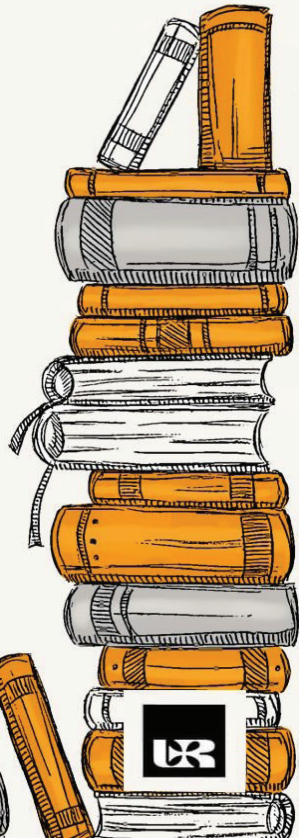


# New Vistas in Language Studies



Young Scholars' Perspectives

ATENA 1





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Young Scholars' Perspectives

ATENA 1



WYDAWNICTWO  
UNIwersytetu Rzeszowskiego  
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# Linguistics



## Pronouncing *iota subscriptum* as an auxiliary tool for explaining and understanding ancient Greek contracted forms

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**Abstract:** The article presents arguments that the pronunciation of *iota subscriptum* in contracted forms of ancient Greek can be a useful learning tool. Firstly, specific grammatical material that can be learned and understood better thanks to the pronunciation of the *iota subscriptum*, is presented. Then, the question whether this pronunciation is historically correct is answered by presenting evidence in inscriptions, minimal pairs, and Latin borrowings from Greek. The issue is discussed from a didactic perspective.

The aim of this article is to show that the pronunciation of the *iota subscriptum* can be a useful auxiliary tool both when explaining and learning the contracted forms of the ancient Greek language. The topic will be discussed from a didactic perspective, taking into account students who are in the process of learning the language rather than those who have already learned it.

Ancient Greek is a very inflectionally rich language; the vowel system alone is quite complex. The vowels of the classical Attic dialect, according to Rix (1992), are as follows: α = /a/ [a], ι = /i/ [i], υ = /y/ [ü], ε = /e/ [e], ει = /eῖ/ [ē], η = /ē/ [ē], ο = /o/ [o], ου = /ou/ [ō]<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore,

---

<sup>1</sup> Teodorsson (1974: 43) according to Schwyzer (1939) further distinguishes the additional /æ/ sound expressed by graphemes ε and η; it is, however, is not stated by Rix (1992). Either way, Teodorsson (1974: 41) concludes that „Schwyzer gives no information whether or not the phonemic distinction /ε/ : /æ/ is thought to have remained during the 5<sup>th</sup> c. in diphthongs as well” and retains the distinction „for the sake of explicitness.”

there are two graphemes,  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $\omicron\upsilon$ , that can stand for different sounds – either long closed vowels or, formerly, diphthongs ( $[\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}]$  or  $[\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}]$  and  $[\bar{\omicron}]$  or  $[\omicron\upsilon]$  respectively).

Ancient Greek diphthongs can be split into a plethora of categories. This article, however, will focus only on the so called ‘long diphthongs’ – those that have a long first part; and within this category, those with an *iota*. In ancient Greek there are only three of these:  $\alpha\eta\omega$ . As is evident, the *iota* in these diphthongs is usually written as *subscriptum* (in contrast to *iota adscriptum*:  $\alpha\iota\eta\iota\omega\iota$ ). Tradition suggests it should be omitted in speech, as the habit of writing *iota* as *subscriptum* was introduced in the Byzantine period. At that time, *iota* had long ceased to be pronounced in long diphthongs, and its introduction as *subscriptum* was intended to show a trace of its former presence in pronunciation (can be compared to the diacritical mark above the letter ‘ů’ in today’s Czech, which is a sign of the origin of this letter from ‘o’).

Another term requiring explanation to understand the issue at hand is contraction. Contraction, according to Emde Boas/Rijskbaron/Huitink/Bakker (2019: 21), is „the merging of two vowels, or a vowel and a diphthong, into a single long vowel or a diphthong.” This phenomenon occurs differently in various dialects, but it is most prominent in the Attic dialect, that is why it will be referenced specifically. To illustrate the point, a few examples of contraction in this dialect, are as follows:  $\delta\eta\lambda\acute{o}\epsilon\iota\varsigma > \delta\eta\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\zeta\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\tau\epsilon > \zeta\eta\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\nu\acute{o}\omicron\varsigma > \nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\epsilon > \acute{\omega}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\epsilon$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha > \kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ . As one can observe, the contraction can occur not only within a word, but also at its beginning or ending. There is no *iota subscriptum* in the examples given here, but it can be found in inflectional forms that are the result of contraction as well.

In the next paragraphs, a set of examples will be presented, where the pronunciation of *iota* in long diphthongs can be a useful tool in the process of teaching and learning Ancient Greek.

**1. The indicative mood of -άω contracted verbs.** In ancient Greek it can be distinguished between contracted and non-contracted verbs. The illustration (fig. 1) shows the paradigm of a usual non-contracted verb. This is the pattern that students learn first. The conjugation endings they learn at the time are also present in contracted verbs. The term 'contracted verb' refers to a verb in which the stem ends in a vowel ε, α or ο (the types of contraction are thus called -έω, -άω and -όω respectively). Such verbs are formed the same way that non-contracted verbs are, i.e. an appropriate ending is added to the stem. This leads to a contraction between the stem and the ending which both contain vowels. This process can be illustrated by the example of three verbs (fig. 2, 3, 4).

### Non-contracted verb

*Sing.* 1<sup>st</sup> λαμβάνω  
2<sup>nd</sup> λαμβάνεις  
3<sup>rd</sup> λαμβάνει

*Plur.* 1<sup>st</sup> λαμβάνομεν  
2<sup>nd</sup> λαμβάνετε  
3<sup>rd</sup> λαμβάνουσι

Fig. 1

### -έω contraction

*Sing.* 1<sup>st</sup> ζητέ-ω → ζητῶ  
2<sup>nd</sup> ζητέ-εις → ζητεῖς  
3<sup>rd</sup> ζητέ-ει → ζητεῖ

*Plur.* 1<sup>st</sup> ζητέ-ομεν → ζητοῦμεν  
2<sup>nd</sup> ζητέ-ετε → ζητεῖτε  
3<sup>rd</sup> ζητέ-ουσι → ζητοῦσι

Fig. 2

### -άω contraction

*Sing.* 1<sup>st</sup> σιγά-ω → σιγῶ  
2<sup>nd</sup> σιγά-εις → σιγάεις  
3<sup>rd</sup> σιγά-ει → σιγάει

*Plur.* 1<sup>st</sup> σιγά-ομεν → σιγῶμεν  
2<sup>nd</sup> σιγά-ετε → σιγάετε  
3<sup>rd</sup> σιγά-ουσι → σιγάουσι

Fig. 3

### -όω contraction

*Sing.* 1<sup>st</sup> δηλό-ω → δηλῶ  
2<sup>nd</sup> δηλό-εις → δηλοῖς  
3<sup>rd</sup> δηλό-ει → δηλοῖ

*Plur.* 1<sup>st</sup> δηλό-ομεν → δηλοῦμεν  
2<sup>nd</sup> δηλό-ετε → δηλοῦτε  
3<sup>rd</sup> δηλό-ουσι → δηλοῦσι

Fig. 4

As is evident, only the -άω contraction has the *iota subscriptum* present. The *iota* is simply a part of the ending (in the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. -εις /-eῖs/, and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. -ει /-eῖ/). Since the combination /a/ + /e/ merges into an /ā/ in the Attic dialect, then logically: /a/ + /eῖs/ merges into /āῖs/ and /a/ + /eῖ/ merges into /āῖ/. In contrast, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> plur., *iota subscriptum* is not present, because the ending does not contain any *iota* (-ετε /-ete/).

Looking at all the types of contracted verbs compared with the non-contracted ones (fig. 5), a certain duality of the graphemes ει and ου can be seen: in singular they denote true diphthongs, while in plural they denote long closed vowels. Taking into account all the contraction types, it becomes clear why *iota subscriptum* can be found in the -άω contraction – it is what the endings require, for they consist of a diphthong with an *iota*. The argument here being, if the correct pronunciation is, for instance: λαμβάνεις λαμβάνει as [lambaneῖs lambaneῖ], ζητεῖς ζητεῖ as [zeteῖs zeteῖ] and δηλοῖς δηλοῖ as [de-loῖs deloῖ]<sup>2</sup>, then the customary pronunciation of words such as: σιγᾶς σιγᾶ as [sigas siga], is in fact, inaccurate. It breaks the rule determined above. The

	<b>Non-contracted</b>	<b>-έω</b>	<b>-όω</b>	<b>-άω</b>
<i>Sing.</i>				
1 <sup>st</sup>	λαμβάνω	ζητῶ	δηλῶ	σιγῶ
2 <sup>nd</sup>	λαμβάνεις	ζητεῖς	δηλοῖς	σιγᾶς
3 <sup>rd</sup>	λαμβάνει	ζητεῖ	δηλοῖ	σιγᾶ
<i>Plur.</i>				
1 <sup>st</sup>	λαμβάνομεν	ζητοῦμεν	δηλοῦμεν	σιγῶμεν
2 <sup>nd</sup>	λαμβάνετε	ζητεῖτε	δηλοῦτε	σιγᾶτε
3 <sup>rd</sup>	λαμβάνουσι	ζητοῦσι	δηλοῦσι	σιγῶσι

Fig. 5

<sup>2</sup> In this example no distinction between both closed and open, and long and short vowels has been made, in order to reflect the common pronunciation customs of the community. Keeping in mind the historical values of vowels, the pronunciation should be as follows: /lambanēῖs lambanēῖ/, /zdētēῖs zdētēῖ/ and /dēloῖs dēloῖ/.

unorthodox, yet actually inflectionally correct use of *iota subscriptum* in the pronunciation of words like: [sīgāĩs sīgāĩ], can be helpful in learning ancient Greek, as *iota* is already an integral part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. endings. Omitting the *iota subscriptum* in pronunciation not only introduces unnecessary inflectional inconsistency, but also leads to the blurring of the rules and similarities between different grammatical forms during the learning process.

**2. The optative mood of -άω contracted verbs.** According to Emde Boas/Rijskbaron/Huitink/Bakker (2019: 115), “optatives are identified by the suffix -ι- or in some cases -ιη-, directly preceding the ending.” The *iota* that is present in the mentioned suffixes is found both in non-contracted and -έω and -όω contracted verbs (the latter two are both inflectionally identical in the optative mood). In -άω contracted verbs this form is also present, but manifests itself as *iota subscriptum* (fig. 6). It can be therefore argued, that if a student of ancient Greek has already learned that the optative mood is identified by the suffix -ι- (or -ιη-), they could apply this knowledge when pronouncing the optative of -άω contracted verbs. To illustrate this point: 1<sup>st</sup> plur. of the words λαμβάνοιμεν, ζητοῖμεν and σιγῶμεν, are traditionally pronounced: [lambanoĩmen], [zetoĩmen] and [sigomen]. If *iota subscriptum* is taken into account, and therefore the last verb read as [sīgōĩmen], it can

<b>Active voice</b>				
	<b>Non-contracted</b>	<b>-έω/-όω</b>	<b>-άω</b>	
			Regular	Variant
<i>Sing.</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> λαμβάνοιμι	ζητοῖην	σιγῶην	σιγῶ̣μι
	2 <sup>nd</sup> λαμβάνοις	ζητοίης	σιγῶης	σιγῶ̣ς
	3 <sup>rd</sup> λαμβάνοι	ζητοίη	σιγῶη	σιγῶ̣
<i>Plur.</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> λαμβάνοιμεν	ζητοῖμεν	σιγῶ̣μεν	σιγῶ̣μεν
	2 <sup>nd</sup> λαμβάνοιτε	ζητοῖτε	σιγῶ̣τε	σιγῶ̣τε
	3 <sup>rd</sup> λαμβάνοιεν	ζητοῖεν	σιγῶ̣εν	σιγῶ̣εν

Fig. 6

be noticed that all the previously discussed verb types have clearly audible *-ι-* suffixes in them. The student no longer has to memorise several types of endings, but practically only one. This applies to both the active and the middle-passive voice (fig. 7).

<b>Middle-passive voice</b>			
	<b>Non-contracted</b>	<b>-έω/-όω</b>	<b>-άω</b>
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>1<sup>st</sup></i> λαμβανοίμην	ζητοίμην	σιγώμην
	<i>2<sup>nd</sup></i> λαμβάνοιο	ζητοῖο	σιγῶο
	<i>3<sup>rd</sup></i> λαμβάνοιτο	ζητοίτο	σιγῶτο
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>1<sup>st</sup></i> λαμβανοίμεθα	ζητούμεθα	σιγώμεθα
	<i>2<sup>nd</sup></i> λαμβάνοισθε	ζητοῖσθε	σιγῶσθε
	<i>3<sup>rd</sup></i> λαμβάνοιντο	ζητοῖντο	σιγῶντο

Fig. 7

**3. Crasis.** Another form of contraction is *crasis*, the merging of two words into one. If the second of the two words begins with a diphthong with an *iota*, then *crasis* results in a long diphthong with an *iota*. This phenomenon can be seen in these examples: ἐγὼ οἶδα > ἐγῶδα; ἐγὼ οἶμαι > ἐγῶμαι; καὶ εἶτα > κῆτα. Avoiding the pronunciation of *iota subscriptum* in such contracted forms blurs similarities between them and the original words. If the word ἐγῶδα is read as [egoda] instead of [egō̄da], the word οἶδα [ōda] hidden inside is not easily noticed. Not getting used to pronouncing *iota subscriptum*, can make it difficult to grasp the similarity between the form that is the result of *crasis*, and the original words that have merged. It is noteworthy, that students are asked to read the text aloud before translating; through this they become accustomed to the sound of the language and the language itself. Simplifying and standardizing rules of a language (in the area of pronunciation as well) can be very helpful in teaching, especially since languages naturally gear towards efficiency. In

case of *iota subscriptum*, it is however not only efficient, but also historically correct, as will be shown below.

This list could be extended to include other examples such as augmented forms, subjunctive mood, dative case of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> declensions, but to stay strictly on contracted forms, the three categories described so far, seem to be the most prominent.

Now that it has been presented, how the pronunciation of *iota subscriptum* can be useful in order to make certain regularities visible and to facilitate the detection of similarities between words, it is worth considering whether this kind of pronunciation is historically correct. What is the reason for rejecting the tradition of omitting the *iota subscriptum*?

Firstly, inscriptional evidence shall be considered. The inscriptions clearly show that *iota subscriptum* was once not written under a given letter, but next to it, same as in ordinary diphthongs (then called *adscriptum*, as mentioned above). This kind of notation is supposed to reflect the actual pronunciation in a certain period of time. The changes can be investigated by examining deviations from accepted standards or habits of spelling. The evidence presented below suggests that it is possible to distinguish between three historical time periods: **1)** when the spelling is firm (the *iota* is always written), **2)** when the spelling fluctuates (sometimes the *iota* is written, sometimes it is not), and finally **3)** when the *iota* is consistently not written or rarely appears in the writings. The final, fourth stage is the introduction of the *iota subscriptum* in the Byzantine period, which was only a symbolic act to preserve a trace of the former spelling. The three periods can be illustrated with a selection of inscriptions. The words given as examples in each time period description are parts of the inscriptions at Searchable Greek Inscriptions of The Packard Humanities Institute (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/> (access: 15.05.2021)).<sup>3</sup> All sigla are accordingly listed below.

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<sup>3</sup> Note: It is customary for publishers to write down the missing *iota* as *subscriptum* in order to syntactically organise the text of an inscription, although it does not appear on the inscription itself.

**1. Firm spelling.** This state can be observed on numerous inscriptions up to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. To give some examples: IG I<sup>3</sup> 1365 (Att., c. 510 BCE), IG I<sup>3</sup> 104 (Att., 409/8 BCE) and IG II<sup>2</sup> 218 (Att., 346/5 BCE). Here, all the words with long diphthongs have them fully written, e.g. datives: τῶιδε, τῆι βουλῆι, τῶι δέμοι, τῆι βουλῆι, τῶι δήμωι, or 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. indicative of -άω contracted verbs: τιμᾶι. No exception is observed in the spelling of long diphthongs.

**2. Fluctuating spelling.** As Rix (1992: 52) points out, the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE is the time when changes in the pronunciation of long diphthongs in the Attic dialect start to occur, first of all in the η diphthong (in this case probably as early as the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE). Fluctuation of this diphthong, preserved in variations of spelling, can be seen in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1629 (Att. 325/4 BCE). In this case, most of the diphthongs are written consistently, e.g. μῆνι τῆι δευτέραι, τῆι πέμπτηι, τῶι δήμωι, but on the same inscription after several lines we find, more than once, two variations of the word ‘quadrireme’ (τετρήρηις and τετρήρεις) and βουλῆι is always written with ει. These changes in spelling can most likely be interpreted as a differentiation between the η [ē̄i] sound and the ει [ē̄] sound, rather than as a simple omission of the *iota*.

**3. Iota absent or rare.** After the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE the rest of the long diphthongs lose their *iotas*. For instance, IG II<sup>3</sup>,1 980 (Ath., 262/1 BCE): τῆ πόλει, αὐτῶ, ἐπὶ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ δημοσίου. The contracted form τιμᾶ, that appears there in the same context as in IG II<sup>2</sup> 218 examined above, is written as τιμᾶ. Other inscription, IG XII Suppl. 136 (Delos, ca. 200-167 BCE), shows the loss of *iota* in ω diphthongs (δίδω instead of δίδωι). Along with examples that contain no *iotas*, we still find examples that do, but it seems to be more following the spelling convention. It is particularly clear in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1008 (Att., 118/7 BCE). This inscription contains all possible ways of writing the singular dative case of the 1<sup>st</sup> declension: with a long diphthong (ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι), with a ει (δ]εδόχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ), and without *iota* (ἐν

τε τῆ ἐπιδημία). The spelling of long diphthongs is highly inconsistent. An example from the Common Era, Colosse de Memnon 93 (after 134 CE), reflects the widespread custom of no longer writing any *iota* in long diphthongs at the time.

To summarise, there was a time when the *iota* in long diphthongs was not just a graphic convention, but reflected the pronunciation. On the basis of the inscriptions, it has been determined that the process of changing the sounds represented by long diphthongs was ongoing in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, and was already complete by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. For further evidence see Rix (1992: 52).

In addition to the data from the inscriptions, the Greek morphology contains evidence for the pronunciation of *iota* in long diphthongs. If we treat this as a distinctive feature, we find a sizable group of minimal pairs, selected examples of which can be found in fig. 8; they show that the failure to record an *iota* can cause misidentification of particular forms. For instance, singular dative can be mistaken for dual nominative of the 2<sup>nd</sup> declension or singular of the 1<sup>st</sup> declension. It can be applied to almost every noun or adjective of these declensions. In the case of the verb ‘to be’, the presence of the *iota* affects person and mood. In -άω contracted verbs, the optative can be confused with the subjunctive, which can affect the identification of the grammatical construction or even the meaning of the phrase. In verbs with an o-stem, the *iota* differentiates between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person. Finally, the *iota subscriptum* can affect the meaning of a word, as between ‘to go’ and ‘to be’, or it can give us completely different grammatical forms, such as the pluperfect of the verb οἶδα and the particle ἦδη.

Latin borrowings from Greek are also worth considering. The words ‘tragedy’ and ‘comedy’, which have a long diphthong in them as a result of contraction, were borrowed by the Romans back in the days when the *iota* was still pronounced: τραγωδία lat. *tragoedia*, κωμωδία lat. *comoedia*. Meanwhile, similar words, ‘rhapsody’ and ‘melody’, borrowed later, no longer have diphthongs in Latin (lat. *rhapsodia*, *melodia*), and so, they reflect the

## Minimal pairs

*Dative*

ἄνθρωπῳ ‘to the man’

*Dat. sing. of ἄνθρωπος*

ἄνθρωπῳ ‘two men’

*Nom. Acc. dual of ἄνθρωπος*

καρδίᾳ ‘to the heart’

*Dat. sing. of καρδία*

καρδία ‘a heart’

*Nom. Voc. sing. of καρδία*

νεανίᾳ ‘to the young man’

*Dat. sing. of νεανίας*

νεανία ‘o! young man’

*Voc. sing. of νεανίας**To be*

ἦ ‘he would be’

*3rd sing. act. subj. praes. of εἶμι*

ἦ ‘I was’

*1st sing. act. indic. imperf. of εἶμι**-άω contracted verbs*

σιγῶ ‘may he be silent’

*3rd sing. act. opt. praes. of σιγάω*

σιγῶ ‘I would be silent’

*1st sing. act. subj. praes. of σιγάω*

σιγώμεθα

‘may we be silenced’

*1st plur. act. opt. praes. of σιγάω*

σιγώμεθα

‘we would have been silenced’

*3rd plur. act. subj. praes. of σιγάω**Subjunctive of o-stem verbs*

γνῶ ‘he would know’

*3rd sing. act. subj. aor of γινώσκω*

γνῶ ‘I would know’

*1st sing. act. subj. aor of γινώσκω*

διδῶ ‘he would give’

*3rd sing. act. subj. praes. of δίδωμι*

διδῶ ‘I would give’

*1st sing. act. subj. praes. of δίδωμι**To go and to be*

ἦμεν ‘we were going’

*1st plur. act. ind. impf. of εἶμι*

ἦμεν ‘we were’

*1st plur. act. ind. impf. of εἶμι*

ἦτε ‘you were going’

*2nd plur. act. ind. impf. of εἶμι*

ἦτε ‘you were’

*2nd plur. act. ind. impf. of εἶμι*

ἦσαν ‘they were going’

*3rd plur. act. ind. impf. of εἶμι*

ἦσαν ‘they were’

*3rd plur. act. ind. impf. of εἶμι**A complete confusion*

ἦδη ‘I have already known’

*1st sing act. ind. plup. of οἶδα*

ἦδη ‘already’

*a particle*

Greek pronunciation of these words and long diphthongs in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. For some ancient literary references to long diphthongs, that support this, see Allen (1968: 82).

To summarise, there are many grammatical forms that get unnecessarily complicated as a result of omission of the *iota subscriptum*. A well-educated scholar should have no problem with identifying specific words and forms, especially in context. However, from a didactic perspective, a historically correct and standardised approach, i.e. the pronunciation of the *iota subscriptum*, can prove to be a useful and helpful tool, which avoids a lot of confusion and needless memorisation.

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## Executive functions and learning foreign languages – a case study

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**Abstract:** The aim of this article is to demonstrate the specificity of executive functions (EF) in the case of a multilingual individual. The scientific data available indicate that the mastery of key learning abilities is closely related to inhibitory control functions, including the ability to read and write. Both of the above-mentioned forms of communication are not merely a simple linguistic process but also involve metacognitive and metapragmatic activity. The following results constitute another part of created psychological stage of a man who has learned thirty-one foreign languages over the course of nine years. The research procedure consisted of several stages. The initial studies examined personality and temperamental traits. The efficiency of EF was then subjected to neuropsychological assessment. Two clinical tools were used in the research procedure. The results showed that the hyperpolyglot is characterized by above-average cognitive control, which might play a significant role in the process of acquiring various foreign languages. Since the tools applied in the following study allow for a detailed description of several areas of the man's functioning, I have decided to present data on executive functions.

### Language ability and foreign language acquisition

Linguistic functioning constitutes the very core of human activity. According to A. Borkowska (2004: 51), both teaching life skills as well as providing academic knowledge revolve almost entirely around the acquisition of language skills. The researcher has concluded that reaching an appropriate level in the role of a sender and recipient is a *sin qua non* condition for human development. Language is not a tool used solely in thinking but also for cognition and communication. In the context of learning numer-

ous foreign languages, – apart from the architecture of the multilingual mind, what constitutes an interesting phenomenon are matters pertaining to reading as well as writing, and thus the role of executive functions in the entire process. An important construct, in regard to learning foreign languages is linguistic awareness which is the axis of acquiring language systems (Chorab, 2018: 21). Grażyna Krasowicz-Kupis (2004: 19) defines it as follows:

Linguistic awareness means being aware of the existence of linguistic symbols and rules of language, i.e. the conscious use of linguistic means by a child, controlling the correctness of their use, intentional manipulation of these means, i.e. performing conscious operations.

This way of defining linguistic awareness allows for a connection to other higher cognitive processes, including executive functions, which play a managing role in relation to other mental processes. The desired state – while learning foreign languages – is the internal translation of the syntagma along with the elimination of native thinking. This initial stage also seems to be governed by and conditioned by complex cognitive management processes (Nowak, 2009: 20).

Mastering a foreign language is a complex and usually lengthy process. The constant inhibition caused by influence of the native language (L1) poses a significant obstacle in the entire process. Research outlines the complexity of this process. The learner of the language has to overcome the tendency to perceive the world and himself in the native language and master these skills in the language taught. Mastering a language is not merely a simple and automatic implementation of a set of language habits. According to Kliś (2016), mastering a language means entering a new objective reality (objective for both the primary and secondary language).

In the multilingual reality which we currently live in, it is easy to find people who speak more than one language. The literature on the subject indicates that achieving linguistic success may depend on several elements. Johnson (2008: 39) argues that linguistic talent is an important

component in the process of language acquisition (although only a few are characterized by it). The learner's attitude towards native speakers of the language is also crucial. Feeling aversion to them is a clear indication that one should not pursue learning this language. The researcher also emphasizes the need to learn about the cultural framework. Benson and Kearsney's Voller (2014) emphasize the importance of autonomy and independence in learning foreign languages. In an extensive analysis of the literature on the subject concerning the role of individual differences in the learning process, Dąbrowska (2011) lists the following constructs: affective domain, personality factors, extraversion/introversion, risk-taking, empathy, anxiety intensity and self-esteem. According to the researcher, it is the unique combination of individual features that determines the course of the foreign language acquisition process. Research shows that in the case of the bilingual population, there is a greater concentration of neurons in the lower part of the parietal cortex of the left cerebral hemisphere. It means that learning a second language may delay the onset of senile dementia (after: Kliś, 2016: 127).

## **Executive functions and figural fluency**

The way of conceptualizing executive functions (EF) is the result of both psychology specialization and findings in the area of neurology, as well as broadly understood neuroscience. According to empirical sciences, three views on EF have been established:

1. EF have a highly complex organization abilities which make them heterogeneous;
2. EF organization determines the sequence of the phases;
3. EF do not pertain solely to information processing, but are also involved in supervising the course of action (Jodzio, 2008: 53).

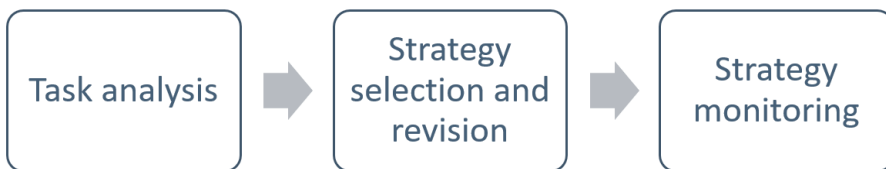


Fig. 1. Executive functions in the model of Borkowski and Burke

Source: Own elaboration based on Jodzio (2008: 53).

Borkowski and Burke (2001 after: Jodzio, 2008) assume that people whose EF are above average can be characterized by well-developed meta-cognitive features which are comprised of the following:

1. knowledge of a large number of learning strategies;
2. awareness of the effectiveness of these strategies;
3. reflectivity and planning;
4. motivation for the implementation of tasks;
5. awareness of possible failure and the ability of handling it in a positive manner;
6. domain specific knowledge which can be implemented promptly.

The purposefulness of our actions, freedom, control and selectivity depends precisely on the level of operating of our executive functions. This concept goes beyond simple information processing. The task of executive functions is the cognitive preparation of the subject for action, allowing for the assessment of effectiveness (Jodzio 2008: 32). As to executive functions, it is worth recalling research positions that emphasize the role of language which is an “inner voice” or “secret articulation” because speech planning is a decision-making process. Reading and writing also require conscious control, as they constitute metacognitive activity which involves the deliberate use of written text and its application from the point of view of personal and supra-individual goals (Awramiuk, Krasowicz-Kupis, 2004: 3).

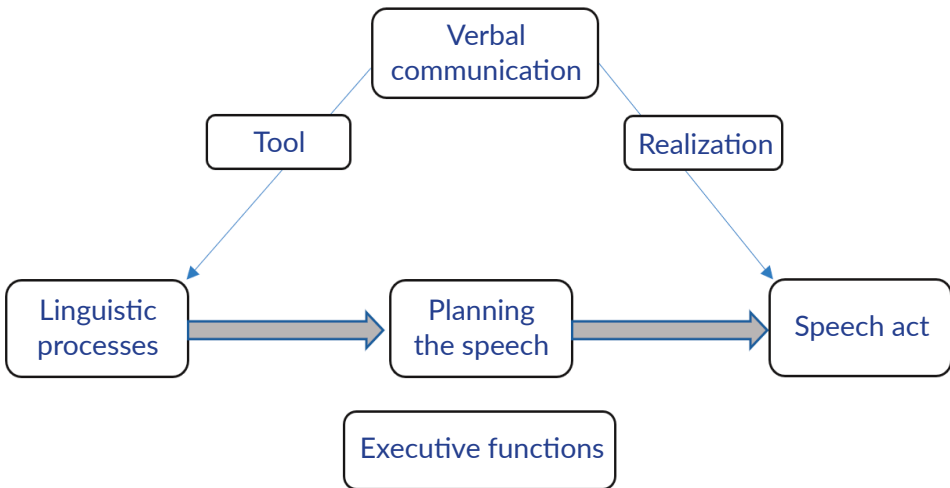


Fig. 2. The mediating role of executive functions in linguistic communication

Source: Own elaboration based on Jodzio (2008: 121)

It is worth to mention a compelling piece of research by Grossman and colleagues (2021: 12) on learning foreign languages and its importance for executive functions in the senior group. Intensive research is still underway on the protective role of learning numerous foreign languages against cognitive decline. Some research suggests that EF are related to word learning because students continually form new semantic associations when words are unknown, rejecting other possibilities (Hill and Wagonovich; 2020: 1026). However, these conclusions are very uncertain and require further exploration. Research results confirm that bilingual children are characterized by an increased level of executive control in comparison to monolingual children (Barac, Bialystok 2012: 419).

The Figural Fluency Test (RFTT) is mentioned among neuropsychological methods used to diagnose cognitive disorders. It is the equivalent of verbal fluency tests (Gugała et al. 2007: 84). Fluency is defined as the ability with which an entity creates plans and performs a sequence of non-au-

tomated activities of a certain type, in a limited time, without repeating activities that have been carried out so far. Researchers pay attention to the fact that it is the subject who independently creates the sequence of non-automated activities, as he or she performs a relatively new task (Łojek and Stańczak 2005: 6). The examined person should be motor efficient and have the basic visual-spatial functions preserved. Due to the fact that the solution of tasks consists in performing complex cognitive activities, it was assumed that it can be used to assess executive functions, i.e. a group of capacities for planning, initiating, controlling and making decisions (Łojek and Stańczak 2005: 66).

## **An unusual case of multilingualism**

The following case study is an unusual example of multilingualism, since it focuses on a 67-year-old man who has acquired thirty-one foreign languages over the course of nine years. A hyperpolyglot (A.O.) he began learning at the age of 37. He holds university degree and had worked in nine different professions – mainly technical, incl. as an electrical engineer, physics teacher, painter (he is the author of almost 500 oil paintings), urban planner and sculptor. The reason for him to learn foreign languages was the need to support his son, whose professional aspirations went beyond the country's borders. The man's native language is Polish (L1). The other languages are: 2. English, 3. Russian, 4. Spanish, 5. German, 6. French, 7. Italian, 8. Serbian, 9. Croatian, 10. Portuguese, 11. Romanian, 12. Swedish, 13. Dutch, 14. Czech, 15. Slovak, 16. Bulgarian, 17. Ukrainian, 18. Greek, 19. Arabic, 20. Persian, 21. Turkish, 22. Chinese, 23. Hindi, 24. Korean, 25. Japanese, 26. Norwegian, 27. Danish, 28. Esperanto, 29. Hebrew, 30. Catalan, 31. Hungarian, 32. Indonesian. A.O. suffered from inflammation of the anterior horns in childhood (Heine-Medin disease). He is currently being treated for high blood pressure. The assessment took place during two

meetings with the patient. He was informed and voluntarily consented to participate in the research and was informed of the use of data for scientific purposes (see also: Dudka, 2020).

## Methods

Two neuropsychological methods have been used to conduct the following research.

The Ruff Figural Fluency Test (RFFT) consists of drawing patterns (figures) by the examined person on the basis of a uniform graphic scheme. The task of the person taking part in the test is to generate as many such patterns as possible in a limited time and each of them must differ from the others. There are five sections in the test book: an analysis of the results, the Total Number of Unique Connections, the Error Rate and Perseverance Errors in each part are taken into account. This tool allows one to determine what strategy was used by the respondent (rotary, enumeration). Each board contains 35 squares with a specific pattern of dots. The pattern is then disrupted by other stimuli. The tested person's task is to connect at least two dots in each square with a straight line, so that a new figure is created each time. 60 seconds are intended for the completion of each part of the test. Individual parts are preceded by example tasks.

The Wisconsin Card Sorting Test (WCST) examines abstract thinking on visual-spatial material and executive functions. The tool consists of two decks of 64 cards. The examined person's task is to match each card from the deck with one of the four matrix cards. Therefore, the respondent must define the sorting rule using the information received after each reaction about correct or incorrect assignment of the card (Jaworowska, 2002). This tool is particularly sensitive to damage within the frontal lobes because the efficiency of executive functions is related to the activity of the dorsolateral

parts of the prefrontal cortex as well as the activity of some neurotransmitter systems (Talarowska-Bogusz et al. 2008).

## Results

The results of the conducted neuropsychological tests are presented below. The first performed task was the Wisconsin Card Sorting Test (WCST). Compared to his peers, the man shows a high level of abstract reasoning. Level of task performance: above average (> 99 percentile). 99% of people in the man's reference group have worse results. The man participating in the study, in comparison to his reference group, is better at organizing, planning and solving problems. Additionally, he commits fewer errors overall, which may indicate higher levels of logical reasoning and attention skills. He has a high ability to change cognitive attitudes quickly. Compared to his peers the respondent presents a higher level of abstract reasoning. The next tool used was the Ruff Fluidity Test (RFFT). In comparison to his peers, the man shows a very high level of efficiency in creating new patterns in a limited time. The entity is characterized by a very high level of fluency, i.e., the efficiency with which he creates plans and performs sequences of non-automated activities in a limited time. Moreover, he uses a rotational (trading) and enumeration (calculating) strategy. Level of task performance: above average (> 99 percentile). It can be concluded that the man who participated in the study has a very high level of figure fluency, i.e. generates a large number of patterns, committing only one perseveration error. The result obtained on the Unique Connections scale indicates the ability to plan, initiate an activity and maintain it. The effect in the Error Rate is within the normal range, which means that the man made a very small number of insignificant errors during the test, which indicates the ability to control the task being performed. During the course of the assessment, the man followed a strategy of a rotational nature, requiring good

sequential processing and abstract, enumeration strategies that require conceptualization of a new pattern. On the basis of the obtained results, it can be concluded that the visual-spatial abilities run correctly, i.e. the skills of perception, analysis and synthesis which are an essential element for the proper performance of tasks. The analysis of the third part of the test shows that the sixty-seven-year-old is resistant to distractions and that the differentiation of the figure and background is easy for him. Generating patterns covered by the strategies proves that his work is carried out in a thoughtful and planned out way.

## Summary and discussion

On the basis of the above considerations as well as the cited results of own research, a question can be raised whether in the case of the 32-lingual male, foreign language acquisition had a positive impact on the development of executive functions (including working memory). Or whether their above-average level has become a cofactor of acquiring many foreign languages? The literature on the subject indicates that learning foreign languages allows the development of orderliness and discipline, which was also demonstrated by the diagnosis of personality traits and temperament (Dudka, 2020). The man taking part in the study shows a tendency to undertake numerous activities, which is reflected in the multitude of occupations he had taken on. Situations which may seem threatening are not likely to stop him from acting. A characteristic feature is the engaging in long-term, risky activities. It can be argued that he exhibits above-average fatigue resistance. Despite the high stimulation, the effectiveness of the activities is also high. In the emotional sphere, he is characterized by relative balance. The obtained data indicate that the quality of emotional response is characterized by a low level of dissatisfaction. This man's characteristic feature is the ability to control his own behaviour or postpone

the execution of actions he had already begun. He is rather resistant to distraction during performing tasks. When it is undesirable to reveal feelings, he does not exude them. He shows great diligence and a task-oriented attitude. Relative towards his environment, he is rather non-aggressive and to a small extent competitive. Undoubtedly, the presented results have not provided clear answers to the question of the role of individual differences in learning many foreign languages in the case of the hyperpolyglot yet. At this stage, it can be repeated after Marek Muszyński (2010) that “a special combination of abilities and traits” could be particularly important in the case of A.O. and his extraordinary abilities.

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## Funkcje dialektów włoskich we współczesnej komunikacji językowej mieszkańców Italii

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**Abstrakt:** W artykule poddano analizie funkcjonalność dialektów włoskich używanych we współczesnym społeczeństwie włoskim. Analiza została przeprowadzona na podstawie badań opiniotwórczych z udziałem rodowitych mieszkańców Półwyspu Apenińskiego za pomocą mediów społecznościowych. Celem badań ankietowych było uzyskanie opinii na temat żywotności dialektów, języków regionalnych i lokalnych na terytorium Włoch, a także weryfikacja kontekstów ich użycia w codziennej komunikacji międzyludzkiej. Zebrany materiał badawczy pozwolił na wyróżnienie czterech funkcji językowych, jakie pełnią dialekty w życiu społecznym i kulturalnym Włochów, oraz sformułowanie wniosków dotyczących przydatności tych lokalnych kodów komunikacyjnych w repertuarze językowym mieszkańców Italii. Rezultaty badań utwierdzają w przekonaniu, iż dialekty są użyteczne mieszkańcom Włoch przede wszystkim w sytuacjach mniej formalnych. Nie oznacza to jednak całkowitej eliminacji tych kodów z oficjalnych kontekstów, w których, co do zasady, główną rolę powinien pełnić język urzędowy.

### Uwagi wstępne

Anna Grochowska (2011: 34), pisząc o wewnętrznym zróżnicowaniu językowym Włoch, podkreśla, iż obecnie językiem oficjalnym posługują się co najwyżej włoscy aktorzy czy spikerzy, reszta społeczeństwa używa zaś języków regionalnych bądź dialektów, rzecz jasna poddanych pewnym modyfikacjom wskutek procesu italianizacji dialektów. Standardowy język włoski wciąż nie jest zatem językiem tzw. pierwszej socjalizacji. Analizując w niniejszym artykule opinie Włochów na temat obecnej kondycji dialektów, dokonamy weryfikacji prawdziwości tezy Grochowskiej o przewadze

dialektów nad *italiano standard*<sup>1</sup> w repertuarze ich rodowitych użytkowników. Zebrane wypowiedzi dotyczące współczesnego statusu dialektów uwydatniają ich zmodernizowaną funkcjonalność, dlatego prezentacja wyników analiz opiera się na wyodrębnieniu funkcji dialektów i wskazaniu powodów ich używania w codziennej komunikacji. Pojęcie funkcji języka i komunikacji rozpatruje się w literaturze przedmiotu na dwóch płaszczyznach<sup>2</sup>. Językoznawcy<sup>3</sup> stworzyli też różne ich klasyfikacje (Filipiak 1994). Za podstawę wielu wypracowanych koncepcji przyjmuje się model pola językowego Bühlera (1934), który był modyfikowany lub/i rozszerzany o inne funkcje, lecz te podstawowe zachowane są w zasadzie we wszystkich klasyfikacjach (tj. funkcja informatywna, funkcja ekspresywna, funkcja apela tywna), czasami jednak opatrzone zmienną nomenklaturą. W niniejszym opracowaniu skorzystamy z opracowania Aleksandra Kiklewicza (2008), który na podstawie różnych koncepcji językoznawców stworzył zestaw 12 funkcji języka najczęściej ujawniających się w sytuacji komunikacyjnej. Analiza materiału badawczego pozwoliła na wychwycenie takich funkcji języka (tutaj: dialektu), jak *ekspresywna*, *socjatywna*, *interlingwistyczna* (Kiklewicz 2008: 17–23). Do tego zbioru dodana została *funkcja ludyczna*, mocno akcentowana przez badanych, aczkolwiek nieujęta w klasyfikacji Kiklewicza.

## Metoda badań i grupy badawcze

Fenomen funkcjonalności dialektów w społeczeństwie włoskim jest analizowany na podstawie wypowiedzi rodowitych Włochów na grupach dyskusyjnych portalu społecznościowego. Artykuł opiera się na materiale badawczym zebranym na portalu *Facebook* – są to opinie członków grup

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<sup>1</sup> wł. *italiano standard* – narodowy język włoski.

<sup>2</sup> Wyróżnia się funkcję w obrębie struktury oraz funkcje języka (Filipiak 1994).

<sup>3</sup> M.in. Karl Bühler, Roman Jakobson, Micheal Halliday, Pierre Guiraud, Tadeusz Milewski, Leon Zawadowski (Filipiak 1994).

skupiających miłośników języka włoskiego, kultury włoskiej, a także dialektów. Respondenci zostali poproszeni o wyrażenie zdania na temat żywotności dialektów we Włoszech; wskazanie sytuacji, w których sami posługują się dialektem, oraz kontekstów stosowania języków lokalnych w codziennej komunikacji. Przy wyborze grona respondentów wzięto pod uwagę dwa typy zbiorowości: 1) tzw. ogólne grupy społecznościowe istniejące na portalu *Facebook*, które skupiają Włochów, ale także amatorów Włoch i języka włoskiego oraz 2) grona o węższym zasięgu stworzone w celu zrzeszania miłośników poszczególnych dialektów włoskich. Selekcja grona badawczego opierała się także na doborze grup o jak największej liczebności w celu dotarcia do szerokiego i zróżnicowanego (wiekiem, miejscem zamieszkania, dialektem, stopniem wykształcenia itd.) środowiska włoskiego. To pozwoliło na zbadanie generalnego statusu dialektów przedstawianego z różnych punktów widzenia. Ostatecznie wzięto więc pod uwagę trzy grupy społecznościowe o największej liczbie członków:

1. *Parlemm it dialett milanes!*<sup>4</sup> [Mówimy w dialekcie mediolańskim!] (9 tys. członków);
2. *Gli amanti del pavese...*<sup>5</sup> [Miłośnicy dialektu pawijskiego...] (17 tys. członków);
3. *Chattare in italiano*<sup>6</sup> [Czatowanie po włosku] (37 tys. członków).

## Dialekty włoskie i ich funkcje

### Funkcja ekspresywna

W większości klasyfikacji funkcji języka (K. Bühlera, R. Jakobsona, K. Poppera, M.A.K. Hallidaya, J. Lyonsa) wyróżnia się funkcję ekspresywną, która

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/groups/616218458426483> [dostęp 30.05.2021].

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/groups/dialetttopavese> [dostęp 30.05.2021].

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1529625990668816> [dostęp 30.05.2021].

także przypisywana jest dialektowi przez badanych. Ta funkcja, zwana również *intencjonalną* lub *interpretacyjną* (Kiklewicz 2008: 17), pozwala „na wyrażenie za pomocą języka stanów psychicznych (mentalnych i emocjonalnych) podmiotów” (Kiklewicz 2008: 11). Ewa Filipiak tłumaczy ją jako „uzewnętrznienie postawy ‘ja’ mówiącego wobec przedmiotu wypowiedzi, uwidocznione w werbalnym wyrażaniu jego stanów psychicznych i uczuć” (Filipiak 1994: 37). Zastosowanie dialektu w celu wyrażenia stanów wewnętrznych nadawcy jest bardzo silnie wyeksponowane w komentarzach Włochów przytoczonych i skomentowanych poniżej.

W wypowiedzi 1 respondent akcentuje, że wszelkie akty służące wyrażeniu indywidualnych opinii i emocji (wypowiedzi, dyskusje, kłótnie) są realizowane w dialekcie – ten kod jest najprawdopodobniej najbardziej automatyczny dla nadawcy oraz lepiej ukazuje jego myśli i stan emocjonalny:

- (1) mam 46 lat i od około 40 lat codziennie posługuję się moim dialektem, pochodzącym z prowincji Bassa Lomellina<sup>7</sup>. Rzadko w ciągu dnia rozmawiam, dyskutuję po włosku. Moje wypowiedzi, dyskusje, kłótnie, wszystko to odbywa się w dialekcie, to jest zakorzenione we mnie, nie potrafię się bez niego obejść<sup>8</sup>.

W 2 odpowiedzi badany stwierdza, iż dialekt jest jego językiem ojczystym, co sprawia, że język włoski traktuje bardziej jako język drugi/obcy, dlatego też, jak podkreśla, myśli i rozważa wszystko w dialekcie:

- (2) dialekt pawijski [z Pawii] to mój język ojczysty. Każdą kwestię rozważam wewnątrz mnie w dialekcie, następnie tłumaczę moje myśli na włoski bądź angielski<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Prowincja w regionie Lombardia.

<sup>8</sup> wł. Ho 46 anni e da circa 40 parlo quotidianamente il mio dialetto, il dialetto della Bassa Lomellina. Raramente durante la giornata parlo, discuto in lingua italiana. I miei discorsi, le discussioni, i litigi sono tutti in dialetto non riesco più a farne a meno, ormai è parte radicata in me.

<sup>9</sup> wł. Il dialetto pavese è la mia lingua madre, io ragiono dentro di me per qualsiasi argomento in dialetto indi il concetto lo traduco in italiano o inglese per esprimerlo.

Komentarz 3 sugeruje naprzemienne używanie dwóch kodów (*code-switching*) w codziennej komunikacji, zarówno dialektu, jak i języka standardowego, jednakże, co podkreśla badany, dialekt wzmacnia sens danej wypowiedzi, pozwala na lepsze wyrażenie siebie i zwerbalizowanie myśli:

- (3) mam 54 lata i na co dzień posługuję się dialektem na przemian z językiem włoskim. Używam dialektu, kiedy chcę wzmocnić to, co mówię, ponieważ pewne wyrażenia sprawiają, że idea jest lepiej zwerbalizowana<sup>10</sup>.

Ostatnia (4) wypowiedź zwraca uwagę na pewną ubogość i niewystarczalność języka włoskiego, który nie pozwala na wyrażanie takich sensów, które są możliwe do eksplikacji dzięki zmianie kodu na dialekt.

- (4) używając dialektu, dostrzegasz bardzo różne sensy zdania – prawie nieistniejące w języku włoskim<sup>11</sup>.

## Funkcja socjatywna

Funkcję socjatywną języka można dostrzec szczególnie w komunikacji potocznej, a służy ona „manifestacji (...) społecznej solidarności z odbiorcą” (Kiklewicz 2008: 18). Ta funkcja szczególnie widoczna jest wtedy, gdy nadawca zmienia (świadomie lub nieświadomie) kod komunikacyjny w zależności od grupy społecznej/kulturowej, z którą ma do czynienia. Ujawnia się tutaj kolektywny wymiar języka jako kodu, który łączy zbiorowości i zmienia charakter sytuacji komunikacyjnej, kreując ją na bardziej dyskretną i tajną konwersację. Często funkcja socjatywna wybrzmiewa wówczas, gdy dialekt jest językiem regionalnym, a zarazem pierwszym/ojczystym, przyswajanym od dzieciństwa i używanym w domu rodzinnym. Taką sytuację przekodowania anonsuje jeden z badanych słowami: „dialekt pawijski to mój język ojczysty. Każdą kwestię rozważam wewnątrz mnie w dialekcie,

<sup>10</sup> wł. Ho 54 anni e il dialetto lo uso tutti i giorni alternandolo all'italiano. Ma scatta il dialetto quando voglio rinforzare ciò che sto dicendo perché certe espressioni rendono di più l'idea.

<sup>11</sup> wł. Usando il dialetto si percepiscono sensi della frase molto diversi e quasi inesistenti in lingua italiana.

następnie tłumacząc moje myśli na włoski bądź angielski”<sup>12</sup>. Wypowiedź sugeruje, że dialekt traktowany jest przez badanego jako *lingua madre*<sup>13</sup>, a język narodowy respondent uznaje za język obcy, na który musi tłumaczyć swoje myśli realizowane w dialekcie w jego umyśle. Dialekt jako czynnik socjalizujący objawia się w kolejnej wypowiedzi: „czułem się bardziej ‘rodzinnie’ postępując się dialektem”<sup>14</sup>. Wyróżnić można także funkcję dysocjatywną, która służy „manifestacji przynależności do innej grupy społecznej” (Wasilewski 2006: 125). Taką rolę dialektu akcentuje jeden z badanych, mówiąc:

- (1) mam 63 lata i regularnie rozmawiam w ciągu dnia w dialekcie *pavese* [z Pawi] zarówno z moimi rodakami, jak i z ludźmi z innych obszarów, czasami angażując się w przyswajanie ich dialektalnych powiedzeń w zamian za moje własne... w zasadzie jest to wymiana kulturowa<sup>15</sup>.

Wypowiedź ta świadczy o tym, iż Włosi przede wszystkim traktują języki lokalne jako część ich historii i znak przynależności kulturowo-terytorialnej, a różnorodność językowa tego kraju w ich oczach jest okazją do zaznaczenia własnej odmienności regionalnej, a zarazem do odkrywania nowych „małych” lokalnych kultur i ich artefaktów.

## Funkcja interlingwistyczna

W kolejnym funkcjonalnym ujęciu socjolektów warto zwrócić uwagę na funkcję interlingwistyczną, zwaną także *inicjacyjną*. Jej obecność uwidacznia się poprzez „oddziaływanie jednego systemu języka na inny” (Kiklewicz

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<sup>12</sup> wł. il dialetto pavese è la mia lingua madre, io ragiono dentro di me per qualsiasi argomento in dialetto indi il concetto lo traduco in italiano o inglese per esprimerlo.

<sup>13</sup> wł. lingua madre – język ojczysty.

<sup>14</sup> wł. (...) l'italiano.....mi sentivo piu' "famiglia" col dialetto...

<sup>15</sup> wł. Ho 63 anni e regolarmente durante la giornata parlo in pavese sia con i miei conterranei che con persone di altre zone impegnandomi a volte ad assorbire i loro detti dialettali in cambio dei miei..in pratica uno scambio culturale.

2008: 23), skutkiem czego w różnych systemach językowych pojawiają się interferencje, dochodzi do mieszania się struktur kodów językowych (*code-mixing*) czy wplatania w wypowiedź w jednym języku wyrażień, idiomów czy słów pochodzących z innego języka. Ta funkcja widoczna jest szczególnie w społeczeństwach mocno zróżnicowanych kulturowo, takich właśnie jak Włochy. Jednym z rodzajów wprowadzania zmian językowych jest konwergencja, która na terytorium Włoch znana jest pod pojęciami italianizacji dialektów oraz dialektalizacji języka włoskiego. To przenikanie elementów językowych z języka włoskiego do dialektów i odwrotnie zauważalne jest także przez samych mieszkańców tego kraju:

- (2) utopią jest myślenie, że można znaleźć unikalny dialekt każdego obszaru... Można znaleźć podobne, ale rzadko całkowicie równe. Ale nadal można je określić jako dialekt pawijski, ponieważ mają wiele wspólnych słów. (...) Trudno jest znaleźć duże obszary z identycznym dialektem. Ludzie zawsze się przemieszczali i dlatego języki mieszają się i integrują, a przekształcenia generują warianty i wzbogacają dialekty<sup>16</sup>.

Na przykładzie dialektu pawijskiego badany podkreśla, że mieszanie się różnych języków lokalnych z tego obszaru uniemożliwia odróżnianie dialektów, które istnieją na tym terenie, i choć jest wiele odmian samego dialektu pawijskiego, to mają one wspólną bazę leksykalną, integrującą wszelkie prowincjonalne odmiany tego dialektu. Ta ingerencja jednego kodu w drugi i kolejny w tym przypadku jest postrzegana jako pozytywny rezultat mieszania się systemów językowych, dzięki któremu możliwe jest wzbogacanie danego języka o nowe elementy językowe, a to zjawisko służy tworzeniu coraz to nowych dialektów lub ich odmian. Nie zawsze jednak to przenikanie się języków przynosi pozytywne efekty, co można wychwycić z kolejnej cytowanej wypowiedzi:

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<sup>16</sup> wł. è un'utopia pensare di trovare il dialetto unico di ogni zona..., potrà trovarne di simili ma raramente del tutto uguali. (...) E comunque resta difficile trovare ampie zone con dialetto identico. La gente da sempre si sposta e perciò i linguaggi si mischiano e integrano e le contaminazioni generano varianti e arricchiscono i dialetti.

- (3) jedną rzeczą, nad którą ubolewam, jest to, że dialekt *vigevanese*<sup>17</sup> bardzo się zmienił od czasów powojennych i usłyszenie starego języka *vigevanese* jest niemożliwe. Jeśli użyjesz kilku słów i wyrażeń w starej odmianie tego dialektu, to tak, jakbyś odstawił teatr<sup>18</sup>.

Dość ironicznie autor komentarza odnosi się do zmian w dialekcie, którym się posługuje, porównując używanie „czystej” i pierwotnej wersji dialektu *vigevanese* do wystawiania sztuki teatralnej. Przekształcenia w dialekcie spowodowały, iż oryginalna jego struktura ma archaiczny i zarazem komiczny charakter.

### Funkcja ludyiczna

funkcja ludyiczna ujawnia się w wypowiedzi „przez działania językowe świadomie ją realizującego nadawcy, mające w jego zamyśle skutkować wykreowaniem zdarzenia komunikacyjnego nasyconego humorem i komizmem (Kowalikowa 2010: 139). Można zatem powiedzieć, że jest to funkcja komizmotwórcza, służąca nadaniu humorystycznego charakteru wypowiedzi. Z badań wynika, iż Włosi, aby rozbawić interlokutora bądź wzmocnić komiczny ton wypowiedzi, zmieniają kod komunikacji z języka standardowego na dialekt. Niekiedy dialekt wykorzystywany jest wyłącznie dla podkreślenia ironicznego znaczenia wypowiedzianych treści. Wspomina o tym jeden z respondentów: „mówię doskonale w dialekcie mediolańskim, ale mogę go używać dla żartów, tylko z przyjaciółmi”<sup>19</sup>.

