁴

The above examples point to one important property of the English predicate. Namely, nominal expressions functioning as arguments as well as non-arguments can participate in forming passive propositions through being coded as subjects.

The above implies that the category of voice is responsible for forming a proposition either active or passive through selecting the DP which is to function as the subject to which a VP functioning as the predicate is to be ascribed. With the factors responsible for assigning grammatical role to NPs functioning as arguments of a given verb LI aside, it can be said that, as regards passive propositions in English, a NP functioning as the subject in passive proposition must be within a VP or vP irrespective of its derivational history, i.e. being e-merged as an object of a given verb LI or being adjoined to VP in the function of an adverbial. The common

Semantic considerations aside, it can be assumed that past participles and adjectives function in the analogical way as regards their role played in the formation of proposition. The role of the auxiliary in Polish passive formation appears to be signalling the role of ascription through agreement and the specification of tense and modality.

¹⁴ Examples (13), (14), (15), (16) are from Kageyama.

denominator for arguments and non-arguments featuring a given VP is the fact that two types of nominal expressions featuring a VP functioning as the predicate can function as the subject of passive propositions because in active propositions, the two kinds of nominal expressions would be a part of a predicate which in syntactic terms is realised as VP. Thus, the grammatical category of voice could be analyzed as a proposition-forming strategy based on the nomination of one of the NPs functioning as the arguments of a given verb or the complement of PP functioning as an adjunct appended to VP, as the subject of a proposition, either active or passive. The problem that arises with the above observations is whether or not the active proposition is the canonical formation on the basis of which passive formation can be derived. A solution to this problem could be an assumption that active and passive sentences are based on the same Lexical Array (LA) but the distinction between active and passive is the result of two different derivations within the narrow syntax hence reflecting two different propositions.

4. Grammatical categories—aspect

Comrie (*Aspect* 3) characterizes aspect as: “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”. Smith maintains that a situation is presented from a particular perspective, which she dubs ‘viewpoint’, and this is the main role of the category of aspect. Moreover, those different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation or presenting the said viewpoint must be expressed through grammatical means for, as Brinton (3) notices, “[a]spect is grammatical because, broadly speaking, it is expressed by verbal inflectional morphology and periphrases”. In other words, aspect must be grammaticalized. Now the relation between voice and aspect becomes obvious. The object of such viewing is a situation that is interpretationally and intensionally rendered as a proposition, and as such is a mental construct responsible for combining the referential senses of arguments induced by the relational character of the sense of verbs, i.e. the core of the predicate. As mentioned above, the category of voice is responsible for coding which of the arguments or part of the VP/vP is to be coded as subject and which, in the case of other arguments and possibly adjuncts, are to be moulded as a part of the predicate. Thus, a formed proposition presenting a state of affairs, or a situation, is an input to aspectual viewing.

The majority of Indo-European languages make distinctions between perfective and imperfective aspectual distinction, e.g. French, Italian, Polish, Russian, to mention just a few. Not going into further details concerning aspect and its relation to tense, it can be said that perfective and imperfective are two ways of viewing the eventuality as a point or as a segment respectively (cf. Brinton and the literature therein; Comrie, *Aspect*; Molendijk). A good example of such an aspectual distinction as regards infinitival forms, i.e. not related to tense, is the infinitive

forms of the Polish lexeme ‘ROBI-v’, i.e. *robić*—segment, *zrobić*—point. It may appear plausible to assume that such aspectual analogies can be found in English. As will be presented shortly, the similarities between imperfective and perfective in the languages mentioned above and the means of signalling aspect in English are only apparent ones.

It can be assumed that the main formal exponent of the category of aspect as regards English is the paradigmatic formal opposition between the simple form V and the periphrastic formation *be+V-ing*, where V stands for the lexical component of this periphrastic formation. The periphrastic formations, which are formally and interpretationally marked in relation to simple verb form V, is dubbed ‘continuous’ or ‘progressive’. It can be treated as a subtype of imperfective because it shares with imperfective the sense of duration and incompleteness of the state of affairs denoted by a proposition, but the English progressive does differ from the imperfective aspect in French, Italian, or Polish. Molendijk claims that, as regards past tense, the English progressive and the French imperfective are characterized by the same interpretation in the cases when clauses containing those verb formations present situations as incomplete and ongoing in relation to some point in time expressed either by adverbials or another clause with simple past for English and *passé simple* for French, e.g.

- (17) a. *Quand la police interrogea Jean, Marie jouait dans le Jardin.*
 When the police interrogated-ps John, Maire played-imprf. in the garden
 b. *When the police interrogated John, Mary was playing in the garden*
 Simple past Past Progressive

However, what distinguishes the French imperfective from the English progressive is Molendijk’s observation that the French imperfective can be used in frequentative contexts, while the English progressive cannot because frequency contrasts with ongoingness attributed to this periphrastic formation. An analogous relation between the perfective and imperfective and the English progressive seems to be the case in Polish, e.g.

- (18) a. *Kiedy Janek wszedł do pokoju, jego siostra czytała książkę.*
 When John entered-perf. the room his sister read-imperf. a book
 ‘When John entered the room, his sister was reading a book’
 b. *Kiedy siostra Janka była młodsza, czytała wiele książek.*¹⁵
 When John’s sister be-past tense younger, she read-imperf many books
 ‘When John’s sister was younger, she read many books’

As can be noticed, imperfective forms in both Polish and French can be used in contexts indicating the ongoingness of a given eventuality, as well as in frequentative occurrence. The English progressive is characterized by the former interpretation only.

¹⁵ We ignore here the habitual form *czytywała* ‘used to read’.

Incompleteness and ongoingness seem to not be the only components of the interpretation induced by the English progressive formation. It can be said that the English progressive form *be+V-ing* is a grammatical means of presenting a given state of affairs/situation as incomplete, ongoing or of temporarily-limited character, which can be illustrated by (19):

(19) *Susan is drinking lots of coffee these days.*

With the interpretation and the use aside, such two propositions as

- (20) a. [$\text{She}_{(\text{Ref})} < [\text{write}_{(\text{Rel})} > [\text{a letter}]_{(\text{Ref})}(\text{Ascr})]$
 b. [$\text{John}_{(\text{Ref})} < [\text{be}_{(\text{Rel})} > [\text{a fool}]_{(\text{Ref})}(\text{Ascr})]$

may have two realisations, i.e.

- (21) a. *She writes a letter* or *She is writing a letter*
 b. *John is a fool* or *John is being a fool*

The simple form can be classified as non-progressive form with the perfective, i.e. point-like interpretation, which is used solely to name the eventuality without pointing to any procedural or temporal properties of a given verb lexical item.

The same analysis can be adopted for active and passive voice formations. Active voice formations are analyzed in (20 a, b) and (21 a, b). The passive voice formations will be compared with formations based on propositions featuring an adjective. Thus, such propositions as:

- (22) a. [$\text{John}_{(\text{Ref})} < [\text{be childish}]_{(\text{Ascr})}$
 b. [$\text{They}_{(\text{Ref})} < [\text{be punished}]_{(\text{Ascr})}$

can have two realisations each, i.e.

- (23) a. *John is childish* or *John is being childish*
 b. *They are punished* or *They are being punished*

The above examples seem to corroborate the claim that the category of aspect seems to be superordinate in relation to the category of voice. The category of voice being responsible for combining the constituents with referential and relational indexes into propositions seems to be responsible for forming an input for aspectual evaluation. Thus formed, a mental construct can serve as an input for aspectual viewing.

5. Grammatical categories—perfect

The English perfect is a most controversial English formation. The formation consisting of the auxiliary *have* and past participle containing the lexical core is treated as an aspect as in e.g. Radford, Huddleston, Quirk et al. Other scholars are prone to treat this periphrastic formation as a manifestation of tense, as in Comrie (*Tense*), Kaplan, Jespersen. The dual character of the English perfect is alluded to in Jespersen, Comrie (*Tense*), or Kaplan. According to Jespersen (269), the English perfect

is characterized by the property which: “besides the purely temporal element it [i.e. the English perfect—J.M.] contains the element of result”. Kaplan claims that the tense character of the English perfect manifests itself in referring to two temporal points, i.e. the time of the occurrence of the eventuality referred to by the proposition and the moment of speaking, i.e. tense like characterization of this formation. The perception of the span between these two points makes the aspect-like interpretation of this periphrastic formation. Comrie (*Tense* 25) claims that “[t]he perfect indicates that the past situation has current relevance (i.e. the relevance at the present moment)”. This relation between the past situation and its relevance at the moment of speaking is also reflected in the *Extended Now* approach to the perfect in Germanic languages as presented in Rothstein.

Taking into account the definition of aspect presented in 3, a question could be posed as to whether or not such elements of the interpretation of the English perfect as the span between the time of occurrence of a situation and the moment of speaking, or the relevance of a past situation at the moment of speaking could be treated as elements of the temporal organization of a given situation rendered by a proposition. The latter term especially, i.e. the current relevance as a characteristic feature of the category under consideration, offers a rather poor explanation as regards the aspect status of the English perfect because it is rather loosely related to the interpretation of a proposition. It is more a pragmatic category with some epistemic colouring, i.e. it is the speaker who decides what is of current relevance on the basis of his knowledge of the reality in which he is immersed.

In fact, there are three arguments against treating perfect as an aspect. First, with the category of aspect being defined as a grammaticalized way of viewing the temporal organization of a situation denoted by the proposition, it would be difficult to explain why one situation should be viewed in two different ways in the case when a sentence features both perfect and progressive. Second, if the perfect is treated as an aspect, it is not clear why the progressive is subordinated to the perfect, not vice versa, which is illustrated by examples presented in 1., i.e. *they might have been laughing* and **they might be having laughed*. Third, what makes the progressive appear as an aspect in contrast to the perfect is its lexical sensitivity.¹⁶ It is assumed above that the progressive in English is grammaticalized as the formal opposition V : *be+V-ing*. It is observed in Malak (“Aspect”) that the periphrastic formation *be+V-ing* is lexically sensitive in the sense that a certain group of verb lexical items will never be found as the lexical core of the progressive formation, as in

(24) *He owns the car* vs. **He is owning the car*.

¹⁶ The problem becomes more interesting if one takes into account Verkyul’s characterization of the English progressive as a manifestation of outer aspect in opposition to inner aspect evidenced e.g. in Polish.

Propositions formed on the basis of such verb lexical items as *own*, *possess*, *contain*, *belong*, *consist of*, are not likely to make an input to the progressive way of viewing the situations presented by such propositions. The criterion of the division into propositions licit ones for the progressive viewing and the illicit ones appears to be the temporal character of the situation itself. The suitability of propositions for progressive viewing is determined by the limited duration of a situation denoted by a given proposition, irrespective of stativity inherent in the meaning of such verbs as *sit*, *lie*, *remain*, *stand*, dynamicity, momentariness, or telicity. Thus, such verbs as *own*, *possess*, *contain*, etc. will feature propositions which present situations characterized by the temporally-unlimited duration, thus unsuitable for progressive viewing.¹⁷

Thus taking into account a considerable number of the types of eventualities denoted by the lexical category ‘verb’ and the way in which aspect is grammaticalized in English, i.e. due to the privative opposition V vs. *be+V-ing*, it can be concluded that not all types of the eventualities denoted by the meaning of the verb can be viewed in the same manner, hence the lexical sensitivity of the English progressive formation. As regards the English perfect, no such relation can be noticed between the periphrastic formation *have + V-en* and the lexical aspect, i.e. Aktionsart. All verb lexical items can make the lexical core the English perfect, which points to the conclusion that the English perfect is not any means of viewing a situation presented by a given proposition through making one of the procedural features of the eventuality denoted by a verb more prominent, as is the case with the progressive. Thus, the English perfect cannot be treated as an aspectual formation.

Since the interpretation of the formation dubbed ‘present perfect’ is a bit problematic because of the [-past], i.e. present tense, specification of the auxiliary *have*, we will tackle the problem of the interpretation of the perfect in modalized and non-finite predicates. Thus, in such examples as:

- (25) a. They will have left by five o’clock
 b. They may have left (a couple of hours ago)
 c. They seem to have left (a couple of hours ago)

the interpretation shared by the perfect formation (*to have left*) is the relation of preceding obtaining between the state of affairs denoted by the proposition [$\text{they}_{(\text{Ref})} < [\text{leave}]_{(\text{AScr})}$] and some orientational point in time. While the interpretation of (25a) is fairly straightforward, i.e. at the point referred to by the expression *by five o’clock* placed in the future, ‘their leaving’ is supposed to be in the relation of

¹⁷ Actually, states are also characterized by a temporally limited duration, however, in contrast to eventualities denoted by non-state verbs, the duration of a given state will be determined by the relevance of its arguments. For example, the situation presented by such a sentence as *his family possesses an impressive mansion* can be said to be true as long as one of the arguments of the verb *possess*, i.e. *his family* or *impressive mansion*, are relevant as regards the mental reality of the speaker as well as of his or her interlocutor. Thus, it can be seen that relevance seems to be an epistemic category rather than a pragmatic one.

precedence as regards that point. The interpretation of (25b) and (25c) is more complicated. The analogue of the point denoted by *five o'clock* in (25a) is the moment of speaking, i.e. what is traditionally treated as the present.¹⁸ Thus, the interpretations of (25b) and (25c) can be presented as:

- (26) b. It is probable that they have left/that they left a couple of hours ago
 c. It seems that they have left/that they left a couple of hours ago.

The above analysis shows that the interpretation of the English perfect appears to be more deictic rather than aspectual, thus making it an exponent of tense, rather than aspect. The paraphrases of (25b) and (25c) show that the perfect formation (*to have left*) corresponds to present perfect *have left* or simple past *left* if the sentence has a non-modal or finite predicate. Thus, the periphrastic formation *have + V-en* seems to place the state of affairs denoted by the whole proposition in the relation of anteriority to some orientational point on the time-line, be it some point referred to by a clause, an adverbial expression, or a moment of speaking. Such a constata-tion would make the formal opposition V vs. *V-ed* dubious as the main exponent of the category of tense as regards English. This problem will be dealt with in the subsequent parts of this article.

6. Grammatical categories—modal auxiliaries

The last element of the English auxiliary cluster dealt with in this article is the modal auxiliary *might*. As indicated in Section 2, modals pattern with lexical verbs as regards what is in the literature treated as the tense distinction, V vs. *V-ed* as illustrated by (4). As signalled in Section 2, the fact that the paradigm of lexical verbs and of certain modal auxiliaries is based on the formal distinction V vs. *V-ed* is not coincidental. In the example under consideration, i.e. *they might have been being eaten by tigers*, the past tense form of *may*, i.e. *might* is an exponent of epistemic modality. According to Palmer (*Mood* 51), the term ‘epistemic’: “should apply not simply to modal systems that basically involve the notions of possibility and necessity, but to any modal system that indicates the degree of commitment of the speaker to what he says”. It will be assumed in this article that the degree of commitment of the speaker to the contents of his utterance can be graded from full commitment as regards factuality, corresponding to the indicative in the linguistic tradition, via partial commitment reflected in the subjunctive expressed, among others, by modal auxiliaries, down to full commitment as regards

¹⁸ Associating the moment of speaking with the present tense seems not to be justified. If it were the case, then sentences with the present tense specification should exclusively refer to the situation obtaining at the moment of speaking, as is the case with *Susan is drinking coffee now*. However, *Susan drinks lots of coffee* is also specified as present, despite the fact that the state of affairs referred to by this sentence need not be the case at the moment of speaking. Hence the need to revise the status of tenses not only in the deictic dimension but also in the epistemic dimension.

contra-factuality where the English form *V-ed* plays a crucial role. Non-factuality is also a gradable category ranging from certainty, i.e. logical necessity, via probability, down to the quantifier ‘hardly likely’.

The above epistemic gradation will be illustrated by variations of the formation *they might have been being eaten by tigers* along with correspondent interpretations.

(27) a. *They had been being eaten by tigers* = It is a fact, i.e. the speaker is fully committed to the truth contents of the underlying proposition, that, some time before the moment indicated in the text, they were being eaten by tigers.

(Factuality)

b. *They must have been being eaten by tigers* = It is not a fact that they had been being eaten by tigers. It is only the speaker’s conviction verging on certainty that the eventuality expressed by the proposition took place in the past.

(Non-factuality)

c. *They may have been being eaten by tigers* = It is not a fact that they had been being eaten by tigers. The speaker considers the occurrence of the eventuality denoted the proposition as probable.

(Non-factuality)

d. *They might have been being eaten by tigers* = It is not a fact that they had been being eaten by tigers. The speaker considers the occurrence of the eventuality denoted by the proposition as hardly probable.

(Non-factuality)

e. *They would have been being eaten by tigers* = It is a fact that they were being eaten by tiger in the past in an alternative reality, i.e. a reality different from that in which the speaker is producing his utterance.

(Contra-factuality)

What seems to be crucial as regards the interpretation of the whole sentence is the functional head Tense (T). It is the locus of the opposition presented in (4). A question could be posed at this point, namely, whether or not the opposition V vs. *V-ed* should be exclusively associated with any deictic specification. What has been presented above leads to the conclusion that all assertive utterances should be characterized by epistemicity, as well as by deixis. Malak (“Deictic-Epistemic”) postulates that sentences are characterized by Deictic-Epistemic Hierarchy (DEH) and this hierarchy is different in various languages. In English, the leading information in the tense specified verb form is of epistemic character with the deictic specification being of secondary importance, while in Polish, this relational hierarchy is reversed, with the deictic specification being more prominent and epistemic interpretation being retrieved from the context. This observation seems to offer an explanation, among others, for the phenomenon of Sequence of Tenses in English and the absence of this phenomenon from Polish.

To make a long story short, it is assumed in Malak (“Deictic-Epistemic”) that verb forms with the past tense specification, i.e. *V-ed*, feature propositions denoting epistemically distant states of affairs as regards the reality in which the speaker is producing an utterance and verb forms without such a specification, i.e. V, make

the core of propositions referring to eventualities epistemically proximate to the reality in which he is making an utterance. Thus examples (27a), (27d) and (27e) present this epistemic distalness. (27a) and (27e) are examples of full commitment on the part of the speaker as regards the truth contents of his utterance, with (27a) signalling factuality while (27e) denoting contra-factuality. The only difference between them is in the Mood specification. (27a) features the indicative mood while (27e) the subjunctive mood. It could be assumed that epistemically distant probability as presented in (27d) and contra-factuality presented in (27e) are similar in presenting a given eventuality as epistemically distant from the reality in which the utterance is being produced. The only difference between the two cases is the degree of the speaker's commitment to the contents of his utterance. In the case of (27a), the speaker's full commitment to the truth contents of his utterance and epistemic distance from the reality in which he is making the utterance places the state of affairs denoted by the proposition before the moment of speaking, i.e. in the past.¹⁹

If the above analysis is on the right track, then it can be assumed that the functional head T which in the literature is treated as a constituent pertaining to deictic information, as far as English is concerned, appears to be the means of conveying epistemic information. Thus the formal opposition V : V-*ed* characterizing the paradigms of four modals, and of all verbs signals the epistemic proximity and epistemic distalness, respectively. This would explain the isomorphism of paradigms in the case of modals and verb presented in (4). At the same time, the role of *have* + V-*en* becomes obvious. The perfect is a means of signalling the relation of precedence between the state of affairs denoted by a proposition and some orientational point, i.e. the moment of speaking or some other point in time referred by adverbials or adverbial clauses.

7. A category within a category

With all the grammatical categories featuring an English auxiliary cluster described, it is now possible to have a look at the conditions which are responsible for the hierarchy of grammatical categories presented in (9). If it is assumed that the English auxiliary cluster reflects the relation of containing-obtaining between the above described grammatical categories, then the category of voice appears to the most deeply-embedded category. Such an assumption seems to be logically sound, since the material for aspectual viewing must be characterized

¹⁹ This also seems to offer an explanation to the problem of the form of the verb in past-tensed sentences and conditional clauses signalling contra-factuality. In the case of two such sentences as *Tom had money* and *if Tom had money* the form *had* signals that one of the elements of the reality in which the two sentences are uttered is the fact that Tom does not possess money. Thus, the leading specification in the case of V-*ed* appears to be epistemic with the deictic specification being of secondary importance.

by some kind of structure, i.e. a proposition in the case under consideration. As suggested above, one of the characteristic properties of a proposition is the organization of units characterized by two different types of senses, i.e. referential and relational, into a construct consisting of the subject rendered by a constituent with referential interpretation and the predicate whose core is a unit with relational interpretation. Thus, what is vital for the active and passive voice distinction is which of the arguments of a given verb lexical item will be the subject in a proposition with a referential expression corresponding to Agent in the case of the active voice or a referential expressions corresponding to Theme in the case of the passive voice.²⁰ Therefore, it could be assumed that the category of voice which reflects a proposition is subordinated to the category of aspect, thus functioning as an input to aspectual viewing. What has been postulated above can be presented as:

- (28) a. $[tigers_{(Ref)} < [eat_{(Rel)} > people_{(Ref)}]_{(Ascr)} > Progressive = [tigers [be eating people]] = Progressive Active Cluster (PAC)$
 b. $[people_{(Ref)} < [[be eaten_{(Rel)}]-by tigers_{(Ref)}]_{(Ascr)} > Progressive = [people [[be being eaten]-by tigers]] = Progressive Passive Cluster (PPC)$

Thus formed auxiliary clusters, which could be treated as two aspectually-viewed propositions, make an input for deictic valuation, i.e. placing their contents in time in relation to some orientational point, through associating the two formation with the English perfect. Hence PAC and PPC as one cluster come into interaction with *have* + *V-en* and this operation is presented in (29):

- (29) a. $[tigers [be eating]] > Perfect = [tigers [have been eating people]] = Perfect Progressive Active Cluster (PPAC)$
 b. $[people [[be being eaten]-by tigers]] > Perfect = [people [[have been being eaten]-by tigers]] = Perfect Progressive Passive Cluster (PPPC)$

This is the point where the formations of clusters end because they may be associated directly with T and in such cases it is the first auxiliary, i.e. the auxiliary of the highest formation *have* which is undergoes such an operation in formations signalling Factuality. In the case under consideration, T is lexicalized as *might*, which signals Non-factuality and epistemically-distant probability. This last step could be characterized as the modal (epistemic in this case) valuation of the contents of the whole sentence. What is also noteworthy is the observation that both PPAC and PPPC can also function as infinitival forms as shown in (2) and (3).

²⁰ We do not subscribe to the point of view in which the direct object of an active sentence becomes the subject of a passive one. A direct object is an object because it is a part of the predicate, i.e. a constituent which is ascribed to the subject. The subject is the part of a proposition to which the predicate is ascribed. Thus, maintaining that a part of a predicate, i.e. a constituent to be ascribed to the subject, becomes the subject to which a predicate is ascribed would be characterized by a kind of structural and logical inconsistency. It is assumed here that an active sentence and a passive sentence based on the same lexical material present two different states of affairs and thus are based to two different propositions.

8. English auxiliary clusters and the minimalist program—concluding remarks

Adopting minimalist theorising as regards the English auxiliary clusters, one can see more clearly the mutual relation between the grammatical categories represented by auxiliary clusters. First, it can be said that the successive forming of non-modal auxiliary clusters is placed in a different fragment of the derivation than that responsible for lexicalizing T through introducing *might*. It could be further hypothesized that the place within the derivation in the narrow syntax is an extended v^*P with v_{Pass} , v_{Progr} and v_{Perf} as heads which must be lexicalized as an auxiliary and functioning as head of a phrase whose Spec must be filled by a nominal expression with a referential index possibly due to the uninterpretable nominal feature of v_{Pass} , v_{Progr} and v_{Perf} . The problem is with the identification of heads. It is assumed here that the said functional heads form phrases of their own, i.e. $v_{Pass}P$, $v_{Progr}P$, and $v_{Perf}P$ with their own Specifiers and Complements. The term ‘Complement’ corresponds to ‘being an input to’. Specifiers are those places in which nominal features of a given head are valued and matched.

Component auxiliary formations characterizing the English Auxiliary Clusters presented in (8) and repeated here for convenience as (30)

(30) *have + x-en, be + x-ing, be + V_{trans}-en*

could be analyzed as formations consisting of two constituents which play different roles within a given functional projection. The first element could be analyzed as the representative of a given functional projection, which is raised to a higher projection filling the location x . What is left behind is an x -non-finite participial form which is the expression functioning as the signal of predicate identity. The predicate identity is preserved through the successive raising of a referential nominal expression to which the contents of extended vP is ascribed and raising the representative constituent of a given functional projection which inherits the predicate identity specification. Finally, the nominal expression is moved to Spec TP, and it is in this position where the relation of ascription between the raised nominal expression and lexicalized T is mediated. Thus the whole derivational history of *they might have been being eaten by tigers* can be presented as follows:

(31) $[/_{CP} C [_{TP} they_i [_{T'} might /[_{vPerfP} t_i [_{vPerf'} have been_j [_{vProgrP} t_i [_{vProgr'} t_j being_k [_{vPassP} t_i [_{vPass'} t_k eaten [_{VP} tigers \{v: tv, [_{NP} F\}_i\}]]]]]]]]]]]$ where $/\dots/$ stands for a phase.

A few comments would be in order here. The expression $[_{NP} F]$ is an idea borrowed from Chomsky (*Lectures*), where F is a set of ϕ -features such as Number, Gender, Case. If v^*P is active, i.e. no v_{Pass} is e-merged, then after all i-merge operations are performed leading to the first Spell-Out, $[_{NP} F]$ will receive the $[_{NP} F (P)]$ realisation as *them*, where (P) is the phonological matrix. Thus, it could be assumed that substitution of $[_{NP} F]$ for $[_{NP} F (P)]$ is the result of passing a given fragment of

the derivation to PF. In the case under consideration, this nominal expression in the form of a bundle of φ -features leaves an unordered set $\{v, \textit{eaten}, [\text{NP F}]\}$ and lands in the Specifier positions in the successively e-merged functional v expressions. It could be speculated that all the functional projections, i.e. $v_{\text{PASS}}\text{P}$, $v_{\text{PROG}}\text{P}$, and $v_{\text{PERF}}\text{P}$ are characterized by the Edge Feature, which determines what is passed to Spell-Out and which fragments of the derivation are still active. The active elements are nominal expressions in the Spec position and the head of a given projection. This Edge Feature becomes deactivated the moment a new functional head is e-merged. In the case under consideration, it is $v_{\text{PERF}}\text{P}$ which seems to be characterized by such a feature, with $[\text{NP F}]$ being the only constituent capable of further i-merging. The head of v_{PERF} , i.e. *have been*, a complex functional head, remains intact and along with other derived expression is passed to the first Spell-Out. After the e-merge of *might* as the lexicalisation of T, $[\text{NP F}]$ is i-merged in $[\text{Spec}, \text{TP}]$ and undergoing the second Spell out it receives at PF the $[\text{NP F (P)}]$ form *they*, i.e. the nominative form which is that constituent of a proposition to which the predicate is ascribed. No such mechanism is necessary in the case of DPs featuring concrete nouns as the head of NP, i.e. the complement of D in DP, because of Structural Case, the problem of which is tackled in Chomsky (*The Minimalist Program*, “The Minimalist Inquiries” and “On Phases”) through the uninterpretable feature [Case] which must be disposed of by matching, valuing and deleting this feature before passing the derivation to LF.

‘V’ is presented as an unordered set containing the past participle of *eat*, i.e. *eaten*, and the bundle of nominal features characterizing pronouns. As assumed above, the past participle is reminiscent of adjectives which can also form a predicate provided that it is accompanied by a constituent which is capable of expressing the relation of ascription between the predicate and the subject. Such an constituent is *be*, which is a part of the complex head of the projection $v_{\text{PASS}}\text{P}$. The constituent $[\text{NP F}]$ is i-merged in $[\text{Spec}, v_{\text{PASS}}]$ along with adjoining the past participle with *be* representing v_{PASS} . Such a step is necessary in order to guarantee the predicate identity which is inherited by *be*. In the subsequent steps, this auxiliary will pass on the predicate identity to the representative of the next functional projection. The DP *tigers* remains unaffected by derivative operations retaining its thematic relation, i.e. Agent. However, due to the lack of any formal means of signalling the ‘demoted agentivity’, this nominal expression will be part of a prepositional phrase headed by *by*, i.e. *by tigers*. In some heavily-inflected languages, such as Russian or Ukrainian, this ‘demoted agentivity’ is signalled through the instrumental case specification.²¹

Such a formed structure with propositional interpretation is the input to further evaluations, i.e. aspectual, and if no v_{PROG} is merged, it serves as the input to deictic

²¹ For instance, the Russian sentence taken from Offord and Gogolitsyna (2005) *on byl ubit soldatom*, which can be transliterated as ‘he-nom.sg.masc. was-3rd p. sg. killed-past participle soldier-instr.sg.masc.’ corresponds to *he was killed by a soldier* in English.

evaluation signalled by v_{Perf} . This remark is particularly crucial because if v_{Perf} is e-merged, then the e-merge of v_{Prog} is blocked. This is so because Progressive is subordinate in relation Perfect. Perfect seems to be superordinated to Progressive as well as v^*P and $v_{\text{Pass}}P$. Thus it can be said that v^*P and $v_{\text{Pass}}P$ are contained within $v_{\text{Prog}}P$ and the latter projection is contained within $v_{\text{Perf}}P$. The presence of *might* is a different story. Due to the fact that T is the functional head which c-commands all the functional projections, it is superordinate to all those projections. This seems to offer an explanation to the question posed in 1: why such a formation as *they might be having laughed* is unavailable.

The characterizations of grammatical categories presented in 3 to 6, when coupled with what is presented in 7 and 8, offer one more interesting trait of the English auxiliary clusters. The grammatical category ‘voice’ seems to be the most basic and essential one because it is the meaning of the verb lexical item which determines the form of the proposition. The distinction between active and passive is the matter of different derivations. Thus formed, a proposition is further evaluated through aspectual viewing which, as presented in 4, through its being lexically sensitive, makes the category of aspect also intimately related to the meaning of the verb as the core of a proposition. The category of perfect is rather loosely related to the lexical contents of a proposition and through the formal means of this functional expression the contents of PAC and PPC can be evaluated deictically through presenting the location of the contents of such an extended proposition in relation to some orientational point in time. PPAC and PPPC are further epistemically evaluated by T, which, in the case under consideration, is realised as an *-ed* form, i.e. *might*, which signals the epistemic distance between the state of affairs denoted by an extended vP , or an extended proposition, and the speaker’s reality in which a given utterance is being produced. This relation between the interpretation and derivational properties characterizing the English auxiliary clusters seems to satisfactorily explain the grammatical concentricity characterizing the mutual relations between grammatical categories signalled by periphrastic formation in English. QED.

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How Communication Happens— Where Physical Properties and Meaning Meet in the Brain: Evidence from Semantic, Prosodic and Face Processing Studies

Abstract: Communication in social groups, especially in human societies, is predicated on efficient decoding of physical properties of auditory and visual signals into messages. In this brief overview, I will discuss processes that lead to our experience of receiving a message focusing on semantic, prosodic and face processing operations. In spite of the fact that we experience such messaging as nearly instantaneous, it involves complex interactions between multiple brain regions that support processes involved in communication. In the course of such interactions neural operations analyze a physical signal, extract its features into abstract representations and assign meaning to them. Furthermore, abnormalities in these processes, brought about by either structural or functional deficits, result in profound cognitive difficulties that often manifest as clinical symptomatology. This chapter discusses in some detail which brain networks make social communication possible, as well as the consequences of their abnormalities.

Keywords: communication, language, physical properties, cognition, brain regions, brain networks

Communication is one of the basic tools of building social groups. While typically it is understood as an exchange of ideas and information, it is much more than that. Across all species, communication is more than language. It is a system of signs that carry meaning which not only includes information about the world, but also reflects attitudes and feelings towards that world, the speaker—or the self—and the receiver—or the other. Thus, communication can be defined as an exchange of semantic, emotional, and socially-relevant information using multiple channels of communication and biologically-based as well as socially- and

culturally-agreed-upon semiotic signs. Furthermore, what is often experienced as an effortless exchange of ideas about, and information on, a given topic, is in fact a complex process where physical properties of a given signal are analyzed by specialized brain regions, assigned meaning, integrated with information from other sensory modalities and brain systems, and interpreted by the brain to result in a message. In this chapter, I will discuss how the physical properties of human speech and body language, especially facial features, result in a rich repertoire of signs which allow for effective communication, and which brain regions are involved in translating these physical features into a message. I will also discuss what happens when the complex dance between the different brain systems breaks down.

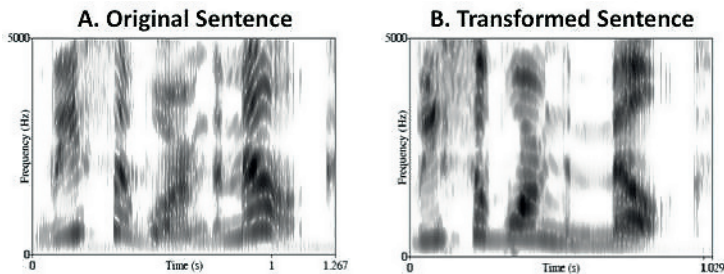


Figure 1: An example of a broad band spectrogram for a sentence “Lisa warmed the milk” (happy prosody): A. with semantic information preserved and B. with semantic information removed. Note that while the two spectrograms differ since their constituent sounds were manipulated, their pitch contours remain the same (spectrograms for single words look similarly)

Until relatively recently, the way the physical properties of a signal carrying a message are analyzed by the brain, so that we perceive them as a meaningful message, was poorly understood. However, advances in several imaging methodologies have changed that. Event-related potential (ERP) and functional magnetic imaging (fMRI) methodologies have proven especially fruitful in unlocking the mysteries of how the brain processes physical properties of a signal to construct meaning.

I will use evidence from both ERP and fMRI studies to discuss how information from a speech signal, and from facial expressions, is interpreted by the brain. ERP and fMRI studies can be thought of as complementary methodologies: while ERPs have an excellent, millisecond-range temporal resolution which allows tracking neural events as they happen in real time, fMRI allows for identifying brain regions involved in these neural events.

In a typical ERP experiment, various stimuli, such as sounds, single words, sentences, or pictures, are presented to participants, either auditorily or visually, while an EEG is recorded. It is then possible to time-lock the EEG signal to the onset of a given stimulus, and thus analyze how that signal changes in response to stimulus presentation. Given the fact that these EEG signals reflect electrical

responses generated by brain regions involved in a given type of information processing, we can effectively analyze, and visualize, how the brain processes information with millisecond accuracy. The resulting event related potentials (ERPs) that reflect neural processes associated with changes in electrical voltage over time, are characterized by components which have been demonstrated to index specific cognitive operations. The adopted naming convention for these components, such as P100 or N100, reflects whether the component has a positive- (P) or negative-going (N) valance, measured as amplitude within microvolt range, while the numbers following the P/N, such as N100 or P200 reflect a latency, measured in milliseconds, at which these components are recorded after a participant is exposed to a given stimulus. Early ERP components, such as N100 and P200, reflect mostly sensory processes, while later components, e.g., P300 and N400, reflect primarily more complex processes such as working memory (P300) and language operations (N400). As will be discussed below, most cognitive processes are completed within 1 min, with most processing completed within 500 msec.

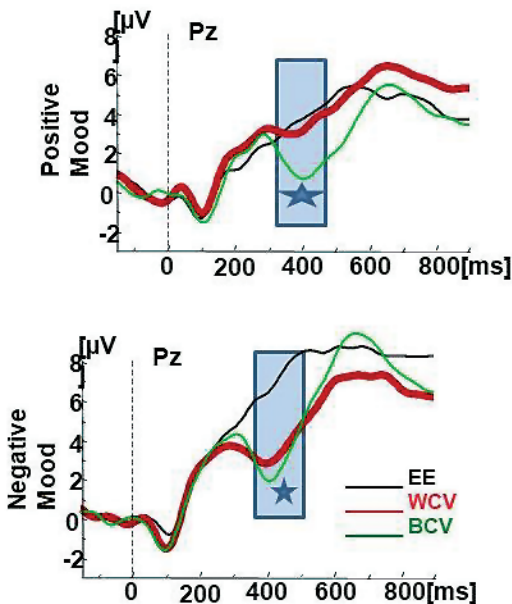


Figure 2: Grand average waveforms showing N400 component to expected endings (EE), within category violations (WCV), and between category violations (BCV)

FMRI allows for detecting differences in blood-oxygen-level-dependent (BOLD) signals. The technique relies on the fact that oxyhemoglobin and deoxyhemoglobin have different magnetic properties which allows for distinguishing between neural tissues preferentially saturated with oxygen in response to cognitive

task demands, and those brain regions which are not active in that task. Ultimately, it is possible to create activation maps of the brain that help identify brain regions implicated in a given cognitive operation.

1. Speech signal

All human speech reaches our ears as waves of sounds. They are complex auditory signals with several properties, including pitch, loudness, timbre and carrying a wealth of information coded in its acoustic energy structure organized in acoustic bands called formants (see Figure 1); these acoustic features carry not only semantic information, but also prosodic information which, for speakers of a given language and users of a culture, organizes a sound stream into packets of information and informs about attitudes and emotions.

2. Speech signal, semantics, and the brain

One of the most important functions of a speech signal is to convey a semantic message. As illustrated in Figure 1, a complex acoustic signal brings meaningful information to users of a language, from simple statements such as “Lisa warmed the milk” to more complex messages like “They made a lot of money” and “International peace relies on trust”. While fluent speakers of a language experience these informational exchanges as instantaneous, the processes that lead to our holistic experience of receiving a message are complex. It has been demonstrated that the structure and acoustic properties of a speech signal are analyzed by a distributed network of brain regions that include temporal, frontal and parietal cortices (Friederici; Friederici and Gierhan; Chai et al.). As mentioned above, the processes that lead to our ‘instantaneous’ comprehension, from exposure to a speech signal to our knowing what was said, take under one second, with most of the message, if not all of it, decoded within 400–600 msec. These processes happen both sequentially and in parallel in the sense that regions involved in sensory processing are impacted via feedback loops by abstract lexical, linguistic and semantic information. The superior temporal gyrus has been identified as an interface between brain regions involved in the analysis of physical properties of a speech signal and those involved in the processing of meaning (Bhaya-Grossman and Chang). The STG includes populations of neurons that encode both for the acoustic-phonetic and for phonological properties resulting in abstract representations. It is believed that anterior STG is more involved in acoustic-phonetic analyses, while middle and posterior STG are involved in categorization processes which allow assigning classes of sounds to a given phonological category. Furthermore, these early processes are influenced by

feedback from brain regions encoding for lexical and semantic contextual information including from supramarginal gyrus and middle and superior frontal gyri (MFG and SFG) (e.g., Getz and Toscano). Parietal regions, especially the angular gyrus and inferior parietal lobe, are involved in meaning construction (e.g., Hagoort).

It is important to note that these language operations interact with attention, working and long-term memory, allowing for both efficient and flexible extraction of information from an acoustic signal and associating it with context-predicated meaning (e.g., Hagoort). Not only does a speech signal need to be decoded into a semantic message, but this message will be further shaped by other cognitive, non-linguistic factors, as executed by neural networks supporting such operations, including theory of mind (Mar; Mars et al.), and mirror neuron systems (e.g., Rizzolatti and Sinigaglia), and further impacted by emotional states. Theory of mind and mirror neuron systems impact semantic meaning by allowing for inferences about a speaker’s intentions, generating hypotheses about what he/she really wanted to say, thus impacting our ultimate understanding of a message.

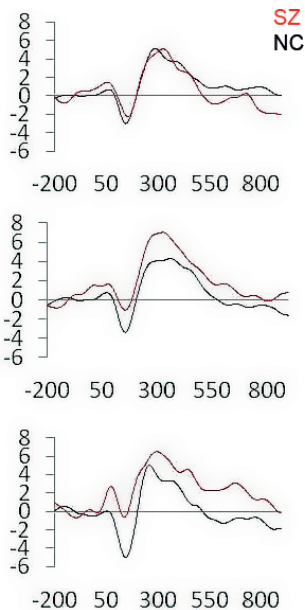


Figure 3: Grand averages in 16 schizophrenia (SZ) and 15 healthy control (NC) subjects in the single words prosody with semantics condition

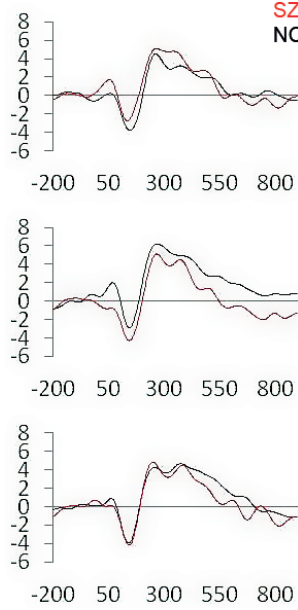


Figure 4: Grand averages in 16 schizophrenia (SZ) and 15 healthy control (NC) subjects in the single words, pure prosody condition

While theory of mind and mirror neuron systems allow for generating predictions about a speaker’s intentions, mood and emotional states can further modulate how we receive and understand what is being said. For example, in a study that

examined the effects of context and mood on comprehension (Pineiro et al., “Interactions”; Pineiro et al., “Abnormal”), we used a two-sentence paradigm where each sentence separately always made sense, but when read together, the second sentence either violated the context by including an incorrect but somewhat plausible word ending or an entirely implausible word ending given a previous context (e.g., *The Joneses made a lot of money and decided to move to a wealthy suburb. There, they bought a large mansion* (expected ending (EE)/*a large apartment* (within category violation)/*a tepee* (between category violation)). We used an ERP methodology and an N400 ERP potential, one of the best documented indices of semantic processes (Kutas and Federmeier, “Electrophysiology” and “Finding”), to examine the effects of induced mood on the processing of within and between category violations. Using carefully-calibrated International Affective Picture System (IAPS) (Lang, Bradley and Cuthbert) stimuli, we induced either a positive or a negative mood in the study participants. The ERP results suggested that when participants were in a positive mood, they treated mild (within category) violations as if they were the correct ending (see Figure 2, top panel). However, when they were in a negative mood, they treated these same mild violations as if they were strong (between category) violations, as indexed by the N400 ERP (see Figure 2, bottom panel). This result is in keeping with these observations, which suggest that people are more creative and make more errors when they are in a positive mood, and they are less creative and make fewer errors when they are in a negative mood.