W opiniach badanych uwydatnia się także koncepcja *dyglosji*<sup>20</sup> wprowadzona przez lingwistę Michele Loporcaro (2013) i rozróżniająca od-

<sup>17</sup> dialekt *vigevanese* występuje w mieście i gminie Vigevano w regionie Lombardia w prowincji Pawii.

<sup>18</sup> wł. Una cosa che mi dispiace è che il Vigevanese si è molto modificato dal dopoguerra ad oggi e sentire il vecchio Vigevanese parlato è impossibile. Se usi qualche parola e lo strascico in erre dei vecchi è come se stai facendo teatro.

<sup>19</sup> wł. (...) io parlo perfettamente il Milanese, ma ormai lo posso utilizzare, per qualche battuta, solo con alcuni amici.

<sup>20</sup> *Dyglosja* tłumaczona jest w literaturze jako „współwystępowanie dwóch kodów językowych z silnym zróżnicowaniem ich funkcji i prestiżu” (Murrmann 2016: 24).

mianę wysoką języka (język włoski) i niską (dialekt) oraz precyzująca konteksty ich użycia. Według tej koncepcji język włoski używany jest tylko w sytuacjach oficjalnych, a dialekt zarezerwowany jest do komunikacji nieformalnej. To zjawisko także ma swoje odzwierciedlenie w zebranych materiale badawczym, w którym znajdujemy m.in. taką opinię: „Kiedy nie jestem w pracy, posługuję się dialektem”<sup>21</sup>. Rozgraniczenie na konteksty formalne i nieformalne wypowiedzi oraz dostosowywanie kodu do konkretnych sytuacji są częstymi uwagami pojawiającymi się w komentarzach Włochów. Potrzeba zmiany kodu w zależności od sytuacji komunikacyjnej udowadnia, że język włoski nie jest w stanie zastąpić dialektów – nadal są one niezbędne, aby wyrazić adekwatny do intencji użytkownika sens wypowiedzi.

## Podsumowanie

Przywołana na wstępie artykułu teza Grochowskiej (2011) o przewadze dialektów nad językiem włoskim w codziennej komunikacji Włochów znajduje potwierdzenie w przeprowadzonej tu analizie funkcjonalności regionalnych wariantów języka narodowego. Trzeba jednak dodać, iż konteksty wyeksponowane przez respondentów w głównej mierze przywołują sytuacje mniej formalne oraz wskazują na interlokutorów będących członkami rodziny bądź danej grupy kulturowej, dlatego nie można definitywnie stwierdzić, że to dialekty są językami tzw. pierwszej socjalizacji. Wyróżnienie poszczególnych funkcji dialektów świadczy o żywotności i użyteczności języków regionalnych i lokalnych w środowisku włoskim. Dzięki zebraniom opiniom rodowitych mieszkańców Półwyspu Apenińskiego udało się wychwycić 4 funkcje językowe dialektów (ekspresywną, asocjatywną, interlingwistyczną, ludyczną), lecz przy rozszerzeniu badań i poddaniu analizie

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<sup>21</sup> wł. Quando non sono al lavoro parlo dialetto.

większej liczby wypowiedzi respondentów wysoce prawdopodobne jest odkrycie kolejnych funkcjonalnych wymiarów dialektów. Warto podkreślić, iż znaczenie i rola dialektów włoskich uwydatnione dzięki opracowywanemu badaniu opiniotwórczemu jest odzwierciedleniem włoskich realiów i ukazuje, że choć język ogólnonarodowy (*italiano standard*) powinien być kodem powszechnie stosowanym przez Włochów, to badania dowodzą, iż dialekty wciąż znajdują swoje zastosowanie w komunikacji społecznej nie tylko w zamkniętych regionalnych czy prowincjonalnych kręgach, lecz także w życiu kulturalnym czy towarzyskim. To, co jest jednak niezmiennie, to wyższy status języka włoskiego nad jego lokalnymi wariantami, który nie dopuszcza stosowania dialektów w sytuacjach oficjalnych czy formalnych. Należy zaznaczyć, iż specyfiką dialektów jest ich folklorystyczny charakter, dlatego też posługiwanie się nimi, zwłaszcza w kontekstach rodzinnych czy ludycznych, utwierdza w przekonaniu, że dialekty są jednym z konstytutywnych elementów włoskiej kultury ludowej, a posługiwanie się nimi na co dzień buduje poczucie tożsamości terytorialno-kulturowej.

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## The Conceptualisation of the Coronavirus Pandemic in Some Selected European Languages

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**Abstract:** Nowadays, we regularly use such words like *coronavirus*, *curfew*, *infection*, *mask* etc. We usually apply them even without thinking of their original meanings. However, there are numerous words related to epidemics which contain metaphors or metonyms. A metaphor is a figure of speech in which an element is compared to another one to which it is normally not applicable, so it has two referents, and a metonym is a figure of speech substituting an element by describing one of its qualities or features, so a metonym constitutes a semantic extension or narrowing, and it has one referent. The author presents the etymology of some selected lexemes connected with epidemics in four languages, that is in one Germanic language (English), one Romance language (French), one Slavic language (Polish), and one Finno-Ugric language (Hungarian, being his mother tongue). In Hungarian, *epidemic* is called *járvány* which literally means 'a passing/moving disease', constituting a metaphor since disease is endowed with the features of a living entity. The English *curfew* and the French *couvre-feu* refer to covering fire as, in the Middle Ages, it was compulsory to put out the fire in the evening. The meaning of this lexeme has extended, but it still has one referent, so this is a metonym. The above-mentioned lexeme is called *godzina policyjna* in Polish, referring to police control. Police control is one of the numerous actions during a curfew, so this particularized denotation constitutes a metonym. In Hungarian, this concept is referred to as *exit prohibition*, being neither a metaphor, nor a metonym. The author also tells how buffoons, carnivals, the number 40 and swamps are connected with epidemics, referring to etymological dictionaries in the above-mentioned languages.

### Introduction

On 11<sup>th</sup> March 2020, COVID-19 was declared a pandemic by the World Health Organisation. Since that day, we have been regularly applying such words like *coronavirus*, *infection*, *mask*, etc., even without thinking of their

original meanings. However, their etymologies provide us with considerable information on the evolution of a given language and language community. The analysis of etymologies may be significant from several points of view. Firstly, it inspires the speakers to express themselves more consciously even while talking in their own mother tongues since they become more sensitive to unrevealed, unobvious meanings. Therefore, an extensive analysis of etymologies stimulates the speakers to discern the concealed or even deliberately dissembled intentions of their interlocutors. Secondly, a more conscious way of speaking can also strengthen their national and linguistic identities, and this is crucial in order to form an even more multicultural and diversified world. Thirdly, the comparison of the etymologies of some lexemes related to the same concept makes the speakers aware of the multiplicity of cultures and languages, sensitising them to the fact that a certain conception may arouse numerous different connotations and associations in several language communities. Therefore, such kind of knowledge may encourage people to endeavour to bridge cultural and linguistic divergences, and to enhance their own communication strategies. Fourthly, these aspects can reinforce and even ameliorate the (linguistic) creativity of language speakers.<sup>1</sup>

## Methodology

The above-mentioned factors constitute the principal objectives of the present article. Since the majority of concepts connected with our quotidian existence – and with the current coronavirus pandemic, too – are abstract, some exact means are necessitated to make them physically more perceivable. In a word, these notions need to be conceptualised in a more accessi-

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my special thanks of gratitude to my teacher, prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Chrzanowska-Kluczewska (Jagiellonian University, Cracow) for her suggestions and pieces of advice concerning this article.

ble way. From a linguistic perspective, metaphors and metonyms constitute one of the possible ways of such conceptualisation. Therefore, I am going to apply a cognitive approach, focusing on metaphors and metonyms in the etymologies of some lexemes in four languages, that is in English, French, Hungarian and Polish. I have chosen these languages because these are the most common and spoken ones in their own language groups within the European Union.

I have made use of a scale of zero to one hundred on Google Trends in order to analyse the word frequency of seven English lexemes which were googled worldwide with a minimum value of 1, and which reached a value of 100 at least once between 11<sup>th</sup> March 2020 and 11<sup>th</sup> March 2021, that is during the very first year after COVID-19 had been declared a pandemic. On this scale, the numbers correspond to the following meanings:

0	insufficient amount of available data for the selected term
25	the lexeme was googled rarely
50	the word was neither rare nor common
75	the selected term was searched for quite frequently
100	the peak popularity of the lexeme

While analysing the frequency of these lexemes, I entered each of them into Google Trends in English because this is the language of my present article. Nevertheless, as I mentioned, I am going to analyse also the French, Hungarian and Polish equivalents of the same concepts with a minimum value of 1, and which reached 100 at least once during the discussed period. It follows that this article is based on a quantitative analysis.

However, I will examine these lexemes also from a qualitative perspective, using etymological dictionaries published in the 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, not only in the languages I have selected, but also in other ones as numerous lexemes are international, so they exist in several languages. The examples will demonstrate the fact that the etymologies are identical even despite the time difference, and that no significant divergences have appeared since the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

After this brief introduction, I am going to provide some definitions of metaphors and metonyms, referring to some linguists and to several scholarly dictionaries as well. Then, the next part of this article will contain an elaborate analysis and comparison of the etymologies of some lexemes connected with the coronavirus pandemic, in alphabetical order. In this chapter, each lexeme will be marked at the beginning of every subchapter: in English, French, Hungarian, and Polish. Subsequently, the chief conclusions will be summarised.

## **What is a metaphor and a metonym?**

Before I commence to examine the etymologies of some lexemes connected with the current coronavirus pandemic, the basic concepts should be clarified. The phenomena of metaphor and metonym are usually associated with literary language. Yet, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3), and Kövecses (1998: 54) emphasise that we need them even in our everyday lives in order to comprehend the phenomena which surround us. The first two linguists stress the fact that human mental processes are significantly metaphorical, and that the quintessence of metaphors consists in comprehending and experiencing one element in terms of another one.<sup>2</sup> According to Taylor (1995: 132–133), a metaphor is a means of facilitating the understanding

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<sup>2</sup> Lakoff, G., Johnson, M. (1980), p. 5.

and the conceptualisation of our abstract and impalpable experiences in terms of familiar and tangible elements, linking these two cognitive domains by a component which connects both of them.

Zingarelli (2008: 731) mentions that the word *metaphor* is derived from the Greek preposition *meta* 'beyond' and the Greek verb *pherein* 'to bear'. Hence, this word literally means 'transfer, transference'. He adds that a metaphor is 'a rhetorical figure consisting in transferring the term of an object to another one according to a correlation of analogy'.

It follows that a metaphor consists in linking two alike elements without using special connectors, for instance the degree adverb *as...as* or preposition *like* in English, but it can be transformed into a simile, that is into a comparison of two elements connected explicitly with such words like *as* or *like*. Thus, the English examples mentioned below on the left are unquestionably metaphors, which can be transformed into corresponding similes (on the right):

"Your teeth are *a flock of sheep*." > "Your teeth are *white like a flock of sheep/as white as a flock of sheep*."

"We must get to *the roots* of this problem." > "This problem is *like a plant*."

"Time *flies*." > "Time is *like a bird*."

The other basic figurative concept discussed in the present article is *metonymy*. According to Rejzek (2015: 414), it is derived from the Greek preposition *meta* 'beyond' and the noun *onoma* 'name, word', and he defines metonymy as the 'transference of a denomination based on an eternal correlation'.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 35–36) define metonymy as the application of one entity to refer to another element which is connected with it, so metonymy has chiefly a referential function which makes it possible for an entity to stand for another one. Panther and Thornburg (2007: 237) emphasise that metonymy traditionally signifies a stand for relation between two concepts, and that a corollary of this substitution theory is the fact

that the source and the target are considered to be interchangeable while referring to the same referent. In the following sentences, some English examples of metonyms and their meanings can be compared:

“I have four *mouths* to feed at home”. > “I have four *family members* to feed at home.”

“She likes reading *Shakespeare*.” > “She likes reading *the plays by Shakespeare*.”

“The last football match was won by *Debrecen*.” > “The last football match was won by *the football team of Debrecen*.”

The above-mentioned definitions and examples have shown that, contrarily to a metaphor, a metonym has usually one referent, and one of its several features is emphasised. Numerous categories of metaphors and metonyms are distinguished by linguists. Nevertheless, in my present article, I am going to analyse *etymological metaphors and metonyms*<sup>3</sup> in order to reveal the hidden meanings of some lexemes related to the current coronavirus pandemic we have been regularly using since the beginning of 2020.

## The etymologies of some selected lexemes related to the coronavirus pandemic in English, French, Hungarian and Polish

Coronavirus (Eng.) – coronavirus (Fr.) – koronavírus (Hung.)  
– koronawirus (Pl.)

In alphabetical order, this is the first group of lexemes I am going to analyse in the order specified above. The English compound noun is composed of two lexemes: *corona* ‘crown’, and *virus*. Zaicz (2021: 464) provides an elaborate definition: he derives *corona* from the Greek *korone* ‘everything what is crooked; a door ring; crown’, and he adds that this lexeme passed

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<sup>3</sup> My article is concerned not with traditional stylistic figures of metaphor and metonym as operative usually at the level of phrases and sentences, but with these figures noticeable at the level of morphology and lexis.

to mediaeval Latin, and meant ‘a ring of light painted above the heads of saints’, and later ‘flower wreath; crown edge; wall edge; mountain belt; a halo around the sun; audience’, too. As for the lexeme *virus*, Zaicz (2021: 956) mentions that it is related to the Indo-European *visham* ‘poison’, and that *virus* meant ‘stringy liquid, mucus; substance to breed animals; poison’, and ‘a pathogen being able to reproduce only in living cells’ in medical Latin. Thus, there has been a metonymical semantic change from *korōnos* ‘crooked’ and *korone* ‘any object which is crooked’ to *corona* ‘wreath; crown etc.’ because the only referent linking all further meanings is crookedness, and this feature of all these elements has been pointed out. This is also the case of the semantic evolution of *virus* from the Indo-European *visham* ‘poison’ through the Latin ‘poison; mucus etc.’ to ‘a pathogen causing diseases’: the common and only emphasised referent is harmfulness.

As *coronavirus* has become a common word in English and other languages just recently, the majority of printed etymological dictionaries provide no information on its origin. Therefore, its etymology should primarily be searched for in online sources. On the website of the US National Library of Medicine, we can find a definition stating that this lexeme was coined because of the similarity of the glycoprotein spikes of these viruses to a solar corona (Henry 2020, IS).<sup>4</sup> Thus, the denotation of the pandemic has arisen in a metaphorical way pointing to the shape of the virus.

### Curfew – couvre-feu – kijárási tilalom – godzina policyjna

Donald (1874: 107) derives the English *curfew* from the French *couvre-feu*, in turn originating from the lexemes *couvrir* ‘to cover’ and *feu* ‘fire’. Donald (1874: 107) explains that this etymology is related to the ringing of a bell at 8pm, signalling that all fires should have been covered or put out, in feudal times, some centuries ago. In this way, people may have desired

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<sup>4</sup> Henry, R. (2020).

to avoid conflagrations. The meaning of this lexeme has become metonymically extended, having still one referent, which is the necessity to cease any visible activities after a certain hour.

The Hungarian nominal phrase *kijárási tilalom* simply signifies 'exit prohibition', and it does not include any hidden meanings. Therefore, there has been neither a metonymical nor a metaphorical semantic change.

As for the etymology of the Polish nominal phrase *godzina policyjna* 'police hour', Brückner (1927: 148) only mentions that *godzina* 'hour' (original meaning: 'time') is related to the Polish (and Slavic) *god* 'time', which is supposed to have arisen from the German lexemes *gaden* 'to suit' or *gut* 'good' or from the Frisian lexeme *gada* 'to connect'. Długosz-Kurczabowa does not provide any information on the etymology of the lexeme *godzina*. Nevertheless, contrarily to Brückner, she presents the etymology of the noun *policja* 'police', affirming that it arose from the Greek lexeme *pólis* 'city, upper city' and from *polités* 'citizen' through *politeía* 'citizenship; state; government' and through the Latin *politia*. It follows that both semantic changes have been metonymical because *hour* belongs to the same semantic domain as *time*, and *police* as 'an organisation responsible for the protection of citizens' and *citizen* refer to the same common element which links them, which is *citizen* or *city*. As for the etymology of *godzina policyjna*, we can claim that it is related to police control, being one of the most frequent measures characterising a curfew. Hence, one of the numerous steps taken to avoid or even to reveal any acts of transgression metonymically stands for the entire action.

### Epidemic – épidémie – járvány – epidemia

This is an international word (so-called *internationalism*) existing in the majority of European languages. Even though we can find the word *épidémia* in the Hungarian vocabulary as well, another lexeme, which will be examined in the next paragraph, is used more frequently. Brachet (1872:

211) and Donald (1874: 158) agree that this lexeme is formed by the Greek prefix *epi-* ‘upon’ and by the noun *dēmos* ‘people’, so it literally means ‘upon the people’. Tótfalusi (2005: 264) adds that the Greek *epidémia* originally meant ‘stay, residence’, and that the current meaning has been diffused in the majority of European languages due to Latin. Etymologically, as we can see, epidemic is a disease which circulates upon the people. There are numerous elements which may link people, so this is just one of the features (in this case negative) of this phenomenon. Thus, this lexeme has a metonymically evolved etymology.

The most frequent lexeme for *epidemic* in Hungarian is *járvány*. Zaicz (2021: 379) states that this is a combination of the verb *jár* ‘to move, to pass, to attend a place’<sup>5</sup>, and the adjective suffix *-vány*. Originally, *járvány* was an adjective, used in such lexemes like e.g. *járvány betegség* or *járvány nyavalya* ‘a moving disease’, which has become a noun in the course of time by word clipping. Thus, this is a personification and an animalisation (metaphor) since an abstract concept is endowed with human or animal features like a living entity.

### Infection – infection – fertőzés – infekcja

The basic English verb *infect* is derived, probably via French,<sup>6</sup> from the Latin *in-* ‘in, into’ and *facio* ‘to make’ according to Donald (1874: 259), so it literally means ‘to dip into’. Hence, bacteria and viruses “are dipped into” human organisms when infecting them. Therefore, infection, being an abstract concept, has been conceptualised in the form of a metaphor.

The Hungarian equivalent is *fertőzés*. The basic word is the noun *fertő* ‘swamp; immorality’ which originally meant ‘a place for bathing, wallowing,

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<sup>5</sup> This is the Hungarian equivalent of the following verbs: *chodzić* (Polish), *chodit* (Czech), *ходить* (Russian).

<sup>6</sup> Probably, the same holds for Polish, too.

especially for animals'.<sup>7</sup> The original verb *fer* is a variant of the verb *fordít* 'to turn', and it has evolved from a factitive (-*t-* is one of the possible suffixes of this grammatical construction) and a present participle form (-*ő*).<sup>8</sup> The etymology of the latter verb is controversial, for it may have arisen from a Finno-Ugric word, too.<sup>9</sup> Dirty places used to be considered the main causes of diseases. Probably, this may constitute the reason of this etymology. The cause stands for the consequence, forming a metonymical meaning.

### Isolation – isolement – izoláció – izolacja

Donald (1874: 274), Tótfalusi (2005: 446) and Długosz-Kurczabowa (2018: 264–265) derive these particular lexemes in English, French, Hungarian, and Polish from the Latin *insula* 'island', which later became the Italian *isolare* 'to isolate'. Brachet (1872: 307) only mentions the latter fact concerning the Italian transmission. In Hungarian, the noun *elszigeteltség* is used as well, being a literal equivalent of *izoláció*.<sup>10</sup> When talking about isolated people, we unconsciously compare them to an island, which endows them with a metaphorical sense (reification).

### Mask – masque – maszk – maseczka

These lexemes are related to the Arabic verb *sakhira* 'to laugh, to ridicule', and to the noun *maskharat* 'buffoon; amusement, fun, joking'. Masks used to be accessories hiding the faces of people especially during carnivals to entertain themselves and other participants.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, these lex-

<sup>7</sup> Zaicz G. (1981): p. 236.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>9</sup> *Idem*, p. 249.

<sup>10</sup> *El-* 'a prefix' + *sziget* 'island' + *-el* 'a verb suffix' + *-t* 'the suffix of the past participle' + *-ség* 'a nominal suffix'.

<sup>11</sup> Donald, J. (1874): p. 311., Devic, L. Marcel (1876): p. 183.

emes currently stand for any object concealing or disguising a face, slightly or entirely. The Polish *maseczka* in the medical sense is a diminutive of *maska*. This word may have become part of the European vocabularies either during the Arabic colonisation of southern Europe, or during the European colonisation of Arabic-speaking countries, for example in the Middle Ages. The referent still remains identical: the partial or complete invisibility of the face. Thus, the meaning of these lexemes has been metonymically extended.

### Quarantine – quarantaine – karantén – kwarantanna

Tótfalusi (2005: 467) derives these lexemes from the French numeral noun *quarantaine* ‘around forty’, and Donald (1874: 412) states that the English borrowing has arisen from the Italian *quarantina* ‘the same’ because isolations aiming at avoiding the diffusion of diseases used to take forty days, especially in the ports. Rejzek (2015: 292) also adds that the reason of this length may have been the identical duration of Jesus’ Lent period in the desert. The number of days spent in isolation has become the denotation of the entire interval, constituting a metonymical semantic change.

In Hungarian, the lexeme *vesztegzár* is used as well, coined by the adverb *veszteg* ‘calmly, passively’ and *zár* ‘lock’. Zaicz (2021: 948–949) claims that the first element of this word may be related to the verbs *vesz* ‘to take’ or *vész* ‘to perish’, both of them being probably Finno-Ugric lexical legacies, and that *zár* is a Slavic loan word, conforming to the original meaning to great extent.<sup>12</sup> The combination of passivity and being locked constitute a metonymical meaning since they refer to one of the numerous elements characterising such kind of period of isolation. In all cases of metonymical readings, the relationship between the two denotations (one more specific, the other more general) is that of *objective association*, called also *contiguity* in cognitive linguistic studies.

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<sup>12</sup> Zaicz G. (2021): p. 967.

## Conclusions

All in all, the aim of this article was to present the metaphorical and metonymical etymologies of some selected English, French, Hungarian, and Polish lexemes which have been used regularly since the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic in March 2020. Firstly, I have defined what a metaphor and a metonym is. Then, the etymologies of the lexemes in particular languages have been compared. In my opinion, these examples have demonstrated that metaphors and metonyms are an extremely useful means of conceptualisation, applied on a vast scale not only in literary, but also everyday language. My analysis has shown the correlation between several lexemes coming from four languages representative of major European linguistic groups (Germanic, Romance, Finno-Ugric and Slavic), being an unquestionable sign of linguistic and mental diversity.

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# Differences between British English and American English

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**Abstract:** English is one of the most popular languages in the world. The fact that English has a great number of participants results in the existence of many varieties of the English language. They differ from each other and have some specific features characteristic only to a given variation. However, there are two varieties of this language – British English and American English which may have the biggest impact and are the most significant.

The purpose of this study is to present the most important dissimilarities between British English and its American equivalent. The linguistic question investigated is: Why are the British English and American English different and what are the distinctions?

It is hoped that the study will spread more awareness among English learners about varieties of English and will inform them about language pitfalls and cultural differences, knowledge of which can be useful in translation and teaching.

## 1. Introduction

Crystal (2003) points out that English is called modern lingua franca. It has definitely earned its reputation for many reasons. English is used as the working language or one of the working languages of all international organisations. Besides the United States of America, United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, many countries have adopted it as their official language and are promoting its use. It is also the language of international business and is chosen as the main language in technological, academic and scientific contexts or in sports events. Its prestigious status is unchallenged in the entertainment industry and in the media: there are many music bands and artists singing in English instead of their moth-

er tongue. Even while travelling people see English advertisements and writings. Communication abroad is conducted in English and the news all around the world is also in this language.

Due to the fact that English is used in so many countries, many people of different nationalities speak English and there are also many varieties of this language. According to Wardaught and Fuller (2015: 27) variety of language is a term defining a way of how people speak. It can be something as widely used as Standard English, a variation defined in categories of place and social class like speech of lower-class in New York, or something that is defined by its function or the place where it is used, such as legal language or conversation at a cocktail party.

English language has many variations or varieties. Algeo (2006: 1) points out that British English (used mainly in Great Britain) and American English (used mainly in the United States of America) are spoken by most English native speakers, are studied by a significant number of foreign learners and they both are instrumental national varieties of the language. Above reasons are enough to state that these two varieties are worth studying and examination.

## **2. Why are the British English and American English different?**

Davies (2005:1) figures that an average American may find a lot of British words difficult to understand and an average British may be concerned by hearing some American words. Many English speakers don't seem to realize that there are extensive differences between these two variations. There are approximately 4000 words which differ in meaning or are used rather in different way in the USA and in Britain.

This prompts the question. Why did such differences appear and continue to exist? Davies (2005), Finegan and Rickford (2004) and Algeo (2006) claim that both countries had different history and were influenced

by diverse factors that led to the existence of dissimilarities between the two varieties of English language. It all had its genesis when the British Pilgrims began to settle America. These newcomers had no contact with their native language and then all the differences began to arise. Over the years, many new nationalities particularly from Europe settled in the US. Although English was the leading language in the America European languages such as German, French and Spanish had a major effect on the American variety of English and were at certain times widely spoken.

Finegan and Rickford (2004:4,5) claim that when English speakers began to settle North America they found themselves in a fully varied language culture. People behaved differently when there were a lot of mixed languages. Some of them had negative attitude towards new dialects or languages and consistently used the same way of speaking. Other people acquired ability to be multilingual and were able to use several speeches. However, there was also a group of people who were between these extremes and who used new dialects to make jokes in order to show the superiority by the way they speak over others or had quite different purposes. Colonists encountered new surroundings, and in areas where numerous languages were spoken, the greatest mixing of languages also occurred. A major influence on the English language came from the Caribbean even before the first English sailors arrived in America. For instance, words like *hurricane* (hurricane), *cocos* (later coconut) and *flamingo* originate from this era. Because of trade, people in seaports and on board ships in Europe, the Caribbean, and West Africa spoke various languages and such languages also affected the English language.

According to Davies (2005:2,3) English was not a native language for colonists in North America during the colonial period. When the United States began to be independent, many new immigrants came to this land. The distinction between American English and British English was greatly influenced by these people and their native languages. About two hundred years ago, French was competing with English as the most widely spoken

language in the world. There were several French colonies in North America. With the Mississippi Delta being the largest area that had the biggest influence on what later became American English. Louisiana, one of the states, was named after Louis XIV, the French king.

Back in the 1600-s, the Netherlands had a vast colony in the territory now known as New York City (originally New Amsterdam). Harlem, Brooklyn and Bronx are some names derived from Dutch. There are still some Dutch words in use, for example *waffle*, *coleslaw* and *cookie*. American English also has many Spanish words that are affiliated with cowboys, such as *mustang*, *rodeo*, *burro* and *lasso*. And the German language has also affected American English. There were about seven million people from Germany who settled in the United States. To remember their roots, they named several cities Berlin and Germantown. Central European countries also contributed to the development of the American variety of English.

The Industrial Revolution in the late 18th and early 19th centuries brought a demand for many new words. The United States did not adopt the British standard for new terms. Indeed, words such as *windscreen* and *railway* are British equivalents of American *windshield* and *railroad*. The United States and Great Britain had their own team of engineers and designers, who also were responsible for providing names for new creations. Both varieties of English probably reached their highest point of divergence before World War II and since then they have moved closer together so that they can now be better understood by people of other nationalities.

As reported by Finegan and Rickford (2004:15), in the early 20th century many immigrants settled in northeastern cities such as Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland and Buffalo. These new settlers' languages changed to American English. Most of these words were related to food, such as *wiener*, *sausage*, *chorizo*, *frankfurter* and *pepperoni*. Nevertheless, in the 1920s, the discrepancy between these two varieties, American and British, increased because of the restrictive laws of acceptance of the immigrants. American

variety became more monolingual, and borrowings from foreign languages started to be replaced by non-bilingual equivalents: polish *sausage* rather than *kielbasa*, *hot dog* rather than *frankfurter*, and more.

Algeo (2006:1) claims that in recent years due to the mass media, Internet and television the differences between both varieties began to blur. This led to a major understanding of British English in America and American variation in Britain. However, American English dominates British English. This variety has more native speakers, and is very popular among Western European countries. The main reason for that is the culture of the USA, which has spread all over the world.

### 3. Differences between British English and American English

As reported by Janicki (1995:25,28) the difficulty is in defining American English as a national variety. First, the tricky part is that America is divided into fifty different states, and the overall area is very large. Second, the combination of many languages has somehow influenced American English in distinct manners. Third, there are many variations of American English that are also seen as a standard. It is also sometimes hard to determine whether some words are British or American for the reason of the exchange of British and American television, film industry, literature, press, mobility of tourists and other reasons. Nevertheless, there are noticeable discrepancies that exist between the two varieties, despite the large influence that America has had on Britain in recent years. For instance, there are often different words for the same common objects, the sound of speech is quite different and some words and phrases are widespread only in Britain or America.

Provided by Algeo (2006: 2), many discrepancies between the two varieties can be observed when it comes to pronunciation. British English and its American equivalence both have a slightly distinct “tune” of the

language, in other words, the intonation differs between both varieties. Whenever a British or American speaks, that person identifies him/herself with the tune of his/her variety of the language. However, while singing, it is not easy to distinguish which country a person is from because the prose melody overrides the musical tune. Other pronunciation discrepancies occur in consonant and vowel placement, articulation, and accent patterns.

According to Finegan and Rickford (2004: 23-24), as a rule, in AmE /r/ is pronounced when it comes after a vowel in the same syllable (*sure, later, motor, beard, car*). Thereby, it makes the American variety a 'rhotic' variety. While in some British dialects /r/ is not articulated in such words and thus these dialects are 'non-rhotic'. Nevertheless, in New York City, in the Eastern New England area, and in some Atlantic Coast areas, /r/ is often dropped. Hence, this is due to the actions of community groups who omit /r/ or pronounce it. Furthermore, this pronunciation resembles BBC English and some British dialects. AmE tends to maintain the initial /h/ when using words such as *home, here, who* and *house*, whereas in UK /h/ is omitted. This is particularly noticeable in words such as "have", e.g. *ave a nice weekend*. Yet there are many words where the initial h is pronounced consistently in both English variations (hospital) or is not (honour).

In the field of grammar there are also some small, but significant differences. Tomáš (2020) points out that while talking about possession, in British variety the verb *to have got* is used e.g. *I have got a cat*, by contrast Americans use *to have* e.g. *I have a cat*. The important thing is that: in American English the verbs *have got* is also used but rather in different context, to signify obligation e.g. *I have got to go*. The usage of present perfect tense also differs. American tends to not use this tense and they usually omit the verb *to have*, for instance *I just came here*, whereas the British normally use this verb, *I have just came here*. In American English these kinds of sentences sound simpler. The distinction also lies in the choice of prepositions. In America people say: *I talked **with** Lucy, **on** the weekend* or *I haven't seen her **in***

weeks, while in Britain it is said: *I talked to Lucy, at the weekend and I haven't seen her for weeks.*

Finegan and Rickford (2004: 27-28) notice also that in American variety collective nouns, the names of institutions or sports teams require a singular verb e.g. *My class was very surprised*, while in Great Britain a singular or plural verb can be used, it can be said: *My class was/were very surprised*. Moreover, one of the very characteristic features for American English is ellipsis. It means that there are omitted some words, especially at the beginning of the sentence such as combined subject or auxiliary verb. For instance, Americans say *Want it? Like it? How you doing? Thirsty?* On the contrary, the British say: *Do you want it? Do you like it? How are you doing? Are you thirsty?*

Another distinction is provided by Lyons (2020). In British English *got-ten* is considered as archaic the past participle form of *get*. The Americans, however, still use this verb as the past participle. For instance, in BrE it is said *I've not got any money from my parents*, while in America people say *I haven't gotten any money from my parents*. Some of the regular and irregular verbs are also quite different in both countries. There is a nuanced distinction that can be easily ignored in speech, but is much more evident in written form. A number of verbs that are irregular in the past tense in British English e.g. *dreamt, burned, leapt, learnt* have been transformed to regular in American variety *dreamed, burned, leaped, learned*.

Aside from differences in pronunciation, spelling, and grammar, the vocabulary in the two variations of English varies significantly. Davies (2005: 20-30) has examined some of the differences and noticed that in banking vocabulary American *savings and loan, mutual fund, saving account* and *ATM* are in Great Britain *building society, unit trust, deposit account* and *cash machine*. In restaurant and food vocabulary there are also some interesting dissimilarities. British *cutlery, takeaway food, serviette, salt cellar, bill*, are equivalences to American *silverware, takeout food, napkin, salt shaker* and *check*. There are also many characteristic dishes only to America like

*Buffalo wings* and *bagel* and some typical for Great Britain e.g. *Yorkshire pudding* or *gateau*.

The British and the Americans have a great number of words that differ from each other. The table below presents some of the everyday words that have various names, depending on what variety of English is used.

American English	British English
cookie	biscuit
driver's license	driving licence
French fries/ fries	chips
gas/gasoline	petrol
granola	muesli
pants	trousers
parka	anorak
shrimp	prawn
sneakers	trainers
soda	fizzy drink
sweater	jumper
truck	lorry
undershirt	vest
vacations	holidays
vest	waistcoat

(Based on Davies, 2005: 35-65)

The differences presented above are only the small percentage of all the distinctions. There are so many of them that is hard to describe or mention all of them in one article. However, this study examines only the most significant divergences which occur between both of the varieties.

## 4. Conclusions

English, which was originally spoken only in a small isle like Great Britain, became an essential language required for communication in many countries. In fact, with the more power England had, the more English became widespread. One reason for the popularity of English was the strong dominance of Britain during the colonial period in the 18th and 19th centuries. The British Empire controlled much of the world's land at that time. Later, in the twentieth century, the United States of America became the dominant strong power and English gained in value.

However, it was only after World War II that the United States became a strong economic and diplomatic power. In fact, American television, movies and music overran the entire world. The great spread of American mass media and the choice of English as a second language also influenced the spread of English. Yet, new words have permeated the American variety since its very beginning. There are many phrases, expressions that immigrants who came to the United States have added to this variety and made it easily distinguishable from British English. French, Spanish, German, but also some Slavic languages had a strong influence on the evolution of American English. The progressive expansion of American English throughout the separated new world caused the distinctions between British English and American English to become more pronounced. Nowadays, these differences are examined in terms of grammar, pronunciation, spelling, and vocabulary.

Upon further analysis, it can be observed that both variations are very significantly different from each other and have distinctive features. Knowing these differences is very useful when learning English, teaching English, but also in various kinds of translation. Great Britain and the United States of America are two different countries, with varied history and culture. Despite this, both varieties of the language are worth learning and have their aficionados all over the world.

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# The Great Chain of Being Metaphor System in advertisements. A cognitive linguistics study in multimodality

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**Abstract:** In cognitive linguistics, metaphors have been discussed as far back as Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). While their conceptual nature has been stressed since the beginning, the majority of the data analysed was linguistic data, making the argumentation circular. The field of multimodality (Forceville 1996, Müller 2008, Pérez-Sobrino 2017) has emerged as a way of combatting this. Multimodal metaphors are metaphors activated in more than one modality. These include: "(1) written language; (2) spoken language; (3) static and moving images; (4) music; (5) non-verbal sound; (6) gestures" (Forceville and Urios Aparisi 2009: 4). From the beginning, advertisements have formed a large part of the data analysed within the field (Forceville 1996, Perez Sobrino 2017). However, advertising has not been analysed with reference to the Great Chain of Being Metaphor System. It is one of two systems for organising metaphors and has been a part of research on metaphor as far back as Lakoff and Turner's *More than Cool Reason* (1989). A case study of car advertisements will be used to argue for the conceptual nature of metaphor and to illustrate how advertisers rely on source domains from different levels of the Great Chain of Being Metaphor System, in order to present the advertised product positively.

## Introduction

One of the central assumptions of cognitive linguistics is the idea that language reflects patterns of thought (Evans and Green 2006: 5). Consequently, what is present in language is considered symptomatic of thought as well. In the study of metaphor, this idea led Lakoff and Johnson (1980 [2003]) to claim that metaphor is a matter of concepts, and a matter of mapping from one source domain to a different target domain (Lakoff and

Johnson 1980 [2003]). For instance, in a metaphor such as *CAR IS A WOMAN*, aspects of the source domain *WOMAN* are mapped onto the target domain *CAR*. Such metaphors, which have objects as their target domain, have been organised using a system for the organisation of metaphors, called the Great Chain of Being Metaphor System (Kövecses 2002: 123). The Great Chain of Being as an idea originates in philosophy (Lovejoy 1936 [2001]), is “intuitively accepted in our Western Judeo-Christian cultural tradition” (Krzyszowski 1997: 66) and has been adapted as to the study of metaphor, as a tool for organising metaphors which have objects as its target domain (Kövecses 2002: 123).

The field of Conceptual Metaphor Theory has been expanding since the 1980s. Nevertheless, it needs to be noted that the source of data for this research was primarily linguistic. This led to an issue in argumentation, with linguists arguing for the conceptual nature of metaphor, without providing evidence for it. Specifically, evidence that could come from non-linguistic data. As Forceville (2009: 21-22) puts it, a fully developed theory of metaphor cannot be based exclusively on verbal manifestations of metaphors.

Hence, it is the field of multimodality that proves useful as a way of bridging this gap in argumentation. Researchers exploring the field of multimodality analyse multimodal metaphors. Such metaphors are characterised by the target and source cued in more than one modality (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009: 4). For instance, a metaphor could be activated in more than one modality when a speaker uses the word *tomorrow* and points in front of themselves. There are two metaphors for the understanding of time available to the speakers of English (Boroditsky 2000) and in both the future can be conceptualised as being in front of the conceptualiser (Boroditsky 2000). This conceptual metaphor of time can be co-activated by the gesture of pointing in front of the speaker.

The gestural modality is one of the modalities which can be used to activate a metaphor multimodally. Other modalities include written language, spoken language, static and moving images, music, non-verbal sound, and

gestures (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009: 4). A number of these modalities can be used in the genre of advertising. Advertisements were one of the first data types to be analysed in the field of multimodal metaphor (Forceville 1996). However, multimodal advertisements have not yet been thoroughly analysed with respect to the Great Chain of Being Metaphor System (see, however, Michnowska 2019, Saito and Chiang 2020).

The data includes two car advertisements which understand the advertised cars with respect to two different levels of the Great Chain of Being, the level of animals and the level of humans. I examine the advertisements with respect to two questions. The first one being what kinds of mappings the source domains of HORSE and BALLET DANCER enable. The second one, what kind of understanding of the target domains provide with respect to the two levels of Great Chain of Being.

## Lexus IS “Poise”

The Lexus IS Poise advertisement is filmed entirely in black and white. In the opening scene, the dancer is getting ready to perform, and starting to do some moves. This is juxtaposed with the car’s lights turning on. The first shots are longer, with less sharp cuts between them. This is followed by a series of shots of the dancer and the car, respectively. The dancer is already dancing (although she is mainly doing it in one place, she is not moving forward) while the shots of the car are mainly close-ups. There are some shots juxtaposing the dancer’s skin with the surface of the car. At this point, the dancer starts dancing in a motion forward. In the next scene, the car starts driving, as the words *Let’s go* can be heard in the auditory modality which other than this, exclusively contains music. Later, shots of the ballerina dancing and the car driving are interwoven together. There are also shots juxtaposing the dancer spinning from above with the car wheel turning. From the very beginning of the advertisement, there is modern

music to be heard. It picks up the tempo, matching it to the speed of the cuts, dancing and driving. Finally, the slogan *Stronger body for greater control* is shown on the screen, with the legs of the dancer in between the words. This is followed by a shot of the car facing towards the audience with the logo of the brand and the words *amazing in motion*. Throughout the entire advertisement, there are no clear close-ups of the dancer's face. Her face is visible in some shots, but because of the lighting choices, her face is never fully and clearly visible.

The metaphor used in the Lexus IS Poise advertisement can be stated as *LEXUS CAR IS A BALLET DANCER* in terms of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The metaphor is activated in the visual modality with shots of the dancer and the car, and in the verbal modality with the slogan *Stronger body for greater control*. In the visual modality, it is cued thanks to the mappings which are facilitated by the way the advertisement is shot (Michnowska 2019). The particular mappings include mapping the dancer's skin onto the surface of the car, dancing onto driving, and the dancer doing pirouettes onto the spinning wheel (Michnowska 2019).

As was stated previously, the metaphor used in the advertisement can be analysed as *Lexus car is a ballet dancer*. However, the potential impact of the advertisement is not only possible because of this metaphor. It is also another figure of thought, metonymy, that might contribute to the overall success of the advertisement. Without metonymy, this advertisement would only be able to activate the associations coming from the domain of this particular dancer. The use of metonymy, which is a reference point phenomenon (Langacker 1993), provides access to the dancer together with the domain of *BALLET* itself. As Radden and Kövecses point out (1999: 19), metonymy is not a matter of substituting the target and vehicle, but it serves to "form a new, complex meaning" (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 19). Here, what can happen is the audience can form a new complex meaning which includes the dancer and the domain of *BALLET* as a whole, rather than substituting the dancer for the domain of *BALLET*. Since the domain of *BALLET*

can be associated with ideas such as elegance, poise, precision, art, grace, and craftsmanship, the activation of these is far more beneficial than just mappings which can come from the dancer herself.

As was mentioned before, the dancer's face is hardly ever shown in the advertisement, and when it is, it is not clearly visible. This might be considered a deliberate choice on the part of the advertisers. Intelligence is one of the mappings that might be accessed metonymically through the vehicle of the head (Lakoff and Johnson 1980 [2003]). A reason for choosing not to access such a mapping could be a focus on the domain of BALLET as a whole, versus focusing on this particular dancer or her intellectual abilities. What is more, it could be argued that the mapping of intelligence is not necessary for this advertisement. This advertisement focuses rather on mappings which might be accessed through the body of the dancer, such as the craftsmanship and elegance of the dancer, rather than what could be accessed metonymically by her head, which would be her intellect.

As stated above, the auditory modality consists of modern music speeding up throughout the advertisement. It could be argued that there are two mappings which can be accessed through the auditory modality in the present case. The first one is speed, as the tempo of the music quickens throughout the advertisement. The idea of speed might also be accessed through the way the advertisement is shot, that is, the sharp cuts making the length of each shot even shorter as the music speeds up. Secondly, the music might contribute to presenting the car as modern. Such an association might be more difficult to be accessed through the domain of BALLET, which is typically considered a traditional form of dance.

Finally, the LEXUS CAR IS A BALLET DANCER metaphor is also activated in the verbal modality. The slogan *Stronger body for greater control* maps the dancer's body onto the body of the car (Michnowska 2019). Note, that this mapping was already activated earlier in the visual modality. The presence of a mapping in more than one modality can increase the metaphoricity,

which is “a matter of understanding one idea (or domain) in terms of another” (Müller and Cienki 2009: 300).

This advertisement provides an understanding of the car in terms of a higher level of the Great Chain of Being, that of humans. The level of humans is the highest level of the basic Great Chain of Being (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 170-171). A car, as a man-made object, possesses the attributes of a functional part-whole structure (Krzyszowski 1997: 66). Since each being is thought to possess the attributes of lower beings (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 171), this means understanding a car in terms of the level of humans gives it attributes of humans, animals, and plants as well. These attributes are life (from the level of plants), instincts, interior states, desires, emotions, and some cognitive abilities (from animals), abstract thinking, reasoning, self-awareness, among other things (from humans) (Krzyszowski 1997: 66). Attributing all of these features to the car could be considered highly desirable in the context of advertising.

### **Audi S5 Sportback “Secretariat”**

The second advertisement opens with documentary shots of a famous racehorse, Secretariat. These initial shots provide a background to what follows, i.e., shots of a “modern” Secretariat preparing to race. In the auditory modality, the sound of a beating heart can be heard from the very beginning, with the sounds of the documentary commentator. The shots of the modern-day Secretariat preparing for the race, are followed by the Audi car being released at high speed onto the horse racing track. Next, the horse is released onto a similar track. The shots of the car driving and the horse racing overlap. Similarly, the sound of the engine revving overlaps with the horse snorting and his heart beating. The advertisement ends with a shot of veterinarians in a laboratory who examine an X-ray of a horse heart. The voice-over is narrated by a man who says *Of course he was strong, intelligent,*

*explosive, but the true secret to his perfection? Was a heart, twice the size of an average horse.* Finally, the words *The all-new, 354hp Audi S5 Sportback* is here and the slogan *Progress is powered from within*, is shown.

The metaphor used in this advertisement could be stated as *AUDI CAR IS A HORSE* in terms of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. This metaphor is activated in the visual modality with shots of the car and the horse (Michnowska 2019). It is also activated using written and spoken language with the voice-over and the slogan. Lastly, it can be activated in the auditory modality with the non-verbal sound of the heart and the engine (Michnowska 2019).

It could be argued that this advertisement relies on pictorial similes. An example of a pictorial simile is when the entirety of the source and target are shown visually in a way which highlights their similarity (El Refaie 2017: 150). In the advertisement, a pictorial simile is used in the shots when the car and horse are shot from the same angle in the same place. The horse understandably races on a horse racing track, however, the car driving in the same place is less probable. As a result, it could be argued that it was deliberate on the part of the advertisers, possibly to highlight the similarities between the source and the target. What is more, one may also argue that the advertisement relies on something that could be called an auditory simile (Michnowska 2019: 31). The usage of the auditory simile involves the sound of the horse, and the sound of the car are overlapped in a way which highlights their similarity.

In terms of the Great Chain of Being, this advertisement places the car on the level of animals, since it relies on the metaphorical understanding of the car in terms of a horse. What is more, the word *intelligent* in the verbal spoken modality could be argued to map intelligence onto the car (Michnowska 2019: 31). Animals are considered to have instinctual attributes, and mental attributes are considered a feature of the level of humans (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 170-171). Consequently, because of mapping intelligence, the metaphorical understanding of the car relies on mapping from two different levels of the Great Chain of Being.

## Conclusion

What follows from the analysis above is that both advertisements rely on metaphors activated in more than one modality. The Lexus advertisement relies on the metaphor *Lexus car is a ballet dancer* and cues it in the visual and verbal modality. Furthermore, the advertisement also makes use of the auditory modality. The Audi advertisement relies on the metaphor *Audi car is a horse* and cues this metaphor in the visual, auditory, verbal written, and verbal spoken modalities.

Furthermore, both advertisements rely on an understanding of the target domain in terms of a higher level of the Great Chain of Being. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 171) discuss the Great Chain of Being in connection with the theory of Nature of Things. According to this theory, beings will behave in accordance with their attributes (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 171). For instance, an animal's instinctual attributes lead to instinctual behaviour, people's higher-order attributes lead to higher-order behaviour (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 171). Hence, if applied to the car advertisements discussed previously, it could mean that the cars could be conceptualised in two ways. Firstly, as having attributes from a higher level of the Great Chain of Being. Secondly, these attributes could potentially lead them to behaviours which are, instinctual behaviour and higher-order behaviour, respectively. Having a conceptualisation of a car, as having instinctual behaviour could lead the audience to understand the car as being equipped with a sort of instinct by the manufacturers. A complex object, such as a car, is only able to perform functional behaviour (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 171). However, with mappings from the domain of *horse*, as is the case with the Audi advertisement, the car could be conceptualised as having instinctual behaviour. Consequently, this could make it more desirable in the eyes of the audience. Similarly, adding mappings from the domain of *humans*, as is the case with the Lexus advertisement, could lead to linking the higher-order attributes that humans possess with higher-order behaviour. This higher-order behaviour

could be dancing, or the dancing could be mapped onto driving, to elevate the activity.

It could be argued that the main aim of the genre of advertising is presenting the advertised product in a positive light. One way of doing this is providing the audience with conceptualisations of the product presenting them in a positive way. What is more, advertisers can also attribute features they do not normally possess to both cars. These features can be attributed to the cars thanks to understanding them in terms of a higher level of the Great Chain of Being. They would typically occupy the level of material objects, but thanks to the metaphors used, they can be understood in terms of the level of animals and humans. This might contribute to achieving the goal of advertising, which is presenting the product in a positive light.

## Data

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Lexus – IS 2013 TV Advert: Poise by Russell Maliphant — available on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M9dEwNwraPs>. last accessed 29 May 2021.

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## Same data different conclusions? Revisiting the issue of sex-role stereotyping in dictionaries of English

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**Abstract:** Have dictionaries of English indeed affected their users' predisposition towards women to such an extent that we can posit a causal relation between how they describe a woman and how a woman is still treated in occupational contexts? If we examine previous work on sex-role stereotyping in dictionaries of English, the answer is a definite 'yes'. However, if we reanalyse these dictionaries using an alternative data collection methodology, it turns out that users' exposure to sexist contents is smaller than this research implies.

### 1. The study's background

In spite of sustained efforts to combat gender inequality, discrimination of women is still a very real problem. In many countries women are still not allowed to drive, wear what they want, purchase a property or vote. What is more, in many legal traditions, the second class status for women with respect to inheritance, marital, parental rights or education is institutionalized, which, in practical terms, means that complaining, let alone taking your case to court, is not an option.

Needless to say, such examples of extreme discrimination of women throughout the world do not exhaust the topic: the more 'subtle' ones including, e.g. discrimination in the workplace, commonly known as occupational sexism. The number one issue that women face in the modern workplace is getting paid less – a pattern that also holds for educated women (see, among others, Blinder 1973; Bridges and Berk 1978; Ferber and Spaeth 1984; Bergmann 1986; Blau and Kahn 2003; Filippin and Ichino 2005;

Fortin 2008; Gradin and del Rio 2009; Kassenboehmer and Sinning 2014). True enough, there has been some progress – the pay gap having decreased during the past few decades in many countries. However, economists still point to the pace of reform being too slow, which means that in many cases the decrease in the gender pay gap has only been a few cents, so very insignificant. In consequence, many women who begin working the day after they graduate from high school will, over the course of a lifetime, make a few hundred of dollars less than men.

However, discrimination in wages is not the only issue. Available evidence suggests that a considerable number of professional women report being rejected for employment in spite of having the same (or higher) qualifications as male candidates (Looney 1998; Weichselbaumer 2004; Riach and Rich 2006; Booth and Leigh 2010). Losing a promotion to a less qualified male colleague is also frequent (see e.g. Olson and Becker 1983; Cannings 1988; Groot and van den Brink. 1996; Harel, Shay and Yehuda 2003). As a result, '[a]ll-male company boards are still common' in many countries and, as the same source indicates, the larger a company is, the 'less likely the head will be a woman' (ILO Report 2015: 7).<sup>1</sup> Women constitute only '5 per cent or less of the CEOs of the world's largest corporations',<sup>2</sup> and advanced economies Sweden, Australia, Japan, the US are clearly as affected as developing countries (Fierman 1990; Morrison and Von Glinow 1990; Reskin and Padavic 1994; Baxter and Wright 2000). In short, even though many contemporary working women 'are able to get through the front door of managerial hierarchies, at some point they hit an invisible barrier that

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<sup>1</sup> The report is available at <http://www.ilo.org>; the survey on which these contentions are based encompassed over 1,200 companies in Africa, Asia, Pacific, Eastern and Central Europe, and Latin America and the Caribbean.

<sup>2</sup> This '5 per cent or less' is next specified as follows (ILO Report 2015: 8): in the U.S., women constituted 4.8 per cent of the CEO's of the US Fortune 500 companies and in the EU, the respective number was 2.8 per cent, with South Africa, Australia and Latin America following with 3.6, 3.0 and 1.8 per cent respectively.

blocks any further upward movement' (Baxter and Wright (2000: 275). 'Below this barrier, women are able to get promoted; beyond this barrier, they are not' (ibid., p. 276). A further discrepancy in the advanced procedures noted by research into the glass-ceiling effect in gender-atypical occupational settings is that while men functioning in female-dominated environments are often 'effectively "kicked upstairs"' (Williams 1992: 256), women who work in male-dominated areas routinely encounter a "glass ceiling", their representation in management and/or executive, i.e. decision-making positions notoriously small.

Many scholars consistently stress that each of the phenomena accounted for above as well as other forms of discrimination of women in occupational contexts are rooted in deep-seated stereotypical beliefs about average gender differences in ability, skills or personality (Fiske 1998; Rudman, Greenwald and McGhee 2001; Niederle and Vesterlund 2007; Hill, Corbett and StRose 2010; Coffman 2014; Reuben, Sapienza and Zingales 2014; Bordalo et al. 2016). To exemplify, women are often seen as compassionate, helpful and sensitive to the needs of others while men as aggressive, ambitious, analytical, competent, dominant, independent, willing to take a stand or take risks or capable of making decisions easily (Bem 1974; Heilbrun 1976; Basow 1986; Diekman and Eagly 2000; Eagly and Karau 2002; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Xu 2002; Diehl, Owen, and Youngblade 2004; Cuddy, Fiske and Glick 2008). As a result, women can find it hard to enter into higher levels of companies because top management and executive level positions are almost always considered to require candidates with traits that are distinctly male in character (see e.g. O'Leary 1974; Eagly and Karau 2002; Fiske et al. 2002; Rudman and Phelan 2008; Bligh et al. 2012).

The broad and varied literature on the correlation between gender stereotypes and occupational sexism also allows for the recreation of how stereotypes are transmitted and what role language plays in this process. Initially, expectations on what constitutes gender-appropriate behaviour are transmitted orally, during a process called gender socialization, which

Maccoby (2003: 3) defines as 'the set of processes whereby each generation of adults passes along to the upcoming generation of children the fund of knowledge, beliefs, and skills' concerning what it means to be a boy or a girl in the society. Parent's efforts are aided by the 'input' from one's siblings or playmates – the literature on this topic proves that children as young as 2,5 and 3 years of age already possess some knowledge about gender-role stereotypes and two years later, at the age of 5 to 7, they not only view sex as an unchanging attribute but also have quite a good knowledge of the gender-specific standards of behaviour and are able to name the positive traits that characterize their own gender and the negative traits associated with the other gender (Fagot et al. 1992; Serbin et al. 1993). With respect to schools, they continue to function in their role of important socialization agents (see e.g. Hartman and Judd 1978; Hellinger 1980; Porecca 1984; Peterson and Lach 1990; Etaugh and Liss 1992; Sunderland 1992; 2000; Beal 1994), while gendered organizations such as Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts teach the children that the activities they will be pursuing throughout lifetime divide into those that girls do and boys do (Carter 2014: 252).