Together, these results illustrate how a string of noises made by users of a language system carries our thoughts and opinions about the world around us and other people in that world. Deep philosophical, scientific insights, and gossip are all possible due to a network of brain regions which decode this auditory signal into electrical/chemical signals and assign it a meaning in concert with a set of brain regions which situate this meaning within a social context. However, as some early attempts into synthetic speech generation illustrate, no speech is really complete, or indeed possible to understand, without prosody.

3. Speech signal, prosody and the brain

All speech is spoken with prosody, either neutral or emotional. Acoustic features that contribute to prosody are fundamental frequency (F0), loudness, and voice timbre, with F0 believed to be most informative in terms of a tone of voice perceived. As Figure 1 demonstrates, speech signals carrying both semantic and prosodic, and prosodic only information, have their unique acoustic signatures.

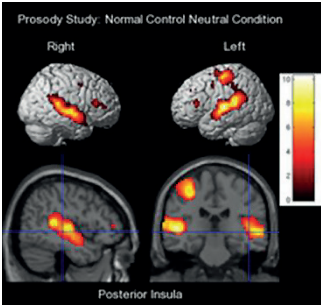


Figure 5: Neutral prosody in healthy volunteers, in sentences which include both semantic and prosodic information: FEW: .001 corrected

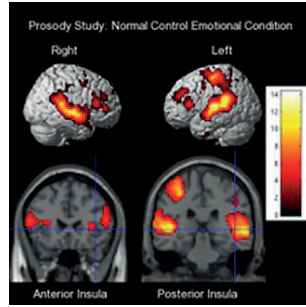


Figure 6. emotional prosody in healthy volunteers, in sentences including both semantic and prosodic information: FEW: .001 corrected

Language users, in the course of neurodevelopment, learn to assign emotional meaning to specific frequency ranges (e.g., Liu et al., “How Tone”). For example, Leitman et al. identified 378 Hz carrier frequency and 169 Hz modulation depth as associated with happy prosody by the study participants, while 178 Hz carrier frequency and 23 Hz modulation depth was recognized as a sad frequency. In English, shifts in F0 occur in the first 300 msec from the onset of an utterance (Kotz and Paulmann; Paulmann and Kotz).

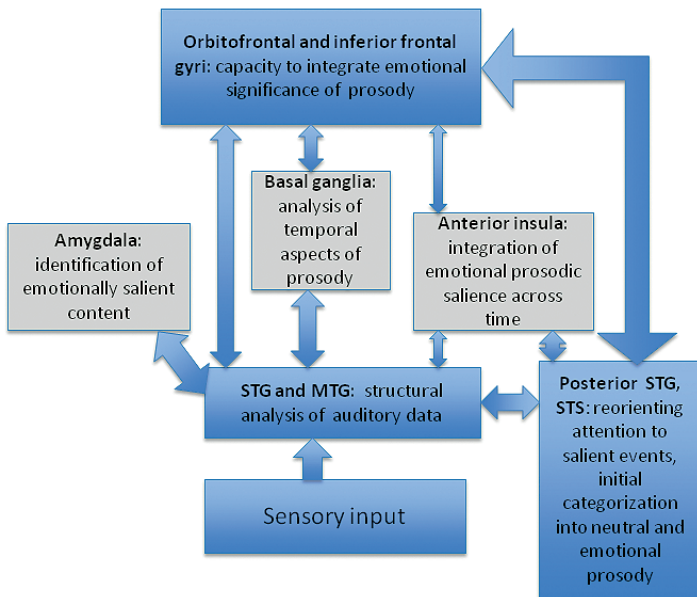


Figure 7: A model of prosody processing according to recent literature findings. Note that the model presented includes both the regions essential for prosody processing (in blue) and regions that have modulatory influence on the essential regions (in gray)

Using ERP methodology, it is possible to examine brain responses to prosodic information, both in utterances with semantic content, i.e., in ‘normal’ speech, and in those where semantic information was edited out in order to have the listener focus on prosodic information only (see Figure 1). Given the ERP methodology’s excellent temporal resolution, it is possible to know exactly when, and how, an acoustic signal is processed by the brain. The results of such ERP experiments demonstrate that the differential neural response to neutral and emotional prosody takes place within the first 200 msec after the onset of the auditory stimulus (Pinheiro et al., “Interactions”; Pinheiro et al., “Abnormal”; Liu et al., “Electrophysiological”). They also allow for several additional observations: they suggest the sensory features of an utterance are rapidly processed within 100 msec after a word/sentence onset, as indexed by N100 component (see Figures 3 and 4), often referred to as the first stage of processing and indexing extracting sensory information from an acoustic signal. It is followed by a P200 component that is associated with classification processes facilitating a rough stimulus appraisal (Garcia-Larrea, Lukasiewicz and Mauguire; Crowley and Colrain), and its amplitude increases with increased cognitive effort (Lenz et al.). Both N100 and P200, and the processes they index, are impacted by attentional and working memory operations such that the availability of these resources can impact the fidelity of initial operations encoding an auditory signal into more abstract, higher-order representations.

Several studies, using both ERP and fMRI methodology, identified a network of brain regions involved in emotion recognition from voice. These studies also related ERP findings to fMRI results by establishing which brain regions were associated with specific ERP components.

In fMRI studies examining prosody processing in sentences with semantic information, a network of regions active during prosody processing included the temporal, parietal and frontal regions. Notably, more extensive activation was present in studies examining emotional than neutral prosody (see Figures 5 and 6).

Together, these studies allowed for constructing a theoretical framework which describes (see Figure 7) how prosody, i.e., information about our emotions and attitudes is analyzed by the brain. The proposed model consists of a network of both cortical and subcortical areas organized hierarchically (Paulmann and Kotz; Schirmer and Kotz; Leitman et al.). The initial acoustic processing (first stage) takes place within the superior temporal gyrus (STG) and is followed by the categorization of the auditory signal into emotional and non-emotional (second stage) which takes place in posterior region of superior temporal gyrus (pSTG), middle temporal gyrus (MTG) (Okada et al.) and superior temporal sulcus (STS). Recent evidence suggests that sensorimotor cortices are also involved in emotion recognition regardless of sensory modality. The amygdala is involved in initial detection of emotional valence of prosody. The output of these initial operations is further processed by orbitofrontal (OFG) and inferior frontal gyrus (IFG), where emotional meaning is associated with the acoustic signal. It has been also demonstrated that

the anterior insula and the superior (SFG) and middle frontal gyrus (MFG) are involved in the processing of emotional prosody and, in cases where the processing is more difficult because of the ambiguity of the signal or contradictory evidence from the vocal and visual channels, both dorsal and ventral parts of anterior cingulate are also involved (Kanske, Plitschka and Kotz). It is of note that ERP and fMRI methodologies not only provide complementary temporal and spatial information about cognitive processes under investigation, but also can provide information in terms of which processing stages can be reflected in each methodology. For example, Paulmann, Seifert and Kotz conducted an ERP study where they tested individuals with orbitofrontal lesions associated with difficulties in recognizing prosody: N100 and P200 in these patients were normal, but they were not able to distinguish between different prosody types because of the orbitofrontal dysfunction.

Finally, similarly to how semantic information is further impacted by non-linguistic inputs, in addition to the structures described above, humans understand emotions due to two complementary systems: a ‘mirror’ system involved in matching motor acts to corresponding motor representations in an observer (Niedenthal et al.) and mentalizing system involved in representation of the mental states of others (theory of mind) (Mitchell and Phillips), which is active when study participants are asked to make explicit judgments about emotional states of others (Spunt and Adolphs, “A New Look” and “The Neuroscience”).

4. When information is presented from faces and voices at the same time

In a typical conversation, spoken words are exchanged between two or more speakers and further modulated by extra-linguistic factors to arrive at the meaning of what is being said. Both semantic information and prosody contribute to an understanding of both a message and an intention: for example, the same simple message of ‘He arrived’ may be delivered with joy, fear or disgust and thus ‘mean’ different things. However, with the exception of phone conversations, most human speech exchanges happen face to face, either in real life or over electronic mediums, and these face-voice interactions add further complexity to an ultimate meaning of a message.

Again, the messages from these two channels: the auditory and the visual one, arrive to us as sounds and images that we learn to associate with specific meanings in the course of culturally mediated neurodevelopment. I have discussed briefly how an auditory stream is processed by the brain to deliver a message. A visual signal that carries information about the human face is equally critical for a full understanding of what a given communication is about.

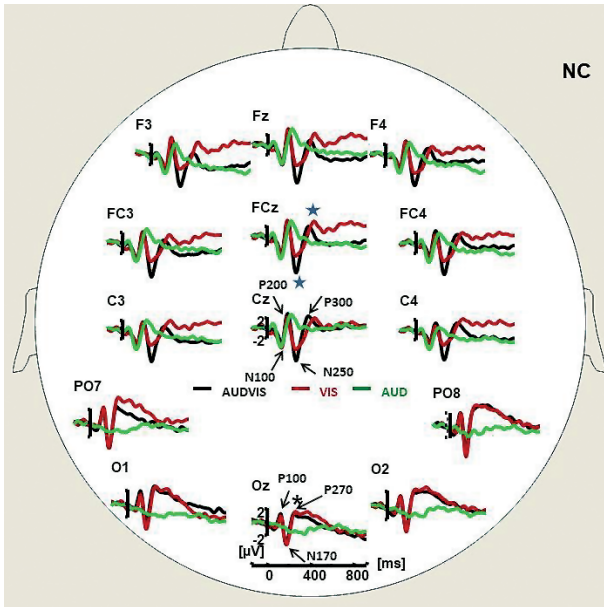


Figure 8: ERP responses in healthy volunteers (NC) in a neutral emotion condition, to faces only (VIS), voices only (AUD) and face and voice stimuli presented simultaneously (AUDVIS)

5. How face information is processed by the brain

As in the case of speech processing, faces are recognized rapidly by dedicated brain regions. A number of studies demonstrated that faces are processed holistically within the first 200 msec after an exposure to a face, with the N170 ERP component believed to uniquely respond to faces (e.g., Yovel; Liu et al., “Emotional”; Allison et al.) and evidence of sensitivity to faces within 100 msec of seeing a face. fMRI and simultaneous fMRI-ERP studies suggest that brain regions involved in face processing include occipital face area (OFA), which has been associated with the 100 msec ERP response, and fusiform face area (FFA), and posterior superior temporal sulcus (p-STs) associated with the N170 ERP response (Iidaka et al.; Sadeh and Yovel; Yovel). These brain regions seem to ‘specialize’ in face processing relative to other objects, and it has been demonstrated that they are most active when a face is presented. Furthermore, there is evidence that the preferential processing of faces in these brain regions develops in early infancy as a result of social interactions and exposure to faces (Powell, Kosakowski and Saxe).

6. How face and voice are processed together

The simultaneous processing of information from both voice and face is, in fact, a subject of intense studies and debate and it is not entirely understood how such neurocognitive processes happen (Perrodin et al.). It has been suggested that superior temporal sulcus (STS) is sensitive to inputs from both voice and face and is a brain region that supports the integration of visual and auditory signals (Chandrasekaran and Ghazanfar). In addition, fMRI study by Kreifelts et al. suggested a role of the bilateral posterior STG and right thalamus in the integration of auditory and visual signals. These findings are supported at least partially by the results of our ERP study, where we compared electrophysiological responses to simple, neutral sounds, neutral faces, and faces and voices presented together (see Figure 8) (Liu et al., “Emotional”). First, there is a clear distinction between voice only stimuli, with a clear ERP morphology consisting of N100 and P200 components, typically associated with voice recognition and evident at central and frontal scalp locations. The N100 and P200 to voice only stimuli are absent from the occipital and parietal locations suggesting that brain regions involved in their generation are situated at temporal locations and are not sensitive to visual input. In contrast, there is a highly similar morphology of face only and voice-face stimuli, with most robust ERP components registered over central and frontal scalp locations, but also extending to occipital and parietal sites. Even though ERP scalp distribution in no way reflects one to one correspondence between brain sources and scalp-registered potentials, the broad distribution of ERPs to voice-face stimuli suggests that multiple brain sources contribute to our ability to receive integrated messages from both face and voice. At the same time, the significant difference between face only and voice-face stimuli observed for the N250 ERP component is in agreement with the temporal contributions, such as from STS and pSTG, to voice-face processing.

This very brief overview of how signals from speech and face are integrated into a coherent message highlight at least two observations: the speed with which critical information is extracted from the incoming physical signal and the complexity of brain regions implicated in the efficient and meaningful interpretation of that information.

At the same time, this review highlights how inefficient or abnormal processes within brain networks involved in speech and face processing may contribute to profound deficits and difficulties in individuals impacted by them. While several clinical conditions are believed to be related to neurocognitive deficits in the brain systems discussed above, I will discuss schizophrenia as an example of severe impairments rooted in the abnormal processing of speech and face information.

7. Deficits in prosody processing in schizophrenia and its consequences

Schizophrenia is a severe disease with genetic and neurodevelopmental components characterized by thought disorder expressed in abnormal language use and distortions in reality perception. These distortions include complex delusions, unfounded fears, as well as visual and auditory hallucinations which result in ‘perceiving’ images and hearing voices in the absence of a visual or an auditory input. It is believed that many of these symptoms arise from abnormalities in brain regions that are involved in both speech and face processing.

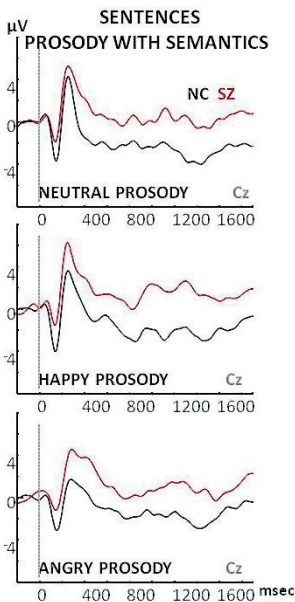


Figure 9: Grand average waveforms to sentence prosody in 18 schizophrenia (SZ) and 18 healthy control (NC) subjects to neutral, happy and angry prosody (semantic information present)

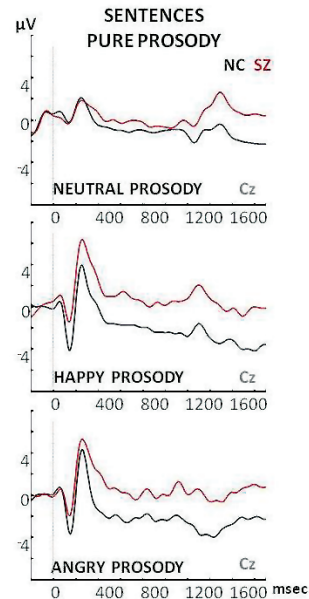


Figure 10: Grand average waveforms to sentence prosody in 18 schizophrenia (SZ) and 18 healthy control subjects (NC) to neutral, happy and angry prosody (with semantic information removed)

Models of prosody processing abnormality in schizophrenia: It has been demonstrated that individuals with a schizophrenia diagnosis experience difficulties in prosody processing at all stages of analysis. We have demonstrated that both the initial stages of sensory analysis as indexed by the N100 ERP component, and categorization of a sensory input into higher order entities, as indexed by the P200 component, are abnormal in chronic schizophrenia (Pinheiro et al., “Interactions”; Pinheiro et al., “Abnormal”).

As can be seen in Figures 3, 4, 9 and 10, these deficits are especially prominent for emotional prosody; here, happy and angry voices. Furthermore, these deficits exist both in response to sentences with and without semantic content underscoring a unique nature of difficulties in processing prosodic information in schizophrenia.

The deficits documented with the ERP data and manifesting at the earliest stages of speech processing are further corroborated by fMRI studies that identify processing deficits in both temporal and frontal brain regions involved in prosody analysis, including in the orbitofrontal cortex associated with linking sensory data to meaning. One of the models of prosody dysfunction⁷ in schizophrenia suggests that the prosodic abnormality is related to impairment at both early, sensory stages and at later, higher order cognition stages and underscores an interactive relationship between these two (Leitman et al.). Furthermore, these initial deficits are exacerbated by deficits in attention and working memory.

The consequences of these impairments are serious. They contribute to emotional withdrawal and affective blunting, as well as developing suspiciousness and paranoia. For example, individuals with schizophrenia tend to misinterpret speakers' intentions by assigning a hostile intention to happy or neutral prosody and exaggerating a hostile intent for angry prosody (e.g., Lin, Ding and Zhang). Furthermore, as mentioned above, there is a close relationship between emotion recognition and theory of mind capacities, with the latter impacted by schizophrenia irrespective of prosodic deficits. Thus, while performance on a prosody task may seem of a distant relevance to the ability to function in a real world, it can be argued that, as described above, it has profound consequences for successful social functioning both in professional and private spheres of life. Prosodic deficits can lead to constructing a threatening model of the world, with people intent to harm an individual. Left untreated, it can lead to withdrawal from society and significant suffering.

8. Auditory hallucinations as a special case of auditory and social cognition deficits

Auditory hallucinations are severely disturbing auditory phenomena that can be deeply unsettling for those who experience them. They are not unique to schizophrenia and are reported in a number of clinical conditions. Mostly, but not always, they are critical or threatening towards a person who experiences them. They vary in their manifestations. They can be experienced as a single voice, or several voices conversing, and the voices' gender may or may not align with the gender of their hearer. The critical hallmark of voice hearing is that it is experienced in the absence of an outside auditory source. Thus, the question becomes not of what kind of distortions occurred to the auditory source, but rather what kind of neurocognitive events, in what kind of brain regions, contributed to this phenomenon which, to those who experience it, is often as real as a conversation with another person or persons.

Early models suggested that auditory hallucinations are a result of source misattribution during self-generated thought and inner speech, where patients attributed the source to others instead of self (Frith et al.; Frith and Done). In these models, it was assumed that people think using silent language and when this silent language produced in the temporal and frontal cortices is misattributed, it is experienced as external speech. More recent models have suggested a breakdown in the network of brain regions involved in auditory hallucinations, whereby the over-activated auditory perceptual regions in the temporal cortex are coupled with a lack of inhibitory control exhibited by the executive function regions in the frontal cortex (Hugdahl). In addition, there have been proposals that link auditory hallucinations to abnormalities in the motor speech and language regions (Allen et al.; Jardri et al.). Here, the assumption is that perceptual regions of the temporal cortex are abnormally active, and since the frontal regions do not suppress this activation efficiently, the outputs of the temporal regions are being imbued with meaning.

Finally, there are models which conceptualize auditory hallucinations as a disturbance in agency, where agency refers to a sense of self as contrasted with other agents or people (e.g., Brent et al.; Holt et al.). The STG and medial prefrontal cortex (MPFC) have been shown to be a part of self-referential network in both healthy (Jenkins and Mitchell; Kelley et al.) and individuals with schizophrenia (Brent et al.; Larivière et al.).

It is quite likely that a complete model of auditory hallucinations should be a syncretic one; there is evidence that indeed actively hallucinating patients relative to non-hallucinating patients show increased activation in the STG, in the middle temporal gyrus (MTG), and in the parietal regions, such as the temporo-parietal junction (TPJ), angular gyrus, and inferior parietal lobule (Jardri et al.; Thoma et al.). In addition, resting state connectivity between MPFC and posterior cingulate cortex (PCC), two hubs of the default mode network involved in self-reflection, is abnormally high in patients experiencing auditory hallucinations.

As a phenomenon, auditory hallucinations illustrate how effective communication depends on the fidelity of analyses of external auditory signals but also how brain regions dedicated to this task in the course of evolution play a crucial role in connecting us with an outside world. This connection depends critically on their unincumbered function. In the case of auditory hallucinations, abnormal function of brain regions dedicated to speech processing can produce hearing experiences that mimic speech and yet do not reflect outside input. Most recent efforts that use fMRI based neurofeedback techniques suggest that direct impacting brain regions involved in auditory processing, and in self-other distinctions, can in fact help normalize the function of these regions and lead to reductions in auditory hallucinations (Okano et al.; Bauer et al.).

9. Deficits in face processing and in face and voice processing in schizophrenia

The difficulties in the processing of the auditory signal, in terms of the veridical analysis of the sensory data, and in terms of generating faulty data due to abnormalities in the brain structures dedicated to such analyses are not limited to speech. There is ample evidence that both analyses of the sensory data derived from faces, and the higher-order operations based on these data, are also abnormal in schizophrenia (Rubin et al.; Onitsuka et al.; Salisbury et al.; Feuerriegel et al.). This deficit extends to the simultaneous processing of faces and voices (Liu et al., “Simultaneous”). As discussed above, the study conducted by our group showed that both face only and voice-face stimuli were impacted by schizophrenia (see Figure 11), even though this impact differed as a function of brain regions involved.

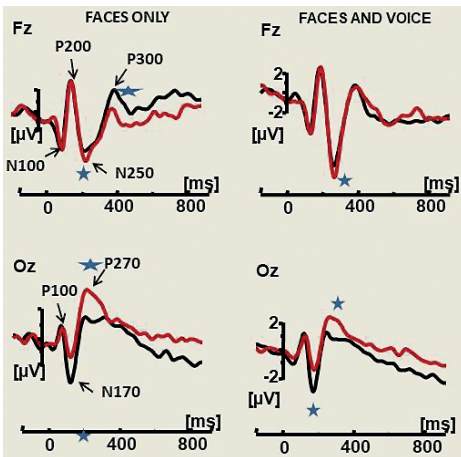


Figure 11: Abnormal ERP responses to neutral faces, and to face-voice stimuli in patients with schizophrenia (red line) relative to healthy control individuals (black line): both sensory processes (P100 and N170) associated with structural face processing, as well as P270 associated with categorization processes, were found affected

10. Conclusions

Our world is accessible to us through our senses, which have uniquely evolved in humans to allow to engage with the world in a purposeful way. Arguably, information conveyed by our senses is species-specific and the world is experienced differently by humans, fish, octopus, and dogs (even though there is some evidence that domesticated animals like dogs show some remarkable abilities to share human perception of the outside world; for example, in understanding some words—e.g.,

Andics and Miklosi; Pepperberg). I have focused, in this brief review, on physical signals conveyed by speech and faces, as it is recognized that these two mediums provide the richest sources of information. Using speech, we describe the world according to our best understanding, and long before we could write, we told stories about where we came from and where we were going. The way we said it made often all the difference. With prosody, we signaled love, hate, admiration and contempt, and used noises made by our vocal system to establish our place in society. It has been recognized that the use of speech and prosody, as well as their appropriate decoding are a part of what we call social cognition and is vital to communication in any given society, and indeed indispensable to its creation. Our facial expressions provide another layer of complexity and an additional source of information about a social world around us. Our nearly instantaneous access to the wealth of data derived from purely physical properties of auditory and visual input belies the fact that the brain processes involved in delivering what we receive as a message are immensely complex. They rely on a network of regions which provide initial analyses of sensory data, a scaffolding for the interface between the sensory and the abstract, and assigning a final meaning, often modulated by additional inputs from brain regions involved in attention, memory, self-reflection, and self–other distinctions. As briefly discussed in the context of schizophrenia, the seemingly simple deficits experienced by non-neurotypical individuals have profound consequences for their ability to function in a social world. As a species, we are a product of our evolutionary history, inhabiting the world between the physical and non-physical, both creators and created, defined by biophysical properties of our brains but also with aspirations, and some capabilities, to change them.

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Applied Linguistics

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(Applied) Psycholinguistics for Foreign Language Teachers: A Diachronic Perspective

Abstract: In discussing any scholarly discipline in both its theoretical and empirical dimensions, there is value in taking a diachronic view to determine the starting point, the direction and to assess achievements leading to new developments. The aim of this article is to outline the evolutionary character of psycholinguistics (and applied psycholinguistics), with emphasis on those areas of psycholinguistic research which are relevant for language practitioners: teachers, learners and users of foreign languages. The choice of topics made is by no means exhaustive, as psycholinguistics over decades has been—and still is—is a vast multidisciplinary domain of study. Only selected topics are discussed here, and the selection is based on the personal assessment of the author as to their importance and the evolutionary and dynamic impact they have had on language education and practical FL classroom instruction across time. This overview offers a brief discussion of psycholinguistic research from the fifties of the previous century to the present day. In each of the areas outlined, implications relevant for foreign language teachers, learners and users are discussed to create an overall picture of the developing contribution of (applied) psycholinguistics to foreign language education.

Keywords: (applied) psycholinguistics, a diachronic perspective, foreign language teachers, foreign language learners, language learning and teaching

Introduction

Psycholinguistics, and also its more practically-oriented counterpart, applied psycholinguistics, (Pinto; Puppel; Kurcz; Mininni and Manuti) are concerned with human communication in its various aspects. Traditionally, the aims of psycholinguistic research focus around processes involved in acts of verbal communication between people: language comprehension, language production and language acquisition. As the very name suggests, psycholinguistics originates from psychology and draws on theoretical, cognitive and applied linguistics, as well as cognitive

sciences, biology, neurosciences and anthropology as important sources. More recent advances rely on the findings of computational linguistics and computer sciences. In other words, when defining psycholinguistics, we might describe it as

a psychology of language based on how certain psychological and neurobiological factors interact in humans at the level of communication, on the comprehension and production of verbal messages in an interaction act, but also in the brain of an individual language user (Gabryś-Barker, *Topics 7*).

Taking a diachronic perspective, it can be observed that psycholinguistics as a research domain initially concerned itself with studying just first language acquisition and only later took up the theme of second language acquisition and foreign language learning. This can be assumed to have resulted from the rapid development of applied linguistics and developing links between the two domains of study. The development of applied linguistics brought about research in second language acquisition (SLA)—which these days is treated by some as a separate domain of study—the findings of which are directly related to education and language instructional practices. At the same time, SLA clearly draws on the findings of (applied) psycholinguistics. The main dimensions of the latter domain focus on developing knowledge about the language of human interaction and success in being able “to function verbally (tact/implicit knowledge versus explicit knowledge) and what cognitive processes are involved in language comprehension and production” (8).

In terms of more precisely-defined areas of interest, psycholinguistics looks at phenomena and processes such as perception, memory, thinking processes, acquisition and learning and affect. Specific topics investigated by psycholinguists range from

speech comprehension and production, child language acquisition and bilingualism to language instruction and education, language disorders and issues in verbal and nonverbal communication, as well as speech technologies, human communication models and mass-media psycholinguistic analysis, more recently extended to the study of human emotionality. Applied psycholinguistics employs the practical results of this research in studying communication contexts in their entirety. (8)

In the last decade of psycholinguistic research, that last-named area of focus, affectivity in human communication and learning contexts, has become one of the major concerns and has resulted in a vast amount of research based on earlier neurolinguistic findings demonstrating the primacy of affective processing, as described by, for example Schumann and Paradis (“The Neurolinguistics”), among others, and also in SLA in the studies of Dewaele (“Investigating” and *Emotions*), Mercer and Williams and in the Polish academia (Piechurska-Kuciel, “Self-regulatory”; Gabryś-Barker, “Emotion” and “The Affective”). They all give evidence of the primacy of affectivity in processes of communication and interaction between people as explored by psycholinguistic research. An additional focus of these studies can be found in the research on theory of information: language

models describing language as a complex interaction of its component subsystems, language functions and importantly, elements of the sociolinguistic dimension of language development and use. All the themes in psycholinguistic studies focusing on language functioning are seen as determined by psychological factors.

Gabryś-Barker (*Topics*) poses the question of how important (applied) psycholinguistic research is in (language) educational contexts. Educational research embraces various paradigms in which the emphasis is on different dimensions of teacher/learner functioning, their communication and interaction, language development as well as on varied approaches to the process of learning (and teaching) a language. Table 1 presents a taxonomy of approaches used in educational research, the last one being psycholinguistic research contributing to the discussion of educational issues

Table 1: Dimensions of educational research

Approach	Focus
Classical and scientific	quantifying data, measuring different forms of behaviour
Socio-cultural-historical	measuring social and cultural aspects of behaviours
Psycholinguistic	phenomenological and interpretive, relying on qualitative data and its analysis in terms of thinking, feeling as expressed by language, problem-oriented

The overview presented in this article ranges from focus on language as a code and behaviourism, through the transformational-generative grammar of Chomsky and language acquisition device (LAD), to the communicative competence of Dell Hymes and the beginnings of cognitive grammar. In relation to more recent times, the overview offers a picture of psycholinguistic research originating in the phenomenon known as globalization. Globalization, predicated on travel and the increased mobility of people, started towards the end of the 20th century and intensified through recent immigration flows until the present time. It has brought about a wide-spread interest in multidisciplinary research focusing on second/foreign/multilingual language acquisition in a variety of natural and educational contexts, in different language constellations and exploring the language needs of its users. Also, growing concerns about people's well-being in a world of social and political turmoil have stirred interest in the role of the affective dimension and positive psychology, which have become flourishing areas of academic research with a whole array of possible applications. Each area of focus outlined above offers the most significant implications for both foreign language teachers and learners to illustrate varied contributions of applied psycholinguistics to foreign language education.

1. Psycholinguistics from a diachronic perspective

Having outlined the topic areas and the relevance of (applied) psycholinguistics to research on educational issues with special attention given to language development in and beyond formal instruction environments, I would like to comment on how this discipline evolved across decades. The overview demonstrates the link between older theories and ideas and a more modern way of thinking. Some of the issues proposed as long ago as the 1950s are still with us—the same or modified according to what we know now, while some have been discarded or became at the very least controversial. Some of them have taken up a different name and made the claim to be novel ideas.

1.1. Beginnings: The 1950s and 1960s

The 1950s is considered to be when psycholinguistics emerged as a scholarly discipline and the term psycholinguistics was first used by Nicholas Pronko in his article “Psycholinguistics: A Review”, and popularized later by Charles E. Osgood and Thomas A. Sebeok. Psycholinguistics is then marked as quite an active and fast-developing domain in scholarly discussions of language as a code and theories of how language information is processed to perform its various functions, viewed from an interdisciplinary perspective. However, what was most significant at that time and had an impact on future developments was the contribution of psychology and linguistics to how we understand language learning, first researched in relation to the mother tongue and then, by analogy, to a second/foreign language. The behavioural theories of B. F. Skinner and his seminal work *Verbal Behavior* offered the explanation for how the first language is acquired through exposure to input and an imitation process, in which a given stimulus (S) brings about a response (R), which in turn is reinforced. In the case of the mother tongue/first language (L1), the reinforcement is usually given by a parent or a caregiver. The behavioural explanation for language acquisition was adapted to the context of foreign language learning, in which responsibility for language development is given to the teacher as the organiser of the teaching/learning process following the sequence S-R-R, which was believed to lead to language habit formation. Behavioural theory, combined with structural linguistics, resulted in the aural-oral approach and gave rise to the audiolingual method (ALM), initially seen as a quick method of learning a foreign language. The importance of structural linguistics was seen in the view it offers on language as system of set patterns that can be manipulated infinitely in language production. Naturally, a language drill constituted the major form of language activity, imitating the immersion of an L1 child repeating parental or caregivers’ input. A rigorous treatment of language errors was meant to eliminate them from the FL classroom, also forbidding the use of L1 as the most evident source of errors. It was in the 1960s that in-depth error analyses were carried out

by (applied) linguists and practitioners on the basis of extensive contrastive studies (Corder, “The Significance” and *Error*).

Classroom practice employed the results of these studies in constructing syllabuses by grading and sequencing their language contents according to language difficulty. The focus was on the negative results of language transfer (interference) and aimed at eliminating them. Thus, as mentioned above, the mother tongue was banned from the FL classroom and the teachers’ objective was to develop language correctness in their learners’ performance. The major role of a language as authentic communication was not in the spotlight in a FL class as intensive drilling, model pattern practice and dialogues were not the way to create situations of natural interaction and communication. They were just controlled language activities, trying to develop automatization/internalisation of correct language habits. In the decades to come, this approach to language acquisition and learning was strongly resisted and substituted with a different perspective offered by linguists and psycholinguistics on learning processes. The question is whether it all bad and thus should have been discarded and eradicated from our modern methods of teaching FLs.

The most evident example of how the aural-oral approach based on behaviourism and structuralism has shaped present day EFL instructional practices is the Callan method, based on the principles of ALM, only slightly adapted in their execution (Callan Method Organisation). The method appeared first in the 1960s but gained popularity decades later, revisiting the old principles of ALM in its focus on mechanical repetition of long chunks of language based on internalised vocabulary and sentence patterns. It meant to reconstruct the situation of a child acquiring their first language through exposure, but clearly it does not do this. The essence here is in learning language by heart, whereas in L1 acquisition, a child tries out different language forms on the basis of analogy, and through a sequence of these trials, arrives at the final correct language form (hypothesis forming and hypothesis testing).

1.2. Psychological approach to FL teaching: Continued. 1960s and 1970s

The 1960s and 1970s were very much influenced by the scholarly work of Noam Chomsky and his ideas concerning language processes expressed among others in the assumptions of transformational-generative grammar and the human ability to understand and create unlimited number of sentences. It was then that the construct of LAD—Language Acquisition Device—was first proposed (Chomsky). An important distinction was made between competence and performance, later translated into declarative knowledge (what?) and procedural knowledge (how?) respectively. The distinction between competence and performance had consequences in FL classroom practice, when for the first time the understanding that knowing language rules does not translate automatically into language performance became the concern of practitioners. The period witnessed a continued focus on

audiolingual practices in language instruction, also resulting from contrastive analysis and linguistic comparison between languages bringing about error analysis (Corder, “The Significance”), which for a long time affected classroom practices and the need of rigorous treatment of errors. However, with the appearance of Selinker’s idea of interlanguage (learner language) and the dynamic character of its development, seeing errors as an inevitable part of language learning became generalised and was expected to eradicate their rigorous treatment in a FL class.

The inadequacy of Chomsky’s distinction between competence and performance was pointed out by Dell Hymes in his concept of communicative competence, proposed for the first time in 1966 in relation to native speaker interaction and communication. Later on, it was adapted for the purposes of FL instruction in creating communicative language teaching in its range of approaches from the strong to a weak form, evolving over the decades to come, but following the main idea of communicative competence as the ability to understand and be understood by the interlocutor in a communication act. The concept initially embraced linguistic competence, i.e. knowledge about the language system at its various levels (morphosyntactic, phonological, lexical, semantic), so vaguely resembling Chomsky’s competence, and the practical sub-competences of socio-cultural, pragmatic and discourse nature (vaguely resembling Chomsky’s idea of performance). The concept evolved and was much later expanded by other researchers adding strategic competence and non-verbal competence (Gabryś-Barker, “The Affective”). But, as mentioned above, most importantly, it gave rise to communicative language teaching, moving away from behavioural approaches combined with the ideas of structural linguistics.

It was also at that time that more and more attention was paid to psychological aspects of language functioning and the first innovative ideas were introduced in FL teaching. New approaches and teaching methods called unconventional, deriving from various understandings of language learning processes, entered language classrooms. For the first time, the ideas of humanistic psychology were implemented in education looking at any learning process from a more holistic perspective, embracing not only cognition, but also affectivity. This interest derived from the earlier publications of Abraham Maslow on the hierarchy of needs (“A Theory” and *Motivation*) and was later taken up in the humanistic education ideas of Gertrude Moskowitz in her seminal book *Caring and Sharing in the Foreign Language Class*.

The established ideas and findings of (humanistic) psychology and sociology gave rise to such methods as:

- Total Physical Response (TPR)—focus on the interaction of the two hemispheres of the brain, use of motor activities in language learning, imitating of L1 acquisition processes in FL learning (Asher)
- The Silent Way—implementing discovery learning, activating learners’ ability to solve problems (Gattegno)

— Suggestopedia—using the powers of suggestion and visualisation, personality adaptation ideas, safe environment (Lozanov)

— The Community Language Learning (Counselling Learning)—learning as a social (counselling) activity, using the resources available (such as one's L1), creating a close relationship between a teacher and a learner, lowering affective filter (Curran)

Clearly, this period of applied psycholinguistics made a start in moving away from strictly language-oriented ideas and linguistic theories to a more open and flexible approach to understanding the role of contextual, non-linguistic factors as well as individual personality traits. In fact, it could be argued that this was the real beginning of applied psycholinguistics in the context of second language acquisition/foreign language learning.

1.3. The multidisciplinary approaches of the 1970s and 1980s

The decades that followed continue the interest in studying language and processes involved in its use, acquisition and learning in communication at the level of discourse. Language itself was no longer seen, as proposed by structuralism, as a set of patterns, but as a continuous text: oral and written discourse was understood as a coherent sequence of sentences in a speech/text and focused on its characteristics such as, for example, starting a conversation or turn-taking in natural conditions of language use. This resulted in the development of discourse analysis carried out in multidisciplinary fashion naturally involving linguistics, but also all the psychological and sociological profiles and traits of interlocutors, as observed in a communication event (Tannen, *That's Not and Talking*). Discourse analysis took up issues of gender in language and issues of (in)equality, among many other topics. In second language acquisition studies, discourse model of language acquisition/learning claimed that language development is determined mainly by communication and interaction (Hatch).

However, the most influential theory at the time was the well-known Monitor Model of Stephen Krashen, which does not require any elaborate explanation for anybody interested in SLA. In brief, Krashen proposed five hypotheses describing different aspects of language learning as determined by: the acquisition versus learning hypothesis, the monitor hypothesis, the natural order hypothesis, the input hypothesis and the affective filter hypothesis. Each of the above hypotheses has had implications for FL classroom instruction in terms of setting objectives, constructing syllabuses according to natural order, setting conditions for both acquisition (subconscious) and learning (conscious), offering different types of input to the learner (finely versus roughly-tuned input) and importantly, paying attention to his/her affectivity and the ways it can encourage/enhance (or impede) language learning.

The 1980s were an exceptionally fruitful period for the development of psycholinguistics in relation to language education. It was in 1983 that Howard Gardner published his theory of multiple intelligences (MI), which has had a far-reaching consequence for FL classroom practitioners and brought about multisensory teaching. The major assumption that we are born with just one (verbal) intelligence was challenged by Gardner and led to a new teaching approach which emphasised multiplicity of different intelligences, expressed by multiple perceptual learning styles (multisensory teaching). It can be hypothesised that MI theory influenced the later appearance in the 1990s of Goleman's idea of emotional intelligence.

It was also in this decade that cognitive linguistics emerged, which is often assumed to be distinct from psycholinguistics in its various dimensions, but which contributed to topics studied in both domains, though from different perspectives. (Table 2).

Table 2: Cognitive linguistics versus psycholinguistics (based on Lee)

Aspect	Cognitive linguistics	Psycholinguistics
Goals	how language reflects the mind	how the mind deals with language
Nature of language	language is fully integrated with other cognitive functions language either reflects these functions or motivates them	language as an autonomous function, processed independently (e.g. language handicapped people, but not otherwise)
Research methods	recordings of language (transcripts), statistical analysis, experiments	recordings of language (transcripts), statistical analysis, experiments speaker judgements (e.g. grammaticality judgement tests), perceptions
Subfields	historical linguistics, language acquisition, semantics	language processing, language acquisition, language impairments

One area of cognitive linguistics is represented by the scholarly work of cognitive linguists George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. Among others, they propose a metaphoric interpretation of language, which opens up a new area in understanding how languages function with far-reaching implications for how this knowledge can be applied in language learning. The book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) has not only had an important research outcome for linguistics but it also impacted educational materials, which demonstrate how this understanding of language can be implemented in teaching languages. One such example might be the supplementary series of the *Headway* Coursebooks, *Making Headway* (e.g. Workman, “Phrasal Verbs and Idioms”). It seems that, from that time until the present, we can

observe a creative merging between the two domains of research and their practical implementation in certain areas.

1.4. Interest in an individual: The 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century

The last decade of the 20th century continued the development of psycholinguistics taking up the understanding of language as an important feature of *homo sapiens*; studies in cognition abound and their core ideas constitute an understanding of language as manifestation of culture and its development. Also, the findings of neurolinguistics contributed to the development of different understandings of the nature of language acquisition and learning—with a seminal article by M. Paradis “The Neurolinguistics of Bilingualism in the Next Decades” (2000) and later on, the book *A Neurolinguistic Theory of Bilingualism* (2004). As much as they constitute valid findings, not much is applicable to classroom practices, except for special educational needs learners (patients) with brain lesions. However, it may be assumed that, to some extent, they affected the appearance of NLP (neurolinguistic programming), which is a theory for changing human ways of thinking, behaviour and communication through specially designed techniques of manipulation—making the claim that they are based on how language is processed. NLP has been somewhat discredited as pseudoscientific (Witkowski).

Most notable in this period of psycholinguistics in the context of education is the emergence of the domain of second language acquisition, which not only aimed at theorised models of language acquisition/learning but principally started concentrating on the individual in the language learning process. Although this interest started earlier, even before the 1980s, with research into the age factor (e.g. the Critical Period Hypothesis), aptitude (MLT—the Modern Language Aptitude test) or Lambert and Gardner’s motivation work among others, it was in the 1990s that the research in this area flourished on the basis of these earlier findings. The term *individual learner differences* was already discussed by Ellis in his overview of SLA as a field of study with reference to age, aptitude, cognitive style and motivation. But these individual learner differences (ILD) became the core of multiple studies in applied psycholinguistics shortly afterwards and almost dominated research in applied linguistics. The researchers turned their attention to the uniqueness of the individual, promoting implications of their findings in FL classrooms. Large sample studies using statistical analyses looked at individual differences quantitatively, whereas smaller sample studies used qualitative methods of data collection.¹

¹ For an overview of earlier studies, see Ellis; for more recent ones, see Ehrman, Leaver and Oxford.

The more we learn about individual differences, the more complex the field becomes. We are learning for what we thought were unitary characteristics ... are really ambiguous composites of multiple factors. ... This seems to be a very fertile time for unravelling the issues that related to how individuals learn languages, how and why they undertake and succeed in language study, and how one person differs from another in their styles, strategies, and motivations among other attributes, yet succeed in his or her own way. (Ehrman, Leaver and Oxford 325)

One of the interesting and flourishing areas of psycholinguistics that has had a direct application in language learning and teaching is the study of the affective domain and individual emotions as driving forces behind it. In some way, this is a legacy of Krashen's Monitor Model, or more precisely the Affective Filter, assumptions which for the first time emphasised the role affectivity plays in language acquisition/learning contexts. The explosion of research in this area can be best exemplified by the multiple studies carried out by Zoltan Dörnyei, Peter MacIntyre, Al Hoorie (motivation and attitudes), Aneta Pavlenko and Jean-Marc Dewaele (large sample questionnaire studies on emotions), Jean-Marc Dewaele (enjoyment, boredom, expressions of love, swearing in other languages), Sarah Mercer (teacher well-being), and also Polish psycholinguists Ewa Piechurska-Kuciel (personality) and Mirosław Pawlak and Anna Mystkowska-Wiertelak (willingness to communicate), just to mention a few researchers.

A related area with implications for FL instruction is the application of the findings of positive psychology in SLA research, originating from emotion studies and general studies on human well-being (Seligman). This interest brought about publications of a more general nature introducing positive psychology in education (MacIntyre, Gregersen and Mercer; Gabryś-Barker and Gałajda) and those which offer practical ideas for its implementation in FL teaching and learning (Gregersen and MacIntyre; Budzińska and Majchrzak). A new trend, to some extent deriving from positive psychology studies but also from the research on burnout syndrome, is looking at the well-being of learners and teachers, which has important implications for the teacher training and mentoring practices of future teachers (Mercer and Gregersen).

2. Research paradigms of psycholinguistic studies relevant for (language) education

From the very moment psycholinguistics was acknowledged as a scholarly domain, it naturally employed ideas adapted from psychology/sociology or developed its own research methodology as a defining feature of its scholarly standards. In the time of popularity of behaviouristic theories, it was typically behavioural tasks, implemented in the language classroom, which were the dominant source of data

on language learning. They consisted of creating for the subjects opportunities for exposure to language and measuring language performance. One of the typical tasks was observing reaction times in lexical decision tasks, as found in the early studies of Forster and Chambers and Fischler. The effects of behaviorism and structural linguistics were also visible in research on language errors exemplified by the research of Corder (*Error*) or, among Polish scholars, the earlier contribution of Arabski. More in-depth error analysis was made possible by advancements in research methods including a whole range of introspective methods, especially by simultaneous introspection studies in the form of think-aloud protocols first carried out by Krings, Zimmermann and Schneider, and in Poland, by Gabryś-Barker (for an overview of studies from 1998 onwards, see Gabryś-Barker, *Aspects*).

Data collection methods and tools have quickly expanded, due to technological interventions in language processing, comprehension and production, which were vividly demonstrated by Rayner in his eye movement experiments employing eye-tracker equipment and programmes. Eye-tracking is a method gaining even more recognition and popularity nowadays, and it is worth emphasizing that Polish scholars and scientists now widely use eye-tracking as a major research methodology (for an updated overview see Kiliańska-Przybyło, Ślęzak-Świat). Also directly derived from technological developments, this time in neurosciences, neuroimaging techniques have moved from clinical research of patients with brain lesions to research in psycholinguistics related to brain activation in language processing, timing of the process and responses to different types of stimuli (e.g. Hagoort, Brown and Swaab; Obler and Gjerlow; for more details see Table 3). Information technology has also contributed to the creation of computational modeling in for example word-recognition tasks or speech perception (Coltheart et al.; McClelland and Elman).

Different types of experimental study constitute the backbone of psycholinguistic research as it is claimed that the recognition of psychology itself as a scholarly domain is due to its use of an experimental approach. This is seen as the most rigorous and complex type of quantitative research (Brzeziński). Experimental research in psycholinguistics is considered by many scholars as the only way of arriving at new theories and models explaining language comprehension and production issues. It even claims to be a reliable tool in measuring affective factors in language study. The use of experimental designs presupposes the implementation of statistical analysis (Hatch and Lazaraton), which is also widely used outside experimental studies of large samples. Table 3 outlines and summarises the major trends in this area defining the method, its research focus and referencing its pioneering researchers.

Table 3: Research methods in psycholinguistic research related to (language) education

Method	Description/tools	(Pioneering) researchers
Behavioristic methods	— behavioural tasks: S-R (e.g. lexical focus); — error analysis (e.g. in language production, example reaction times in lexical decision tasks).	Corder (“The Significance”) Selinker Forster and Chambers Fischler Arabski
(Information) Technology-based research	— research on language processing in comprehension and production; — eye-tracking technique; — computational modelling in word-recognition tasks; — speech perception models, e.g. TRACE.	Rayner Coltheart et al. McClelland and Elman
Neuroimaging	neuroimaging techniques: — PET (positron emission tomography) to localize different neural functions; — fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging) to show which areas of the brain are activated at any given moment; — ERP (event related potential) focusing on the timing aspect of brain activation rather than the areas activated; — EEG (recording of the natural rhythms of the brain) to give evidence of the timing of neural processing in response to a certain external stimulus (e.g. visual).	Hagoort et al. Paradis (“The Neurolinguistics”)
Experimental design	— effectiveness of various teaching methods; — various areas of language and skills development; — individual language differences, personality features; — statistical analysis.	Hatch and Lazaraton Pawlak and Mystkowska-Wiertelak Piechurska-Kuciel (“Self-regulatory” and <i>The Big Five</i>) Dewaele (“Psychological”)
Retrospective methods	— individual reflection on the issues investigated by means of simultaneous and delayed introspection, and retrospection (and combination of them); — focus on language processing; — learning strategies, strategies in text processing (reading, translation); — lexical search; — affective states in language comprehension and production.	Krings Zimmermann and Schneider Gabryś-Barker (<i>Aspects</i>)

Method	Description/tools	(Pioneering) researchers
Eclectic approach (mixed-methods research)	mixed-method research (quantitative–qualitative data): — laboratory type of studies (e.g. eye-tracking), experimental paradigms with statistical analysis; — retrospective methods (e.g. simultaneous introspection); — qualitative research based on (autobiographical) narratives and diaries, ethnographic research, case studies.	Tashakkori and Teddlie Dewaele (“Investigating” and <i>Emotions</i>) Gabrys-Barker (<i>Aspects</i> and <i>Reflectivity</i>)

Even a very cursory overview of research methods used in current applied psycholinguistic projects demonstrates that there is a much broader range of methods used and research paradigms followed now, allowing for both quantitative, qualitative and mixed-method approaches, with emphasis on the latter. In terms of context, it is not only generalisable research-creating models and theories, but also more idiosyncratic and unique to the context investigations are being promoted. One of the aspects of this idiosyncratic focus is research in educational settings (e.g. action research) and teacher training (e.g. student research projects). Such an approach is acknowledged, provided it offers an appropriate methodology and rigour in data collection, analysis and interpretation.

3. Applied psycholinguistics concepts basic to FL education

From my own perspective as an experienced FL teacher and teacher trainer, and a language learner as well as researcher, the above-outlined aspects and themes of applied psycholinguistic research have been selected as those believed to be fundamental to current language education.

The following issues will be important for the FL learner and teacher:

- the cognitive aspects of language learning and teaching related to issues of language contact, for example crosslinguistic consultations (language transfer), language errors and their impact (an indication of language progress);
- the affective dimension of learning a language expressed in the role of emotions, self-efficacy, motivation and attitudes;
- explanations of mechanisms of learning through instruction; for example, learning and communication strategies, autonomy in learning and “learning to learn”, language and metalinguistic awareness;
- the role of an individual approach to the learner in emphasis on individual learner differences and autonomy;

— significance of social and cultural aspects of language use; for example communication in different cultures, such as developing intercultural communicative competence and appropriate behavioural patterns.

The issues that can be singled out as fundamental to FL teacher training and mentoring practices focus on:

— learner/teacher awareness of both cognitive and affective dimensions of the teaching/learning process;

— the role of research in educational settings; for example, action research and its implementation at the initial stages of professional development of FL teachers (pre-service),

— (FL) teacher and learner well-being.

The developments described in this overview that seem to change perspectives on psycholinguistic research both in terms of its content focus and methodology refer to the:

— emergence of second language acquisition as a field of study, and later on, multilingualism drawing on psycholinguistic research;

— development of the multidisciplinary character of educational research based on the interdisciplinarity of psycholinguistics;

— development of mixed-methods and legitimisation of qualitative methodologies as valid research tools;

— focus on the individual in case studies and not just on large sample research projects.

The scholars who in my view can all be singled out as contributing to an interdisciplinary understanding of psycholinguistics and who have impacted in a variety of ways the development of language education, both theoretically and practically, are enumerated below. They come from different scholarly (sub)disciplines and in this way demonstrate the multidisciplinary character of psycholinguistics (Table 4).

Table 4: Selected scholars and their (multiple) contributions to language instruction of psycholinguistic research (in chronological order)

Name	Research focus	FL education relevance
B. Skinner (psychologist)	verbal behaviour	— audiolingual method; — approach to errors; — drill as the basic language activity; — creating language habits.
A. Maslow (psychologist)	a hierarchy of needs	— basic needs to be fulfilled first; — need for creativity and self-fulfilment.
R. C. Gardner, W. E. Lambert (psychologists) Z. Dörnyei (applied linguist)	motivation	— focus on motivational classroom techniques; — creating appropriate classroom climate; — development of teacher and learner autonomy; — individualised teaching.

Name	Research focus	FL education relevance
D. Hymes (sociolinguist, anthropologist)	communicative competence	— communicative approaches to language instruction; — role of interaction; — immersion in language.
S. Krashen (linguist)	the Monitor Model	— acquisition versus learning; — role of different types of input; — affectivity in language development.
G. Lakoff, M. Johnson (linguists)	language as a metaphor	— a cognitive approach to understanding language; — intercultural competence in language learning.
P. MacIntyre (psychologist)	willingness to communicate	— establishing factors conducive (or otherwise) to communication.
R. Oxford (applied linguistic/ psychologist)	learning strategies	— learner training in language learning; — self-awareness of a learner; — role of metacognition and learning strategies.
M. Seligman (psychologist)	positive psychology	— conditions conducive to learner/ teacher development: positive emotions and relations, enabling institutions (schools); — accentuating one's strong points; — dealing with stress.
Aneta Pavlenko (a sociolinguist)	affective dimension in language functioning	— issues of bilingual identity; — role of culture in language functioning.
Jean-Marc Dewaele (applied linguist)	affective dimension in language functioning	— different emotions and their impact on engagement and success (enjoyment, boredom); — expression of emotions in different languages (L1, L2, Ln).
Jasone Cenoz (applied linguist/ educationalist)	multilingualism	— studying multiple languages— educational policies; — translanguaging as pedagogy.
Sarah Mercer (educationalist/psychologist)	well-being	— awareness of one's well-being; — different aspects of teacher and learner well-being in and beyond the classroom.

4. Concluding remarks

It is apparent that (applied) psycholinguistics as a more eclectic and open discipline has made great strides over the decades since its foundations in the 1950s. It got

out of the “ivory tower” of its first scholarly realisations with the emergence of its subdisciplines and with the full rigour required of (academic) research. At the same time, it reinforced its position by expanding and going beyond the strict boundaries of academic research. It also consolidated its position in language instruction and practice. In the context of educational settings, new forms of research that emerged, such as, for example, action research, gave credit to the role of scholarly disciplines as the basis for investigating FL classroom issues but carried out by practitioners as well as academics. It has been an important contribution—introducing the teacher as a researcher—to the professional development of FL teachers, which should be done as early as the pre-service teacher training stage. This can be carried out in the form of research projects for BA/MA/PhD theses (for an example, see Gabryś-Barker, *Reflectivity*).

To conclude the earlier presentation of selected themes and approaches demonstrating the dynamics of both psycholinguistic research and its more practical application in language instruction, the most visible and significant changes are pointed out here:

— The development from general models and patterns of understanding language itself, learning and acquisition as well as its teaching to focus on the individual and unique occurrences of different phenomena, more idiosyncrasy than generality.

— The movement from focusing on group characteristics (though still going strong in terms of statistical research) to acceptance of research on individuals with their unique profiles.

— Expanding the research paradigm derived from laboratory-controlled studies, supplemented by the open-ended paradigms of qualitative methods.

— Going beyond academic-type research by trained professional researchers (linguists, psychologists, sociolinguists, neurolinguists) and expanding it to more classroom-based research both by academic scholars but also teachers themselves.

— An expansion of in-house academic research to awareness-raising in classroom research, resulting in significant implications for and applications in the learning/teaching practice.

It has been very difficult to select different areas and research achievements in this very brief overview of (applied) psycholinguistics as a research domain. While writing this synopsis, new ideas and areas of interest offered themselves for discussion. Unfortunately, quite a lot of important achievements in (applied) psycholinguistics related to language learning had to be left out for reasons of space. As a result, this selection may appear culpably incomplete, but it nevertheless represents my firm belief about the field’s importance for FL teachers, teacher trainers and FL learners (users).

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Controversy over the Value of Praise in Language Education

Abstract: The text is an article of reflection on the value of praise in language education. Praise has been a controversial issue across the whole post-war history of language teaching, psychology and the educational sciences. The following questions arise: Does praise contribute to the learning outcomes? Can approval be counterproductive? Can praise be unnecessarily frequent? What is its optimal format? What is its relation to feedback? The text will attempt to offer possible answers to these questions in order to formulate recommendations for pre- and in-service teacher education.

Keywords: praise, feedback, language teaching, language learning, teacher education

Introduction

Praise, one of the basic classroom strategies in the history of education, defined as positive evaluation, based on subjective standards, directed at another person's actions or outcomes (Brummelman, Crocker and Bushman), has had multiple enthusiasts in academic circles and is embraced by followers of diverse teaching methods and approaches.

In language teaching, in the times of the domination of the Audiolingual Method, based on behavioural principles, praise was seen as reinforcement of learners' reactions to stimuli provided by teachers either directly or via recordings from school language labs. Reinforcement thus presented was supposed to function as a guarantee of forging durable stimulus-reaction links and, in consequence, effective habit formation. Verbal or nonverbal praise was recommended as an indispensable instrument in the language teacher's toolkit (Larsen-Freeman and Anderson).

The Cognitive Method, founded on the cognitive psychology principles, recommended praise as a motivator which would encourage learners to set forth hypotheses about the functioning of the target language and test them during classroom interaction. Reasons, however, differed from those which had been governing the former audiolingual teaching: praise was expected to signal approval of learners' successes in effective meaning making, or, at least, their risks undertaken in communication attempts. Additionally, it provided encouragement for the future (Richards and Rodgers).

In the Communicative Approach, strongly related to the psychology of individual differences, praise is viewed as a useful educational instrument helping to shape the course of language appropriation through experiential and interpretive methods, in which error is considered unavoidable and feedback indispensable. The present approach stresses the need for a considerable increase in the amount of praise during language lessons, viewing approval as a way to strengthen learner autonomy, motivation and engagement, i.e. factors perceived as crucial by the proponents of the sociocultural theory underlying the recommended procedures (Lantolf and Thorne).

Three of the most popular classroom management models, named after their authors—Canter, Glasser and Kounin (Charles)—are based on the principle of identifying desired behaviours and reinforcing them through public praise, while educators who believed in this line of action (Gable et al.) encouraged work on lists of phrases which could be used to briefly and convincingly communicate approval in the classroom context (Harmin). They, however, needed to justify their belief in the value of praise, a stance by no means popular among teachers and parents.

1. Arguments supporting praise in the teaching process

After the 21st-century breakthrough in teacher education connected with the affiliation of teacher-training colleges with universities and the promotion of the praise-friendly Communicative Approach (Komorowska, “Origins”; Komorowska and Krajka), praise in the language classroom has been strongly recommended due to the variety of its functions in education and the belief in positive results springing from its affective and informational value, as well as its role in support of a key educational goal: a learner's positive self-evaluation.

Approval of a learner's behaviour or achievement in one field of activity contributes to overall educational aims, as positive external assessment of a specific aspect has been found to strengthen an individual's global self-concept (Byrne), while a more positive self-concept, in turn, results in a more positive specific self-evaluation. In consequence, this bi-directional influence reduces inhibitions and lowers the level of language anxiety, eliminating negative emotions which form what has, for the last four decades, been referred to as the *affective filter* (Krashen;

Truscott). Eventually, approval raises the level of willingness to communicate, indispensable for a language learner's success (Piechurska-Kuciel).

Researchers confirm that the increase in the intensity of positive affect, strengthened by praise, correlates with increased openness, thus creating a friendly classroom atmosphere, which contributes to learners' engagement and promotes interaction vital for the effective development of productive language skills (Gabryś-Barker).

Supporters of praise in education stress that approval functions as a powerful motivating factor encouraging students to enhance their efforts and actively participate in classroom activities not only immediately after hearing a positive remark, but also in a more distant future. Praise has also been demonstrated to increase learners' perseverance on task (Dweck, "The Perils" and *Mindset*). Additionally, educators point to the fact that, unlike punishment or person praise, process praise rarely causes negative side-effects, as feared by its opponents (Haimovitz and Corpus; Skipper and Douglas).

Praise has an important place not only in research results, but also in the European language policy, in which the *deficit model* of education based on the type and frequency of errors, i.e. on what the learner cannot do, has been replaced by the *benefit model*, redirecting attention to what the learner can do, i.e. to positive outcomes presented in terms of skills and competences. The change of approach is reflected in documents by the Council of Europe, such as the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)*, the *European Language Portfolio (ELP)*, as well as the *European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Languages (EPOSTL)* (Newby et al.).

Although in the history of education criticism of praise tended to dominate, in communicative language teaching, contrarily, special significance is attached not only to the presence of praise, but also to its amount. Literature on teacher education published after the communicative turn of the 1970s suggests that the frequency of positive remarks should be increased in order for learners to concentrate on desired behaviour rather than on errors they have committed (Brophy; Jenkins, Floress and Reinke).

In language education, this opinion was voiced for the first time in the interpretation of data collected in the international research conducted in eighteen countries: ten for English (Lewis and Massad) and eight for French (Carroll). The project aimed to assess the teaching and learning of English and French, as well as to identify correlates of teachers' and students' success. The researcher team examined the classroom behaviours of teachers whose language groups achieved above average scores on test batteries and whose learners demonstrated liking and respect for their instructors in anonymous attitude-oriented questionnaires. The teachers thus identified as successful were then observed in classroom situations during lessons taught to learners of different age groups and language levels. In these sessions, praise was noted twice as often as during lessons taught by other teachers (Carroll; Lewis and Massad).

Research in the educational sciences, social psychology and educational sociology also demonstrates the power of praise in boosting motivation (Benson-Goldberg and Erickson), improving interpersonal relations and strengthening group cohesion (Edwards and Watts; Evertson and Weinstein). Yet, praise has not always been considered beneficial by every educator.

In the evaluation of a learner's progress, as well as in day-to-day classroom management, critical remarks are hard to avoid. A question therefore arises of proportions between both types of evaluative comments, their optimal frequency, recommended format and possible side-effects.

2. Arguments against praise in the teaching process

The value of praise in education has been subject to controversy for decades (Ginott; Hattie and Timperley; Kohn; Strain and Joseph). The issue was additionally complicated by international comparisons, as a result of which praise came to be perceived as culture-specific; differences have been pointed out between Western Europe, where praise is considered beneficial, and Eastern Europe, where praise is not so eagerly dispensed. A much more restrained attitude has been identified in Asian communities, especially in China and Japan (Aronson, Wilson and Akert).

Even within the same culture, the attitude towards praise is by no means uniform. Although classroom management models proposed by Canter, Glasser and Kounin (see Section 1 above) recommended praise as a didactic technique effective in shaping desired classroom behaviour and supporting learning strategies considered conducive to high educational attainment, another extremely popular model, first introduced by Ginott, recommended refraining from praise-oriented teaching. According to Ginott and his followers, praise is effective mostly for students with an external locus of control, i.e. those whose self-concept is influenced by the opinions of others. Praise may, therefore, result in mistaken educational aims and is likely to prevent the development of autonomy, independence or creativity (Kamins and Dweck). Additionally, it tends to elicit envy on the part of students to whom praise has not been granted, a negative effect which social comparisons often yield (Corpus, Ogle and Love-Geiger).

A frontal attack on praise can also be found in recent publications. Benson-Goldberg and Erickson state that “[e]ducation that leads to long-term, positive outcomes encourages, motivates, and inflates the self-esteem and challenge-seeking behaviours of students. Unfortunately, praise can erode each of these. Praise can lead students to believe that they are inherently bad or only good when they succeed” (Benson-Goldberg and Erickson), while Leis maintains that, in the university context, praising some students leads to creating a fixed mindset in others, who then do not expect their results to improve (Leis).

Less radically-minded educators pointed out that a degree of caution in using praise, often too generously endowed on learners in the classroom, is certainly

useful, yet it should not preclude any well-directed approval of a particularly impressive piece of a learner's work or their exemplary behaviour (Charles).

Opinions have also been voiced, mainly—though not only—in American education, that praise has become too frequent and thus may lose its value, especially when applied to insignificant aspects of learning outcomes or behaviour (Tomasello). Even more worrying, praise can prove harmful when it contributes to the shaping of a learner's inadequate self-image. Moreover, learners who get accustomed to permanent praise, have been found to become dependent on it and get easily demotivated if it is not immediately dealt. For these reasons, trainees in pre-service education are recommended to use words of encouragement, rather than so-called *direct praises* (Nakamura). The reservations presented above, however, warn against the abundance and inflation of praise rather than undermine its value or suggest rejecting it on the grounds of its being a useless pedagogical instrument. Misgivings are justified when the type of behaviour addressed by a positive comment is not worth praising or when the praise is inflated and students with a realistic judgment are likely to deem it unjustified by the quality of a learner's work and thus unfair or straightforwardly manipulative (Brummelman et al.).

Other remarks critical of praise, voiced over the last decades (Cangelosi; Nakamura; Komorowska, "Formative"), have referred to stereotyping learners by labelling them "able" or "intelligent," but also to any teacher's behaviour characterized by overpraising or misaddressing praise. Labels are conflict-breeding, person-oriented messages, which do not link approval or disapproval to what learners have done, but to who they are. Stereotyping by labels also causes serious intra- and interpersonal problems: Dweck's research ("Caution" and "The Perils") demonstrated that learners praised for their ability and/or intelligence tend to use self-handicapping strategies and avoid undertaking difficult tasks so as not to lose the much-appreciated label of a gifted student and, in consequence, slow down their progress or show regress in skills. In contrast, learners praised for effort tend to respond to challenges, attempt to solve more difficult tasks and usually manage to further develop their skills, thus demonstrating a growth mindset rather than an undesired fixed one (Dweck, *Mindset*; Leis).

Additionally, intelligence-oriented labels unintentionally encourage students to demonstrate contempt for those less well genetically endowed, but also—what is particularly pedagogically undesirable—incline students to feel ashamed of their own efforts, as hard work comes to be viewed as dishonourable for a bright learner and considered a symptom of lower intellectual potential (Garstka).

3. Directions of praise: Behaviours qualifying for approval

If praise is to occur frequently in the language classroom, and if unjustified praise considered manipulative by the learner should be eliminated, selecting appropriate targets for the teacher's approval becomes a particularly difficult task. To

offer a positive comment appropriately, a specific type of a learner's behaviour or a learning outcome needs to be demonstrated. Teachers, however, have been found to offer mainly generic "well done!" praises, thus depriving students of a chance to understand which outcome or instance of what behaviour elicited the comment (Floress et al., "General").

It is often pointed out that not every student can be considered worthy of praise, even if positive comments are planned to address relatively small-scale successes. Teachers usually explain their difficulty in identifying an aspect worth praising by insufficient learners' effort. Two other reasons can, however, shed light on the phenomenon, one related to the way learners view sources of their outcomes, and the other to teachers' expectations of learners' educational attainment.

The first factor belongs to the sphere of attribution defined as ways of ascribing causes to personal successes or failures. A classical model presented more than six decades ago (Heider) and later tested by other researchers (Weiner) points to four factors typically perceived by individuals as responsible for their achievement or the lack of it. These are: ability, effort, luck and task difficulty. Of these, only task difficulty is relatively easy to measure. Individuals tend to view their success as a result of internal factors, such as ability or effort, and failures as caused by bad luck or the wrong-doing others. Research also demonstrates that these results are culture-sensitive: members of Western communities more frequently ascribe causes to internal factors, while Asian communities lean towards external attributions (Wosińska).

Belief in one's own intelligence and ability prompts learners to take advantage of inborn capacities, but does not incline them to accept responsibility for their actions. Attributing results to good or bad luck gives students the benefit of not feeling accountable for the outcomes, and as such cannot be considered a desired pedagogical effect. The teachers' role is to direct learners' attention towards factors encouraging individual regulation, thus shaping their internal, rather than external, locus of control. Approval is, therefore, better targeted when addressed at the student's effort; it is then likely to boost their self-evaluation and positively influence their locus of control, as the higher the self-evaluation level, the stronger the tendency of an individual to demonstrate internal locus of control (Franken).

The second factor influencing the frequency of praise in the classroom is the teacher's expectation of the learner. Low expectations correlate with a lower level of requirements, a situation which in itself does not necessarily reduce chances of achieving results worthy of praise. The problem lies elsewhere; students in the lower expectations group are rarely nominated by the teacher and, if asked a question, receive a shorter wait time, which causes questions to be answered by other students or the teacher himself/herself (Marzano). It is this specific type of teacher-student interaction, rather than the student's potential, that results in the scarcity of praise. Teachers are, therefore, recommended to avoid communicating negative expectations to learners, and instead, offer more nonverbal approval signals, allow more wait time, and encourage students to engage more actively in student-student interaction.

Accordingly, approval can and should be directed towards even small aspects of a learner's work, such as volunteering, offering an interesting idea, using appropriate vocabulary, or correct spelling. Refraining from undesired behaviour, so common in classroom situations, should also be praised; praise then has the added value of surprise—learners expect to receive their teacher's attention mainly in reaction to error or bad behaviour, i.e. to what is usually disapproved. Praising effort also helps to strengthen students' goal orientation and their conscious contribution to achieve desired outcomes (Försterling).

4. The format of praise—how to praise effectively?

Recommendations concerning the effectiveness of particular approval formats are based on the present psychological knowledge of principles governing the functioning of human memory. According to research on memory traces, negative elements are remembered longer and more vividly than the positive ones (Mickley Steinmetz and Kensinger). The phenomenon is most probably caused by evolutionary outcomes; overlooking positive stimuli might have deprived the individual of instant gratification, but disregarding negative stimuli might have meant ignoring danger at the cost of one's life or the imminent extinction of the whole species.

It is interesting to note, however, that the research results discussed above have not been replicated in studies on the functioning of memory in older adults (Kensinger and Schacter). Negative information did not seem to be more durably engrained in their brains; rather, positive information has been found to leave deeper traces in third-age subjects, probably due to age-related changes in emotional self-regulation or an older learner's need to protect their sense of projecting a favourable social image (Borkowska; Mather; Williams et al.).

Because this mechanism, prioritising critical remarks over the favourable ones, is still present in the functioning of human memory, it must be taken into consideration by educators who strive to focus learners' attention on approval and reinforcement. Particularly in teaching children and adolescents, positive remarks should outweigh negative ones for praise to be remembered better. In the international research on foreign language learning discussed in Section 1, the number of critical remarks successful teachers offered was similar to the average made by less successful instructors, but the number of positive ones was double. Effective teachers were intuitively aware of the fact that criticism leaves a deeper memory trace than praise and, therefore increased the amount of praise (Lewis and Massad; Carroll).

Since that time, teacher education programmes have stressed the fact that frequency of praise thus communicated should be significantly higher than that of critical remarks. Yet, appropriate praising behaviour does not easily lend itself to training; teacher trainers maintain that in-service teacher development programmes are not particularly effective in developing skills to offer well-measured, specific

and precisely addressed praise (Simonsen et al.), a phenomenon caused by engrained instructional habits. That is why it seems worthwhile to develop appropriate praising behaviour during pre-service teacher education and encourage trainees not only to increase the amount of praise, but also to communicate approval in an independent unit, thus separating positive and negative signals. It is particularly important for student teachers to avoid complex messages that contain a praise followed by a critical comment (“well done, BUT...”), as such messages may result in a deeper memory trace of the latter—a recommendation especially important in teaching gifted learners (Delisle).

Knowledge of efficient praise formats is based not only on the psychology of human memory, but also on principles governing interpersonal communication. The rule of separating positive and negative comments, although important, cannot compensate for praise which is formulated in a deprecating way and conveys the teacher’s surprise that such a low achiever managed to attain an astonishingly good effect or for a positive comment which contains a public reminder that the recent, above average learning outcome had never been noted for the student before. Messages of this kind sometimes become insulting *pseudo-praises*, seemingly favourable, yet rich in passive-aggressive nonverbal information. According to researchers studying conversation signals, when there is a mismatch between verbal and non-verbal cues, the statement is heard as untrue, due to the power of non-verbal communication, a phenomenon reflected e.g. in the perception of ironic statements (Jacob et al.).

In short, praise will be perceived as approval only when offered in a “THIS-message” which targets a learner’s product or behaviour—as it then carries practical information about what has been done well—or when it is communicated through an “I-message” showing a teacher’s personal appreciation (Wegener). In contrast, due to the labelling character of a “YOU-message,” a misconstrued praise leads to the formation of stereotypes and may result in a learner’s inadequate self-esteem, later counterproductive both to their overall development and to healthy interpersonal relations in a language group (Hattie and Timperley). Yet, teachers often believe that any positive labelling praise format can help to shape a student’s more positive self-concept and, therefore, will prove helpful in dealing with shy learners who suffer from language anxiety and, therefore, demonstrate low levels of willingness to communicate. Research, however, shows that only well-justified and well-directed praise can fulfil this function, while inflated praising has a powerful adverse effect, especially on learners with low self-esteem (Brummelman et al.), and also girls and younger students (Corpus and Lepper).

In the last decade of the 20th century, educators (Cangelosi; Smith and Laslet) undertook the task of formulating the basic principles of communicating approval, which would be both educationally effective and constructed in a manner consistent with the rules governing human memory. An algorithm of effective verbal approval rooted in research conducted by Bull and Solity requires a correct positives

message to contain three components: 1. a clear statement of praise, 2. a detailed reference to the aspect worth praising and 3. a declaration of belief in a learner's similar attainment in the future. More recent publications reformulated and enriched the algorithm, recommending that an educationally-effective message of approval should fulfil three important functions: a) equip the learner with a precise indication of what the praise refers to; b) enable the learner to feel the power of the message which would ensure the replication of desirable behaviour; and c) clearly indicate to other students in the class the kind of outcomes expected by the teacher and/or ways of achieving a desired result (Floress et al., "Praise").

It is, however, obvious that the need for an increased amount of approval in the language classroom and the length of teaching sessions leave little time for extended verbal praises presented in the format discussed above. That is why a considerable number of non-verbal instances of simplified praising procedures should also be present in the classroom. A smile or a head nod are powerful signals communicating approval. They also provide a bonus in the form of better classroom management and more learner engagement. The reason for this additional advantage is the fact that a learner who typically directs his or her attention to teachers only when they correct errors or nominate students to answer questions need to be much more attentive to notice and react to nonverbal cues (Conroy, Sutherland and Snyder; Floress et al., "Praise", Gable et al.).

A word of caution is needed here. Praise in its extended format is an integral element of feedback crucial for formative evaluation (Laveault and Allal; Linsin), but should not be considered identical with the notion of feedback. While praise can take the form of a nonverbal or a brief verbal message, classical classroom feedback calls for much more extensive communication containing four components. Unlike praise, it refers not only to 1. the aspect of a learner's work which was worth the teacher's approval, but also calls for 2. a more detailed justification of the positive comment, enriched by 3. an explanation of what needs to be corrected, completed or extended and, finally, followed by 4. recommendations on possible ways of introducing improvements, which would support the future development of a student's skill (Garstka; Komorowska, "Formative").

The teacher, however, needs to be prepared for classroom situations in which even a correct praise format may result in a learner's discomfort, due to hostile attitudes on the part of other students in the group. Unless the reason lies in a generally competitive classroom atmosphere or unnecessary social comparisons (see Section 2), an unpleasant reaction to another student's being singled out for praise can be interpreted as a signal of underpraising, a phenomenon first noticed by Brophy more than four decades ago and confirmed in more recent research (Corpus, Ogle and Love-Geiger). Underpraising results in approval being perceived as unusual or extraordinary, and, as such, makes every positive comment carefully watched for its fairness. Increasing the amount of praise through identifying smaller aspects of assignments or students' behaviour to be pointed out functions as an effective remedy.

5. Conclusions

What follows from the above is that criticism of praise proves, in fact, to be criticism of errors in the teachers' praising strategies, the main mistakes being:

- overpraising: too high frequency of praise,
- unfair praising: praising learners who do not deserve it,
- misaddressing praise: praising insignificant aspects of process or product,
- insincere praising: praising only to boost a learner's self-esteem,
- using pseudo-praises: praises containing internally contradictory messages,
- dealing out person-oriented praises: praising by means of "YOU-messages",
- using stereotype-forming praises: praising through labels of ability or intelligence.

Psychological, pedagogical and linguistic research demonstrates that if teachers want students to perceive positive and critical remarks in the language classroom as balanced, instances of approval should significantly outnumber those of disapproval. Moreover, in the teaching of children and adolescents, the former should be clearly separated from the latter, or else only the negative remarks will leave durable memory traces, adversely influencing learners' willingness to communicate. Combining the two is only recommended for complex feedback-giving, similar to the composition of a classical SWOT analysis with its four components of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats—in education understood as possible difficulties that may be encountered in the future (Onion and Aranguren). Praise should also be constructive, which is only possible if it is process- or product-directed, immediately following desired behaviour.

Individual praise, the role of which is to reinforce a learner's desirable behaviour, should target aspects precisely distinguished and clearly pointed out. This calls for a stable structure of praise, the first component of which should contain a statement of approval, the second precise verbalisation of what is being praised, and the third an encouragement for the future. The model structure, thus described, does not eliminate nonverbal reinforcement of appropriate learners' reactions, as it has an important role in securing a friendly atmosphere in the classroom. Silent positive cues focus learners' attention on the course of events and the teacher's reaction to them, promote frequent eye-contact and, as a result, help to ensure student engagement, encourage interaction and support efficient classroom management (Everett et al.).

Group appraisal is useful, even if the teacher has no guarantee of learners' equal participation in pair or group work. Firstly, it is the teacher who is responsible for creating conditions which will guarantee harmonious collaboration in a group, with effort shared fairly among group members. Secondly, praising the whole group delegates part of the responsibility for the future process of project preparation to participants themselves. Additionally, positive remarks help to build cohesion and increase willingness to communicate in a group, factors which are especially important in the Communicative Approach.

Pre- and in-service teacher education faces the task of communicating to teachers the essential role of praise format and make them aware of the fact that well justified praise is never excessive in amount, if only its target has been precisely indicated.

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Schools as Positive Institutions in the Context of Language Learning: Students' Perspectives

Abstract: Positive psychology focuses its research on the conditions of people's well-being and happiness, contrary to mainstream psychological studies on human disorders. The three most important areas to focus on while studying reasons for people's effective lives are positive emotions, positive features of character and positive institutions. Positive attitudes seem to be especially essential in education, because that is where the features of character are formed. In second language acquisition studies, these three areas appear to be exceptionally important because of the essentially social character of the language learning process. This paper focuses on students' opinions about the role of school in their language development. These comments were collected in retrospective semi-structured interviews. Students offered both positive and negative opinions on schools and their role in language education. It appears that even though some schools care for students' well-being, quite a few of them still cannot be considered as positive institutions.

Keywords: positive psychology, positive institutions, schools, language learning, positive emotions, students' well-being

Introduction

Positive psychology, the underlying theoretical foundation of this paper, is one of the most recent trends in contemporary research in the social sciences. Initially, however, it was not enthusiastically accepted by mainstream psychology and was considered to be just another instance of pop-science similar to, for example, neurolinguistic programming (Norman). It gained great popularity in second/foreign language acquisition studies in the second decade of this millennium because it offered an alternative approach to studies on human behaviour and proposed a set of conditions for people's well-being which appear to be crucial for effective education in general and for language education in particular.

The principles of positive psychology were formulated by Martin Seligman and Mihályi Csikszentmihályi. They claimed that psychology, so far, had focused its research on people with mental disorders who need help to function in social communities. Research on people without disorders was systematically neglected because they do not create any problems for society. Meanwhile, the great majority of community members are healthy individuals who lead happy and satisfying lives; however, they are not represented in empirical scientific research. Positive psychology thus aims to observe what makes these people happy and find ways to reinforce this feeling in others. Seligman himself had long experience in treating patients with learned helplessness and clinical depression, and thus he felt inclined to research completely opposite cases. He specified four conditions necessary to lead a good and happy life: cherishing positive emotions, engaging in challenging and useful tasks, developing positive human relations and working for social welfare.

This paper has three aims: first, to explain why positive psychology appears to be important in language education; second, to present an empirical study on students' opinions concerning school, which may show to what extent these institutions have a positive impact on the language learning process; and third, to make student teachers (former school learners) aware of the way in which they may contribute to transforming schools into positive institutions promoting students' genuine development and success. The article consists of four main parts and a conclusion. The first two are devoted to presenting the leading assumptions of positive psychology and its impact on education as reflected in selected research studies. Part Three describes the research method, the research procedure, research group and instrument; Part Four offers a presentation of results and discussion. The conclusion closes the paper.

1. The main assumptions of positive psychology

The subject matter of positive psychology is to present a different perspective for studies on human behaviour: what should we do to develop people's strong features of character such as resilience, happiness and optimism and how to spread them among the human population. This attitude has its roots in humanistic psychology, especially in Abraham Maslow's approach to value admired and self-actualising individuals. These strong features of character were presented as a questionnaire (Peterson and Seligman), which allows for individual self-assessment of own strong points. This source and another by Willibald Ruch, Marco Weber, Nansook Park and Christopher Petersen directed Peter MacIntyre and Sarah Mercer to propose six main positive features of character: (1) knowledge and wisdom; (2) courage; (3) humanity; (4) justice; (5) temperance; (6) transcendence (MacIntyre and Mercer 156). Each has a number of subcomponents. Wisdom and knowledge include creativity, curiosity, open-mindedness, interest in learning and sense of perspective,

i.e. “being able to provide wise counsel to others” (156). Courage involves bravery (taking up challenges), perseverance, honesty, excitement and energy; humanity refers to love, kindness and social intelligence; justice includes the ability to work in a team, being fair and being able to lead other people; temperance involves forgiveness, modesty, prudence and self-regulation. Finally, transcendence is connected with being able to appreciate beauty and excellence, expressing gratitude, hoping for the best, showing humour and religiousness (156–157). Possessing such features of character would result in having a happy and good life. Education, including second/foreign language learning, would also benefit from teachers and learners demonstrating these character features.