Schools, and earlier kindergartens, can also be viewed upon as places in which transmission by means of the *written medium* gradually comes into force, e.g. in the form of early reading books (e.g. children's literature) and, next, school books. However, this transition from spoken to written medium does not mean that the overall socialization pattern has changed in any significant manner as both sexes are still ascribed and depicted in terms of the two major sets of character traits – communal/warmth and agentic – they are believed to possess. Iconicity – in this case a clear prevalence in such texts of male over female characters – should also leave one in no doubt as to the relative unimportance of women who, in such books, do not take part in such a great variety of roles and activities as boys do (Crystal 1995: 46). As one grows older, exposure to a wide variety of genres – autobiography, cartoons, comics, computer-mediated communication, diaries, erotic texts, fiction, graffiti, greetings cards, horoscopes,

legal documents, letters, magazines, manuals, medical/psychiatric texts, narratives, news reports, personal ads, play scripts, poetry, posters, problem pages, religious texts and travel guides (Sunderland 2006: 78) – all of which have been found to portray a woman in a highly stereotypical way, i.e. a way that is ‘particularly discriminatory and damaging’ to her (Pauwels 2003: 551).

## 2. Sex-role stereotyping in dictionaries of English

If we summarized research into sex-role stereotyping in dictionaries of English, we might argue that if a contemporary working woman is still being discriminated against on the labour market, this may be (partly) because of the stereotypes that dictionaries (and other texts representing a variety of genres) once helped instil in the minds of those she depends on/works with – family, superiors, co-workers. Put differently, if a contemporary working woman in Great Britain or the US is still coming across views that question her right to be professionally active, hears allusions to a part-time occupation as the best form of employment in her case, comes across people who question the career choice she made or is offered less money this is partly because this is yet another genre that did next to nothing to convey a picture of a woman and her potential and abilities that would be more commensurate with what she is capable of becoming. The main element of the dictionary text isolated as the principal conveyor of these sexist views is dictionary examples, which were found to present her almost exclusively as a mother and wife, show her do jobs that make it easier for her to accommodate her domestic responsibilities, depict her work as a teacher, a secretary to a male manager), a receptionist, a social worker, or a nurse – in short, doing jobs that are an extension of her other sex roles and – finally – examples that always portray her in the company of a man or doing low-paying, low skill jobs. In these dictionaries, it is a man who is portrayed

as the main provider (Gershuny 1977: 148), the sentences casting men 'in roles related to business and investments' and in 'specific occupations such as journalist, doctor, warden, publisher, minister, genius, architect and captain' constituting the 'second most frequent male stereotype'. Dictionary women, by contrast, are either portrayed working as 'hostesses, laundresses, cooks, ... gardeners, and servants (ibid., p. 146), as shoppers, mothers and wives or (the second most frequently surfacing group of examples) being 'occupations ... associated with the world of fashion and glamour'. Identical results – and proportions, i.e. a significantly high saturation of a dictionary with sexist contents – were reported by e.g. Nilsen (1972), Fournier and Russel (1992), Cowie (1995) or Osuchowska (2015; 2016), to name a few.

Another objectionable practice followed by the compilers of the works analysed consisted of omitting women from examples sentences and resorting to a greater number of masculine than feminine gender words. Both this, as well as the practice of depicting her in a highly stereotypical manner were said to reflect 'the real tendency to render women politically, economically, historically, and socially insignificant' (Gershuny 1977: 145–146) and – worse still – 'identified [them] as a "minority" group in need of symbolic and real representation commensurate with their actual numbers.' Accordingly, if some dictionary users subsequently started to speculate about the possible reasons for them being underrepresented on the pages of their dictionaries, some might end up with a strong conviction concerning women's inferiority, a danger particularly acute in the case of these countless users who look at 'The Dictionary [as] one of the most popular authoritative documents' (ibid., p. 144) whose word must be 'venerated with the same blind faith as the word of the Bible'. A responsible editorial team aware of the authority a dictionary has among some users should, therefore, avoid speaking of women in a way that suggests that, to cite Robin Lakoff (1973: 45), they 'are marginal to the serious concerns of life, which are pre-empted by men', and to polarize 'the phenomenal world into superior/inferior and

positive/negative' (Gershuny 1977: 143), the 'inferior and negative poles [...] characteriz[ing] the female stereotype, [and] the superior and positive, the male.'

Have dictionaries of English indeed – as the research summarized above implies – affected their users' predisposition towards women to such an extent that we can these days posit causal relations between how they describe a woman and some forms of occupational sexism that still exist? If we examined this body of research concentrating exclusively on the sexist material it brought into light, the answer would be that they certainly have such a potential. Reversely, if we re-examined these studies from the perspective of the data-collection methodologies employed, the answer – initially at least – would be that we simply do not know. The problem, namely, is that none of the studies allows for formulating conjectures concerning the actual exposure of an actual dictionary user to sexist contents these dictionaries undoubtedly transmit in the examples. By actual exposure, I mean we cannot be sure how many of these sexist examples an average user would have seen while availing himself of his regular dictionary. This does seem to be a serious omission: logic dictates that people, including dictionary users, cannot attend to, let alone act on, a message until they are exposed to it.

### **3. Revisiting the issue of sex-role stereotyping in dictionaries of English**

Even though previous research on sex-role stereotyping demonstrated a high saturation of dictionaries of English with examples that may affect users' opinions concerning a woman's right to hold a paid position outside a house, earn more, or hold certain atypical jobs, it left us in the dark concerning the users' actual exposure to sexist content. Put differently, provided that continuous exposure to certain statements can reinforce gender roles and the discrimination of women, it is uncertain how many of such

sexist examples actual users encounter in their daily encounters with their dictionaries.

The principal reason as to why these studies do not allow for making conjectures of this type is the data collection methodologies that were adopted. With respect to the studies reported above, three data extraction methods can be isolated. The first of them entails extracting the analytical material by ‘reading’ the whole dictionary, page after page and entry after entry (Gershuny 1977; Nielsen 1972). The second consists of following such a procedure for some randomly chosen parts of the analysed dictionary (Cowie 1995; Osuchowska 2015; 2016). Both these, as well as the last one employed, i.e. analysing the contents of only those entries that meet certain criteria (Fournier and Russel 1992) present themselves as of low ecological validity: the researcher’s behaviour does not resemble our standard user behaviour in the slightest, as dictionary users normally do not process the contents of their dictionaries by following any of the procedures specified above.

From what was just said, it follows that to act in the interest of greater ecological validity, one would have to examine a dictionary by concentrating on only those entries a user would see. To achieve this, I designed a study during which the contents of a dictionary comparable to those examined so far could be re-evaluated with the help of an alternative data-extraction methodology that had not been applied before.

During the initial stages of the study, I chose three sources that could provide me with vocabulary the dictionary selected for the analysis could be examined for. Two of these sources were textbooks addressed at college students, while the third one a scientific article that included a list of words looked up by tertiary level students.<sup>3</sup> While the words from the last source

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<sup>3</sup> The three sources that would serve the purposes of my analysis were *Words under Construction* (R.L. Cherry; 1989; The University of Arizona Press) – a practice book containing words of Latin origin, addressed at North American college students; *Vocabulary through Pleasurable Reading* (books 1

were adopted verbatim, the vocabulary from the former two was shown to 22 advanced-level students of English from the local university, who were supposed to scan these lists and mark those words that they did not know and would, most likely, be looking up if they came across them in real-life contexts.

The vocabulary extracted from the three sources was combined into one list and divided into five equal samples, each consisting of 400 words (2000 words examined). Samples were marked with capital letters (e.g. Sample A, Sample B and so on). The five samples were supposed to represent all look-ups five fictitious dictionary users would undertake during a certain period of time. The material the selected dictionary has in the entries for these vocabulary items was thought of as representative of what a user would see.

The dictionary to be subjected to analysis was first published in 1942 as *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary*. Both *A Learner's Dictionary of Current English* of 1948 and *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* of 1952 are its photographic reprint (Cowie 1999: 202); together, the three are known as the first edition of Hornby's seminal work jointly abbreviated as *ISED/ALD*<sub>1</sub>. The second, 1963, edition that was examined and which still bears the title *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* does differ in a few important respects from *ISED/ALD*<sub>1</sub> (Cowie 1999: 82–96). On the other hand, none of the attested differences go hand in hand with the postulates forwarded by second-wave feminism which dates from 1960's to 1980's. The fact that it contains a considerable number of examples of use makes it a perfect conveyor of sexist stereotypes, a hypothesis confirmed by partial analyses of these early editions' con-

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and 2; H. Levine; 1974; Amsco School Publications) – supposed to broaden the student's vocabulary; 'Nesi's list' – a study (Nesi 2002) Nesi conducted with the aim of obtaining a 'portrait [...] of international students' normal receptive use of dictionaries including an overview of [...] the kinds of texts they read, [and] the kinds of words they look up' (Nesi 2002: 279).

tents (Cowie 1995; Osuchowska (2015; 2016) which have demonstrated beyond doubt that the representation of women in the dictionary is not commensurate with actual numbers while its examples of use present a female as little else than a mother and wife, frequently sick and of trivial, mundane interests that in turn suggests that she should either not work at all or do occupations connected with the world of fashion and glamour or low skill, low paying jobs.

The 'sexist' contents, looked for within the entries pointed to by my respondents, included, among others: any 'suggestions' on whether a woman should work at all (e.g. examples showing her in domestic contexts, as a mother/wife) – in short, anything that evokes the notion of her domestic responsibilities. It was assumed that the possible conclusions ('readings', inferences) reached by a user who came across such an example could be that paid employment outside the home is not a good idea in the case of a female on grounds that she will not be able to devote her whole energy to responsibilities at work. Alternatively, examples of this type were also assumed to 'prompt' a user on whether a female has as much right to a job (or a raise) as a man, on grounds that such examples may be interpreted as indicative of her material needs being catered for.

The second type of examples looked for were those that could be treated as 'suggestions' that a woman is best suited for certain types of jobs only. Domestic context examples are again, a good candidate, as they evoke associations of a woman's communal nature and this assumed possession of communal character traits may be interpreted as a 'prompt' that she is a poor candidate for jobs in which agentic traits are called for. Another thing is that these domestic-context examples may suggest that all a woman can 'afford' is working part-time. Additionally, a dictionary which portrays a woman to work in fields (e.g. fashion industry; as receptionists) where employment ceases naturally (one becomes too old or can be easily replaced, earns little as a receptionist so will have no regrets leaving the job) can, on this logic, be said to lead to the preferential hiring of men in certain

occupational domains and bar a woman's access to non-traditional occupational fields. The same effect can be produced by sentences in which jobs in what for a woman is a non-traditional occupational field (e.g. the military) appear in contexts featuring male agents.

The next type of examples to pay attention to were those that could be interpreted as 'suggestions' that a woman should not be paid as much as men. The starting point for such a stereotypical view might be all sentences in which a woman does low-skill, low-paying jobs, suggesting lack of education and/or inferior mental capabilities or sentences in which higher-level, more demanding jobs are done by men. In sum, both under- and over-representation of men and women in certain example types (examples suggesting family obligations, certain job types, character traits, physical weakness, lack of emotional stability) were looked at, as all can result in stereotypical thinking that has been named as a reason why women are underrepresented in working contexts or are denied promotion

The table below presents the partial results of a pilot analysis conducted. As we can see, when sections A and B of ALD<sub>2</sub> were scanned for family contexts examples, examples that portray a woman as an (excessively) emotional creature or as of poor health using the standard data extraction methodology, the total number of such examples were 46, 44 and 8, respectively. However, when the contents of sections A and B were examined with the help of the alternative data extraction method devised, the numbers dropped to 6, 5 and 2. When these results are rearranged in such a way as to show what each of my five fictitious dictionary users would see, the results are even more striking: user A, who 'read the entire A section entry after entry would altogether be exposed to 29 family context examples, whereas if s/he looked up only those words my respondents were not familiar with, s/he would only come across one example in which a woman is portrayed as a mother/(house)wife. Such results suggest that previous claims concerning a dictionary user's assumed exposure to sexist views (with all negative consequences thereof) are not entirely justified.

Example type	Entry after entry			Entries the users would indeed see		
	Section A	Section B	Total A&B	Section A	Section B	Total A&B
Family contexts	29	17	46	NA=1 NB=0 NC=1 ND=2 NE=2	NA=0 NB=0 NC=0 ND=0 NE=0	6
An emotional creature	18	26	44	NA=4 NB=0 NC=0 ND=1 NE=0	NA=0 NB=0 NC=0 ND=0 NE=0	5
Poor health	2	6	8	NA=0 NB=0 NC=0 ND=1 NE=1	NA=0 NB=0 NC=0 ND=0 NE=0	2

When the analysis was next extended to the entire dictionary, similar results were achieved. To exemplify, the largest group of examples featuring a woman is those suggesting family involvement. At the same time, their total percentage in the 400 look-ups performed by each of the five fictitious users would be very insignificant. Sample A ('assigned' to user A) yielded 10 such occurrences, the remaining four figures being 11 (Sample B), 4 (Sample C), 13 (Sample D) and 8 (Sample E), respectively. When we additionally take into account that in some of these contexts a woman's family involvement is less explicit, it seems risky to suggest that these contexts would indeed leave any of the five fictitious users convinced about the inappropriateness of a woman hold a paid job outside the home. Stated otherwise, the overall

numbers suggesting family involvement seem too insignificant for one to emerge from these look-ups with a firm conviction that a woman should not work at all, or that since she can count on somebody to take care of her financially, it is more justified to give a job/a raise/a promotion to a man. Similar doubts arise in connection with the passages in Hornby's dictionary that could negatively affect a user's conception concerning what jobs a woman can do. True enough, all five instances retrieved suggest either low-paying/low-skill jobs such as *maid* (Sample A), *housekeeper* (Sample D) and *maidservant* (Sample E) or jobs that previous research classed as related to the world of fashion and glamour (a reference to an *actress* in Samples B and C), but it seems risky to suggest that one occurrence in 400 look-ups performed is enough to posit any significant effect on a user's psyche. Additionally, in Samples C and D users would find examples that point at a woman's intellectual potential and an ability to excel in a further unspecified domain (Sample C; at *merit*: *She was awarded a certificate of merit for her piano playing*; Sample D; at *prophetic*: *accomplishments which were prophetic of her future greatness*), so it is not possible to claim that the compiler implies that these positions that a woman historically prevailed in are the only jobs she is capable of doing.

## Concluding remarks

For the past few decades, dictionaries of English had to live with the stigma of the perpetuators of the sexist tradition that was attached to them by research that demonstrated beyond all doubt that their way of depicting a female was a highly stereotypical one. The illustrative sentences used to help the dictionary user with the interpretation or the correct usage of the entry word most often portrayed them in domestic contexts, as wives and mothers or had them do low-skill, low-paying jobs that – as was next argued – did not do justice to their mental capabilities and what she was

in fact capable of becoming. The editorial teams behind the production of more recent editions of older dictionaries did try to show her in an array of more positive roles, but in spite of these efforts, a considerable amount of dictionary text continues to reflect a pervasive pattern of sexism. Research on how quickly our stereotypical depictions of a specific social group turn into 'shoulds' implies that this negativity a dictionary conveys may be one of the reasons why women continue to fall victim to discriminatory practices in the occupational sphere.

On the other hand, when a dictionary is examined with the help of an alternative data extraction methodology closer to what actual users do with their dictionaries, a user's exposure to sexist contents is not as significant as one might assume on the basis of previous research into this issue. Rephrased, even if a dictionary under scrutiny does qualify as a standard androcentric dictionary, the 'verdict' after the application of an alternative research method will have to read 'not *that* sexist'. This verdict seems particularly in place in the case of Hornby's seminal work: if we were to point at one reference work which did more to the empowerment of women than any other, Hornby's dictionary certainly comes to the fore.

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### **Analyzed Material**

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# Schlüsselwörter in den Reden von Frank-Walter Steinmeier und Angela Merkel aus den Jahren 2017 bis 2020 – eine korpusbasierte Untersuchung<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstrakt:** Das Ziel der vorliegenden Untersuchung ist es, Schlüsselwörter aus 217 politischen Reden von Frank-Walter Steinmeier und Angela Merkel aus den Jahren 2017–2020 bezüglich ihrer Frequenz, Semantik und Pragmatik zu analysieren. Die Schlüsselwörter wurden mit dem AntConc-Programm extrahiert. Ich habe mich vor allem auf die emotionale Markierung und die Funktion von Wörtern konzentriert, um zu erfahren, welchen Eindruck diese Reden bei den Empfängern hinterlassen. Anschließend habe ich versucht, die Schlüsselwörter in Wortfelder und semantische Netze einzuordnen, um die häufigsten Themen in den Reden zu identifizieren. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit habe ich den Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden zwischen den Schlüsselwörtern aus den Reden beider Politiker gewidmet.

## Einleitung

Schlüsselwörter können unterschiedlich definiert werden: als Wörter (i) „von zentraler Bedeutung und weitgehendem Aufschluss in einem bestimmten Bereich oder Zusammenhang“<sup>2</sup> (Duden), (ii) „die am besten den Inhalt, Autor und Stil eines Textes wiedergeben“ (Bartmiński, Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2012: 294) oder (iii) die in einem bestimmten Korpus signifikant häufiger vorkommen als in einem Referenzkorpus (Xiao 2005).

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<sup>1</sup> Ich bedanke mich bei dem Gutachter für die wertvollen Hinweise sowohl zum Inhalt meiner Ausführungen wie auch zur verwendeten Sekundärliteratur. Ich habe mich bemüht, alle Hinweise in der vorliegenden Endfassung des Textes zu berücksichtigen.

<sup>2</sup> Siehe <https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Schluessselwort>

Die erste und zweite Definition informieren über die Kontextabhängigkeit von Schlüsselwörtern und über ihren hohen Informationsgrad. Anhand von Schlüsselwörtern kann man also die Bedeutung eines Textes rekonstruieren. Die dritte Definition bezieht sich auf die Methode der Bestimmung von Schlüsselwörtern, die in der vorliegenden Arbeit zur Anwendung kommt.

Schlüsselwörter „spiegeln kulturelle Werte wider“ und „schaffen diskursive Kontexte“<sup>3</sup> (Levisen, Waters 2017: 5). Außerdem lassen sie sich thematischen Feldern zuordnen (Bartmiński, Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2012: 294). Darunter kann man die sogenannten Wortfelder oder semantischen Felder (Netze) verstehen; ein Wortfeld wiederum ist eine Gruppe von sinnverwandten Wörtern, die bestimmte Merkmale aufweisen, z. B. (Römer, Matzke 2003: 57):

- sie gehören zu derselben Wortart;
- sie weisen semantische Ähnlichkeiten auf.

Semantische Felder hingegen werden als eine Gruppe von Wörtern definiert, die durch assoziative Beziehungen miteinander verbunden sind. Mithilfe der Einordnung von Schlüsselwörtern aus den politischen Reden in Wortfelder oder semantische Netze kann man demnach die wichtigsten Themen identifizieren, die von den Politikern aufgegriffen werden.

Schlüsselwörter in politischen Reden können als sogenannte Fahnenwörter fungieren. Dabei handelt es sich um Wörter „mit hoher Symbolkraft“. Die häufige Verwendung von Fahnenwörtern dient dazu, ein Assoziationsnetz zu bilden (Wanzek 2010: 139). Ein weiteres bedeutsames Merkmal von Schlüsselwörtern ist ihre emotionale Markierung. Wörter, die Emotionen ausdrücken, lassen sich in drei Kategorien einteilen (Römer, Matzke 2010: 16 nach Hermanns 1995: 144–153):

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<sup>3</sup> „Keywords reflect cultural values“, „Keywords create discursive contexts“ (Levisen, Waters 2017: 5). Übersetzt von Julia Pater.

- Gefühlswörter (Wörter, die Gefühle benennen),
- Bewertungswörter (Wörter, die Gefühle und Affekte ausdrücken),
- Affektwörter (bewertende Wörter).

Die Analyse von Schlüsselwörtern hinsichtlich dieser Eigenschaften ermöglicht es, (i) den Eindruck zu bewerten, den Politiker auf die Rezipienten machen und (ii) Merkmale des idiolektalen Sprachgebrauchs eines Politikers zu untersuchen.

Die von mir untersuchte Textgattung ist die politische Rede, verstanden als die „Rede eines Berufspolitikers, die sich an eine bestimmte Zielgruppe richtet (z. B. Wähler im Allgemeinen, Studenten, ältere Bürger usw.) und darauf abzielt, diese zur Unterstützung seiner Ideen und Aktivitäten zu bewegen“<sup>4</sup> (Kitaeva, Ozerova 2019: 170). Es mangelt allerdings an Forschungsliteratur zu Schlüsselwörtern in politischen Reden aus dem von mir untersuchten Zeitraum. Die wenigen mir zur Verfügung stehenden Veröffentlichungen zu dieser Textgattung konzentrieren sich auf andere Aspekte. Ein bemerkenswertes Beispiel ist das Buch von Jurewicz (2019). Meiner Meinung nach sind die Ergebnisse ihrer Forschung jedoch aus folgenden Gründen nicht mit den Ergebnissen meiner Untersuchung vergleichbar:

1) Die Forschung von Jurewicz fokussiert auf parlamentarische Reden, die lediglich einen Subtyp der Gattung „politische Rede im Allgemeinen“ darstellen. Mit den Subtypen der politischen Rede habe ich mich in meiner Untersuchung nicht auseinandergesetzt. Da Reden, die zu unterschiedlichen Anlässen und vor unterschiedlichem Publikum gehalten werden, unterschiedliche stilistische Merkmale aufweisen können, erfordert ein Vergleich dieser Reden eine gesonderte Analyse, was jedoch den Rahmen des vorliegenden Beitrags sprengen würde;

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<sup>4</sup> „The talk of a professional politician addressed to a certain target group (e.g., electorate in general, students, older citizens, etc.) and aimed to pursue them to support her/his ideas and activities“ (Kitaeva, Ozerova 2019: 170). Übersetzt von Julia Pater.

2) Das Ziel meiner Studie ist es, die Schlüsselwörter selbst zu charakterisieren, während Jurewicz sich auf Sprechakte konzentriert, die einen separaten, viel weiter gefassten Sprachwissenschaftszweig darstellen. Die Untersuchung der politischen Reden, aus denen mein Korpus besteht, im Hinblick auf die darin enthaltenen Sprechakte und ihre Beziehungen zu Schlüsselwörtern würde zweifellos sehr interessante Ergebnisse liefern.

## Methoden

Für die Untersuchung wurde ein Korpus von 217 Reden der deutschen Spitzenpolitiker, Angela Merkel (Bundeskanzlerin, CDU) und Frank-Walter Steinmeier (seit 2017 Bundespräsident, SPD), zu sozialgesellschaftlichen Themen aus den Jahren 2017 bis 2020 zusammengestellt; die Reden sind auf den offiziellen Webseiten<sup>5</sup> in transkribierter Form verfügbar. Die Texte wurden tokenisiert und entsprechend Wortarten annotiert und lemmatisiert. Alle diese Schritte wurden automatisch mit der NLTK-(Bird, Loper, Klein 2009) und HanTa-Bibliothek<sup>6</sup> (Wartena 2019) der Programmiersprache Python<sup>7</sup> durchgeführt. Nur Substantive und Adjektive wurden analysiert<sup>8</sup>. Anschließend wurden zwei Schlüsselwortlisten (eine für jeden Politiker) mit dem AntConc-Programm (Laurence 2020) erstellt. Als Referenzkorpus wurde das TIGER-Korpus (TIGER-Projekt 2003) verwendet. Da das TIGER-Korpus aus etwa 900.000 Token besteht, enthält ein Korpus der Reden jeder der beiden Politiker ungefähr 160.000 Token.<sup>9</sup> Schließlich

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<sup>5</sup> [www.bundeskanzlerin.de](http://www.bundeskanzlerin.de) und [www.bundespraesident.de](http://www.bundespraesident.de)

<sup>6</sup> „Eine Programmbibliothek bezeichnet in der Programmierung eine Sammlung von Unterprogrammen/-Routinen, die Lösungswege für thematisch zusammengehörende Problemstellungen anbieten.“ Quelle: Wikipedia, <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Programmbibliothek>, letzter Zugriff: 23.05.2021

<sup>7</sup> Siehe Python Software Foundation: <https://www.python.org>

<sup>8</sup> Substantive sind Wortarten, die größte Bedeutung tragen (vgl. Sowinski 1991: 214).

<sup>9</sup> Das untersuchte Korpus soll am besten fünfmal kleiner sein als ein Referenzkorpus (Berber-Sardinha 2000).

habe ich mich auf die ersten 100 Schlüsselwörter jedes der beiden Politiker beschränkt.

Die Analyse besteht sowohl aus quantitativen als auch aus qualitativen Methoden. Die quantitative Analyse umfasst Schritte wie: (i) Bestimmung der Frequenz jeder Wortart, sowohl unter den ersten 100 Schlüsselwörtern als auch unter den Schlüsselwörtern, die in den beiden Listen vorkommen, (ii) Vergleich der Häufigkeit einzelner Schlüsselwörter. Im Rahmen der qualitativen Analyse hingegen werden die Schlüsselwörter hinsichtlich ihrer Funktion und emotionalen Markierung bewertet und in Wortfelder und semantische Netze eingeordnet.

## Ergebnisse

Die quantitative Analyse zeigt interessante Ähnlichkeiten zwischen den Schlüsselwörtern aus den Reden von Frau Merkel und Herrn Steinmeier. Diese sind in der nachfolgenden Tabelle zusammengefasst<sup>10</sup>:

Tabelle 1: Schlüsselwörter, die für beide Politiker gleich sind

Frequenz Merkel	Rangfolge Merkel	Wort	Rangfolge Steinmeier	Frequenz Steinmeier	Wortart	Differenzwert der Rangfolge
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1411	14	groß	14	1310	A	0
<b>1652</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Mensch</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1722</b>	<b>N</b>	0
415	32	Blick	34	360	N	2

<sup>10</sup> In der Spalte „Wortart“ steht das „A“ für „Adjektiv“ und das „N“ für „Nomen“.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>1880</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Deutsch- land</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1433</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>1171</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>Europa</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1100</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>2</b>
560	12	herzlich	10	552	A	2
<b>968</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>gemeinsam</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>984</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>3</b>
2096	13	Jahr	16	1858	N	3
866	15	Welt	12	835	N	3
1302	27	neu	31	1218	A	4
<b>1615</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>Land</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>2403</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>gut</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1351</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>8</b>
230	40	Bürgerin	49	178	N	9
150	68	Zusam- menhalt	59	165	N	9

Tabelle 1 zeigt 14 Wörter, die sowohl in Merkels als auch in Steinmeiers Liste vorkommen. 6 Wörter aus dieser Tabelle erscheinen unter den ersten zehn Schlüsselwörtern beider Politiker (diese Wörter sind in Tabelle 1 fett gedruckt). Insgesamt sind bis zu 43 Schlüsselwörtern in den beiden Listen identisch.

In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass alle analysierten Reden gesellschaftlichen Themen gewidmet sind und von deutschen Spitzenpolitikern gehalten wurden, ist die häufige Verwendung von Wörtern wie *Mensch*, *Deutschland*, *Europa* nicht überraschend. Auch die Anwesenheit der Wörter *herzlich* und *Bürgerin* in Tabelle 1 ist nicht schwierig zu erklären – sie kommen in den Grußformeln und Floskeln vor. Interessanter sind die Wörter, deren Differenzwert der Rangfolge groß ist. Sie sind in Tabelle 2 dargestellt:

Tabelle 2: Beispiele von Schlüsselwörtern mit großem Differenzwert der Rangfolge

Frequenz Merkel	Rangfolge Merkel	Wort	Rangfolge Steinmeier	Frequenz Steinmeier	Wortart	Differenzwert der Rangfolge
358	39	Verantwortung	18	528	N	21
448	17	Digitalisierung	46	174	N	29
301	43	Freiheit	13	557	N	30
454	29	Aufgabe	65	290	N	36
507	41	Arbeit	96	335	N	55
368	69	Gesellschaft	11	841	N	58

Die Bedeutung von Schlüsselwörtern kann in Abhängigkeit von den Ansichten einer bestimmten politischen Fraktion bestimmt und präzisiert werden (vgl. Czachur 2011: 226: 239). Das bedeutet, dass solche Wörter in Tabelle 2 von den beiden Politikern vermutlich unterschiedlich gewertet werden.

Interessant ist auch die Frequenz der Wortarten unter den Schlüsselwörtern (siehe Tabelle 3):

Tabelle 3: Frequenz der Wortarten

	Unter allen 100 Wörtern		Unter 43 Wörtern, die in beiden Listen vorkommen
	Merkel	Steinmeier	
Substantive	71	73	31
Adjektive	29	27	12

Die Häufigkeit beider Wortarten ist sehr ähnlich. Merkel und Steinmeier verwenden in ihren Reden häufiger Substantive als Adjektive.

Wenden wir uns nun den Ergebnissen der Analyse bezüglich emotionalen Markierungen zu (siehe Tabelle 4):

Tabelle 4: Emotional markierte Schlüsselwörter beider Politiker<sup>11</sup>

	Angela Merkel	Frank-Walter Steinmeier
Gefühlswörter	Dank	dankbar, lieb, Hass, Dank, Hoffnung, Vertrauen, Mut, friedlich, stolz
Bewertungswörter	gut, groß, neu, wichtig, schön, stark, richtig, schnell, schwierig, nachhaltig, klar, einfach, deutlich, eng	gut, groß, neu, wichtig, schön, stark, jung, herzlich, friedlich, offen, stolz, selbstverständlich, wirklich
Affektwörter	-	-

Ein signifikanter Unterschied ist unter den Gefühlswörtern zu erkennen. In Merkels Reden beschränkt sich diese Sammlung nur auf ein Element, nämlich das Wort *Dank*. Seine häufige Verwendung besteht aber in der Verwendung einer Höflichkeitsformel (z. B. *Vielen Dank*), die als Teil der Begrüßung oder Verabschiedung vorkommt. Eine größere Anzahl von Steinmeiers Schlüsselwörtern gehört zur Kategorie der Gefühlswörter. Ei-

<sup>11</sup> Manche der gelisteten Wörter passen auf den ersten Blick in keine der erwähnten Kategorien. Es erfordert einen Kommentar. Bei der Erstellung von Tabelle Nr. 4 als auch Tabelle Nr. 5 habe ich mich an der Bedeutung der Wörter orientiert, die sich aus ihrer direkten Verwendung durch den jeweiligen Politiker ergibt. Zum Beispiel verwendet Steinmeier das Wort *offen* in zwei Bedeutungen. Die erstere, positiv konnotiert, kann durch das folgende Beispiel veranschaulicht werden: [...] *und dennoch empfangen sie an diesem Festtag ihrer Enkel den Gast aus Deutschland mit offenen Armen*.

Die zweite Verwendung des Wortes hat eine ähnliche Bedeutung wie *offiziell* und *direkt*, teilweise auch *uneingeschränkt*: *Eine offene Auseinandersetzung über die Verbrechen in den letzten Kriegstagen begann erst Jahrzehnte später [...]*. Beide Bedeutungen können als bewertend bezeichnet werden. Angela Merkel hingegen verwendet meist das Wort *eng*, um die Stärke der Beziehungen zu betonen (und gleichzeitig positiv zu bewerten): *Wir haben also sehr vielfältige und enge Beziehungen*.

Auch das Wort *deutlich* wird von Merkel meist in positiven Kontexten verwendet: *So haben die Tarifverträge in den vergangenen Jahren deutlich an Vielfalt gewonnen*.

nige davon ergeben sich auch aus einer Höflichkeitsformel, z.B. das Wort *lieb*, das der Empfängeradressierung dient.

Einige der Bewertungswörter aus den Reden beider Politiker sind gleich. Dieser Kategorie werden nur Adjektive zugeordnet. Manche Schlüsselwörter in Steinmeiers Reden fallen gleichzeitig in die Kategorien der Gefühls- und der Bewertungswörter, z. B. *stolz* und *friedlich*. Bewertende Schlüsselwörter aus Merkels Reden beziehen sich dagegen nicht auf Gefühle, sondern sie verwendet sie nur, um eine Handlung zu beschreiben:

- 1) *Das sind praktische Probleme, auf die wir **schneller Antworten** finden müssen.*<sup>12</sup>  
(Merkel)

Der nächste Schritt der Analyse war Einordnung von Schlüsselwörtern in Wortfelder und semantische Netze (siehe Tabelle 5):

Tabelle 5: Die Konnektivität von Schlüsselwörtern in Wortfeldern und semantischen Feldern

	Merkel	Steinmeier
1	2	3
Wortfeld	(1) {schwierig, klar, einfach} (2) {Dame, Frau, Herr} (3) {Land, Staat, Mitgliedstaat} (4) {gut, richtig} (5) {global, weltweit, international} (6) {groß, stark, eng} (7) {Bürgerin, Bürger} (8) {deutlich, wirklich} (9) {Thema, Frage, Bereich}	(1) {groß, stark, schön} (2) {Bürgerin, Bürger} (3) {Debatte, Gespräch} (4) {Vertrauen, Respekt, Freundschaft, Hass} (5) {Frau, Herr} (6) {neu, jung} (7) {Verantwortung, Engagement, Mut} (8) {friedlich, dankbar, offen} (9) {herzlich, lieb} (10) {Europa, Union}

<sup>12</sup> Die Schlüsselwörter werden in den Zitaten von beiden Politikern fett gedruckt.

1	2	3
semantisches Feld	(1) {Deutschland, deutsch, Bund, Land, Staat, Mitgliedstaat, Großbritannien, Amerika, vereinigt} (2) {Europa, europäisch, Euro, Union, Mitgliedstaat} (3) {gemeinsam, Zusammenarbeit, Zusammenhalt, multilateral} (4) {Digitalisierung, digital} (5) {Aufgabe, Arbeit, Herausforderung} (6) {Frage, Antwort} (7) {Zeit, Zukunft, Tag, Jahr, Augenblick} (8) {Klimawandel, Klimaschutz, nachhaltig} (9) {Afrika, afrikanisch} (10) {Mensch, Frau, Herr, Dame} (11) {erneuerbar, Energie}	(1) {Deutschland, deutsch, Deutsche, Land, Heimat} (2) {Digitalisierung, digital} (3) {Aufgabe, Arbeit, Herausforderung} (4) {Frage, Antwort} (5) {Zeit, Zukunft, Geschichte, Jahrzehnt, Jahr, Tag, Erinnerung} (6) {Republik, Weimar, Demokratie, demokratisch, Recht, Grundgesetz, Freiheit, liberal, Gesellschaft, gesellschaftlich, gemeinsam, Zusammenhalt, Politik, politisch, Europa, europäisch} (7) {Freundschaft, Freund, Vertrauen, Respekt, Dank, dankbar, friedlich, Zusammenhalt} (8) {Wissenschaft, Bildung, Universität, Institution} (9) {Mensch, Frau, Herr, Bürgerin, Bürger, Freund} (10) {Hass, jüdisch, Krieg} (11) {Gesellschaft, Generation} (12) {Krise, Krieg, Pandemie} (13) {Kraft, stark}

Die folgenden Beispiele illustrieren typische Kontexte für ausgewählte Schlüsselwörter in den Wortfeldern oder in den semantischen Netzen aus den Reden von Merkel:

- 2) *Nun stehen wir vor einer **schwierigen Aufgabe**, aber dieser **Aufgabe** müssen wir uns stellen.*
- 3) *und [ich] darf Ihnen sagen, dass **Deutschland** wieder eine stabile Regierung hat und wir nach anfänglichen Schwierigkeiten auch gewillt sind, **gut** zu arbeiten.*
- 4) *Es war die **richtige Antwort** für **Deutschland**, dann auch seine Entwicklungs-ausgaben zu stärken.*
- 5) *Das heißt also [...] dass wir als **Gesellschaft Zusammenhalt** demonstrieren, aber natürlich auch die **richtigen Antworten** auf die **Herausforderungen** geben.*
- 6) *Die **deutsche Wirtschaft** möchte das auch, denn wir müssen ja wettbewerbsfähig bleiben. Das heißt, Versorgungssicherheit, **Nachhaltigkeit** und **Wirtschaftlichkeit** bzw. **Bezahlbarkeit** sind die **Zielpunkte**.*
- 7) *Wir alle müssen **nachhaltig** denken. [...] Deshalb ist es so **wichtig** und **richtig**, dass Unternehmerinnen und Unternehmer [...] Verantwortung tragen.*
- 8) *[...] dass wir gute Beziehungen zu **Großbritannien** weiterhin erhalten wollen – wir sind **bilateral gute Partner** [...] wir sind **Großbritannien** als Bundesrepublik **Deutschland** freundschaftlich verbunden.*
- 9) *Wie alle **Ziele** der **Agenda** 2030 können wir auch die **Herausforderung** des **Klimaschutzes** letztlich nur dann erfolgreich bewältigen, wenn wir sowohl **national** konsequent handeln als auch **international gemeinsam** handeln.*

(Merkel)

Es wird deutlich, dass Angela Merkel ihren Reden einen positiven Ton verleiht – selbst wenn ein Wort mit negativem Unterton verwendet wird (2, 3), wird es später in der Rede etwas neutralisiert. Ihre Reden enthalten oft Behauptungen über den guten Zustand Deutschlands (3, 4). An vielen Stellen wird die Notwendigkeit gemeinsamen Handelns für Erfolg betont (5, 7, 9). Sie benennt direkt aktuelle Probleme, die bearbeitet werden müssen (6, 7, 8, 9).

Wenden wir uns jetzt den Wortfeldern und semantischen Netzen von Frank-Walter Steinmeier zu. Die Daten lassen vermuten, dass er Demokratie als einen Wert versteht, für den gekämpft werden soll:

- 10) *Ich finde, die Wehrhaftigkeit der Demokratie ist eine wichtige Debatte.*
- 11) *In einer Zeit, in der zunehmend die Lautstärke über die Wahrnehmbarkeit entscheidet, müssen wir als Gesellschaft miteinander im Gespräch bleiben [...] gerade wenn Vernunft und Respekt wieder offen angegriffen werden und die Regeln unseres Zusammenlebens stärker unter Druck geraten.*
- 12) *Mit Ihrem Engagement bauen Sie mit an unserer Demokratie.*
- 13) *Nichts verdient unsere Sorgfalt so sehr wie die Freundschaft der Völker innerhalb der Europäischen Union.*

(Steinmeier)

Diese Werte sind unter anderem Freiheit, Kooperation, Dialog und Respekt, auf denen eine funktionierende Gesellschaft basiert. Steinmeier erinnert häufig an historische Ereignisse, aus denen es Lehren für die Zukunft zu ziehen gilt:

- 14) *Ja, das Ende der **Weimarer Republik** führte hinab ins furchtbarste Kapitel der **deutschen Geschichte**. Aber: Historisch gescheitert ist nicht die **Demokratie** – historisch gescheitert sind die Feinde der **Demokratie**.*
- 15) *In der Beschäftigung mit **Geschichte** erfahren wir immer auch etwas über unsere Gegenwart. Und wir dürfen die **Hoffnung** haben, dass diese Erkenntnis uns auch für die **Zukunft** rüstet.*
- 16) *Aber dieser **Tag** verkörpert zugleich die **Hoffnung**, dass auch Feindschaft zwischen **Staaten** und Völkern nicht auf ewig festgeschrieben ist. Er verkörpert die **Hoffnung**, dass die **Freiheit** sich Bahn brechen und das **Recht** sich Geltung verschaffen kann.*
- 17) *Wir können diese **Welt** nur **gemeinsam** erfolgreich zum **Besseren** gestalten. Und wir müssen dies **stärker** tun, als uns das in der **Vergangenheit** gelungen ist.*

(Steinmeier)

Die Botschaft seiner Reden ist nicht eindeutig positiv. Ein häufiges Motiv in Steinmeiers Reden sind Warnung, Mahnung und Hoffnung auf

Besserung, ohne dass konkrete Lösungen präsentiert werden. Dabei appelliert er an die Vernunft und versucht, ein Gefühl von Solidarität zu wecken. Ähnlich wie Merkel unterstreicht er die Herausforderungen der modernen Welt, wobei er aber oft nicht über den erwähnten Appell hinausgeht:

- 18) *Beginnen wir mit der ersten **Herausforderung**. [...] Vernetzung bedeutet eben nicht nur mehr **Austausch**, mehr Wahlmöglichkeiten und mehr **Wohlstand**. Sie bedeutet auch, dass **politische Krisen** kaum mehr regional und zeitlich eingegrenzt sind, sondern immer **stärker** aufeinander wirken [...]. Diese Komplexität ist dabei nicht allein eine **Herausforderung** für den **Verstand**, sondern auch für unsere Fähigkeit zur Empathie.*
- 19) *Der **deutsche** Philosoph Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel sagte einmal singemäßig, die einzige Lehre des Menschen aus der **Geschichte** sei, dass der **Mensch** niemals aus der **Geschichte** lerne.*
- 20) *Ich hoffe sehr, dass wir Hegel widerlegen werden. Klimawandel, Migration, nachhaltige Entwicklung, freier und fairer Handel: Wir werden diese **Herausforderungen** des 21. Jahrhunderts nur **gemeinsam** meistern – oder gar nicht.*

(Steinmeier)

Neben dem Appell an bestimmte Emotionen bei seinem Publikum betont Steinmeier auch die Bedeutung von Bildung und Vernunft für den Aufbau einer demokratischen Gesellschaft:

- 21) *Neuseeland und **Deutschland** stehen für Spitzenforschung auf höchstem Niveau, aber auch für kritische Vernunft und den Respekt vor der Wissenschaft.*
- 22) *Denn sie sind das beste Argument gegen die, die die Vernunft verachten [...]. Es sind doch nicht gerade wenige, die ein Lied davon singen können, was Bildung bewirken kann – für ein einzelnes Leben, für eine ganze **Gesellschaft**. [...] Es sind nicht wenige, die **Vernunft** als **politische** Kategorie erhalten wollen. [...] Diese **gesellschaftliche** Mehrheit darf es nicht zulassen, dass der **politische** Diskurs verroht [...]. Darin liegt eine echte Gefahr für unsere **Demokratie**, die Gefahr, dass der **gesellschaftliche** Diskurs auseinanderbricht [...].*

(Steinmeier)

## Zusammenfassung

Die Analyse von Schlüsselwörtern aus den politischen Reden von Angela Merkel und Frank-Walter Steinmeier zeigt sowohl Gemeinsamkeiten als auch Unterschiede hinsichtlich Sprachgebrauch und Themenwahl.

Beide Politiker verwenden häufiger Substantive als Adjektive. Das lässt sich dadurch erklären, dass Substantive sich besonders dazu eignen, trotz ihrer meistens kurzen Form eine politische Rede thematisch und inhaltlich zu verdichten. Sie können zudem potenziell als Fahnenwörter wirken, was gerade im Fall der politischen Rede mit Appellfunktion ein großer Vorteil ist.

Steinmeier und Merkel verzichten in ihren Reden auf die Verwendung von Affektwörtern und Substantiven mit bewertendem Charakter. Das kann so gewertet werden, dass sie ihre Reden affektfrei gestalten wollen. Es beweist auch, dass keiner von beiden explizit intensive Emotionen bei den Empfängern auslösen will. Besonders deutlich wird das in Merkels Reden. Sie beschränkt sich auf die Verwendung von Bewertungswörtern, die bei den Rezipienten eine positive Einstellung zu einem bestimmten Gegenstand oder einer Handlung wecken sollen. Bei Steinmeier sieht das ein wenig anders aus. Er führt bestimmte Emotionen an, etwa Freundschaft oder Respekt, mit der Absicht, ihre Bedeutung für den Aufbau einer Gesellschaft zu betonen. Steinmeiers Reden zielen also auf emotionale Affizierung ab, aber es ist eher eine distanzierte Emotionalität, die sie induzieren.

Im Kontext betrachtet, ergeben die Schlüsselwörter signifikante Unterschiede in den zentralen Themen beider Politiker.

Merkel spricht vor allem über Zusammenarbeit, die Europäische Union, das Klima sowie diverse öffentliche und gesellschaftliche Probleme. Diese Themen assoziieren die Rede mit dem politischen Programm der CDU<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Die folgenden Links sind auf der CDU-Website unter „Themen“ zu finden: *Europa, Integration, Energiepolitik, Digitalisierung, Bildung & Forschung, Entwicklungs- und Menschenrechtspolitik, Landwirtschaft und ländlicher Raum, Arbeit und Soziales, Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik, Umwelt, Natur und Klimaschutz, Wirtschaft*. Quelle: <https://www.cdu.de/themen>, letzter Zugriff: 20.04.2021.

Daher können Wörter wie *Digitalisierung*, *Entwicklung*, *gemeinsam*, *Freiheit* als Fahnenwörter kategorisiert werden.

Die Schwerpunkte in Steinmeiers politischen Reden dagegen sind Demokratie, Freiheit und Freundschaft. Wörter wie *Demokratie* und *Freiheit* fungieren als Fahnenwörter<sup>14</sup>. Steinmeier betont die Notwendigkeit eines friedlichen Zusammenlebens mit anderen Menschen und Nationen, um die genannten Werte zu stützen und zu schützen. Er stellt diese Werte als gefährdet dar und korreliert sie mit entsprechenden negativen Ereignissen aus der Geschichte. Er versucht, die richtige Einstellung bei seinen Empfängern zu adressieren und zu wecken, indem er an die Vernunft und an Gefühle bzw. Haltungen wie Brüderlichkeit und Freundschaft appelliert, denn so kann den gegenwärtigen Gefahren und Bedrohungen entgegengewirkt werden.

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## Anakin Skywalker – a Good Knight in the Wrong Times

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**Abstract:** *A long time ago, in a Galaxy far, far away.* This might probably be one of the most recognizable pop-cultural phrases that has ever been created. The remarkable sentence, which opens each episode of *Star Wars*, resonates among many audiences, bringing to mind the Galactic Knights fighting with their lightsabers, just as the Dark Lord in the black armour with his characteristic heavy breath. He is considered to be pure evil, however this Dark Lord, or rather Darth Vader, once Anakin Skywalker, might be perceived as a fallen knight who did not obey his masters and failed to fulfil every duty he was given.

*Anakin Skywalker – a Good Knight in the Wrong Times* is the title of my presentation that focuses on Anakin Skywalker in terms of his actions, behaviours, and emotions. The analysis of his chivalric behaviours, ambitions and virtues that guided his life, the way he became Darth Vader – the Dictator of the Galaxy, will help me prove my thesis and show how close he was to becoming a knight that could sit alongside King Arthur.

The main sources used in the presentation are as follows: the scripts of *Star Wars* written by George Lucas, *Chivalry – Its Historical Significance and Civilizing Influence* (1928), by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, and *Dawno temu w Galaktyce Popularnej* (2010) which is a collection of chapters written by many different authors and concerns topics related to *Star Wars*.

### Knighthood Values and Virtues

It is commonly known that knights are present in many cultural forms; thus books, poems, plays, music, games, comics and even movies including *Star Wars*. The term Jedi Knight is used in full awareness by George Lucas, the virtues and features that the Jedi displayed were strictly connected to those of medieval knights, back in the 11<sup>th</sup> and following centuries. Some examples of such features are: being a padawan, a student of a fully-fledged Jedi Knight, having their own equipment from the robes to their

own lightsabers and undergoing a long-lasting training under the supervision of a master in order to become a Knight.

Knights, knighthood, chivalry are, nowadays, often associated with the concept of virtues the medieval knights displayed; however, each of these terms means different things. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, in his chapter in the book *Chivalry – Its Historical Significance and Civilizing Influence* (1928), describes the difference between these words and provides four definitions:

First, “Chivalry” is used as connoting simply a body of knights or horsemen equipped for battle[...]. Secondly, “Chivalry” is employed in the sense of knighthood in the abstract; knighthood as a rank or order; the position and quality of a knight[...]. Thirdly, “Chivalry” is found in a technical or feudal sense to signify “tenure by knight service” [...]. Fourthly, and finally, “Chivalry” is used in a broader sense to include the whole knightly system of the later middle ages, with its peculiar religious, moral, and social codes and customs. (Hearnshaw 1928: 1-2)

With full understanding of all four definitions, I will mostly focus on the fourth. It is the one which is the closest to the topic of comparison of knight virtues and features to the character of Anakin Skywalker.

In the present days, while thinking of chivalry, people think mostly about the fourth meaning; they connect it to the behaviours already gone. Hearnshaw gives a great example of researchers listing virtues and features of knights. One of them, Dean Kitchin, is cited in Hearnshaw work:

At its highest, and in theory, chivalry sets before us the perfect gentleman – gently born, gentle-mannered, truthful, faithful, courteous to women, pure, brave, and fearless, unsparing of self, filled with deep religious feeling, bowing before God and womenkind, but haughty in the presence of all others. (Hearnshaw 1928: 2-3)

All these features put together give an image of an exemplary knight of the Medieval Ages. Furthermore, many of these may be connected strictly with the character of Anakin and his own behaviour. Jacek Wasilewski, in the chapter of the book *Dawno temu w Galaktyce Popularnej* wrote that:

Similarity between knights of the epic poem and *chanson de geste* together with the Jedi knights is apparent. In comparison to Roland and king Arthur, Jedi do not use the fight to reach their personal goals such as self-presentation or power but rather to serve to citizens [...] (Wasilewski 2010, 38 translation mine)<sup>1</sup>

Value	Virtue
Values are principles or standards that are considered as important or desirable	Virtues are qualities that are considered to be good or desirable in a person
All values may not be desirable or have moral goodness	Virtues have high moral values
Subjective and personal since an individual can decide what is important to him or her	Qualities that are universally accepted to have high moral value

Figure 1. Difference between Value and Virtue (*Pediaa*)

## Anakin's Virtues

Anakin is introduced as a young boy born as a slave, having nobody else in the world but his mother. The woman says that: "There was no father, that I know of... I carried him, I gave him birth... I can't explain what happened". (*The Phantom Menace* 00:45:25) To Anakin, Shmi was his whole family. Being born without a father, sentenced to slavery and having just his mother to lean on, Anakin grew up to be a boy who valued her over everything else in the world. To his surprise, as he got involved in the Jedi training, his set of values and strong love to mother were put to test. The Jedi Council separated the boy from Shmi, and told him that the bonds he had with her may, eventually, be a push that will throw him straight into the

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<sup>1</sup> Podobieństwo rycerzy z eposów bohaterkich i *chanson de geste* oraz rycerzy Jedi jest pozorne. W odróżnieniu od Rolanda czy Artura, Jedi nie wykorzystują walki do osiągnięcia osobistych celów, jak autoprezentacja czy władza, lecz pełnią służbę publiczną [...]

Dark Side of the Force. Since *The Phantom Menace* Anakin shows his attachment and love towards his mother. While building his first droid, he says that “He’s a protocol droid... to help Mom”. (*The Phantom Menace* 00:37:17) He did not mean to build it because he just wanted to but rather creating something that could help his mother. It is a simple example of how close he was to his mother and how important her figure was in his life. Later on, this will flourish in deep and unconditional love to his wife and, unfortunately, his bonds to the mother and wife will make him fall to the Dark Side of the Force. At this moment I could point to the feature of Anakin’s character that fits perfectly the code of the medieval chivalry. It is what Hearnshaw called being “courteous to women”. (Hearnshaw 1928: 2-3)

One of the last moments of Anakin’s relation with his mother before leaving Tatooine is short while when he is about to make the most important decision of his life concerning him being Jedi. Anakin asks for his mother’s permission. However, she replies in a way that he was not expecting: “This path has been placed for you, Annie; the choice to take it is yours alone”. (*The Phantom Menace* 01:09:49) The boy agrees. This may be considered the beginning of his journey that the audience know. Not a long time after this scene, the boy says farewell to his mom; and this is the most emotional scene in the whole *Star Wars* history. The boy decides to go forth and pursue his dream of becoming a Jedi. And so begins the story of the young Skywalker – the Chosen One, whose fate will change the entire galaxy. Here also begins his training as a Jedi. Being somewhat of a student to a fully-fledged Jedi is similar to the situation of medieval pages. This is another feature of Anakin that is close to the traditions of chivalry and knighthood. Despite this resemblance, the next time Anakin saw his mother was at their last goodbye, which at the same time was his first, the most important step into the darkness. The figure of the mother, therefore, becomes an ambiguous symbol: a departure point into the ideals of knighthood and into the corruption of this very ideal.

In episode two, *The Attack of the Clones*, Anakin and Padmé begin their emotional relationship. His whole life Anakin committed to love her as a lady of his heart – a truly chivalric thing to do. However, a good knight should be a man who obeys the orders of his lords. Furthermore, he should abide by the code that binds him. Yet, Anakin presents rather an opposite position. The moment when he shows that his love towards Padmé is more important than the Jedi Order is during their conversation on Naboo.

Padmé: It must be difficult having sworn your life to the Jedi... Not being able to visit the places you like...or do the things you like...

Anakin: Or be with the people I love.

Padmé: Are you allowed to love? [...]

Anakin: Attachment is forbidden. Possession is forbidden. Compassion, which I would define as unconditional love, is central to a Jedi's life, so you might say we're encouraged to love. (*The Attack of the Clones* 00:33:45)

The young Jedi shows his individual point of view regarding what is love in terms of the Jedi Code. However, his emotions take control over him. Egocentrism displayed by Anakin may be seen as one of his failures. One may say that it is a stain on the image of a great Jedi; but in terms of this paper, the young Jedi presented features worthy of a medieval knight. He would be willing to give up his life, as he eventually did, to save the love of his life – Padmé.

During the mission on Naboo, Anakin has a strange vision concerning his mother. He sees her suffering, being in an excruciating pain, calling his name. Together with Padmé, they travel to Tatooine to find out a horrible truth that Shmi was kidnapped by Tusken, a hostile people of the desert. They tortured, starved and beat her until she was nearly dead. What happens to his mother leaves the young Jedi in unimaginable pain, anger and suffering. As he arrives in the Tusken's camp, Anakin finds the hut where his mother was kept and tortured. He frees her and in her last moments they share just a couple of sentences which leaves them separated

from one another. Anakin is left with unbearable hatred whereas Shmi has a soothing feeling of love and calm because she could finally see her grown-up son.

Anakin: I'm here, Mom. You're safe. Hang on. I'm going to get you out of here...

Shmi: I'm so glad... to see you, Annie... Now... I am complete...

Anakin: Just stay with me, Mom [...]

Shmi: You look so handsome. My son... my grown-up son. I'm so proud of you, Annie... So proud... I missed you so much... I love... (*The Attack of the Clones* 01:15:40)

As the audience, we are witnessing the most important scene when Anakin makes his biggest step into the darkness: at this moment he releases all the fury that grew in him and makes something that was forbidden to do as a Jedi – a keeper of the peace. “Why couldn't I save her? I know I could have[...]I...I killed them. I killed them all. They're dead, every single one of them. And not just the men, but the women and the children too. They're like animals, and I slaughtered them like animals.” (*The Attack of the Clones* 01:20:55) Anakin proved that he loved his mother more than anyone else. However, he proved it in an atrocious way, a way which is neither a way of Jedi nor a knight.

The moment Anakin gets to know that Padmé is expecting a child, he becomes more protective. However, the more he got involved as this man, the more fear appeared in his life. As a climax, the audience sees Anakin having a bad dream about Padmé. A dream which, in its meaning, is very similar to the one he had about Shmi. The young Jedi sees his wife dying during childbirth; furthermore, she is calling for Anakin's help, which leaves him feeling responsible for what may happen in the future. At this moment, Anakin promises that he will become so powerful to save her from dying. Manipulated by Darth Sidious, widely known as Chancellor Palpatine, Anakin is promised a power that will let him save the ones he loves from dying. In the volcanic scenery of Mustafar, a new Sith – Darth Vader who

swore his obedience to Palpatine, is having the last conversation in his life with his beloved wife Padmé whom he swore to defend and protect at all cost. However, the truth turned out to be that he was the one that pushed her to her limits and, in some way, caused her death.

Padmé: All I want is your love.

Anakin: Love won't save you, Padmé. Only my new powers can do that.

Padmé: At what cost? [...]

Anakin: I won't lose you the way I lost my mother! I've become more powerful than any Jedi has ever dreamed of and I've done it for you. To protect you [...] Don't you see, we don't have to run anymore. I have brought peace to the Republic. I am more powerful than the Chancellor. I can overthrow him, and together you and I can rule the galaxy [...]

Padmé: [...] Obi-Wan was right. You've changed.

Anakin: [...] The Jedi turned against me. Don't you turn against me.

Padmé: I don't know you anymore. Anakin, you're breaking my heart. I'll never stop loving you, but you are going down a path I can't follow. (*The Revenge of the Sith* 01:40:15)

Soon after these words, Anakin betrays himself, he breaks the most important rule of his life: he abandons love. He loses the knightly values which he displayed until this moment, ending up being shut in the dark armour as a monster feared by the whole galaxy. By using the Force, Anakin chokes Padmé to the point when she loses her conscience, claiming that she betrayed him at the moment of seeing Obi-Wan leaving the cockpit of the ship. Anakin Skywalker was presented as a person with a very strong moral code. His ambition, the pursuit to create a peaceful world, his origins and slave past developed in him values that would eventually flourish as both his virtues and vices. "Since the beginning, Anakin displays his obsessive desire to bring an ultimate and perfect order." (Jawłowski 2010, 206, translation mine)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Anakin od początku ujawnia swoje obsesyjne pragnienie zaprowadzenia ostatecznego, doskonałego ładu.

Up until he met Obi-Wan and Qui-Gon Jinn, the boy did not know what it means to have a strong support that will help him go through life with the head held high regardless of the adversities. However, the authority of the Jedi was not enough for Anakin. His fear, constant demand for justice for slaves and desire to save his mother and his wife was the reason why he formed such strong bonds with the Chancellor Palpatine/Darth Sidious. According to Albert Jawłowski, Palpatine was the figure presenting values that Anakin needed – he was strong, dominant, and masculine, he became a father figure to the young Jedi.

Increasing, prurient and toxic [...] fear about the health and life of his mother just as simultaneous escape in the safe and doubtless sanctuary of the strong, dominant and masculine authority of the Chancellor Palpatine/Darth Sidious will eventually lead him astray to the Dark Side of the Force. [...] (Jawłowski 2010, 201 translation mine)<sup>3</sup>

## Darth Vader's Virtues and Vices

Anakin ends up being manipulated by Palpatine, as written before – his promise of power to save the ones he loves from dying leads Anakin straight into a grasp of the Dark Side of the Force. Anakin becomes Vader, a Jedi becomes a Sith and, as such, he must do many horrible things to save those he cares about. But Vader is ready to pay the price; he had already betrayed his order, he had turned his back against his friend and master – Obi-Wan Kenobi. According to Jacek Wasilewski: “The only true knight in the saga – Vader remained faithful until the end – not to his master but to his family.”<sup>4</sup> (Wasilewski 2010, 48 translation mine)

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<sup>3</sup> Narastający, chorobliwy, toksyczny [...] niepokój o zdrowie i życie matki oraz jednoczesna ucieczka w bezpieczny i i pozbawiony wątpliwości azyl silnego, dominującego, męskiego autorytetu senatora Palpatine'a/Sisiousa ostatecznie wyprowadzają go na manowce ciemnej strony Mocy. [...]

<sup>4</sup> Jedyny prawdziwy rycerz w tej sadze – Vader, pozostał wierny do końca – nie tyle swemu panu, ale swej rodzinie.

According to Amelia Hill, Kenobi took part in the creation of the demonic image of Darth Vader

Obi-Wan attempted to kill Vader in a duel on the fiery planet Mustafar, but Vader survived. Missing limbs and severely burned, Vader was confined to a black suit containing bionic limbs and a respirator. The suit both kept him alive and lent him his distinctive, menacing appearance. (A. Hill, *Liveabout*)

In episode four, *A New Hope*, the audience gets to know Anakin's son – Luke Skywalker, whose journey is similar to the one of his father. Until episode five, *Empire Strikes Back*, Luke and Vader do not talk with each other. Luke is told that Vader is the one who killed Anakin – a great Jedi and an apprentice of Obi-Wan. Luke claims that he must destroy Vader because he killed Anakin. This leads to the duel between father and son. On the other hand, Vader would never hurt his son. Even during their duels, at the moment of Luke's defeat, Vader was trying to bring him to the Dark side instead of killing him. *Empire Strikes Back* is a movie with their first duel and one of the most recognizable dialogues in the history of the movies. It is when Luke gets to know that Anakin is not dead, he is hidden beneath the mask of Vader.

Vader: There is no escape. Don't make me destroy you. You do not yet realize your importance. You have only begun to discover your power. Join me and I will complete your training. With our combined strength, we can end this destructive conflict and bring order to the Galaxy

Luke: I'll never join you!

Vader: If you only knew the power of the dark side. Obi-Wan never told you what happened to your father.

Luke: He told me enough! It was you who killed him.

Vader: No. I am your father [...] Search your feelings. You know it to be true [...] Luke. You can destroy the Emperor. He has foreseen this. It is your destiny. Join me and together we can rule the galaxy as father and son. Come with me. It is the only way. (*Empire Strikes Back* 01:46:00)

Vader does not want to kill his son, he still values family most of all. Jacek Wasilewski gives a comment to this scene: "Vader is driven by the

lust for power, but more important to him is family order. He defeats Luke but does not kill him despite the fact that he is his enemy. Vader wants to strengthen on his power level in the hierarchy under Emperor.”<sup>5</sup> (Wasilewski 2010, 41 translation mine) Surprisingly, he wants to become some kind of a father figure to his son, a father that he had never had. Old habits of Anakin start to break through the bad intentions of Vader. The above mentioned scene showcases Vader as a man whose knightly courage allows him to start a plot against the Emperor. Darth Vader is aware that his power is far from being enough to overthrow Sidious. However, with his son at his side not only would they destroy Emperor but also they would rule the Galaxy as they would like to. The important fact is that even amongst his worst acts, the most violent things that Vader did, he still remains faithful to what he believes in – bringing peace to the Galaxy.

In *Return of the Jedi* Vader brings Luke before the Emperor so that he would finally turn to the Dark side. To their surprise, Luke stands strong with his beliefs, he swears that he will never give in to the Dark side. At the moment when Luke tries to strike down Palpatine, Vader blocks the strike with his own lightsaber at the same time starting the last duel between him and his son. “Luke: I will not fight you, father [...] Your thoughts betray you, father. I feel the good in you... the conflict [...] You couldn’t bring yourself to kill me before, and I don’t believe you’ll destroy me now.” (*The Return of the Jedi* 01:44:48) At the crucial moment of the fight, Luke in the surge of anger defeats his father, leaves him alive but with his mechanical arm cut-off. Palpatine, sure of his victory, encourages young Skywalker to kill his father and take his place at his side. To his surprise Luke disagrees. Sidious is left with no choice but to kill the boy, he shoots bolts of energy from his hands leaving Luke nearly dead. “Father, please. Help me.” (*The Return of the Jedi* 01:51:17) These words bring

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<sup>5</sup> Vaderem kieruje żądza władzy, ale istotniejszy jest dla niego porządek rodzinny. Pokonuje Luka, jednak go nie zabija, mimo że jest on jego wrogiem. Chce się umocnić na swoim poziomie władzy, w strukturze pod cesarzem.

back every good Anakin's feature in Vader; following the code of the Jedi Knights, Anakin decides to help Luke. His son is the one in need, he decides to destroy the Sith and fulfil the Prophecy about the One who will bring balance to the Force. Anakin grabs Sidious, his energy-shooting hands now focus on Vader, and casts his body into the nearby shaft of the Starship.

The conflict between the good of his lord and the harm of his son Vader decides in favour of his son, therefore standing in his defence – one may say – avenging him. His “conversion” is apparent in the sense that he did not do this for the goodness itself, just as he did not kill Luke during their duel because he was driven the rule of the goodness.<sup>6</sup> (Wasilewski 2010, 42 translation mine)

At last, the honourable, chivalric Anakin who turned into a demonic Darth Vader will eventually turn to the Light side of the Force. The father can finally see his son with his own eyes. Undoubtedly, Vader did many horrible things; the Galaxy created together with an Emperor may resemble Dante's Inferno. Surely he became something that he, as Anakin, swore to destroy. Anakin or Darth Vader, Jedi or Sith, he was a person unable to fit in any frame that he tried to fit in. He was just a human with his virtues and vices and, as such, he could make mistakes which he surely did. However, he turned back to the Light Side of the Force, and decided to atone his bad actions. The ability to see one's own vice, doing everything they can to fix it is truly something worth admiration.

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<sup>6</sup> Konflikt między dobrem pana, a krzywdą syna Vader rozstrzyga na rzecz syna, stając w jego obronie – można powiedzieć – mszcząc go. Jego „nawrócenie” jest w tym sensie pozorne – nie zrobił tego dla ogólnej zasady dobra, tak samo jak nie zabił Luka podczas pojedynku z powodu kierowania się zasadą dobra.

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### Online figures

Figure 1. Difference between Value and Virtue. [pediaa.com/difference-between-value-and-virtue/](https://pediaa.com/difference-between-value-and-virtue/). Accessed 1<sup>st</sup> of February 2020.

## “Struggling with bumpy roads in life”. A metaphorical conceptualization of LIFE in *The Butterfly Circus* film and its significance in the lives of disabled people

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**Abstract:** Nick Vujicic is a disabled person who was born with tetra-amelia syndrome which means he is limbless (he has no legs and no arms). He is a motivational speaker, preacher, actor and author of few widely-read books: ‘Your Life Without Limits’ (2010), ‘Limitless: Devotions for a Ridiculously Good Life’ (2013) and ‘Be the Hands and Feet: Living Out God’s Love for All His Children’ (2018). Meetings and interviews with Nick Vujicic while he gives his motivational speeches gather thousands of people. They receive enthusiastic responses from the participants, who often emphasize how their lives changed under his influence.

The objective of this paper is an analysis of a conceptualization of LIFE in *The Butterfly Circus* film, which constitutes the main source of data for this study. The analysis was conducted within the methodology of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and its main aim was to examine what kind of conceptual metaphors of LIFE appear in the film. Determining them was essential for setting the functions they can play in lives of handicapped people. After watching the film it turned out that there were many of them, but four given below seem to be the most appealing:

- LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A BUMPY ROAD,
- LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A WAY OF CROSS,
- LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A TRIAL,
- A SINGLE EVENT IN LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A NEW BEGINNING.

The term ‘conceptual metaphor’ was introduced by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their work *Metaphors We Live By*. They mention that “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5). According to Lakoff,

“the word ‘metaphor’ was defined as a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside their normal conventional meaning to express a ‘similar’ concept” (Lakoff 1993: 202). It means that seeing everything through the prism of metaphor is completely natural. The author also assumes that “(...) everyday abstract concepts like time, states, change, causation, and purpose also turn out to be metaphorical” (Lakoff 1993: 203). Therefore, it may be presumed that a metaphor might be expressed and interpreted through spoken or written words. What is more, this can also mean that each person can understand a particular metaphor in a way it is affordable for him or her because of the experiences they had in their lives. For instance, people metaphorically view affection as warmth (Kövecses 1986: 101) because of the correlation in their childhood experiences between the loving embrace of our parents and the comforting bodily warmth that accompanies it.

Talking about metaphors I will start with ontological metaphors. Ontology studies the nature of existence, and if so we may presume that ontological metaphors refer to our perception, experience and space in general. Space as it is known consists of substances and objects. Following Lakoff and Johnson, “understanding our experiences in terms of objects and substances allows us to pick out parts of our experience and treat them as discrete entities or substances of a uniform kind” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 25). Therefore, among *ontological metaphors* we may find some with various purposes and one of them is the concept ABSTRACTS ARE THINGS (Baldauf 1997: 21,22). But there is also “another kind of metaphorical concept, one that does not structure one concept in terms of another but instead organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another. We will call these *orientational metaphors*, since most of them have to do with spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 14). This is followed with an example, HAPPY IS UP (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 14). However, when it comes to structures, various parts of experiences that are complex but also

too abstract, are conceptualized with the help of simple characteristic or well-known experiences. *Structural conceptual metaphors* identified by Lakoff and Johnson “are grounded in systematic correlations within our experience” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 61) and they conceptualize many various domains. In this kind of conceptual metaphor, complicated and abstract concepts are conceptualized on the basis of the experience of simple and specific experiences. Examples often used to illustrate this type of metaphor are the metaphors ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 4) and LIFE IS A JOURNEY (Kövecses 2010: 4). Speaking of which in this article the concept of LIFE will be presented and it will be discussed on the basis of the short film *The Butterfly Circus*. Various stages of life of the main protagonist will be shown in order to underline the essentiality of the concept.

“If an egg is broken by an outside force, life ends. If broken by an inside force, life begins”. This famous quotation by Dumitru D. Coman perfectly emphasizes a conceptualization of LIFE in *The Butterfly Circus* film. The analysis was conducted within the methodology of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and its main aim was to examine what kind of conceptual metaphors of LIFE appear in the film. Determining them was essential for setting the functions they can play in lives of handicapped people. After watching the film, it turned out that there were many of them. I will present four which seem to be the most appealing:

- LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A BUMPY ROAD,
- LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A WAY OF CROSS,
- LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A TRIAL,
- A SINGLE EVENT IN LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A NEW BEGINNING.

LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A BUMPY ROAD is a common metaphor in this film. Target domain, LIFE, is represented by means of the source domain BUMPY ROAD. Not only does the metaphor presented in this short film let us understand the characters’ reality, but it also provides

rich knowledge of how they deal with difficulties. The set of mappings between the source and the target domains enables us (the viewers) to perceive in what way abstract things are embedded in real life. The scenes I want to discuss start with Will, the main protagonist in the film, crossing the river where there is a myriad of big stones and a long log in front of him. These are the obstacles on the road he is passing through which are difficulties in the life he has to handle. Here arises the mapping, ‘difficulties in life’ are ‘obstacles on the road’; in other words, life is like a road. When we are a traveller, we have to behave responsibly on the road. We ought to be careful and mature because obstacles are decisive. They cause lots of inconveniences, damages, and dangers. They may be sudden and unexpected. These are the reasons why it is difficult to deal with them. All the more, handicapped people find them even more difficult to handle.

Since managing in life is important, I’d like to present another mapping ‘dealing with problems’ is ‘progressing on the road’. The main character is a limbless person and his limblessness is seen as unpredictable holes in the road. It is difficult to disabled people to move on the road when they constantly need to avoid holes appearing in front of them. Having no legs and no arms, it is really hard for Will to lead a normal life (‘to move on’), to travel in a good direction. Dealing with difficulties seen as a road may suggest that Will chooses his ways, paths, crossroads and highways to travel on every day. He is the traveller who makes choices and makes progress. This statement prompts the third mapping, namely, ‘a disabled person’ is ‘a traveller’. Will is an average man who has particular expectations and needs from his life. His disability is a major issue in leading a life, but what must be pointed out is the fact that handicapped people hope to lead a stable and peaceful life despite their disability. Metaphorically speaking, they are the travellers who drive, go, pass or cross various roads. Some of these roads are like good highways but there are also poor bumpy roads. And even if the traveller tries to avoid the obstacles he or she faces, it does not change the fact they have to struggle with numerous difficulties. Speaking of which, the

last correspondence to be discussed is between 'limblessness' and 'holes in the road'. Will's life is full of holes. They symbolize various objects which limit his movement. The same situation obtains when it comes to his limblessness. His handicap means the inability to live a normal life. Like holes, limblessness stops disabled people from doing different things, achieving goals and developing their skills. The role of such people can be limited to acting only as if they were passive users of roads; frankly speaking, back seat drivers.

Another common metaphor of LIFE in the film is LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A WAY OF CROSS. Watching *The Butterfly Circus* we realize why Will's life is compared to A WAY OF CROSS. Helpful here is a very peculiar mapping, namely, 'hard situations' are 'a cross'. Tough moments a handicapped person faces are as heavy as the cross that Jesus Christ carried on his shoulders. Once the cross was too heavy, Jesus fell. The same thing happens to Will. Being limited in the movement just like Jesus, Will falls down being run on empty and tries to find the strength to get up. And here we may notice another mapping, namely, 'struggling with difficulties in life' is 'walking with cross'. Will asks for help but nobody answers his calling. He lies on the ground and there is no one around willing to help him. These moments are gruelling for Will. He realizes he will have to struggle with difficulties alone. Although the scene achieves a positive ending because Will finally gets up, he has to enhance a task to rise by himself. It is easy to understand Will's fate following his tribulations. The mapping 'trials and tribulations' are 'a road' give the real view of his life. The road he walks is full of crosses, pain, unexpected events, hostile people and disappointments. Despite all his hard work to be treated normally, he feels needless and hopeless. What makes things worse, there are not too many factors around that can make his life easier. He is marooned and hurt just like Jesus on his way to Golgotha. And just like Jesus, Will does not complain, has no hurt feelings and accepts what the future holds.

LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A TRIAL is the third commonly found metaphor in the film. The most significant aim of this metaphor is to provide rich knowledge of how a handicapped person might be treated and accused by others, so-called ‘normal’ people. The first mapping I want to focus on is ‘a handicapped person’ is ‘a suspect’. When the film begins, one of its first scenes shows us two boys looking at Will who is put on display. One of the boys holds a tomato in his hand. Suddenly, he throws the tomato at Will. At that particular moment, Will becomes ‘a suspect’ who has to be judged and then punished. This situation shows that a handicapped person is constantly in for a surprise. In other words, people are prejudiced against handicapped people without any reason. Therefore, Will permanently feels as if he was ‘a suspect’ or did something wrong. And here we have got another mapping in this scene, namely ‘an attacker’ is ‘a prosecutor’. When there is a suspect there also must be a prosecutor. But in this case, we have an exceptional prosecutor. Firstly, it is a little boy, about 6 years old. Despite his young age he easily knows what he ‘has to’ do, which is to judge, to punish. Secondly, this prosecutor is very ardent. He does not hesitate to judge, punish and finally, execute a judgement. What makes things worse, he does it with a smile on his face. And here we have the last mapping which helps us to understand a handicapped person’s life, namely, ‘throwing a tomato’ is ‘attacking’. Attacking disabled people is a very common phenomenon. Will is attacked very often especially when he works in the first circus. Cursing, scoffing, taunting, or forcing to work, these are the common forms of attacking Will has to face every day. The attackers feel they are vested with the right to treat him that way because he is not a man of merit. For a better understanding how the attackers find excuses for their actions I will present a description of Will by the owner of the first circus, Mr. Haley: “a man if you could even call him that whom God himself has turned his back upon”. For most of his life, Will accepted his role, which is, being a suspect. He approves of being treated badly and somehow he feels he does not deserve anything better. In the first circus, people

around him make him think like that. They are like the grand jury that has the right to decide about other people's lives. They do not allow or accept any objections, explanations, and circumstances, and his limbleness. Will quite often feels like a suspect or prey. The prosecutors, attackers or members of the grand jury decide about his actions and rights. The only thing he can do is to respect judicial sentences. The scene presented above is one of the most (if not the most) meaningful in the film. Will suddenly falls into water when nobody watches him. It has to be emphasized that he has never swum before. After falling into the creek he tries not to drown. As a result of his attempts to survive, Will discovers he can swim and it is a turning point for him. Therefore, we find another significant metaphor in this film, namely, A SINGLE EVENT IN LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A NEW BEGINNING. This metaphor emphasizes what a new beginning might mean, especially to a handicapped person, to Will. The mapping, 'a new beginning' is 'falling into water/starting a new life' may be very helpful in this case. This fall is the best of all Will's falls. Thanks to that particular fall, he discovers an ability he was not aware of, which is that he could swim. But what is more important is the fact that this ability enables him to join the second circus – The Butterfly Circus. For Will, it means starting a new life, a better one. And here arises another mapping which is strongly connected with the previous one, 'turning point' is 'water'. Will's fate reverses after falling into the creek. He regains his faith and hopes for a better future. For the first time, he starts believing in himself. He feels strong, needed and as a man of merit. Therefore, Will takes the chance and does his best to swim, to survive. It pays off as he becomes a member of Mendez's troupe in The Butterfly Circus. The circus gains a new member, while Will gains a new life. The ability he discovers turns out to be his bargaining chip. It is an open sesame to start a new life.

Analyzing metaphorization of LIFE in the film, I applied a 'chronological' order to present how the main protagonist's life had been changing. Starting with the metaphor LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A BUMPY

ROAD, I wanted to reveal what life of a disabled person is like, especially for themselves. This metaphor is crucial because it relates to numerous aspects impacting the reality of the everyday life of a handicapped person presented in the film. The reason for it was the fact that Will finally found a better way and became an aware driver of his life. LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A WAY OF CROSS was the second discussed metaphor found in the film and it was employed to present the negative events encountered by the film protagonist. The metaphor also let us describe the way, the travellers and hard situations he had to face. When the ROAD is really hard and hostile (more than A BUMPY ROAD) it becomes A WAY OF CROSS. This happened to Will. He led severe life because he had no legs and no arms (we can compare it to A BUMPY ROAD) but when he started performing in Haley’s Circus his life’s conditions got worse (it can be compared to A WAY OF CROSS). Yet again, using a metaphor is helpful to understand the life of the main characters in *The Butterfly Circus*. Presenting ‘difficulties in life’ as ‘walking with cross’ influences our way of perceiving Will’s life and our own as well. The next significant metaphor found in *The Butterfly Circus* film was LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A TRIAL. Its significance is based on the perception of how relations between the characters in the film might be built in the wrong way. Will was constantly punished for his disability and being different. For many years his life was an everyday TRIAL. The scene where he was attacked with tomatoes let the viewers understand how unfairly disabled people are treated. This metaphor enabled them to see what a handicapped person had to face every day. The mapping ‘an attacker’ is ‘a prosecutor’ helped the watchers to realize that there were prosecutors around them. They wanted to judge, punish and eliminate people who were different from them just like those boys who were throwing at Will with tomatoes (with no reason). On the other hand, this scene also shows a good way of building relations. Mendez stood for Will while he was being attacked with tomatoes. He was the only person who stopped this act of cruelty.

A SINGLE EVENT IN LIFE OF A HANDICAPPED PERSON IS A NEW BEGINNING is another metaphor found in the film. It was presented as the last one because of two reasons. Firstly, it follows the chronological order of the scenes in the film which at the same time refers to stages of the life of the main character. Secondly, this metaphor is a turning point in Will's life and a turning point in the whole plot. This metaphor seems to be the most essential in this short film.

All the metaphors presented in the article referred to different aspects and stages of the life of a disabled person. What is more, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory helps to present that the message of *The Butterfly Circus* film is meaningful in depicting lives of the disabled people in orderly and systematic way. The occurrence of the metaphors in *The Butterfly Circus* also let all of us get a clear image of the handicapped person's world and life. The leading subjects of this image are the difficulties in the life of disabled people, facing and dealing with these obstacles and attempts to start a new better life, even if it involves taking a risk. The other reason for using these metaphors is to catch viewers' attention so they could follow the cues of certain metaphors. Furthermore, these particular metaphorical conceptualizations are used because they make the viewers to analyse not only presented scenes but also what they really mean. The beginning of the analysis of the film is the miserable main character who transforms into a cheerful performer of a circus. The viewers may compare this change to a kind of transformation, assuming that after years of humiliation, he started a new life. He breaks up with his past and looks for brighter sides of his life. The changes in his life such as meeting Mendez and his troupe, discovering an ability to swim and becoming a member of the Butterfly Circus make him finally happy. Despite his disability, Will takes part in the shows. He is one of the troupe members, equal with others. His task is to do jumps into a container with water. His weakness becomes his strength. That leads the viewers to an important conclusion, namely, 'disability' is like 'strength'. Joining the circus Will finally feels strong and more confident. The lack of

limbs does not mean for him to be out of the picture anymore. It is the opposite. Will becomes a local hero and here arises a correspondence which is ‘a disabled person’ is like ‘a hero’. When the news resounds about a limbless diver, crowds of people come to admire Will and to show him their respect. The spectators admire not only his stunts or risky dives but primarily him as a person, their hero. In this article, we also proved not only the occurrence of metaphors of LIFE but also their importance in the life of a handicapped person as well as in the life of an average man. All these metaphors presented various stages of a handicapped person’s life from the most miserable to the most exhilarating and in a way they represent our lives too. Therefore, we consider these metaphors as essential and meaningful.

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Literature



## The Constraining Impact of the American Upper-class Milieu of the Gilded Age on Women – an Analysis of Edith Wharton's *The House of Mirth*

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**Abstract:** Edith Wharton is considered one of the greatest novelists of manners in the history of American literature. She was born into an aristocratic family, who belonged to the upper-class New York society of the late nineteenth century. As a member of this social group, she was able to draw conclusions based on first-hand observations of the social mores and manners of the milieu. In consequence, these became one of her major themes, which she tackled in an accurate and detailed manner. One of her best-known novels, titled *The House of Mirth*, is seen as a great example of a satirical novel of manners, in which Wharton reveals the real nature and exposes the vices of high society in the period known in American history as the Gilded Age. This paper aims to analyse the way in which the society of the era negatively influenced and, as a result, constrained women and their freedom, on the example of Lily Bart, the protagonist of the novel, who did not fully fit in the aristocratic milieu. It will examine the manner in which the norms and conventions imposed by the society brought the female character to ruin, forcing her to make fateful choices against her will and, in the end, contributed to her tragic demise.

*The House of Mirth* is one of the most popular and most eagerly-read novels among Edith Wharton's works. Wharton, one of the greatest American novelists of manners, came from a well-established family, who were members of the aristocratic New York society in the late nineteenth century. Thanks to her privileged background, the writer gained first-hand insight into the upper-class milieu of New York, which constitutes one of the main themes of the novel. In this and her other works, Wharton frequently satirises the contemporary aristocratic society and exposes the truth about it: its hypocrisy and wrong-doings. She also focuses on women and the way some of

them fit in the society while others do not. According to Margaret E. McDowell, Wharton “subtly juxtaposes women whose behaviour is traditional with those whose behaviour challenges social expectations”.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Wharton’s “literary characters [are] often presented as tragic victims of cruel social convictions”<sup>2</sup>, as it is in the case of the protagonist of *The House of Mirth*.

The book tells the story of the twenty-nine-year-old Lily Bart, who is a representative of the New York upper-middle-class society of the late nineteenth century. This period in American history, known as the Gilded Age, lasted approximately from the 1870s till the 1900s. The term constitutes a clear satirical allusion to the metaphorical Golden Age – the time of unparalleled prosperity and great progress across various fields. The Gilded Age, as its name suggests, was a parody of the Golden Age. The period seemed to be golden, because of industrialisation and development, but this progress was like a thin layer of gold, under which corruption among the powerful and the exploitation of the weak and the poor on the part of industrialists and politicians were hidden. This mock reference to the Golden Age also reflects the duplicity of the upper classes. They pretended to be golden – sophisticated, well-mannered and superior – but their refinement was deceptive and superficial. In reality, they were marked by widespread moral corruption, rife with hypocrisy and fake social niceties.

The plot of the novel revolves around the protagonist’s attempts to find a husband. Upper-class and upper-middle-class women were expected to find a husband in their early twenties, preferably an affluent one, get married and have children. Entering a profession was rarely an option.

At the beginning of the novel, Lily, a beautiful woman, described as “a figure to arrest even the suburban traveller rushing to his last train”<sup>3</sup>, is

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<sup>1</sup> McDowell, M. E. (1974), p. 521.

<sup>2</sup> Mulalić, A. (2012), p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 3.

already twenty-nine years old, “and still Miss Bart”.<sup>4</sup> Even though over the years she has received several favourable marriage proposals, she has refused all of them since she has wanted to get married not only for money, but also for love. With time, her priorities begin to shift. She falls into debt as a result of her gambling and other expenses connected with the upper-class life she leads. Due to the fact that she desperately needs money, she is eventually forced to ask for financial help. Unknowingly, Lily indebts herself to the married Gus Trenor, who takes advantage of this state of affairs and expects compensation in kind, which has worked before with other women, but not with Lily. When she realises what Gus wants from her, she limits herself to flirting with him so that he would not lose interest in helping her. She avoids being left alone with him at all costs and meets with him only in public places. This, however, makes her a subject of gossip. The upper-class milieu of the late nineteenth century was known for being “a society that revered marriage and shunned scandal at all costs”.<sup>5</sup> Women had to uphold their good reputation. Otherwise, they would soon be denounced or even ostracized. That is why, along with the rumours, which are untrue, comes Lily’s gradual downfall in the ranks of the society. Her group of friends shrinks considerably, but one of her most faithful friends, not very rich Lawrence Selden, remains by her side. Due to the machinations of ill-intentioned people in her surroundings, she loses both her reputation and her marriage prospects. Her wealthy aunt, when she hears the rumours, disinherits her and dies. Lily is left all alone with her problems. She finds jobs, from which she either resigns or is fired. Her mental and physical health is deteriorating, she suffers from insomnia and takes a lot of opiates. Eventually, she manages to pay her debt to Gus as she receives a very small part of the inheritance after her aunt’s death. When she goes to sleep that night, she overdoses on the sleeping medica-

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<sup>4</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Singley, C. J. (2003): *Historical Guide*, p. 6.

ment. In the morning, her friend, Lawrence Selden, who has just realised he loves her, and whom Lily has also loved, goes to her and wants to propose, but Lily has already died.

*The House of Mirth* constitutes a great illustration of the way in which New York upper-class society of the Gilded Age limited women. It is most visible in the case of marriage and the manner in which it is treated. Girls were taught by their mothers since childhood that their aim in life was to marry rich. Marriage was often treated as “a profession or trade”.<sup>6</sup> Love was a secondary issue. This can be seen in the very first conversation between Lily and Selden, where he asks her:

...‘Isn’t marriage your vocation? Isn’t it what you’re all brought up for?’

She sighed. ‘I suppose so. What else is there?’

‘Exactly. And so why not take the plunge and have it over?’

...‘You speak as if I ought to marry the first man who came along.’<sup>7</sup>

This passage reveals the true mindset of the contemporary upper-class milieu. The belief in marriage as the only thing upper-class women were born for was so deeply-rooted in people’s minds that when a woman decided not to marry or did not marry for a long time, it was considered something abnormal. Here, a paradox can be observed. Even though marriage was one of the most important matters, it was also treated with a certain degree of indifference, to such an extent that it did not matter who the spouse would be if only he was rich and upper-class. Elaine Showalter, by describing Lily as “the dazzlingly well-preserved veteran of eleven years in the New York marriage market”<sup>8</sup>, summarises two aspects of the milieu’s collective view on marriage. She points out that Lily, as an almost-thirty-year-old unmarried woman, constitutes some sort of a phenomenon for

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<sup>6</sup> Beer, J. (2002), p. VIII.

<sup>7</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Showalter, E. (1992), p. 3.

the upper-class society. She is a “veteran”, which seems to have no positive connotations in the eyes of the members of the milieu, who expected women to marry early. Furthermore, by using the term “marriage market”, Showalter further proves that marriage at that time was nothing more than a business agreement.

In the aforementioned conversation, Lily points out that there is a difference between men and women as far as marriage is concerned, saying: “...a girl must, a man may if he chooses”.<sup>9</sup> In this way, she exposes the double standards which were common in the society. At that time, men had much more freedom than women. Not only were they able to do what they wanted, but they were also not judged for their choices or actions. It was “the accepted social axiom that a man may go where he pleases”.<sup>10</sup> Taking into consideration even marriage itself, a man’s responsibility was only to propose, “keep quiet and let that girl marry him”<sup>11</sup>, while a woman, in this case Lily, had to “calculate and contrive, and retreat and advance, as if [she was] going through an intricate dance, where one misstep would throw [her] hopelessly out of time”.<sup>12</sup> In other words, women had to fight for men’s attention and be careful, because one wrong move could lead to the man shifting his interest to another woman, as it is in the case of Lily’s suitor, Percy Gryce, who, hearing about Lily’s loan from Gus, soon marries someone else.

Lily’s freedom of choice is significantly constrained. As a woman, she is expected to marry a rich man of a good social standing. If it was not for her willingness to fulfil the society’s expectations and her desire to stay within its ranks, she could marry Selden, whom she truly loves and who, although a non affluent lawyer, could make her happy and keep her safe. Lily realis-

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<sup>9</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 116.

<sup>11</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 42.

<sup>12</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 42.

es that the society which she is a member of “places more importance on money than on the value of love”.<sup>13</sup> This awareness pushes her even further in her decisions, to such a degree that she considers marrying a newly-rich Simon Rosedale, despite the fact that she does not even like him. She is also fully aware that he wants to use her as a way to climb up the social ladder. Nevertheless, by the time Lily makes this decision, Rosedale’s social position has grown and with all the rumours about Lily and with her reputation tarnished, she is “not as desirable a match as [he] thought [her]”.<sup>14</sup> Clearly, it can be stated that women’s well-being depended on the whims of the society.

Even though Lily has belonged to the milieu since her birth, this itself fails to protect her against the loss of her reputation. The society Wharton describes looks for scandals and ignites rumours, which, once started, are bound to surround the woman and her future life. When Lily’s friend suggests that she should reveal the truth about Bertha Dorset, who has used and humiliated Lily by spreading untrue rumours about her, Miss Bart laughs in response and says: “What is truth? Where a woman is concerned, it’s the story that’s easiest to believe. In this case it’s a great deal easier to believe Bertha Dorset’s story than mine, because she has a big house... and it’s convenient to be on good terms with her”.<sup>15</sup> Women of lower social status and with their reputation already undermined were not treated seriously since the society sided with people who were able to offer them more. To enter the high society from outside was difficult, to maintain the social standing was even more difficult, but losing it was a matter of a few rumours and the resulting scandal. This can be seen in the way Lily’s life changes dramatically after one short sentence delivered by Bertha Dorset in front of a group of socialites. Clare Colquitt observes that “with a single

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<sup>13</sup> Farwell, T. M. (2006), p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 223.

<sup>15</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 197.

statement insinuating that Lily and her husband have been conducting an affair, Bertha simultaneously salvages her marriage and maligns Lily's reputation".<sup>16</sup> This single sentence, which reads: "Miss Bart is not going back to the yacht"<sup>17</sup>, has such power that it leaves Lily penniless and friendless. Even Selden, her friend and love interest, eventually believes the rumours and abandons her for some time. This proves that women constituted an easy target and were constantly at the mercy of the society.

Another aspect connected with the perception of upper-class women of the Gilded Age is their objectification. Their role in the society was reduced to that of a beautiful object, and they were aware of that. Lily is fully awake to her task. She knows that "she had been brought up to be ornamental"<sup>18</sup>, "fashioned to adorn and delight"<sup>19</sup> and that is why, "she could hardly blame herself for failing to serve any practical purpose"<sup>20</sup>, which is particularly visible in any job she obtains and then loses as a result of her incapability. Kevin O'Hara argues that "in the Gilded Age, a woman of high-society was much like a doll"<sup>21</sup>, which could be easily observed on the example of *tableaux vivants* performances. According to Eleanor Dwight, "these performances – in which fashionable society posed as figures in paintings or sculptures – were a popular form of entertainment at the end of the nineteenth century".<sup>22</sup> Lily takes part in such a performance too, which not only leaves people enchanted by her beauty, but also arouses "the erotic appetites of men in her audience".<sup>23</sup> It clearly shows that, at that time, women were often appreciated solely for their physical appearance. This event

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<sup>16</sup> Colquitt, C. (1991), p. 159.

<sup>17</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 190.

<sup>18</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 260.

<sup>19</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 264.

<sup>20</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), pp. 260–261.

<sup>21</sup> O'Hara, K. (2017).

<sup>22</sup> Dwight, E. (2003), p. 196.

<sup>23</sup> Dwight, E. (2003), p. 196.

in the book undoubtedly constitutes a “comment on the objectification of women in this trivial society”.<sup>24</sup>

One of the paramount concerns of the members of the aristocratic milieu was money. The desire to get richer and the fear of poverty gave both men and women anxiety. Lily is no exception here and she literally cannot sleep because of the unenviable state of her account and the debts she has accumulated. She refers to poverty as the most “dreadful”<sup>25</sup> thing and even though she has done everything to avoid it, including making several fateful decisions, she has not been able to escape it. However, it is worth noticing that the situation Lily is in cannot be ascribed to her carelessness and improvidence only, since it has its roots in a more complex issue, namely the customs and rituals which constituted a necessary financial burden for the members of the milieu if they did not want to lose their social standing or the respect of others. In a conversation with a friend, Lily enumerates various privileges connected with living among the rich and reveals that “there’s a tax to pay on every one of those luxuries”<sup>26</sup>, which holds true not only for women, but for men too. Lily explains:

The man pays [the tax] by big tips to the servants, by playing cards beyond his means, by flowers and presents...; the girl pays it by tips and cards too – oh, yes, I’ve had to take up bridge again – and by going to the best dressmakers, and having just the right dress for every occasion, and always keeping herself fresh and exquisite and amusing!<sup>27</sup>

Clearly, it was very easy, especially for upper-middle-class people, to indebt themselves and start living beyond their means. In a society, in which money was the measure of one’s value, one tried their best to fit in. It can be seen on the example of the unwritten social norm related to the

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<sup>24</sup> Dwight, E. (2003), p. 196.

<sup>25</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 233.

<sup>26</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 233.

<sup>27</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 233.

abovementioned card game, bridge, which negatively influenced women's freedom of choice. Upper-class women were expected to play cards for money. If they did not, they were considered "priggish and superior".<sup>28</sup> Lily is fully aware that "if one were not a part of the season's fixed routine, one swung unsphered in a void of social non-existence"<sup>29</sup>. That is why she continues to spend money which she does not have, yet still "[feels] herself of no more account among [the rich] than an expensive toy in the hand of a spoiled child".<sup>30</sup> This comparison emphasises Lily's helplessness and vulnerability juxtaposed with the society's power, mercilessness and moral decay.

Lily repeatedly tries to escape the world which limits her freedom. She feels trapped in a "great gilt cage in which they were all huddled for the mob to gape at"<sup>31</sup>, but at the same time, she realises that "most of the captives were like flies in a bottle, and having once flown in, could never regain their freedom".<sup>32</sup> However, she still persistently tries to achieve her independence. It manifests itself, for instance, in her continuous refusals of marriage proposals. As an upper-class lady rightly notices, "she works like a slave preparing the ground and sowing her seed; but the day she ought to be reaping the harvest she oversleeps herself or goes off on a picnic"<sup>33</sup>, which leads the woman to suspect that "at heart, [Lily] despises the things she's trying for".<sup>34</sup> When Miss Bart eventually cannot afford living on her own, she makes several serious decisions, finding herself in a vicious circle, where one wrong choice forces her to make another, each resulting in adverse consequences and eventually causing her downfall. McDowell makes the following interesting remark, pointing to Lily's distinctness from the

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<sup>28</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 152.

<sup>29</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 229.

<sup>30</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 211.

<sup>31</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 48.

<sup>32</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 48.

<sup>33</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 164.

<sup>34</sup> Wharton, E. (2002), p. 164.

rest of this corrupt, money-oriented and unremorseful milieu: “At the same time that Lily moves toward tragedy, she moves toward understanding of herself and others and reveals that she is in essence superior to those who had formerly represented to her all the social graces”.<sup>35</sup> Carol Wershoven adds that Lily realises “exactly how little she has lost and how much more, morally, she has gained”.<sup>36</sup> Despite her tragic demise, the society has not been able to fully destroy her moral sense. When she is faced with a decision to blackmail Bertha Dorset, which would clear her reputation and provide her with the money which she desperately needs, she chooses to act according to her conscience and, consequently, loses her last possibility of regaining her social standing. This demonstrates that Lily has never really fitted in to the society, since she is not willing to give up her morality and ethical ideals. Even though she dies, she ultimately emerges victorious.

As this brief analysis has shown, upper-class women of the late nineteenth century were constantly constrained by the high society in various fields of life. Due to the social pressure and imposed social restraints, it was very often impossible for them to live their lives in the way they wished to. Continuously judged by their milieu, which paid attention to every move and noticed every mistake, women could either “conform or be destroyed”.<sup>37</sup> While many of them chose the first option, there were also women who broke the rules or simply did not fit in the society, like Lily. Her unexpected tragic death not only shocked and saddened the readers of the novel<sup>38</sup>, but most importantly constitutes a testament to the deleterious influence of the Gilded Age upper classes on women. Lily’s life and the problems she has to deal with are a reflection of the overall situation of women at that time. Nevertheless, just as Lily, who refuses to adopt the rules of the

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<sup>35</sup> qtd. in Wershoven, C. (1982), p. 44.

<sup>36</sup> Wershoven, C. (1982), p. 44.

<sup>37</sup> Wershoven, C. (1982), p. 43.

<sup>38</sup> Singley, C. J. (2003): *Casebook*, p. 7.

society, women also gradually began to oppose gender inequalities. They saw the need for change and started the fight for their rights both privately and collectively – by organising themselves into movements and initiating feminist activism.

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## Niestandardowe formy rodzajowe w wybranych polskich tekstach literackich

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**Abstrakt:** Język jest niezwykle istotną kwestią dla całej społeczności osób transpłciowych – to właśnie w tej sferze tożsamość płciowa może zostać wyrażona i uznana (bądź nie) przez innych. W szczególnej sytuacji znajdują się osoby niebinarne, które jako niebędące (w pełni i wyłącznie) kobietami ani mężczyznami, mogą nie chcieć stosować tradycyjnych męskich lub żeńskich form rodzajowych (co może stanowić wyzwanie w przypadku języków tak silnie upłciowionych jak polski). Jak pokazują ostatnie badania, polskojęzyczne osoby niebinarne wykazują się dużą innowacyjnością, sięgając po niestandardowe, w tym neologiczne, formy. W niniejszym artykule omawiam przykłady takich form zaczerpnięte z polskich tekstów literackich. Przyglądam się nie tylko ich morfologii, ale też kontekstowi użycia (tj. jakie postacie się nimi posługują i czy w tekście pojawia się dyskusja metajęzykowa).

### 1. Osoby niebinarne a język

Język polski jest bardzo silnie upłciowiony, stąd trudne jest w nim osiągnięcie płciowej neutralności czy wypracowanie alternatyw(y) dla form męskich i żeńskich w przeciwieństwie do, na przykład, języka angielskiego, w którym płeć zaznacza się przede wszystkim w zaimkach trzeciej osoby liczby pojedynczej, a *singular they* (zaimek trzeciej osoby liczby mnogiej, którego generyczne użycie w liczbie pojedynczej sięga co najmniej XIV wieku, zob. Baron 2020: 149) staje się swego rodzaju standardem w mówieniu o osobach niebinarnych<sup>1</sup> (Hord 2016: 17; Baron 2020: 149–183).

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<sup>1</sup> Niebinarność płciowa (ang. *non-binary / genderqueer*) to zjawisko ze spektrum transpłciowości obejmujące wszystkie osoby niebędące (w pełni i jedynie) kobietami ani mężczyznami. Więcej na ten temat: Richards i in. (2017); Ziemińska (2018).

Wprowadzając temat trudności językowych, z jakimi mierzą się osoby niebinarne, do polskiej akademii, Rzeczkowski (2012a: 206) pisze, że „wybierają [one] pomiędzy rodzajem męskim i żeńskim, [rzadko] decydują się na rodzaj nijaki (...) lub – unikając form wskazujących na płeć – konstruują własny język w sposób podobny do tego, w jaki konstruują swoją tożsamość” (np. poprzez zmianę strony czynnej na bierną czy czasu przeszłego na teraźniejszy albo pomijanie końcówek czasowników w mowie i piśmie). Podkreśla, że taki sposób budowania wypowiedzi często oznacza „obciążenie poznawcze nadawcy, a niekiedy także odbiorcy” (tamże: 207) i balansowanie „na granicy poprawności językowej lub [jej przekraczanie]”, co może brzmieć „obco, a niekiedy groteskowo” (tamże: 210). Przeprowadzone przeze mnie (Misiek 2021) w 2017 roku na kilkuosobowej próbie badanie pokazuje, że polskojęzyczne osoby niebinarne posługują się w mowie jednym z dwóch „tradycyjnych” rodzajów lub w różnym stopniu je mieszają oraz że często szukają neutralnych form rzeczowników – czy to form takich jak *rodzeństwo*, *dziecko*, *rodzic*, czy też tzw. osobatywyów, np. *osoba partnerska*, *osoba prezesująca*, *osoba studencka*. Mogłoby się zatem wydawać, że język polski niechętnie otwiera się na innowacje. Badanie Dereckiej (2019) wskazuje jednakże na użycie różnych innowacyjnych form w komunikacji pisemnej – obok *zrobiłam/zrobiłem* pojawiają się formy takie jak: *zrobiłom*, *zrobiłum* czy *zrobiłæm*. Z kolei badanie przeprowadzone przez Radę Języka Neutralnego<sup>2</sup> na początku 2021 roku (RJN 2021) – przy 2211 osobach respondujących jest to największe do tej pory badanie ankietowe osób niebinarnych w Polsce – pokazało, że choć normatywne formy męskie i żeńskie dominują, to pojawiają się liczne innowacje, z których najpopularniejsze są: użycie rodzaju nijakiego (25,5%), użycie form liczby mnogiej w rodzaju męskoosobowym (13,5%) i użycie tzw. dukaizmów (8,2%)<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Rada Języka Neutralnego to oddolny kolektyw (którego jestem częścią) zajmujący się popularyzacją i badaniem niestandardowych form rodzajowych w polszczyźnie. Kolektyw prowadzi serwis internetowy [zaimki.pl](http://zaimki.pl) oraz fanpage'dz *Słownik Neutralitywów Języka Polskiego* na portalu Facebook.

<sup>3</sup> Przy pytaniu nt. stosowanego rodzaju można było wybrać kilka odpowiedzi. Jedynie 8,4% badanych osób zgłosiło, że używa wyłącznie niestandardowych form. Pozostałe osoby w mniejszym lub większym stopniu używają rodzaju męskiego i/lub żeńskiego. (RJN 2021).

## 2. Niebinarność w literaturze

Teksty literackie mogą stanowić przestrzeń językowych eksperymentów, które nie byłyby możliwe w codziennym języku. Jest znamienne, że zdecydowana większość zebranych w korpusie RJN literackich przykładów to utwory z gatunku fantasy lub science fiction. Jak zauważa Stonawska (2020: 18), rozważania nad płcią i seksualnością są częstym motywem w tych gatunkach. Nawet jeśli wizje światów, w których granice płci przekraczają sztuczne inteligencje, obcy czy anioły, trudno nazwać faktyczną reprezentacją osób niebinarnych (choć i ta się w literaturze zdarza), to użyty w tekstach język może inspirować i przenikać do prawdziwego świata.

Analizując omawianie poniżej teksty, przyglądałem się nie tylko samej morfologii użytych w nich form rodzajowych, ale też obecnym w nich (lub nie) dyskusjom metajęzykowym i temu, jakie konkretnie postacie używają innowacyjnych form.

## 3. Rodzaj nijaki

Rzeczkowski (2012b: par. 7) pisze, że „dla większości osób trans, [rodzaj nijaki] jest językiem opresji”. Można tu przywołać choćby polityka Janusza Korwin-Mikkego, który transpłciową postankę Annę Grodzką określił mianem „pośłęcie Grodzkie” i mówił o niej w rodzaju nijakim<sup>4</sup>. Niemniej, jak pokazują wspomniane wyżej badania, polskojęzyczne osoby niebinarne coraz chętniej sięgają po tę formę, być może dlatego, że nawet jeśli nie uznamy jej za część standardu językowego, to jest jej do niego bliżej niż np. formom mnogim czy dukaizmom. Formy nijakie zdają się też najpopularniejszą niestandardową opcją w polskiej literaturze – w tekstach zgromadzonych

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<sup>4</sup> Zob. np. <https://www.wprost.pl/334053/korwin-mikke-grodzkie-jest-dziwadlem-grodzka-po-plakalam-sie.html>

w „Korpusie Niebinarnej Polszczyzny” stworzonym przez RJN pojawiają się najczęściej<sup>5</sup>.

Stosuje je na przykład Maja Lidia Kossakowska w powieści fantasy *Siewca Wiatru* z 2004 roku. Akcja powieści rozgrywa się w zaświatach, głównymi postaciami są aniołowie (niemal wyłącznie płci męskiej). W rodzaju nijakim mówi poboczna postać, Jagnię:

- (1) „– **Zapytałem**, czy się cieszysz? – **powtórzyło** Jagnię głębokim, wibrującym szeptem, odczuwalnym aż w końcach palców” (Kossakowska 2004: 80)
- (2) „– Poczekaj! – zawołał [Daimon]. – **Powiedziałoś**, że mam coś zobaczyć. Czy zechcesz mi to pokazać?  
– **Powiedziało** – przytaknęło Jagnię. – Wiele rzeczy **starato** ci się przekazać” (Kossakowska 2017: 81)
- (3) „Jagnię **pokazało** mi szczelinę” (Kossakowska 2007: 89)
- (4) „**Ono** nie jest byle Bestią, Gabrysiu” (Kossakowska 2007: 93).

Jagnię, w przeciwieństwie do bardzo ludzkich postaci aniołów, jest Bestią, nadprzyrodzonym potworem, któremu bliżej raczej do zwierzęcia niż człowieka; trudno więc uznać tekst Kossakowskiej za przykład reprezentacji osób używających „niebinarnego języka”<sup>6</sup>. W powieści brak jakiegokolwiek dyskusji metajęzykowej; postaci przyjmują użycie form nijakich za coś oczywistego.

Innym literackim przykładem użycia form nijakich jest powieść urban fantasy „Dożywocie” Marty Kisiel z 2010 roku. Tym razem, rodzajem nijakim posługuje się postać anioła o imieniu Licho:

- (5) „Licho **chciało** z wysoka widoczki oglądać. Prawda, Licho, że **chciałoś**?” (Kisiel 2010: 15)

<sup>5</sup> Zob. <https://zaimki.pl/korpus> Mam tu na myśli oryginalnie polskie teksty literackie.

<sup>6</sup> Z drugiej strony, być może lepiej byłoby mówić o braku reprezentacji niebinarnych ludzi. Jak zwraca uwagę Grzybowski (2021: 34:16), pojęcie *osoba* jest dużo szersze niż *człowiek* i może obejmować inne istoty rozumne (np. bóstwa, postaci fantastyczne, sztuczne inteligencje itd.). Stąd Jagnię z tekstu Kossakowskiej jak najbardziej jest *osobą*, chociaż nie *człowiekiem*.

- (6) „– I tym sposobem **zostałem** aniołem upadłym! – **stwierdziło rozpromienione** Licho, pocierając stłuczony podczas upadku pośladek, i **kichnęło** donośnie” (Kisiel 2010: 154)
- (7) „– Halo, tu alleluja – **pisnęło** [Licho] z całą powagą. Po raz pierwszy w życiu **odbierało** telefon, duma aż **je** rozpierała” (Kisiel 2010: 178).

Co istotne, mimo dość sędziwego wieku (dwieście lat) Licho posiada osobowość dziecka. Zdaje się tu potwierdzać obserwacja Piecul-Karminskiej (2018: 118) o skojarzeniu form nijakich z niedorostłością. W kontynuacji powieści dowiadujemy się też, że nie wszystkie anioły używają rodzaju nijakiego – pojawia się postać anioła, tym razem wyraźnie dorosłego, który mówi w rodzaju męskim.

W tekście Kisiel nie ma w zasadzie otwartej dyskusji metajęzykowej, niemniej ujęta jest ona nie wprost. Główny bohater powieści, poznając Licho, musi przyzwyczać się do używania form nijakich i najpierw odruchowo stosuje męskie:

- (8) „– Zwariowałeś? **Łoś?** **Zwariowałoś?** – poprawił się szybko” (Kisiel 2010: 26).

Lichu jest zdecydowanie bliżej do człowieka niż Jągnięciu, jednak jego dziecięce usposobienie może sprawiać, że używanie przez nie rodzaju nijakiego jawi się bardziej jako element humorystyczny niż faktyczna reprezentacja niebinarności.