In his 2011 publication, Seligman used the acronym PERMA (Positive emotions, Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, Accomplishment) to indicate the multidimensional character of positive life and general well-being. In the acronym, P stands for positive emotions; E for engagement; R for positive interpersonal relationships; M for meaningful activities which would concentrate on other people, not only on oneself; and A stands for achievement and accomplishment.

Still another acronym was introduced by Rebecca Oxford, who expanded Seligman’s model and changed its name into EMPATHICS, where the respective letters stand for Emotion and empathy, Meaning and motivation, Perseverance, Agency, Time, Hardiness, Intelligences, Character strengths, and Self factors (i.e. self-esteem, self-concept, self-efficacy). In the author’s opinion, all of these factors deserve to be addressed in research studies devoted to second/foreign language learning process.

One of the most contemporary references concerning positive psychology and its variables essential for second language acquisition studies is that of Yongliang Wang, Ali Derakhshan and Lawrence Jun Zhang. The authors, following numerous other resources, collected and explained seven factors which need special attention in language learning and teaching research: enjoyment, well-being, resilience, emotion regulation, academic engagement, grit, and loving pedagogy.

2. Positive psychology in education—review of selected research studies

Second language learning and acquisition research (SLA) has, for a long time, been interested in the characteristic features of good language learners. Studies on learning strategies (e.g. Rubin 1975; Stern 1975) had significantly contributed to understanding why some language students appear to be more successful than others. Another important publication at that time was the seminal work *The Good Language Learner* (Naiman et al.). All of these publications concentrated on how knowledge about successful learners and their characteristic features can stimulate

specialists and teachers to transfer positive language learning experience into helping those less successful. The authors studied and described positive examples of successful learners to encourage others to imitate their behaviour during the language learning process. Fascination with good language learners continued in the new millennium (Griffiths). In fact, all the research on language learning strategies was focused on developing successful communication in the foreign language. In the Polish teaching and learning contexts, two publications were essential in investigating learning strategies: Michońska-Stadnik (*Strategie*) and Drożdżal-Szelest.

Another important theory which stimulated a change of focus in the research methodology used in SLA studies was the idea of complex dynamic systems (Larsen-Freeman; Larsen-Freeman and Cameron). These specialists and many others have argued that language development “involves complex, dynamic, emergent, open, self-organising and adaptive systems” (MacIntyre and Mercer 165). Practically all aspects of language acquisition and learning possess a dynamic character, including motivation, willingness to communicate, use of learning strategies, language learning anxiety and individual character features. In order to grasp the essence of dynamicity, it was not enough to interpret statistical measurements like correlation between variables or differences between mean values (T-test), as these would rather inform about general tendencies within a group of individuals. The dynamic character of the language learning process would rather manifest itself in observing the behaviour of individual students and, therefore, the qualitative research methodology came into focus with such data-gathering tools as interviews, diary studies, narratives and focused observations. Many studies used a mixed approach (e.g. MacIntyre and Serroul), which combined statistical quantitative data analysis with idiodynamic methodology that blends interpreting cognitive and affective individual conditions during a communicative activity. The study reported in the present paper makes use of guided interviews as a data-collecting procedure, which is an example of qualitative research. Its more detailed description is provided in Section 3.

According to MacIntyre and Mercer, the SLA research has recently turned to follow the social determinants of the language learning process, which appears to be an extremely delicate matter. The three most important research areas within positive psychology are “positive emotions, positive character traits and positive institutions” (165). Studies in the first two areas in SLA have become quite popular, as has already been pointed out in this section. However, there is still considerably little research on the learning environments, i.e. schools and classrooms, in the context of viewing those as positive institutions stimulating teachers’ and learners’ well-being and success.

The topic of the learning environment, as related to success and well-being, was taken up by Sarah Mercer and her colleagues from the University of Graz in Austria. In a paper from 2018 (Mercer et al.), the four most prominent proponents of contemporary research in positive psychology focus on the notion of positive

language education. They claim that well-being should be both the aim and the result of education, especially language education, as the latter favours communication in the target language. Communication cannot function properly without a mutually-positive attitude between the interlocutors. The authors of that paper claim that well-being “is a key 21st-century life skill that should be promoted to help people of all ages manage contemporary life” (Mercer et al. 13) and they optimistically assume that education in general should be a positive experience. In an earlier study, Sin and Lyubomirsky argue that positive psychology interventions (i.e. activities enhancing positive feelings and behaviours) influence the level of well-being and diminish symptoms of depression.

Depression and other instances of mental health problems among young people were reported by education specialists in Australian schools. Professor Seligman was requested in 2008 to design a special positive education programme for one institution, the Geelong Grammar School. The programme, which promoted a different attitude to success based not only on academic achievement, but also on developing positive emotions, appeared to be successful in supporting students’ well-being (Green et al.).

The Eurydice Report of 2015, which is another example of describing social determinants of the learning and teaching process, has had a great impact on interest in the situation of teachers, including language teachers, in the whole European Union, then still consisting of 28 countries. Due to many positive modifications in the schooling system, the learners’ position has significantly improved since then; however, the teachers’ claims were consistently ignored until the publication of the abovementioned report. The report, which in its printed version consisted of more than 100 pages, focused on demographic determinants of the profession, working conditions, initial teacher education, continuing professional development, teacher mobility and attractiveness of the teaching profession. It is beyond the scope of this text to discuss the document in detail, fascinating as it is. Still, its last part reveals the varying levels of job satisfaction in relation to teachers’ view of teacher–student rapport and in relation to how the teaching profession is valued in society. While on average about 70% of teachers accept that their job satisfaction depends directly on their relations with students, still about 20% claim that it is related to the social prestige of teaching (European Commission, EACEA and Eurydice 115). It can be concluded that the official EU document signals a rather low level of teacher job satisfaction as related to the social context of their jobs. Since then, more interest in teachers’ well-being appeared in SLA research studies. For example, in her most recent research, Mercer concentrates on English language teachers’ well-being and the dynamic character of this state as related to the interplay of different factors such as experience, personality and the teaching context. The study compares teachers from the United Kingdom and Austria.

In the Polish context, Katarzyna Budzińska focused on the teaching context, i.e. on the school as a specific example of a positive institution which enables

people to flourish. She argues that well-being is one of the most essential twenty-first century life skills, and as such, should receive more attention in educating future generations. A society's success cannot only be "measured in economic terms" (Mercer et al. 15), but also in terms of its level of well-being. For that purpose, the idea of positive education was introduced (Norris and Seligman) to bring together positive psychology and teaching practice. Budzińska's research study focused on a language school with highly qualified teachers and administrative staff. The results were based on students' diaries and teacher narratives and their analysis was carried out in three categories: "physical aspect of the institution, pedagogical approach and psychological consequences" (Budzińska 41). All subjects agreed that this particular school is a positive workplace.

This paper looks into the mainstream school context in Poland to detect the positive elements of these institutions as observed by English as a Foreign Language (EFL) students from a two or three years' perspective.

3. Description of the study

3.1. Research purpose and questions

This research study, in its initial version, was not related to positive psychology or positive education. Its purpose was to investigate opinions and beliefs about the influence of the classroom learning environment on students' progress in English as a foreign language. The elements of the environment taken into consideration were: the teacher, the learner group, the school, the course book and the classroom layout. The influence, both positive and negative, of the teacher and the group had been discussed in an earlier article (Michońska-Stadnik, "The Classroom"). On the other hand, the influence of the Polish school as an institution on students' well-being in the context of language education appears to be worth investigating as a separate issue from the perspective of positive psychology and positive education. Thus, the purpose of this study is to depict students' perception of school as an establishment evoking positive or negative emotions, especially in the context of foreign language learning. Questions to be answered in the analysis are:

1. Did school as an institution influence students' language development at all? In what ways?
2. Which opinions prevailed in students' evaluations, positive or negative?
3. To what extent can school be a positive institution in taking care of students' well-being?

3.2. Research methodology

The study adopted qualitative methodology; therefore, hypotheses were not formulated in advance in order to avoid unnecessary targeting of data analysis (Flick,

von Kardoff and Steinke 168). The study can be classified as a tight research design because it attempts to answer a narrowly-formulated set of questions. The setting can be referred to as natural, because it was not created for the purpose of that particular investigation; the groups of students were naturally-occurring groups. The authenticity of respondents' comments was also secured because the researcher was not aware of which particular schools the participants attended before entering the respective universities, and students knew this fact. What is more, participants were aware that the researcher had no connection with their previous educational institutions and did not intend to share survey results with them. Securing maximal variation of the sample is not always possible, but this time, trainee language teachers from two different universities took part in the research. The Karkonosze University of Applied Sciences is situated in a smaller town in a more rural area, which may suggest that comments of different quality and with different focus should be expected. As it appeared, the responses were similar.

As it was a convenience sample of participants, random selection could not be secured. Still, this was also a volunteer selection because not all students commented on school as an institution and its influence on their progress in English. Eleven of them chose not to offer any comments. Credibility was secured as well: at the moment of survey completion, the participants did not have relationships with their school as learners any more. Some had their block teaching practice in their former schools, but this time their role was different; they were trainee teachers. The researcher could not use member checking because one of the groups graduated and left the university. In data analysis, data-driven (open) coding was used, which is an inductive process. No prior categorisation was suggested. In the analysis, two main categories of comments were classified—positive and negative—which then were subdivided into more specific groups according to the dominant context and situation referred to. Specific categories appear in Section 4.1.

3.3. Group description, research procedure and instrument

The study makes use of a retrospective qualitative semi-structured interview design (MacIntyre et al.) as a data gathering tool. The participants were second- and third-year undergraduate students at two tertiary educational institutions, the University of Wrocław and Karkonosze University of Applied Sciences in Jelenia Góra (N = 56). All followed the English language teaching specialisation and their level of English approached B2+ (year two) and C1 (year three). They had completed secondary education two or three years prior to taking part in the study. They were asked to answer the following question:

Try to remember your formal language education in English in the school environment. In what way did school, as an institution organising your language education, influence your language development? Please offer both positive and negative opinions.

Students were asked to supply their answers in writing. All answers were anonymous. It was assumed that students could still remember their school experience quite vividly and would be able to offer elaborate and honest opinions.

4. Students' comments and their analysis

4.1. Students' opinions

Out of 56 participants, only 45 answered the question concerning school by providing comments and opinions. The remaining 11 more willingly commented on the role of the teacher, the group or the course book, ignoring the school. This could suggest that students remember little about the role of school as an institution in their English language development. What is even worse, out of 45 comments, 21 were positive and as many as 24 were negative.

An attempt was made to divide both positive and negative opinions into categories, which could be helpful in delineating procedures to be followed in potential didactic implications of the study.

The most frequent category of positive opinions about school influence on students' language development can be labelled "Organising events and contests". Students' comments remain in their original form:

(1) There were many language contests at school and the prizes were quite good; it also encouraged us to learn languages.

(2) There were speaking contests; they encouraged me to learn more new things which were not included in the curriculum.

(3) There were "open days"; students prepared classrooms to make them represent some countries, their cultures and communities.

(4) In school, there were many conferences, meetings, workshops, competitions promoting learning foreign languages.

(5) Once school organised a contest about geography and culture of the target language country—that was the moment I became more interested in it.

(6) The school influenced me positively due to various events organised during "the day of foreign languages"; we prepared national dishes and wore clothes typical for these countries.

(7) There were many events and performances connected with English culture.

Another category can be called "Meetings with native speakers". Students said:

(8) I had a few meetings with guests from the USA and China. They talked about their lives and experiences; it had a positive influence on my attitude to English.

(9) We had organised meetings with native speakers from the UK and the USA. They answered questions, brought sweets from their home countries and gave presentations. It was an enriching experience.

(10) The most positive fact was that there were native teachers in our school.

(11) Classes with native English speakers were always very useful because they showed the real language.

(12) There were some meetings with native Americans at my school; they talked about their culture, customs, etc. and that made me curious. I wanted to learn more on my own.

There were also a few comments on “Classroom layout”, for example:

(13) The classroom was full of different maps, pictures, photos, English books; it had a positive effect.

(14) The classrooms were cosy and tidy, it helped to focus.

(15) The classroom layout in my high school was similar to that at the university—facing other students—it was good.

(16) The classroom was organised in such a way that you felt comfortable there.

Two single positive opinions concerned developing acceptance and tolerance:

(17) In the school, teachers told us that we should not be racists, and we should respect other nations; and the positive influence of streaming.

(18) In high school, it was really good to be divided into groups based on our level of language knowledge.

Students’ comments on the negative influence of school on their language development were, as mentioned before, more numerous, but they can be divided into fewer categories. The first, a quite large category, can be called “Neglect and lack of encouragement”:

(19) The school paid no attention to students’ learning about the target language culture.

(20) I think schools don’t do the best job to spread interest in languages and cultures.

(21) In both primary and secondary school, English lessons weren’t treated as important subjects.

(22) My elementary school didn’t want to allow us to learn English early; therefore, I started learning in fourth grade. We could have started much earlier.

(23) English lessons were often cancelled and there was no replacement.

(24) The school neglected the importance of learning other languages; besides scheduled lessons, we didn’t have many opportunities to have contact with other languages, only the native one.

(25) At school we haven’t learned much about target culture; there was usually no time to discuss anything apart from the technical side of the language.

(26) The programme at school was quite boring; students have been learning the same things for many years.

Other comments could be labelled “Miscellaneous” and they concerned the following issues:

(27) classroom layout (“The classroom was so overloaded with materials that it was often difficult for me to focus during lessons”).

(28) problems with streaming and division into groups (“The idea was to divide students based on their knowledge of language. In the end, I spent three years in a group where there were 4–5 people speaking more or less fluently and 15 without basic knowledge about the simplest tenses and vocabulary... I am aware I could have learned much more if the division had been done better”).

(29) obligatory course books (“The course book chosen in my school definitely influenced my development negatively”).

(30) and a general negative attitude without specific explanation (“The school played a negative role in my language development. All in all, the school environment did not help me as much as the private lessons did”).

4.2. Discussion

It is worth noting that even though students supplied fewer positive opinions about the role of the school in their language development, these were more varied. The largest set of comments focused on school activity in organising extra-curricular events, contests and meetings (Examples 1–7). Contests evoked interest in learning the language and in getting to know more about the countries where it is spoken, even if that information remained outside the school curriculum (Examples 2, 5 and 12). Meetings with native speakers seem to be significantly appreciated. Students realised how important it is to be able to have direct contact with somebody from the target language country, to get acquainted not only with authentic language, but also with elements of different cultural environments (Examples 8–12). That open approach could be helpful in developing tolerance and acceptance (Example 17).

Surprisingly, students also commented on the classroom layout (Examples 13–16). Teachers and school authorities frequently neglect this aspect of the learning environment, focussing mainly on the subject matter. However, overloaded classrooms earned a critical comment from another student, who found it difficult to concentrate in a room full of distractions (Example 27).

Another Example of a two-directional opinion concerns streaming students into groups according to the level of their language skill. Students generally appreciated that procedure (Example 17); however, if the division into streams had not been done with enough caution, a student could have been stuck in a lower-level group for as long as attendance at the school lasted (Example 28).

The students’ negative comments appear to be rather disturbing. Not all of them have been quoted in this paper because quite a few expressed the same idea: “School played a negative role in my language development”, and the student’s interest in English resulted from private tutoring (Example 30). Regrettably, schools seem not to care about getting students interested in foreign language development and in

foreign cultures (Examples 19, 20, 24, 25). What is more, languages appear to be treated as unimportant (Examples 21, 22, 23) in comparison to other school subjects.

Another comment concerned the arrangement of the curriculum. It appeared that students were learning the same things every year and there was no indication of progress (Example 26). That could have been caused either by frequent changing of teachers or by inappropriate choice of course books. There was also a separate complaint about the school imposing a course book on teachers, and consequently on students, which possibly resulted in boredom and lack of motivation (Example 29). The student clearly stated that the obligatory course book chosen by the school influenced their language development negatively.

Conclusion

The main purpose of this paper was to collect and discuss students' opinions on the role of school as an institution in their foreign language development, and to what extent schools could be regarded as positive institutions. Even though the participants of the study attended universities in the same area of Poland, they graduated from secondary high schools all over the country. They attended mainstream public institutions which followed the same national curriculum for language education. It is believed, then, that they formed a fairly representative cross-section of secondary school graduates in Poland.

The first two research questions posed before conducting the study related to the school's influence on students' foreign language development and the character of that influence. The third question referred to whether the school could be perceived as a positive institution catering for students' well-being, which is a factor contributing to effective education. After analysing students' opinions, it can be observed that the school's role is clearly noticeable; however, there appeared more negative than positive comments. Some schools offered additional activities aimed at arousing students' deeper interest in languages and cultures, such as organised meetings with native speakers, contests and special events. Classroom arrangement appeared to be essential as well. Students cared for comfortable, cosy, tidy and colourful classrooms, where they could be immersed in the atmosphere of the foreign language and culture. School authorities approved of arrangements which could help learners focus on various aspects of language education. These schools may be regarded as positive institutions.

At the same time, schools were criticised for neglecting the importance of foreign language learning, for reducing language education to merely following the syllabus and the course book, and for the faulty process of assigning students to different level groups. Boredom seems to be the most discouraging aspect, especially when learners repeat the same material every year and the course books

are imposed without consulting teachers or students themselves. Opinions from different sources confirm that many schools are mostly concerned about exam results because their position in the community depends on the percentage of students who pass final exams successfully. Students' well-being appears to be much less important than success measured by statistics.

Students' opinions hardly ever referred to factors established by, for example Oxford—EMPATHICS—which deserve to be considered while researching the second/foreign language learning process. Perhaps the research questions should have been formulated in a different way and, consequently, the survey could have had a different focus.

The Eurydice Report (see Section 2) investigated job satisfaction of teachers and it appeared to be of rather low level. One of the reasons is the social context of their jobs, including the environmental conditions. The present study reveals an equally low level of satisfaction with schools, but from the students' point of view. Both groups of stakeholders seem to share doubts about schools as institutions which are supposed to promote the state of well-being. Also, contrary to Budzińska's study results, it appears that public mainstream schools are not always positive institutions in students' opinions.

In conclusion, it may be stated that there are schools which may be regarded as positive institutions; however, there is still a lot to be done in Poland to improve students' well-being in the primary and secondary educational institutions in which they spend 12 years of their young lives. This should be kept in mind while preparing teacher training programmes in tertiary education. Those future language teachers who offered opinions on the role of schools in which they used to be learners will be more likely to introduce some positive changes into their own ways of teaching.

The study, however, is not without limitations. In line with Complex Dynamic Systems Theory, factors influencing such a complex process as foreign language learning should not be considered separately. There is always an interplay of elements that impact one another, and a more ecological perspective could have been more valid and reliable. Schools cannot run without teachers, students and parents, and only their effective cooperation may result in creating positive educational institutions.

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The Text Is Too Long: * Assisting University Students with Reading Academic Texts in a Foreign Language

Abstract: University studies rely primarily on written sources, which have to be read, comprehended and then discussed by students and teachers in class to become a part of an expanding knowledge system. For several years, the author has been teaching an introductory course on second language acquisition to first year BA English Philology students in Poland. She has noticed that throughout the years, the students have had more and more problems with comprehending the basic course-related texts and passing course tests. To help them, the author decided to change the way of working with the texts by implementing a support reading strategy based on generating questions to the texts by the students themselves. This intervention resulted in better text comprehension, which contributed to a development of knowledge, as evidenced by test results and reported by students in a post-course survey. Making text-based questions, the students worked in groups which supported their self-confidence and the feeling of success.

Keywords: academic text comprehension, reading strategies, student-generated questions, comprehension problems in a foreign language

Introduction

This article reports the effects of a pedagogic intervention that aimed at helping first year Polish university students enrolled in the BA English Philology programme

* Internet users coined the acronym “TL;DR” which means “too long; didn’t read” (Dukaj). This is connected with fast processing of online information. Internet users can locate short pieces of information, usually the size of the computer screen, and make connections between and among them, but they have problems focusing on longer texts, which may result in the loss of “the literary mind-set” (Tucker 61) that requires patience, concentration and engagement with the text. The first part of the title refers to this phenomenon.

to cope with reading academic texts. Since the programme is taught in English, the texts for reading are in English and so are the classes and discussions. It is important to note that the students had been learning English as a foreign language in formal educational settings, often for quite a long time, because such is the educational policy of the Polish government. On graduating from secondary school, they are expected to have reached the B1–B2 proficiency level in the leading foreign language. When they apply to universities and other tertiary education institutions, they are admitted on the basis of the results of the standardised secondary school leaving exam (the so-called *matura*), which also includes a foreign language.

First year students face a lot of challenges connected with being at a university, or any other tertiary education institution. Fresh from secondary school, they are expected to change into independent and self-directed persons who take responsibility for their own learning, behaviour, emotions, social relations, and for their life in its entirety. The manner of teaching and learning is different from what they are used to. They attend lectures, classes, seminars and workshops, but they also have to do a lot of work on their own. They have to practise their literacy skills extensively; they have to read a variety of discipline-specific academic texts to build and expand their knowledge, and they also have to write on topics related to issues addressed by the texts.

Moreover, the students are also widely experiencing the new forms of literacies referred to as “digital/silicon/electronic literacies” (Murray and McPherson 132) and “hyperreading” (Usó-Juan and Ruiz-Madrid 59) that the rapid development of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have made possible. In contrast to traditional, printed texts, hypertexts are non-linear, multimodal, open-ended and dynamic (Coiro; Coiro and Dobler; Usó-Juan and Ruiz-Madrid), which means they include new elements and require new skills and strategies of reading. Therefore, a hypertext reader, apart from decoding the language in which the text has been written, needs to pay attention to the use of colour, hyperlinks, animated icons, dynamic pictures, maps, charts and graphs that change according to the information the reader wants to find (Leu et al. 1586). Since 92.4% of Polish households with people aged 16–74 have access to the Internet (Główny Urząd Statystyczny), the use of this source of information, communication and leisure activities is a common practice and contributes to the development and use of digital reading skills and strategies. The preferred way of reading the Internet texts is scanning, and only when the necessary information is located does close reading take place (Murray and McPherson). Thus, first year students come to the University with a range of reading skills and strategies, related both to reading traditional, print-based texts as well as digital hypertexts found on the Internet. They have become quite “competent in particular social practices (such as Facebooking, Instagraming, memeing, tweeting, and gaming of various kinds)” (Jones 288), which brings the questions of whether processing print-based texts is modified by reading digital hypertexts, and whether the possible modifications contribute to deeper comprehension of printed texts.

Reading academic texts, however, is a demanding activity. It is more than general comprehension, finding information or skimming, because the purposes of reading are different. In educational settings, people read to learn, to integrate information from different sources and to develop a critical approach to concepts, issues and ideas presented in the texts (Grabe 9). In reading to learn, students need to recognise and remember main ideas and supporting details, identify rhetorical devices that structure the text and integrate new knowledge with their existing knowledge system. In addition, students frequently read various texts on similar topics, which means that they have to select relevant information from different sources, analyse it in terms of similarities and differences and interpret it. This, in turn, is possible when readers can not only interpret but also question ideas included in the text (Abbott). Critical reading is significant for building knowledge from reading expository texts and it leads to the recognition of the author's intentions, interests and ideologies (Janks 22). It is interconnected with critical thinking, which is the core of university education and also links with the concept of critical literacy that is "a distinct and growing body of technical knowledge about textuality" (Freebody and Freiberg 433), which includes the knowledge that texts may appear in various modalities; they are interpreted, evaluated and critically comprehended against the background of social and textual contexts.

Academic reading is a component of academic literacy that refers to "ways of thinking, reading, speaking, and writing dominant in the academic setting; involves ways of receiving knowledge, managing knowledge and creating knowledge for the benefit of a field of study" (Neely 8). In addition, it is a sociocultural practice shaped by a variety of such contextual factors as text, audience and purpose (Hirano 179). The development of ICTs has made access to many digital and digitalised sources of information easy and unproblematic, extending the range and variety of texts that students can read for learning and for pleasure. Ways of reading, thinking and speaking about texts concerning a field of study—second language acquisition in this case—are of great relevance for this paper. Therefore, the next section briefly describes reading in academia and addresses the role of reading strategies in this context.

1. Reading in academia

The texts most frequently assigned for reading are expository texts—the main genre of academic discourse—but they also include lecture notes, maps, Power Point presentations, and information brochures, as well as electronic science-related media (Graesser, Leon and Otero 6). Black calls expository texts "the meat and potatoes of the textual world, because ... [they] convey new information and explain new topics to people" (249). The reading purpose is passing on new information and explaining it so that it becomes a part of the reader's knowledge system.

Expository texts contain new knowledge that is represented by means of academic language that can be conceptualised as “the braiding of three strands of language—everyday language, abstract language and metaphorical language with the shape of the braid determined by factors such as topic, context and purpose. Any text is an instantiation of a particular braiding, with certain strands more heavily present in some texts than in others” (Fang 325). These characteristics of academic language used in authentic expository texts, abstract and metaphorical language in particular may cause comprehension problems for users of English as a foreign language, even though their proficiency may be at a relatively high level. Another possible obstacle to comprehension may be the cognitive complexity of expository sources. Moreover, the readers’ prior knowledge may be insufficient to let them form meaningful links between what they know and what they are expected to learn from texts. Thus, two levels of problems connected with reading texts may be distinguished—that is, text-based (related to linguistic aspects of the text) and knowledge-based (pertaining to the information included in the text) (Otero 51). Still, the students have to meet the challenges and cope with the problems.

This is where reading strategies (RS) become crucial. They are defined in many different ways, but the definitions show that they are intentional, contextually conditioned, interactive and purposeful. Their purpose is text comprehension or the construction of meaning (Piasecka 149). They are used when problems with text comprehension both on the linguistic and conceptual levels appear, regardless of text format (printed or digital).

RS have been classified into three groups:

- global RS used to plan and monitor the reading process; examples of such strategies include establishing a reading purpose, previewing the text to see how it is organised and how long it is, or using typographical information (boldface, italics) to identify key information.
- problem-solving RS related to text comprehension. These strategies are observed when readers re-read unclear or confusing fragments, when they guess the meanings of unknown words, when they adjust their reading speed to the level of text difficulty, and when they critically evaluate what they read.
- support RS serve to clarify meaning and construct comprehension, for example by underlining or highlighting the text, taking notes, making text-related questions or using dictionaries (Mokhtari and Shory 4).

Substantial research has been carried out on reading strategies both in the first (L1) and the second/foreign language (L2/FL) at various educational levels, in many socio-cultural contexts, with respect to paper-based and digital reading. Thus, Munro, focusing on L1 able and at-risk readers, discovered that a combination of reading strategies, for example visual imagery and verbal elaboration in the form of self-questioning, enhances the level of text comprehension. Taboada, Bianco and Bowerman investigated the influence of student-generated questions on general vocabulary in English-only speakers and English language learners and found that the questions predicted reading comprehension of both groups of

participants. Another study revealed that English language learners who received instruction on how to make questions improved their questioning skills. In addition, a correlation was found between types of questions and reading comprehension. The authors concluded “that text-based student questioning is a reading strategy that contributes to ELLs’ reading comprehension and conceptual knowledge in the content area of science” (87).

Brevik investigated the use of reading strategies, reading instruction and metacognitive awareness among Norwegian teachers of L1 Norwegian and L2 English in Norwegian upper secondary schools. She was also interested in how teachers taught reading strategies and how learners used them and reflected on their use. Her findings show a close relationship between L1 and L2 reading and imply that reading strategies can support L2 learners in developing their comprehension. The supportive effect is even stronger when the strategies are used in combination rather than individually and when they are taught explicitly. Students are supposed to use them purposefully, individually and independently.

Li et al. carried out a meta-analysis of 23 experimental and quasi-experimental studies that focused on reading interventions based on the use of four reading strategies: scaffolding, graphic organizers, interactive read aloud and leveled questions. The participants of the interventions were learners of English. The researchers found that each strategy supports learners’ reading comprehension and the effect is stronger when the strategies are combined.

A study of RS used in reading academic texts online (Piasecka 153) revealed that the participants most frequently use problem-solving RS and implies that they encounter most comprehension problems when they actually handle the text. Support RS are used less frequently, but they are also important because of their function: they help to clarify meaning and thus enhance text comprehension. It appeared that many participants printed a hard copy of the online text and then underlined or circled information (a support strategy) because it helped them to remember it better. Self-questioning has been classified as a support reading strategy which may be used to overcome both language and content-related comprehension problems. It has been recognized as “a fairly universal reading comprehension strategy” (Kiszcak and Chodkiewicz 40).

Another study on learning from academic texts (Kiszcak 259–261) has shown the important role of student-generated questions, both for text comprehension and the development of subject-specific knowledge. The questions the participants made while working on expository texts allowed them to engage with the text more deeply, to gain knowledge, as well as to improve their language proficiency and reading skills. Needless to say, reading is one of the key academic skills indispensable for achieving success at the university. This success is related to how students understand content knowledge but also how they cope with a variety of assessment situations, including new technologies (Mulcahy-Ernt and Caverly 181).

The selected empirical studies briefly reviewed above show that reading strategies are an important tool in the development of reading comprehension in any language and therefore they should be explicitly taught and then used by learners because they support text comprehension and the growth of subject knowledge. They are used across a range of educational levels (primary, secondary, tertiary), both with printed and digital texts. However, when digital texts are read for learning, their printed form may be more suitable for some L2 readers.

Theoretical considerations and empirical evidence both reveal that using a combination of reading strategies when processing a long text for learning support comprehension. However, not much is known about the effect of working on questions generated by groups of readers and then checking their validity and appropriacy with other readers. This is a niche that the study described further on in the paper is meant to occupy.

2. The study

The study reported in this section of the paper was inspired by the problems Polish university students of English Philology encountered while reading expository academic texts assigned for the course (Introduction to Second Language Acquisition, or SLA) that was taught in the spring term of the academic year 2018/19. The aim of the course was to introduce students to basic concepts, terms and issues in the field of SLA and thus to develop the terminological and conceptual framework for further study in this area. The content was based on selected chapters from classical textbooks pertaining to SLA (eg., *How Languages are Learned* by Lightbown and Spada, and *Second Language Learning and Language Teaching* by Cook). Students' knowledge of the subject matter was tested twice (a mid-term and the end-of-term tests) and they had to pass both tests to get a credit for the course.

The tests covered the subject matter that the students read about and discussed in class, which accounts for their reliability. Each test had three sections. In section one, the testees had to match terms and their definitions, in section two they had to explain selected concepts, and in section three they were expected to answer specific questions pertaining to SLA. The tests followed the testing format used in previous courses also taught by teachers other than the current author. Their form and content were discussed by all the teachers involved in teaching the course and unclear items were removed. The tests differed in scores because the material they tested differed in range. Both tests were equally important because they had to be passed to get credit for the course.

Since the study aimed at solving real problems that university students face when reading to learn, it may be called action-research. It was also a mixed-design study, as it allowed for collecting both quantitative (tests results) and qualitative (students' answers to survey statements and questions, and field notes) data. This

design was deliberately chosen, as it allowed for not only seeing the development of students' subject knowledge over time, but also probing their opinions about reading academic texts in a foreign language, as well as the effects of the pedagogical intervention. The fact that the texts were written in a foreign language may additionally complicate comprehension and cause learning problems.

2.1. Manner of instruction before intervention

At the beginning of the course, the students received a list of texts to read before class, with dates indicated. A discussion was held on what it means to read a text and how to solve problems that refer to unknown vocabulary or to fragments difficult to understand. The students agreed that in such cases, it is necessary to consult a dictionary and to reread sections of texts that are unclear or incomprehensible, thus showing they they realise what strategic reading consists of.

In class, basic terminology and issues addressed in the texts were discussed. The students were encouraged to refer to their personal experiences and observations concerning learning native and foreign languages. Moreover, the teacher prepared Power Point presentations, video clips, activities and tasks to explain new and/or difficult issues, to engage students and to personalize the content. The students were also informed that they would have to take two tests to get credit.

When the students came to class, they all had the assigned text available on mobile devices, mostly phones. The quality of digital texts was high, as these were original texts in PDF format. Few had printed copies of the text. The teacher asked questions and waited for volunteers to answer them. However, most frequently, silence was the only answer. It appeared that the students were nervously scrolling the text to find the relevant information. Since there were no volunteers, individual students were nominated to answer the question or define and describe a concept or a problem. The answers were formulated by the students and the teacher and the students were invited to reflect on the meanings discussed in class. Since this was quite a frustrating experience for the students and the teacher alike, the students were asked about problems they had with comprehending the assigned texts. They declared that the difficulties resulted from the length of the texts, difficult content, and difficult language. Then ways of solving the problems were discussed, like, for example, breaking the text into shorter sections, paying attention to the layout of the text, drawing mind maps to find relations between different concepts, making lists of important terms and definitions, consulting reference materials such as dictionaries when the meaning is unclear. This way, problem-solving reading strategies were reviewed. At the end of each class, the teacher asked if the content covered in class was clear and if the students needed some additional information. They assured the teacher that everything was clear and that they did not need any extra information.

Then, a mid-term test was administered. Before the test, the students were informed about the form, content and passing criteria. 35% of students passed the

test on the first administration. This was an extremely stressful situation for all, so the teacher decided to take steps to change it. Therefore, a quasi-experiment was devised to help the students overcome the difficulties with reading and learning from academic texts they were expected to read for classes. It was hypothesised, on the basis of theoretical underpinnings and empirical studies, that text comprehension and learning might be enhanced when students, working in small groups, generate text-related questions and ask them to the rest of the group to check understanding of the text. Thus, the following research questions were formulated (RQ):

RQ1: Do text-related questions made by the students reading in class, in groups, enhance comprehension and contribute to the growth of knowledge, as evidenced by knowledge test results?

RQ2: What are the most frequent problems related to academic text comprehension?

RQ3: What are the students' opinions about the experimental approach to reading academic texts?

To answer the RQs, a pedagogic intervention was designed and implemented. It was spread over six weeks. After the intervention, the students took the end-of-term test and then were asked to fill in a survey (see the appendix) related to the intervention. It included statements about the intervention that the respondents agreed or disagreed with as well as open questions asking for their personal opinions.

2.2. Intervention

In the second half of the spring term 2018/19, the manner of working with the texts was changed. 37 students, 29 females and 8 males were involved in the study. They were aged between 20–23 years (mean = 20.77), and on average, they had been learning English for 13.77 years (10–15 years). First of all, the students were asked to always have printed versions of the text with them. During classes spanning six weeks, they were divided into groups of three–four persons, and were assigned sections of the texts to read and formulate three questions that would refer to the most important information included in their sections. A time limit of 15 minutes was set for this activity. The students agreed that the time limit made them more motivated and more focused on the task.

When the questions were ready, each group asked their questions and the other groups were supposed to answer. The questions were checked for correctness and clarity and corrected when not clear. If the students were not able to answer a question, a member of the group that formulated the question had to answer it. The procedure was followed till the whole text was discussed. When comprehension problems emerged, other students and/or the teacher tried to explain them. The students also observed that finding information in the printed texts was easier than on the mobile screens.

The results of the second test taken at the end of the six-week period were rewarding: 70% of the students passed the test on the first administration.

The intervention was of a quasi-experimental nature, which means that there was no control group. The decision not to have a control group was based on the premise that all the participants should have equal opportunities to participate in the intervention, improve their academic reading skills and develop subject-specific knowledge.

During the study, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. The quantitative data were analysed by means of a *Statistica 12* package, while the qualitative data were analysed in terms of frequencies of occurrence and recurring patterns with respect to open, opinion questions. The results of the analyses are shown in the following section.

2.3. Results

As mentioned above, the inspiration of the study came from the lack of success in learning from academic texts. To show how the pedagogic intervention affected reading and learning, descriptive statistics for two tests are presented and the results are compared. Since the tests did not have identical scores (they differed in the range of material covered), the raw scores were turned into percent scores to allow comparisons. To pass the tests, the students had to achieve 60% of correct answers.

Table 1: Test 1 and Test 2 per cent scores—descriptive statistics (n = 37, 29 females, 9 males)

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Standard Deviation
Test 1	46.86	8	97	21.57
Test 2	62.60	9	96	22.57

As the table shows, the mean percentage score on Test 1 was well below the passing level, 60%. A distribution of grades reveals that the most frequent grade for Test 1 was Fail. Only one student received the highest grade, scoring 97% of the correct answers. Descriptive statistics also show that the group is extremely varied in terms of their knowledge, as the range (the difference between the lowest and the highest score) is 91, which is also supported by a high standard deviation.

The mean percentage score of Test 2 is 62.60, which is slightly above the passing level, and almost 70% of the participants passed the test. However, other statistics (range and standard deviation) are very close to these of Test 1. It means that the groups have not changed much in terms of their variability; there are very strong differences among the members of the groups.

A comparison of grades and scores of both tests carried out by means of a t-test for dependent samples shows that the differences in results are statistically significant. The probability level has been established at $p < .01$. The results are included in Table 2.

Table 2: T-test results for dependent samples: test 1 and test 2 grades and scores; $p < .01$

	Grades	Per cent scores
Test 1	2.51	46.86
Test 2	3.24	62.60
t	-5.84	-6.17
df	36	36
p	.000001	.000000

The students taking Test 2 scored statistically significantly higher than on Test 1. Consequently, their grades improved at a statistically significant level. The results clearly show that the students were more successful on Test 2.

A survey was emailed to the participants when the term was over and this may be the reason for the low return rate. Thirteen students (11 females and 2 males) filled in and sent the questionnaire back.

The first question of the survey (9 items) addressed the problems the respondents identified when reading academic texts. The problems indicated by the students are listed below in terms of frequency.

1. Length of texts.
2. Lack of interest in texts.
3. Identifying the most important information.

The second question in the survey (7 items) was to gather the participants' opinions on the implemented pedagogic intervention. They agreed that working in groups to make text-related questions had the following positive effects (in terms of frequency):

1. They could discuss unclear or difficult parts of the text together (11 persons—85%).
2. They could check if they knew the answers to the questions their group prepared (11 persons—85%).
3. They had a feeling of success (11 persons—85%).
4. Their understanding of the text was supported by the fact that the fragments they worked on were shorter than the whole text (10 persons—77%).
5. Other students helped them to solve comprehension problems (10 persons—77%).
6. They felt more confident working in groups (9 persons—70%).

This was followed by two open questions (Nos. 3 and 4) concerning the process of question making in groups and the quality of questions prepared by other groups. Seven respondents wrote that they read the text together, identified the most important information and prepared the questions. Six students worked in a different way, They divided the text into shorter sections and worked individually to make the questions which they then presented to the rest of the group and analysed

the answers. One student wrote the following: “Everyone was involved in the work. It was great because it made us learn from one another” (Student No. 2).

Another student added:

We had different strategies of working on the questions. Sometimes we divided the text into shorter fragments, and then each person had to read one of them and prepare some questions. Finally, we chose the appropriate ones. However, we also used the second method. We read the whole text and together decided about what question to ask. (Student No.13)

From the students’ point of view, most of the questions were appropriate, relevant and well-formulated, so they did not have major problem with answering them.

The fifth question in survey (9 items) concerned the preferred ways of working on academic texts. According to the respondents’ choices, they prefer the teacher to highlight the most important information in the text and to explain unknown vocabulary and expressions (10 persons–77%). Seven respondents (54%) prefer the teacher to summarize the text and six (46%) would like the teacher to ask questions about the text. Five respondents (38%) liked working in groups and preparing questions related to the text. Other options that referred to students’ working on unknown vocabulary, working on their own and identifying the most important information were selected by two (15%) and one (8%) respondents.

The survey ended with demographic information and a self-rating of the participants’ English language proficiency. Interestingly, language problems were indicated by only two respondents. In general, the respondents self-rated their knowledge of English as excellent (5 persons–38%) and very good (8 persons–62%), which may explain why they did not declare having had problems with unknown words, expressions and structures.

2.4. Discussion

The results presented above show the positive effects of the pedagogic intervention and allow the corroboration of the hypothesis formulated for the purpose of the study. As regards RQ1, student-generated questions did enhance text comprehension. This was due to close reading of shorter passages in class and discussing their content with other group members, who helped one another to solve comprehension problems that appeared in the process. The students also recognised the fact that working with the printed text is beneficial for finding relevant information because it is easier to navigate a printed text than a text displayed on a screen, which has to be scrolled up and down. Scanning and skimming, so widely used when online texts are read (Murray and McPherson 2006), are not sufficient to probe deeply into the meaning of a subject-specific text, or to remember and recall the most important information. In addition, digital texts displayed on small mobile screens have small fonts, which may result in more effort necessary to decipher and decode them, and eventually may result in eyestrain (Usó-Juan and Ruiz-Madrid 2009).

A new way of working with academic texts seems to have contributed to the growth of subject knowledge. The results of tests clearly show a statistically-significant increase in the results of Test 2, taken after the intervention. This change, however, may have been caused not only by the effects of student-generated questions but also by many other factors, such as for example, the students' growing experience with reading academic texts, developing knowledge about issues pertaining to SLA, higher language proficiency and growing academic literacy as well as the experience with test taking. Moreover, contextual factors (Hirano 179) might have also impacted this sociocultural reading process.

These findings are consistent with the empirical findings reported by Munro, Taboada, Bianco and Bowerman, Li et al., and Kiszczak. The gathered evidence implies that a consistent use of reading strategies enhances reading comprehension and accounts for the growth of subject matter knowledge. It is also important to note that reading strategies operate across languages in one learner and explicit training in their use may affect reading both in L1, L2 and any other language a person knows (cf. Brevik).

Since academic expository texts are demanding in terms of language, structure and contents, understanding them may be problematic. The greatest problem related to academic text comprehension (RQ2) refers to their length; the students are not used to reading long texts. This requires concentration, engagement and learning new information included in the texts so that the subject knowledge may be acquired. In addition, many students were not interested in the texts and thus lacked motivation to read them. They also had difficulties with identifying most important information, although they were advised and shown how to use the structure and the layout of the text to decide what the focal issues are. This may explain why they prefer the teacher to summarise the text, explain unknown expressions and highlight the most important information. Such a situation may be one of the effects of scrolling online texts, which makes readers feel disoriented, confused and lost. There is also a risk of information overload when online readers check the hypertext links, evaluate them, make navigational choices and may be distracted by popping up ads and hyperlinks (Murray and McPherson; Usó-Juan and Ruiz-Madrid; Carr).

Overall, the students were satisfied with the new way of working with academic texts (RQ3). They noticed that finding information in the printed texts was easier than on small mobile screens. They felt more confident and successful when working in groups, which is a positive aspect of the intervention because it supported the formation of interpersonal relations, co-operation and the development of social skills. They had a chance to monitor text understanding and clarify meanings they were not sure they understood properly. They became more critical about their own questions, as well as the questions proposed by other groups in terms of form and content (cf. Kiszczak). Breaking a long text into shorter passages allowed for solving one of the greatest problems the students reported; namely,

the text length, which seems to be the most serious obstacle in reading academic texts (cf. Dukaj) and which is signalled in the title of this paper. The participants also showed flexibility in making text-based questions and modified them when these were unclear.

The teacher's field notes revealed an interesting phenomenon. When asked to bring printed texts to class, the majority of the participants did as requested and many had highlighted important information in them and put glosses in the margins to ask about problematic issues during classes. They showed more skills and confidence when they navigated the printed text than when they were trying to locate information on screens of their digital devices despite all the skills they have presumably developed for "Facebooking, Instagraming, memeing, tweeting, and gaming of various kinds" (Jones 288). Moreover, expository academic texts, printed or digital, require time and concentration to allow the reader to focus and find the relevant information. As already noted, the abundance and ease of access to numerous online texts may distract the reader and make their mind wander and lose track of what they are looking for.

3. Conclusion

Student-generated questions seem to have beneficial effects on academic text comprehension, the acquisition of knowledge and the development of academic literacy. They also contribute to the development of critical thinking through the selection and analysis of information, then its synthesis and communication to other students. Talking to others about new concepts and phenomena allows all the parties involved to develop a deeper understanding of them. When comprehension problems emerge, both language and content based, they may be discussed and solved with the assistance of other group members and the teacher as well. Group work made students cooperate and share their understanding of the contents of the texts, but also their doubts about problems covered in the text and outside it. They also received immediate feedback about the appropriacy, relevance, and correctness of the questions that reflected their comprehension.

The strategy of student-generated questions may be used for working with a variety of academic and non-academic texts that are read at different language proficiency levels and in different age groups. Primary and secondary school learners of foreign languages process various texts that are usually accompanied by comprehension tasks prepared by coursebook authors. Teachers may change this and ask the learners to make text-related questions as this allows them to identify what are real comprehension problems that their learners may encounter. Besides, this strategy engages the readers with the text and they decide what information is important and relevant. Thus, they become more responsible for their learning

and feel more satisfied with what they do. Satisfaction makes them feel successful, which, in turn, motivates them to learn more.

The participants of the quasi-experiment who completed the survey appreciated the use of student-generated questions for text comprehension. Possibly, the ones who completed the survey were also the ones who cared about their education and who were motivated to share their opinions with the teacher after they had completed the course. Hopefully, the ones who declined to complete the survey also learned how to approach academic texts and what to do to learn from them.

Last but not least, it seems that reading for learning is more effective and learner-friendly when it is done from paper rather than from a computer screen (cf. Piasecka 153). The reader may highlight relevant and/or unclear fragments, focus on text layout, grammatical structures and vocabulary, look for clues that clarify the meaning. This obviously can also be done with the text on a screen and many people do it, yet not much is known about the effectiveness of such actions. Thus, another research niche is waiting to be occupied.

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Appendix

Survey on reading academic texts

Dear Students,

Last semester we worked on basic problems related to Second Language Acquisition. To prepare for classes, I asked you to read some texts related to these problems which we then discussed in class.

Below, there are some questions that I would like you to answer. They refer to the texts you read, to the problems related to their understanding and to ways of handling them by you.

The information you will provide will be used only for research purposes and you will remain anonymous.

Thank you for your cooperation.

1. In the first half of the semester you were expected to read academic texts on Second Language Acquisition. What were the problems you had when reading the texts (choose the options that refer to your problems):

- a. Length of the texts
- b. Topics discussed in the texts
- c. Language used in the texts:
 - i. Difficult
 - ii. Unknown vocabulary
- d. You were not interested in the topics
- e. You had problems with identifying the most important information
- f. You had problems with identifying the main ideas
- g. You did not have enough time to read the texts
- h. You had no problems
- i. Other (specify): _____

2. In the second half of the semester we changed the way of working with the texts. To remind: you were divided into groups, given sections of the texts and asked to read and formulate three questions that would refer to the most important information included in your fragment. The questions were then answered by other groups reading other fragments of the text. What do you think about this way of working on academic texts? Choose the answers that best reflect your opinions (circle Yes or No). You may choose more than one option:

- a. I felt more confident working in groups.

Yes	No
-----	----
- b. The fragments were shorter than the whole text. This supported my understanding.

Yes	No
-----	----
- c. Other students helped me when I had problems with text comprehension.

Yes	No
-----	----

- d. We could discuss unclear or difficult parts of the text together.
- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
- e. I could check if I knew the answers to the texts that my group prepared.
- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
- f. I had a feeling of success.
- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
- g. Other comments _____
-

3. How did you work on the questions? Did every group member prepare their own questions, then you compared them and chose the most appropriate ones? You read the text and together decided about what question to ask? Please, describe the process of question making in your groups: _____

4. What do you think about questions prepared by other groups? Were they appropriate? Well formulated? Did they refer to the most important information in the fragments of the texts? _____

5. Which way of working on academic texts do you prefer (underline)? You may choose more than one option:

- a. The teacher summarizes the text.
- b. The teacher highlights the most important information from the text.
- c. The teacher asks questions about the text.
- d. The teacher explains unknown vocabulary and expressions.
- e. The students ask questions about the text content individually.
- f. The students work in groups and prepare the questions referring to the text (as we did in the second half of the previous semester).
- g. The students identify unknown vocabulary and expressions and then ask the whole class about them.
- h. The students work on the text on their own and try to select the most important information.
- i. Other: _____

6. If you have other comments, opinions and ideas about working with academic texts, write about them here: _____

7. Age _____
8. Sex (underline) _____ F _____ M _____ Non-binary
9. Nationality _____
10. How long have you been learning English? _____
11. How do you estimate your knowledge of English? Choose one option:
 - a. Excellent
 - b. Very good
 - c. Good
 - d. Average
 - e. Poor

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION

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Assessing Personality in SLA: Type- and Trait-Focused Approaches

Abstract: The study of personality has long been one of the major themes in Psychology. Nevertheless, within the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA), this research area has not received a lot of recognition, despite the strong ties of both disciplines. The objective of this paper is to describe the concept of personality and its role within the SLA field, as well as to outline the dominating research methodologies that are based on distinctive theoretical approaches. For this purpose, in Section 1 of the paper, the basic term of personality is defined, and its role in the process of foreign language acquisition is described, together with an outline of the most frequent problems encountered in the empirical studies of the concept therein. Sections 2 and 3 are devoted to the outline of the dominant theories of the study of personality: type and trait approaches. They are completed with a presentation of the most popular inventories and measuring scales assessing the concept in question that could be reliably applied in SLA research.

Keywords: personality, type theory and measurement, trait theory and measurement, the Big Five

Although personality has become one of the most frequently researched themes in Psychology, in the area of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) a significant paucity of research can be observed, owing to a variety of reasons. However, in spite of the obstacles, there is still a pressing need to deepen the understanding of personality as a shaper of behaviour and self-worth within the SLA domain. The main objective of this paper is to present the concept of personality and its role in SLA. It is followed by an outline of two general approaches to its study: type and trait approaches. Each of them is described from the point of view of its theory and research methodology that might be employed in SLA research in a reliable manner.

1. Personality in SLA

According to one of the most popular definitions of *personality*, it is regarded as “a dynamic organisation, inside the person, of psychophysical systems that create the person’s characteristic patterns of behaviour, thoughts and feelings” (Allport 11). It follows that personality can be understood as an active, structural system within which the mind and body interact, producing behaviour that is characteristic for an individual. Nevertheless, the latest developments in personality psychology, catering to the consolidation of various intellectual traditions, have brought about a slightly different approach to the definition of the term. It is now posited that personality is “an individual’s unique variation on the general evolutionary design for human nature, expressed as a developing pattern of dispositional traits, characteristic adaptations, and integrative life stories complexly and differentially situated in culture” (McAdams and Pals 212). Such a conceptualization of the key term reveals the importance of evolution that has given way to the development of dispositional traits or broad trends which produce characteristic adaptations or specific responses to the demands of the daily life. They are shaped by the influence of time, situations, and social roles, culminating in individual life narratives that explain how a given person creates meaning in their life. Finally, all these processes are modified by culture. The above definition of personality demonstrates the development of human nature that is shaped by evolution, following the sequence of individual differences that transform into traits, then adaptations, inducing individual life narratives that are formed by culture.

The importance of personality as “the most individual characteristic of a human being” (Dörnyei, *The Psychology* 10) has been acknowledged by many disciplines, psychology among others. Although heavily impacted by genes (Krueger et al.), personality is also shaped by life experiences across the life span (Kandler et al.). It is generally understood that the impact of the construct is essential in daily interaction. As such, it should also be revealed in attaining educational goals for students who learn foreign languages (Erton). According to Cook, “there are three reasons for being interested in personality. They are: first, to gain scientific understanding, second, to access people and next, to change people” (3). From this point of view, it can be speculated that studying the role of personality in the field of second language acquisition appears to be of paramount importance because that knowledge might be indispensable for knowing the learner better in order to facilitate their bonds with the teacher and the learning material. In effect, the student’s progress within the SLA field can be accelerated.

Sadly, although personality might be regarded as a principal factor that explains the impact of individual differences on FL attainment (Ellis, *The Study*), the empirical research carried out so far disproves this speculation. It appears that personality factors have been found to explicate not more than 15% of the variance in academic success (e.g., Ellis, “Individual”). This meagre effect can be justified

by a speculation, according to which a direct effect of the factor on variables connected with foreign language attainment is hard to observe, mostly due to the change of language that obscures the relationship between the observed phenomena. This language modification ‘dramatically’ transforms the communication setting and the relationships between the investigated concepts (MacIntyre et al. 546). Owing to that qualitative variation, the otherwise clear and well-researched links become more complicated (Sallinen-Kuparinen, McCroskey and Richmond), in comparison to those suggested by the research in psychology. For this reason, in the specific setting of a FL classroom, it is mostly the indirect effects of personality which can be observed, with personality shaping other variables, such as motivation and ability, that in turn might be detected in a straightforward manner (Piechurska-Kuciel). Understandably, partly due to that inconsistency, the research on personality in SLA has brought mixed results. However, aside from that, the lack of clear findings can also be attributed to complications with firm grounding in psychological theory or problems with the measurement instruments that might be deprived of validity and reliability, giving way to untrustworthy results. Another factor that should be taken into consideration is the situational nature of the language learning process that may not be clearly investigated while ignoring the impact of its dynamics. For this reason, catering to the temporal and situational variations of learner behaviour appears justified (Dörnyei and Ryan). However, notwithstanding these disheartening outcomes, there is still a need to explore the role of personality in the SLA field in order to gain a better understanding of the nature of the foreign language learner. This knowledge may be indispensable in order to effectively assist the student on their way to FL proficiency.

2. Type-focused approaches

The theoretical and empirical study of personality can fall roughly into two basic categories. The first one, called type-focused, incorporates theories and methodologies based on qualitative differences between people, while the other, trait-focused, on quantitative differences.

The foundation for *type-focused approaches* designed for measuring personality are specific theories that categorize individuals into a certain number of clear and autonomous types. Rooted in ancient intellectual systems, modern temperamental theories of personality comprise a system of personality types based on attitudes and functions proposed by Carl Jung, a Swiss psychologist. According to him, personality *attitudes* consist in the individual’s orientation to external objects, such as introverted and extraverted. Introverts, oriented inwards, get more energized by private, introspective activities. Extraverts, oriented outward, are energized by interacting with their external surroundings (e.g., other people) (Berens). Additionally, *functions* (judging and perceiving) describe mental activities or cognitive

processes oriented towards the external environment. *Judging* is a rational process, divided into two opposing types: Thinking and Feeling. *Thinking* judgments involve objective criteria, while *Feeling* judgments pertain to forming personal, interpersonal and universal values. *Feeling* is an irrational process, divided into *Sensing* and *Intuition*. The first one relies on the awareness of information coming from the physical sense organs, while Intuition involves collecting abstract and theoretical information. Following such a categorization, Jung proposed that one's personality can be described by means of eight basic types: four introverted types and four extraverted ones, with one function dominant, like extraverted or introverted sensation, extraverted or introverted intuition, extraverted or introverted thinking, extraverted or introverted feeling.

On these foundations, Cook Briggs and Briggs Myers developed a self-report personality questionnaire, complemented with the Judging-Perceiving dichotomy: the Myers–Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI). Altogether, 16 possible psychological types are proposed (eight extraverted and eight introverted types). Each of them is described by means of four letters, each of which stands for the preference type. Following Jung, every type demonstrates one function that is the most dominant, apparent earliest in life. In adolescence, it is balanced by the *auxiliary* function, and in midlife by the *tertiary* function. Last, in highly-stressful situations the *inferior* function appears. The MBTI has become a very popular personality measure instrument used in education, psychotherapy, group behaviour or career development. It consists of 93 questions that include word pairs and short statements. The sample items are: “Change for me is: difficult/easy” or “I prefer to work: alone/in a team”. On the basis of the responses, one of 16 personality types is indicated, together with its description, the best career paths to follow, and basic recommendations to work with this type of person.

In spite of a strong theoretical structure, there is insufficient evidence supporting its principles and test utility (Pittenger). Moreover, for most personality psychologists, the MBTI appears unscientific (Hogan). Altogether, type theories in general are claimed to fail to uncover all the intricacies of one's personality (Chitale, Mohanty and Dubey) because it has become apparent that all people cannot be allocated to a small number of distinct categories. Aside from that, types cannot be separated in a precise manner. In effect, an individual may be classified across categories (Costa and McCrae, “The NEO Inventories”). More importantly, the predictive value of such theories is seriously questioned because the move from individual personality structure to personality types reduces the knowledge about inter-individual differences (Asendorpf). Nevertheless, in spite of this criticism, it needs to be admitted that type theories with their holistic approach to personality enable a broader understanding of an individual's behaviour.

3. Trait-focused approaches

Trait theories view personality as composed of wide-ranging dispositions (Hiri-yappa). As traits are considered to be continuous rather than discrete entities, individuals are placed on a trait continuum signifying how high or low each individual is on any particular dimension, instead of being segregated into categories.

The first multidimensional model of personality structure was proposed by Cattell, who proposed 16 structural elements of personality (or source traits): Warmth, Reasoning, Emotional Stability, Dominance, Liveliness, Rule-Consciousness, Social Boldness, Sensitivity, Vigilance, Abstractedness, Privatness, Apprehension, Openness to Change, Self-reliance, Perfectionism, and Tension, as based on Carducci. These factors revealed the uniqueness of individual personality, allowing for the prediction of authentic behaviour. On the basis of his personality model, Cattell created a measuring tool called The 16 Personality Factors Questionnaire (16PF) (Cattell, Eber and Tatsuoka). Its latest revision contains 185 multiple-choice items, placed on a three-point Likert scale. Commercially-available personality measures, recent 16PF translations are culturally adapted, with local norms and reliability and validity information available in individual manuals. The validity of the 16PF has been documented in many studies (e.g., Conn and Rieke). The tool is used now by psychologists and counsellors in a wide range of settings. Nevertheless, its results need to be combined with information from other sources (interviews or other psychological measures) in order to predict behaviour in a reliable manner (Cattell).

A contemporary of H. Cattell, Eysenck (*The Scientific*) developed his distinctive structural personality model. According to it, there are four levels of the organization of behaviour, allowing for analysis to be conducted at various levels; i.e., that of supertraits, traits, habits and actions. Each supertrait is constructed of a number of traits, which come from habitual responses and specific responses (actions). At the core of this theory there are two independent personality dimensions: Extraversion-Introversion (E) and Neuroticism-Stability (N). Extraversion consists most of all in sociability with an element of impulsiveness, so people with high levels of Extraversion are friendly and outgoing. Contrarily, people with high levels of Introversion are quiet and reflective, with a tendency to spend time alone, planning their lives cautiously. Neuroticism, on the other hand, encompasses anxiety, tension, depression, and other negative emotional traits (M. Eysenck). Neurotic people tend to be nervous, unstable and vulnerable, whereas people who are low on Neuroticism tend to be stable, relaxed and well-balanced. These dimensions are the basis for the Eysenck Personality Inventory (EPI) (H. Eysenck and S. Eysenck, *Personality*), constructed with 57 “Yes/No” items. Aside from the measurement of Extraversion (24 items) and Neuroticism (24 items), it includes a falsification (lie) scale (nine items) to detect response distortion. In general, three measurements are obtained, showing the degree of the two supertraits and social desirability.

Later, a third dimension, Psychoticism-Normality (P), was introduced into this personality model. High levels of the trait describe an aggressive, hostile and uncaring person, predisposed to psychotic breakdowns. On the other hand, its low levels denote someone who is empathic, concerned about other people, and well-balanced. The three-component construct (H. Eysenck and M. Eysenck) is now called the PEN model. In this model, personality traits reflect individual differences in the ways in which people's nervous systems operate. An individual is likely to show some degree of each of these superfactors on a continuum. For this reason, the three universal factors should be interpreted as a set of bi-polar dimensions. Ultimately, H. Eysenck ("General") claimed that the superfactors of Extraversion, Neuroticism, and Psychoticism are universal dimensions, which means that these personality traits emerge in many different nations and cultures, not just Western countries.

All the three supertraits can be measured by means of The Eysenck Personality Questionnaire (EPQ) (H. Eysenck and S. Eysenck, *Manual*). It not only introduces the dimension of Psychoticism but also focuses solely on the sociability aspect of Extraversion. The questionnaire includes 90 items with a 'yes/no' response format. Later, it was revised as The Eysenck Personality Questionnaire—Revised (EPQr) (Eysenck, Eysenck and Barrett) with some minor modifications. The EPQr contains 100 items in the full-scale version, 32 items in the Psychoticism (P) scale, 23 in Extraversion (E), 24 in Neuroticism (N), and 21 in Social Desirability. The short form version of the test contains 48 items (12 in each scale). All of them are commercially available to psychologists only, with the translation and testing of the instruments in various languages (e.g., Francis, Lewis and Ziebertz).

In spite of its unquestionable assets, the PEN model paved the way for another personality taxonomy: the Five Factor Model (FFM) (Dörnyei and Ryan), also called the Big Five (McCrae and Costa), which has achieved a principal status in personality studies (John, Naumann and Soto). The model incorporates five broad dimensions of personality traits or domains (Costa and McCrae, "Domains") that can describe an individual, regardless of language or culture. They represent personality at a very broad level of abstraction, with each dimension summarizing a large number of clear-cut, precise personality characteristics (John, Naumann and Soto). It accommodates five broad factors: Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness to experience, Agreeableness and Conscientiousness. Each dimension is placed on a continuum with two extreme poles, with six constituent facets that might be broken into even more distinct concepts (Clark and Watson). This categorization enables to perceive personality factors as independent variables in research studies in an easier and more reliable manner for non-psychologists (Dörnyei, "Individual").

The trait of *Neuroticism* (vs. Emotional Stability) is connected with negative emotionality and nervousness, accommodating people who are not in control of their impulses, and have problems coping with stress. The facets of Neuroticism are constituted by Anxiety, Angry Hostility, Depression, Self-consciousness, Impulsiveness and Vulnerability. *Extraversion* (vs. Introversion) pertains to an energetic, passionate, and bold approach to life and to social relations (Digman). The

facets describing the trait are represented by Warmth, Gregariousness, Assertiveness, Activity, Excitement-seeking and Positive emotions. *Openness to experience* (vs. low Openness) describes “individual differences in imagination, sensitivity to aesthetics, depth of feeling, preference for novelty, cognitive flexibility, and social and political values” (Sutin 83). It comprises the facets of Fantasy, Aesthetics, Feelings, Actions, Ideas, and Values. *Agreeableness* refers to altruistic consideration for other people, as well as to unsuspecting and big-hearted attitudes towards, and to trusting and generous sentiments. The facets of the trait are Trust, Straightforwardness, Altruism, Compliance, Modesty and Tendermindedness (Costa and McCrae, *Manual*). The last dimension is *Conscientiousness*, a spectrum of constructs that describe one’s “propensity to follow socially prescribed norms for impulse control, to be goal directed, to plan, and to be able to delay gratification and to follow norms and rules” (Roberts et al. 369). It comprises the facets of Competence, Order, Dutifulness, Achievement-striving, Self-discipline and Deliberation.

One of the most popular instruments for measuring the Big Five attributes is The Revised NEO Personality Inventory (NEO PI-R), consisting of 240 items, by Costa and McCrae (“Objective”). Aside from measuring the five dimensions, it also assesses the five sets of six respective facets (subordinate aspects of each trait). It has been found to be the most comprehensive, and presumably, best-validated inventory. Its shortened version with 60 items is called The NEO Five-Factor Inventory (NEO-FFI) (Costa and McCrae, *Manual*), with 12 items per domain. The test was developed for use with adult men and women without overt psychopathology, but also turned out to be useful at younger ages (over 15 years of age). The sample items on the inventory are: *I keep my belongings neat and clean* or *When I'm under a great deal of stress, sometimes I feel like I'm going to pieces*. Responses are made on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from *1—strongly disagree* to *5—strongly agree*. The scale has been shown to be highly reliable and valid, popular in various languages and cultures (McCrae et al.). However, both instruments have been strongly criticised for their market-oriented and proprietary nature (Goldberg).

In order to produce an instrument capable of measuring personality traits that could be made available to the general public, Goldberg initiated an international collaboration to develop an easily available, broad-bandwidth personality inventory, corresponding to the commercial NEO PI-R and NEO-FFI. The scale is known as Goldberg’s IPIP Big Five (IPIP B5), that is a 50-item instrument. The inventory can be freely downloaded from the internet for use in research (www.ipip.ori.org) with ten items for each of the Big-Five personality factors. Each item is in a sentence fragment form (e.g., “Am the life of the party”), with respondents rating how well they believe it describes them on a 5-point scale (*very inaccurate* to *very accurate*). The scale has turned out to be valid (Lim and Ployhart) and robust across languages, cultures, genders, and age groups (Guenole and Chernyshenko).

Altogether, the strengths of trait theories are mostly connected with their ability to classify observable behaviours (Hampson). Aside from that, the criteria used for classifying and measuring behaviour have been found to be objective, which

can be evidenced on the basis of the fact that independent teams of researchers working on defining a universal set of traits arrived at similar conclusions (e.g., Costa and McCrae, *Manual*; Goldberg). The Big Five model enables a researcher to capture the cumulative effects of different variables reflected in trait complexes. In this way, a clearer inspection of the effects of particular traits on academic achievement can be obtained (Dörnyei and Ryan). Nevertheless, trait theories and approaches are not free from criticism. They are said to be “conceptually vacuous” (Hogan and Foster 38) because a direct observation of traits, contrary to behaviour, cannot be carried out. Aside from that, prediction cannot be confused with explanation, which means that identifying regular patterns of behaviour (i.e., traits) is not identical with explaining these patterns by means of traits (Block).

Irrespective of the criticism of type and trait approaches, the empirical research on personality within the SLA area is still needed. It appears that assessing it by means of trait methodologies, such as those represented by Goldberg’s IPIP Big Five, is likely to give way to gaining reliable insight into the direct and direct effect of personality because of its solid theoretical foundations in Psychology, as well as sound measurement tools, some of which have already been effectively used in the applied linguistics research. At the same time, it must be noted that other thought-provoking approaches to personality study, like the narrative perspective, may render important information indispensable for the understanding of the language acquisition process (Piechurska-Kuciel, Ożańska-Ponikwia and Skafacka).

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Literature and Culture

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“An Unpleasant Book about Unpleasant Boys at an Unpleasant School”:^{*} Kipling’s Reshaping of the Victorian School Story in *Stalky & Co.*

Abstract: “Slaves of the Lamp, Part One”—the first tale of Rudyard Kipling’s *Stalky & Co.*—was published in 1897, forty years after the publication of Thomas Hughes’s *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*, a book that created a pattern followed by other practitioners of the school-story genre. The aim of the following paper is to discuss the ways in which Kipling challenged the established conventions of the Victorian school story. In contrast to his predecessors, Kipling did not set his tales in an old, established public school; he questioned the importance of sports and games in developing manly character; and refused to idolize the school traditions. His protagonists rebel against authority and do not follow the rules, but are intent on the pursuing their own interests and pleasures, and do not hesitate to venture out to explore and appropriate for themselves new spaces outside of school boundaries. An important feature of *Stalky & Co.* is its rejection of anti-intellectualism that characterizes many Victorian school stories. *Stalky & Co.* abounds in literary allusions, the protagonists are voracious readers; moreover, reading and writing are represented as essential parts of the process by which cultural maturity and authority are attained.

Keywords: Rudyard Kipling, *Stalky and Co.*, Victorian literature, school story, masculinity

For a researcher in the field of Victorian literature, there can be only one choice of a subject for an article intended for a volume commemorating Professor Jan Cygan—it has to be a paper about Rudyard Kipling, Professor Cygan’s favorite Victorian author. Kipling’s oeuvre encompasses a great number of works in

^{*} This is how George Sampson referred to *Stalky & Co.* in his *Concise Cambridge History of English Literature* (959).

a variety of genres, but *Stalky & Co.* seems a particularly fitting text because it is a collection of school stories that deal with different aspects of the process of education, and Professor Cygan was not only an eminent linguist but also an esteemed educator who played a crucial role in shaping the English philology curriculum at the University of Wrocław. The study of literature has been a crucial part of this curriculum. My aim in the following paper is to show how Kipling departed from the conventions of a typical Victorian school story and created a one-of-a-kind school where, as one of the teachers observes, “Boys educate each other... more than we can or dare” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 3245). Kipling’s protagonists—the boys who educate each other—although unruly and often intractable, share an interest in literature and read voraciously.

Rudyard Kipling’s collection of school tales, *Stalky & Co.*, appeared for the first time in the book form in 1899, following serialization which began with the publication of the first *Stalky* story “Slaves of the Lamp, Part I” in the April 1897 edition of *Cosmopolis* and continued in *The Windsor Magazine* in Britain and *McClure’s Magazine* in the USA. The volume contained nine stories about adolescent boys at an unnamed British boarding school, referred to as the College, or the Coll. Five more stories set in the same school and focused on the same trio of protagonists were published over the period of nine years, from 1917 to 1926, and *The Complete Stalky & Co* appeared in 1929. The 1929 edition included the nine stories from the 1899 book and the five stories which did not figure in the original *Stalky & Co.* Kipling’s book is not a novel with a continuous plot, which—somewhat paradoxically—may be the source of its strength. According to Isabel Quigly, *Stalky & Co.* “scores over most other school stories because it keeps up interest and emotional intensity in energetic bursts of narrative, each complete in itself, each worked out to make a satisfactory pattern” (loc. 258). As the dates of publication demonstrate, Kipling’s stories of boys’ school life appeared at the time when the genre of Victorian school stories was firmly established. In 1857—exactly forty years before Kipling’s “Slaves of the Lamp”—Thomas Hughes published *Tom Brown’s School-days*, an almost archetypal example of the school-story genre, which inspired many imitators such as Henry Cadwallader Adams, the author of, among others, *The White Brunswickers: Or Reminiscences of Schoolboy Life* (1865) or Thomas Street Millington, the author of *Boy and Man: A Story for Young and Old* (1887). Hughes’s book became enormously popular: *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* ran through 52 editions from 1857 to 1892. In the novel, Hughes draws on his own experiences at Rugby, which he attended from 1833 to 1842, when the school was run by its celebrated headmaster Dr. Thomas Arnold (the father of the poet Matthew Arnold), who radically reformed its curriculum and the organization of the school life.

Another significant contribution to the school story genre was Frederic William Farrar’s *Eric, or Little by Little*, issued by Adam & Charles Black in 1858. As Farrar explained in the preface to the fourth edition of his best-known novel, “[t]he story of ‘Eric’ was written with but one single object—the vivid inculcation

of inward purity and moral purpose” (vii). Farrar’s book has achieved a particular significance for the reader of *Stalky and Co.*, because in Kipling’s stories the word “Ericking” functions as a derisive term the boys use to refer to pious behavior. Kipling’s protagonists often make fun of the religious earnestness that characterizes Farrar’s novel and mock its priggishness and mawkishness. The boys’ disdain for Farrar’s books is revealed when Stalky’s aunt buys him *Eric* and *St Winifred’s: Or The World of School* (another famous school story by Farrar). Stalky and his friends immediately want to get rid of both volumes by re-selling them; however, the local bookseller would “advance but ninepence on the two”, since both books are a “great ... drug” on the market—that is, a commodity whose supply greatly surpasses the demand for it (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 2012). Through such references to earlier school stories, Kipling reminds the reader that his tales of school life are different from the ones created by his predecessors.

In a typical Victorian school story which follows the pattern developed by Hughes and Farrar, the events take place in an old established public school, such as Rugby, the setting for *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*, or the fictional Roslyn School of *Eric*, the school being a cross between King William’s College, which Farrar attended and Marlborough College, where he was employed as the schoolmaster. Such public schools were highly selective institutions which drew their students from the upper stratum of society, and educated the vast majority of future Oxford and Cambridge graduates who would later become members of Britain’s ruling elite. The College where *Stalky & Co* is set had different aims: the school prepared its graduates for entering Sandhurst or the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, which produced military officers and civil servants for the British Empire, most of whom would leave Britain for the colonies.

The school was based on the United Services College, Kipling’s own school. Founded in 1874 as Westward Ho! in Devon, the United Services College, was an institution “where the sons of officers ... could be given a good education at a moderate fee. ... A Company was formed, consisting mostly of army officers, and the purchase of fifty £1 shares enabled the holders to nominate one boy for education at reduced terms” (Tapp 1). The school catered mainly to those who could not afford the public school Haileybury. It is worth mentioning that the three main characters of Kipling’s stories—Stalky, M’Turk and Beetle—have their real-life equivalents. They have been identified as L. C. Dunsterville, George Charles Beresford and Kipling himself (Musgrave 172). However, it would be a mistake to treat *Stalky & Co.* as a collection of reminiscences about Kipling’s own school life. In March 1984, *The Kipling Journal* published several extracts from the diary of Kipling’s school-friend, L. C. Dunsterville, who stresses several times that *Stalky & Co.* is a work of fiction. On January 24, 1923, he writes: “am very tired of this perpetual ‘Stalky’ business. Am tired of pointing out that I never did any of the things Stalky did and that R[udyard] K[ipling] is a writer of fiction not history” (37). On July 1, 1925, he makes a similar point:

It worries me that people think that my nickname at Westward Ho was Stalky. Why? Kipling writes *fiction*. He and I and Beresford were at school together and behaved badly. He writes this up into Stalky and Co., calling himself Beetle, me Stalky and Beresford Mc Turk. As a matter of fact, I was never called anything else than Dunsty, Beresford no nickname, and Kipling Gigger or Giglamps from his spectacles. (38–39)

Kipling attended the United Services College from 1878 to 1882. Recalling his school experience in *Something of Myself*, Kipling wrote that the United Services College was “largely a caste-school—some seventy five percent of us had been born outside England and hoped to follow their fathers in the Army” (72). There is an obvious parallel between the student population of the United Services College and the student body of the fictional Coll. As Don Randall puts it, the “school of *Stalky* is not an insular world susceptible to internal, self-referential definition; it is a carefully delineated microcosm of the British Empire” (91). The boys of the College are well aware of the school’s status: “we aren’t a public school. We are a limited liability company payin’ four percent”, notes a schoolboy (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 4169). Another pupil bluntly observes: “We’ve got to get into the Army or—get out, haven’t we? King is hired by the Council to teach us. All the rest’s flumdidle” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 4169).

The spatial organization of the College of *Stalky & Co.* also foregrounds the difference between the Coll. and an established elite public school typically envisioned as a picturesque campus consisting of ivy-covered ancient buildings, spacious quadrangles with majestic trees, green cricket fields, and a beautiful chapel. In contrast to such idyllic surroundings, the College is located in a row of seaside boarding houses on the wild North Devon coast. The buildings had been adapted for the school use, and the main setting of *Stalky & Co.* is described by Kipling in the dedicatory verses to the book as the “twelve bleak houses by the shore”, (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 794). The school is further described in “An Unsavoury Interlude”: “each House, in its internal arrangements—the College had originally been a terrace of twelve large houses—was a replica of the next; one straight roof covering all” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 2112). While Kipling’s predecessors represent the school as a self-contained microcosm and rarely show the world outside school, he blurs the boundaries between school and the outside world. Stalky and his friends often spend time in the surrounding countryside and get to know local inhabitants of various social status, from a landowner, Colonel Dabney, who figures prominently in “In Ambush”, to the dairywoman Mother Yeo, and her daughter, a pretty dairymaid Mary, who plays an important role in “The Last Term”. Linguistically, the boys belong to both worlds: at school, they use standard English, but they are also fluent in the broad Devon dialect. Kipling makes explicit the difference between the College and other public schools a number of times; for example, the tale “The United Idolaters” begins with the arrival of a temporary replacement teacher, Mr. Brownell, who “came from the Central Anglican Scholastic Agency” but “his reign was brief”, for he could not adapt himself to the life at the

Coll. He was surprised at the level of freedom the boys enjoyed and was critical of the school’s lax discipline. Other masters resented his opinions, which led to a quarrel and resulted in his resignation. “Looking back at the affair, one sees that the Head should have warned Mr. Brownell of the College’s outstanding peculiarity, instead of leaving him to discover it for himself the first day of the term”, writes Kipling (*Stalky*, loc. 3281). The difference and oddity of the College becomes both a recurrent motif in the stories that make up *Stalky & Co.* and a source of certain kind of pride felt by the protagonists.

Although in the four decades that separate the publication of *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* and *Eric, or Little by Little* from the publication of *Stalky & Co.* the style of Victorian school stories was moving away from “old didactic moralizing” towards a “fiction of implicit values”, encoded within the conventional features of the school-story genre, such as house rivalry, the outwitting of the bully or the climactic school match (Scott 5), readers accustomed to often-sentimentalized images of school life were surprised or even shocked by the trio of Kipling’s central figures: Stalky, M’Turk and Beetle. As Ulrike Pesold puts it, “Little is left of muscular Christians like Tom Brown or his chums East and Arthur.” The three protagonists of *Stalky & Co.*, “in contrast to the ordinary school boy who is a character with rather mediocre intellectual abilities, but good-natured and physically fit . . . were described by critics as unpleasant and even as beasts” (65)¹. Stalky and his friends do not share the typical schoolboy interests: they do not care for sports, they do not aspire to achieve the prestigious position of a school prefect, they do not cheer at games and matches between the houses. Instead, they lead a private life at school, often defying authority, and securing for themselves a secret hiding place outside of school grounds where they read what they want, smoke pipes, and escape the pressures of enforced togetherness that school life imposes on its pupils. “In Ambush”, the first story of the 1899 collection, opens with a passage that emphasizes the importance of a private, personal space out of school bounds: “In summer all right-minded boys built huts in the furze-hill behind the College—little lairs whittled out of the heart of the prickly bushes, full of stumps, odd root-ends, and spike, but, since they were strictly forbidden, palaces of delight” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 1165). Kipling uses the phrase “right-minded boys” in reference to those who rebel against authority and do not follow the rules, but are intent on the pursuing their own interests and pleasures, and do not hesitate to venture out to explore and appropriate for themselves new spaces outside of school boundaries.

The tales of *Stalky & Co.* center on the conflict between the trio of ingenious and sometimes devious protagonists and the forces that represent authority: schoolmasters, prefects, a Member of Parliament visiting the school. The importance of cleverness and wiliness is emphasized by the very nickname of Stalky, whose given

¹ It was A. C. Benson who described Kipling’s protagonists as “little beasts”; see Hay (318–326).

name is Arthur Lionel Corkran, called Corky by his friends. In the story entitled “Stalky”, Kipling describes how Corkran gained his nickname. The story was first published in *The Windsor Magazine* and *McClure’s Magazine* in December 1898. It was intended to introduce the three protagonists,² but it was withheld from the 1899 publication of *Stalky & Co.* because some reviewers complained that it appeared to endorse cruelty to animals (Harbord, Vol. 1, 423). It was restored as the introductory story in *The Complete Stalky & Co.* published in 1929. In the story, Corkran achieves his nickname when he comes up with a clever plan to free the schoolboys, who planned a cattle raid against the local farmer, were caught in the act and locked in a barn by the angry farmhands. Corkran uses his catapult to shoot at the cows in order to make them run amuck and, in the ensuing chaos, shows the boys how to escape. What is more, he manages to lock up the farmers, who hid in the barn from the enraged cows, and then reveals himself to the farmers, offering to rescue them, thus earning their gratitude. Corkran is “henceforth known as Stalky” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 1138), and the narrator explains that “‘Stalky’ in their school vocabulary, meant clever, well-considered and wily, as applied to plans of action; and ‘stalkiness’ was the one virtue Corkran toiled after” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 888). It is worth noting that the cunning and survival skills developed by Stalky and his friend both at the Coll. and in the world outside of school will be useful in their later life. In “Slaves of the Lamp II”, the last story in *The Complete Stalky & Co.*, a reunion of alumni, twelve years after their graduation, brings together Beetle, M’Turk and others, who talk about an absent Stalky, now an imperial officer in India. M’Turk gives an account of Stalky’s exploits in India, showing that Stalky has used the same trick he used in “Slaves of the Lamp I” to out-manoeuvre renegade colonial tribesmen, who outnumbered his men. He set the tribes against each other, exactly as he had done with Mr. King and the local carrier in “Slaves of the Lamp I”. Stalky manages to accomplish his goal because he has learned to speak the language of both tribes, just as he mastered the broad Devon dialect when he was a pupil at the Coll. The message of “Slaves of the Lamp II” appears to be that the British Empire is better served by men like Stalky, with his openness to new experiences coupled with cleverness, deviousness and willingness to subvert the rules rather than to obey them—the qualities that he developed at the College. As Isabel Quigly has noted in her book *The Heirs of Tom Brown, Stalky & Co.* “is the only school story ... in which school is shown as directly parallel with life in the Empire; a training directly related to the life that lay ahead for many public schoolboys at the end of the nineteenth century” (116).

² “Stalky” was included in the 1923 collection *Land and Sea Tales for Scout and Guides*, and was headed by Kipling’s note: “This happens to be the first story that was written concerning the adventures and performances of three schoolboys—‘Stalky’, McTurk and ‘Beetle’. For some reason or other, it was never put into the book, called *Stalky and Co.*” (https://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/readers-guide/rg_stalky1.htm).