Innym przykładem użycia form nijakich jest opowiadanie A. Szydlik pt. *Jak uratować kotka z nawiedzonego domu* z antologii queerowej fantastyki *Tęczowe i fantastyczne* (2020). W tym tekście mamy wreszcie do czynienia z faktyczną reprezentacją osób niebinarnych – rodzaju nijakiego używa narratorze<sup>7</sup> tekstu:

- (9) „**Znalazłem** ten portfel na przystanku, wciśnięty między krzeselka. **Podniosłem** go, trochę bezmyślnie, trochę dla zabicia czasu. Autobus miał

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<sup>7</sup> Formę „narratorze” i inne neutratywy stosuję za *Słownikiem Neutrattywów*, zob. <https://zaimki.pl/slowniki/neutrattywy>

przyjechać za kwadrans. **Mogłom** co prawda iść piechotą, ale było ciemno, zimno i lało, a ja **byłom** bardzo **zmęczone**. **Usiadłom** więc na plastikowym krzeselku i **otworzyłom** portfel” (Szydlik 2020: 581)

(10) „Mam pracę, którą możesz być **zainteresowane**” (Szydlik 2020: 581).

W tekście brak dyskusji metajęzykowej, co w tym przypadku wydaje się uzasadnione – nikt nie kwestionuje tego, że narratorze używa rodzaju nijakiego, dla wszystkich postaci jest to kwestia zupełnie oczywista. Pojawia się za to fragment, w którym wyśmiewa ono „krótkowzroczność” ludzi, którzy nie zdają sobie sprawy z istnienia osób niebinarnych:

(11) „Nad drzwiami widniał napis, nieco zatarty przez czas i mech, ale nie na darmo **studiowałom** alchemię. *Żaden mężczyzna, kobieta ni dziecko nie może przekroczyć tych progów*. Rzucający klątwę są czasami tak strasznie krótkowzroczni” (Szydlik 2020: 584).

#### 4. Formy mnogie w rodzaju męskoosobowym

Ziemińska (2018: 92) proponuje użycie formy *oni* w odniesieniu do osób niebinarnych na wzór angielskiego *singular they*, odwołując się do tradycji *pluralis maiestaticus* (tj. użycia liczby mnogiej przez pojedynczą osobę dla podkreślenia jej statusu)<sup>8</sup>. W innym tekście (Misiek 2020) krytykowałem takie tłumaczenie *singular they*; problemem była tu jednak nie sama forma, a brak konsekwencji – użycie liczby mnogiej w jedynie części zdań w trzeciej osobie łączone było z formami pojedynczymi w pozostałych przypadkach. Istnieją polskojęzyczne osoby niebinarne używające form mnogich, np. pisarze i publicyści Ginny Nawrocka<sup>9</sup>.

W przeciwieństwie do angielskiego *they* polskie formy mnogie są nacechowane płciowo – obok formy męskoosobowej *zrobiliśmy* istnieje nie-

<sup>8</sup> Zob. np. akt abdykacyjny Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego: [https://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Akt\\_abdykacji\\_Stanis%C5%82awa\\_Augusta\\_Poniatowskiego](https://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Akt_abdykacji_Stanis%C5%82awa_Augusta_Poniatowskiego)

<sup>9</sup> Zob. Nawrocka (2020ab) i <https://www.facebook.com/ginnynawrocka>

męskoosobowa *zrobiliśmy*<sup>10</sup>. W standardowej polszczyźnie ta pierwsza forma traktowana jest jako domyślna, używa się jej np. w stosunku do mieszanych płciowo grup (nawet jeśli w grupie jest dwadzieścia kobiet i jeden mężczyzna), znacznie częściej też *singular they* przekładane jest jako *oni* a nie *one*<sup>11</sup>. Również w „Niebinarnym Spisie Powszechnym” formy męskoosobowe były dużo popularniejsze – 13,5% vs 5,5% dla form niemęskoosobowych (RJN 2021).

W literaturze z formami liczby mnogiej rodzaju męskoosobowego można spotkać się np. w powieści fantasy *Skrzydła* Karoliny Fedyk z 2019 roku. Używają ich Eliri, poboczna postać dostojników rządowych:

- (12) „**Najjaśniejsi** Eliri **siedzieli** przy stole anaksa, w otoczeniu jego rodziny i swojej służby (...) [**N**]ie **potrzebowali** symbolicznej słonecznej tarczy wpiętej we włosy, by zwracać uwagę, było to dla **nich** równie łatwe, co oddychanie. **Oparli się** o podłokietnik, przysłuchując się rozmowie z zainteresowaniem. **Zdawali się** nie zauważać, że wokół **nich** służący chodzą ostrożnie, a straż anaksa nie spuszcza z **nich** wzroku. (...) Osun uległ urokowi **gości**. Siedział po prawicy zarządcy, pochylony ku Eliri. Słuchał **ich** z uwagą” (Fedyk 2019: 281)
- (13) „– Zostań – **powiedzieli**. (...) [i] **uśmiechnęli się** lekko. – Nie usiądziesz z **nam**? – Nie wypada, **Najjaśniejsi**. (...) – **Nalegamy**. Brak **nam** towarzysztwa. (...) Nie wszystkie pytania **możemy** zadać odpowiedniemu towarzystwu – **powiedzieli** szczerze, pozwalając wybrzmieć zniecierpliwieniu” (Fedyk 2019: 382)
- (14) „Eliri **popatrzyli** na Arit. (...) Przez chwilę **patrzyli** na siebie, **postaniec** Niegasnącego i przerażona dziewczyna” (Fedyk 2019: 484).

<sup>10</sup> RJN proponuje też neologiczną formę liczby mnogiej w rodzaju nijakim – *zrobiłomy*. Zob. punkt B2 w <https://zaimki.pl/blog/manifest>

<sup>11</sup> Porównaj: <https://zaimki.pl/one> i <https://zaimki.pl/oni>. Z formami niemęskoosobowymi spotkałem się w jednym tekście literackim – opowiadaniu *Smocze dziecko* Artura Nowrota (2020); jest on jednak tłumaczeniem z języka angielskiego, a w niniejszym artykule omawiam jedynie oryginalnie polskie utwory.

Szczególną uwagę w przywołanych cytatach zwracają rzeczowniki. W (12) pojawia się rzeczownik w liczbie mnogiej – „goście”, z kolei w (14) Eliri określani są już jako „poślaniec”. Kwestia form rzeczownikowych może być dodatkową trudnością nieobecną w języku angielskim. Użycie liczby mnogiej rzeczownika stanowi innowację w stosunku do polskiej tradycji – zarówno *pluralis maiestaticus* (por. akt abdykacyjny Stanisława Poniatowskiego wspomniany w przypisie 11), jak i grzecznościowe użycie liczby mnogiej powszechne w okresie PRL-u (np. „Co tu robicie, obywatelu?”) łączyło się z rzeczownikami w liczbie pojedynczej. W odniesieniu do osób niebinarnych używających form mnogich mnogie rzeczowniki wydają się standardem (używają ich np. Nawrocka)<sup>12</sup>.

W powieści Fedyk temat tożsamości płciowej Eliri nie jest poruszany, pojawia się jednak sugestia, że są oni osobą interpłciową<sup>13</sup>, co w realiach świata przedstawionego przydaje im niezwykłego statusu:

(15) „Czasami rodziło się dziecko niebędące ani kobietą, ani mężczyzną – dwie osoby w ciele jednej, podwójne, pełne jak bóstwo. Wybrane” (Fedyk 2019: 185)

W scenie, w której bohaterom zapowiedziana zostaje wizyta Eliri, początkowo przyjmują oni, że mowa jest o kilku osobach. Potencjalna niejednoznaczność mnogich form zostaje wprost podkreślona w narracji (zwróćmy uwagę na pojedyncze formy rzeczowników):

(16) Czy wolno nam poznać tożsamość **naszych gości**?

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<sup>12</sup> Jeśli dana osoba nie tylko określana jest jako oni przez inne osoby, ale też sama mówi [my] *zrobiliśmy, to nas ucieszyło* itd., zasadne wydaje się określanie jej jako *studentów, pracowników, czytelników*, dla zachowania pełnej rodzajowej (i, w tym przypadku, liczbowej) spójności.

<sup>13</sup> Interpłciowość (w literaturze spotyka się też przestarzały i nieprecyzyjny termin hermafrodytyzm) to posiadanie ciała niewpisującego się jednoznacznie w kategorie „męskości” i „kobiecości” (na poziomie chromosomalnym, anatomicznym i/lub hormonalnym). Należy podkreślić, że nie każda osoba interpłciowa ma niebinarną tożsamość (i odwrotnie). Więcej na ten temat: Ziemińska (2018), [https://oiiurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Oii\\_ToolKit\\_Polnisch\\_WEB\\_ES.pdf](https://oiiurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Oii_ToolKit_Polnisch_WEB_ES.pdf)

- Wybaczcie – odpowiedział [kurier] (...) – Wydawało mi się to oczywiste. – Gestem głowy wskazała na pieczęcie w dłoniach Avile. (...)
- **Najjaśniejsi** – powiedział bezgłośnie Avile. Wysłano im nie tylko **członka** królewskiej rodziny, ale i **osobę** wybraną przez Niegasnące. (...) Gdy kurier mówił o Najjaśniejszych, mógł mieć na myśli nie tylko rodzinę, ale i **pojedynczego człowieka**” (Fedyk 2019: 185-186)

Dwa inne przykłady użycia form mnogich – które przez ich podobieństwo omawiam wspólnie – to opowiadania *Dorastanie w czasach cyborgizacji* Agnieszki Żak i *Obca, która była Weroniki Mamuny* pochodzące z *Tęczowych i fantastycznych*. Oba są tekstami science fiction, w których pojawiają się niebinarne postacie – Au i Ariel:

- (17) „Jan tłumaczyła coś zawzięcie Au, którzy co chwila przeczesywali krótko obcięte włosy jakby w geście zakłopotania albo niezadowolenia” (Żak 2020: 241)
- (18) „– Au, to nasz ostatni dzień razem, skupcie się! – Przepraszamy... Bo Laghari w wywiadzie powiedziała... – Oddaliście już tę pracę! Widzisz, Alec? Jeśli zostawimy ich samych, całe wakacje będą słuchać o polityce!” (Żak 2020: 242)
- (19) „– Ooo – ucieszyli się Ariel, kiedy stanęłam w drzwiach z paczką orzeszków wasabi w rozmiarze XXL. – Dawaj, dawaj, dawaj. Bez ceregieli rozdarli paczkę i wpakowali sobie garść do ust” (Mamuna 2020: 410)
- (20) „Ariel pokręcili głową. A potem powoli, jakby ciągle zastanawiali się, czy to dobry pomysł, dodali:
  - Jest jedna rzecz, którą moglibyśmy ci zaproponować” (Mamuna 2020: 411).

Zarówno u Żak, jak i u Mamuny brak jest dyskusji metajęzykowej. Choć oba opowiadania wprost poruszają temat transpłciowości, kwestie językowe nie są opatrzone żadnym komentarzem – niestandardowe formy po prostu pojawiają się w dialogach i narracji.

## 5. Dukaizmy

Nazwa „dukaizmy” pochodzi od nazwiska Jacka Dukaja, pisarza, który owe formy wprowadził do polszczyzny w powieści *Perfekcyjna niedoskonałość* z 2004 roku. Stanowią one największą innowację z omawianych w niniejszym artykule form – Dukaj stworzył w zasadzie cały nowy rodzaj gramatyczny, z nowym zaimkiem i końcówkami odmiany rzeczownika i przymiotnika (co przedstawiono w tabeli 1) oraz nowymi końcówkami odmiany czasownika z głoską <u>: *zrobiu*<sub>tu</sub>, *zrobiu*<sub>ś</sub>, *zrobiu*<sub>tu</sub>.

Tabela 1. Dukaizmy

	Zaimek	Rzeczownik	Przymiotnik
Mianownik	onu	-∅	-u
Dopełniacz	nienu	-u	-enu
Celownik	(je)nu / (je)wu <sup>14</sup>	-owu	? <sup>15</sup>
Biernik	(je)nu	-u	-enu
Narzędnik	num	-um	?
Miejscownik	num	-um	-um
Wołacz	-	-u	-u

Opracowanie własne na podstawie: Dukaj 2004.

- (21) „**Ambasador przywdzia**tu manifestację starego Marolna Brando” (Dukaj 2004: 11)
- (22) „obserwowatu cię **kra**żacu między gośćmi” (Dukaj 2004: 21)

<sup>14</sup> Obie formy celownika zdają się funkcjonować w tekście na zasadzie swobodnej wariantywności.

<sup>15</sup> W tekście nie pojawiają się przymiotniki w tych przypadkach.

- (23) „czy **jakukolwiek Deformant** może ręczyć za **innu Deformantu?**” (Dukaj 2004: 71)
- (24) „Pomyśl: nawet jeśli **stałum** za tym zamachem, czy **byłubym taku głu-piu**, by nie wykasować sobie natychmiast wspomnień zbrodni?” (Dukaj 2004: 168)
- (25) „udało się **Maximillianowu** odtworzyć i odczytać (...) raporty z naszej Studni Czasu” (Dukaj 2004: 171).

Jak widać w przykładach (21), (23) i (25), Dukaj nie tworzy nowych form rzeczowników, pospolitych czy własnych, zamiast nich posługuje się męskimi, którym przydaje nowe końcówki. Wyjątkiem jest jeden fragment, w którym nową końcówkę otrzymuje słowo oryginalnie żeńskie – *żona*:

- (26) „Ani tez phoebe'u Adamu Zamoysku i jemu **żonu**” (Dukaj 2004: 382).

Dukaizmami posługują się w powieści tzw. istoty postludzkie (*phoebe'owie* – *post-human beings*), sztuczne inteligencje i obcy. Człowiek może więc w świecie stworzonym przez Dukaję przekroczyć granice binarności płciowej, ale jedynie stając się istotą postludzką (czymś w rodzaju cybernetycznego umysłu), co ma niewiele wspólnego z prawdziwymi ludźmi o niebinarnych tożsamościach. Temat płci *phoebe'ów* i potrzeby stworzenia nowego rodzaju gramatycznego poruszany jest w poniższym cytacie:

- (27) „– Jak to właściwie jest z płcią phoebe'ów – zagadnął [Zamoyski], by przerwać ciszę. – To znaczy, orientuję się, że ani męska, ani żeńska (...) Dlaczego po prostu nie «to»? Przepraszam, jeśli cię uraziłem, ale nie rozumiem, po co te lingwistyczne wygibasy. Przecież –  
– Ja nie jestem **bezpłciowu**, nie jestem **aseksualnu** – **rzekłtu** sucho phoebe, spoglądając na Zamoyskiego bez mrugnienia. – Po prostu moja seksualność całkowicie transcenduje kategorie męskości i kobiecości. Jeśli możesz dowolnie zmieniać kolor włosów, pozbyć się włosów w ogóle lub zastąpić je czymś zupełnie innym, i przyszedłeś na świat ze wszystkimi tymi potencjami – to jaki sens ma pytanie, czy jesteś blondynem czy brunetem?” (Dukaj 2004: 221).

Zwraca uwagę odżegnywanie się *phoebe* od kategorii „bezpłciowości”, która oznacza nie tylko nieposiadanie płci, ale też m.in. „nijakość” i „bezbarwność”<sup>16</sup>.

## 6. Zakończenie

Każda z omówionych form pojawiających się w literaturze jest używana przez polskojęzyczne osoby niebinarne. Popularność form w tekstach literackich zdaje się odzwierciedlać ich popularność w prawdziwym życiu – ze wszystkich niestandardowych form osoby niebinarne najchętniej sięgają po nijakie. W tekstach literackich są one nie tylko popularne, ale mają też najdłuższą tradycję: choć niniejszy artykuł omawia tylko teksty z ostatnich kilkunastu lat, formy nijakie można znaleźć także np. w opowiadaniu Stanisława Lema pt. *Maska* z roku 1975.

Upowszechnienie form nijakich czy dukaizmów może pociągać za sobą wyzwania o charakterze słowotwórczym, jak pokazują takie inicjatywy jak *Słownik Neustratywów*. Literatura zdaje się dobrą przestrzenią do słowotwórczych eksperymentów, choć obecnie dzieją się one także poza nią.

Zwraca uwagę to, że wszystkie omawiane w niniejszym artykule teksty zaliczają się do gatunku fantasy lub science fiction i że często innowacyjne formy używane są przez i w odniesieniu do postaci, które nie są ludźmi. Nie jest to zaskakujące – po pierwsze, w tych gatunkach łatwo o eksperymenty fabularne (np. z płcią) i językowe, po drugie – samo pojęcie niebinarności płciowej jest dość młode, więc i medialna reprezentacja osób niebinarnych jest czymś, co dopiero zaczyna powstawać. Być może stopniowo wzrastająca popularność niestandardowych form rodzajowych z jednej strony ośmieli niebinarne twórcza do otwartego eksplorowania tematu swoich tożsamo-

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<sup>16</sup> Zob. <https://sjp.pl/bezp%C5%82ciowy>

ści w tekstach, a z drugiej – zachęci cisplciowych<sup>17</sup> twórców i twórczynie do sięgania po takie wątki.

W większości omawianych tekstów brak metajęzykowej dyskusji nad analizowanymi formami, co może mieć pozytywny wydźwięk – teksty, które po prostu używają innowacyjnych form zamiast skupiać się na ich potencjalnej „dziwności”, oswajają osoby czytające z „niebinarnym językiem” i oferują im wizje światów, w których przyjazny osobom trans język nie jest przez nikogo wyśmiewany.

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<sup>17</sup> Cisplciowość to utożsamianie się z płcią przypisaną przy urodzeniu (przeciwieństwo transplciowości), por. Kłonkowska (2017: 19–20).

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## Exploring Niche Online Creative Works: Enhanced Webcomics

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**Abstract:** The appearance of the Internet has offered new possibilities for the comic medium, which up until the 1980s has been created and published solely in print form. Currently, webcomics, that is comics published online, have become a staple of independent creativity. A variety of titles can be found, many of which can be defined by their unique appearance, characteristics and use of online affordances. While webcomics come in varying forms, it can be argued that they can be classified according to two basic categories: non-enhanced and enhanced. Non-enhanced webcomics do not contain advanced online features and can easily be adapted into print form. This is in contrast to enhanced webcomics, which implement such web affordances like animation, music and interactive ludic elements. As such, the following paper will take a closer look at the concept of enhanced webcomics, with an emphasis on Josip Batinić's academic inquiries within this area. Batinić points out that enhanced webcomics offer new reading experiences that go beyond the limits of the printed form, but which have drawbacks. The conclusion is such that enhanced webcomics are a prime example of how online affordances can create new media reading experiences, influencing the reader's reception and understanding of online space.

The comic medium has become a constant presence in both entertainment and literature. The form can be traced back to the seventeenth century (Eisner 1985: 13), and according to some scholars (Saraceni 2003: 1; McCloud 2000: 201; Grifka 2016) even further back into ancient times. However, the contemporary comic medium form was first created in 19<sup>th</sup> century England (Saraceni 2003: 1), when the first recurring character in comics appeared by the name of Ally Sloper. The medium has greatly evolved since then. At first, it shifted into the popular printed comics of DC and Marvel that were first published in the 1930's. Later on, intellec-

tually driven graphic novels appeared, largely popularized by Will Eisner's *A Contract with God* published in 1978 (Saraceni 2003: 2-3). Comics' development was taken a step further with the popularization of the Internet and the subsequent appearance of simple webcomics in the 1980s (Garriety 2011; Ferguson 2019). Webcomics have continued to grow since then; the online environment plays a significant role in shaping the comic medium, influencing it in continuously novel ways that are worthy of scholarly attention (Misemer 2019: 1-2). As Danner and Mazur (2014: 308) point out in their discussion of webcomics, the defining legacy of the form may be: "[the] breaking down of barriers-between languages, between genres, between physical forms, between reader and creator." It is for this reason that the following article will take a closer look at a specific type of webcomics-enhanced webcomics, which thrive on the broad inclusion of web affordances.

The comic medium is made up of two modes: the visual and the verbal, or image and text. These modes are then combined in sequence in order to simultaneously narrate and visualize a story. Will Eisner (1985: 5-8) described comics as sequential art that dealt with the arrangement of pictures to dramatize a story, as well as "a montage of both word and image, [where] the reader exercises both visual and verbal interpretative skills". Scott McCloud's (1993: 200) definition is similar, as it describes comics as "juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence". It can be seen that Eisner's definition draws attention to the role of the reader, while McCloud's focuses on visual/verbal contrast. On the other hand, Thierry Groensteen (2007: 2-6) described comics as a system that contains two subjects of expression: the visual and the verbal. He (Groensteen 2007: 2-6) also describes them as a language due to the fact that comics are: "an original ensemble of productive mechanisms of meaning". Therefore, Groensteen (2007: 2) sees the comic medium as dynamic, one that intertwines and interacts with multiple modes and aspects to create meaning. This notion is upheld in his later book, *Comics and Narration* (2013), which

further focuses on expanding his presented theory within contemporary developments, e.g. the appearance of online comics.

Webcomics do not diverge from the aforementioned understandings of the comic medium; rather, they directly adhere to it. Yet while image and text are the primary modes for webcomics, many titles are additionally supplemented by a variety of web affordances. This is especially true for enhanced webcomics, which are often enhanced with music or animation. As the name implies, webcomics are defined by their online environment, something that Misha Grifka (2016) from the Chicago School of Media theory emphasizes: “[Webcomics] are digital, belonging to the web intrinsically—their form, content, and audience reaction defined by their online nature.” Thus, webcomics are dynamic, and possess an immediacy and social aspect that differs from their print counterparts. Grifka (2016) points out that many webcomics that are published at regular intervals have comments sections and forums that allow readers to interact with both the work and the author. This is something that Misemer (2019) draws attention to as well, signaling that webcomics “have the broadest reach of any form of comics” due to the close development of the comic medium with technology. Because of webcomics’ broad reach, additional classifications have been made in order to further distinguish the category. For instance, Ernesto Ramírez (2010: 227-230) creates a categorization of online comics, where webcomics are differentiated due to them being “originally meant to be distributed and read on digital platforms online using an Internet browser.” Josip Batinić (2015: 1) also singles out webcomics’ online environment as a defining trait, emphasizing (Batinić 2016a: 87-88) their creative online nature and connecting them to other multimedia such as video games and cinema. Other academics such as Julien Baudry (2019) turn their attention to how much digital technology has transformed the comic medium; the latest outcome is shown through the progressive use of web affordances in enhanced webcomics. As such, it comes as no surprise that webcomics have garnered academic interest with time (Misemer 2019: 1). Indeed, fo-

cused attention to not only webcomics as a whole, but a study of their specific types and aspects allow for a detailed understanding of the form as a cultural product of the digital age. As Ferguson (2019) notes, webcomics in their early years “were some of the most influential pieces of the early-ish internet-vibrant and weird...they became culture.” This notion holds true today, and is particularly visible within enhanced webcomics.

Enhanced webcomics began to appear along with the development of the Internet. The heightened accessibility of both personal computers and Internet connection meant that authors began to push boundaries, implementing web affordances that were at their disposal. Webcomics that were published as early as the mid 90's, such as *Argon Zark!* (1997-2019) created by Charley Parker, contained rudimentary hypertext linking and animations. *Argon Zark!* was not only the first long-form webcomic to be hosted online, but was also one of the first to contain interactive elements (Parker 2019). Such innovative approaches, along with Scott McCloud's (2000) insistence on comics taking advantage of the digital environment, led to a different type of webcomics emerging. These were enhanced webcomics, which unlike non-enhanced webcomics did not adhere to print standards and appearances. It is on this basis that Josip Batinić (2016a: 81) draws a division. According to Batinić (2016a: 81), enhanced webcomics are defined by their use and incorporation of online and digital properties, tools, and effects—anything that enhanced the user experience. On the other hand, a non-enhanced webcomic is defined by Batinić (2016: 81) as: “a webcomic organized in panels and with no other special features can be translated into a print format without losing much of its specificity.” It can be seen that the difference lies within the ability to remove the webcomic from its online environment. There would be no issue adapting a non-enhanced webcomic into print, but it would be impossible to do so with an enhanced webcomic without removing crucial new media features that make up the main body of its work. After all, these features influence

its reception, appearance and semantic understanding in novel ways, something that Batinić (2015: 1-3; 2016: 81) also notes.

Furthermore, it is within the backdrop of McCloud's concept of the infinite canvas that Batinić (2015; 2016a) defines enhanced webcomics. In the early 2000s, McCloud (2000: 222) was concerned that most webcomics at the time were predominantly re-purposed print, and proposed the concept of the infinite canvas, which envisioned that webcomics would "treat the screen as a window, not a page." Later on he expanded the definition (McCloud 2009), stating that: "The basic premise [of the infinite canvas] is that there's no reason that long-form comics have to be split into pages when moving online...the advantages of putting all panels together on a single 'canvas' are significant and worth exploiting." In short, McCloud sees the infinite canvas as a way of omitting form constraints that so often accompany print comics. Batinić (2016a: 81-83) sees the infinite canvas as a defining feature of enhanced webcomics, along with other enhancements such as music, sound, interactive engagement and animation. Therefore, the infinite canvas points towards the creative use of online affordances, which is in contrast to print-based comic books. It is for this reason that Batinić's division is helpful; it focuses on the use of web affordances in webcomics, which have the greatest impact on both the work and reader reception.

Enhanced webcomics are often defined by the online affordances they use, as they always impact the reading process to a certain degree. One significant use is aesthetic and visual enhancement, which may not be vital to the plot of the webcomic, but is imperative in setting the tone, pacing and visual appearance. This can be achieved through the use of the infinite canvas, wherein the panels are laid out on a vertical elongated page that the reader scrolls through. Ongoing titles such as *Lackadaisy* by Tracy J. Bulter (2006) and *The Wormworld Saga* by Daniel Lieske (2010) make proficient use of this web affordance, allowing the reader to enjoy an entire chapter uninterrupted by page breaks. A similar use can be observed in Randall

Munroe's (2008) *xkcd* strip, titled "Height", in which the author shows a log of heights on a cosmic scale. At the very top of the panel, the reader starts with a height of 46 billion light-years, and ends with the average human height. Numerous distances are accurately incorporated throughout the panel, ranging from the height of the Great Pyramid to the Alpha Centauri. Batinić (2016a: 82) praises this specific use of the infinite canvas, as it is done with a clear goal in mind: "The use of infinite canvas is not chosen arbitrarily, but rather purposefully to emphasize the spatial distance covered within the comic. Scrolling through the comic gives the reader the impression of quite literally travelling through space on the webpage." As can be deduced, Batinić posits that the best enhancements are ones that are a significant part of the work and offer meaningful reader experiences.

The infinite canvas can also be inverted; that is, panels can be placed on top of one another in a three-dimensional manner, creating the illusion of diving into a work. A reader moves through such a work by e.g. clicking on a panel, which then through the use of animation creates a zooming in effect and brings up a new panel to read. Batinić (2016a: 83) mentions this use in the context of Jouni Koponen's visualization of Neil Gaiman's poem *The Day the Saucers Came*. Through the use of an interactive web application JGate4, Koponen set up rectangular panels made to fade out when a reader clicks on the 'next' button. The animation then puts the panel into the background of the next panel, "thus creating the impression of virtually moving backwards through the depth of the computer monitor" (Batinić 2016a: 83). Such an enhanced presentation is the result of code-based structures and numerous programming possibilities, which add character to something as seemingly mundane as panel transitions.

Other enhanced webcomics do not make use of the infinite canvas, instead choosing to utilize other online affordances. For instance, some webcomics lean towards enhancements that focus solely on visual representation, such as *Dreamspace* (2013) by Mary Safro and Io Black. The old-school cyberpunk webcomic makes use of jolting, oscillating, and flash-

ing animations to frighten and unsettle the reader. This approach sets the tone for the dystopian environment shown in the work. Such examples are a demonstration of how technology shapes works created in new media; they also highlight the possibilities of digital authorship and online reader interaction (Misemer 2019: 20). Furthermore, such new media can influence circulation and reader interaction in ways foreign to print media (Jenkins, Ford & Green 2013: 1-2). An example of this can be seen in the fantasy webcomic *Unsounded* by Ashley Cope (2010).

Ashley Cope created a vibrant personal website for her webcomic that entails an elaborate surrounding hyper frame for each page. This affordance not only influences the tone and aesthetic reception of the work, but also creates meaningful paratext. Here, paratext is what surrounds a creative work, which Mirenayat & Soofastaei (2015: 534) describe as: “titles, headings, prefaces, acknowledgments, footnotes, illustrations”. Simply put, it is anything that is connected to the text, but not a direct part of it. *Unsounded* (2010) is defined by its paratext, as it e.g. actively engages the reader with links to additional websites that explain the content found in the webcomic. It also encourages discussion with other readers and the author herself by implementing forums and comment sections. Thus, a niche community is cultivated around the work. *Unsounded* (2010) is also occasionally enhanced through the use of animation, making it an embodiment of both the dynamism and potential social aspects inherent to enhanced webcomics. Environment and pacing is directly controlled by the webcomic author, who freely uploads new pages at regular intervals and utilizes any online affordances they deem crucial to the work, such as e.g. setting up a dedicated wiki page and linking readers to it through the use of hypertext.

Authorial control over pacing is an aspect often implemented in enhanced webcomics. An iconic example is Randall Munroe’s (2013) *xkcd* webcomic project titled “Time”. The webcomic was uploaded during the course of 123 days; single panels would be automatically uploaded at regular intervals; at first every half an hour, then later every hour. Subsequent panels slow-

ly revealed a story set 11,000 years in the future during a supposed recurrence of the Zanclean flood. As such, readers had two choices: they could either check in regularly, or they could wait for the completion of the project and read at whatever speed they desired. However, the initial pacing, which served as a reference to both the title of the work and its plot, could have only been enforced through the use of online affordances and the instantaneous nature of the Internet. It is for this reason that Munroe's webcomic was very well received, as it challenged the comic medium (Tickle 2013). At the time of publishing, reviewer Tasha Robinson (2013) noted that the work was fascinating due to how it encouraged reader interaction, such as regular website visits and lively discussions. "Time" also enforced an interesting contrast: an extremely slow-paced webcomic was uploaded, set in an environment considered to be fast-paced (Robinson 2013). It is for such reasons that enhanced webcomics have triggered academic interest in empirical reader response studies in online environments (Ensslin & Skains 2017).

While Munroe's aforementioned work uses online programming to portray a unique take on enhanced webcomics, other works successfully blend a large variety of online affordances. Stuart Campbell's webcomics are a good example of that, as they employ sound effects, music, animation, and interactive measures that engage the reader and meaningfully enhance the work. For instance, Campbell's webcomic *Nawlz* (2008) employs music, sound effects, interactive hot spots within panels, and panoramic infinite canvas formatting. The work, which the author describes as an "experimental interactive cyberpunk adventure" (Campbell 2012), immerses the reader into its world due to these web affordances, much like *Dreamspace* (2013-2014) itself. Campbell is a technologically aware author; while he frequently takes advantage of new affordances in his works, he properly integrates them into the body of the work, and does not use them as hollow gimmicks (Starr 2016). The targeted and coherent use of affordances is the reason for which *Nawlz* (2008-2009) has been described as impactful (El Santo 2009); the webcomic focuses on the overlapping of a virtual world with a real

one, its tag line being “distortion reigns supreme”. The tag line is embodied within the animated overlapping of two realities, and is accompanied by computerized sound-effects and occasional forced pacing that purposefully disorientates the reader (El Santo 2009). The evoking of certain reader reception carries on throughout Campbell’s later webcomics, such as *These Memories Won’t Last* (2015).<sup>1</sup> The title, whose topic content centres around memory and loss, makes use of a fog animation that obscures panels after half a minute, forcing the reader to carry on and metaphorically experience the inability to remember (Thomas 2016).

While many authors strive to thoughtfully incorporate online affordances into enhanced webcomics, there do occur instances of misuse. One of the drawbacks of the enhanced webcomic form is the possibility of a work becoming inundated with enhancements that do not benefit the work, nor aid in its the reception. In some cases, reception is actively hindered. Josip Batinić (2016a; 2016b) draws attention to this issue in the context of motion comics, which have become popular on established online comic platforms such as Comixology. Motion comics rely on employing animated transitions, framing and occasional music to enhance reader experience, yet as Batinić (2016b) points out: “Transitional effects...can create nice effects...But they can also be pushed too far, making the comics look like animated shorts aspiring to be something other than a comic. The technology can also make it hard to control the flow of panels.” In such cases, Batinić (2016a: 86-87) calls into question the form itself, as it tends to veer into a form that is associated with animation or cinema, but not the comic medium. Batinić (2016a: 88) also criticizes Goodbrey’s hybrid comic/game works, such as *Icarus Needs*. While such webcomics have the appearance of enhanced webcomics, they are also highly interactive and contain video game elements, e.g. the ability to collect items or utilize jumping or walking

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<sup>1</sup> Due to Flash becoming defunct, the work is currently only available through the use of third-party applications.

mechanics. Such titles are not cumbersome and entertaining for the reader/player, but they venture away from the comic medium and delve into the realm of gaming (Batinić 2016a: 88). Ultimately, Batinić (2016b) comments that a good enhanced webcomic is one that manipulates the form, but does not undermine the core principles of the comic medium.

In conclusion, enhanced webcomics provide unique insight into how established mediums, such as comics, can undergo change due to new media. Webcomics can take advantage of online affordances in varying degrees, which is why Josip Batinić (2015; 2016) has proposed two categories: enhanced and non-enhanced. Enhanced webcomics can be highly elaborate, employing sound, music, animation and interactive engagement in order to heighten reader reception. It is for this reason that enhanced webcomics can also be classified as ergodic literature, that is literature requiring “non-trivial effort”, as outlined by Espen Aarseth (1997: 1-41) in his book on cybertext and the postmodern reader. After all, enhanced webcomics require active engagement from the reader, as well as an understanding of the online environment that plays such a crucial role in webcomics. However, this understanding can be jeopardized if the enhanced webcomic does not implement online affordances in a coherent manner. Ultimately, the continuation of enhanced webcomics as a type of online literature depends on the author’s ability to wisely use chosen enhancements, and not over-saturate a work with different multimedia (Batinić 2016b). This also ensures compatibility and longevity; an enhanced webcomic that incorporates enhancements in a thorough, non-superficial manner establishes a stable online presence. An approach such as this will surely benefit future studies regarding the form.

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## Artur Hellas Knoblich und der *Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender* 1939

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**Zusammenfassung:** Im 16. Jahrhundert kamen in ganz Europa sogenannte Buchkalender auf den Markt. Zuerst waren es nur dünne Hefte, die aber im Laufe der Zeit an Umfang zunahmten und später mehr als hundert Seiten umfassten. Sehr populär waren in Schlesien die Heimat- und Volkskalender. Von der Forschung sind sie lange übersehen oder mit Geringschätzung bedacht worden. Die Kalender in Buchform dienten – wie die heutigen Massenmedien – vorwiegend der lesenden Unterhaltung. Im Jahre 1938 erschien in Breslau der „Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender“ für das Jahr 1939. Der Herausgeber war Artur Hellas Knoblich aus Waldenburg-Dittersbach, Verfasser von Erzählungen und Gedichten. Er war, wie viele Schriftsteller und Dichter Schlesiens, Lehrer von Beruf. Zahlreiche literarische Werke Knoblichs wurden im „Schlesischen Bergland-Kalender“ veröffentlicht, den von 1928 bis 1942 Max Kleinwächter in Waldenburg herausgab. Auf die Frage, warum der Kalender von Knoblich nur im Jahre 1938 erschien, in den folgenden Jahren aber nicht mehr gedruckt wurde, gibt es leider keine Antwort. Wie in anderen Publikationen dieser Art, werden zunächst das Kalendarium und wichtige astronomische Daten gelistet. Danach folgen von verschiedenen Autoren Erzählungen, Gedichte und wissenschaftliche Aufsätze, die sich auf die unterschiedlichen Regionen ganz Schlesiens beziehen. Es sind auch Beiträge in schlesischer Mundart zu finden. Aufgrund seiner politischen Einstellung glorifizierte der kompilierende Kalender-Autor und Herausgeber Knoblich die Nazizeit, so dass der Kalender stark von der damaligen Politik geprägt war.

Kalender sind Publikationen, die von wissenschaftlichen und städtischen Bibliotheken kaum gesammelt wurden. Jeder, der gehofft hatte, in der Lage zu sein, den vollständigen Satz eines bestimmten Buchkalenders zu untersuchen, weiß, wie kompliziert das ist. Das vielleicht größte Problem beim Studium von Kalendern ist, dass sie im Gegensatz zu vielen Zeitschriften, die in der Regel als durchgängige Jahrgangssätze verfügbar sind, nur fragmenta-

risch überliefert sind. Eine weitere Schwierigkeit, die jede und jeder Kalenderforscher\*in kennt, ist die interdisziplinäre Dimension des Kalenders. Unter den Deutschen sind die Volks-, Heimat- und Hauskalender sehr bekannt. Sie wurden auch in Schlesien herausgegeben, aber es gibt sehr wenige Detailstudien. „Fast jede Kreisstadt verfügte vor 1933 über einen eigenen Kalender, der meistens heimatkundliche Aufsätze, praktische Ratschläge sowie Informationen über Jahrmärkte usw. enthielt. Oft war der Druck an die örtliche Zeitung gebunden, wie es das Beispiel Oppelns belegt“.<sup>1</sup> Aber auch in Niederschlesien wurden einige Buchkalender von Zeitungen herausgegeben, zum Beispiel der „Schlesischer Bergland-Kalender“<sup>2</sup> in Waldenburg von „Neues Tageblatt“, der „Onkel Paul-Kalender“ in Waldenburg von der „Schlesischer Bergwacht“, während „Der gemittliche Schläsinger“ im Verlag L. Heege in Schweidnitz zusammen mit der Zeitschrift „Wir Schlesier“ erschien.

1938 gab es in Breslau eine Neuerscheinung im schlesischen Kalendersortiment: Im Frankes Verlag wurde ein „Schlesischer Heimatkalender“ 1939 gedruckt. Sein Herausgeber war Artur Hellas Knoblich aus Waldenburg-Dittersbach, ein Lehrer, der sich wie manche schlesischen Lehrer auch als Schriftsteller betätigte, aber heute fast vergessen ist. Knoblich wurde am 20. August 1894 in Breslau geboren und starb am 20. April 1946 in Schmiedeberg.<sup>3</sup> Sein Großonkel war Augustin Knoblich, Verfasser von Geschichtsbüchern und Geheimsekretär des Breslauer Fürstbischofs. Nach dem Abschluss des Lehrerseminars in Fraustadt unterrichtete Artur Hellas Knoblich seit 1913 in einem Dorf, das nach dem ersten Weltkrieg Polen angegliedert wurde. Durch eine Krankheit kam er nach Posen, wo er wäh-

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<sup>1</sup> Kunicki, Wojciech (2006): „...auf dem Weg in dieses Reich“. *NS-Kulturpolitik und Literatur in Schlesien 1933 bis 1945*. Göttingen, S. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Południak, Natalia (2014): *Wałbrzyski kalendarz regionalny „Schlesischer Bergland-Kalender“ (1928–1942) jako źródło do badań folklorystycznych i historycznych*. In: Bielawska, Sylwia und Wojciech Browarny (Bearb.): *Tom pokonferencyjny Wałbrzych i literatura. Historia kultury literackiej i współczesność*. Wałbrzych, S. 39–62.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Schuder, Werner (1972): „Kürschners Deutscher Literatur-Kalender“. *Nekrolog 1936–1970*. Berlin, S. 351–352.

rend des Großpolnischen Aufstands von den Polen verhaftet und wegen Spionage zum Tode verurteilt wurde. Mit Hilfe von Freunden konnte er aus dem Gefängnis fliehen und fand im Kreis Münsterberg in Niederschlesien ein Unterkommen.

Er engagierte sich intensiv für Oberschlesien, das nach dem ersten Weltkrieg durch den Versailler Vertrag teilweise an Polen fiel. Ab 1930 wohnte er in der Gemeinde Steingrund bei Bad Charlottenbrunn im Kreis Waldenburg. Knoblich war Mitglied im Charlottenbrunner Gebirgsverein und veranstaltete viele Volks- und Heimatfeste, für welche er auch Heimatspiele schrieb.<sup>4</sup> In dem Band *Schlesische Dichtung der Gegenwart* schreibt Hans Christoph Kaergel über ihn

Es ist ja bekannt, daß man oft das am tiefsten liebt, an dem man einst achtlos vorüberging. So bekennt auch Arthur H. Knoblich, dass er zuerst an meiner Waldenburger Bergheimat enttäuscht vorübergefahren sei. Bis er selbst in die Waldenburger Bergheimat verschlagen wurde. Erst dann wurde ihm die schlichte Schönheit der einsamen Wälder Heimat, für die er sich mit hingebender Liebe einsetzte. Die Art, wie er diese Landschaft erleben ließ, deutete darauf hin, daß er eine höhere Berufung empfangen haben mußte. [...].<sup>5</sup>

Auch Franz Zimmermann aus Waldenburg lobte Knoblich anerkennend, als er in seinem Artikel *Schöpferische Kräfte im Waldenburger Bergland*, der in den „Schlesischen Monatsheften“ im Jahre 1936 erschien, über ihn äußerte: „Ein sicherer Blick für die Landschaft und ihre Menschen lassen ihn zum warmherzigen Kunder des Berglandes werden“.<sup>6</sup>

Knoblich hat auch in Waldenburg-Dittersbach als Lehrer gewirkt. Leider ist nicht mehr feststellbar, wann er dort in der Schule im Ortsteil Bären-

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<sup>4</sup> Vgl. H-r. (1934): *Der Heimatdichter Artur H. Knoblich*. In: „Die Lichtung. Beilage für Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft“. Nr. 15, S. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Kaergel, Hans, Christoph (1939): *Schlesische Dichtung der Gegenwart*. Breslau, S. 184–185.

<sup>6</sup> Zimmermann, Franz (1936): *Schöpferische Kräfte im Waldenburger Bergland*. In: „Schlesische Monatshefte. Blätter für nationalsozialistische Kultur des Deutschen Südostens“. Nummer 9, S. 442.

grund angefangen hat zu unterrichten. Im Adressbuch aus dem Jahre 1933 erfahren wir, dass er in dieser Schule, die sich an der Schweidnitzerstraße 63 befand, offenbar auch wohnte.<sup>7</sup> Aber schon im Jahre 1939 hat er Waldenburg verlassen, um sich in Namslau niederzulassen, wo er Rektor einer Schule wurde und in der Feldstraße 4 wohnte.<sup>8</sup>

Artur Hellas Knoblich war Autor von vielen Novellen, Kurzgeschichten, Gedichten, Artikeln und Schilderungen. Seine Prosa und seine Gedichte wurden in verschiedenen Regionalzeitungen publiziert, u.a. in: „Neues Tageblatt“ in Waldenburg ebenso wie in „Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge“ und „Wir Schlesier“, aber auch im „Schlesischen Bergland-Kalender“<sup>9</sup>, der durch Max Kleinwächter in den Jahren 1928 bis 1942 in Waldenburg herausgegeben wurde. Als „Neues Tageblatt“ 1936 ihr 25-jähriges Jubiläum feierte, schrieb Max Kleinwächter über unseren Protagonisten,

[...] [er] hat sein Schrifttum zunächst in sehr geschickter und erfolgreicher Weise für das Bekanntwerden unseres schönen, aber leider für so viele Deutsche verborgenen heimatlichen Landschaftsgebietes eingesetzt. Er ist ein Meister der satirischen Kurzgeschichte. [...] Knoblich ist Leiter der Schriftstellergruppe Waldenburg der Reichsschrifttumskammer.<sup>10</sup>

Der „Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender“ 1939, den Knoblich herausgab, hat 207 Seiten. Auf dem Titelblatt sieht man eine Graphik, die das Rathaus in Breslau darstellt, und eine Kontur des deutschen Adlers. Oben ist der

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<sup>7</sup> Vgl. (1933): Adreßbuch für die Stadt Waldenburg i. Schles. und die Nachbarorte Dittersbach, Hermsdorf, Nieder=Salzbrunn, Ober=Salzbrunn, Ober=Waldenburg und Weißstein. [www.forum.ahnforschung.net/archive/index.php/t-44439-p-2.html](http://www.forum.ahnforschung.net/archive/index.php/t-44439-p-2.html) (10.03.2021).

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. (1940): *Einwohnerbuch der Stadt und des Kreises Namslau mit allen Gemeinden 1940*. Namslau, S. 23.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. Południak, Natalia (2018): *Propaganda narodowosocjalistyczna na łamach wałbrzyskiego kalendarza powszechnego „Schlesischer Bergland-Kalender“*. In: Edward Białek, Tomasz Małyśzek i Natalia Południak (Red.): „Orbis Linguarum“ vol. 52, Dresden-Wrocław, S. 59–72.

<sup>10</sup> Kleinwächter, Max (1936): *Schöpferische Kräfte in und aus dem Waldenburger Bergland/ Schriftsteller, Tondichter, Maler, Bildhauer, Architekten*. In: 25 Jahre Neues Tageblatt, Waldenburg – Schl.: 1911–1936. Waldenburg, S. 18.

Schriftzug „Der Kalender der schlesischen Familie“ zu lesen, darunter folgen Titel und Jahrgang und ganz unten stehen Name und Ort des Verlags. Da 1939 Adolf Hitler seinen 50-sten Geburtstag beging, wurde auf der ersten Seite ein Gedicht von Heinrich Anacker mit dem Titel *Ein Volk – ein Reich – ein Führer* gedruckt; revers ist ein Porträt Hitlers mit der Unterschrift „Zum 50. Geburtstag unseres Führers!“ wiedergegeben und dessen Ausspruch „Wer leben will, der kämpfte also und wer nicht streiten will in dieser Welt des ewigen Ringens, verdient das Leben nicht!“ zu lesen.<sup>11</sup> Das Vorwort, das von der politischen Situation in Deutschland nach dem Machtantritt Hitlers im Jahre 1933 geprägt ist, stammt aus der Feder des Landesgruppenleiters des Bundes Deutscher Osten in Breslau, Alfred Hartlieb. In diesem bereits am 6. Mai 1938 verfassten Text informiert Hartlieb darüber, wie beim Anschluss Österreichs an das Deutsche Reich im März 1938 Adolf Hitler „bei seiner Befreiungsfahrt durch Oberösterreich in der teuren Heimat begrüßt wurde [...]“.<sup>12</sup> In der weithin propagandistischen Darstellung betont er, wie wichtig für alle Schlesier, die jetzt in den Gebieten wohnen, die nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg anderen Staaten angegliedert wurden, die Heimatkalender seien. Besonders geht es dabei um Süd-Posen, Ostoberschlesien und das Sudetenland. Zum Abschluss lesen wir: „Möchten die Heimatkalender den Weg in jedes schlesische Haus finden, um in ihm die Liebe zur Heimat und das Wissen um ihre Vergangenheit und ihre gegenwärtigen Lebensfragen zu festigen! [...]“.<sup>13</sup> Bruno Zwiener zeichnete speziell für den Kalender eine Graphik, die den Gauleiter Schlesiens und Oberpräsidenten Josef Wagner darstellt. Sie steht auf Seite 5, unter ihr befinden sich ein Ausspruch des Gauleiters: „Niemals darf Schlesien mit seinen wertvollen Menschen, seinen Reichtümern an landschaftlichen Schönheiten und Bodenschätzen in den Hintergrund treten“.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> (1939): „Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender“, S. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Hartlieb (1939): Vorwort. In „Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender“, S. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Ebenda, S. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Wagner, Josef (1939): „Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender“, S. 5.

Das Kalendarium umfasst die Seiten 6 bis 28. Jeder Monat wird auf einer Seite dargestellt, wobei auch die alten Monatsnamen angegeben sind, wie zum Beispiel Januar-Hartung, Februar-Hornung und so weiter. In tabellarischer Form werden die Wochentage, gesetzliche Feiertage, geschichtliche Gedenktage und kirchliche Feste gelistet. Darüber hinaus stehen daneben auch die Auf- und Untergangszeiten von Sonne und Mond. Im unteren Bereich zitiert der Herausgeber wichtige Bauernregeln. Zwischen den einzelnen Kalenderseiten befinden sich manche Verse, Aussprüche oder kurze Gedichte verschiedener Autoren und Zeichnungen, die die Landschaft Schlesiens zeigen. An das Kalendarium schließen zwei Seiten für Notizen mit den Überschriften „Aus unserer Familienchronik 1939“ und „Merktafel für´s Haus“ an. Zu guter Letzt folgen Informationen und Daten zu besonderen Ereignissen der Geschichte, wie z.B. die Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst, die Reformation Dr. Martin Luthers, der Abschluss des Versailler Vertrages, den der Verfasser gemäß der Wahrnehmung der Nationalsozialisten als „Schandfrieden von Versailles“ bezeichnet, zudem der Eintritt Deutschlands in den Völkerbund und schließlich die sogenannte nationale Revolution in Deutschland.

Artur Hellas Knoblich gibt anschließend einen Rückblick auf das Jahr 1938. Er schildert mit pathetischen Worten in typisch nationalsozialistischer Diktion, wie es zum Anschluss Österreichs kam: „... das Jahr 1938 ist schon in seinen ersten Monaten erfüllt von großer Geschichte. [...] Ohne Schwertstreich vollzog sich [...] die fast dramatische Rückkehr der uralten deutschen Ostmark in das Reich Adolfs Hitlers“.<sup>15</sup> Man erfährt auch, dass Benito Mussolini, der faschistische Duce Italiens, zu Gast beim Führer in Deutschland weilte. Mussolini war, wie Sandra Kampmann feststellt, das große Vorbild Hitlers.<sup>16</sup> Weiterhin schildert Knoblich, was für eine Bedeutung der Besuch des ungarischen Reichsverwesers in Deutschland hatte, aber

<sup>15</sup> Knoblich, Artur, H. (1939): *Rückblick auf das Jahr*. In: „Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender“, S. 33.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. Kampmann, Sandra (2017): *Diktatoren. Benito Mussolini*: [https://www.planet-wissen.de/ge-schichte/diktatoren/mussolini\\_italienischer\\_diktator\\_und\\_faschist/index.html](https://www.planet-wissen.de/ge-schichte/diktatoren/mussolini_italienischer_diktator_und_faschist/index.html) (11.03.2021).

auch was auf regionaler Ebene geschah. In Breslau etwa fand – in Knoblichs Worten – „das größte aller Turnfeste“<sup>17</sup> statt, und er berichtet weiter: „Hunderttausende aus aller Welt sahen und erlebten dabei Schlesien und sind beglückt und erhobenen Herzens wieder davon gefahren“.<sup>18</sup> Aber auch die Hochwasserfluten des Jahres 1938 werden in Erinnerung gerufen.

Der anschließende Abschnitt im Kalender hat unterschiedliche literarische Charakterzüge. Wir finden dort Gedichte, Erzählungen und viele heimatkundliche Beiträge, ferner dokumentarische Aufzeichnungen so wie Texte in schlesischer Mundart. Vier Kapitel gliedern den Abschnitt. Das erste Kapitel mit dem Titel *Das schlesische Land* enthält auch Texte von Artur Hellas Knoblich selbst. Den Beginn macht sein Gedicht *Die Erde der Heimat*. Knoblich widmet sich besonders der Vergangenheit, so skizziert er z.B. die Geschichte des Schlosses in Bad Warmbrunn, das damals der Familie Schaffgotsch gehörte, eine der bekanntesten und bedeutendsten Familien im Riesengebirge. Darüber hinaus befasst er sich auch mit der Entwicklung des Ortes Bad Salzbrunn und dem dazugehörigen Staatsbad und beschreibt den bekanntesten Dichter des Waldenburger Berglandes, Gerhart Hauptmann, der in Bad Salzbrunn geboren wurde. Seine Begeisterung für die Landschaft der Region, in der er damals wohnte, kommt im Gedicht *Abende im Waldenburger Bergland* zum Ausdruck. Der Theologe, Philosoph, Schriftsteller und Heimatforscher der Grafschaft Glatz, Joseph Wittig, leistet mit zwei volkstümlichen Erzählungen einen Beitrag zu diesem Kapitel. Edmund Glaeser wiederum ist mit einem Text vertreten, in welchem er König Friedrich den Großen glorifiziert und die Schlacht bei Leuthen im Jahre 1757 Revue passieren lässt. Neben weiteren Texten wird auch die Erzählung *Die Orgel in der Stille* des schlesischen Literaturpreisträgers Erich Hoinkis präsentiert.

Auf der Titelseite des zweiten Kapitels *Der schlesische Mensch. Leben heißt kämpfen* ist eine Hand mit Schwert kennzeichnend für die Überschrift.

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<sup>17</sup> Knoblich, Artur, H. (1939): *Rückblick auf das Jahr*. In: „Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender“, S. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Ebenda, S. 33.

Dieses Kapitel ist stark durchsetzt von nationalsozialistischer Indoktrination, was bereits am Anfang mit dem Gedicht *Ritt in das Jahr 1939* von Günter Hohenstein deutlich wird. Danach kommt ein Aufsatz von Knoblich über einen Regiments-Kameraden von Adolf Hitler, nämlich Wilhelm Pfitzner, dessen Vater ein Waldenburger Tischlermeister war. Von Hohenstein ist außerdem mit einer Erzählung über das Schicksal der Sudetendeutschen vertreten. Als der Kalender herauskam, war das Sudetenland noch nicht in das Deutsche Reich eingegliedert worden. Andere Texte beschäftigen sich mit der Entwicklung der Musik in Schlesien. Dabei werden der Komponist und Direktor des Waldenburger Konservatoriums, Franz Herzig, und der in Dittmansdorf geborene Musiker Robert Radecke, der die Melodie zu Friedrich Rückers Gedicht *Aus der Jugendzeit* komponierte, besonders gewürdigt. Eine der folgenden Seiten wird durch die Silhouette des Schriftstellers Hans Christoph Kaergel bestimmt, die der Herausgeber persönlich zeichnete. Von Kaergel, der einige Zeit in Fellhammer, einem Dorf in der Nähe von Waldenburg, wohnte, ist das Gedicht *Vor meinem Haus* abgedruckt. Kaergel spielte in der Nazi Zeit eine wichtige politische Rolle, er war Leiter der Landeskulturkammer Niederschlesiens.