In many of the stories, the adult authority figures are represented as getting their comeuppance. The housemasters—especially the strict and demanding Mr. King—are treated as adversaries who deserve retribution. For example, “In Ambush” has the boys luring Mr. King into trying to catch them trespassing. Mr. King follows Stalky, M’Turk and Beetle to their hideout on Colonel Dabney’s grounds, but he does not know that the boys have been given the landowner’s permission to freely access his land, and thus he is maneuvered into trespassing himself. Mr. King is apprehended by Colonel Dabney and severely upbraided by the landowner, who tells the housemaster that he has “no shadow of a right here, cornin’ up from the combe that way, an’ frightenin’ everything in it. ... If the masters trespass, how can we blame the boys” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 1466). The threesome, who eavesdrop on the exchange, are overjoyed. “An Unsavory Interlude” provides another example of a challenge to the housemaster’s authority. When Stalky and his friends are unfairly accused by Mr. King of being dirty and smelly, they put a dead cat between attic floor boards and the ceiling of his House, which results in an unbearable stench when the cat’s body begins to decompose. It leads to Mr. King’s boys being called stinkers and him bearing the financial burden, for he “had himself expended, with no thought of reimbursement, sums, the amounts of which he would not specify, on disinfectants” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 2371) to get rid of the offensive smell. The boys gloat over the downfall of Mr. King by ridiculing his pompous rhetoric and his fondness for biblical turns of phrase in the mocking speech delivered by M’Turk: “Now in all the Coll. There was no stink like the stink of King’s house, for it stank vehemently and none knew what to make of it. Save King. And he washed the fags *privatim et seriatim*. In the fishpools of Heshbon washed he them, with an apron about his loins” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 2397).

Kipling’s fictional images of boys behaving badly met with a hostile reception. In “The Voice of the Hooligan”, the 1899 article for the *Contemporary Review*, Robert Buchanan makes his dissatisfaction with Kipling’s book abundantly clear:

Mr. Kipling obviously aims at verisimilitude; the picture he draws is at any rate repulsive and disgusting enough to be true. ... Only the spoiled child of an utterly brutalized public could possibly have written *Stalky & Co.* ... It is simply impossible to show by mere quotation the horrible vileness of the book describing these three small fiends in human likeness; only a perusal of the whole work would convey to the reader its truly repulsive character. ... The vulgarity, the brutality, the savagery ... reeks on every page. (244–45)

Buchanan’s essay is but one of numerous voices that produced the outcry which greeted *Stalky & C.* stories upon their publication; as Robin Gilmour maintains, such a reaction “is a sign of how thoroughly Kipling subverted ... [the] genre [of the Victorian school-story], and by doing so challenged a particular social and ethical code—the Arnoldian³ code of Christian manliness—which the school-story had enshrined and promoted since *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*” (19–20).

³ Thomas Arnold (1795–1842) served as headmaster of Rugby School from 1828 to 1841. Arnold described Rugby’s mission in the following words “What we must look for here is, 1st,

The notion of Christian manliness was rooted in the movement known as muscular Christianity,⁴ which emerged in England in the mid-nineteenth century, and which maintained that there existed a significant link between Christian faith and the cultivation of a muscular body, and emphasized the connection between a healthy body and sound morality. Muscular Christians considered sports, especially team sports, to be a direct and effective way of instilling in boys the sense of importance of duty and obligation to family, school, country, and ultimately God. The importance of sport in shaping the manly ideal manifested itself in the games-playing cult of the 1850s and the 1860s, inspired by the belief that exercise not only promoted health but helped with character development (Park 10). The ideas of muscular Christianity became popular and influential in the sphere of education and found their reflection in Victorian novels of school life. Many school stories, Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays* being the best-known example, presented team sports such as football or cricket as indispensable agents in the development of an upright moral character and in turning unruly adolescent boys into honorable men. Hughes places particular emphasis on the development of a code of honor among the schoolboys which arises out of their participation in sports. Tom's first significant learning experience at the school is his playing in a football match. Football is a team sport in which cooperation, fair play and following the rules are crucial. During the game, every player can test his mettle, practice his leadership and demonstrate his loyalty to his school. The football or cricket field becomes a metaphor for the battlefield. Thus, the public-school cult of athleticism contributed to the formation of the British man who begins his conquests on the playing field and goes on to fight for the Empire on the battlefield. The saying "Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton", attributed to the Duke of Wellington, and popular in the Victorian period, is an apt reflection of the belief in the significance of sports in shaping imperial masculinity. Moreover, as John R. Gillis argues in *Youth and History*, in the Victorian public schools, sport took on many of the functions of the rites of passage between boyhood and adult masculinity, where boys could demonstrate that they possessed appropriate manly qualities and could in time become successful adults (95).

The protagonists of *Stalky & Co.* have little interest in sport and games. In the summer, they cut cricket, preferring to spend their time in the wild furze-hills. They choose not to participate in House-matches and show no concern for the honor of

religious and moral principles; 2ndly, gentlemanly conduct; 3rdly, intellectual ability" (Stanley 108). Under Arnold's rule, Rugby became a morally serious school, where religion played an important role in shaping pupils characters, and where "character building" was seen as the main objective of education.

⁴ For a detailed discussion of muscular Christianity and its literary representations, see Vance, who links manliness with physical prowess, which combines strength and courage and was linked with a valorization of sport.

their house. Mr. Prout, their housemaster is clearly dismayed at their unwillingness to uphold the school tradition:

Boys that [Mr. Prout] understood attended House-matches and could be accounted for at any moment. But he had heard M'Turk openly deride cricket—even House-matches; Beetle's views on the honour of the House he knew were incendiary; and he could never tell when the soft and smiling Stalky was laughing at him. (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 1326)

Mr. Prout is frustrated by the fact that the trio does not “take any interest in the honour of ... [their] house”—they do not want even to watch the games. At some point, he tried to force them to attend the match, and decided not to do it again: “He had tried the experiment once at a big match, when the three, self-isolated, stood to attention for half an hour in full view of all the visitors, to whom fags, subsidized for that end, pointed them out as victims of Prout's tyranny” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 2040). Although some house masters at the Coll. believe that “by games, and games alone, was salvation wrought” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 2042), Stalky, M'Turk and Beetle successfully resist any attempts to turn them into competitive athletes. It does not mean that they are not physically fit. As Terence Wright has noted, “In fact, they are good at sports, but they will only play when they choose, and certainly not for an abstract *esprit de corps* concept such as the ‘Honour of the House’” (67). When Mr. King, one of the school masters, keeps “talking round and over the boys' heads, in a lofty and promiscuous style, of public-school spirit and the tradition of ancient seats”, he does not get the expected response: “Beyond waking in two hundred and fifty young hearts a lively hatred of all other foundations, he accomplished little” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 4132–45).

The prefects and housemasters who explicitly invoke such notions as ‘the honor of the house’ are depicted as pompous and foolish, but the character who becomes an object of the most intense ridicule and contempt is Tory MP Raymond Martin, who plays a central role in “The Flag of Their Country”. He comes to the Coll. to deliver a public speech on the subject of ‘patriotism’: “In a raucous voice, he cried aloud little matters, like hope of Honour and the dream of Glory, that boys do not discuss even with their most intimate equals, cheerfully assuming that, till he spoke, they had never considered these possibilities” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 4763). His audience—the sons of serving army officers—are appalled by his insensitive references to relatives who have lost their lives in the service of their country. The boys feel that he “profaned the most secret places of their souls” with his crude talk and experience profound outrage when he starts waving “a large calico Union Jack”, expecting “the thunder of applause that should crown his effort” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 4764). However, no applause is coming:

They looked in silence. They had certainly seen the thing before—down at the coastguard station, or through a telescope, half-mast high when a brig went ashore on Braunton sands; above the roof of the Golf Club, and in Keyte's window, where a certain kind of striped sweetmeat bore it on paper on each box. But the College never displayed it; it was no part of the scheme of their lives; the Head had never alluded to it; their fathers had not declared it unto them. It was

a matter shut up, sacred and apart. What, in the name of everything caddish, was he driving at, who waved that horror before their eyes? (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 4778)

For the boys of the College, true patriotism has nothing to do with the flag-waving and loud but empty declarations. Stalky calls the MP a “Jelly-bellied Flag-flapper” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 4793), and in response to M’Turk’s sarcastic question, “Don’t you want to die for your giddy country?”, Stalky replies: “Not if I can jolly well avoid it” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 4623). He repudiates not patriotism as such, but rather its jingoistic version as embodied by Raymond Martin.

Another feature that differentiates *Stalky & Co.* from other school stories is the multitude of literary allusions. Stalky, M’Turk and Beetle are voracious readers: in addition to the required classical Latin texts, they read not only Shakespeare, Milton, Swift, Johnson, Pope and Dickens, but also the works of Ruskin and De Quincey, not to mention such popular books as *Uncle Remus*, or adventure novels. Books become sources of ideas for the tricks they play on their adversaries; for example, Margaret Oliphant’s *Beleaguered City* becomes an inspiration for misleading Mr. Prout in “The Impressionists” while the works of Eugène Viollet-le-Duc teach them how the house is constructed, so they know where to hide the dead cat—the episode which figures so prominently in “An Unsavoury Interlude”. References to Homer or the Bible or Latin and French phrases are common throughout the text. As Kimberley Reynolds has noted, anti-intellectualism played an important role in late-Victorian school stories that aimed at turning boys into men: “a consequence of this determination to produce more masculine boys is a decidedly anti-intellectual strain in their fiction: muscle and morality are celebrated over intelligence and inspiration.” (59). In contrast to such anti-intellectualism, in *Stalky & Co.* the boys read prose and poetry, discover new ideas through reading, and actively engage with what they read. Kipling prioritizes intelligence and inspiration, and valorizes reading as well as writing; in the world of *Stalky & Co.*, reading functions as an important process by which cultural maturity and authority are attained.

The importance of reading is clearly visible in the character of Beetle, short-sighted and thus disqualified from a career in the army, whose high standing among his peers is due to his interests in literature and his literary endeavors. As an avid reader and an editor of the College paper, he is granted “the run of [the Head’s] brown-bound, tobacco-scented library; prohibiting nothing” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 5573). Having free access to a wide variety of literary texts, Beetle acquires the kind of knowledge that goes beyond the school curriculum. In “The Propagation of Knowledge”, Beetle shares the results of his extensive reading with other boys, disseminating amongst them many anecdotes from Isaac D’Israeli’s *Curiosities of Literature*, which they include in their test papers. The teacher, Mr. King is duly impressed. From Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The Authorship of Shakespeare*, Beetle learns of the Baconian theory—a theory that Mr. King wholeheartedly rejects and refuses to mention in class. The boys discuss the question of Shakespeare’s authorship with

a visiting examiner during their *viva voce* examination. The examiner, who subscribes to the theory, gives them high marks for their knowledge and praises them for “a genuine and unusual interest in English Literature” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 5202).

The authority of Beetle comes from both his wide reading and his writing. He is referred to in the third person in throughout the text of the tales; however, in the final story, “Slaves of the Lamp II”, he refers to himself in the first person. He reveals himself as the narrator, not just of the final tale, which focuses on recounting Stalky’s military successes in India, but as the teller of the whole story. As a man of letters, a creator of texts, Beetle is the one who has preserved the exploits of boys at school and of men out of school for posterity. In Kipling’s world, Beetle is as important as Stalky. Stalky is a military hero who achieves his heroic status not only because of his actions, but also because they have been recorded in writing by Beetle. In the closing lines of *Stalky & Co.*, Beetle points out that “India’s full of Stalkies ... that we don’t know anything about”. It is thanks to Beetle, the maker of narratives, that Stalky’s deeds are known and will be remembered, and it is thanks to Beetle that the spirit of the Coll. will be represented for future generations. “Ain’t I responsible for the whole thing?”, he asks, and when challenged by his colleagues to “Prove it”, he triumphantly answers “And I have!” (Kipling, *Stalky* loc. 6331) referring to the book that has ended with these lines. In the final tale of *Stalky and Co.* Kipling implies that maturity and manliness are demonstrated not only by heroic deeds on the battlefield, but also by contributions to literary and cultural heritage. Kipling’s repudiation of anti-intellectualism, his appreciation for intellectual pursuits, together with his valorization of writing is what makes *Stalky and Co.* different from other school stories, and what may make the book still relevant for the twenty-first-century reader.

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William Oldroyd's *Lady Macbeth*: An Exercise in Storytelling and Boredom

Abstract: William Oldroyd's film *Lady Macbeth* (2016 release from the UK) is a dark and disturbing portrait of a young woman, Katherine Lester, set in the bleak context of nineteenth-century provincial Scotland. The film offers a transmedia re-reading of Nikolai Leskov's "Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk" (1865), a novella roughly appropriating and involving the eponymous Shakespearean character. Avoiding the poetics of period drama à la *Belgravia* (2020) or *Downton Abbey* (2010–2015), which offers global audiences shortbread-tin versions of British literature and culture as windswept and white, Oldroyd's film introduces colour-blind casting to reveal the less-known facts of Britain's provincial life—astounding numbers of Black people in nineteenth-century north-east England and a complex system of race, class, and gender oppression. The film's poetics aligns itself with Leskov's naturalism and thus with the post-heritage darker, dirtier, and more brutal images of the past defined by Andrew Higson as "dirty realism". This article argues that *Lady Macbeth* is more interested in the *experience* of boredom that precedes storytelling than in the story's well-constructed plot, employs slow cinema strategies, and is influenced by Vilhelm Hammershøi's art. The film reproduces both Hammershøi's aesthetics and atmosphere. Rather than consider Oldroyd's work politically in terms of oppressive white privilege and patriarchy, this article tries to read the adaptation through the lens of a less-conspicuous undercurrent of storytelling, which foregrounds *experience* instead of scenarios focusing on narratives where moral judgment matters, and where the storyteller assumes responsibility for the life they are retelling.

Keywords: Nikolai Leskov, William Oldroyd, storytelling, adaptation, boredom, slow cinema

This well-made independent film has been variously reviewed by critics and audiences. What the critics seem to share is a sense of ambivalence concerning the nature of the film's indebtedness to the classic and its genre. Even if considered a promising debut, which opens up "a new avenue in the bonnets-and-bows world of classic literary adaptation" (Bradshaw), Oldroyd's *Lady Macbeth* floats vaguely

between popular culture and politically engaged art. Despite these neat, though radical, differentiations defining the spectrum of reception, the production incites a notably strong feeling of disorientation. This sense of uncertainty, which causes anxiety, accompanies the very first shots. An exposition rather than a typical mainstream title sequence, the opening maintains a sense of distance by refusing to offer any clear guidance to the viewer. Moreover, the film has been perceived by some audiences as “not an adaptation of Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*” (bastille-852-731547) at all, possibly its parody, a work vaguely or indirectly inspired by the bard’s study of “man’s weakness in his dominance” (jdesando), a “twist on a genre ... invented by Shakespeare” (Bradshaw), or a Victorian noir where a single line of intertextual overlapping, “It is done” (Shakespeare 1.4.60, 2.1.75) pays homage to the Shakespearean source text. Additionally, this instance of strictly intertextual embedding by means of no more than a single line from *Macbeth* is significantly relocated and visually foregrounded by being given to Florence Pugh in the lead role of Lady Macbeth, *alias* Katherine Lester, rather than to the possible counterpart of Shakespeare’s Macbeth, a character reduced in Alice Birch’s film script to Sebastian, an estate worker of mixed race in a role echoing James Howson’s Heathcliff.¹ If driven by the expectations of period drama, critics tend to find the scenario too complex while also finding its distant “intellectualized approach” an obstacle paradoxically preventing viewers “from feeling any complicity” with the main character (Taylor). Additionally, various misconceptions concerning Nikolai Leskov’s novella, imagined as a Russian tale of “robust wisdom” and “peasant myth” set in “lush descriptions of nature” (Taylor), clash with what must be perceived as a colourless and joyless setting of an austere country house in Northumberland (just below the border with Scotland) whose solid atmosphere and subdued palette has been borrowed from the paintings of Vilhelm Hammershøi. On the other hand, as a Shakespearean adaptation with colour-blind casting, unavoidably a product of diverse and “multiple acts of mediation and filtration” (Sanders 62), the film can be reduced to a politically-motivated narrative drawing out themes of multifaceted oppression,

¹ The film contains further allusions and transtextual, rather than strictly intertextual, references to Shakespeare’s play. Katherine dresses Sebastian in her husband’s shirt with the words “There. Very fine indeed. Man of the house” (Oldroyd 0:40:41–0:40:45), and she seems to believe that. It is an allusion to the iterative imagery in Shakespeare’s tragedy where the notion of Macbeth being dressed in “borrowed robes” reappears (Shakespeare 1.3.110) as a comment on the new honours that “come upon him/ like strange garment” that may or may not fit over time “with the aid of use” (1.3). However, there is a noticeable shift in the use of these references in the movie. Macbeth’s “I have done the deed” (2.2.15) reappears in Katherine’s “We did it” (Oldroyd 0:54:40), which may evoke the dreams of partnership and greatness (Shakespeare 1.5) voiced by Lady Macbeth. The difference in the use of the pronouns indicates a significant shift from the domination of the male to the rise of the female character. Indeed, the fact that it is Sebastian who has nightmares after the murder of Alexander Lester remains proof of his greater vulnerability, a serf’s fear that the position recently gained can be lost, rather than his more sensitive conscience. In Leskov’s novella, Sergei’s social advancement hinges on Katerina’s control of her husband’s capital.

marginalization, abuse, and violence (Bradshaw) that is analysable in terms of, for example, intersectional oppression. Following a political interpretation, the disorienting spatial organization the film generates tends to be interpreted as a Foucauldian heterotopic space where its viewers discover “blind spots” (Tronicke 3). Most problematic in such a reading of the film is Hammershøi's contribution to the *mise-en-scène*. Still, if Oldroyd's *Lady Macbeth* is to be viewed primarily as a politically-engaged film, white privilege and its critique must dominate as a significant concern of twenty-first-century progressive audiences. In that case, however, Nikolai Leskov's mid-nineteenth-century project for a collection of tales about women emerges as more politically flavoured than it was intended by the author.

This article reads *Lady Macbeth* as one more exercise in a multi-layered filtration of a classic—that is, a form of complex storytelling. Additional interest resides in the motivation, justifying still another return of a widely-known story in the retelling of a less-recognizable Russian novelist to be adapted by an aspiring British film director, William Oldroyd. What is the novelty of this retelling? The character of Lady Macbeth has been rewritten in various ways by critical approaches producing a series of monolithic orthodoxies, especially those deriving from early twentieth-century concepts of naturalistically-drawn figures turning Shakespearean protagonists into Victorian portraits (A. C. Bradley, W. Moelwyn Merchant, and Inga-Stina Ewbank). They were superseded by propositions of non-naturalistic research on the history of theatrical convention and reconstructions of an Elizabethan worldview (E. K. Chambers and E. M. W. Tillyard), as well as cultural studies, and New Historicism, with its turn towards class and gender conditions, as well as social contexts and their institutions.² More recent research has focused on the character by going back to textual studies which address readers rather than viewers. No longer in search of the original master or performance text, they study the discrepancies between information drawn from paratexts, such as speech headings and stage directions, and the main text. The renewed interest in paratexts is additionally motivated by their significant appearance in convergence culture. The analysis of paratexts shows that, as opposed to the dialogues, in speech prefixes and stage directions, Lady Macbeth is never called “Queen”. She is “Macbeth's Wife” by analogy to Macduff's (Erne 91–92). Among the earlier adapters speculating on Lady Macbeth's role as spouse is Maurice Baring who, in “Lady Macbeth's Trouble”, a piece from the collection *Dead Letters* (1909, 1920), imagines the two characters primarily as wives (n.b., named Flora and Harriet in adaptation) immersed in a curiously affectionate correspondence about children (99–106). Analogously, Gordon Bottomley puts on stage *Gruach* (*Gruach* 1919, a prequel) as the future wife of the Envoy named Macbeth. In David Greig's *Dunsinane*, *Gruach* (the source for Shakespearean Lady Macbeth) also appears in the roles of

² For an extensive discussion of the critical approaches, see Mark Thornton Burnett, Terence Hawkes, and Steven Mullaney.

former and future wives: Alba's and Macbeth's widow, followed by the role of Malcolm's wife-to-be. As in Bottomley's prequel, the power belongs to the "Queen", who holds the allegiance of the clan and keeps it for her son (Greig 30). The wife/queen polarity has been variously used by adapters. While in Greig's play, the complex "Lady" and Queen dominates the stage, in Oldroyd's adaptation, Lady Macbeth reappears in the role of a merchant's wife.

Studies of Shakespearean adaptations and appropriations show that literary classics, iconic images, archetypes, and familiar stories are constantly circulating and metamorphosing to experience still another return. As observed by Julie Sanders, they "persistently enact and re-enact the activity of storytelling" (62). Hence adapters, as storytellers, often focus on tools that have been used for centuries. What distinguishes Oldroyd's *Lady Macbeth* is a withdrawal from explicit concern with the familiar iconic image, one of the monolithic orthodoxies. Instead, the film concentrates significantly on a sense of stasis that precedes the very activity of storytelling and on a unique atmosphere. Leskov may be less widely known to Anglo-Saxon audiences, but his talent for storytelling and an awareness of its important social function was acknowledged by Walter Benjamin in his 1936 essay "The Storyteller", a discussion followed by a series of translations.

Linda Hutcheon refers explicitly to a set of tools shared by adapters and other storytellers who do not invent, but rather retell and revise with the use of actualization, concretization, selection, amplification, extrapolation, and critique (3).³ Seen in this light, the difference between parody, appropriation, and adaptation—terms used by critics in reference to *Lady Macbeth*—consists not so much in the use of radically-different strategies as it depends on whether the "sources" remain hidden or are openly announced, a decision which directs the activity of the audience to a different selection of transtextual interactions involved in the process of retelling. Fidelity-oriented heritage adaptations guide their audiences to the familiar classics to capitalize on the pleasure of repetition. Introducing *Lady Macbeth*, American, British, and Polish trailers resist establishing a relationship with the originating text. Falling into three overlapping categories of genre, story, and star-oriented epitexts, they seem to concentrate on the genre, signalling in that way a form of drama which puts emphasis on romance, crime, and Victorian noir, but ignores the sources of the story so that the audience does not immediately expect a "retelling". Another place where indebtedness to "original" sources is often signalled is the title sequence. Located within the "continuities" of the motion picture, its status may be more difficult to investigate. Additionally, the hierarchies of text, image, synchronization, and music in peritexts remain under-theorized in film studies (Betancourt 22). Still, in spite of the complexities of continuity, title sequences tend to be perceived by viewers as informative "independent units", often juxtaposing the crediting and

³ Shaw argues that stories, as closed units, have to be challenged and function as hypertexts, i.e., adaptations consisting of multiple threads (5).

narrative functions Gérard Genette sees as antithetical and mutually cancelling (410). The “title sequence” in *Lady Macbeth* surprises: it erases the initial crediting function almost entirely to inform the viewer after four minutes and in complete silence about the full title of the film being *Lady Macbeth* (Oldroyd, 00:4:12).

For the audience, the film opens *in medias res* with a marriage ceremony scene in progress. It features the bride in a close-up from a hand-held camera. The prospective husband, whose shoulder is barely visible, the invisible priest, and the two remaining members of the household disappear in the slightly blurred background of an austere chapel interior. Still, they clearly surround the young woman, the “wife-to-be”. This scene cannot be traced back to either Leskov or Shakespeare. *Lady Macbeth*, whose name is Kathryn, remains as if trapped in the gaze of the invisible onlookers, although, turning her head, the woman makes the effort of “looking back”. Further on, in the equally austere bedroom of the wedding night, the bride stands stark naked and ready for inspection, only to become a discarded object, a powerful and recurrent image of a woman reduced to the flesh. The visual organization of space in the opening shots may be interpreted in terms of Foucault’s ocularcentric paradigms (xiii). However, it is worth noticing that the opening sequence oscillates between visual control and a static *tableaux vivant* indicative of the slow cinema poetics which undermines the more obvious political reading. The “title sequence”, providing no recapitulation, withdraws from performing its regular explanatory inter- and intra-textual function. It takes the form of a non-narrative exposition rather than prologue, an anticipatory opening demanding audience engagement and exceeding a mere interest in the sequence of events. If credits are viewed as an extra frame, a potentially “destructive eruption of style” (Betancourt 35), the attempt to suppress them or delay, as in *Lady Macbeth*, demonstrates a desire to produce pictures that either melt unobtrusively into reality or displace lived *experience*, making its creation real. This technique of bridging the fictional and the extra-fictional is shared by Nikolai Leskov, who collapses the extra- and intra-literary, thus inviting the complicity of the audience. Leskov tends to employ the plural possessive pronoun when directly addressing the audience (as “you”) and sharing, in the capacity of a storyteller, information or experience concerning “our part of the country” and “our neighbourhood” (1). Foregrounding commonality, the movie emphasizes the context, the very experience of storytelling, and draws attention to what leads to its eruption rather than to the diegesis.

Oldroyd and Birch modernize, recontextualize, and experiment in their retelling of Leskov’s “Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District”. Avoiding simplifications, they struggle to reach beyond binary approaches and constricting, ideologically-charged regimes inspired, among others, by Foucault’s *The Order of Things* (1994) and “Of Other Spaces” (1986), with its discussion of heterotopias. Tronicke, who proposes reading Oldroyd’s adaptation through the lens of these political ocularcentric grids and cinematic ocularization, does notice the “blind spots”, arriving at the conclusion that not everything can be “explained” by means of these concepts.

The socially-alert Foucauldian reading of Oldroyd's movie fails to penetrate either the impact of Hammershøi's aesthetics or the influence of slow cinema traceable in the work of the camera, where the focus on the mainstream sequence of events yields to an intensive insight into the "situation". It can be argued that, instead of seeking coherence and integrity, the retelling of *Lady Macbeth* foregrounds the process of "internal hybridization" in an adaptation designed to be more exploratory than mainstream. The film brings together strategies which involve a diversity of sources and aesthetic approaches (Halliwell 96) to produce a sense of "complexification" (Baetens 237) rather than homogeneity: slow cinema, literature, and Hammershøi's aesthetics. This blending complexification, addressed as hybridity rather than as a hybrid, entails withdrawal from neat spatial/temporal and word/image dualities. As Thomas Leitch argues, "the hybrid nature of adaptation ... adds one language to another in an exhilarating ... attempt to represent experiences that can only be invoked". As a consequence, the adaptation is best considered as a process in search of the "unrepresentable" (101–102), rather than a "product". The effect may be disorientating.

While trying to grasp the nature of this process and theorizing complexification, Hutcheon turns to postmodern theories to supersede the formerly dominant dialectical relations with the concept of multiple palimpsest intersections (143). Two years on, Rochelle Hurst proposes a hybrid unstable amalgam that "inhabits both sides of the binary" and, rejecting the discordance between film and text (186–7), becomes involved in an interplay of bridging and resisting the binary "without ever constituting a third term" (Derrida 43). This refusal to "settle" and, as Kamilla Elliott argues in her recent comments on Hurst, to align completely with any of the sources or sides, "comes closer to articulating the process" (271), and allows for drawing our attention to what has been left out. Accepting the notion of hybridity, in poststructuralist terms, adaptation, in general, becomes endless deferral, a rhizomatically-proliferating web of relations and revisions. It is, among other things, this state of "in-betweenness" which opens *Lady Macbeth*, the ending which offers no resolution but augurs some nondescript continuation, as well as the persistent effect of disorientation that subverts all expectations of a "finished product".

Shakespeare's plays are populated with extraordinary characters whose critical reassessments and adaptations in literature, theatre, opera, film, and new media have produced a rich network of relations. Thus, a return to the straw man of an imaginary, media unspecific source text must prove unrewarding, if not impossible. The filmic *Lady Macbeth* openly departs from the classic to tell its story via Leskov's "Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District" (1865), a novella immersed in expanding and culturally-distant contexts. It was inspired by a fashion for sketches or portraits, notably as Ivan Turgenev's "Hamlet of the Shchigrovsky District", a story drawing the character of a contemporary superfluous man, a useless aristocrat. When compared with Turgenev, Leskov's project is more extensive and was to include 12 sketches of peasant (8 pieces) and merchant (4 pieces) women;

a collection Hugh McLean considers almost a sociological survey of Oryol Province. As a business representative of a Scottish investor, the writer had in-depth knowledge of the Russian people and was familiar with the provincial life he knew from autopsy rather than from “conversations with St. Petersburg cabbies” (Power). Hence, unlike contemporary nihilists, who spoke about the “disabilities of women” (McLean 145) in derogatory but relatively abstract terms, Leskov draws his women (notably in *No Way Out*, 1865) as more “real” and interestingly reminiscent of London city comedy characters of industrious and responsible women setting up their businesses.⁴ Therefore, a contemporary reading of Katerina Izmailova as primarily a victim of patriarchy—gender and class oppression—would be somewhat reductive and, presumably, influenced by the *avant-garde* but melodramatic adaptation proposed by Dmitri Shostakovich in 1934. Both Turgenev and Leskov declare their intertextual awareness of the classics at the outset but give this disclosure a twist by setting the scene in specific provincial contexts where Shakespeare was not staged.⁵ Despite a scanty embedding in Shakespeare’s drama, *Lady Macbeth* is neither a benevolent nor an unpleasant form of parody which would imitate for the sake of caricature. The juxtaposition of cultural centrality epitomized by the classic staged in Saint Petersburg with contemporary nineteenth-century provincialism adds an extra problematic quality to the realism of Leskov’s retelling by granting a provincial story an almost metaphysical dimension proper for great tragedies. This difficult combination renders any sense of homogeneity, if expected, almost impossible. Indeed, throughout the whole process of storytelling, the fictional storyteller remains confused in his efforts to understand the situation. This confusion is significantly foregrounded. At the end both audience and storyteller freeze in “astonishment” (Leskov 50). On the one hand, Katerina appears to be a very determined woman but, on the other hand, she lacks awareness of what she is doing (a tragic gap of awareness and a source of irony) and appears to be manipulated by some outside forces: love and power.⁶ It is tempting to see her either as a petty provincial schemer and murderer mistakenly called Lady Macbeth by “someone or other” (Leskov 1), or a powerful villain operating beyond the binary of good and evil. Additionally, Leskov’s Quaker upbringing allows for the perception of characters as fundamentally good but “caught by Fate in a restless, idle hour” (Pritchett 22), a concept which relieves Katerina from a deeper sense of responsibility and serious moral judgment. Even when Katerina abandons her newly-born child, she is not perceived as a wicked mother. Interestingly, the treacherous Sergey “for some reason” enjoys even “more general sympathy” than Katerina (Leskov 38). No wonder that the ending in Leskov’s novella foregrounds a sense of disorientation.

⁴ See *The Fair Maid of the Exchange* (1607), sometimes attributed to Thomas Heywood.

⁵ Katerina comments on the scarcity of entertainment. They do not go either to balls or to theatre (Leskov 22).

⁶ After the murder of the child, it is also divine retribution: “It seemed as though some unearthly power were shaking the sin-ridden house to its foundations” (Leskov 35).

A whole range of adaptations (or appropriations) has contributed to the *context* of Oldroyd's movie—the complex novella itself, operatic productions, paintings, and even the film's promoting epitexts launched on internet platforms. They elaborate and emphasize different aspects of the experience, showing the story from various angles and with the use of media-specific techniques. The significant contextual works which should be mentioned, include *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk District* (1934) by Dimitrij Shostakovich; its 1963 retelling entitled *Katerina Izmailova*; and a whole series of later productions, including those directed by David Poutney (1987), Marcello Lombardero (2010) and Krzysztof Warlikowski (2019).⁷ These three productions stage the adaptation of *Katerina Izmailova* in the shocking *mise en scène* of either an imaginary or a real slaughterhouse (*vide* Warlikowski)—a significant transfer from the unproductive, timeless domesticity (Groys) dominant in both Leskov and Oldroyd—into the “accelerated space-times” of capitalism. The 1934 premiere fascinated but also shocked with deliberate dissonance scores and eroticism criticized in the famous 1936 attack on Shostakovich where the anonymous author called the work “petty-bourgeois”, its representation of love “vulgar”, and the rehabilitation of a “predatory merchant woman” who murders to “scramble into the possession of wealth”, abominable (unsigned editorial). Still, the two early adaptations, as well as their later productions, though formally avant-garde, homogenize, rather than venture complexification. They tend to humanize⁸ Katerina Izmailova so that she is no longer the woman “whom you can never remember without an inward shudder” (Leskov 1); they introduce changes in the narrative and remove incongruent elements like the third murder “for avarice” to enhance the aesthetic effect by resorting to rampant eroticism and violence.⁹ In line with this artistic policy, the episode with Aksinya (Anna in *Lady Macbeth*) evolves from comic relief in Leskov into a scene of rape. As opposed to the tradition established by Shostakovich, Oldroyd's film version, shot by Ari Wegner, retains Leskov's sexiness but changes in the narrative eliminate, rather than enhance, violence and the accompanying atrocities. The emphasis on events has been reduced and the fact that Zinoviy Izmailov's (Alexander Lester in Oldroyd's movie) body is buried in a pigsty and the carcass devoured by pigs (the danger of cannibalism indicated)

⁷ The producers of *Lady Macbeth* were aware of the 1962 *Powiatowa lady Makbet* (*Siberian Lady Macbeth*) directed by Andrzej Wajda, a film that comes closer to fairy tale images of life in provincial Russia and ignores entirely archival research of 19th-century merchant family life. This research was performed by Oldroyd's team so that, paradoxically perhaps, the image of Scottish conservative provincial life aligns with the Russian model. There was still a 1989 production entitled *Ledi Makbet Mtsenskogo uezda*. Warlikowski's 2019 production is mentioned as part of the series of ‘slaughterhouse productions’ though it was staged later. As opposed to the earlier productions, Warlikowski transferred the opera to the interiors of a real slaughterhouse.

⁸ Irving Howe argues that the humanization of Katerina departs from Leskov's rationale, but in the case of Shostakovich it can be compensated for by the avant-garde “stark and brutal music” (453).

⁹ Marczyński locates Warlikowski's production between importunate naturalism and serious tragedy.

has been carefully eliminated. Causality and “accelerated time”, taken from the productive context of the slaughterhouse, have been replaced in Oldroyd’s film by *temps morts* and the use of static *tableaux vivants*, a timelessness which restores the atmosphere from Leskov’s novella. Additionally, long takes of the camera facing the character in the role of a sitter infuse a sense of stasis and invoke an overwhelming state of *ennui*, or inexpressible boredom.

Whether Walter Benjamin intended to enter the Shostakovich controversy in his 1936 essay reflecting on Nikolai Leskov’s art of storytelling hangs in the air. The dilemma addressed by both Benjamin and, much later, Irving Howe was not political. Both asked what remained from the ancient art of telling stories in times when novels and newspapers began to dominate the orally transmitted information. This dilemma remains of interest to Oldroyd’s retelling as well. While Benjamin insisted on regarding Leskov’s art as a craft (367), Howe called it “art for art’s sake”, as there was no longer any external *rationale*, no tendency in Leskov’s writing to either *explain*, moralize or inform (Howe 448). Moreover, in the age of newspapers, literature as a source of information became an object of parody, *vide* Maurice Baring’s collection of dead letters which adapted literary material—parodic reports written supposedly from Sosnofka in Siberia. Leskov draws his stories from *experience* and makes it the experience of his reader-audience (Benjamin 361) by relying on immediacy. He counts on emotional involvement and intellectual engagement rather than interest in a well-constructed, cause-effect sequence of events. His narrative either lacks or does not force any psychological connections on the reader but names the emotions the reader shares with the imaginary audience and the storyteller: horror, amazement, and confusion.

In Oldroyd’s film narrative, focalization and ocularization endeavour to trans-mediate Leskov’s storytelling technique—notably the absence of psychological motivation, unclear causality and the treatment of time. In the film’s cinematographic narrative, external focalization prevails. The camera often stays behind the character’s back and the viewing narrator, as if following the protagonist, never gaining full access to what the character sees, knows and thinks. On the other hand, external ocularization, where the viewer sees less than the character, enhances the sense of puzzling disorientation thus preventing the audience from passing verdicts and easy moralizing. Whether Boris Lester has been poisoned (as in the novella) remains indeterminate. Locked in the adjacent room by a woman (in revenge for the imprisonment of Sebastian), a radical and humiliating subversion of power relations, the infuriated man might have died of heart attack. In the movie, more clearly than in Leskov’s story, Katerina wins our sympathy. The woman avoids punishment by re-telling and re-interpreting the story of Teddy’s death, acquires agency during the interrogation, gains control over her husband’s property and, finally, de-privatizes her position by winning public recognition and, in that way, the viewer’s “sympathy”. She masters the politics of experience through re-telling and renegotiating her subjective in-between where public and private interests are

at play. Almost mute and immersed in a state of boredom, Katherine ultimately acquires the position of a storyteller, an essential strategy for transforming the private into the public (Jackson 14–15).

These final, though decisive, moments are preceded by long sequences of overpowering inactivity and boredom, which in literature may be associated with domestic incarceration (*vide* Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, 1856), but in modern cinema become a basis for risky provocations and a crucial confrontation with oneself (Stańczyk 82). Timelessness, “dead time” or suspended time in Oldroyd's movie, concurrent with a strong renunciation of psychological shading and novelistic time-governed causality¹⁰ produces a sense of stasis and “unproductivity” but enhances the process of experiencing and assimilation, a form of meditation Benjamin relates to the state of boredom and defines as an increasingly rare form of “mental relaxation”, “the dream bird that hatches the egg of experience” (367) and, finally, becomes the core of storytelling. Craftsmanship (relict of communal life) and storytelling are therefore interrelated as activities rooted in the disappearing reality of provincial Russia and rural Scotland, on the outskirts of the capitalist world of cultural acceleration. Notably, the industrial facilities and the mills in both retellings are located at a distance, a situation that is even more tangible in the movie. Still, Katherine/Katerina, living between naturalistically and eschatologically-determined realities, is accused of being unproductive in a world where she is expected to produce a male heir who will ensure continuity in the time-bound and property-oriented world gradually supplanting the rural and the provincial. Her transgressive mental and spiritual activity goes beyond worldviews governed either by the book of prayer in the film or the *Kiev Lives of the Fathers* in the novella. References to some greater powers governing the world (Leskov 35) bring back a time when man could see himself in harmony with nature, and when some greater powers provided explanatory grids while leaving interpretations to storytellers and their “naïve poetry” (Benjamin 370) written in the tradition of communal art. The overwhelming sense of boredom in the Russian tale, and in the film, is not a symptom of imprisonment, even if Sergey sees Katerina as a canary kept in a cage (Leskov 8). She is more of a precious bird beyond his reach.

The filmic adaptation transplants the action from Russia to the border of Northumberland and Scotland, preserving a historically-analogous context but referring to modern painting and using contemporary filming technique. Oldroyd's movie concentrates around “hatching the egg of experience” more than on action, while Ari Wegner's portrait-like cinematography adapts elements of slow cinema by blending long takes with a static camera facing the protagonist. Both strategies correspond to the poetics of Vilhelm Hammerhøi's paintings—a conflation

¹⁰ Reviewers referring to Leskov's “Lady Macbeth” often confuse generic categories (short story, novella, and novel), a differentiation which is seminal for understanding the text's logic.

practised already by Joanna Hogg.¹¹ Hammershøi's studies of female figures in domestic bourgeois interiors are vague and static providing in that way no material for "orthodox novelists" (Toop 121). Instead, what comes to fore is the solid atmosphere invoking a sense of *ennui*, weariness and melancholy (Wagstaff), conflated in *Lady Macbeth* with unproductivity and boredom. The architecture of frames and windows, "synchronically tied to one another" (Martel 70), rather than incarcerate (as in a Faucauldian reading) and isolate, opens up to new spaces of signification, introspection and thought provoking reflection whose effect is agency, creativity (Stańczyk 85) and liberation. Commenting on Vilhelm Hammershøi's *Interior*, 1908, Wendy Beckett grasps this complex mood transferred to *Lady M* due to the slow filming technique:

Hammershøi's woman sits in an enclosed space, head bent. She could be thought to be imprisoned by her context and weakly complicit with her lack of liberty. Yet the artist shows us door upon door, with a luminous window beyond. Light plays over the woman's form behind as well as from ahead. If she chooses, she has only to stand erect and move down the waiting corridor. If she stays motionless ... that is her choice.

Katherine in Oldroyd's movie, like Hammershøi's sitter, rests immersed in abysmal boredom. The protagonist's state of relaxation and detachment "draws all things, all men and oneself along with them, together in a queer kind of indifference" (Heidegger 364). In the course of the film, and due to its slow filming, this experience becomes increasingly indicative of what Martin Heidegger defines as the meaning-giving whole, accessible either through love or via boredom, that is, the opening up moods in which one feels attuned (*Stimmung*) to the meaning-giving-whole (364). Contrary to Heidegger's proposition, for the nineteenth-century Leskov, the meaning-giving-whole is marginally only signaled by some external governing powers, which grant the otherwise naturalistic novella an unexpectedly metaphysical dimension, a feeble sense of reliance on divine providence. However, the gradual rejection of the order of divine providence, pervasive in the concepts of *Deus otiosus*, creates a vacuum filled with existential boredom. Due to the slow cinema technique, the Heideggerian meaning-giving whole "overtakes" the subject in a mood of detachment from "things", signals and provokes introspection to promise greater self-awareness that stands in opposition to the superficiality imposed by postmodernity (Stańczyk 85–86, 89). Oldroyd's filmic retelling of Leskov's novella converges around Katherine's gradual emancipation through the mood of boredom and detachment from the superficially-conceived world of "things" invading rural Scotland, and through her refusal to submit to the culture of acceleration and objectifying productivity.

¹¹ Joanna Hogg drew her inspiration from Vilhelm Hammershøi's *Interior in Strandgade, Sunlight on the Floor* (1901), blending the idea of slow film with Hammershøi's poetics.

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Ambiguity in John Donne's "Holy Sonnet 13"

Abstract: Taking William Empson's remarks on John Donne's "Holy Sonnet 13" as its starting point, the article explores the superstructure of ambiguity at work in the poem, going beyond Empson's derogatory comments voiced in his *Seven Types of Ambiguity* in order to pursue a structure of oscillation, which, as the argument shows, underlies the entirety of the sonnet and recurs throughout it in a number of guises. Through an overview of different Catholic and Protestant readings of "What if this present", the article investigates how the interpretation of the text shifts with changes in understanding the sonnet's final line, highlighting its potential for self-referentiality and the latter's interpretive consequences. The close reading offered in the process locates itself half-way between the search for a resolution of opposites characteristic of the New Critical tradition and a deconstructionist reading which denies the existence of a thematic centre in Donne's poem. Reflecting on its own logic and the argument it proffers, the article inquires into the difference between these two kinds of close reading, suggesting that it may be more illusory than it seems.

Keywords: John Donne, William Empson, sonnet, New Criticism, deconstruction, self-referentiality, close reading

In his *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, William Empson briefly mentions John Donne's "Holy Sonnet 13" ("What if this present") in the context of the fourth type of ambiguity that he distinguishes, namely one where "two or more meanings of a statement do not agree among themselves, but combine to make clear a more complicated state of mind in the author" (Empson 133). Instead of explaining in detail how this actually relates to the sonnet, he goes on to devote as much as half of the short paragraph in which he addresses Donne's text to an unreserved critique of the poem (Empson 146). Empson expresses his distaste for the logical structure of the analogy between human and divine love by dismissing it as mere "sophistry", which implies his resistance to the idea that beauty and pity should be correlated in the exact same way in two radically dissimilar contexts. But he also questions the idea of referring

to the tortured Christ as beautiful, which is a reservation of a different sort: one that questions not so much the logical arrangement of ideas in the poem as the very employment of such an idea in the first place. In the end, one finds it impossible to decide whether Empson has issues with the poem's structure or meaning—whether in his view the problem lies in the arrangement of logical blocks or within the blocks themselves. This is a curious transposition of the main concern of the sonnet itself onto a body of criticism directed at it, since “Holy Sonnet 13” has universally been read as exploring the nature of the relationship between form and content, a crucial issue for the school of New Criticism, with which Empson and his book on ambiguity have come to be associated.

It would be easy to blame Empson for lack of precision, especially since he obfuscates his position even more when he adds in a footnote that he concludes his discussion of the text with “an expression of distaste for the poem, but it has little to do with the ambiguity in question” (146). Instead, this article locates the source of Empson's wavering in the sonnet itself, exploring the hitherto unrecognized complexity of the logic it employs in order to argue that if Empson is to be blamed for anything, it should rather be his critical blindness to the operations of a poem that exemplifies a range of different levels of ambiguity. The reading of “What if this present” offered here will make much both of the New Critical claim that oppositions and tensions ultimately resolve into a higher unity and of the challenge to this position brought forward by the procedural scions of New Critics—the deconstructionists. The article spotlights the potential of Donne's sonnet to explore and question the distinction between the harmony-seeking close readings of the New Critics and the radically anarchic readings offered by deconstructionists that refuse to acknowledge any form of resolution. In doing so, it re-examines the notions of ambiguity and resolution as such, for inasmuch as ambiguity functions as the negative element within the binary opposition of the two, whether the oscillation that breeds from Donne's text and seeps into criticism is indeed negative—or, in other words, whether it precludes any kind of resolution—is precisely what is at stake in a genuinely close reading of “Holy Sonnet 13”.

If one were to commit the heresy of paraphrase and summarize Donne's sonnet, there would not be much to tell. In fact, the brevity of Empson's remarks springs at least partly from his decision to juxtapose the opening and closing lines in the poem, with the result that there is little to add:

In one's first reading of the first line, the dramatic idea is of Donne pausing in the very act of sin, stricken and swaddled by a black unexpected terror: suppose the end of the world came *now*? The preacher proceeds to comfort us after this shock has secured our attention. But looking back, and taking for granted the end's general impression of security, the first line no longer conflicts with it. ‘Why, this *may* be the last night, but God is loving. What if it were?’ (Empson 145–46)

The security offered by the last line is that a “*beauteous forme assures a piteous minde*”, Christ's beauty being a guarantee of his merciful disposition towards the

speaker, who contemplates the image of the Saviour. If one takes for granted the assurance of the line, there is little else to dwell on, and if the contrast between lines one and fourteen is indeed the ambiguity that Empson cites to illustrate his point (which one could only guess at, since he never makes it clear), then everything seems resolved and the task of the critic is over, the only thing left being to praise the author for writing such a good piece. Antony Bellette takes this position and congratulates Donne on making everything fall into place when he notes that

Donne ends with an affirmation of perfect congruence between Christ's "beauteous forme" and "pitious minde", between the indwelling Grace and its outward manifestation. The sonnet itself, one of the most deeply felt and at the same time one of the most carefully controlled that Donne wrote, demonstrates a like congruence between thought and form. (Bellette 339)

Bellette is in the minority, however, and for most critics, something is amiss, no sense of actual security ever being felt by the speaker or the reader. The fault lies with the argument that supports the logical proposition of the poem's final line, but it is not easy to tell if this is really the essence of Empson's critique, because his discontent appears to be channelled in two different directions:

In the first notion one must collect one's mind to answer the Lord suddenly, and Donne, in fact, shuffles up an old sophistry from Plato, belonging to the lyrical tradition he rather despised, and here even more absurdly flattering to the person addressed and doubtful to its general truth than on the previous occasions he has found it handy. Is a man in the last stages of torture so beautiful, even if blood hides his frowns? (Empson 146)

Ramie Targoff singles out the fact that Empson finds issue here with how the poem refers to the tortured body of Christ as beautiful, seeing this as a symptom of his critical blindness to the visual sensibility of the Baroque era, an all-too-common flaw that Empson is by no means the only commentator to exhibit (Targoff 128). However, the sentence in which Empson asks whether the tortured Christ can really be considered beautiful does not seem to communicate as much resentment towards the poem as the previous one, in which he focuses on the analogy between the beauty of the speaker's mistresses and that of Christ. The speaker's hope for Christ's mercy hinges upon his observation that in matters of earthly love, beauty goes hand-in-hand with pity, and the surprising analogy to divine love is his way of placating his fears concerning the judgment he would have to face if the present moment were indeed to be the last. Empson dismisses the text's logic as mere sophistry, absurdly applied in this particular context and doubtful in its efficaciousness. His last sentence on the sonnet reeks of sarcasm in how it congratulates the speaker: "Never mind about that, he is pleased, we have carried it off all right; the great thing on these occasions is to have a ready tongue" (Empson 146).

Is the problem with the sonnet that the image of Christ is not beautiful or does it consist of the fact that even granted that it is, this alone cannot guarantee anything? It would seem that if the former is the case, the latter question becomes groundless. Yet, dismissing the speaker's attribution of beauty to Christ's tortured face is by no means easy. On the one hand, the description is merely the speaker's

subjective turn of phrase, “a willful decision that the bloody, tearful picture he describes is to be regarded as beautiful” (Targoff 128). On the other hand, the religious sensibility of the era supports the epithet, and Daniel Derrin is right to observe that “[c]ontemporary divines would not have had trouble describing the divine act of love that stood behind the symbol of the cross as, in some way, beautiful, given its meaningful connection to forgiveness and transformation” (Derrin 162). This is not to deny that such a reading is problematic and clashes with the direct impression of “the destroyed Christ in the mental image” as “one of the ugliest things imaginable” (162), because the beauty it acknowledges is not that of the image itself but of the sacrifice that it represents. Depending on whether one’s attention focuses on the image as a pictorial representation or on the idea that it represents, the image alternates between extremes of ugliness and beauty. To settle the matter for good, one would have to know whether it should be taken at face value or read as a sign, and since both readings are possible, there is no way to avoid ambiguity. To complicate matters even more, details of the description push both interpretations into their respective extremes. The fact that blood fills Christ’s frowns makes the image even more gory and terrifying, simultaneously reinforcing its beauty; that is, the poignant symbolism of sacrificial blood that brings redemption to humankind. And to add yet another level of ambiguity, Achsah Guibbory reads the frowns themselves as a sign, asking whether it really is one that reassures the speaker of salvation; could the frowning image of Christ not just as well suggest that the speaker will be condemned to hell (Guibbory 210)? The voices of the critics make a full circle, and the initial problem still stands; there is no way to tell for sure whether the image of Christ is beautiful, and even if it is, this only gives rise to more questions.

To explore those questions, it is necessary to analyze the analogy constructed in the sestet. Derrin offers the following summary:

“Beauty” commonly goes with other good attitudes or passions like pity. A good example, says the speaker, searching through his memory fragments, is his “Profane Mistresses” (l. 10). By recognizing their own “beauty” (l. 11) such mistresses are moved to “pity” the speaker-lover and fulfill his desires. Since pity, therefore, is found alongside beauty, the “beauteous forme” of Christ’s torn and bleeding body, just like the beautiful mistress, “assures a piteous minde” (l. 14). (Derrin 161)

There are two flaws in Donne’s speaker’s argument. One is the analogy itself, since the idea that Christ should exhibit the same psychological reaction as a narcissistic girl flattered into pity is unorthodox, to say the least. After all, the recognition Derrin speaks of is effected by the speaker’s direct address to the mistresses, a form of implicit compliment. But the real problem is that there is nothing to build the analogy on, because the Petrarchan tradition in which the speakers practice what indeed often amounts to idol worship of their mistresses is all about the pain of rejection, and “the tortured syntax of lines 11 and 12 betrays the incongruity of this Petrarchan analogy” (Kuchar 559). The image of a ship tossed by rough winds

on a stormy sea, as in sonnet 34 from Edmund Spenser's *Amoretti*, illustrates the plight of the Petrarchan lover much better than the dubious scenario of a mistress turned to pity by the speaker's successful coaxing. And, as John Stachniewski points out, this kind of flattery, which aims at eliciting a positive response from the object of the speaker's affection, "would occur, almost certainly, on the point of rejection" (Stachniewski 693). It is the same logic of ambiguity at work all over again. A claim is made that the mistress's beauty guarantees her pity, an idea unsubstantiated by the lyrical tradition Donne draws on. Yet, even granted that the woman's beauty should after all translate into her pity for the lover, the question remains as to whether this would work in the same way for the speaker's relationship with Christ. Not only are there problems with the efficacy of the analogy, but it is not even possible to ascertain whether a working model of the beauty-pity connection is proposed in the first place from which one could begin to construct it. There are serious issues both within the logical blocks the speaker employs and with the nature of their arrangement. Ambiguity abounds: the image of Christ may or may not be beautiful, and beauty may or may not move the mistress to pity. For an analogy that builds upon the beauty of Christ and the pity of the mistress, the one offered by Donne's speaker has very little footing and its logic crumbles before the reader's eyes, as neither of its two constituent elements is in any way guaranteed. And even if they were, that may still not be enough. What guarantees for salvation could the speaker then hope for?

This is where the theological context comes into play, for, like many other Holy Sonnets, "What if this present" explores both the Catholic and the Protestant position on the subject it tackles. Gary Kuchar argues that the poem "exposes the tensions between the Ignatian dependence on sense experience and Protestant disavowal of such experience", noting a clash of two epistemologies in the sonnet: those of Aristotle and Augustine (Kuchar 560). Indeed, while the search for continuity between form and essence that defines the tradition of Catholic meditation offers the speaker a degree of hope, Augustine's vision of an immense epistemological gulf between heaven and earth and the consequent disavowal of analogical thinking in Protestantism undercut the certainties he seeks. Kuchar encapsulates the challenge posed to Ignatian logic by the Augustinian tradition when he notes that from the Protestant perspective, "the speaker's meditation was bound to fail from the start not only because its particular analogy is inappropriate but because any analogy between Christ's appearance and his essence is bad Protestant thinking" (Kuchar 560). In other words, the efficacy of the speaker's logic would have been a point of theological contention in the early seventeenth century, quite apart from the particulars of the analogy as employed in the sonnet. Kuchar concludes that "the speaker's efforts at meditation appear ... wishfully persuasive rather than genuinely consolatory" (Kuchar 559), and in this respect, "What if this present" is not much different from another sonnet in Donne's cycle, "Death, be not proud", with the argument of both poems coming across as "so strained that it alerts us to

its opposite, the emotion or mental state in defiance of which the argumentative process was set to work” (Stachniewski 691).

The reader’s perception of the speaker’s argument depends not just on the acknowledgment or dismissal of his verbal skills—the readiness of his tongue, as Empson put it—but on the theological perspective adopted. Whether one’s philosophical champion is Aristotle or Augustine determines the outcome of the reading process. What is worth noting is that the text of the poem can easily support both Catholic and Protestant interpretations, with an interesting ambiguity in the meaning of idolatry coming into play as one switches between one and the other. From the Catholic perspective, the beautiful image of Christ does indeed assure the speaker of the Saviour’s mercy. The argument that the female paragons of beauty of the Petrarchan tradition rarely show pity to the lover is not enough to challenge this certainty and paradoxically only serves to augment it, because the context for the speaker’s discussion of his “profane mistresses” is one of idolatry. Any rejection that the speaker experienced at the hands of his lovers can therefore be dismissed as inconsequential and ultimately supports the idea that looking for continuity between form and essence is right, only that this has to be done in the proper context—that of the sacred, rather than the profane. Even if the analogy between earthly and divine love fails—and how could it not fail if the speaker’s love for his mistresses was idolatrous—analogical thinking still holds within the sphere of divine love. In the Catholic reading, idolatry would thus denote a misapplication in the profane context of a set of valid principles of logic underpinning the revelation of God’s nature to humankind: the transparency of the relationship between form and essence is evident in the sacred sphere but fails to apply to the speaker’s idolatrous devotion to women. In this way, the failure to observe continuity in the profane context, amply witnessed in the tradition of Petrarchan lyrics, only serves to reinforce the validity of analogical thinking as such.

All it takes to shatter the certainty is to switch to a Protestant point of view. There can be no successful probing of God’s nature with reason and its tool—logic—because as Martin Luther famously said, reason is the Devil’s whore: while it may point to the existence of the Creator, it is unable to specify God’s nature or provide guidance in the quest for salvation (Janz 49). Donne himself mentions in “Holy Sonnet 14” that reason “proves . . . untrue”, and with Augustine providing much philosophical framework for both Luther and Calvin, the only way for the gulf between man and God to be bridged in Reformation theology is for God to take action himself, giving humankind the gift of Revelation, outside of which no real knowledge of his nature can be possible. There can be no guarantee of continuity between outward form and inner essence in Protestant thought, and the idolatry of the speaker’s relationship with his mistresses lies precisely in the attempt to identify one. The same mistake is made in his attempt to determine God’s disposition—an equally idolatrous act of elevating reason, one founded on the same mistaken assumption of continuity. That both uses of logic are in fact instances

of idolatry is the only analogy that holds between them, and it is, significantly, an analogy of the speaker's own doing, a product of his despair and wishful thinking rather than a valid observation of how things are. From this perspective, the cruelty of the mistresses in the Petrarchan tradition testifies to nothing but a flaw in the speaker's logic, whose application to God will similarly yield no fruit: no guarantee of salvation is to be had.

Trying to understand whether the speaker can truly hope for the certainty that he verbalizes in the sonnet's final line, the readers shift between two different meanings of idolatry and two philosophical and theological frameworks, oscillating between certainty and despair. But this is just one level of ambiguity, and as should be clear by now, the ambiguity in "Holy Sonnet 13" has a two-tiered nature. Its structure is that of an oscillation between two kinds of oscillation, as in the case of the link between Christ's beauty and the profane mistresses' pity; the validity of the analogy is an issue quite distinct from the perhaps even more troubling ambiguities inherent in postulating this beauty or pity in the first place. This structure is founded on the binary opposition of form and essence, complicating their relationship by simultaneously querying their distinctness and questioning what it is that becomes subject to juxtaposition to begin with. So to say that the ambiguity in Donne's sonnet may be reduced to a simple conflict between Catholic and Protestant modes of thought or to an opposition between a false analogy and a veritable one is to miss a whole level of oscillation. It would seem that the Catholic framework leads to certainty, while the Protestant one can only produce despair, and that a conscious choice of either Aquinas or Augustine will inevitably produce effects that one may predict, and thus control, in advance. However, such a formulation of the problem fails to acknowledge the uncertainty that concerns the most fundamental of all the blocks that give rise to this logical superstructure—the referent of "this beauteous forme" in the poem's last line. Whether this refers to the form, or image of Christ as contemplated by the speaker, or to the beautiful form of the sonnet itself, makes a difference and upsets the illusion of control over the poem's meaning.

The double meaning of "forme" is made much of by Stanley Fish and Ramie Targoff, who both see it as pertinent to understanding the text but disagree on what to make of it. Fish, who is explicit that "'This beauteous forme' refers not only to the form Donne has assigned to Christ's picture, but to the form of the poem itself", emphasizes the strain of the speaker's verbal maneuvering, noting how his "effort of self-persuasion . . . fails in exactly the measure that his rhetorical effort succeeds" (Fish 247). In his view, "it is the poem's verbal felicity and nothing else that is doing . . . the assuring" (Fish 247), and the more convinced the speaker seems to be, the weaker is the groundedness of the assurance he speaks of in reality. Targoff finds in Fish a "profound distrust of Donne's intentions", pointing out that

his claim for the "insubstantiality" of the rhetorical "triumph" overlooks the significance of what stands plainly before us: a beautifully executed poem. The perfect shape Donne's thoughts have taken on what may turn out to be the world's last night is perhaps the strongest

evidence he can imagine of his status among God's elect—as if to be able to create a sonnet under the pressure of contemplating final judgment reflects a sign of grace. (Targoff 128–29)

Targoff's comment identifies the potential for a Protestant reading of this new, alternative meaning of "forme". This distinctly Calvinist mode of reading the world by contemplating signs that might indicate whether one belongs to the elect or the reprobate does not approach the signs in question in terms of their resemblance to the original thing that they signify. Instead, it considers them as tied to the plight of person that perceives them, suggesting that they operate as subtle communications from which one may glean whether one counts among the happy lot chosen by God. There can be no talk of direct continuity between representation and the thing represented here, since what the signs refer to lies in the future, or in the atemporality of God's ineffable choice, and not in human experience. Such signs should not be viewed as copies, or mimetic representations, because instead of pointing backward towards a purported origin that has become subject to representation, they direct the readers' attention forward, to the eternal bliss that, as the signs were believed to imply, awaits them in the afterlife. Popularized by Max Weber, who suggested that professional success in one's calling was considered such a sign (Weber 65–69), the idea that this approach ought to be associated with Calvinism has often since been challenged, because Calvin himself never taught that one's soteriological status could be extrapolated from the circumstances of one's life (Schervish and Whitaker 137), a fact that Weber himself is willing to admit (Weber 65). Even if Calvin himself never suggested anything to this end, however, one may ponder the mental strain of resigning oneself to ignorance on the matter and assume, as Terry Lovell postulates Weber did, a psychological defence mechanism interposing between theological beliefs and actual conduct:

the believer who took this complex of beliefs literally would find himself in a psychologically intolerable position, and ... as a matter of fact, rather than of logic or of faith, these beliefs led men to seek worldly success in a calling as a sign that they were among the elect. (Lovell 170)

Thus, even if Calvin believed no true knowledge of God's decision could ever be attained, "this attitude was impossible for his followers", for whom "the *certitudo salutis* in the sense of the recognizability of the state of grace necessarily became of absolutely dominant importance" (Weber 66).

Critics often identify the voice of the speaker in the sonnet with that of its author and see the poem as fraught with "Donne's fear, evident throughout this disturbing sonnet, that he can indeed be damned" (Guibbory 44). Even without adopting this approach wholesale, one may view the speaker in the text as in the very least modelled on Donne, and this makes it possible to think of him as a poet-figure. Thus, the success of his poetic efforts becomes a sign of grace, and it is much easier to grant the poem its beauty—even if there are dissenters, such as Empson—than to concede as much with regard to Christ's image. In this way, the alternative reading of "forme" can indeed give the speaker the assurance he

seeks provided one accepts the premises of Calvinism and the psychological logic posited by Weber. Approaching the poem from a Protestant perspective is therefore a way to attain this assurance—and, significantly, to do so without the intermediary role of the profane mistresses and whatever they may bring into the picture—even as the very same theological orientation leads to the opposite result if “forme” is taken to mean the image of Christ. The two-tiered ambiguity that pervades the text is evident here: one faces two interlocked levels of oscillation and settling for a change of direction on one alters the conditions of choice on the other. This leads to another question: does a Catholic reading of “forme” as referring to the sonnet similarly produce a reversal, leading to lack of assurance? The answer is both yes and no, and it once again takes the form of an oscillation between two kinds of oscillation. This is because one may take the “forme” to denote the sonnet as opposed to the image of Christ, but it is also possible to read it as both the sonnet and the image if one draws on the Catholic meditative tradition and accepts the principle of continuity in representation: after all, a large section of the sonnet is a visualization of Christ. The choice is therefore between seeing “forme” either as following the logic of *either... or...* or that of *both... and...*, and the oscillation between the two once again changes the conditions of the interpretive game the text invites the reader to play. If the sonnet is taken to be identical with the image, if it is a faithful verbal representation of the image—that is, if they are one, and that is after all what the principle of continuity suggests—then the Catholic reading still leads to assurance; unless, of course, one sees the identification of the poem with Christ via the intermediary level of the latter’s image as idolatrous. If they are not one, then it is not possible to approach the problem in this way in the first place, and the question is automatically dismissed. But are they one or are they not? The rules of the game have been turned upside down: no longer does the continuity between sign and referent derive from the theological perspective adopted, but it actually conditions the choice of the latter, leading to a vicious circle of logic and precluding any hope for assurance. It is a solipsistic circle of Donne’s own doing, and Stanley Fish is right to point out that

the meditation is curious ...: Donne does not direct it at his beloved, whether secular or spiritual, but to another part of himself. Although Christ’s picture is foregrounded, ... the picture—not to mention the person it portrays—is off to the side as everything transpires between the speaker and his soul. The gesture ... recharacterizes the Last Judgment as a moment staged and performed entirely by himself: produced by Donne, interior design by Donne, case pled by Donne, decision rendered by Donne. (Fish 246)

Fish adds that the dynamics of the scene and the logic that it utilizes are “insulated from any correcting reference” (Fish 246), and this may explain why it is impossible to ascertain anything. There being no objective grounds, no external vantage point to gauge the situation from, the reader is left with no choice but to struggle against the mounting ambiguities that—as in any self-referential system—ultimately lead to paradoxes. The poem is Donne talking to Donne about Donne, and this

makes it difficult to distinguish between the represented and representation even as the distinction itself becomes not just a fundamental building block of the poem but also its main theme and subject matter. Is the sonnet beautiful in itself, or is it only beautiful because the picture of Christ it holds is beautiful? This is a choice between essence and form, and while it is not impossible to think of these separately, “Holy Sonnet 13” makes this extremely difficult. The choice is both real and illusory, and the end result is that the text only amplifies theological uncertainty and kindles a passion of despair beneath the veneer of the speaker’s calm logic.

The recurring structure of a two-tiered oscillation provides fertile ground for even more theological ambiguity. In lines seven and eight, the sonnet addresses the difficulty of comprehending how the God of justice and the God of mercy should be one and the same. The end of time associated with the Last Judgment, which the speaker contemplates, is the moment that “will somehow unite the two covenants of wrath and grace” (Martin 197), but on the night before the reckoning, this is still difficult to imagine. That is why the fear and hope of the moment take on the appearance of a double-image, “represented by the two faces of Christ: Christ as Judge, who damns, and Christ as Saviour, who forgives” (Stirling 249). The speaker ponders this in a conversation with his own soul, the latter becoming thus something of “a two-sided scroll or palimpsest reflecting the two opposite images of God: on the one side beauty and pity, on the other duplicity and wrath” (Martin 209). The question is not only which of the two it is going to be for this particular individual. More importantly, what makes the matter so difficult to grasp is how the two are related. The speaker cannot help but see them as interlocked in a logical structure of *either... or...*, and although he attempts to accept the superior logic of *both... and...*, the octave ends on a heart-felt and genuine question asking how Christ could both forgive his enemies and condemn sinners to hell—for despite the assurance that the speaker conjures up specifically for himself, he does acknowledge Christ to be capable of both. It would appear that amongst the irreducible ambiguities that underlie the speaker’s predicament, the tension between the structure of mutual exclusion and that of double participation, emerges as the only elementary nonvariable of “Holy Sonnet 13”.

The meaning of the sonnet is thus organized at its very core not so much around the thematic or theological concerns that it expresses as around a recurring structure of double inclusion ceaselessly oscillating towards mutual exclusion, and *vice versa*. No apparent resolution can be offered to this superstructure of ambiguities governing the unveiling of the text. As such, the reading offered here seems to distance itself from the New Critical attitude, which “presuppose[d] the presence of a determinate meaning, of an epistemologically stable construct behind or outside the text” (Barzilai and Bloomfield 157). After all, how can an oscillation count as an epistemologically stable construct? One may be tempted to qualify this reading as deconstructive, but it is just as possible to say that it is a little bit of both and thus to preserve the structure of oscillation in question on the metalevel of critical

discourse. At this point, it would be instructive to compare the New Critical and deconstructive modes of reading to see whether or not reclaiming "Holy Sonnet 13" for the showpiece of ambiguity that it is *contra* Empson satisfies the New Critics' need for resolution.

Rajnath succinctly encapsulates the essence of New Critical readings when he observes that "[u]sing the Hegelian terms one can say that in the New Criticism thesis and antithesis result in a synthesis, whereas deconstruction rules out the possibility of a synthesis" (87). Consequently, one finds in New Criticism a constant desire to identify "a positive unity" (Brooks 179):

An important difference between the New Critics and the deconstructionists is that the former believe the text has a core, a centre which resolves antinomies, while the latter believe in free-play, the decentering of the text. To the New Critics, opposites that are simultaneously present in the text do not cancel each other out but resolve into a higher unity. (Rajnath 85–86)

In other words, the New Critic "uses close analysis to try and arrive at definitive thematic statements which are presumably present within the formal structures of the poem itself" (154). By contrast, "the deconstructor resorts to close analysis to subvert the self-authenticating status of texts and to disclose the deconstructive situation, the enigmas and undecidables that destabilize meaning" (154). The core assumptions of the two groups seem opposed to each other, but their methods of close reading are surprisingly similar, so much so that it is often claimed that "deconstruction is a continuation and imitative form of the New Criticism or Anglo-American formalism" (151). In terms of critical praxis, then, "the formal analyses and close reading procedures of the deconstructionists resemble the methods finally honed by their New Critical predecessors" (153), and both approaches are known for their vigilant attention to the structure of poetic texts. Given the continuity of method, Paul de Man observes that one critical attitude gradually evolves into the other, since

[a]s it refines its interpretations more and more, American criticism does not discover a single meaning, but a plurality of significations that can be radically opposed to each other. Instead of revealing a continuity affiliated with the coherence of the natural world, it takes us into a discontinuous world of reflective irony and ambiguity. (de Man, *Blindness and Insight* 28)

Whereas the search for ambiguity was originally, for the New Critics, a prelude to identifying a higher unity in the text, deconstructionists are content with locating structures of indeterminacy that do not allow for any resolution or synthesis. This is a major difference, but practically speaking, the deconstructive critic still

discovers that the text is full of complexities and ambiguities. What else is new? Some critics would say that only the names have been changed and that the deconstructors, determined to disguise their old-newness, have substituted terms such as "indeterminacy" or "undecidability" for the New Critical "ambiguity". (Barzilai and Bloomfield 154)

The way to differentiate a New Critical close reading from a deconstructive one is therefore to consider its ultimate end: whether it leads to "an achieved harmony"

(Brooks 179) or a nihilistic cancelling out of opposites. The question that needs an answer is which of the two categories the oscillations of “Holy Sonnet 13” fall into.

A useful comparative case study is Cleanth Brooks’ reading of another poem by Donne, “The Canonization”, in *The Well-Wrought Urn*. Here, the resolution offered by close reading has two dimensions, one thematic and the other structural. On the thematic level, the paradox lies in the fact that Donne attempts to parody sainthood in his vision of the two lovers yet treats both their love and the religious context of sainthood seriously (Brooks 10–11). The lovers are isolated from the rest of the world like holy men and women, but their withdrawal from the common affairs only serves the purpose of making their love more intense: “in becoming hermits, [they] find that they have not lost the world, but have gained the world in each other, now a more intense, more meaningful world” (14). As such, they become hermits of another kind, substituting a passion for the divine with passion for each other, but still living a life of passion nonetheless. Brooks also makes much of the double meaning of the word “die”, which was sometimes used in the period to communicate a sense of sexual satisfaction (14–15). Through their death, the lovers attain a higher form of life, and, although Brooks never mentions this directly, their “death” may actually lead to the formation of new life. The key idea is that absolute sainthood may be achieved by absolute profanity and that death may amount to life. Such a “reconciliation of opposites as a constituent of Donne’s poetry” is precisely what “made him a particularly appropriate poet for the explication and elaboration of American New Criticism” (Docherty 12). What connects the two ideas is the structure of paradox: whatever is posited as the starting point becomes itself to the fullest precisely at the point when it becomes its very opposite. But this means that the resolution, or reconciliation, offered by Brooks is not merely of a thematic nature and that it operates on the level of a recurring structure. Brooks himself acknowledges this, explaining towards the end of his book that his choice of poems was conditioned by the presence in them of particular structures: “the common goodness which the poems share will have to be stated, not in terms of ‘content’ or ‘subject matter’ in the usual sense in which we use these terms, but rather in terms of structure” (Brooks 177). He further explains what he means by structure:

One means by it something far more integral than the metrical pattern, say, or than the sequence of images. The structure is certainly not “form” in the conventional sense in which we think of form as a kind of envelope which “contains” the “content”. The structure obviously is everywhere conditioned by the nature of the material which goes into the poem. The nature of the material sets the problem to be solved, and the solution is the ordering of the material. (178)

Sainthood as profanity and death as life belong to two different thematic spheres, but what unites them is the structure of the kind of juxtaposition that the poem makes. Similarly, in “Holy Sonnet 13”, the ambiguity of the representation as opposed to the represented, or in a broader sense the ambiguity of the sign and the thing signified, manifests itself in questions as diverse as the issue of the beauty of Christ’s image, the conflicting religious readings and the referent of “this beauteous

forme". It is a structural principle that unites them all, offering a kind of a resolution and acting as the superstructure on which the entirety of the poem is founded.

There is, moreover, another kind of resolution to be found both in Brooks' reading of "The Canonization" and in the reading of "Holy Sonnet 13" offered here, one built upon self-referentiality. Brooks call it another "factor in developing and sustaining the final effect" (16) and thus constitutive of the final resolution. The speaker in "The Canonization" claims that the two lovers need no tomb or hearse following their "death" and that their life in death will be satisfied by the pretty rooms of the sonnet form rather than the grandeur of chronicles, since a well-wrought urn is for them just as good as a half-acre tomb. Brooks comments that

[t]he poem is an instance of the doctrine which asserts: it is both the assertion and the realization of the assertion. The poet has actually before our eyes built within the song the "pretty room" with which he says the lovers can be content. The poem itself is the well-wrought urn which can hold the lovers' ashes and which will not suffer in comparison with the prince's "half-acre tomb". (Brooks 16)

The poem speaks of a well-wrought urn and becomes one. Such is also the case with "Holy Sonnet 13", which speaks of a tentative assurance and provides this assurance in none other than a tentative way. On the surface level, it would certainly be more of a resolution if the poem could go either way and either definitively grant the speaker the assurance of salvation or plainly refuse to do so. However, one needs to bear in mind that the sonnet is about ambiguity more than anything else; it is therefore fitting that in the ultimate pronouncement of its final line, it should emerge as ambiguous. Nothing is being reconciled here, but the text offers a resolution that brings together various trains of thought under the single rubric of ambiguity.

The grammar of the final line of "What if this present" is unequivocal. It plainly asserts that the beautiful form—whether of the image of Christ or the sonnet itself—grants the speaker assurance, but, to use Paul de Man's observation from his discussion of another poem, while the grammatical structure "is devoid of ambiguity, [its] rhetorical mode turns the mood as well as the mode of the entire poem upside down" (de Man, "Semiotics and Rhetoric" 30). The final line and the train of thought that it concludes may be the speaker's desperate attempt to convince himself that assurance is within his grasp, but it may just as well constitute a half-baked understanding of the actual state of affairs, or amount to nothing more than a wish. The incompatibility of rhetorical and grammatical structures leaves it open to the reader whether or not to take the grammatical meaning of the poem's final line at face value. The hesitation of the reader, predicated upon the rhetorical oscillations within the text, is the fundamental aesthetic experience that the structure of the poem engenders. Leading to the same prevailing sense of ambiguity via diverse routes—numerous rhetorical paths arranged not linearly but in parallel to one another—"Holy Sonnet 13" gives its readers a unified experience of undecidability and, worthy of a place on literary ambiguity's hall of fame, it deserves more than the kind of cursory mention given it by William Empson.

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Artistic Research

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Canadian writer

On Immigration and Identity: Becoming a Canadian Writer

The first thing that comes to mind when I think of immigration and identity is a Polish word: gone missing.

Emigration has never been far away from the Polish consciousness, either as an inevitable and tragic fall-out of the chequered Polish history, or as a coveted escape from the post-WWII communist prison. Emigration as political exile was part of our Polish fate; once outside, an emigrant could long for Poland and dream of return—in spirit, if everything else failed. When I was growing up, emigration in Polish conversations returned as a dream of escape from the daily humiliations of life in the People’s Republic, a dream that concluded with an act of leaving, “the happily ever after” of fairy tales. Beyond it, there was little else to talk about.

At the Canadian border, in August of 1981, my Polish passport was stamped with the seal of Canadian Immigration, and this is when it struck me how, in Poland, the word “immigration” was hardly ever used, and how the act of leaving was no longer the end of the story.

What was Canada, then, for me? A vaguely-realized land of peace and prosperity. A nebulous construct based on the lack of problems that defined my Polish existence. A jumble of incongruous associations. *Anne of Green Gables*, which every Polish girl I knew grew up loving. Leonard Cohen, with his throaty songs of romantic melancholy that spoke to the Polish soul. Grey Owl and his Beaver People. Arkady Fidler, who claimed that this is a country smelling of pine resin. There were also other, less benign associations. “Kanada” was the name of the Auschwitz barracks where the stolen property of the victims was stored. A land of plenty *a rebours*, even there. There was the flamboyant Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, and the Montreal Olympics of 1976. My parents, natural scientists both, gave me a crash course in geological and paleontological wonders. Newfoundland, I learnt, not only has some of the oldest rocks in the world, but the rocks that come in unusual sequences, the evidence of colliding continents and

disappearing oceans. The Burgess Shale fossils in the Rocky Mountains document an explosion of evolutionary experiments, unrealized possibilities, most of which became extinct. The graveyard of the unlucky in the evolutionary gamble.

My original one-year visiting scholar bursary allowed me a choice of any Canadian university and I remember deciding on McGill, because I thought that a gift of a year in Montreal would improve my French. My plan was to use this unexpected year in Canada to do research for a PhD thesis that I thought had little to do with Canada. I wanted to examine the stories of a Polish writer writing in English in London. No, not Joseph Conrad, but Stefan Themerson, the author of quirky philosophical tales and experimental films, a friend of Dadaists, of Kurt Schwitters, of Bertrand Russell, spinning his tales of detachment and logic, exulting the experience of exile as a catalyst for his meta-national point of view.

These first months in Canada were an onslaught of impressions, some of them surprising in their resonance. I remember my delight in a walk down Saint Laurent Boulevard in Montreal, which seemed to me just like the streets of the Poland my mother and grandmother talked about, the Poland I read in the stories of Isaac Bashevis Singer and Bruno Schulz: the world of Jewish shops on the edge of survival, the world where Yiddish mingled with Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish; not the Polish of the Poland I remembered, but the pre-war Polish of the borderlands that have disappeared, wiped out by the horrors of World War II. It was my first lesson of immigration, the unsuspected connection with something that should have been mine but no longer was. This then-rundown Montreal street put me in touch with the lost landscapes of pre-war Poland, became dear and mine for this very reason. It defied loss. It let me see, touch, and smell the texture of the past, so much more meaningful than the bleached-out and uniform vision of Poland I was fed when I was growing up. I had far more in common with Canada than I ever expected.

I returned from these walks to my small apartment on Saint-Dominique Street and plunged into my research. I was still determined to write my thesis on Stefan Themerson, but I was now being drawn not so much to his linguistic games and his avant-garde experiments but to his “philosophy of exile”, a chance to grow in ways impossible to imagine if we never leave home; drawn to the delight of being above national dreams, of looking at the forgotten missions, of refusal to be caught by the *couleur locale* of linguistic associations. “Strip it all down”. Themerson was saying from his international salon in Notting Hill, a gathering place for the artistic avant-garde, *refusniks* of all stripes. Look at your own culture from the universal point of view. See how much of it you can defend.

There are consequences of this identity shift, this chance to look at one’s country of origin from afar. There are consequences of the willingness to look for similarities, however small, where for a long time differences loomed large. It is a fundamental shift, as important as seeing the earth from space was for the birth of the environmental movement. One of these consequences is the realization of the relativity of one’s history, the need to re-evaluate one’s national experience, to

put it in a wider context. In my case, the Polish memories of communist deprivations had to stand beside the news of famine in Ethiopia, in which millions were losing their lives, beside stories of rampant corruption and the demoralization of post-colonialism. From a distance, the language of communist propaganda began to sound suspiciously close to the language of marketing. Many previously-cherished truths began to crack and allowed questions I did not think of before. Were Polish women really enjoying as privileged a position in Polish society as I had thought? Were we as immune to propaganda as I believed? How just and honest were we in treating our own minorities? How attuned to the dangers of national sins?

The transformation from emigrant into immigrant does not come at once and does not start from such important issues. The beginnings are much more elementary. At first, prices in Canadian stores mean little until translated into zlotys; the attractiveness of shopping is measured by how useful or coveted a dress or a coat would have been in Poland. But as Canadian winter makes an immigrant appreciate the usefulness of a seemingly shapeless parka or clumsy waterproof boots that hold their own in the salty slush, one notices other shifts. This, of course, is not a specifically Polish trait. Jane Wong, a Canadian journalist of Chinese descent, describes how as soon as she lands in Beijing, she immediately assumes the shuffling step of a Chinese woman she would never have affected in Montreal or Toronto. Every immigrant recognizes these disguises: subtle changes in appearance, the way of walking, the use of makeup. Not giving up, entirely, the old ways, but toning them down, assuming the habits of the land, blending with a different crowd. Changes we no longer notice, until they strike us in the astonished eyes of those who remember us from “before”.

But immigration has more tricks up its sleeve. The shaky ground an immigrant stands on can offer surprising new possibilities. Once we leave one version of a self, many more beckon. Careers, roles, perceptions change creating openings where little change seemed possible. A doctor can turn into a librarian, an architect into a graphic designer. I’m not talking here of a doctor who is forced to renounce his beloved profession for lack of opportunities, a truly tragic and very real price of immigration. I am talking about acts of conscious choice, a surprising discovery of another aspect of oneself, inexpressible perhaps without the shift in optics, and without the help of another language.

In an episode of the CBC Ideas series, Paul Wilson, a Canadian translator of Czech writers into English, speaks of his astonishment at reading Kerouac in Prague.* In Czech, *On the Road* seemed to him far more emotional, softer than he recalled it in English, so he returned to the original convinced he would uncover the translator’s incompetence. To his astonishment, a close reading of Kerouac in English revealed that same softness, though toned down by the language itself, not as comfortable as Czech in expressing emotions. The result of this exercise made Paul Wilson admit the validity of the Czech reading of Kerouac, a reading that

* *In Other Words*, part one, broadcasted on April 2, 2007.

enriched his own, a reading he had missed in his native tongue. In an immigrant's life, I credit the same process of translation from one culture to another with the ability to notice the hidden aspects of one's personality, to claim a certain amount of overlooked freedom. A life in another language is a different life. But if one is to accept this change, one more thing is necessary: a permission to embrace this other self.