Auch auf die besondere Bedeutung des Bauern in Deutschland richtet sich das Augenmerk, während ebenso die Landschaft Schlesiens beschrieben wird. Auf den nächsten Seiten folgen Gedichte von Anny Mayer-Knop, Gerhart Baron, Hans Niekrawietz, Margarete Koch, Hanns Gottschalk, Egon H. Rakette, Willibald Köhler, Hermann Stehr und Skizzen von Werner Steinberg, Alfred Klose, G. Jörchel und Hans Christopf Kaergel. Zuletzt werden in diesem Kapitel –wie der Autor schreibt – „zeitgemäße Worte aus dem Führerbuch *Mein Kampf*“ zitiert, zum Beispiel „Deutschland wird entweder Weltmacht oder überhaupt nicht sein“ oder „Staatsgrenzen werden durch Menschen geschaffen und durch Menschen geändert“.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Hitler, Adolf (1939): *Zeitgemäße Worte aus dem Führerbuch „Mein Kampf“*. In: „Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender“, S. 110.

Das vorletzte Kapitel trägt – wie das Buch von Dora Lotti Kretschmer – den Titel *Schlesisches Himmelreich*. Hier sind einige Gedichte und Erzählungen von Maria Klerlein und Josef Puder, Lehrer aus Gottesberg, im Dialekt „Gebirgsschlesisch“ abgedruckt, der besonders im Waldenburger Bergland, wo Knoblich damals noch wohnte, gesprochen wurde. Dora Lotti Kretschmer informiert die Leser ihrerseits über die Besonderheiten der schlesischen Küche, sie schreibt, in Schlesien „[...] gibt es eine Menge wohlschmeckender Dinge, leckerfetziger „Spezialitäten“, die jedem in der Schläsing geläufig sind wie das Einmaleins“.<sup>20</sup> Sie nennt den Streuselkuchen, Pfefferkuchen, Liegnitzer Bomben und das Schlesische Himmelreich. Sehr populär war auch der schlesische Tropfen, ein Likör aus der Brauerei in Stonsdorf. Es werden aber auch andere Texte, die keine kulinarische Referenz haben, in diesem Kapitel präsentiert, zum Beispiel ein Artikel über Feldmarschall von Moltke. Darüber hinaus kann man etwas über den oberschlesischen Eulenspiegel mit Namen „Grobla“ erfahren und eine Sage aus der Grafschaft Glatz lesen, die beschreibt, wie die Stadt Wien gegründet wurde. Und es wird von einer Reise nach Jerusalem vor 400 Jahren berichtet. Schließlich werden auch die schlesischen Gebirgsvereine genannt.

Das vierte und letzte Kapitel des Kalenders schließlich trägt den Titel *Schlesische Arbeit*. Auf der Titelseite sieht man, wie bei den anderen Kapiteln auch, eine schwarz-weiße Radierung. Auf ihr sind Schornsteine, ein Förderturm und im Vordergrund ein Pflug zu erkennen. Der Leiter der Wirtschaftskammer Schlesiens und Präsident der Industrie und Handelskammer Breslaus, Otto Fitzner, schreibt:

Die Provinz Schlesien hat von jeher als Glied des preußischen Staates und des Reiches ihre Kräfte in den Dienst des deutschen Volkes gestellt. Wir Schlesier sind uns bewußt, daß uns im Aufbauplan des Dritten Reiches besondere Aufgaben obliegen. Deshalb muß jeder von uns auch die Kräfte kennen, die wir einzusetzen haben. Möge der Heimat-Kalender die Kenntnis von Schlesiens Bergbau und Schwerindustrie und ihren Leistungen für den Vierjahresplan in

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<sup>20</sup> Kretschmer, Dora, Lotti (1939): „Allerlei Guttschmecke“. In: „Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender“, S. 112.

weite Kreise tragen und nicht nur Verständnis finden, sondern auch zur Förderung und Mitarbeit anregen. Heil Hitler!<sup>21</sup>

Da damals in Schlesien die Steinkohleindustrie der wichtigste Wirtschaftszweig war, widmet man in diesem Kalender den Bergmännern und ihrer Arbeit viel Platz. Zunächst wird das Lied *Bergmannsgruß* von Eduard Becher, das Leonhard Roesner vertont hat, zitiert. Dr. Ernst Hoffmann aus der Wirtschaftskammer Schlesien in Breslau schildert die Situation des Schlesischen Bergbaues in Bezug auf den Vierjahresplan. Gleichauf mit der Bedeutung der Industrie war im Drittem Reich aber die Arbeit der Bauern. Oberlandwirtschaftsrat Karfunky, der Hauptstabsleiter der Landesbauernschaft Schlesien, führt dazu aus: „Neben der großen Aufgabe des Bauerntums, Blutsquell der Nation zu sein, wurde vom Führer ein weiteres wichtiges Ziel gesteckt, nämlich das deutsche Volk aus den Erträgen der heimischen Scholle zu ernähren“.<sup>22</sup> Deshalb legte man Wert darauf, mehr Getreide zu erzeugen und eine größere Menge Vieh zu halten. Es folgen verschiedene Aufsätze, die sich der Schweine, Schaf, Pferde, Fisch- und Ziegenzucht widmen. Aber auch zur Gemüseproduktion und zum Obstbau in Schlesien finden sich Beiträge. Es wurde auch nicht vergessen, die bauliche Entwicklung der schlesischen Heilbäder und Kurorte seit 1933 zu skizzieren.

Schließlich erhalten Hausfrauen und Obstbauern gute Ratschläge, während alle Kalenderleser über den Lauf der Planeten im Jahre 1939 aufgeklärt werden. Eine Rätsel-Ecke, wichtige Informationen über die Reichsbahn sowie Angaben zu Postgebühren, Zinsen und Märkten sind auf den letzten Seiten zu finden, dazu ein Jagdkalender und das Inhaltsverzeichnis. Den Abschluss bilden einige Seiten mit Reklame.

Der „Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender“ ist mit Zeichnungen, Graphiken, Radierungen und Holzschnitten von Rudolf Kraft, Klare Schulz, Bruno Zwie-

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<sup>21</sup> (1939): „Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender“, S. 140.

<sup>22</sup> Karfunky (1939): *Schlesiens Bauern in der Erzeugungsschlacht*. In: „Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender“, S. 146.

ner und William Pischke illustriert. Im „Namslauer Stadtblatt“ erschien eine Werbung zum Kalender, die Leser konnten entnehmen, dass der Kalender 0,80 RM kostete und dass ihn die Buch- und Papierhandlung bei Franz Otto in Namslau an der Andreas-Kirchstraße 13 im Sortiment hatte.<sup>23</sup>

Der „Schlesischer Heimat-Kalender“ von Artur Hellas Knoblich war eine regional begrenzte Publikation, in der die Geschichte, Kultur und Literatur Schlesiens dargestellt wurde ganz im Sinne des zeitgenössischen politischen Klimas, und zwar dezidiert mit nationalsozialistischer Ausrichtung. Eine Glorifizierung des Nationalsozialismus ist nicht zu übersehen. Knoblich wie auch die anderen Autoren lebten in einer politisch aufgeheizten und spannungsgeladenen Epoche. So mancher hatte sich an die Zeitumstände angepasst und schrieb so, wie man es von ihm verlangte. Andere waren vielleicht tatsächlich überzeugte Nationalsozialisten. Im „Kürschners Deutscher Literatur-Kalender“, in dem ein kurzer Lebenslauf von Artur Hellas Knoblich erschienen ist, erfahren wir, dass Knoblichs Kalender noch im Jahre 1940 gedruckt wurde.<sup>24</sup> Leider ist kein Exemplar in einer deutschen oder schlesischen Bibliotheken auffindbar. Ebenso wenig wird Knoblich in Nachschlagwerken über Schriftsteller erwähnt. Nur in der *Geschichte der Literatur Schlesiens* im II. Band von Arno Lubos finden wir die lakonische Mitteilung, dass Knoblich Autor von einer Sammlung *Über den Tälern* sei und, dass es sich dabei um „ein Loblied auf das Waldenburger Land“<sup>25</sup> handle.

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<sup>23</sup> Vgl. (1939): „Namslauer Stadtblatt“. Täglich erscheinende Zeitung für Stadt und Kreis Namslau, Nr. 43, Montag, den 20. Februar, S. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. Schuder, Werner (1972): „Kürschners Deutscher Literatur – Kalender“. Nekrolog 1936–1972, S. 351.

<sup>25</sup> Lubos, Arno (1967): *Geschichte der Literatur Schlesiens* II. Band. München, S. 499.

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## *The Tombs of Atuan: Uncovering the Mystery of a Hidden Identity*

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*You were never made for cruelty and darkness;  
you were made to hold light,  
as a lamp burning holds and gives it light.*<sup>1</sup>

Ged the Sorcerer

**Abstract:** The paper closely investigates a self-designed journey leading to the personal development of Tenar/Arha and Ged, the main characters of Ursula K. Le Guin's *The Tombs of Atuan*. The factors discussed that might affect their inner metamorphosis are: the impact of childhood experiences, the indoctrination of a religious system, and the human's innate desire for liberty. Additionally, as these aspects are also important themes in the novel and seem to play significant roles as well in the inner metamorphosis of the characters, Tenar and Ged, there is the exploration of: the power of superstition, the reasons for mutual trust, and the motivation to choose personal fulfillment over societal obligations. Special emphasis has been put on the role of interpersonal bonds, hidden feelings, as well as inner strength in overcoming hardship, brainwashing and its surrounding evil. Furthermore, there have been some manipulative techniques discussed, examining their impact on altering personality. The paper following the American pattern of identity shows that the path leading to the inner transformation of the characters fits with the American characteristic of constant change. Therefore, from a hidden Christian perspective with a conflicting American one, it is possible to see when the ruins of the Place are far away Arha is still torn between two realities: the routine of rituals from the past and the liberty of her new life. The paper tries to show the wide spectrum of threats to the identity of an individual caused by the impact of a totalitarian system. Furthermore, it offers some acute observations leading to the point that a toxic ideology might easily alter identity even on the scale of a nation.

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<sup>1</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 178.

Although Tenar, the main character of *The Tombs of Atuan* written by Ursula K. Le Guin, does search for a new identity, an inner, partially unconscious or subconscious process of a searching is constantly fueled by external stimuli: the servant, Manan, another acolyte, the girl, Penthe, and most importantly, Ged, the Sorcerer. Each character has a significant impact on Tenar's search, but it is Ged, who provides Tenar with a different outlook on Arha's life as well as changing her perception of her world. Therefore, it is possible to claim that Tenar's growth requires outside forces to begin.<sup>2</sup>

The thing is whether liberty, trust and democracy as well as individualism and a right to personal happiness can be implemented in a utopian society based on tyranny, cruelty and close surveillance. At this point it is fair to underline that Le Guin's the Kargad Lands resemble to a significant extent the Soviet Union with its utopian communist ideology.

Therefore, the author deals with the American imagination about what would be the impact of a totalitarian regime on individuals. To do this, the American values are placed on one side through the character of Ged. Ged, the Sorcerer, comes from the Inner Lands also referred to in the story as the West.<sup>3</sup> His hometown is the City Havnor considered as "the great land at the center of the world."<sup>4</sup> Since Ged, the Sorcerer, comes from the West and has a strong personality he might be seen as a holder of the American values with the possibility of altering the utopian society by those same American values. Therefore, another aspect to uncover in the mystery of hidden identities is the impact of the individual on a social system.

Tenar has two powerful childhood experiences. The first deals with her life with her family. It is here where she learns what freedom, liberty, love, personal happiness, and individualism are. In the prologue of the novel there is drawn this powerful picture:

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<sup>2</sup> Kinsey, T. (2021) s. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 102.

Down the orchard aisles, in the thick, new, wet grass, the little girl ran for the joy of running; hearing the call she did not come at once, but made a long circle before she turned her face towards home. The mother waiting in the doorway of the hut, with the fire-light behind her, watched the tiny figure running and bobbing like a bit of thistle-down blown over the darkening grass beneath the trees.<sup>5</sup>

When five years earlier the Priestesses and Wardens of the Place of the Tombs found eight-month-old Tenar, according to Manan, the servant: “she was a fine baby, sitting up on her mother’s knee and looking with bright eyes at all of us, crowding into the one room of the house like bats into a cave.”<sup>6</sup> However, “as she grew older she lost all remembrance of her mother”, since “she belonged here, at the Place of the Tombs. She had always belonged here.”<sup>7</sup> Tenar easily adapts to a new lifestyle, her new responsibilities as well as her new social role. Manan asks himself: “What was the good in remembering?”, admitting simultaneously that: “It was gone, all gone. She had come where she must come. In all the world she knew only one place: the Place of the Tombs of Atuan.”<sup>8</sup> In these passages, it is possible to see how the power of the state overrules the natural development of a child with its family, and how the family – a mother and father, and sisters – can be replaced by other people who do not have the development of the child in mind, but rather are subservient to the needs of the state.

The story shows how and where and by what means Tenar’s mindset is first infected and later monitored by Kossil, the High Priestess of the God-king, and Thar, the High Priestess of the Twin Gods. First, the girl is indoctrinated by being required to use the same phrase from the time she is six years old: “It was all eaten.”<sup>9</sup> The process of manipulation and brainwashing

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<sup>5</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), Prologue.

<sup>6</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 24.

which is applied in the Place causes permanent damage to the Tenar's original identity. She almost does not have any recollections from her childhood. Tenar confesses in the Western Mountains: "I was five. I remember a fire on a hearth, and ... nothing else."<sup>10</sup> In this way, the way leading to a carefully orchestrated eradication of memories, the stage has been set for the programming of Tenar's new identity. Le Guin wants the reader to recognize that this alteration of the individual is based on fear, violence and a blind subordination to the Dark Powers, even though it seems that Tenar has been granted a marvelous position in the society.

The second childhood experience of Tenar deals with her life in the sanctuary. It is here where she learns to deny her individuality and personal happiness by fulfilling a predetermined, state-sponsored destiny. It is to be Tenar's destiny to protect "the tombs of those who ruled before the world of men came to be, the ones not named, and she who served them had no names."<sup>11</sup> Eventually, Tenar becomes the First Priestess, the Reborn. However, she does not know anything more than when she was a child reciting that it was all eaten. She exclaims: "I am their servant and their voice and their hands. And I am their vengeance on those who defile the Tombs and look upon what is not to be seen!"<sup>12</sup> At each step in the process, Tenar must die and be reborn. Le Guin shows that this process of development, personal development, can be hijacked by outside forces which then take over the identity development of the individual step by step. The story makes it clear that to make transformations possible a previous identity has to be erased. This principle is confirmed by Ged who explains to Tenar that "to be reborn one must die."<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, to earn her first new identity six-year-old Tenar undergoes the ritual at the Hall of the Throne with her mock execution and funeral. In

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<sup>10</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 160.

<sup>11</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 16.

<sup>12</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 98.

<sup>13</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 139.

the last stage of the ceremony the little girl is made to “lay face down on a slab of black marble behind an altar while shrill voices sang a lament for the dead”.<sup>14</sup> After an exhausting time, the child is eventually put to bed in a dark room with no windows that has “a dead smell in it, still and stale.”<sup>15</sup> These passages clearly show that Tenar’s original identity is taken from her in a way full of ruthless violence; it is significant that she is given the smell of death for her recovery. The sense of smell is one that is very closely connected to memory. At this point Le Guin seems to claim that the Dark Powers are capable of committing a criminal act by killing an innocent soul and destroying any unique personality. Therefore, six-year-old Tenar is completely defenseless and has been defeated.

Le Guin shows that family bonds are not strong enough to resist an organized state. The author shows through Tenar that family bonds are too weak, the love of parents and siblings is not strong enough to withstand the power of authority that is organized, determined, and ruthless. The original identity cannot withstand such power. After her “death,” the recollections of Tenar’s past are selective and muddled. More importantly, because the child has been instructed for a year in the Temple, she is completely vulnerable to the prospective manipulations at the day of the initiation. As a result, following the ceremony, when her living body is put into a symbolic casket in the Small House, a place that is her home for the rest of her life, her identity that had been shaped by love, light and the Almighty is dead and deeply buried in the Place from which there is no resurrection. At this stage, Le Guin writes a grim fate for Tenar.

At the very beginning of an Arha’s service for the Nameless Ones some memories and feelings from her previous life somehow manage to survive and surface into Tenar’s consciousness.

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<sup>14</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 5.

Only sometimes in the long evenings of July as she watched the western mountains, dry and lion-colored in the afterglow of sunset, she would think of a fire that had burned on a hearth, long ago, with the same clear yellow light. And with this came a memory of being held, which was strange, for here she was seldom even touched; and the memory of a pleasant smell, the fragrance of hair freshly washed and rinsed in sage-scented water, fair long hair, the color of sunset and firelight. That was all she had left.<sup>16</sup>

At the beginning the distant recollections are alive, however, not for very long. Le Guin makes the reader feel the sadness of what Tenar has lost, and the author shows what Tenar is given to replace the sweetness of her past life. Additionally, she loses her name and becomes Arha. In the Place, Arha is taught so many things. She spends her time at classes and disciplines together with the other girls of the Place. She learns the sacred songs and the sacred dances. Of them all, only Arha learns the rites of the Nameless Ones.<sup>17</sup> On one hand the reader recognizes the ordinariness of a child being educated.

However, on the other hand, the reader recognizes that there is something different about this form of learning. First of all, there are some useful skills which are excluded from her education. To prevent Arha from independent thinking she is not taught how to read since “it is one of the black arts.”<sup>18</sup> Further, her mind is occupied all the time by the process of learning how to fulfill her new duties as well as working at many different tasks and chores. Everything is a part of an intricate agenda that seeks to mold her new identity. As a result of the applied training, Arha becomes a mindless, cruel robot that is carefully programmed to serve, protect and worship her nameless masters. Le Guin shows that education can be a tool for good or evil. She makes an argument against rote learning, indoctrination, any

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<sup>16</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 13.

<sup>18</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 137.

learning that does not include or allow questioning or the assimilation of knowledge by a free identity.

Le Guin continues to show the reader that a child separated from a loving family cannot withstand the power of an authority with an agenda. The reader sees the immense and destructive power of hidden suggestions and religious superstitions. The reader is both astonished and frightened at the final outcome on Arha's identity through their application.

At first Tenar's manipulated mind accepts as truth all the lies which the girl has been constantly fed. She believes in a fabricated story that she is another reincarnation of the First Priestess. She firmly believes that she has no name as her soul was eaten by the Dark Powers, and therefore, because she is nameless, she has no identity. Consequently, she feels that she "belongs to them, and has belonged to them since the beginning days."<sup>19</sup> She accepts that whatever happens to her, she cannot ask for anything different.<sup>20</sup> This fatalistic attitude is an element of superstition. This artificial sense of belonging to the Nameless Ones seems to replace her former family bonds as well as be the source of her strength and social status. On one hand, she is without identity, and on the other she is the greatest of them all. Le Guin shows this to be a dangerous internal belief system for both the individual and others. It is a form of superstition. Superstition comes when the believer does not believe because of any free reasoning or faith, but because they have accepted both blindly and fatalistically whatever they have been fed.

Moreover, although there is no light and time when she reaches the Labyrinth "the dark places under the hill were so familiar to her, as if they were not only her domain, but her home."<sup>21</sup> It means that she feels some profoundly personal connections with the Place. Not only does she treat the Labyrinth as beloved home, she also believes that the Labyrinth is the

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<sup>19</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 138.

<sup>20</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 21.

<sup>21</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 55.

center of the universe, saying: "All that happens everywhere, begins here."<sup>22</sup> In addition, her attitude to the Dark Powers is a strange mixture of fear, love and infinite devotion. They mean much more to Arha than her own parents. They are her gods.

Second, the power of hidden suggestions and religious superstitions affects Tenar's personality on a subconscious or semiconscious level. Sometimes Tenar/Arha, being in a state of spiritual exaltation, enters some kind of deep hypnotic trance.

The impact of different manipulative techniques that are used against Arha makes her similar to Kossil: a cruel, mean and struggling for power individual who on the surface acts in the name of the ruling regime, but in fact cares only about securing her own place at the top of a social ladder. Voluntarily or perhaps reflexively, Arha/ Tenar acts on her hateful and vengeful thoughts: "She thought many times about what kind of death she should command for the next set of prisoners, more elaborate, better suited to the rituals of the Empty Throne."<sup>23</sup> Now it is Arha who lectures Kossil that the fear of decapitation is the best remedy for the lack of confidence in slaves who have been ordered to guard the wall. Le Guin warns that every victim of violence may easily change into a ruthless tormentor. Now Arha seems to reach and explore the other side of a mirror. Le Guin shows that this is a terrifying journey deep into another set of possibilities for the individual. Le Guin shows that when someone falls into this spiritual void there is no chance to survive. That is the power of the evil. However, Le Guin brings a savior for Tenar.

Le Guin shows that sometimes divine intervention happens. Le Guin seems to lead at this point to the motto which has been defining the American identity for over two centuries or at least it is on the backs of its currency: In God We Trust.

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<sup>22</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 19.

<sup>23</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 43.

Indeed, it is Ged who comes to save Tenar. Ged talks to Tenar, and gives her new ideas that are in conflict with her superstitions and indoctrinated, brainwashed thinking. Ged tells her: “there are sharks in the sea, and there is cruelty in men’s eyes.”<sup>24</sup> Ged argues further that some places are “made in the world where darkness gathers, places given over wholly to the Ones whom we call Nameless, the ancient and holy Powers of the Earth before the Light, the powers of the dark, of ruin, of madness.”<sup>25</sup> Ged tells Tenar the truth about darkness, but he does not only tell her about what is wrong, he offers Tenar something new.

Le Guin shows that the communication between Ged and Tenar leads to something greater than darkness. The author shows that there is a much greater power in the universe, and that is the power of mutual trust. That is the power of love. That is the power of forgiveness. That is the power of God. That is the mystery of an Arha’s spiritual transformation. Le Guin seems to share the Christian belief that every life is a miracle and even from a bottom of the abyss every sinner can follow the light after hearing the voice of God. Whether Le Guin believes or not, she uses the imagery and motifs of Christian belief. She also shows that the Almighty can find everyone, even in the darkest labyrinth, and that the Almighty often acts in an unpredictable way using others to fulfill his will.

After hearing something different, Arha instantly feels uncomfortable after some prisoners have been sacrificed to please her Masters. She shows deep remorse; she dreams that “she had to carry a full bowl of water, a deep brass bowl, through the dark, to someone who was thirsty.” In her dream “she could never get to this person.”<sup>26</sup>

Le Guin shows that early on that Arha’s new identity is not a perfect tool to serve and order the killings in the name of the Dark Powers. Fur-

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<sup>24</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 130.

<sup>25</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 130.

<sup>26</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 44.

thermore, Arha has at her side Manan, the servant, who loves and protects her like a father, and who also repeatedly shows her “a new way of seeing things.”<sup>27</sup> Perhaps Manan treats her as a daughter. Perhaps Manan does not see in her the First Priestess. Perhaps Manan is able to detect what remains of her original identity that has been hidden behind the facade of authority. Another person who alters an Arha’s perception of the world is Penthe, the acolyte. Perhaps because Penthe is not to be the leader, she has not been so strongly indoctrinated, or she has a less adaptable personality, but for whatever reason, Penthe thinks independently and despite serving the Godking, she has an inborn desire for liberty and personal fulfillment. It seems that Penthe is a mirror image the person Arha used to be or could have been if she had not be chosen.

Le Guin speaks in *The Tombs of Atuan* operating in a language of fantasy. She has created in her mind a fantasy world, a parallel universe full of magic and mysteries. Le Guin’s message, however, seems to be all-embracing. It applies to every individual, to every society, and to every nation. Le Guin seems to preach that liberty, democracy, the right to independent thinking, the right to criticize, the right to happiness are the milestones leading to fulfillment on a personal, social and national level. These values are critical for the Americans. Le Guin, using her fictional characters, Tenar/Arha and Ged, indirectly teaches the reader that these values have been given by the loving Almighty to all his children as well as to all nations on the Earth. However, the values are specifically cherished in the West, Ged’s homeland. In the real world, the United States seems to be the embodiment of the Western hemisphere. In the real world, America seems to be the most powerful symbol of Western culture, a Western way of thinking and Western values.

It also seems that Le Guin warns that the values that have shaped the American identity since the year of 1789 are not given forever. It is pos-

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<sup>27</sup> Le Guin, U. (2001), s. 30.

sible that forces can decide to change what is the American identity and replace it with a new one. If the source of the values is forgotten, then the true values might be forgotten as the Nameless Ones. The values might be stolen like an ancient treasure hidden in the Labyrinth, and leave only robot-like guardians, programmed only to protect what they do not see, know, understand, or love. The values might be unintentionally destroyed since nobody recognizes their immense meaning. The values might be forcefully eradicated through brainwashing as somebody recognizes their great power. The hidden identity is not so much that of Tenar, but of the land and society she is trained to protect. The reader has to question what the beginning of the way was that has resulted in the free Tenar becoming the robotic Arha.

Le Guin provides an example of Tenar/Arha and Ged to show that an inner transformation of the individual is possible, and that individuals need others to be able to become fully themselves. The story which Le Guin writes is hopeful. Le Guin writes with a Christian view of: eternal light and hope of redemption. The hidden mystery has been revealed.

Le Guin, perhaps subconsciously, perhaps even without Christian belief, seems to have written *The Tombs of Atuan*, a story about death and being buried alive and finding life again by the hand of a savior, with another classic that deals with the same themes, the Psalm of David:

The LORD is my shepherd; I shall not want.  
 He makes me lie down in green pastures.  
 He leads me beside still waters.  
 He restores my soul.  
 He leads me in paths of righteousness for his name's sake.  
 Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death,  
 I will fear no evil, for you are with me;  
 your rod and your staff, they comfort me.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> David 23:2-4, The Holy Bible, English Standard Version (2016).

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## Humanizing slaves: slave narrative and pre-revolutionary discourse in the 19<sup>th</sup> century United States

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**Abstract:** The 19<sup>th</sup> century in the history of the United States is remembered as a turbulent time in their history. Social changes were taking place all around the globe, and the US was not an exception. Romantic ideas of unity, individuality, and freedom, as well as early feminism, were popularized by American thinkers and writers. The immorality of slavery, which had dated back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, began to be acknowledged and the change of hearts among Americans became noticeable – this can be partially attributed to the effort of 19<sup>th</sup>-century writers, whose anti-slavery works became popular at the time. Black people started to mark their existence in the public sphere and writers ensured that they finally receive recognition as humans equal to the white people. Black people's 'humanity' was expressed through numerous literary devices and topics, namely evocative language and literary setting, irony, the topic of education and its connection to freedom, female figures and the role of family, the dichotomy between the South and the North, as well as the idea of false Christianity.

### 1. Introduction

Slavery in America has a very long history – it was a part of everyday life for more than 200 years (from 1619, when the first slave ship disembarked in the state of Virginia, to the ratification of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment in 1865). Consequently, it was deeply rooted in American industry and society. Hence, the idea that black people are actually human began developing definitely too late. From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the rise of romantic ideas of freedom, brotherhood, and moralism, more and more

Americans started to notice the savagery of slavery. The abolitionist movement was rising in power, and many people undertook drastic measures to end this cruel practice<sup>1</sup>. However, there were also people aware of the seriousness of the situation who decided to fight slavery in a different way.

Numerous writers in the antebellum United States, especially from the Northern states, touched upon the issue of slavery. Their stories portraying the reality of slaves' life were meant to move their readers and consequently lead to a nationwide change of hearts. It is widely recognized that the rise of slavery-related literature was one of the factors that convinced the Americans of the righteousness of the abolitionist movement and consequently led to the outbreak of the Civil War. Many of the works concerned with the topic of slavery made black people worthy in the eyes of the white population – they finally made them seem 'human'.

This analysis will refer to four books. Two of them are slavery-related books: "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Harriet Beecher Stowe and "Adventures of Huckleberry Finn" by Mark Twain. Both are critically acclaimed and both talk about the issue of slavery. The remaining two are slave narratives, namely "Narrative of the life of Frederic Douglass, an American Slave" by Frederic Douglass, and "Twelve Years a Slave" by Solomon Northup. A slave narrative was a new American genre that appeared in the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was meant to describe a real image of slavery through the eyes of a former slave. It was essential for the abolitionist discourse (Emory 1988: 358).

The aim of this paper is to describe the literary devices and topics used by the 19<sup>th</sup>-century writers in the slave narratives and slavery-related novels, which were used in order to spark change in the social perception of slavery in the United States.

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, John Brown and an antislavery conflict called Bleeding Kansas Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia: (5.05.2021); John Brown. Encyclopedia Britannica: (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Brown-American-abolitionist>) (31.05.2021).

## 2. Analysis

### 2.1. Evocative language and literary setting

One of the most obvious ways, in which the authors of slave narratives and slave-related writings attempted to move their audience, was the usage of particularly evocative language and literary settings. Images of slavery, despite its complexity, on the most superficial level were to shock the readers and evoke in them feelings of sympathy for the protagonists of the story.

In that way, people could largely sympathize with Harriet Stowe's title character, Uncle Tom. The moving images of him – misfortunate yet all through kind and good – asking his master Legree not to beat him certainly appeared shocking for the Northerners, unacquainted with the cruelty of slavery (Stowe 1852: 373). Despite his ill fortune, Uncle Tom pleads to save Legree at all cost. Similarly, all the American mothers must have mourned with Eliza, Solomon Northup's character, when she was brutally separated from her children: "Please, master, buy Emily. I can never work any if she is taken from me: I will die" (Northup 1853: 52). However, slave narrative writers did not avoid conveying more striking images, full of blood, savagery, and unimaginable cruelty. They were to expose the readers to the sad reality of a life of an enslaved person. For instance, Solomon, when in a slave pen in Washington, exclaimed: "My sufferings I can compare to nothing else than the burning agonies of hell!" (Northup 1853: 31). Northup recalls also:

But I was yet bound, the rope still dangling from my neck, and standing in the same tracks where Tibbeats and his comrades left me. I could not move an inch, so firmly had I been bound. (...) My wrists and ankles, and the cords of my legs and arms began to swell, burying the rope that bound them into the swollen flesh. (Northup 1853: 69)

Another evocative and language-related technique is the multiple uses of the so-called "N-word" in Twain's "Huckleberry Finn". The book, although

widely considered a masterpiece, was erased frequently by numerous schools in the United States from the obligatory reading list<sup>2</sup>. It is generally highlighted that his book is, in fact, in favor of abolitionism and the “N-word” appears there intentionally, in order to draw readers’ attention to the problem of slavery and verbal abuse. As it was written after the Civil War on the times before the war, the usage of the word was necessary to highlight the reality of antebellum life. Even though slavery was abolished through the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the US Constitution, racial discrimination did not disappear – later on, lawful discrimination returned thanks to the Jim Crow laws<sup>3</sup>. Consequently, even in Twain’s times, his book sent an important message to their readers.

## 2.2. Irony

Irony became a useful literary device for the writers on slavery, as it incisively hinted at the reality of the enslaved people’s life. It calls on readers to use their sense of humanity, justice, and reason to decipher what is right and what is wrong. In “Twelve Years a Slave” Solomon is held captive by a man named ‘Freeman’ in a building across from the Capitol, which is the American sign for liberty and freedom. This image discloses the irony of a state that refuses to acknowledge the humanity of black people. Later, when a slave at a plantation, he states that “[t]here are few sights more pleasant to the eye, than a wide cotton field when it is in the bloom” (Northup 1853: 191). This phrase comes across as poetic until one realizes that cotton fields are silent witnesses of incredible violence, brutality, and despair. Douglass uses a similar dynamic introducing the reader to Mr. Gore: “Mr. Hopkins was succeeded by Mr. Austin Gore, a man possessing, in an

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<sup>2</sup> CBS News: (12.06.2011): “Huckleberry Finn” and the N-word debate: <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/huckleberry-finn-and-the-n-word-debate/> (25.05.2021).

<sup>3</sup> Urofsky, M. I.: (12.02.2021): Jim Crow law. Encyclopedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Jim-Crow-law> (25.05.2021).

eminent degree, all those traits of character indispensable to what is called a first-rate overseer” (Douglass 1845: 18). At the first glance, it seems to be a praise on his management skills. However, in the South, a ‘first-rate overseer’ must have been cruel, violent, and unjust. Stowe explicitly uses irony to ridicule the moral hypocrisy of slavery. A seemingly good master, Mr. Shelby, sells his “steady, sensible, pious fellow” Tom (Stowe 1852: 2) and breaks Eliza’s family in order to pay his debt. To soothe his nerves he lights a cigar, while two families are being torn apart mercilessly. Northup’s master, Ford, also seems like an amiable person who understands the misfortune of the black people, yet he still compels himself to accept the system and is unable to break from it, even though he senses its immorality. Mark Twain in “Adventures of Huckleberry Finn” excels in irony and satire. The white characters, primarily Huck and Tom, are presented as uneducated and wild creatures, and Twain simultaneously points the reader’s attention to the kindness and thoughtfulness of the black slave. Jim even ironically remarks and summarizes the ‘peculiar institution of slavery’<sup>4</sup>: “I’s rich now, come to look at it. I owns myself, en I’s wuth eight hund’d dollars” (Twain 1884: 50).

### 2.3. Education equals freedom

In nineteenth-century America, literacy was a privilege that was accessible only for the Americans of European ancestry (Emory 1988: 359). It symbolized acquiring a higher rank in the society, thus constituted also a thick, hardly movable line between social classes.

Maintaining slaves’ inability to read and write significantly assisted slaveholders in their quest of keeping slaves obedient and submissive. The most vivid example of such practice was presented in Frederick Douglass’s narrative. One of the most crucial turning points in the story is when Mrs.

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<sup>4</sup> Stamp, M. K. (1956): *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*: New York: Vintage Books.

Sophia Auld, unaware of the customs in slavery holding, attempts to teach the young slave to read. She is instantly criticized by her husband, Mr. Hugh Auld, who gives her one of the first and principal lessons regarding slavery – slaves cannot be taught anything: “He [a slave] would at once become unmanageable, and of no value to his master. As to himself, it could do him no good, but a great deal of harm. It would make him discontented and unhappy” (Douglass 1845: 29). This overheard conversation between his masters proves to be a milestone in his life, and possibly opens his reader’s eyes to the cruel reality. First of all, not allowing the black community to receive an education is a conscious strategy of the slaveholder that is to keep the slaves besot, thus ‘manageable’. Secondly, the alleged intellectual inferiority of the black community is a lie – they simply have no opportunity to show their wit and mental abilities (Warnick 2008: 24). Salomon North-up, for instance, must at all cost maintain his literacy secret – an educated man is a dangerous man, and for the sake of it he might be killed. Education symbolizes intellectual freedom, which frequently led slaves to seek physical one (Warnick 2008: 27). This is precisely what Frederick understood when scolded by Mr. Auld: “What he most dreaded, that I most desired” (Douglass 1845: 30).

## 2.4 Female figures and role of the family

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the target audience for writers changed. With the expansion of the publishing business, it was no longer a group of wealthy gentlemen, but a gradually enlarging group of educated youth and women (Emory 1988: 289). Thus, writers wanted to address their expectations through their more emotional narrative. Prominent female figures were certainly one of the ways to achieve that goal. Therefore, they introduced an entire spectrum of female characters.

They are primarily portrayed as mothers and wives. Some of them are brave – in the plot of “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” there is Eliza, a young and en-

ergetic black mother, ready to die for her son's safety. Some others, like Aunt Chloe, are full of faith in God and they serve their husbands and children wholeheartedly. Eliza, Aunt Chloe, as well as Eliza from "Twelve Years a Slave", serve as symbols of piteous, devoted, and forever-loving mothers and wives. What is worth noticing, through such portrayal of a mother figure, it is even more saddening for the readers to realize the lack of such a character in the story. This is the case in Douglass's narrative, where he states that because he was separated from his mother, he had absolutely no feelings for her: "Never having enjoyed, to any considerable extent, her soothing presence, her tender and watchful care, I received the tidings of her death with much the same emotions I should have probably felt at the death of a stranger" (Douglass 1845: 21). Very important, though maybe secondary characters, are Stowe's Mrs. Shelby and Mrs. Bird. They stand in opposition to their husbands' bluntness and indifference to slavery – furthermore, their views are quite polished and concrete, thus they overshadow their men, who, though aware of the cruelty and savagery of that institution, are unable to stand up to it. Mrs. Bird states: "You ought to be ashamed, John! Poor, homeless, houseless creatures! It's a shameful, wicked, abominable law, and I'll break it, for one, the first time I get a chance; and I hope I shall have a chance, I do!" (Stowe 1852: 81). Her words are not only words of an angry woman, but also of an early feminist. Stowe might have hoped that her female readers would identify with those characters and convince their persistent husbands to stand against slavery. On the other hand, however, Stowe presented also images of Ophelia and Marie who are further from the female ideal. Ophelia is described as a hard-working Northern woman in favour of abolitionism. However, the novel indicates, especially by her emotionless attitude towards Topsy, that she is nevertheless prejudiced against black people. Another female figure, pure and naïve Eva, must help the adult realize that overcoming prejudice is crucial in order to be a true abolitionist and a true Christian. Stowe again points to the issue of slavery and indicates that a true abolitionist should abandon any form of prejudice.

## 2.5. Dichotomy – polarization of South and North

Writers in the antebellum period very skilfully portrayed the differences between Southern and Northern states, in order to expose their faults and their backwardness. Firstly, the appreciation for industrialization and urban life is presented by Frederick Douglass, when he arrives in Baltimore – although Maryland was a slave state, it was very different from the deep South. “I had resided but a short time in Baltimore before I observed a marked difference, in the treatment of slaves, from that which I had witnessed in the country. A city slave is almost a freeman, compared with a slave on the plantation” (Douglass 1845: 48). Furthermore, Southerners had no sense of need for changing their old habits and environment. It was one of the aspects that shattered the image of a ‘Southern gentleman’, exposing them as very narrow-minded and of low morality (Emory 1988: 254). While in the North new inventions and discoveries were most certainly welcomed and appreciated, in the South people were quite unwilling to change. George from “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” was not only left without any gratitude for his smart invention but he was simply punished for it. Consequently, he was removed from the factory and forced to marry, even though he was already married to Eliza. Although George’s employer was impressed with his skill and wanted to give him a decent wage, his master could not stand the idea of his slave being in any way successful:

He [George’s master] ‘d soon put a stop to it. He’d take him back, and put him to hoeing and digging, and “see if he’d step about so smart.” Accordingly, the manufacturer and all hands concerned were astounded when he suddenly demanded George’s wages, and announced his intention of taking him home. (Stowe 1852: 11)

This passage expresses clearly the difference between the Southern and the Northern mentality. The biggest difference, however, is the institution of slavery itself. The South had to be portrayed as states full of barbarianism, and their politics were based on the so-called ‘niggero-

cracy' (Emory 1988: 354). The sad truth about 'Southern gentleman' was revealed through numerous books about slavery. It strengthened the consciousness of the differences between the North and the South, consequently, although indirectly, leading to the breakout of the Civil War (Douglas 1981: 19).

## 2.6. False Christianity

Faith in the 19<sup>th</sup> century United States was an important concept not only among white citizens but also among slaves. Thanks to the First Great Awakening in the 1730s and 1740s, many slaves turned into Protestantism, as spiritual equality appealed to them (Emory 1988: 117). Then, the Second Great Awakening only strengthened their faith. In order to shock deeply evangelical Northerners, writers portrayed various examples of false Christianity. One of the minor examples is Northup's William Ford. He is a seemingly good and very pious person, who organizes Bible readings for his slaves: "We usually spent our Sabbaths at the opening, on which days our master would gather all his slaves about him, and read and expound the Scriptures" (Northup 1853: 58). However, although he was a devoted Christian, he still believed in the inferiority of slaves and kept them as his property. A more drastic example is Edward Covey, a villain in Douglass's narrative. It is difficult to even call him a Christian – that is what Douglass says about him: "Every thing he possessed in the shape of learning or religion, he made conform to his disposition to deceive. He seemed to think himself equal to deceiving the Almighty" (Douglass 1845: 72). Not only is he a terribly cruel slaveholder, but also forces his female slave Caroline to live with a married man and to be a 'breeder' for his slaves, thus forcing her to adultery. In his appendix, Douglass refers very accurately to Christianity and its existence within the slavery system. It is a call for a change of human minds and souls, for admitting and changing the faults of false Christianity. It is a desperate cry for help:

What I have said respecting and against religion, I mean strictly to apply to the slaveholding religion of this land, and with no possible reference to Christianity proper; for, between the Christianity of this land, and the Christianity of Christ, I recognize the widest possible difference—so wide, that to receive the one as good, pure, and holy, is of necessity to reject the other as bad, corrupt, and wicked. (Douglass 1845: 119)

## Conclusion

Talk about black skin, and black blood; why, how many slaves are there on this bayou as white as either of us? And what difference is there in the color of the soul? Pshaw! the whole system is as absurd as it is cruel. – Bass (Northup 1853: 141)

Nowadays, there are billions of people that share Bass's opinion, however, humanity as a whole probably will never fully eliminate racism. A more and more progressive society managed to combat plenty of movements based on hate and prejudice, but in the past opposing discrimination was different. The situation in the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was especially peculiar. The existence of the institution of slavery, permitted by law, was very convenient for most Americans. Black people supplied the necessary workforce and they effectively fuelled the American economy. Since it was mainly the Southern economy that was supported by the slave workforce (Emory 1988: 254), abolition of slavery was especially unattractive for the Southern states. Nevertheless, reasonable people still fought for admitting human rights also to black individuals.

The role of writers was extremely significant. They focused on an aspect of slavery that seemed to be overlooked by many politicians and anti-abolitionists – the fact that black people are not very different from the white citizens, the fact that they have families and dreams that they long for safety, freedom, and happiness. The authors of slave narratives and slavery-related novels showed it explicitly to their white audience. They de-

picted vividly the way black slaves lose everything or do not have anything, and how terrible their life can be. They are deprived of the right to freedom, to education, and to have a family life. Their treatment is not in any way fair. Writers debunk stories concerning slaves' happiness in their being slaves, and other myths put forth in the South. Their writing made them seem human, and black people finally were presented in the image they deserved.

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 Translation studies



## The translation of linguistic politeness in voice-over – a reception study

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**Abstract:** This article contains an analysis of negative and positive politeness in voice-over. It describes translation techniques used in voice-over and elements of the original voice track that are likely to undergo omission in the translation. The study is based on one of the most famous works on politeness i.e., Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. It presents a description of a study about the translation of positive and negative politeness in voice-over and the influence of proficiency in the source language on the reception of a film. The aim of the study is to establish whether there is any connection between the level of proficiency a viewer has in the language of the original production and the level of enjoyment and understanding of the politeness strategies used in a series while watching a voiced-over version in their native language.

This study aims to investigate if and how linguistic politeness is translated in voice-over. In particular, I wanted to examine whether the presence of the original sound track has any impact on the viewers' reception of the plot or relations between the characters. The assumption was that the recipients with some proficiency in the source language would be able to rely on it as well as their presupposed familiarity with the culture of that language in order to contribute to the process of meaning-making. As politeness is closely linked with culture, even when accurately translated may not leave the same impression on a viewer watching a film in the target language if that person is not able to refer to original utterances.

## Politeness theory

In politeness theory, the essential role is attributed to the concept of *face*, formulated originally by Erving Goffman (1967). Brown and Levinson differentiate *negative face* explained as “the want of every ‘competent adult member’ that his actions be unimpeded by others” and *positive face*, “the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 62). In other words, the *negative face* reflects one’s need for independence and of not being imposed on, while the *positive face* mirrors the longing for acceptance, understanding, approval, etc. (Żurek, 2008).

In the natural course of conversation, the interlocutors’ faces might be threatened by “acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 65), which are denominated as face-threatening acts (FTAs). Culpeper describes FTAs more precisely as “[a]ny action that impinges to some degree upon a person’s face (typically, orders, insults, criticisms)” (2011, p. 7).

To perform an FTA is generally believed to be unwanted by the interlocutors who are rather willing to save each other’s faces (Brown, 1970). What is more, it is believed to be a matter of mutual interest to protect the faces of the interlocutors. Because of this, Brown and Levinson present various strategies used when one wants to minimize the threat, among them *positive politeness* and *negative politeness*.

*Positive politeness* is a term used to describe actions oriented toward preserving the *positive face*. Its main aim is to indicate that Speaker to at least partially respects and shares Hearer’s wants and in result, the threat presented to the *positive face* by an FTA is minimized (Culpeper, 2011). Some of the strategies of *positive politeness* are: *use in-group identity markers, seek agreement, avoid disagreement*.

*Use of in-group identity markers* refers to a deliberate choice of address forms. In languages based on the so-called T/V systems, “the second-per-

son plural pronoun of address doubles as an honorific form to singular respected or distant alters” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 107). As Brown and Gilman propose, the symbol *T* refers to the singular form that reinforces familiarity as *tú* in Spanish or *tu* in French, and respectively, *V* refers to *usted* or *vous* used as a more polite form (1960). Another way of marking that the hearer belongs to the same group is the use of generic names and terms of address, diminutives, endearments, and nicknames (Brown & Levinson).

To *seek agreement* in Brown and Levinson’s (1987) understanding means to look in the conversation for the topics that make it possible for the speaker to express their agreement with the hearer. The speaker is recommended to look for such aspects of the topic that allow them to agree with the hearer and to focus on them. Agreement can also be expressed by the repetition of the previous hearer’s utterance or its part (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

To *avoid disagreement* reflects the speaker’s need to hide their disagreement with the hearer or formulate their response in such a way it at least appears to agree with the hearer’s previous statement. Another device for this strategy is hedging options which allow the speaker to express in an ambiguous way i.e., not to agree or disagree at all. In English, the most common hedges in *positive politeness* are: “sort of, kind of, like, in a way” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 116).

## Negative politeness

*Negative politeness* relates to the actions with the main aim of maintaining *negative face* of the hearer. It is the application of strategies that enable the speaker to show respect towards the hearer’s freedom and independence (Culpeper, 2011). Some of the *negative politeness* strategies are: *Question, hedge; Be pessimistic; Apologize*” (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

To *question, hedge* stands for “a rhetorical strategy that attenuates either the full semantic value of a particular expression, as in ‘He’s sort of

nice', or the full force of a speech act, as in 'I must ask you to stop doing that'" (Fraser, 2010, p. 15). In their reasoning, Brown and Levinson (1987) determine hedges as expressions that indicate only partial correctness of a statement or that something is true only to some degree. In consequence, hedges enable the speaker to establish a gap between what is being said and the speaker's wants.

To *be pessimistic* equals expressing doubts whether the speaker's utterance met the requirements of appropriateness in terms of preserving the hearer's negative face. This strategy can be observed in "indirect requests with assertions of felicity conditions which have had a negated probability operator inserted" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 173).

By *apologizing*, the speaker demonstrates "his reluctance to impinge on H's negative face and thereby partially redress that impingement" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 187). In everyday language there are many expressions that we use to implement this strategy, hence there are various ways for the speaker to show his unwillingness to threaten the hearer's negative face. For example, to *indicate reluctance* using hedges or phrases that indicate hesitation or to *give overwhelming reasons* that serve as an excuse for imposing the threat (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 189).

## Politeness in voice-over

Voice-over, which is in the centre of our interest here is "a technique in which a voice offering a translation in a given language (TL) is heard simultaneously on the top of the source language (SL) voice" (Díaz-Cintas & Orero, 2006, p 477). The viewer can hear the beginning and the end of the original utterance as the voice track with the translation is usually inserted after the source language version begins and it ends respectively earlier. Because of these temporal constraints, certain features of orality are not

translated (Szarkowska, 2009). This includes forms of address, false starts, repetitions or some forms of politeness.

Sepielak's (2014) enumerates *exposition* among the translation techniques used most frequently in voice-over. It is a "technique of using synchrony and leaving the original sound track perfectly audible with no translation provided" (Sepielak, 2014, p. 260). This technique is essential to support her claim that spectators do not base their understanding of the plot solely on the translated sound track but also partly on its original version (Sepielak, 2014). It may mean that politeness strategies which do not appear in the voiced-over version might be understood by the viewers with ability to understand them and that they contribute to their understanding of the relations between the characters of a film.

## Study on the translation of linguistic politeness in voice-over

The goal of this study is to examine the effects of politeness strategies in voice-over translation on Polish viewers and to determine whether the proficiency in the original language of the film has an impact on viewers' enjoyment.

The simplifications imposed by the limitations of voice-over may result in a distortion of how certain characters and the interactions between them might be perceived by the target audience. It might be even stronger if the source language and its culture is distant and unknown to the target viewer. Because of this, the study was based on a Swedish series *Bonusfamiljen* (Eng. *Bonus Family*) (Herngren et al. 2017).

### Participants

Participants were asked to assess their Swedish language proficiency in accordance with the Common European Framework of Reference for Lan-

guages. Half of the participants (29 people) reported not to know Swedish at all. The other half knew Swedish to some extent: from A2 (12% of all participants) to C1 (3% of all participants), see Table 1.

Table 1. Proficiency in the Swedish language among the participants

	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
No knowledge	29	50
A2	7	12
B1	8	14
B2	12	21
C1	2	3

## Materials

Participants were invited to complete an online survey consisting of three sections. To answer the questions, the participants watched three fragments (approximately 6 minutes altogether) of the series *Bonusfamiljen*. It is focused on two main characters, Lisa and Patrik who have recently divorced their ex-partners and are now living together. They both have children with the previous partners and they try to deal with day-to-day challenges such patchwork family may face. The selected fragments presented a wide range of social situations and interactions between people whose relationship have a varying level of acquaintance and different social roles.

The politeness strategies selected from the fragments basing on the original sound track were divided into two groups: *positive* (Table 2) and *negative politeness strategies* (Table 3). Each example is presented along with its translation from the Polish voiced-over version of the series, as well as a literal translation of the original utterance, question from the question-

naire that corresponded to a certain politeness strategy in the survey and information whether the politeness strategy from the original version appeared in voice-over.

Table 2. Positive politeness strategies in the selected fragments of the series

Positive politeness strategies					
Utterance as heard in the original voice track	Literal translation	Utterance as translated in the voiced-over version	Does the politeness strategy appear in the translation?	Question in the questionnaire	Politeness strategy
Så William är också intresserad av kampsport?	Więc William także interesuje się sztukami walki?	William też lubi sztuki walki?	Yes	1. Anders cares about maintaining the conversation with Katja.	Seek agreement
Ja, jo. Lite. Men han är väl tydligen ganska hopplös, eller?	Tak, no. Trochę. Ale on jest chyba wyraźnie dosyć beznadziejnym przypadkiem, czy nie?	Może trochę. Ale z tego co słyszałem, nic z niego nie będzie.	Yes	2. Anders' utterances are very diplomatic.	Avoid disagreement
Just det.	Dokładnie.	–	No	3. Lisa agrees with Göran's suggestions during the conversation in the office.	Seek agreement
Jag hör att vi är på samma våglängd du och jag.	Słyszę, że ty i ja nadajemy na tych samych falach.	Nadajemy na tych samych falach.	No	4. Göran is very friendly towards Lisa.	Use of in-group identity strategy

Table 3. Negative politeness strategies in the selected fragments of the series

Negative politeness strategies					
Utterance as heard in the original voice track	Literal translation	Utterance as translated in the voiced-over version	Does the politeness strategy appear in the translation?	Question in the questionnaire	Politeness strategy
Kan inte du lämna den?	Ty nie możesz tego odłożyć?	Możesz to wziąć?	No	5. While talking with Katja, William is very polite.	Be pessimistic
Kan du inte vidarebefordra mejlet så får jag också kolla?	Nie mógłbyś przesać mi tego maila, żebym też mogła się zorientować?	Prześlesz mi tego maila?	No	6. Katja is very direct in the conversation with Anders.	Be pessimistic
Men... Vadå? Är ni tillsammans, eller?	Ale... Jak to? Jesteście razem, czy nie?	Spotykacie się?	No	7. Katja and Lisa's relationship is full of distance.	Question; hedge
Okej. Jag har haft ett problem med mejlen. Vissa verkar inte ha kommit fram.	Emm... Okej. Miałam problem ze skrzynką pocztową. Niektóre maile nie dochodzą.	Miałam kłopoty ze skrzynką pocztową. Nie dostałam maila.	No	8. Lisa behaves in a very friendly way during the phone call with Göran.	Apologizing

## Procedure

The survey consisted of three sections, one for each of the selected fragments. To take part in the survey, the participants had to have access to Netflix. At the beginning of each section, the participants were provided with the exact time interval they were supposed to watch and a still picture from the relevant fragment. As the participants did the study at home without any supervision, they were provided with detailed instructions on how the study should be conducted, i.e. that they were supposed to watch each fragment just once, in Polish voiced-over version and without any subtitles.

The sections consisted of questions aimed to examine whether the participants' proficiency in Swedish enables them to notice politeness strategies and thus accurately assess the characters' behavior. In these sections, each question stands for one politeness strategy present in the fragment. The participants had to answer by marking on a Likert scale the degree to which they agreed with a statement in the question. The higher score a participant obtained the more polite characters' behaviour and attitude were according to them.

The last part of the survey measured the self-reported enjoyment the participants experienced while watching the fragments. Once again, they had to determine the degree to which they agreed with presented statements on the Likert scale.

## Design

The study used a between-subjects design with the proficiency in the Swedish language (no proficiency at all vs some proficiency) as factor. There were two dependent variables: politeness and enjoyment.

Whether participants had noticed politeness strategies was assessed basing on their judgement of the relations between the characters of the series. The total score range was from 8 to 56. The questions were de-

signed in such a way that each question corresponded to one politeness strategy that appeared in the fragment.

In enjoyment, the score range was from 5, which indicated the participant did not enjoy the fragments at all, to 35, which meant the participant enjoyed the fragments very much. The score depended on participants' responses on the Likert scale in the last part of the survey.

## Results and discussion

### Politeness strategies

The main goal of this study was to verify the assertion present in voice-over that some parts of the original voice track can be perfectly understood even by the viewers with no knowledge of the source language, mainly thanks to the context and the presence of the original language. I wanted to examine whether the viewers are more likely to notice politeness strategies if they know the source language of a film and if it somehow impacts on their perception of the relations between the characters of a film.

In order to investigate potential differences in how viewers with and without proficiency in the source language interpret politeness strategies, an independent samples t-test with proficiency with Swedish as the independent variable and viewers assessment of the relations between the characters of the series as the dependent variables was conducted.

Contrary to my predictions, there was no significant difference in the politeness scores for group with no knowledge of the source language ( $M=34.30$ ,  $SD=3.00$ ) and with proficiency ( $M=35.80$ ,  $SD=3.78$ ),  $t(56)=1.664$ ,  $p=0.102$ . The results indicate that the participants who knew Swedish did not notice more strategies when compared with viewers with no knowledge of the Swedish language (see Table 4).

Table 4. T-test results for perception of politeness by proficiency in Swedish

	t	df	p	Proficiency in Swedish	Mean	SD
Overall perception of politeness	1.664	56	.102	No knowledge	34.30	3.00
				Proficient	35.80	3.78

In order to obtain a more detailed view, an independent samples t-test with individual questions separately was conducted (see Table 5). In general, a tendency for the group with some proficiency in Swedish to present higher mean values was observed. However, the differences were significant only for two of eight questions, namely Question 5 and 8 which corresponded to *be pessimistic* and *apologizing* respectively.

Table 5. T-test for perception of politeness strategies by proficiency in Swedish

Politeness strategy	Proficiency in Swedish (two groups)	M	SD	t	df	p
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>Positive politeness strategies</b>						
1. Seek agreement	No knowledge	5.31	1.29	.733	56	.467
	Some proficiency	5.07	1.22			
2. Avoid disagreement	No knowledge	4.21	1.84	.683	56	.497
	Some proficiency	3.90	1.61			
3. Avoid disagreement	No knowledge	5.00	1.87	.366	56	.716
	Some proficiency	4.83	1.71			
4. Including both Speaker and Hearer in the activity	No knowledge	4.34	1.52	-1.077	56	.286
	Some proficiency	4.76	1.41			

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>Negative politeness strategies</b>						
5. Be pessimistic	No knowledge	2.31	1.04	-2.415	56	.019
	Some proficiency	3.00	1.13			
6. Be pessimistic	No knowledge	4.59	1.82	-.891	56	.377
	Some proficiency	5.00	1.71			
7. Question, hedge	No knowledge	3.86	1.53	0	56	1
	Some proficiency	3.86	1.19			
8. Apologizing	No knowledge	4.66	1.52	-2.082	56	.042
	Some proficiency	5.34	0.94			

Question 5 that corresponded to negative politeness strategy *Be pessimistic* referred to an exchange between Katja and her son William, during which he asked her to carry his backpack. In the original version the imposition that Speaker (William) made on Hearer (Katja) was minimalized as there was a negation in the question (see Table 2), i.e. Speaker beforehand assumed his request may not be fulfilled. In the voiced-over version Speaker's request was much more direct due to the lack of negation. The higher score in the group with proficiency in the Swedish language suggests that these viewers managed to notice the untranslated politeness strategy. This presumably had an impact on their assessment of William's behaviour and his attitude towards Katja. It is expected of a child to refer to their parents in a polite way. Perhaps this is why the lack of mitigation of William's request in the voiced-over version resulted in its distorted reception by the group with no proficiency.

In the case of Question 8. (*Apologizing*), the conversation between Speaker (Lisa) and Hearer (Göran) regarded their meeting, for which Lisa was late. She seemed to be surprised by the information that the meeting should have been taking place at that very moment but judging by her reaction, she was sorry for the situation. In the original, Speaker (Lisa) used

two different strategies of realizing negative politeness strategy *Apologizing*. Firstly, she demonstrated her reluctance (*Emm, okay*). Secondly, she gave an *overwhelming reason*, i.e. she explained herself by stating it was her malfunctioning email box fail. The first strategy did not appear in the translation at all. It could have been expected given that utterances expressing typical features of spoken language, such as hesitation, usually do not appear in voice-over (Matamala, 2019). The case of the second strategy is more interesting as in the original sound track there is a suggestion that there is something wrong with Lisa's email box. In this way, she indirectly tries to take the blame on herself. In contrast, in the voiced-over version speaker claims she did not receive the email at all. It suggests that it was not Lisa's fault, but Göran's, thus the threat to his face increases significantly because of the altered *ranking of imposition*.

Surprisingly, there have been some questions for which the mean was higher in the group with no knowledge of the Swedish language (Questions 1, 2, 3 in Table 2). These questions related to positive politeness strategies: *Seek agreement* (Question 1 and 3) and *avoid disagreement* (Question 2). These results are surprising especially taking into consideration that in Question 3 the politeness strategy did not appear in the voiced-over version. The reason might be that the group with no proficiency might have relied more on the non-verbal interactions between the characters than the group with proficiency. The latter might have focused more on rendering the auditory verbal information and as a consequence ignored some parts of non-verbal communication. Another explanation may be that the group with no knowledge of the Swedish language was unlikely to be familiar with how Swedes tend to interact with strangers. All of these three positive politeness strategies were from the fragment in which Katja met Anders. As for two adults who do not know each other, they communicate in a fairly direct way. If this conversation was originally held in Polish, they most likely would use honorific forms of address as *Pan* and *Pani*, which in Polish are conventionally used to refer to other adults one is not acquainted with. In Swedish, there is a possibility to refer to the interlocutor via second person

plural pronoun *ni*, but nowadays it is very rare and is rather reserved for institutional settings (Ilie, 2005).

Despite some differences the results of the study suggest that the proficiency in the source language did not significantly impact on viewers' perception of politeness strategies or on their assessment of the relations between the characters of a film. The results do not confirm my hypothesis that proficiency in the source language enables viewers to notice politeness strategies in the original sound track and that it somehow impacts on their reception of a film.

## Enjoyment

Finally, I wanted to know whether proficiency in the language of the film sound track impacts on viewers' enjoyment. I hypothesized that people who know Swedish will report higher enjoyment than those who do not. I assumed they would be able to familiarize more with the characters representing culture they presumably are interested in and in general notice more cultural idiosyncrasies than the viewers who do not know that culture. To delve into that matter, an independent samples t-test was conducted (see Table 6). I found a significant difference between the scores of people with no knowledge of Swedish ( $M=18.7$ ,  $SD=8.41$ ) and group with proficiency in Swedish ( $M=24.51$ ,  $SD=7.14$ ),  $t(56)=-2.826$ ,  $p=0.007$ . The group who knew Swedish reported noticeably higher enjoyment scores. In line with the hypothesis, these results suggest that proficiency in the source language might have a positive impact on viewers' enjoyment.

Table 6. T-test for Enjoyment by proficiency in Swedish

	t	df	p	Proficiency in Swedish	Mean	SD
Overall enjoyment	-2.826	56	.007	No knowledge	18.7	8.41
				Proficient	24.51	7.14

## Conclusion

With the increasing number of productions from different cultures, which irremediably change the viewers' experience, research on how they understand the relations and exchanges between the characters seems to be of vital importance. There is a profusion of ways in which a message might be conveyed. How a speaker decides to do it is an individual choice based on the cultural context, relationship one has with the interlocutor, and the impression they want to leave.

This study was designed to investigate the differences in perception of how the messages are conveyed, based on the translation of politeness strategies between the viewers with and without proficiency in the source language of a film. Even though the differences appeared only in some of the examined fragments, some attention should be paid to that matter as sometimes a misunderstanding of one utterance can lead to a further misinterpretation of a whole situation.

Additionally, I found out that some proficiency in the source language has a positive impact on enjoyment the viewers experience while watching a voiced-over movie. The reason might be the overall higher interest and familiarity with the culture and linguistic idiosyncrasies of the source language in the group with proficiency in the source language. This would comply with suggestions that the co-presence of the original voice track with the voiced-over translation has a positive impact on the viewers' experience (Luyken, 1991). This shows that even if the proficiency in the source language does not impact the viewers' experience to such a degree as I hypothesized it still might be beneficial for the viewers.

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## Tolkien's Fictional Languages and Scripts and Their Functioning in his Fictional Universe

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**Abstract:** Our paper, entitled "Tolkien's Fictional Languages and Scripts, and Their Functioning in his Fictional Universe", discusses selected fictional languages and scripts created by J. R. R. Tolkien, and describes the reasons behind the usage of them in cultural texts. Its aim is to briefly familiarize the listeners with the topic and encourage them to reflect on how the fictional languages as well as scripts can influence the authenticity of a created world. The paper consists of three parts; the first one provides definitions of the terms "fictional language" and "fictional script". The second part examines the functions of the language of Quenya as well as its characteristic features. As regards the third part, it analyses the logical order of writing in the script of Tengwar and its appearance in Tolkien's books. Additionally, several other examples of fictional languages and scripts used in Tolkien's world are discussed.

A language is a system of conventional symbols which can be spoken, written or signed.<sup>1</sup> It is used by human beings to cognise the world around them, to communicate with one another and to express their thoughts, emotions and beliefs. Languages can be divided into natural and constructed ones. The natural languages are the products of evolutionary changes over the centuries whereas the constructed ones are deliberately created by one individual. It is worth mentioning that the latter may be described with other terms such as *planned languages*, *invented languages* or *artificial languages*. A subset of constructed languages which will be discussed in this article is known as *fictional languages*. This notion describes the in-

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/language>

vented tongues which were created in the purpose of becoming a part of a fictional world. The fictional languages are used mostly in fantasy or science fiction universes. The examples of them are for instance the Klingon language used in *Star Trek*, Tolkiensque Elvish languages and the Dragon tongue *Dovah Zul* from the internationally known computer game series *The Elder Scrolls*.

On the other hand, a script, or a writing system is „*a set of letters or other characters with which one or more languages are written especially if arranged in a customary order*”<sup>2</sup> Through a script, a human can preserve information on stone, paper, wood, etc. (or in a file in the modern era). Thus, a fictional script is a writing system devised solely for use in a diegetic world, be it a novel, game, motion picture, etc.

In Tolkien’s fictional world, there are several languages that can be found. Some of them are uncertain to be acknowledged as the languages since they consist of a very limited range of vocabulary. The examples of that kind of tongues could be for instance the Elvish languages such as Telerin, Doriathrin and Nandorin, which „*are primarily known in the form of vocabulary items numbering from ca. 30 and up to a few hundred (only for Telerin do we have a few short sentences of actual text)*”<sup>3</sup> The Adûnaic tongue, which is the language spoken by the Men of Númenor in the Second Age, is also barely constructed – there is „*only a handful of sample sentences and a vocabulary of less than 200 words*”<sup>4</sup> that exist. Even less is known about the Black Speech used in Mordor. The very example of this tongue is the inscription written on the Ring, which is *Ash nazg durbatulûk, ash nazg gimbatul, ash nazg thrakatulûk agh burzum-ishi krimpatul*.<sup>5</sup> These words are translated into English as *One Ring to rule them all, One Ring to find them, One Ring to bring*

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<sup>2</sup> Merriam-Webster Dictionary.

<sup>3</sup> <https://folk.uib.no/hnohf/howmany.htm>

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>5</sup> Tolkien, J. R. R., HarperCollins Publishers (2001), p. 333.

*them all and in the Darkness bind them.*<sup>6</sup> Apart from that extract, there are a few other words in the Black Speech but the passage from the One Ring is undoubtedly the most known. That indicates that only a few fictional tongues invented by Tolkien can actually be considered as the languages because they are not fully constructed.

An example of a developed fictional language invented by Tolkien is Sindarin. This is an Elvish tongue spoken in Middle-earth during the Third Age. At the time, it was the most common Elvish language. It was widely used in everyday conversations, as witnessed by the fragment in which Glorfindel greets Aragorn using such words as *Ai na vedui Dúnadan! Mae govannen!*<sup>7</sup> The first part of this quotation was not translated but Helge Kåre Fauskanger, who created the website *Ardalambion* dedicated to the fictional languages appearing in Tolkien's universe, translated it as „Ah, at last, Westman!”<sup>8</sup>. The second part, „Mae govannen”, means *well met*<sup>9</sup>. Another example which illustrates usage of Sindarin in everyday cases is presented in „*The Hobbit: An Unexpected Journey (Extended Edition)*” picture. In a casual conversation between Lindir and Elrond, the first said: „*Taenen bar-en-abad athar glaind, nevui penim miruvor. Manann ingadh namen i-dar-thathar?*”<sup>10</sup>, which was translated into English as „*The kitchen is under enormous strain, we are almost out of wine. How long do you think they will be with us?*”<sup>11</sup>. These instances clearly signify that it is possible to express thoughts in some ordinary situations using Sindarin, which is a proof of the high development of this tongue. Nevertheless, it is not only in informal dialogues where Sindarin is used. Worthy of note is the fact that there is a hymn written in this tongue, which indicates that Sindarin is a suitable language to ex-

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<sup>6</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>7</sup> Tolkien, J. R. R., HarperCollins Publishers (2001), p. 275.

<sup>8</sup> <https://folk.uib.no/hnohf/sindarin.htm>

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>10</sup> *Hobbit: An Unexpected Journey*, Peter Jackson, New Zealand, USA 2012.

<sup>11</sup> *Hobbit: An Unexpected Journey*, Peter Jackson, New Zealand, USA 2012.

press thoughts also in the elevated situations. The stanza of this hymn that is known, reads: „ *A Elbereth Gilthoniel / silivren penna míriel / o menel aglar elenath! / Na-chaered palan-díriel / o galadhremmin ennorath, / Fanuilos le lin-nathon / nef aear, sí nef aearon*“<sup>12</sup>. Fauskanger’s translation, which was based on this made by Tolkien himself, is: „*O Elbereth Starkindler, white-glittering, sparkling like jewels, the glory of the starry host slants down. Having gazed far away from the tree-woven lands of Middle-earth, to thee, Everwhite, I will sing, on this side of the Sea, here on this side of the Ocean*“.<sup>13</sup> Usage of Sindarin in the context of a hymn elevates the language and renders it distinctly more sophisticated. Therefore, one can notice that as far as an artificial tongue can be complete, Sindarin seems to be very well-structured.

Another example of a developed language invented by Professor Tolkien is Quenya, which is one of the most known constructed languages in general. This is a tongue which was used by the Elves called Noldor who were the only speakers of it in Middle-earth. Unlike Sindarin, Quenya is not to be found in casual conversations, but one can notice usage of it e.g. in old songs or poems. The very example of the appearance of Quenya in poetry is Galadriel’s Lament entitled *Namárië*. This is the longest text written in Quenya in *The Lord of the Rings*. The first stanza of it reads as follows: „*Ai! laurië lantar lassi súrinen, / yéni únótimë ve rámar aldaron! / Yéni ve lintë yuldar avánier / mi oromardi lisse-miruvóreva / Andúnë pella, Vardo tellumar / nu luini yassen tintilar i eleni / ómaryo airetári -lírinen. / Sí man i yulma nin enquantuva?*“<sup>14</sup>. Tolkien translated this part of the lament as: „*Ah! like gold fall the leaves in the wind, / long years numberless as the wings of trees! / The long years have passed like swift draughts / of the sweet mead in lofty halls / beyond the West, beneath the blue vaults of Varda / wherein the stars tremble / in the voice of her song, holy and queenly. / Who now shall refill the cup*

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<sup>12</sup> Tolkien, J. R. R., HarperCollins Publishers (2001), p. 311.

<sup>13</sup> <https://folk.uib.no/hnohf/sindarin.htm>

<sup>14</sup> Tolkien, J. R. R., HarperCollins Publishers (2001), p. 496.

for me?"<sup>15</sup> This text is a manifestation of admirably high level of development of Quenya. Reading that extract, one may already consider this language as advanced but to get a wider perspective it is of great importance to mention some structure of the tongue. Helge K. Fauskanger constructed a manual for Quenya learners, where he discussed such grammatical issues as e.g. cases and tenses. Using the course one can notice that Quenya possesses a thoroughly constructed grammar, which can be proved by building a plural form of a word *seler*, which means *sister*, with stem variation. When a word ends with a consonant, one should add *-i* as an ending to build a plural. In this case, however, there is a contraction, which „often occurs in two-syllable words containing two identical vowels”.<sup>16</sup> Thus, „as the plural of *seler* “sister” we might expect *\*\*selri*, but since *lr* is not a permissible consonant cluster in Quenya, it is changed to *ll* – the actual plural “sisters” being *selli*”.<sup>17</sup> Another evidence for the advancement of Quenya are small changes in spelling such as using *qu* instead of former *q*. „In most pre-LotR sources, the combination “cw” is represented by the one letter *q*. But in a few early sources (published only posthumously), and more importantly in LotR, Tolkien used *qu* rather than just *q*.”<sup>18</sup> A similarity can be observed in usage of *k* and *c*. As was written in Fauskanger’s course, „since the original inspiration for Quenya was Finnish, and Finnish orthography employs the letter *k*, it is not surprising that Tolkien originally preferred that grapheme. But as is evident from Letters:176 quoted above, he later decided that in LotR, he would spell Quenya as similar to Latin as possible. Guided by Latin orthography, he started to use the letter *c* instead of *k*.”<sup>19</sup>

The changes of spelling may be associated with the evolution, which is typical for natural languages. The same impression is made by the advancement of grammatical issues appearing in the manual mentioned above so,

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<sup>15</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>16</sup> <https://folk.uib.no/hnohf/qcourse.htm>

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem.

in this regard, Quenya might seem to act almost as a natural language. However, one should always bear in mind that both Quenya and Sindarin are constructed languages, therefore they would not be fully sufficient for communication in the real world due to their limited vocabulary range. Nevertheless, the structure of these languages and works written in them are wholly admirable and remarkable.

It is necessary to mention in this article the Elvish script – Tengwar – and its vital importance to the plot. Not only do the Elves use it daily, but also Men (of Rohan and Gondor) and Dwarves; even Sauron engraved the dark message on the One Ring in this alphabet. However, within this seemingly ordinary fictional script Tolkien devised a remarkable system. For it to be fully explained, the way in which Tengwar is adjustable to almost every existing language must be expounded. Its versatility lies in the fact, that the letters have no absolute fixed phonetical values; instead, they have to follow certain rules, which will be explained later. Thereby, every language has (or can have) its own set of character values, called a mode.

First Tolkien, then his son Christopher, and later – the fans and researchers have devised numerous modes of Tengwar. Among them are three English modes, Quenya mode, Beleriand mode, Black Speech mode, Polish mode, etc. This way, each letter in a mode is assigned to a phoneme existing in the given language's phonology. For example, in the Polish mode there is a need for a character assigned to the sound  $\text{ɕ}$ ; on the contrary, in the English mode there is no such need, therefore no letter has such value.

The modes differ from each other in that each of them has to convey the sound of a different language – be it through additional marks (like in Polish Mode – the sound  $\text{ɕ}$  is expressed through the character **figure 1**, which is the letter indicating the phoneme  $s$  with a diacritic above it) or by differing values of the signs. The latter can be observed for example through comparison of the Quenya Mode and Black Speech Mode. The two languages vary greatly, one of the differences being the lack of aspiration in the former and abundance of it in the latter. Thus, in Quenya Mode the

letter figure 2 marks the sound s, and in Black Speech Mode – θ. To take the matter further, in Polish Mode it indicates the sound ś.



Figure 1



Figure 2

Source of the figures: McKay, Chris (2004): Tengwar Textbook

However, the comprehensiveness of Tengwar is not its sole asset. What makes the script so easy to adjust to every language is a set of principles, which bind the letters together based on the phonetic features of phonemes assigned to them. To understand the system, one must become acquainted with the character charts, which are shown below. The rules explained in this paragraph concern consonants appearing in the English Common mode – the most widely used of three English modes.

	I		II		III		IV	
1	Ṗ	t – as in <u>tie</u>	Ṗ	p – as in <u>pie</u>	ᑭ	ch – as in <u>chess</u>	ᑭ	k – as in <u>kite</u>
2	ṖṖ	d – as in <u>dog</u>	ṖṖ	b – as in <u>boy</u>	ᑭᑭ	j – as in <u>joke</u>	ᑭᑭ	g – as in <u>game</u>
3	Ḃ	th – as in <u>thigh</u>	Ḃ	f – as in <u>four</u>	ᑭᑭ	sh – as in <u>shoot</u>	ᑭᑭ	kh – as in <u>loch</u> (Note 1)
4	ḂḂ	dh – as in <u>thy</u>	ḂḂ	v – as in <u>victor</u>	ᑭᑭᑭ	zh – as in <u>occasion</u>	ᑭᑭᑭ	gh – as in <u>agha<b>st</b></u> (Note 2)
5	Ṣ	n – as in <u>night</u>	Ṣ	m – as in <u>make</u>	ᑭᑭᑭ	ny – as in <u>canyon</u> ng – as in <u>sing</u> (Note 3)	ᑭᑭᑭ	ng – as in <u>sing</u> ŋg – as in <u>finger</u> (Note 4)
6	ᑭ	r – as in <u>car</u> (Note 5)	ᑭ	w – as in <u>wake</u>	ᑭ	y – as in <u>story</u>	ᑭ	q – as in <u>queen</u> (Seldom used)

Figure 3

Source of the figure: McKay, Chris (2004): Tengwar Textbook

The characters are divided into four *témar* – vertical series, and six *tyeller* – horizontal grades. A letter is composed of two parts: *Lúva* (bow) and *Telco* (stem), which can be doubled (bow), raised or reduced (stem), depending on the grade in which the letter is located. The series, *témar*, indicate the place of articulation. In the series I, the sounds are mostly alveolar, and in the series II – bilabial and labiodental. Series III represents palatal and velar sounds, and series IV – velar ones. Although this rule is followed in this and all other Tengwar modes, it is subject to minor changes, depending on the language’s phonology.

The grades, *tyeller*, indicate the manner of articulation. Grade 1 is used for voiceless plosives, 2 for voiced ones, 3 for voiceless fricatives, 4 for voiced ones, 5 for nasals and 6 – for semi-vowel consonants. With exception of grades 5 and 6, one can notice that doubling the bow means a voiced equivalent of the consonant.

	r – as in <u>red</u> (Note 5)		rd – as in <u>coward</u> (Seldom used)		l – as in <u>late</u>		ld – as in <u>cold</u> (Seldom used)
	s – as in <u>see</u>		s – as in <u>see</u> c – as in <u>city/ocean</u> (Seldom used)		z – as in <u>zoo</u>		z – as in <u>zoo</u>
	h – as in <u>high</u>		hw – as in <u>when</u>		y – as in <u>yak</u> i-glide diphthongs (Note 6)		w – as in <u>war</u> u-glide diphthongs (Note 7)
			ph – as in <u>graph</u>				
	<i>the</i>		<i>of</i>				gh – as in <u>bought</u>
	<i>of the</i>		s – as in <u>see</u>		quiet h – as in <u>John</u> h – as in <u>high</u> (Note 8)		

Figure 4

Source of the figure: McKay, Chris (2004): Tengwar Textbook

When writing in Tengwar, one can use several additional characters not belonging to this system of consonants. There are also some letters that indicate short words, mostly conjunctions, appearing frequently in English.

Two marks assigned to the sound “r” appear in the charts. To decide, which one to use when writing, one should follow the so-called “r-rule”. It dictates that when the sound “r” is followed by a vowel, **figure 5** is used, but when it is located before a consonant or at the end of the word, one should use **figure 6**.



Figure 5



Figure 6

Source of the figures: McKay, Chris (2004): Tengwar Textbook

While consonants in Tengwar are marked by normal letters, vowels follow entirely different principles. They are indicated by diacritic marks, *tehtar*, placed above, below, or sometimes inside the characters. In English Common Mode *tehtar* are written over the following letter. Thus, the vowel is read as though it precedes the consonant it's put above. When this arrangement is infeasible – for example the vowel ends the word – a carrier is used. The type of the carrier depends on the length of the sound. To better visualise the appearance of a *tehta* and a carrier, one should look at the following chart.

This way to write vowels may prove hard to learn for the ones accustomed to Latin alphabet. However, there is a solution – full modes. In this type of modes vowels are marked by normal characters, in contrast to *tehta* modes, which are described above.

Furthermore, many modes include a specific manner of writing diphthongs. In the English modes there are two possible ways: either using

a carrier or a special mark, devised for the sole purpose of representing diphthongs. In fact, there are two such marks, one assigned to the so-called I-glide diphthongs and another – to the U-glide ones. The following chart shows, from left to right, the following phonemes: ai (ay), ei (ey), oi (oy), ui (uy), au (aw), eu (ew), iu (iw), ou (ow).

Mark	With Tengwa		With Short Carrier		Over Long Carrier	
ˆ	◌̂	Preceding a – as in: cat/along/came/care	◌̂	Short a – as in: cat/along/care	◌̂	Long/double a – as in: Aaron/came
ˆ	◌̂	Preceding a – as in: cat/along/came (Seldom used)	◌̂	Short a – as in: cat/along	◌̂	Long/double a – as in: Aaron/came
´	◌̂	Preceding e – as in: kept/keep	◌̂	Short e – as in: kept	◌̂	Long/double e – as in: keep
ˆ	◌̂	Preceding long/double e – as in: keep				
·	◌̂	Preceding i – as in: kit/kite	◌̂	Short i – as in: kit	◌̂	Long/double i – as in: kite
ˆ	◌̂	Preceding o – as in: top/open/book	◌̂	Short o – as in: top	◌̂	Long/double o – as in: open/book
ˆˆ	◌̂	Preceding long/double o – as in: open/book (Seldom used)				
ˆ	◌̂	Preceding u – as in: cup/cute	◌̂	Short u – as in: cup	◌̂	Long/double u – as in: cute
ˆˆ	◌̂	Preceding long/double u – as in: cute (Seldom used)				
ˆ	◌̂	Preceding y – as in: style/system	◌̂	Vowel y – as in: story (Seldom used variant)	◌̂	Vowel y – as in: by
.	◌̂	Silent following e – as in: here	◌̂	Silent e – as in: fog		
ˆ	◌̂	Following a – as in: cat	◌̂	Short a – as in: Earth (Note 1)		

Figure 7

Source of the figure: McKay, Chris (2004): Tengwar Textbook

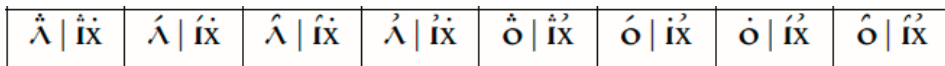


Figure 8

Source of the figure: McKay, Chris (2004): Tengwar Textbook

Ai, ei, oi, and ui are I-glide, and they are marked by the character:



Figure 9

On the other hand, au, eu, iu and ou are U-glide and they are represented by the mark: **figure 10**. Above these a tehta is written, marking the first sound of the diphthong.



Figure 10

Source of the figures: McKay, Chris (2004): Tengwar Textbook

Apart from all the previous rules, there are some additional diacritic marks indicating sounds or their combinations appearing frequently in speech or text. Furthermore, to write in Tengwar, a few further principles are needed. They are explained in *The Tengwar Textbook* (author: Chris McKay).

As could be predicted, Tolkien did not let this tremendous amount of work be idle. Among the engrossing storytelling and dialogue in his works, he put a pinch of authenticity by employing Tengwar in the plot. One of many examples is of course the Doors of Durin, the entrance to the mines of Moria.

-	ᄁ	Preceding n or m sound – as in: pant/bump
-	ᄂ	Doubles the length – as in: toss
ᄃ	ᄄ	Following s – as in: carg

Figure 11

Source of the figure: McKay, Chris (2004): Tengwar Textbook

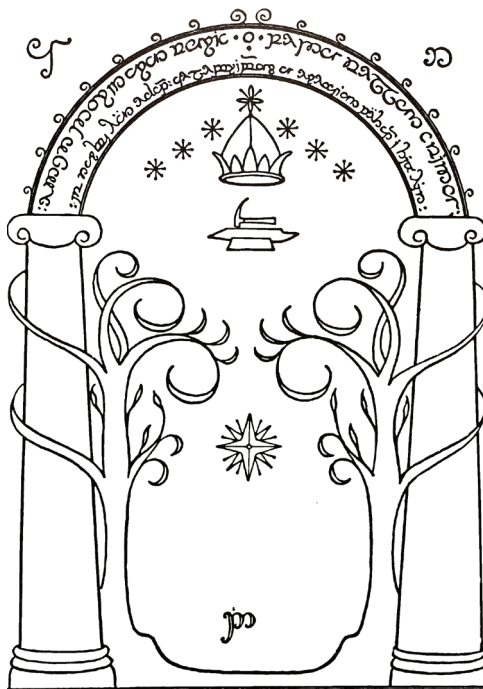


Figure 12

Source of the figure: [https://www.clipartkey.com/view/xxoJbi\\_doors-of-durin/](https://www.clipartkey.com/view/xxoJbi_doors-of-durin/)

The inscription reads: "The Doors of Durin, Lord of Moria. Speak, friend, and enter. I, Narvi, made them. Celebrimbor of Hollin drew these signs."<sup>20</sup> in the mode of Beleriand. As another instant one could name the engraving on the One Ring. The jewellery piece that Sauron forged in the fires of Mount Doom, into which he poured a substantial part of his power and malice, has a certain distinguishing mark. When the ring is cast into a heat source (or is worn by the Dark Lord himself), letters begin to appear on its surface. It's an inscription in Tengwar, an extract of a poem; in rough translation, it means: "One Ring to rule them all, One Ring to find them, One Ring to bring them all and in the darkness bind them."<sup>21</sup> These words are naturally written in Tengwar, in Black Speech mode. This mode contains mostly letters that mark aspirated sounds due to the harsh and unpleasant tone of the orcs' language.

Creation of the fictional languages and scripts requires very long and hard work, so it is not used without reasons. They have an enormous impact on the diegetic world and can successfully elevate it.

The first of the influences would be of course the authenticity that the usage of these means puts into effect. Not only do the elves, dwarves, men, etc. possess a rich and complex history as well as culture, but they also speak a distinct language and write in a distinct script. Their image is genuine and refined, and to the reader they appear to be just as real as nations or ethnicities in the real world.

Besides, a fictional language or script is a detailed work of art in itself. Creation of such phenomena requires great ingenuity and cleverness. Both fictional tongues and scripts consist of a set of logical rules which are very sophisticated and developed. Even if some areas lack in consistency, one should remember that inventing a language or a script is a very difficult and time-consuming process and inconsistency is to be observed in the natural languages too.

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<sup>20</sup> Tolkien, J. R. R., HarperCollins *Publishers* (2001), p. 400.

<sup>21</sup> Tolkien, J. R. R., HarperCollins *Publishers* (2001), p. 66.

What is also important in the fictional languages and scripts is that they can become means of expression. In “The Lord of The Rings: The Fellowship of The Ring” alone the reader can observe numerous instances of the usage of Quenya or Tengwar. The first is particularly visible in the presence of Elves. A perfect example is the poem “Namárië”, which Lady Galadriel sung to the Fellowship leaving Lothlórien. This is a proof of how devising a fictional language enriches a novel; the characters express themselves in their own tongue, thus staying true to the diegetic world. Such influence concerns not only poems, but also songs, prose, inscriptions and various other works of art.

Tolkien being a linguist, his professional bias is clearly visible in his works. Such magnum opus requires enormous amount of effort, creativity, love for languages and strict method. It is greatly admirable; however, it is crucial to draw attention here to an important fact: such creation would not be possible without the assistance and engagement of Christopher Tolkien, who systematised a tremendous number of J. R. R.’s notes. Thus, while reading Tolkien’s works, one should always remember about these two men, who changed the genre of fantasy for evermore.

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## Respeaking międzyjęzykowy. Historia i przyszłość nowego modelu tłumaczenia ustnego

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**Abstrakt:** Tłumaczenia ustne zazwyczaj odbywają się w realiach konferencyjnych. Z powodu pandemii COVID-19 tłumacze ustni zostali jednak zmuszeni do zmiany trybu pracy na zdalny. Dodatkowo na rynku pojawiła się nowa usługa tłumaczeniowa w postaci respeakingu międzyjęzykowego. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest wielowymiarowy opis tego zjawiska. Tekst składa się z trzech części. Pierwsza wyjaśnia zjawisko respeakingu międzyjęzykowego, druga skupia się na jego historii, natomiast trzecia prezentuje potencjalne problemy i wyzwania stojące przed badaczami i praktykami respeakingu międzyjęzykowego. Respeaking międzyjęzykowy to forma przekładu ustnego, w wyniku której powstaje tekst pisany. Przy pomocy specjalistycznego oprogramowania do rozpoznawania mowy tłumacz tworzy przekład źródłowej wypowiedzi mówionej. Jednocześnie drugi tłumacz kontroluje powstający tekst docelowy i w razie potrzeby dokonuje w nim koniecznych zmian. Tekst tłumaczenia może być prezentowany w różnych formach. Początki wykorzystywania respeakingu międzyjęzykowego sięgają schyłku ubiegłego wieku i są ściśle związane z realiami telewizyjnymi. Wraz ze zwiększającym się zainteresowaniem środowiska akademickiego tą metodą przekładu obserwuje się coraz częstsze jej wykorzystanie. W ostatniej części artykułu przedstawiono potencjalne trudności związane z wykorzystaniem respeakingu międzyjęzykowego. Według niektórych badaczy respeaking międzyjęzykowy może stanowić naturalną kontynuację rozwoju tłumaczenia ustnego. Niewątpliwie ta metoda przekładu oferuje nowe możliwości, niemniej wydaje się też, że rozpowszechnienie respeakingu może stanowić duże wyzwanie, szczególnie w kontekście zauważalnych luk badawczych, małej świadomości samych zainteresowanych czy braku ram edukacyjnych przyszłych respeakerów. Wnioski płynące z analizy współczesnych trendów tłumaczeniowych wskazują jednak na postępujący rozwój tej metody przekładu.

### Wstęp

Tłumaczenia ustne świadczone dotychczas głównie w realiach konferencyjnych. Pandemia COVID-19 wymusiła jednak na tłumaczach ustnych

zmianę trybu pracy na zdalny<sup>1</sup>. Dodatkowo dość niedawno na rynku tłumaczeniowym pojawiła się nowa, zyskująca na popularności usługa respeakingu międzyjęzykowego<sup>2</sup>. **Respeaking międzyjęzykowy** (w dalszej części artykułu stosuję skrócony zapis 'RM') to nowy model tłumaczenia ustnego, który może okazać się niezwykle potrzebny w najbliższej przyszłości, w świecie tzw. pocovidowej normalności.

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest opisanie zjawiska RM oraz próba zarysowania jego przyszłości na rynku tłumaczeniowym i w badaniach przekładoznawczych. Tekst składa z trzech części. W pierwszej wytłumaczę, na czym polega RM, czym różni się od respeakingu wewnątrzjęzykowego (zwanego dalej 'RW') oraz jak wygląda jego zastosowanie w świecie tłumaczeń ustnych. Następnie przedstawię historię respeakingu, a także wskażę, gdzie i jak do tej pory był wykorzystywany. W ostatniej części naświetlę problemy i wyzwania, które stoją przed badaczami i praktykami RM.

## 1. Czym jest respeaking międzyjęzykowy?

### 1.1. Zjawisko respeakingu

Według ogólnej definicji ukutej przez Romera-Fresca (2011: 1) respeaking to proces tworzenia napisów za pomocą oprogramowania do rozpoznawania mowy. W praktyce wygląda to następująco: respeaker słucha oryginalnej wypowiedzi w czasie rzeczywistym i powtarza ją, przy czym dodaje odpowiednie znaki przestankowe oraz charakterystyczne elementy tekstu pomocne w odbiorze dla osób głuchych lub słabosłyszących. Powtarzana wypowiedź trafia do wybranego programu do rozpoznawania mowy, który przetwarza ją na tekst pisany. Tekst ten jest wyświetlany na ekranie, oczywiście z pewnym opóźnieniem wynikającym ze złożoności całego procesu.

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<sup>1</sup> Ball, M. (2020), s. 264.

<sup>2</sup> por. Dostępni.eu (2019).

Celem respeakingu jest jak najwierniejsze przetworzenie oryginalnej wypowiedzi na tekst wyjściowy. Mimo to pewne ograniczenia tego procesu (np. trudność w powtarzaniu szybkich wypowiedzi, konieczność dodawania interpunkcji czy potrzeba stworzenia napisów zgodnych z obowiązującymi standardami) mogą sprawić, że respeaker będzie musiał uciec się do technik parafrazy i kondensacji, wykorzystywanych z powodzeniem również w pracy tłumaczy ustnych<sup>3</sup>.

Według Sandrelli (2020) w ciągu ostatnich 15 lat respeaking stał się najpowszechniejszą metodą zapewniania napisów na żywo w telewizjach na całym świecie. Rozwój telewizji i Internetu sprawił ponadto, że istnieje większa potrzeba dostarczania treści dostępnych dla użytkowników z różnymi szczególnymi potrzebami. Wszystko po to, by kultura, rozrywka i informacje były dostępne dla wszystkich.

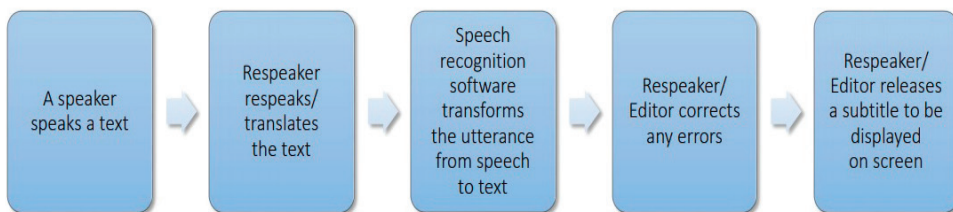
## 1.2. Respeaking wewnątrzjęzykowy a respeaking międzyjęzykowy

W części 1.1 opisałem podstawową wersję zjawiska respeakingu – RW. Jak sama nazwa wskazuje, służy on do tworzenia napisów w tym samym języku co wypowiedź źródłowa. Istnieje natomiast jeszcze jeden rodzaj respeakingu – RM – stanowiący już formę przekładu ustnego, w wyniku którego powstaje tekst pisany. Przy użyciu tych samych rozwiązań co w przypadku RW (oprogramowanie do rozpoznawania mowy, dyktowanie) tłumacz tworzy przekład źródłowej wypowiedzi mówionej. Są różne metody sporządzania tego rodzaju przekładu, jednak zazwyczaj w procesie bierze udział drugi tłumacz, który kontroluje powstający tekst docelowy i w razie potrzeby dokonuje w nim koniecznych zmian. Tekst tłumaczenia może być prezentowany w różnych formach, tak jak w przypadku RW; najpowszechniejszymi są napisy na żywo i transkrypcja<sup>4</sup>. Rycina 1 podsumowuje etapy pracy tłumacza podczas wykonywania RM.

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<sup>3</sup> Romero-Fresco, P. (2011), s. 1; Romero-Fresco, P. et al. (2018), s. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Dawson, H. (2020), s. 30.



Ryc. 1. Etapy respeakingu. Źródło: Dutka, Ł. et al. (2015)<sup>5</sup>.

Warto zaznaczyć, że tekst będący produktem końcowym RM zbliżony jest do znanych z przekładu audiowizualnego napisów, zaś sam proces przebiega podobnie jak tłumaczenie ustne. Oznacza to, że respeaking łączy w sobie złożoność obu tych dziedzin przekładu<sup>6</sup>.

### 1.3. Sposób wyświetlania napisów

W przeciwieństwie do tłumaczenia ustnego (konsekwentnego bądź symultanicznego) w przypadku RM efektem procesu tłumaczeniowego jest przekaz pisemny. Najczęściej przybiera formę napisów, dokładnie takich, jakie można zobaczyć w kinie podczas oglądania filmu obcojęzycznego. Napisy na żywo mogą być wyświetlane też w innych formach, np. jako przewijający się tekst czy bloki tekstu. Wszystko to zależy od wykorzystywanego oprogramowania i dostępnej infrastruktury. Tekst tłumaczenia może być widoczny dla całej publiczności albo tylko dla wybranych użytkowników. W telewizji napisy na żywo mogą być zintegrowane z obrazem ('napisy otwarte') lub włączane przez użytkowników ('napisy zamknięte'). Podczas konferencji czy wydarzeń na żywo napisy lub transkrypcja mogą być udostępniane na głównym ekranie, razem ze slajdami prezentacji, wyświetlane

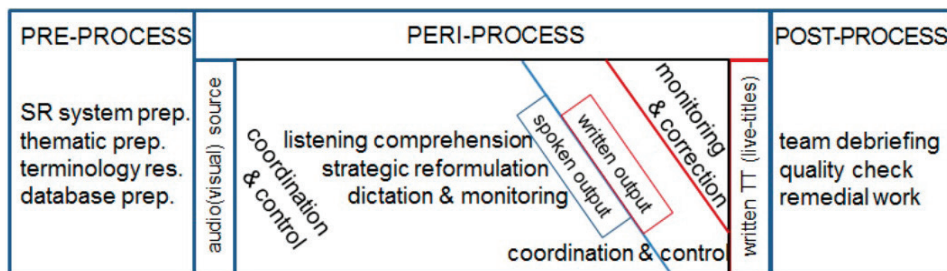
<sup>5</sup> Tłumaczenie własne tekstu ryciny: Mówca wygłasza tekst → Respeaker powtarza/tłumaczy tekst → Oprogramowanie do rozpoznawania mowy przetwarza mowę na pismo → Respeaker/redaktor wprowadza poprawki do tekstu → Respeaker/redaktor wysyła napis do wyświetlenia na ekranie.

<sup>6</sup> jw.

na osobnym ekranie znajdującym się obok sceny, a nawet na osobistych urządzeniach przenośnych publiczności<sup>7</sup>.

#### 1.4. Złożoność procesu respeakingu

Jak wspomniałem, RM łączy w sobie złożoność przekładu ustnego i audiowizualnego. Precyzyjniej rzecz ujmując – RM wymaga dodatkowych umiejętności, czego dowodem jest poniższa grafika z publikacji Pöchhacker a i Remael (2019, s. 135), badaczy zjawiska RM. Z grafiki łatwo można wywnioskować, jak złożony jest proces tłumaczenia przy pomocy respeakingu. Z jednej strony wymaga umiejętności jednoczesnego słuchania, tłumaczenia i mówienia (i to w określony sposób, zrozumiały dla oprogramowania), z drugiej wiąże się z koniecznością monitorowania efektów rozpoznawania mowy i wprowadzania do nich stosownych poprawek. Do tego należy dodać sprawność w obsłudze specjalistycznego oprogramowania, a także umiejętność koordynacji działań i pracy w zespole.



Ryc. 2. Elementy procesu respeakingu

Źródło: Pöchhacker, F., Remael, A. (2019)<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Sandrelli, A. (2020).

<sup>8</sup> Tłumaczenie własne tekstu ryciny: Etap wstępny: przygotowanie oprogramowania, przygotowanie tematyczne, praca nad terminologią, utworzenie baz danych. Etap właściwy: koordynacja i kontrola

## 2. Historia respeakingu międzyjęzykowego

Metoda RW rozwinęła się w Stanach Zjednoczonych, gdzie już w latach 40. XX wieku jej technologicznie prymitywna forma była wykorzystywana podczas rozpraw sądowych<sup>9</sup>. Dużo czasu minęło, nim dotarła do Europy – w Wielkiej Brytanii czy Belgii zaczęto z powodzeniem wykorzystywać ją w telewizji dopiero w 2001 roku. Do dziś uznaje się, że respeaking jest jedyną skuteczną metodą, która pozwala dostarczać odbiorcom napisy dokładne, i to z niewielkim opóźnieniem<sup>10</sup>. Respeaking powszechnie wykorzystuje się w stacjach telewizyjnych, aby zapewnić dostępność emitowanych treści dla osób głuchych i słabosłyszących. Polska w tym obszarze nie odstaje od innych krajów pioniersko wykorzystujących tę technologię, choć respeaking pojawił się tu stosunkowo późno. Pierwszym zastosowaniem tej metody na szerszą skalę było stworzenie napisów na żywo do programu „Taniec z Gwiazdami” w komercyjnej telewizji Polsat. Stało się to w 2017 r., przy okazji udziału w programie głuchej uczestniczki Iwony Cichosz<sup>11</sup>. W tej części artykułu skupię się jednak przede wszystkim na historii RM – metody dotychczas mniej powszechnej, choć ostatnio coraz chętniej wykorzystywanej<sup>12</sup>.

### 2.1. Trudne początki

Światowy debiut RM miał miejsce w 1999 r. w Niderlandach. Wówczas komercyjna niderlandzka stacja telewizyjna SBS postanowiła transmitować prezydenckie oświadczenie Billa Clintona na żywo, czyli w tym samym czasie, w którym było ono nadawane w Stanach Zjednoczonych. SBS zażyczyła sobie niderlandzkich napisów od firmy zewnętrznej, która dostarczała

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wanie, rozumienie słyszanej wypowiedzi, przeformułowywanie, dyktowanie i monitorowanie, monitorowanie i korekta. Etap końcowy: podsumowanie pracy zespołu, kontrola jakości, działania naprawcze.

<sup>9</sup> Dawson, H. (2020), s. 23.

<sup>10</sup> Saerens, G. et al. (2020), s. 5–6.

<sup>11</sup> Szczygielska, M., Dutka, Ł. (2019), s. 155.

<sup>12</sup> Dawson, H., Romero-Fresco, P. (2021), s. 67.

stacji usługę napisów na żywo. Wtedy właśnie po raz pierwszy zastosowano RM, jednak rezultat nie był zadowalający, szczególnie ze względu na błędy technologiczne. W efekcie na jakiś czas zrezygnowano z rozwijania tej formy przekładu audiowizualnego. Wkrótce podjęto jednak kolejną próbę przy okazji transmisji memoriału ku czci ofiar zamachów z 11 września 2001 r., w 10 dni po tych tragicznych wydarzeniach. Tym razem wyniki były o wiele lepsze, choć – rzecz jasna – nadal zdarzały się problemy techniczne. Transmisja telewizji SBS przyciągnęła jednak znacznie większą widownię niż transmisja publicznej stacji telewizyjnej, która wydarzenie postanowiła nadawać bez napisów<sup>13</sup>. Można więc stwierdzić, że był to punkt zwrotny w rozwoju RM.

## 2.2. Wzrastające zapotrzebowanie

Choć w znakomitej większości przypadków nadal stosuje się klasyczną wersję respeakingu – RW – to jednak dziś coraz częściej mamy do czynienia z napisami będącymi efektem RM. Romero-Fresco (2011) sugeruje, że popularność tej metody w niektórych krajach może wynikać z ich wielojęzyczności. Np. w Walii programy na żywo w języku walijskim są zazwyczaj opatrzone napisami angielskimi. W Danii, Belgii i Holandii nadawcy zapewniają widzom napisy na żywo w języku ojczystym danego kraju podczas transmisji ważnych przemówień obcojęzycznych.

Zapotrzebowanie na tego typu usługi tłumaczeniowe wydaje się rosnąć, a powodów jest kilka, m.in. większa świadomość w zakresie dostępności mediów, wzrost imigracji czy popularyzacja nauki języków obcych. RM umożliwia dostęp do treści wielojęzycznych i jest odpowiedzią na potrzeby osób z niepełnosprawnościami oraz tych, które napotykają bariery językowe w różnych dziedzinach życia. Od czasu, gdy temat RM zainteresował kręgi akademickie, metodę tę wykorzystano już podczas kilku wydarzeń na żywo (szcze-

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<sup>13</sup> de Korte, T. (2006).

gólnie podczas konferencji naukowych). Przykładami są konferencja MAPIC w hiszpańskim Vigo z 2017 r., ILSA Multiplier Event w Wiedniu z 2019 r., konferencja gier online GameDev.World z czerwca 2019 r. czy ostatnie takie wydarzenie przed wybuchem pandemii COVID-19 – konferencja Intermedia w Warszawie z 2019 r. Warto też zwrócić uwagę, że koncerty medialne oferują respeakerom władającym różnymi językami pracę w zakresie tłumaczenia imprez sportowych i wydarzeń związanych z grami komputerowymi. Kościół prezbiteriański w USA również wyraził chęć zapewnienia wiernym tłumaczenia różnych wydarzeń religijnych w formie napisów na żywo na miejscu i zdalnie. Dodatkowo nadawcy, tacy jak brytyjskie BBC i belgijskie VRT, a także niektóre europejskie instytucje polityczne publicznie podkreślają potrzebę zatrudniania profesjonalnych respeakerów międzyjęzykowych<sup>14</sup>.

Jeśli chodzi zaś o polski rynek tłumaczeniowy, to i tutaj można zaobserwować pierwsze próby wykorzystania RM podczas wydarzeń wielojęzycznych. Do tej pory poinformowano o zastosowaniu RM przynajmniej w trzech przypadkach: na konferencji „Europejski Rynek Cyfrowy – umiejętności, gospodarka, praca” z 12 maja 2015 r., konferencji inauguracyjnej programu „Dostępność Plus”, zorganizowanej przez Ministerstwo Inwestycji i Rozwoju 23 kwietnia 2018 r.<sup>15</sup> oraz podczas polskiej premiery serialu „Wiedźmin” Netflixa w 2019 r.<sup>16</sup>

### 3. Problemy i wyzwania. Jaka będzie przyszłość respeakingu międzyjęzykowego?

Prof. Pöchhacker (2019), wspomniany już badacz zjawiska respeakingu, twierdzi, że żyjemy w czasach, w których powoli następuje zmiana paradygmatu tłumaczeniowego. Zarówno tłumaczenia pisemne, jak i ustne są

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<sup>14</sup> Dawson, H. (2020), s. 32–33.

<sup>15</sup> Szczygielska, M., Dutka, Ł. (2019), s. 153–155.

<sup>16</sup> Dostępni.eu (2019).

wykonywane w zupełnie inny sposób niż dotychczas. Przyczynia się do tego gwałtowny rozwój technologii informacyjnych, które pozwalają pracować nad tłumaczeniami szybciej, w trybie zdalnym, międzymodalnym, z wykorzystaniem różnego typu oprogramowania. Z tej perspektywy popularyzacja RW i RM jawi się jako kolejny krok ewolucyjny w rozwoju tłumaczenia.

Niewątpliwie RM oferuje nowe możliwości, nieosiągalne w klasycznym tłumaczeniu konferencyjnym. Niemniej, ze względu na liczne potencjalne przeszkody w rozpowszechnieniu go jako nowego modelu przekładu popularyzacja tej metody może postępować relatywnie wolno. Poniżej pokrótce przedstawię obszary, w których dostrzec można największe wyzwania stojące przed rozwojem respeakingu.

### 3.1. Problem szczątkowych badań

Dotychczas przeprowadzono stosunkowo niewiele badań akademickich skoncentrowanych na respeakingu. W dostępnych pracach analizie poddaje się niemal wyłącznie wariant wewnątrzjęzykowy. Najczęściej badania te mają wciąż charakter eksperymentalny. Oznacza to, że zjawisko respeakingu jest opisywane na podstawie sytuacji spreparowanych<sup>17</sup>. W trakcie lektury dostępnej – i niestety wciąż ubogiej – literatury dotyczącej respeakingu napotkałem na informację o tylko jednym badaniu, w którym skupiano się na respeakingu wykonywanym w sytuacji rzeczywistej, tj. podczas konferencji<sup>18</sup>. Reasumując, trzeba stwierdzić, że istnieje wyraźna luka badawcza w temacie nie tylko RM, lecz także RW, która powinna zostać wypełniona.

### 3.2. Trudność ze zdefiniowaniem zestawu umiejętności

Aby świadczyć usługę RM, tłumacz powinien dysponować wysokimi umiejętnościami zawodowymi. Musi też sprawnie posługiwać się oprogra-

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<sup>17</sup> Davitti, E., Sandrelli, A. (2020), s. 106.

<sup>18</sup> Sandrelli, A. (2020).

mowaniem do rozpoznawania mowy, znać zasady interpunkcji czy być w stanie monitorować powstający tekst i korygować ewentualne błędy (por. 1.4). Wszystkie te wysiłki należy koordynować w czasie rzeczywistym. Ponadto osoby zajmujące się tłumaczeniem na żywo (np. podczas konferencji) muszą brać pod uwagę multimodalną naturę tłumaczonych materiałów. Nie dziwi więc, że jednym z kluczowych zagadnień będących obecnie przedmiotem badań jest to, w jaki sposób najlepiej kształcić respeakerów międzyjęzykowych<sup>19</sup>.

W ramach projektu pilotażowego SMART (Shaping Multilingual Access with Respeaking Technology) badano tło szkoleniowe i zestaw najbardziej przydatnych umiejętności w szybkim nabywaniu kompetencji przez respeakerów międzyjęzykowych. W ramach projektu przeprowadzono kurs RM dla adeptów sztuki napisowej i tłumaczeniowej z trzech uniwersytetów. Badani studenci wykazywali różny stopień zaawansowania w tworzeniu napisów, tłumaczeniu konsekwentnym i symultanicznym oraz RW. Wyniki będą opublikowane wkrótce, jednak już teraz jedna z autorek projektu podzieliła się ciekawym wnioskiem – wykształcenie w zakresie tłumaczeń ustnych wydaje się zaletą, ale nie wystarczy, by zostać respeakerem międzyjęzykowym<sup>20</sup>. Bardzo podobne rezultaty osiągnięto podczas badania w ramach unijnego projektu ILSA (Interlingual Live Subtitling for Access)<sup>21</sup>. Dowodzi to, że profil kompetencyjny nowego zawodu respeakera międzyjęzykowego nie został jeszcze dobrze opisany. Mimo że wspomniane wyżej badania wskazują, że profesjonalne świadczenie RM jest wykonalne, to ogromnym wyzwaniem jest kształcenie przyszłych respeakerów międzyjęzykowych.

### 3.3. Problem braku ram dydaktycznych

Wspomniane powyżej wyzwanie dotyczące kształcenia respeakerów ma ścisły związek z kolejnym problemem – brakiem optymalnych ram dy-

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<sup>19</sup> Davitti, E., Sandrelli, A. (2020), s. 106–110; por. Szarkowska, A. et al. (2018).

<sup>20</sup> Sandrelli, A. (2020).