A positive attitude to change is one of essential Canadian values and, for an immigrant, it is infectious. Here, transformation is not a betrayal of a former self but a natural step in self-realization. The internal Canadian voice whispers: Go for it. Give it a try. See what happens. For a Polish immigrant, this encouragement, this nudge toward change and transformation offers a chance to escape from the internal Polish monologue of criticism, the voice that comments on every shortcoming and stresses all the moments in which we fall short of the ideal. This is the voice of the childhood and youth of my generation. The voice of parents, teachers, neighbours, and passers-by who could always be counted on to cut us down to size for our own good, to remind us that "bragging" is a sign of arrogance, that too much self-confidence is a sign of foolish naiveté, for we do not have control over our fate. Our faults were never overlooked. Criticism and public shame were freely used in order to bring about improvement. Many Polish immigrants I've talked to speak of hearing this voice of their past, the constant warnings of failure that preceded all plans and the deep suspicion of change, for change often brings with it the betrayal of what was once held true.

At first, emigration changed precious little in my professional life. I left the English Department in Wrocław, where I began working on my Ph.D., and became a Ph.D. student in the English Department in Montreal. But as I was fulfilling the requirements for my Canadian degree, I realized that the academic career I would have undoubtedly pursued in Wrocław was not what I really wanted.

The first sign was envy. As I pored over Themerson's philosophical tales, I became more and more envious of his courage to write in English, to find a literary expression for his thesis that being outside offers unique insights. But I was still determined to continue on my Polish path. Academic work was expected of me. It was a family tradition. I joked that the moment I was born, my mother must have whispered in my ear, "I'll not take you seriously until you have your Ph.D.". There were no writers amongst the academics I knew in Wrocław. Teaching at the post-secondary level demanded academic research.

Canada offered new models. My first thesis supervisor at McGill, Louis Dudek, was a poet. He was born in Montreal, a child of Polish immigrants, and he was a legend of Canadian literature, one of the founding fathers of Canadian poetry. Leonard Cohen called him his mentor. He was not the only one. Hugh MacLennan, the author of *Two Solitudes*, a novel that for years defined the Canadian cultural landscape, was yet another McGill professor. One could teach and write; not essays and research papers, but fiction and poetry. An opening, a crack

in the expected path had opened. And then I came across the then newly-published memoirs by Eva Hoffman. I remember reading *Lost in Translation; A Life in a New Language* breathlessly, unable to put it down. A wonderful, introspective analysis of immigration, the author's constant negotiation between her Polish and American selves. This journey into language, identity, and its transformations was, for me, a revelation, a gift. It articulated my own struggle for the meaning of immigration, although my story would have a slightly different title. *Found in Translation* would suit me better, for as soon as I put down Eva Hoffman's book, I began to write.

I started with my birthplace, Wrocław, the city of shifting borders, German ruins and Polish children who played in them. The city of post-German houses deprived of family stories, of places deprived of the past.

"Where do you come from?" was, and perhaps still is, a standard Wrocław question. "From here, from Wrocław", is not a sufficient answer and will inevitably bring a nudge: "Where are you *really* from?" There always has to be the memory of another place, that place from whence your parents or grandparents came from. Vilnius, Lviv, Warsaw? There always has to be a story of exodus first, the story of displacement, of loss. Only then can one begin to narrate the story of slow acceptance, of building and rebuilding, of putting down roots. The story of how one makes a land one's own, how one turns a place into a home. A story of what, in Canada, I would have recognized as a story of immigration.

"Where do you come from?" is also a quintessential Canadian question, a question not that easy to answer. Geography is helpful to a certain extent. One comes from Poland, Russia, Germany, India. But even that requires explanations, for the massive political migrations of the past century have assured that we have made a mess of simple belonging. You came from Sarajevo, but are you Serbian or Bosnian? Or from what was once the Soviet Union, but are you Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, or Jewish? What if you come from the part of Poland that is now Ukraine, or the part of Germany that is now Poland?

"Where are you from?" if it is to be answered truthfully, with self-reflection, demands that our origin story has to be modified, clarified, annotated with reservations, laced with caution. Memories of the past have to face the critical eye of scrutiny under a different cultural lens. For since the storyteller and the listener have no shared memories, little can be taken for granted.

When I was growing up in Wrocław, the ruins of Breslau were still around me, the silent background to the hushed, bitter stories of the last world war. I have an old photograph of myself as a young girl, a tiny figurine with a halo of curly hair. I am holding my mother's hand, and behind me are the ruins I remember so well. Huge piles of rubble spilling into the street, clusters of red bricks still glued together with mortar, a sea of ruins, surrounding small islands of surviving buildings. Some of the houses are cut in half, gutted, with discoloured patches on the walls where the balconies fell off. The streets lead to neighbourhoods that no longer

exist; smooth, steel tramway tracks cutting through them end in the piles of rubble, disappearing among the grass and weeds.

I ran with other children through these ruins, wielding stick guns, yelling at the top of my voice. How many German words I knew then, already! *Raus, Hände hoch, schneller schneller. Get out, hands up, faster, faster. Polnische Schweine. Deutschland Deutschland über Alles. Drang nach Osten. Lebensraum.*

Our parents tried to keep us away from the ruins. Warned, we walked alert, ready to run away at the slightest noise. Sniffing the moist, mouldy air of the bunkers, we searched for German *Schmeissers* or Russian *Kalashnikovs*, for steel bullets which could be polished until they shone. It was from these trips that we brought back handfuls of German coins, lapels with SS runes, blue, red, and purple stamps with swastikas or Hitler's moustached face, rusted helmets filled with slime and rotting leaves. In the evening dusk, we plunged the sharp steel tips in between the granite cubes paving the sidewalks and sent them rolling down the street. "The Wild West", our parents used to say, echoing one of the most persistent of the post-war myths, the call for Polish pioneers who would take over and civilize this land, making it their own.

*Come my tan-faced children,
Follow well in order, get your weapons ready,
Have you your pistols? Have you your sharp-edged axes?
Pioneers! Oh pioneers!*

"Pioneers! O Pioneers!" Walt Whitman's song to the builders of the American Wild West was often cited at that time, despite communism's in-born distrust of America. This poem was thought to be particularly meaningful for the Polish pioneers of the Regained Territories. I am not sure about the tanned faces, but the Polish pioneers did come with their axes and hammers to clear the rubble of the war. And they would agree that:

*All the past we leave behind,
We debouch upon a newer mightier world, varied world,
Fresh and strong the world we seize, world of labor and the march,
Pioneers! O pioneers!*

Yes, there was plenty of labour, plenty of marches, and plenty of forgetting, necessary to carry on living.

For the citizens of Wrocław, forgetting the trauma of the war meant denying the history of the city they came to in 1945. The "master race" had fled in disgrace and defeat. What else was there to say? The daily newspapers of the first post-war years triumphantly announced the openings of the first Wrocław hospital, the first school, the first concert hall, as if this city were carved from wilderness and had no other but the most immediate past. "The land of opportunity", the same papers declared. The place where opulent villas waited for the brave, villas abandoned by fleeing Germans, houses fully furnished, business waiting to be taken. These

were the just rewards for the hardships and bitter losses of the war. Go! The papers urged. Tomorrow might be too late.

My parents came to Wrocław as students in 1948. In their memories, Wrocław was yet another place, a nobody's land, a haven for marauders and looters, but also—as my mother stressed—for the politically suspect. “To Go West” meant a better chance of being forgotten, of forging a new present, hiding the now suspect and vilified past. The Wrocław of my parents' youth was also a dangerous place, for this is where German, Russian and Polish gangs fought out their national and economic differences. Each morning, the naked bodies of the victims, robbed of all possessions, lay among the ruins, mute evidence of the power of bloodlines and universal human greed.

By the time I went to school, the ruins were being cleared and empty spaces were filling up with new apartment blocks. *We haven't come here*, the slogans around us proclaimed in big red letters, *We Have Returned*. And yet, the word *Breslau* filled us, the children born in Wrocław, with uneasiness. There was something sinister about it, something forbidden, so we lowered our voices when we pronounced it. We lived in houses we called post-German, where water taps had the words *Kalt* and *Warm* on them, where I could spell the word *Briefe* on my letterbox. Where we were told of mysterious tunnels under the city, perhaps still filled with Nazi loot. Before the Nazis surrendered, we were reminded, they turned *Festung Breslau* into heaps of debris, the scorched earth that would yield nothing but ashes. The photographs of the smouldering ruins of 1945 were on display everywhere, documenting both that devastation and the effort that went into the restoration, especially of the city's historical core, the Town Hall, the Gothic churches of the Old Town and the Oder Island, undisputable proofs of the ancient Polish origin of this land. We were discouraged from asking what happened between this ancient Polish past and the rise of Hitler, or to notice how, for years, the fin-de-siècle Breslau with its surviving modernist buildings and the Jugendstil facades, was left to crumble.

This, I was beginning to realize in my first Canadian years, was the true beginning of my story. I was the child of immigrants to the Regained Territories, the land of silences and unease about place, memory, and inheritance. And then, in one of these poignant ironies of a migrant's life, I had found myself living across the street from Jutta, a Breslauer who, as a child, escaped the burning city my parents would come to a few months later.

In Jutta's stories, Breslau was a German city of beautiful boulevards and family memories. It was the city of her birth and her mother's youth. “We come from the same place”, Jutta kept telling me. “From the same *Heimat*”. These words surprised me at first, but soon I had to admit that she was right, that the Poland I left was far more complicated than I once thought. Stunned by the incredible coincidence of our common birthplace, we began sharing memories, cautious at first, intrigued by the past we uncovered, by the stories long denied on both sides.

In January 1945, Jutta told me, her mother wrapped up her baby sister in a goose down pillow and a woollen blanket. It was a cold winter, bitterly cold, and many a time she was to lift the top of the blanket to check if the child was still alive. Breslau was no longer the city her mother had once loved. Nazi ideology had made its impact on Silesians; many Breslauers had been seduced by the myth of German racial superiority, while many others relished the impression of order and the economic benefits of cheap labour. There were also those who opposed Nazism, but if they had the courage to pronounce their views, they were treated like the enemy. A suburb of Breslau—a kilometre away from the house I grew up in—had been the site of the first Nazi concentration camp.

Jutta was lucky to be alive, we both knew it. The refugees from Breslau did not fare well. When the commander of Breslau, Karl Hanke, finally permitted women and children to leave the city, crowds flooded the Breslau Central Station. Children were trampled to death, lost. There were not enough trains to take them all, and the refugees were told to walk on foot to Kanth, some thirty kilometres through snow, where they were promised they would be able to board the trains to the West. Many died of the cold. Many of those who survived what had become known as the “Kanth Death March” perished in the firestorms in Dresden, which engulfed the city on the nights of the 13–14 of February 1945 during the massive Allied bombings. Among them could have been the people in whose apartment I lived in my childhood.

Ten years after I left, Wrocław was looming large, beckoning me with stories I wanted to explore, with silences I wanted to fill. Return was impossible for a while, but then the impossible happened. Communism fell, the Cold War was officially over, the Berlin Wall was being chopped to pieces and sold as souvenirs. In 1991, I visited Poland for the first time since I had left, a significant moment in the life of any immigrant; no other visit will ever equal that first confrontation of memory and reality.

By then, the city that I once thought of as not quite Polish, not quite mine, became fascinating for this very reason. It was still a city of immigrants carrying the stories of a home that was elsewhere, memories of loss and transformations, but traces of German Breslau, once obscured and denied, were becoming more and more visible. Wrocław bookstores were selling books of Breslau photographs and pre-war German maps. Plaques on Wrocław buildings informed that Carl Maria Weber lived here, that this is the city where Louis Alzheimer diagnosed his first dementia patient.

I walked through Wrocław streets with the same wonder I once gave the streets of Montreal. I took notes, pictures. I asked myriads of questions about the past and the present. I returned to Canada with a suitcase full of books: memoirs of Polish pioneers, memoirs of Polish and German refugees, the former arriving, the latter leaving. A novel was already shaping up in my mind, a novel rooted in the story of Breslau/Wrocław, the Polish city and its German double. A Canadian novel which

would begin and end in Montreal, but which would play out between a Breslau Canadian and a newly-arrived Wrocław one. I began thinking of it as a story of lies, betrayals, evolving memories, a story of transformation, of being Polish and Canadian at the same time.

This is how *Necessary Lies* was born, and I was no longer an academic. I have become a writer.

By the time I am writing this, in 2022, I have lived longer in Canada than I ever lived in Poland. I am a Polish-born Canadian writer, the author of seven novels. After *Necessary Lies* (2000) came *Garden of Venus* (2005), *Dissonance* (2009), *The Winter Palace* (2012), *Empress of the Night* (2013), *The Chosen Maiden* (2017), and, most recently *The School of Mirrors* (2022). Each of these books is a milestone on my literary journey.

In my first years in Canada, I've often felt as if the lands east of the former Iron Curtain have barely registered in Canadian literary consciousness, together with the history that has defined them. Not entirely, of course, for occasional poems and stories on Polish themes did appear in Canadian literary magazines. But they were fleeting, and they left so much untouched. This absence became my inspiration. And since history is an integral part of my Polish identity, a conviction that to understand the present one must know the past, history is where I began to search for my literary material. Scavenging through the treasure trove of history, however, comes with a warning. Not just any history, not always the official one, not always the one I was brought up on. What I was looking for was a window opened wide, a slanted point of view.

My personal experience of emigration has also left its mark, drawing me towards immigrants, migrants, cultural transplants, and their shifting sense of identity. In my next novels, I turned to Polish history seen or experienced by outsiders. I focused on characters who had to adjust to another culture, another language, another set of perceptions. I weighed the costs and gains of losing the primary uni-lingual and uni-cultural perception of the world. I explored the resulting persistent lightness of being, to play on Kundera's expression, the feeling that once we leave our first home, all other homes seem temporary. Time after time, I turned to women's voices, rarer and thus untapped, perfect as inspiration and material for my writing.

And so, in *Garden of Venus*, Sophie Glavani, a Greek immigrant to 18th century Poland, discovers that her cultural and class ambiguity allows her to escape the social restrictions of her times. In *Dissonance*, Delfina Potocka, Zygmunt Krasiński and Eliza Krasińska live on the edges of The Great Emigration and grapple with the limits of their national identities and personal obligations. My two novels about Catherine the Great, *The Winter Palace* and *Empress of the Night*, take on the story of a minor Prussian princess who became the perfect embodiment of 18th century Russia. For *The Chosen Maiden*, I found inspiration in Bronislava Nijinska, Vasilav Nijinski's younger sister, born in Minsk, educated in Russia, who carved for

herself a spectacular career in the Ballets Russes and beyond. In my novel, Bronia Nijinska is a wanderer, a woman who does not fully embody any of her cultural or national identities. She, the owner of many passports, Nansen just one among them, is foremost an artist. Her true homeland is modern dance. Her inner strength comes from the eternal human desire to create. Exile, emigration, immigration are mere stages in her artistic journey, just like being a daughter, sister, mother, are the stages of being a woman.

My latest novel, *The School of Mirrors*, has opened up yet another vista. The Polish or Eastern European inspiration has run its course, becoming a passing reference. There may be a Polish queen at Versailles, but she has no power and little influence. Louis XV may take on a disguise of a Polish count, but only to cover up his sexual exploits. At its core, the novel features two French women, a fictional mother and daughter, both growing up on the margins of the 18th century society. Ethnicity plays no role in who they are, though their class does, and so does their dubious social position. The most powerful force that determines their lives is the turbulent history of the 18th century France, the excesses of royal privilege at Versailles and the ruthless political games of the French Revolution. How they survive and at what cost is what the novel is ultimately about. In *The School of Mirrors*, history is shaped by everyday decisions, actions, hopes and struggles; choices that can crush, but can also, sometimes, make escape from fate possible.

I want to close this essay with answers to a personal question: What in my identity has remained Polish and what has become Canadian?

Poland is the landscape of my childhood, the first impressions of what it is to be alive. Poland is memories of my parents, my grandmother and my brother, the warmth of my first family and their untold stories, of which I still know mere snatches. My mother's insistence on never closing the door to a room she was in, for she was a political prisoner once and could not stand closed rooms. My grandmother's fear of planes flying low, her pain when she spoke of the lost store, her hand holding mine as she taught me my prayers and told me of the miracles of faith.

Poland is the tastes of pierogi, of milk with skin on it, of tea with lemon made with the "essence" brewed on a steaming kettle and diluted with boiling water. Poland is the memories of post-war Wrocław, where, for years, my family did not think we fully belonged.

Poland is the Polish language and culture which I have never left and the Polish history, not the official one I grew up on, but the multitude of histories that I have uncovered since. Poland is my point of reference, my Greenwich point, the first experience by which all else is measured. A stark life in a totalitarian state, the lessons of growing up amidst shortages, with fear of annihilation have made me sceptical about assurances of abundance, aware how precarious peace is, how easily destroyed. The Polish voice in me tells me to be suspicious of human motivation, but also to trust my strength to survive and cope. It makes me look for the

permanence of deep friendships, to seek those who will not turn away from me in the time of need.

This Polish voice insists on the existence of pure evil, backed up by the stories of crippling loss. It tells me not to overestimate the importance of the individual for when the worst comes, nobody survives alone. I do not always listen to my Polish voice. It annoys and angers me at times, but it is always there.

As a Canadian, I define myself in relation to our powerful neighbour to the south and to Europe on the other side of the ocean, and I see myself somewhere in between the two. I support a more generous social safety net and have far more tolerance than Americans for government control, but at the same time, I trust the power of the individual far more than is the European norm.

As a Canadian, I do not define myself against the backdrop of World War II and the ruins. In English, the word “war” has to be qualified, for there have been so many of them in my lifetime here, though none were fought on Canadian soil, and each produced a new wave of refugees, many of whom have found themselves in Canada.

As a Canadian, I relate myself more to the present and future. My past is not from here, at least not that most recent past, although more and more I too remember how things used to be. I may not recall Quebec martial law, but I do remember watching the results of the referendum of 1995, when a mere one percent saved Canada from splitting up. I do not have childhood memories from here, but I have the memories of my son’s childhood, successive waves of toys, and his passion for hockey and baseball.

I see my Canadian identity in the belief in self-reliance that makes over sixty percent Canadians and Americans answer NO when we are polled on the question: “Do you think that success in life is determined by forces beyond our control?”. To me, this energy, this sense of personal optimism has always been palpable in Canada. It energized me; it gave me courage to make choices perhaps not possible in Europe. I credit this force with my becoming a writer. This optimism makes me say YES when I ask myself, do you have anything of value to say, is your experience unique enough, different enough to be recorded, to be of interest to others?

I see my Canadian identity in the need for diversity around me. I cherish the sight of seeing children of many races playing together, a Japanese chef in an Italian restaurant, a traditionally-dressed Sikh wearing Nike sneakers. I feel the tug of recognition when I notice new waves of immigrants exploring the streets they will soon call theirs, with bewilderment and joy. I also see it in my anger when this welcoming of diversity is betrayed, when I encounter intolerance or outright racism; when present or past injustices are brazenly denied or minimized, or when a brutal act of terror shakes this North American optimism I hold so dear.

I have grown my Canadian roots by now. I have sorted through my feelings on essential Canadian questions. I can hold my own in the discussions whether Quebec should or should not be allowed to separate from Canada, are provinces

too powerful or not powerful enough, are the Western provinces justified in feeling isolated and used by the Federal government, should Canada be less or more allied with the United States? I have lived through the deep divisions caused by anti-Covid restrictions, by the surge of extreme views I did not suspect to be so persistent and destructive. As I have been suspicious of forced totalitarian socialism, now I have strong doubts about capitalist excesses, unchecked materialism, the influence of big business, and social inadequacies.

Canada is here, it is home. I am a Polish-born Canadian writer, an emigrant and an immigrant. I think of the past as my cradle, not my prison; I explore it to understand the present, extract from it what is worth preserving and passing on. Like the characters in my novels, I am no stranger to contradictions of identity and history. This is why I will close with a sentence borrowed from the heroine of *The Chosen Maiden*: “Mine, I will defend myself, is not a simple story”.

Review Articles

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A Game of Equivocations:
Review of Richard Shusterman's
*The Adventures of the Man in Gold: Paths
between Art and Life. A Philosophical Tale /
Les aventures de l'homme en or. Passages
entre l'art et la vie. Conte philosophique.*
Illustrated by Yann Toma. Paris:
Éditions Hermann, 2016¹

Abstract: In Richard Shusterman's *The Adventures of the Man in Gold*, the limitations of the *conte philosophique* are transgressed. The published volume incorporates a photo essay, reviving the old tradition of *paragone*; the written narrative, in turn, invokes the traditions of the doppelgänger story, the fairy tale, the quest-romance and—through its introspective passages—a literary confession. But even if, by Shusterman's admission, this tale refers to its author's personal experience, it also breaks the "autobiographical pact" by continuously playing with the pronominal references and thus destabilizing the relationships between the author, the narrator, and the characters. The current review proposes that Shusterman's refusal to draw the line separating "I" from "he"—and reality from fantasy—is informed by his conclusions about T. S. Eliot's (self-protective) and Oscar Wilde's (self-incriminating) creations of their public personae. It also suggests that his storytelling technique relies on the trope of irony in self-redescription as understood by Richard Rorty, although Shusterman's *l'Homme en Or* remains the very opposite of Rorty's *ironist*.

Keywords: Richard Shusterman, doppelgänger, T. S. Eliot, Oscar Wilde, somaesthetics, photo-essay, autobiography, irony

¹ This is a revised and translated version of the review article "Ukryty, jawny, zdystansowany: Richarda Shustermana *The Adventures of the Man in Gold: Paths Between Art and Life. A Philosophical Tale*", originally published in 2020, in Polish, by *Er(r)go. Teoria—Literatura—Kultura* 2.41. 203–215. doi: 10.31261/errgo.7417.

The Adventures of the Man in Gold combines a photographic project by Yann Toma with Richard Shusterman's semi-autobiographical narrative printed in two columns: in English and in its French translation by Thomas Mandémé. The story falls into three parts, and each is set in a different place: the former Cistercian abbey of Royaumont, Île-de-France; Paris and Cartagena; and the region of the wandering dunes of Northern Jutland. The three chapters recounting this journey are accompanied by the preface, acknowledgments and the "biographies" section, which, while elucidating the story's academic context, further add complexity to its narrative situation. *The Adventures of the Man in Gold* is unique amidst Shusterman's oeuvre. It is the only work of fiction amongst his academic writings, which otherwise range from a treatise on analytical philosophy to several books on pragmatism and on somaesthetics (the discipline he introduced to philosophy), from philosophical essays to literary studies, and from the examinations of theoretical questions to the accounts of live performances.

The book's elaborate, three-part title points its reader in three directions simultaneously. It promises a picaresque narrative (although it features, instead of a picaro, the alter ego of an academic philosopher); then, it lifts the picaresque onto a metaphorical level, for the adventurous escapades become a journey along the paths of intense self-fashioning; and, finally, it recommends that the story should be read as an account of a philosophical experiment. Yet, in various places, this *conte philosophique* also assumes the tone typical of confessional prose. The confession, however, is all but straightforward. The author, having directly addressed the reader in the preface, continues, in the main text, as the third-person omniscient narrator only to allow one of the characters—a philosopher named "Shusterman"—to be heard when an extensive excerpt from his own essay is quoted (*M* 20–22).² However, when the quotation ends, it is the first-person "I" that—contrary to the reader's expectation of a comfortable return to the third-person narrator—takes over the story. But soon after, the narrative voice flees away from the narrative "I", taking a safe refuge in the distanced "he". It is all part of the ongoing process of destabilizing the narratorial entities. While the grammatical categories keep altering, the philosopher rapidly (or, more appropriately, in a twinkling) transforms into a man wearing a shining suit; accordingly, *Lebenswelt* as we know it becomes part of a fiction, despite the author's declaration (from the preface) that the ensuing events, as well as those that led to the experiment, constitute part of his biography. The "autobiographical pact" as it is understood by Phillippe Lejeune—the agreement that the author has made with his reader—becomes patently violated, and the story begins to invoke parallels with Christopher Nolan's *Inception*, wherein the borders of reality and dream, reverie and imagination, confession and the *conte philosophique* become disquietingly blurred.

² All parenthetical references to *The Man in Gold* are to page numbers in its 2016 edition, its title being abbreviated as *M*.

The tale's theme, however, has clearly-delineated roots, reaching deep into the dark-romantic doppelgänger stories wherein "I" becomes the other, having transformed into the object of one's fascination, apprehension, or both. The tradition encompasses Edgar Allan Poe's "The Cask of Amontillado" and "William Wilson" (a prototype of Wilde's *Dorian Gray*), Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, as well as the uncanny modernist story "Axolotl" by Julio Cortázar, which features a character who is fascinated by the orange-golden axolotls and who eventually turns into one of them. But in Shusterman's tale, the doppelgänger theme extends beyond fiction, and into real life, though all attempts at univocally identifying the real-life personae behind the imaginary protagonists end in ironic anti-climaxes.

Hence, rather than interpreting this tale as an autobiography in the form of a doppelgänger narrative, a tale about an academic transforming into the Man in Gold, one could approach it as an allegorical story about the transformation of a philosophy—Richard Shusterman's philosophy turning away from the one-sidedly analytical (or, purely discursive, as represented by his *The Object of Literary Criticism* in 1984) towards the openly pragmatist, and finally, shaping itself as somaesthetics, which is both a philosophy and the art of self-fashioning and self-development. Drawing inspiration from the tradition of Eastern philosophy—including "Asian practices of Hatha Yoga, Zen meditation, and T'ai chi ch'uan" (Shusterman, "Somaesthetics" 302)—somaesthetics aims for the refinement of the sensory sphere, the ways in which we perceive the world. Indeed, in his tale, Shusterman incorporates references to the Daoist philosopher Laozi. Yet, he creates a figure that embodies not only the Daoist ideal of naturalness but also, somewhat paradoxically, the ideal of self-styling—the Man in Gold, a figure of studied simplicity.

The varied philosophical—Daoist, pragmatist, and somaesthetic—context and, additionally, the idea of experimenting with the limit of one's self have been discussed by this book's first reviewers.³ The present commentary will look at *The Adventures of the Man in Gold* predominantly from a literary perspective, focusing on the complex relationships involving the author, the narrator, and the story's characters, and remembering that this story is told not only in words but also with images, that—besides being an evasive autobiography, a doppelgänger story, and a philosophical tale—it is a photo essay. The text is accompanied by a series of photographs taken by Toma, who, in fairy-tale logic, has witnessed the birth of the Man in Gold at the same time as being a practical provider of the golden costume, the former property of his parents, the ballet dancers. In the inscriptions accompanying

³ Stefán Snævarr includes a discussion of somaesthetics (86–89); Catherine F. Both stresses the anti-essentialist understanding of the self and subjectivity; Stefano Marino highlights the connection of life and art as promoted by Shusterman's *conte philosophique* and as countering the Aristotelian division between *poiesis* and *praxis*; Ellen Y. Zhang, finally, emphasizes the Daoist mythological and philosophical parallels, viewing the imaginary transformation of the philosopher into "the Man in Gold" as evoking associations with medieval alchemy.

the majority of photographs, the model is identified as “Richard Shusterman” posing for the photo session titled “Somaflux”. The information is factual. Toma is going round the model and, with his lamps, he is drawing the shapes symbolizing the contours of what he sees as the model’s energy field, capturing the model’s “aura” (M 13). It is the technique of rayographs, the method used by Man Ray in his famous 1934 self-portrait, *Space Writing*. The final effect of the process—happening over the lengthened time of the film exposure—takes the form of luminous streaks and swathes. Its description delivered from the model’s point of view is, in fact, included in Shusterman’s “Photography as Performative Process”, wherein the photographer becomes a dancer circling his object (71). The images (not all of them containing light drawings) create a narrative wherein the Man in Gold first appears standing in the grey expanse of a parking lot; then, he leaves the interior of a medieval abbey and runs into the light-saturated garden, only to emerge in Colombian Cartagena and, further, in Paris, walking by the Seine, his golden costume (or is it his skin?) shimmering. Finally, he reappears in Denmark, exploring the stone sculptures on its windy coast. Everything that takes place in the narrative is typical for a fantasy romance, with its hero going in search of a mythical female embodying the beauty originally perceived in the mother figure and, later on, materialized as an enlivened sculpture—the animated and possibly ensouled artifact, similar to *l’Homme en Or*.

Toma’s pictures, continuing the tradition of *paragone* in art, vie with the text for attention. They are evocative. The picture in which the Man in Gold, having escaped from the abbey’s “dark chamber”, is kneeling on the edge of a pond, leaning over the water surface to refresh himself (31), evokes associations with the theme of Caravaggio’s painting: *l’Homme en Or* becomes a Narcissus mesmerized by his reflection. In another photograph, *l’Homme en Or*, similar to the figures featured in the impressionistic garden paintings, appears to draw the viewer’s attention to the landscape rather than to himself (M 33). By contrast, in the photograph opening the chapter titled “A Mysterious Birth”, he assumes the central position (M 16), his figure enclosed within the skein of the light lines shaped like an egg. (The reader is told that he doesn’t know his parents, he can only picture them to himself.) In yet another scene, the photo featuring the riverside walk, his costume reflects the shimmer of the water; and, indeed, the aquatic associations will recur in the text. Additionally, several photos contain the light-drawn words: *l’Homme en Or* is depicted as he lies asleep, with the inscription “SOMA” hovering above him (M 25), or, on a beach, as he stands inside the niche of a light-drawn “A” (M 56–57). But are the letters necessary? Is photography hinting at its insufficiency, its role only complementary, literally highlighting a philosophy? Or, is it the professional philosopher’s (only natural) unwillingness to totally shun discursive thought?

There is something overly allegorical about the figure of *l’Homme en Or* posing next to the word *soma*; but as a literary character, he is far from the dryness of allegory. Mercurial and childlike in his spontaneity, he waves to the cars passing

by (*M* 37); at other times, he lacks resilience and shies away when confronted by the Cartagena machos offering sexual innuendos (*M* 49–50). His double and, simultaneously, his opposite, the story’s narrator—whilst being well-disposed, even affectionate, towards the protagonist—shows not a trace of his stubborn simple-mindedness. Consequently, despite the intentional obscuring of personal references (with “I” slipping into “he”), the narratorial entities, even if destabilized, retain their distinctiveness. They all—Richard Shusterman as the author providing (in the preface) his personal reasons for the creation of the story; the story’s neutral narrator; the Man in Gold as the protagonist; and, finally, the protagonist’s ficelle, that is, the philosopher posing for the photographer—seem to overlap. But, rather tauntingly, all of them, through subtle shifts in the point of view and grammar, differ from each other, which is why *The Adventures of the Man in Gold*, although avowedly based on a true story, remains fictitious.

Such complex relationships have their prototypes in literature. Likewise, the touchstones for the golden man’s personality should be sought in literary works, particularly, in T. S. Eliot and Oscar Wilde. Shusterman wrote articles on both authors and, in 1988, *T. S. Eliot and the Philosophy of Criticism*. Characteristically, his *l’Homme en Or* negates the same modernist self that Eliot satirized through his cerebral Prufrock—a persona depicted as an assembly of discursive references. But does the Man in Gold resemble Prufrock in dandyism? The indeterminacy of his condition—is the shimmering caused by the glimmer of his skin or the costume?—translates into the indefiniteness of his status as neither that of a straightforward anti-dandy nor that of a simple embodiment of dandyism. He does not exist unless the philosopher is prepared to don the shiny stretch (thus adding, in the transgressive Foucauldian fashion, a postmodernist philosophical inflection to the phenomenon of dandyism).⁴ This transformation of a human being into an artefact (enlivening, in the book’s last pages, stone sculptures) has its archetype in the transformation of Wilde’s Dorian Gray into a picture, albeit to a different effect. Additionally, Wilde’s “The Fisherman and his Soul”—a fable written around the same time as *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, offered for publication in *Lippincott’s Monthly Magazine* and, eventually, replaced by the novelette (see, e.g., Price 75; Gillespie 52–55)—features yet another model. The unfeeling, literally heartless, cerebral “Soul” abandons the fisherman—who remains faithful to his love and content to stay in the sensuously rich underwater realm—and, driven by insatiable curiosity, sets off on a journey. Its curiosity represents a kind of interest sustaining the explorations of a cruel connoisseur, the curiosity unmindful of its object’s well-being, which Richard Rorty (in his discussion of Nabokov’s aesthetes) describes as the opposite of the caring interest, the attitude of a desirous mind (157–65). Never satisfied in its search for knowledge, the master of compelling argumentation, the

⁴ For a discussion of Foucault’s understanding of aestheticism as “self-transformation”, see Kevin Lamb. For Shusterman’s discussion of Foucault’s experimental attitude to self-fashioning, see, for example, his “Somaesthetics and Care of the Self” (530–32).

Soul impersonates discursivity, whereas the fisherman corresponds with the soma. It is their relationship that seems to be echoed in the interaction between Shusterman's characters: the seasoned, world-wise academician, a practical man used to functioning within hierarchical systems, and *l'Homme en Or*, trusting, even credulous, silent and anarchic, "recognizing ... [the discursive language] as the glory of philosophy but also an imprisoning source of its oppressive folly" (M 58).

Besides the decadent echo to the philosopher's self, yet another, perhaps more important, context emerges, including the ways in which Eliot and Wilde communicated their ideas in art and criticism. Shusterman's carefully-controlled interweaving of the public and private discourses can be better understood through the Wildean perspective, with Wilde frequently using his characters and narrators to give voice to his own opinion (the case, for example, with *The Critic as Artist*, *The Decay of Lying*, or "The Portrait of Mr. W. H."), at the same time as claiming that, conversely, his personal correspondence, rather than factual, was fictive, a kind of epistolary literature. (This latter claim, concerning Wilde's love letters to Alfred Douglas, proved of no avail in the libel trials.⁵) It is significant that Shusterman, in his essay on "Wilde and Eliot", highlights a striking difference in the strategies they used when projecting their public images. He emphasizes that the decadent aesthete—dangerously toying with the image of a carefree dandy—eventually, paid the high price set by the bigoted Victorian court, that of imprisonment, infamy, loss of parental rights, and years of neglect by literary critics. The cautious modernist, on the contrary, succeeded, having created the image of serious authority. In contrast to flamboyant and openly rebellious Wilde, Shusterman explains, practical and reserved Eliot constructed his public image in the awareness that a person willing to significantly influence society and its culture must recognize its conventions, "at least conform superficially to its central behavioral norms in order that he survive to practise his art"—the lesson "Eliot learned from Wilde's bitter experience" ("Wilde" 141), and the one that served him in the successful creation of his public image. As a result, for many years, most of the literary-critical concepts which arose in the course of Eliot's silent polemics with his decadent progenitor were, unjustifiably, considered exclusively Eliot's legacy.⁶

Then, might it be that Shusterman—having noted Wilde's strategic mistake and heeding the same lesson—consistently discourages hasty identifications of the author with the narrator and either character? His narratorial tactic invalidates Stefn Snævarr's slightly backhanded compliment depicting Shusterman as "the golden boy of aesthetics ... possibly a golden oldie" (86). Indeed, the viewing of the Man in Gold (the figure teetering, in places, on the brink of naivety) as

⁵ For the fateful misreading of private correspondence as anticipated in "The Portrait of Mr. W.H.", see William A. Cohen (220).

⁶ Wilde's presence in Eliot's criticism, besides being examined by Shusterman, has been discussed by P. G. Ellis, R. J. Green, and Lawrence Danson. Their contribution is noted in my "From T. S. Eliot to Oscar Wilde" (141–42), which also considers Eliot's literary polemic with his predecessor.

a symmetrical alter ego to the real-life philosopher might be naïve of the reader. Several examples of Shusterman's technique of alternating pronouns, already mentioned as deliberately undermining the "autobiographical pact", would also be useful in illustrating his complex attitude to the Man in Gold. For example, when describing his relationship with *l'Homme en Or*, Shusterman—his voice not quite identical with the narrator's—uses contradictory terms, suggesting a separation and a total identification at the same time: "I witnessed (and incarnated) the performances of the Man in Gold" (M 7). Indeed, he explains that he was merely "posing as the Man in Gold" (M 12). It is only later on, once Richard Shusterman, appearing as Toma's model and the first-person narrator, has fallen asleep that the Man in Gold begins to exist in his (or is it *its*?) own right, initially, as pent-up energy ("Some inner force. ... It wanted out; it wanted light" [M 30]) and, subsequently, as a power controlling and transforming the model and causing him to transgress the limits of his old self ("I no longer knew what I was doing. More precisely, I was no longer I" [M 30]). This flipping of the self to the other side can be viewed in the light of Shusterman's essay on genius as a *daimon*, an unpredictable force dominating the conscious self ("Genius" 204–07). In fact, *The Adventures* deploys the vocabulary of "transformation and possession" (e.g., M 8). But the result of this change is also an objectively existing character, and a suitably archetypal one, too: as befits a fairy-tale protagonist, he has a special godmother, the proprietress of the Cistercian abbey who "christened" him (M 17). From this point onwards, the pronouns in the story become consistently destabilized: "they" can refer to Toma and the posing philosopher as well as to Toma and the silent *l'Homme en Or*.

This is a game of consistent prevarication, with the tale hinting at a separateness of the two characters, the Man in Gold and the philosopher. Thus, using the third-person point of view, the narrator explains that the academic philosopher "sometimes dreams he is the Man in Gold" (M 35), the fact confirmed by the image depicting the Man in Gold at the philosopher's desk (see M 36). Further, the tale discourages the identification of the philosopher as a character (named Shusterman) with the real-life Richard Shusterman, who has authored the preface. Rather characteristically, the unshakable faith in the existence of *l'Homme en Or* is ascribed to the photographer. In the closing episode, the philosopher recalls having glanced at the night sky and seeing a burning meteor, "a blurry shooting star" (M 120), whereas the photographer, who "saw it too ... [,] correct[s]" the philosopher by stating that "It was simply a luminous cloud by which the Man in Gold ascended into heaven ...". (M 120). In the French version, "It was simply" is translated into "*il s'agissait en fait*" (M 120; italics mine), as the more assertive "it was in fact". With this assurance (*en fait*), Toma returns the philosopher to reality, but one remembers that this is only the reality of a fairy tale.

Effectively, the text disrupts any set of oppositions through which it could be conceptualized. Only the male-female relationship seems inscribed into a rigid framework of polarities (and complementarities) resulting, most probably, from the

fact that the tale's philosophy resonates with Daoist, rather than western, sensibility. Otherwise, divisions are abolished: a semblance of autobiographical factuality is given in the fairy-tale narrative; dream segues into waking life; complex discursive subtleties are mixed with the assertions of the Man in Gold's uncomplicated innocence; the itineraries of academic conferences intersect with the routes of the archetypal quest for love (or, is it for a mythical beginning?); the golden garment performs conflicting functions—as the sensitive and bruised skin and as a protective shield, “a shining coat of armour” (*M* 61, 64); and the philosophical fable displays footnotes typical of a scholarly essay, determinately evading classifications. Finally, the tale's purposeful indeterminacy is heightened by the fact that the French translation, appearing simultaneously, adds another dimension to the English text. While, for example, the English text informs the reader that the Man in Gold quietly entered the philosopher's life—“came into existence”—the French translation makes his entry quite dramatic: “un personnage ... fit irruption” (*M* 7). Whilst, in English, one is told that “it is risky to lose one's sense of autonomy”, in French, this risk is the effect of a (rather pleasurable?) activity of playing (“jouer”) with self-autonomy (*M* 8). Whereas the English text makes note of the passive incarnation of *l'Homme en Or* by the philosopher, in French the philosopher plays an active part in the process—*enacting* the role of the Man in Gold, by being “l'acteur” (*M* 7).

The elegance and poetic quality of the English narrative is appreciated by Snævarr, who, nonetheless, also indicates the repetitious use of the words “love” and “beauty” as sentimentalizing and diminishing their meanings (*M* 91–92). The words “enchanted”, “charm”, and their derivatives belong to the same sentimental list. Yet, the charge of sentimentality can be relativized if one assumes that *The Man in Gold* consciously alludes not only to eighteenth-century *conte philosophique* but also to eighteenth-century sentimentalism. The poses assumed by the Man in Gold throughout the photo-essay, conspicuously in the last picture—him looking pensively into the distance, his chin resting on his right hand, and his other hand on his hip—are evocative of the sentimental, introspective male portraits (calling to mind the studied poses in Watteau's paintings) focusing on the self and feelings in ways that were both intense and ironic.

It is indeed irony that figuratively drives the text: the gentle irony in the philosopher's voice commenting on the sentimental adventures of the Man in Gold and, more importantly, the romantic irony subverting the characters' identities and nullifying the “autobiographical pact”. Also, by discouraging a too-ready identification of the philosopher with the Man in Gold, the narrative appears to resort to Rortian irony, which is functional in defending the vulnerable self. If that is so, then Shusterman's *The Adventures of the Man in Gold* constitutes his new gesture of reconciliation with his former intellectual adversary, Richard Rorty. However, his *conte philosophique* is also an expression of his long-standing resistance against pure discursivity in self-description. The tale, as combined with the photo essay,

introduces a figure that will always remain vulnerably exposed in its corporeality, the very opposite of the Rortian *ironist*: Richard Shusterman's *ingénu*.

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