<sup>21</sup> Romero-Fresco, P. et al. (2019), s. 219–221.

daktycznych. Szkolenia w zakresie RM są już realizowane, lecz nadal nie-licznie. Zaledwie kilka uczelni w Europie włącza zajęcia z respeakingu do programu kształcenia tłumaczy (obecnie w Polsce jedynie Uniwersytet Warszawski oferuje fakultatywny semestr zajęć z respeakingu w ramach kierunku lingwistyka stosowana). Reszta szkoleń respeakingowych odbywa się w trakcie kursów dostosowanych do indywidualnych potrzeb przyszłych pracowników w firmach zajmujących się dostępnością. Do niedawna takie kształcenie koncentrowało się głównie na umiejętnościach z zakresu RW<sup>22</sup>.

### 3.4. Kłopotliwe oprogramowanie

Choć kwestia oprogramowania na pierwszy rzut oka wydaje się prozaiczna, to jednak może przysporzyć wiele problemów. Technologia rozpoznawania mowy wymaga pracochłonnej adaptacji do potrzeb konkretnych klientów w obrębie różnych języków. Można wręcz powiedzieć, że takie oprogramowanie trzeba projektować na nowo za każdym razem, kiedy chce się je dostosować do jeszcze nieobsługiwanego języka. Stoi za tym odrębność i niepowtarzalność każdego języka. W dodatku rozpoznawanie mowy w językach słowiańskich, do których należy język polski, jest bardziej kłopotliwe niż w językach niefleksyjnych i z mniej elastyczną składnią (np. w języku angielskim)<sup>23</sup>.

### 3.5. Przenikanie się obszarów badawczych i niejednolita terminologia

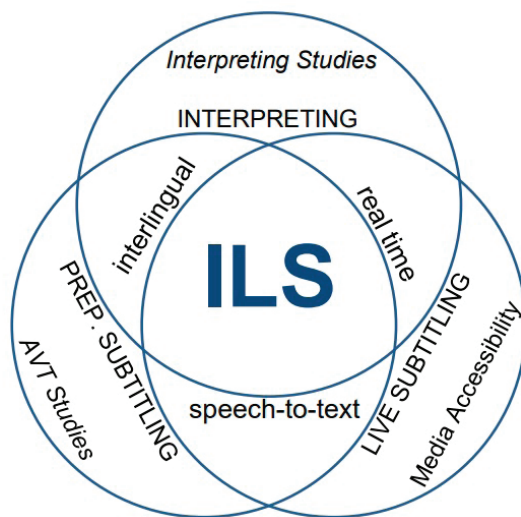
Kolejnym problemem jest przenikanie się płaszczyzn badawczych, w ramach których eksperci potencjalnie mogliby zajmować się RM. Respeaking leży na pograniczu trzech dużych obszarów badań: nad przekładem ustnym, nad przekładem audiowizualnym oraz nad dostępnością (mediów). Widać to na rycinie 3 ('ILS' to skrótowiec od 'interlingual live subtitling',

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<sup>22</sup> Dawson, H. (2020), s. 35–38; por. USOSweb Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (2021).

<sup>23</sup> Szczygielska, M., Dutka, Ł. (2019), s. 138–141.

innej nazwy RM)<sup>24</sup>. Ze względu na ten interdyscyplinarny charakter trudno jest wskazać, które jednostki badawcze powinny w szczególności zainteresować się respeakingiem. Rozsądną propozycją byłaby bardziej pogłębiona specjalizacja tego zakresu badawczego, a nawet potraktowanie badań nad respeakingiem jako odrębnej dyscypliny akademickiej. Takie rozwiązanie zogniskowałoby wysiłki badaczy, a wspólne działania naukowe mogłyby przyczynić się do wypromowania RM na rynku tłumaczeniowym i w kształceniu akademickim. To podejście wydaje się uzasadnione, szczególnie w świetle historii badań nad dostępnością mediów. Ta dziedzina również przez długi czas funkcjonowała jako poddziedzina przekładoznawstwa audiowizualnego, a dopiero niedawno przyjęła odrębny, zindywidualizowany charakter<sup>25</sup>.



Ryc. 3. RM a przenikające się obszary badawcze. Źródło: Pöchhacker, F., Remael, A. (2019)<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Pöchhacker, F., Remael, A. (2019), s. 132.

<sup>25</sup> Por. Greco, G.M. (2018), s. 205–223.

<sup>26</sup> Tłumaczenie własne tekstu ryciny: w górnym okręgu od góry: badania nad przekładem ustnym, przekład ustny; w lewym okręgu od lewej: badania nad przekładem audiowizualnym, napisy

Warto przywołać także zagadnienie terminologii w badaniach nad re-speakingiem. Jest ona mianowicie nadal wyraźnie niejednolita. W języku angielskim różni autorzy określają zjawisko respeakingu na rozmaite sposoby (np. ‘speech-based live subtitling’, ‘real-time subtitling’, ‘speech captioning’, ‘shadow speaking’ czy ‘voice-writing’). Pöchhacker (2018) proponuje nazywać RM ‘transpeakingiem’ (od połączenia słów ‘translation’ i ‘respeaking’). W polskim piśmiennictwie też jeszcze nie ukuto jednego terminu. Wątpliwości budzi również kwestia zapisu wyrazu będącego w centrum niniejszego artykułu (‘respeaking’ vs. ‘respiking’).

### 3.6. Co jeszcze powinno się zmienić?

Jak podkreślają Dutka i Szczygielska (2019: 158–159), dalszy rozwój napisów na żywo jako usługi dostępnościowej wiąże się z kilkoma dodatkowymi wyzwaniami. Istotna jest kwestia doskonalenia istniejących i tworzenia nowych rozwiązań technicznych, ułatwiających korzystanie z metody respeakingu. Ponadto ważne jest wypracowanie i upowszechnienie standardów, przeszkolenie większej liczby specjalistów (osobnym zagadnieniem jest charakter takiego kształcenia – doraźny vs. akademicki), zwiększanie świadomości decydentów, organizatorów wydarzeń i odbiorców usługi (z pewnością wiele osób potencjalnie zainteresowanych nigdy nie słyszało o istnieniu napisów na żywo czy respeakingu). Na to wszystko nakładają się zmiany prawne, które zaczynają zobowiązywać organy publiczne do zapewniania większej dostępności treści audiowizualnych<sup>27</sup>. To w przyszłości niewątpliwie zwiększy zapotrzebowanie rynkowe na RW i RM. Aby na to zapotrzebowanie odpowiedzieć, konieczna będzie szersza współpraca

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przygotowane z wyprzedzeniem; w prawym okręgu od lewej: napisy na żywo, dostępność mediów; na przecięciu okręgów górnego i lewego: międzyjęzykowe; na przecięciu okręgów górnego i prawego: w czasie rzeczywistym; na przecięciu okręgów lewego i prawego: przetwarzanie mowy na pismo; w centrum: międzyjęzykowe napisy na żywo, tj. RM.

<sup>27</sup> Por. „Monitor Polski” (2021), poz. 2018.

środowiska akademickiego z twórcami treści audiowizualnych, dostawcami usług dostępnościowych i organizatorami wydarzeń<sup>28</sup>.

## Wnioski i prognozy

Na początku artykułu zazaczyłem, że w obliczu nadchodzących globalnych zmian, nie tylko tych wymuszonych pandemią COVID-19, jako społeczeństwo będziemy musieli przystosować się do nowych technologii czy przestawić na świadczenie usług w zupełnie nowym modelu. Zmiany te dotkną niewątpliwie również środowisko tłumaczy. Wydaje się, że większa świadomość potrzeb osób z niepełnosprawnościami i starzejącego się społeczeństwa czy konieczność przestawienia się na korzystanie z najnowszych technologii doprowadzą do rozpowszechnienia się zjawiska RM. Zakładam, że nie nastąpi to szybko, lecz nie mam wątpliwości, że nastąpi; na to wskazują choćby trendy w badaniach akademickich i rosnące zapotrzebowanie na tłumaczenie świadczone za pomocą RM. By jednak w realiach przekładu mógł dokonać się postęp, środowisko tłumaczeniowe, technologia i wreszcie sam świat akademicki muszą sprostać jeszcze wielu wyzwaniom, omówionym w tym artykule.

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<sup>28</sup> Szczygielska, M. (2019), s. 208–209.

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## *That was cringe, mate!* – Characteristics and translation of young adult literature as illustrated by the Polish rendition of *Radio Silence* by Alice Oseman

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**Abstract:** This article discusses problems involved in the translation of young adult literature that utilizes culture-specific lexis and linguistic varieties. It depicts the characteristics of young adult fiction by comparing Alice Oseman's novel *Radio Silence* and its Polish translation. The paper starts with a theoretical background, such as definition of literary translation, translating language variety and culture-specific words in literary works. The aim of that paper is to provide the definition of young adult literature and show its function in society, as that kind of literature does not only enable adolescents to gain valuable perception of their peers from other cultures but also allows them to familiarize themselves with various beliefs and concepts. This study analyses selected culture-specific lexis and language variety expressions and compares them to their Polish equivalents. Then, it presents what strategies the translator used to render these terms into the target language.

### Introduction

In the last few decades, considerable attention has been paid to the young adult fiction. It is not another genre, but a category of fiction whose main target audience are adolescents until early adulthood. Taking into consideration rising popularity of YA fiction, it is worth considering what the distinctive characteristics of such publications are and whether they gain anything or are deprived of some elements in translation. The focus of the analysis will be the novel *Radio Silence* written by a British author Alice Oseman

Being able to read in a foreign language is a blessing, but not everybody can devote the time or do not feel the necessity to acquire new language-

es. Therefore, translation plays a significant role in becoming acquainted with the literature from other countries. There are numerous advantages of reading books from other cultures, however whether they would evoke the same effect on the readers of the target language as they did on the readers of the original work, depends on the translator.

The first part is devoted to the theoretical look on translation. It provides with the various definitions of translation and discusses the short history to this topic presented by the diverse scholars. There are also information about literary translation, which is the expressive type of translation. The features of this function are provided, and it is shown how this topic was approached by the various linguists. There is also presented theory about cultural translation and language variety.

The next part starts with a brief presentation of the corpus, Alice Os-eman's young adult novel *Radio Silence*, discussion about YA fiction and its valuable features. There is depicted a concise attempt to analyse what are the characteristic of YA fiction as well as there is mentioned the importance of diversity in literature. This section consists of relevant examples of the analysed novel for each kind of translation problems, which are particularly evident in YA fiction. The examples are compared to their Polish equivalents and analysed in terms of clarity and meaning.

## 1. Selected aspects of translation theory

There are as many definitions of translation as the number of linguists. From the early centuries, one main dilemma can be observed, mainly how to translate. For instance, St. Jerome and Martin Luther, who were one of the translators of the Bible, agree that there are passages in the Bible where the translator needs to maintain even the word order, but in some cases they believe that rendering a sense is significant (in Nord 1997:4). Also, in

the translation of the Greek texts, it was essential for St. Jerome to translate sense by sense.

In contemporary times, the search for answers to these questions has not stopped. Furthermore, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the considerable progress and development has been observed in this discipline. One of the most influential statements were introduced by the Russian scholar, Roman Jakobson. He groups translation into three categories: *intralingual translation*, *interlingual translation* and *intersemiotic translation* (Jakobson 1959:233).

The problem of equivalence, which is undoubtedly significant in literary translation, has been raised by many scholars, for instance Eugene Nida, the American Bible translator. He distinguishes two types of equivalence, “formal” and “dynamic”. Formal equivalence focuses on the form, content and meaning of the ST and can be named a “gloss translation” (Bassnett 2014:6). On the other hand, dynamic equivalence is based on the principle where “the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message” (in Munday 2008:42).

The type of the translation depends on the type of the text, as written translation is taken into consideration. Scholars, including Peter Newmark, British translator and translation theorist, often base their theory about translation or text typology on Karl Bühler’s functional theory of language (Hatim & Munday, 2004:281). Following Bühler’s classification which was later adapted by Jakobson, Newmark (1988) also groups text into expressive, informative, vocative, aesthetic, phatic and metalingual texts as well as into word-for-word, literal, faithful and semantic translations (Newmark 1988:45-47).

Literary translation refers to such kinds of written texts (for instance: prose, poetry, plays or advertisements), which aim to evoke emotions to the reader. The translator’s principal task is to recreate the aesthetic value of the ST. Especially poetry presents a challenge to the translator. Richard Wechsler believes that “literary translation is an art” (1998:7) and

he compares translator to an *artist*, a *musician* (1998:9). Furthermore, especially in this branch of translation, creative process is particularly visible as creative act comes with translating (Landers C. E. 2001:4-5). Willis Barnstone points out the artistic side of literary translation. He states that "good translation is good literature" (1993:16) thanks to the work of a writer and a translator.

In the literary translation, a translator has to pay attention to culture-bond lexis. They are included in the abundance of works. Thanks to that, familiarisation with foreign culture has become more accessible to the majority of people. However, it should be noticed that translating culture requires significant amount of knowledge of the source culture. Toury states that "translation is a kind of activity which inevitably involves at least two languages and two cultural traditions" (1978:200). Hence, it is important for translators to recreate the SL text in the target culture in such a way that it adheres to cultural values and beliefs of the TL.

Another relevant aspect is translating language variety. That term refers to the complexity and diversity of the language, because the language is a very vast concept that needs to be categorised into *sub-languages* or *varieties* within one language (Munday and Hatim 2004:188). These categories include dialect, idiolect, style, register (Munday and Hatim 2004:188,191). Idiolect regards the individual's use of language and consists of distinctive, unique mannerism. Idiolect reflects one's upbringing, environment and age class (Munday 2008:103). The other type of language diversity is so called "youth language". It is a term of subcategory of language spoken by young adults. Linguistic patterns and characteristics of youth language vary by time. Youth language is derived from colloquial language, as stated by Ewa Baniecka (2008:158), and shares with it numerous features. Such expressions include vulgarisms, neologisms and often borrowings from other languages. They are particularly frequent in young adult fiction.

Young adult literature is not another genre of literature, but a category of fiction, used most of the time for marketing or categorizing books into

right shelves in the bookshops. The academics discussed several criteria regarding qualities of YA literature. According to them, it should reflect the young adults' way of thinking, emotional development. The protagonists and characters of such books are often young people who deal with problems and issues concerning intergenerational conflicts, peer pressure, illness and other topics which can be relatable for adolescents (Bucher and Hinton, 2014:9-10). Another significant factor, which YA literature tackles, is broadly defined diversity, including cultural, gender, sexual, ability and social. Thanks to the multiculturalism incorporated in fiction, young reader can get familiarised with foreign culture, customs, and beliefs. Consequently, it is important that YA literature includes cultural diversity so that each young person could encounter their own culture in literature.

## 2. The analysis

The core of the analysis is *Radio Silence* written by Alice Oseman and the Polish translation made by Nina Lubiejewska. The author (born in 1994) debuted with *Solitaire* which was acclaimed *The Catcher in the Rye* of digital generation (<https://www.thetimes.co.uk...>). Oseman's novels have been praised the realistic and observant presentation of the contemporary problems of young people along with the diversity of the characters. *Radio Silence* is her second published novel. The plot centres on Frances Janvier, a biracial, bisexual teenage girl, and her last year in secondary school and her new friend, Aled Last. The girl focuses mainly on studying because her aim is to get to the Cambridge, she dreams about it since she was 9 years old. The book deals with an abundance of difficulties which young people have to tackle.

Firstly, there will be presented analysis of culture-bond words, such as phrases connected to education and evaluation.

Example 1	
“What grades do you need to get? For Cambridge?” “A*AA,” I said. “How about you?” “A*A*A.” “Oh, is it more for science?” “I don’t know.” (Oseman 2016:72)	– Jaką musisz mieć średnią? Żeby dostać się do Cambridge? – <b>Pięć zero</b> – powiedziałam. – A ty? – <b>Pięć jeden</b> . – O! Ze ścisłymi kierunkami jest inaczej? – Nie wiem (Oseman 2019:95)

In the UK the work of students is evaluated by a letter grading scale. Usually the best is A\* or A+ and the worst is F or G. In this dialogue, Frances Janvier and Daniel Jun are talking about the grades they need to achieve in order to obtain a place at university, Cambridge specifically. The translator decided to use Polish equivalent of grades, so the readers would not be confused about it, because there is other grade system in Poland. However, the question might arise whether the characters talk about grade point average or the results of their A-level exams. In Poland, since 2005, the results of these exams (*Matura*) are given in percentages. Therefore, the other solution to that translation problem would be to give percentage points.

Example 2	
“Did you have fun at the disco?” (...) “Did you <i>get down</i> ? Did you <i>turn up</i> ?” “Oh, yeah, we were <b>jiving and everything</b> ,” I said, and did a little rendition of a jive. (Oseman 2016:50)	– Dobrze się bawiłaś na dyskotecze? (...) Wyszalałaś się? – <b>Ta, za wszystkie czasy</b> . (Oseman 2019:56)

It is the fragment of the dialogue between Frances and her mum. The previous night, Frances went to the club with her friends to celebrate the last day of school before the study leave.

As can be seen in the ST, the verbs “get down” and “turn up” were replaced by one verb “wyszalałaś się”. These are slang expressions which

in this context mean “dance in an excited manner” and “to act in an uninhibited, wild manner”, respectively (<https://idioms...>). Therefore, it can be identified as the translation by cultural substitution, because “wyszaleć się” is a Polish colloquial term which has similar meaning. The message was shortened, but it seems clear and natural.

On the other hand, the translator omitted all the phrases concerning the verb “jive”. In this case, “jive” refers to a kind of the fast dance. This reference is omitted and the translator used the Polish phraseological unit which is the answer to the mother’s question and emphasises that Frances was having fun as never before. This omission does not distort the whole message, but reduces the meaning and the expressiveness of the utterance. The information in the SL is more enriched.

As it was stated before, YA fiction is filled with slang, dialects, idiolects, and frequently, vulgarisms. Teenagers use such language to express feelings, react to some event or action. As regards slang, each generation has its own different expressions that are fashionable at the time. They often originate from pop culture, movies, songs or viral videos from the Internet.

Example 3	
<p>“But a lot of them are, so I literally <b>can’t be arsed</b>. Not even worth the effort, <b>tbh</b>.” Raine literally said the letters ‘<b>tbh</b>’. She didn’t seem to do it ironically and I wasn’t sure how I felt about it. (Oseman 2016:27)</p>	<p>– Ale wielu tak, więc nawet mi się nie chce. <b>IMO, nie warto się wysilać</b>. Naprawdę powiedziała „<b>IMO</b>”. Nie wyglądało na to, by robiła to ironicznie, i nie wiedziałam, co o tym myśleć. (Oseman 2016:31)</p>

There are abundant examples of youth language in *Radio Silence*. The distinctive case is the vocabulary of Lorraine “Raine” Sengupta, who is one of the supporting characters. Her idiolect is peculiar even for her peers. It can be seen in Example 3.

The core of this fragment is the abbreviation *tbh*. It means “to be honest” and is primarily used in the text messages, chats or comments on the Internet. It can be seen that the usage of this specific short form surprised Frances. Concerning the Polish version, the translator chose the different English acronym to replace the given one. She decided to use *IMO*, which means “in my opinion”. It is worth mentioning that there are only few equivalents to the English slang acronyms, Polish people use frequently the original versions of them. Therefore, the translator had the difficult challenge to translate this expression. The meaning of the source phrase is not preserved as “in my opinion” means something different from “to be honest”, however both of them are the part of the Internet slang. It can be thought, that the translator used the new acronym since it might be more common among Polish teenagers, yet both of them sound unnatural when spoken aloud. Nevertheless, it does not distort the overall message, it implies that Raine uses the Internet slang in spoken language, which is not a common phenomenon.

There is also another slang expression, mainly “can’t be arsed”. It belongs to British taboo slang ([www idioms.thefreedictionary\(...\)](http://www idioms.thefreedictionary(...))). The Polish version is softened, the translation cannot be regarded as vulgar. The level of vulgarity is much lessened.

Example 4	
THAT was cringe <b>m8</b> (Oseman 2016:132)	to było przypałowe <b>koleś</b> (Oseman 2019:136)

The important elements of some YA books are text messages sent by characters to each other. It shows how youth language has been constantly changing, what are the trends, how teen slang and texting slang look like. There are a large amount of such examples in *Radio Silence*.

In Example 4, the acronym “m8” was translated to “koleś”, and taking into consideration that “m8” means “mate”, which is a slang word to “friend,

buddy”, the translation conveys the message of the SL. Yet, “koleś” seems to have not as friendly connotation as “mate”, but it depends on the context. In this case, there is a text conversation between two friends and it has a playful tone. The translation sounds natural to the target audience.

Example 5	
Your <b>fave</b> is problematic lmao (2019:219)	Twój <b>BFF</b> jest skomplikowany lmao (Oseman 2019:221)

In this selected data, there is one more expression, mainly “fave”, which the translator decided to replace with the English acronym “BFF”. This term means “favourite” and “best friend forever”, respectively. The translator could not use the original term “fave” as it would sound unnatural, hence she decided to use different English expression, which is commonly used in Poland and easy to understand to the TL readers.

### 3. Conclusion

Young adult literature is particularly important as it often plays a major role in shaping young people’s minds, helping them gain new experience via reading about their peers from all over the world. It regularly discusses significant problems of adolescents and focuses on cultural diversity and, as a result, draws attention to certain issues to which some people might even not be aware of. Therefore, the awareness and tolerance are expanded in attitudes of young people. It is reductive to be dismissive of young adult literature. It is remarkable for its wide appeal.

Translation is thus an invaluable factor enabling young people from all parts of the world to read about their peers who live in different cultures, hold other philosophical beliefs, have other religions, differ in appearance but simultaneously share abundant similarities.

As the result of the analysis of selected culture-specific words and elements of language variety, it seems that Polish version of the British YA book sounds natural to the target language reader. Generally, the meaning of the analysed expressions is conveyed, as well as youth language is remained. There can be observed the intriguing phenomenon in Polish youth language, namely the usage of substantial amount of English borrowings, especially in Internet slang. Nevertheless, in some cases the TL reader is deprived of several elements connected to the SL culture. Those might not be of significant importance for the plot, but undoubtedly embellish the content and present the insight into the foreign culture. Due to the differences between Polish and English culture, a few points of culture-specific lexis were not fully retained.

Taking into consideration the results, even if not always all cultural elements can be completely conveyed in translation, the TL reader still gains valuable perception of people from other cultures and can get familiarised with various concepts and beliefs. Literary translation is definitely a challenging process, especially young adults' fiction. It requires a translator who is well acquainted to young adult culture from SL and TL and is able to credibly render youth language to the target audience.

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## “Rabbuni”. Challenging the untranslated in the Bible

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**Abstract:** The Bible is not only a literary text and cultural phenomenon but, first of all, Holy Scripture. The bestseller disseminated worldwide on an enormous scale is a powerful mind-shaping book with huge global impact. As a very complex text it is a demanding task to translators.

The goal of this paper is to challenge the untranslated “Rabbuni” as Mary Magdalene addresses Resurrected Jesus (J, 20:17) at the empty tomb. To the best of my knowledge “Rabbuni”, or a few other variations, has never been translated to fully represent the original concept.

The author is proposing a break-through mixed interdisciplinary approach, the subject of her PhD thesis in progress, by exploring Jesus and Mary from various angles: as historical figures, literary protagonists and social actors in a very specific cultural and religious environment and their exceptional relationship. “Rabbuni” is juxtaposed with specific parallels in all the scenes in the NT when Mary meets Jesus. The application of broad parallels from authentic source documents by female Christian mystics and other religious texts like prayers, litanies, songs, etc. are also suggested.

Due to the limited scope of the paper, the author aims just to inspire the academic environment and reflect briefly on the complexity of the task of filling the translation gaps, highlight the potential of social sciences and humanities for biblical translation with the use of mixed research methods and tools.

The result of my proposal has a promising potential for further projects on translating the untranslated both in the Old and New Testament and other Holy Books, with the use of historical, specific and broad text parallels from the records of mystics and prophets.

## The Bible – a religious and human book, literary text and cultural phenomenon

The Bible is the bestseller of all times, so its impact worldwide is huge and very powerful. This highly religious text is used for liturgy in Christian churches and recited in synagogues. But it is also a historical record, literary text and cultural phenomenon. Jelonek (2016) says it is an exceptional book, disseminated in millions of copies globally, translated into thousands of languages and dialects became the foundation of the European civilisation with unprecedented impact on literature, culture and sciences.<sup>1</sup> Its position is outstanding as compared with any other book.<sup>2</sup>

The Holy Scripture is a religious book which grew out of particular religions, their beliefs and determines their ideas, conceptualization and life. So, it cannot be understood when detached from the particular religions in which it originated, i.e. Judaism and Christianity.<sup>3</sup> The key concept underlying the Scripture is God inviting human beings to a loving relationship. The biblical texts have two authors, God and the writers.<sup>4</sup> The Bible is a record of amazing co-operation only possible in a close, intimate relationship of love and trust between God and humans in this processual activity of writing. Therefore, the Bible is both a Divine and human book. However, Jelonek (2009) states the Holy Scripture is also a human book as the Divine message is put by human authors in the shape equal to any other books.<sup>5</sup> It originated in a writing process similar to other pieces of literature as the result of the work of human minds and hands that transferred thoughts and ideas onto various writing materials.<sup>6</sup> Every text here is historically conditioned,

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<sup>1</sup> Jelonek, T. (2016), p. 36–37.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, p. 36–37.

<sup>3</sup> Jelonek, T (2012), p. 10–11.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Jelonek, T (2009), p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem.

reflects the original place and time and mirrors the mentality and style of writing of the epoch. The human authors left their imprint on the text revealing their mental predispositions, literary skills, competences, knowledge, even individual temper or temporary sensations. Thus, the text becomes very human at the same time. The book belongs to the whole humanity and should be also comprehensible to all people. Translations disseminate the Scripture globally and stimulate its inspirational role in all areas of human cultural activities.<sup>7</sup> The Bible seen and studied as a cultural phenomenon can be useful for all the readers regardless their views and attitudes towards a religion. As the Scripture is such a complex text with its transcendental and human message, to read the Book properly, *lectio humana* is not enough, we need to employ *lectio divina* to dig into the original meaning.<sup>8</sup>

This is exactly how and where we can meet Mary Magdalene – the amazing female New Testament mystic and prophetess very close to Jesus as His beloved female disciple and participant in the most significant mysteries of His earthly life.<sup>9</sup> The woman who gave Jesus a very special name, “Rabbuni”, that deserves the best universal modern translate.

## Mary Magdalene – a historical figure, mystic, prophet and the Seer

Mary Magdalene is one of the most intriguing figures in the Bible. The “femme fatale” has inspired the imagination of biblical scholars, literary men, poets, artists, and filmmakers of all the epochs. She was not only a beloved Jesus’ disciple that accompanied Him in life, a faithful witness of His Crucifixion and the first witness to His Resurrection. The most credible trustful female disciple chosen as the messenger sent to tell the greatest

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<sup>7</sup> Jelonek, T (2007), p. 163.

<sup>8</sup> Wons, K (2018), p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p. 9.

news of Christianity to the next generations. The research on Mary Magdalene is quite scarce. Mostly, we have fantasy speculations or fictional messages.<sup>10</sup> Regis Burnet (2005), claims every epoch created its own images of Mary Magdalene. The woman superior to the Apostles as the Church honoured her with a saint title of the Apostle of the Apostles. She was without doubt a historical figure.<sup>11</sup> Wons (2012) says she has been mostly studied to uncover her unique relationship with Jesus that made her life story exceptional and recognised<sup>12</sup>. She was a very important female figure in Jesus’ circle. But, the only scene including her dialogue with Jesus related to this crucial for Christianity event, is not reported in the Synoptic Gospels.<sup>13</sup> The contemporary beliefs about Mary Magdalene see her as St. Peter’s rival in leading the Apostles.<sup>14</sup> St. Thomas of Aquinas says Jesus appeared to her because her faith was passionate and she was devoted to Him more than any other apostle and it was her passionate love that made her so privileged in the eyes of the Lord. She received this amazing grace due to her love.<sup>15</sup> Love brought this faithful soul great joy at Easter on earth, and then reserved a high-rank position in heaven.<sup>16</sup> Despite such a high-rank position at the side of Jesus, she has received contradictory titles of a prostitute in cliché repeated narratives, and a saint in the Catholic Church. However, none of the 12 evangelical texts where her name is mentioned ever declares directly that she was a prostitute.<sup>17</sup>

There is also some confusion on how many “Marys” we meet on the pages of the New Testament. The Christian East stated that the Gospels

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<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Nowakowski, P.E. (2019), p. 279.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, p. 280.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, p. 212.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, p. 213.

<sup>17</sup> <http://biblia.wiara.pl/doc/423012.Swieta-Maria-Magdalena>. (9.5.2020).

bring in the descriptions of four different women. In the Christian West three anointments by three different women were suggested.<sup>18</sup> However, Martini (2019) wants to get into her life story into the heart of God as it is where she belongs.<sup>19</sup> She is a sign of Christian overflow, crossing borders, being ahead.<sup>20</sup> Her heart resembles the heart of Jesus as she gives others more than they deserve.<sup>21</sup> She teaches us what Jesus taught – unconditional merciful love. Her heart was ready for sacrifice and free from the opinion of others.<sup>22</sup> In her integral image there is richness of feelings, care, commitment, dedication, generosity and selflessness.<sup>23</sup> She is a woman who loves abundantly, the one who transgresses herself, goes beyond all human measures, conventions and “political correctness”.<sup>24</sup> She shows the most beautiful attitude of a female heart towards God.<sup>25</sup> Olivier (2018) says her holiness as a saint is the result of her choice to be naturally free from evil. Not a prostitute, but a virgin as virginity refers to **the whole of a person**, his/her integrity. It is readiness and openness for an encounter with another person. It is a full presence of “SELF” that never wants to dominate or overwhelm another; which does not know rivalry. The French monk states bravely that among the women mentioned on the pages of the Gospels, Mary Magdalene has the position nearly equal to Mother Mary!<sup>26</sup>

Some probably most speculative studies by Baigent, Leigh and Lincoln (2006) show Magdalene as a foreground character at the end of the priestly activity of Jesus. In the synoptic gospels her name appears at the front of the

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<sup>18</sup> Nowakowski, P.E. (2019), p. 21.

<sup>19</sup> Martini, C.M.(2019), p. 24.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 24.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, p. 25

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, p. 35.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, p. 37.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, p. 40.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, 36–37.

<sup>26</sup> Martini, C.M. (2019), p. 10.

names of all other women who accompany Jesus.<sup>27</sup> Since the very beginning till the last pages Jesus treats Magdalene in an exceptional, privileged way which could raise jealousy among the other disciples. Those who wanted to deprive her of her good name may have been simply maliciously jealous of somebody who was closer to Jesus than anyone else and with whom Jesus shared His secrets. Christians contemporary to Jesus or those later could have looked at this woman with their evil eye and attempted to decrease her role. However, the Gospels show this woman did not deserve such stigmatization.<sup>28</sup> The authors’ speculations suggest she could have even been the wife of Jesus. If so, then his wife was the woman who appears on the pages of the gospels in various roles and under various names.<sup>29</sup>

In the Hebrew culture one’s identity is connected to the name of a person as identity is inscribed into the name.<sup>30</sup> In the Old Testament the Hebrew form “Mary” appears in its Hebrew, Greek and Latin forms just once. “Miriam” is an Ancient Hebrew female name, yet the meaning is complex. It means a person full of sorrow, bitterness, “bitter waters”, “a sea full of bitterness”, even “rebellious”. In Arabic it may mean “beloved”, “filled and filling with joy”, or even “the desired child”.<sup>31</sup> St. Jerome interpreted the name as “a star, lantern, light”, “Stella Maris”.<sup>32</sup> But also “high-rank, dignified, raised, joyful, loved by God”.<sup>33</sup> This name has received about 80 explanations and comes in two forms – “Mary” and “Miriam”. It can be translated from Hebrew as “loved, beloved”, “loved by God”, or from the Egyptian language “joyful, graceful, full of grace, shapeful”. If derived from the Hebrew verbal form the name can mean “the one who sees”, the Seer, and in the

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<sup>27</sup> Baigent, M, Leigh, R., Lincoln, H. (2006), p. 258.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem 259.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem 261.

<sup>30</sup> Wons, K (2018), p. 18.

<sup>31</sup> Tajemnice biblijnych imion, Kraków 2015, p. 59.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>33</sup> Nowy słownik teologii biblijnej (2017), p. 269–270.

other Ancient Eastern languages “noble, dignified, precious”. The richness of the meanings of this name is amazing because the Holy Spirit can create many meanings out of one name.<sup>34</sup> The name “Mary” is a narrative life story speaking that she is: loved by God and His beloved, noble, graceful, precious, dignified, content and joyful, shapely, well-formed; she adores life which fills her not only with joy but also sorrow and bitterness.<sup>35</sup> The form “Magdalene” in its adjectival form points at the geographical location of Magdala where she came from.<sup>36</sup> Another connotation of the name is “the tower”. One day Mary will become as a fortified city with the tower of God – Jesus Himself in whom she will inhabit and be protected. Wons (2018) claims it is possible that in her home the language spoken was Aramaic. “Rabbuni”, the name she addresses Jesus upon Resurrection is probably the record of not only the Hebrew but also Aramaic form from the 1<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>37</sup> So, her family would be calling her “Mariam”, i.e. “bitterness” and “sorrow”. But also “lady”, the woman full of joy and the source of joy. Some others read this name as “a sea drop” or “dignified, raised”.<sup>38</sup>

Mary Magdalene saw as one reality what Greek philosophers divided into two spheres: physical and spiritual, human and Divine. Plato claimed the spiritual element is more real while to Aristotle it was the physical part. The Greeks had a serious problem with accepting that Jesus was both human and Divine. In their mentality, the physical and spiritual elements could not co-exist, therefore they formulated a few attitudes where Jesus was more Divine, or more human, or partially human and partially Divine. However, the Gospel of John reveals that Jesus was fully Divine and fully human. John deliberately concentrated upon those two spheres: humanity and Divinity of Jesus. If the readers of John were to have life in the Name

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<sup>34</sup> Wons, K (2018), p. 19–20.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem 20–21.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem 21.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem 19.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem.

of Jesus, they had to know the same Jesus that the Apostles knew.<sup>39</sup> And it was this exceptional woman who could see what others did not see as she saw not only with her physical but also spiritual senses due to her amazing faith. Maybe, this is why some look at her as the competitor to St. Peter. Marzotto (2016) says men are not aware of the specific role of a woman’s call in Church. The characteristic feature of female activity is directing the male activities towards the universal dimension.<sup>40</sup>

Nowadays, the majority of scientists represent the materialistic perspective believing that the physical world is the only existing reality. However, O’Leary and Beauregard (2011) claim there exists the mystical state of conscience and mind as the mystics experience certain aspects of the reality that are not accessible to anyone else, but the Seer.<sup>41</sup> So, her PhD the author proposes reaching to the records of female West Christian mystics and prophetesses as for parallel texts for the best translates of “Rabbuni”. Those women, just like Mary Magdalene, were very active, dynamic, “self-assured” independent individuals and recipients of Divine messages and made their voices known to the prominent figures of their epochs. Led directly by Christ as their hearts belonged to God, they helped shape Christianity. The mystical and prophetic language in their written records reveals the hidden concept of God and the human relationship with the Deity.

## **“Mary” and “Rabbuni” – the encounter of human and Divine persons**

Pope Francis says God is a real, concrete “Person” and faith in Him originates in a real encounter which is a real life experience.<sup>42</sup> The concept of “person” has been evolving in a few directions in sciences. In my PhD

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<sup>39</sup> Pawson, D (2016), p. 487.

<sup>40</sup> Marzotto, D. (2016), p. 8.

<sup>41</sup> O’Leary, D., Beauregard (2011), p. 9–10.

<sup>42</sup> Franciszek, (2019), p. 96.

paper a new approach is suggested to understanding “person” in the light of Christian personalism by which “person” was born in a mutual dialogue between *divinum and humanum*.<sup>43</sup> In the analysed scene below we deal with the encounter of the Divine and human persons in embodied and embedded (situated, contextualized) human-divine experience as “*communio personarum*”. In Christian personalism, a mutual personal, even intimate relations between the Person of God and a human person are emphasized.<sup>44</sup>

### “Rabbuni” – the translation challenge

The author of this paper in her PhD thesis is exploring the text used in liturgy in the Polish Catholic Church, i.e. *Biblia Tysiąclecia*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition by Pallotinum. So, here is the extract:

*Rzekł do niej Jezus: “Niewiasto, czemu płaczesz? Kogo szukasz?” Ona zaś, sądząc, że to jest ogrodnik, powiedziała do Niego: “Panie, jeśli ty Go przeniostaś, powiedz mi, gdzie Go położyłeś, a ja Go zabiorę”. Jezus rzekł do niej: “Mario!” A ona, obróciwszy się, powiedziała do Niego po hebrajsku: “Rabbuni”, to znaczy [Mój] Nauczycielu! (John 20, 11-16).<sup>45</sup>*

So, the English equivalent for the Polish translate would be: “[My] Teacher!”. Let us compare it with *The New Revised Standard Version (NRSV)* which has been acknowledged and widely supported by academics and church authorities among any modern English translations and has a very ecumenical character. Here, the key verse goes:

*Jesus said to her, “Mary!” She turned and said to him in Hebrew, “Rabbouni!” – which means Teacher (John 20, 1-18).<sup>46</sup>*

<sup>43</sup> Barth, G (2013), p. 290.

<sup>44</sup> Guzowski, K (2016), p. 387.

<sup>45</sup> *Biblia Tysiąclecia*, 5<sup>th</sup>. Edition, Poznań, p. 1262.

<sup>46</sup> The New Revised Standard Version, Bible Works.

Two issues here need to be challenged. One, that “Rabbouni” is a Hebrew form, while, it is Aramaic. The other challenge is the English translate for “Rabbouni”, i.e. “Teacher”. Mary Magdalene recognised not only the teacher she met before crucifixion, but also Somebody else. The translation. “Rabbouni” is her “key-word”, in which she is translating her whole life again upon her authentic experience of the encounter with resurrected Jesus between two worlds: human and Divine. The key-words of a given language are often the words expressing the key values of the user.<sup>47</sup> So, the Polish translate, i.e. [My Teacher] seems to be closer to original as showing the intimacy of the encounter. However, Mary Magdalene in the scene uses the name “Pan” (“Lord”). Because she was Jesus’ beloved female disciple, and she also loved Him dearly, the author is proposing a developed form, “**My Beloved Lord**” as the translate much closer to the relationship between the two.

## Conclusion

Due to the complexity of the biblical texts there is a need to find an accurate and precise method to challenge the untranslated concepts into modern languages via a very responsible integrative interdisciplinary approach. Translations need to transfer all possible meanings and associations of concepts not only in linguistic terms but also in the social and cultural dimension of the original, aiming at the universals. Decoding the meaning of a single lexical item and finding a satisfactory translate in another language belongs to the most difficult tasks. Single words are nothing else but linguistic constructs that emerge in the process of advanced linguistic analysis. Therefore, the whole utterance in the context of a specific social situation constitutes a real linguistic fact.<sup>48</sup> Nowadays we witness the emer-

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<sup>47</sup> Wierzbicka, A. (2007), p. 14.

<sup>48</sup> Malinowski, B. (2013), p. 39, 40.

gence of an utterly new form of genetic translation studies which developed a methodology for studying the drafts, sketches, diaries, manuscripts and other working documents of modern literary works in order to unveil the complexity of the creative processes that are involved in the production. However, the analysis of manuscripts can turn to the study of meaning and concepts. The author's aim is to set up a new methodological scheme for challenging the untranslated by the use of the authentic writings by Christian female mystics often called, just like Mary Magdalene, brides of Christ.

Female Christian mystics originating from major European countries of the so-called "love mystique" and their written records constitute a valuable source as parallel texts for biblical modern translation, especially for finding the best universal modern translates for the untranslated. For the Polish translation, "Dzienniczek" ("Diary") by St. Faustina, a Polish mystic constitutes a valuable linguistic reference.

My proposal is open for future trials to reflect the true and full meaning of "**Rabbuni**". And taking into account the proposed parallel texts an improved translate can be "**My Dear Lord**". Especially, that it is also used later by the male apostles in the NT to whom Mary carried her message.

The author's proposal also has a potential for translating other Holy Books with the use of mystics' written and oral records as parallel texts, originating from various religious backgrounds. The texts of other religious texts, like prayers, litanies, lyrics of songs of worship can be applied, as well. Moreover, there is a place for other mystical literature, e.g. like poetry by lay people outside any religion.

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## Translating into the minority language Scots: the case of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*

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**Abstract:** Many minority languages are in danger of disappearing due to a lack of speakers, and translation from and into such languages may play a role in ensuring their survival. The Scots language, whose status has changed throughout history, is one of Europe's minority languages, and translation into it flourished at the moments in history when issues of national identity and language were central. This also seems to be true today: a larger number of books, especially canonical and children's literature is translated into Scots as the interest in the question of Scottish independence grows. The translators are often celebrated Scottish poets and writers, for whom the translation constitutes a political act. Approaching the task of translating with such an attitude, and with the (often explicit) aim of revitalising the language and educating readers, is likely to influence the decisions made by the translator. The article looks at one such translation and its potential role in changing the status of Scots, taking into account the historical context of the Scots language, as well as the situation of minority languages in general. *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, used as an example, was translated into Scots in 2017. The book itself is both a canonical text, extremely well-known and beloved all over the world, and a text for children, who are often seen as a particularly valuable target audience for linguistic education projects.

According to the European Parliament briefing from September of 2016, almost half of all the languages currently in existence are in danger of going extinct. Every language is inextricably interconnected with its nation's or group's culture, history, world view, and even the landscape of their immediate environment, so a loss of a language is always a loss that to some extent includes all of these aspects of a given community's life – and languages on the verge of extinction are often languages of peoples whose entire cultures and ways of life are already endangered.

The Scots language is one of Europe's minority languages, and 1.5 million people declared to be its speakers in the 2011 census (according to the information provided by the Scottish Government n.d.); it was also one of the languages included in the UK's 2001 ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ibid.). Scots is not a language spoken by an ethnic or national minority, nor is it confined to any single particular region (it has its own regional varieties), but compared to the number of English speakers in Scotland, the use of Scots is still marginal, especially with regard to how and when it is used, and its use continues to decline (albeit at a slower rate than before) (Scottish Government n.d.). The Scottish Government has developed a national policy aimed at the preservation of Scots, and particular attention seems to be paid to the role played by education, media, and the arts (Scottish Government 2015). On the website devoted to this policy, the government also pledges to "promote and support Scots and encourage its respect and recognition in order that what for many is the language of the home can be used in other areas of Scottish life" (ibid.).

It seems clear, however, that it takes more than government legislation to truly save a language (as outlined in such case studies by Dołowy-Rybińska 2011), and it is no coincidence that the government focuses on the cultural life of the nation in its policy as well. Of the utmost importance seems to be whether or not people want to speak a language, especially in the public sphere. One way of trying to (re)introduce a minority language into public life is to provide official documentation, forms to be filled out at government offices, public information, etc., also in the minority language; the aforementioned governmental Scots language policy could be given as an example, as the information is available both in English and in Scots. On the other hand, such researchers as John Edwards (e.g. 2003) point to the importance of natural transfer and the functioning of language to its preservation and continued survival. It seems that an argument for supporting languages through art, and especially literature (the most language-centred of the arts), could be made in light of each of these views, as it constitutes

an important part of cultural and social life, and necessarily stretches language by applying it to all kinds of contexts, including abstract and impossible ones.

Other points made by Edwards are that it is impossible to change the situation of a language by attending solely to it, as a community's language is tied to its history and situation, and that the strongest influence on any language is that of other, more powerful, languages (2003; 2012). This argument is very important in the case of Scots: even though the most frequently spoken language in Scotland today is English, the status of Scots has changed a lot through the ages, in response to, and as part of, historical events and social changes. Literary translation, which has been sometimes used as a way of raising the status of a language, has also played a very important role in the history of Scots. At the moments in history when issues of national identity and language were of great interest to the society, translation into Scots would develop dynamically (Corbett 1999: 4, 6-7), which also seems to be the case today. As such ideas and projects as Scottish independence are gaining traction, literary translation into Scots is also gaining in popularity and sometimes attracts a lot of attention. Particularly well-known and much-discussed are often translations of beloved children's classics, books by such authors as Roald Dahl or J.K. Rowling, but several other, non-children's, classics, have also appeared in translation. All of these tend to be translated by renowned Scottish poets, for whom these projects are political acts.

As to why these political acts are so widely seen as needed, it seems important to take at least a very brief and necessarily selective look at the history of Scots.

Up until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, "learning and correspondence" (Korzeniowska 2019: 50) would be undertaken in Latin and French, but around the year 1380 some "documents and letters" (*ibid.*) started to be written in Scots, and the language's status began to change. In 1424, the Scottish Parliament started to use Scots instead of Latin in official docu-

mentation, and Scots became the official state language. Around that time, the language was also being used for writing literature, which was mostly focused on subjects connected to the developing Scottish national identity, additionally shaped by the constant conflicts with England (*ibid.*). By the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Scots was already becoming a national language, as it was being used by more and more people, and was no longer confined to only certain types of settings or situations (*ibid.*: 56). During the so-called Golden Age of Scottish Culture, under the reign of James IV, both literature in Scots and translation into Scots were flourishing (*ibid.*: 30-33, 66).

During the Reformation, however, the English-language version of the Bible came to Scotland, and since there was no published Scottish vernacular translation, it came to stay, making the word of God appear to Scottish people in English. In addition, the vast majority of books available to Scottish readers were from England, and the few Scottish printing presses and texts also tended to follow English printing norms. All this, coupled with the fact that English, as the language of the Bible, was gaining in prestige, meant that Scots was being steadily replaced with English (*ibid.*: 41-42).

Of great significance here is also the reign of King James VI of Scotland and I of England. While he was only King of Scotland, his court was in Edinburgh and the city was the centre of cultural life. He was a great patron of the arts and Scottish artists, and a poet writing in Scots who intended to revive Scotland's high culture which had been suppressed by Presbyterianism. Under King James, Scots even developed a standardized written form (*ibid.*: 42).

This all changed, however, with the death of Elizabeth I, when King James inherited the English throne after her as James I. The Union of Crowns took place in 1603, and the King moved his court to London, which led to a halt in the development of Scots as a public language, and especially of its higher registers. This process, in turn, caused a shift in the perception of Scots, which was beginning to be seen as less than a language and more as a crude vernacular (*ibid.*: 42-43).

Such marginalising processes were strengthened by the standardisation of English, completed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. An important part was played by reference books, such as dictionaries and grammar guides, which helped make the language norms widely known, especially through education. It is through this process that the attitude towards language use changed and “propriety in English spread” (Corbett 1999: 97): from written to spoken language and from England to Scotland (ibid.).

Education, as already noted, was of paramount importance in the spreading of these norms, and by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century education was compulsory and universal both in England and in Scotland (Korzeniovska 2019: 150, 191). Thus, virtually all Scottish children would be taught to speak English, as well as read and write in it, and “the use of Scots was actively discouraged and then finally banned even from the school playground” (ibid.: 150).

Standard English, then, was the only language children would be allowed to use at school, and this problem still has not been entirely eliminated. Matthew Fitt, a Scottish poet and novelist, has talked about his school experiences as a child in the 1970s, when he would receive corporal punishment from his teachers for speaking his native tongue, Dundonian Scots (the dialect of Scots spoken in Dundee). He has also recounted his conversations with Scottish students nowadays, who are often taught to avoid speaking Scots (Off 2017).

Matthew Fitt talked about these experiences most prominently on the occasion of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* being published in Scots in 2017. He gave many interviews then, as he was the book’s translator and publisher: *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stane* was published by the imprint Itchy Coo, founded by him and another Scottish writer, James Robertson, whose explicit purpose is publishing books for children and young adults in Scots and working with schools on introducing Scots into education (Itchy Coo n.d.). A large number of the books published by the imprint are books in translation, many of which were originally in English, such as

*Harry Potter*, which means, of course, that the texts had already been available to Scottish readers. They were not translated, then, in order to give new readers access to previously unknown texts, nor even to provide them with a better or more accurate rendering (retranslation), as is usually the case with translations. The aim is purely to provide young Scottish readers with books in their own language and make them proud to be speakers of Scots (Off 2017).

As these aims were the main driving force for this translation project, they likely influenced the way the Scots text was rendered, and these influences should be visible.

One of the aspects in which we can clearly see this influence is the translation's domestication. Domestication, as opposed to foreignization, is the replacing of culture-specific items, such as names, food, cultural references, with items specific to the target culture. Today, domestication is often criticized for depriving the target readers of the glimpse into another culture that a differently translated text may have offered. Indeed, it can drastically change the reception of the text, even with seemingly small changes: to use the example of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, in the French version of the novel, many names of imaginary places and characters have been changed to French or French-sounding names. Introducing a school with a French name, where most teachers and students have French names, sets the scene in France rather than in Scotland (Jentsch 2006: 199).

However, in the case of the present example of the Scots translation, such an effect is not a big concern, as Hogwarts, the school where most of the plot takes place, is originally set somewhere in the Scottish Highlands. Therefore, it does not seem inconsistent for the characters to eat porridge not with sugar, but with salt, the traditionally Scottish way (Ron "poored saut on his parritch," and the two mentioned containers on the table at breakfast are "the mairmalade and the saut" [Fitt 2018: 134], not "the sugar bowl" [Rowling 2001: 101]), or for some of the magical creatures to be replaced

with creatures from Scottish folklore (as in the taunting sing-song question posed by the school's resident poltergeist: "Are you ghoulie or ghostie or wee student beastie?" [Rowling 2001: 199], which was rendered as "Are ye bogle or broonie or wee student beastie?" [Fitt 2018: 273]; according to the *Dictionaries of the Scots Language*, a *bogle* is "[a] ghost, spectre, phantom, causing fright" [DSL n.d. a], which may be treated as an equivalent of *ghost*, but a *broon* is "a fairy of the most malignant order" [DSL, n.d. b] and seems to be a typically Scottish creature). It could even be argued that the Scots text uses a more appropriate vocabulary for its location, describing Scottish surroundings with Scottish words and drawing on associations inherent in the novel's setting; but it definitely brings the story closer to the people who inhabit this setting in the real world.

Some of the characters' names have also been changed, most famously the school's headmaster, Albus Dumbledore, who in Fitt's version was given the name of one of Edinburgh's districts, Dumbiedykes. This essentially serves as an inside joke for those who know the city, but again, the Scottish-marked name doesn't introduce incongruity. Nonetheless, changing names in translation is always controversial, so it may be worth taking a closer look at how the two names function within their texts.

*Dumbledore* carries the archaic meaning of *bumblebee* (Merriam-Webster, n.d.), and Rowling has explained that the headmaster is very fond of music and she always pictured him as "humming to himself a lot" (ibid.). This meaning, however, is not immediately available to readers because the word is no longer in use. The noticeable aspect of the name is the juxtaposition of Dumbledore's long and complex name, his serious post and many titles (Albus Percival Wulfric Brian Dumbledore [Rowling 2003: 127], Order of Merlin, First Class, Grand Sorc., Chf. Warlock, Supreme Mugwump, International Confed. of Wizards [Rowling 2001: 42]), with his personality: apart from being wise and highly accomplished, he is also quirky, cheerful, and particularly partial to sherbet lemons. This purpose seems to be fulfilled by the name Dumbiedykes, which looks and sounds just as complex as it does silly.

Another contentious subject in Translation Studies is the treatment of non-standard language varieties, as they tend to carry even more meaning than texts in standard varieties, and they are usually used for very specific purposes. The aim is often to signal to the reader, for example, a set of qualities of the character who speaks a given variety. This, of course, can also be used to trick the reader or show them their prejudice. For instance, Hagrid, one of the most memorable characters in the *Harry Potter* books, is a wild-looking half-giant, who is twice as tall as a regular man and five times as wide. Yet this rough exterior is in direct opposition to his personality: he is kind-hearted and caring, almost to a fault. His idiolect, however, is more aligned with the uncouth impression he first makes, as his speech is strongly marked as non-standard, though not in a way pointing to any particular regional variety; rather, it is a mixture of different non-standard markers, which were most probably supposed to indicate a working-class background, a lower social standing, and an unfinished education:

'It's them as should be sorry! I knew yeh weren't getting' yer letters but I never thought yeh wouldn't even know abou' Hogwarts, fer cryin' out loud! Did yeh never wonder where yer parents learnt it all?' (Rowling 2001: 41)

These details, and especially the contrast between them, are very important aspects of Hagrid's characterization, as they constitute an important lesson for the child reader not to judge people by their appearance or the way they speak.

Matthew Fitt, the translator, chose to make Hagrid speak Dundonian Scots, his own native dialect:

'They're the anes that should be sorry! Eh kent ye werena gettin yer letters but Eh never thocht ye widna even ken about Hogwarts, for crehin oot lood! Did ye never wunner whar yer parents learned it aa?' (Fitt 2018: 49)

In the case of almost any other language, choosing a regional variety of the target language would seriously compromise the integrity of the text, but here, too, this is not the case for Scots, as the story takes place in Scotland

and Hagrid's birthplace is never revealed. The most important aspect of this idiolect is for it to be in some way marginalised and easily recognizable. Since Scots itself is marginalised, and strongly marked regional dialects in general tend to be discriminated to a higher extent, Dundonian Scots seems to work perfectly well, all the while emphasising the original setting of the book.

An important aspect of the Scots text is also the fact that because it is written exclusively in Scots, it presents the language as naturally used by all sorts of people (from the lower-class to the rich aristocracy, and from the school custodian to government officials) and in all sorts of situations (from the domestic to the public and official ones). It is also the only language used in writing: in personal notes, official letters from the school headmaster, and in the national press.

In conclusion, language preservation and revival is a difficult task, but at this point a necessary one and it may be prudent to turn to one of the traditional means of language promotion: literary translation. Classics, or canonical works, and children's literature are a natural first choice for such preservation projects, and such Scottish poets as Matthew Fitt have been doing a lot of work in this field in order to promote the minority language Scots. *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* is, in many ways, a very Scottish text, but Fitt has also pointed to the global aspect of such endeavours, stating that he chose this book because it is a "global novel" (Off 2017), known and loved all over the world; and what the Scots translation seems to be doing very well is making space for Scots-speaking children in this world-wide reader community.

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Didactics



## Analoge und digitale Medien im Flipped Classroom

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**Abstrakt:** Der Einsatz diverser Medien nimmt einen immer größeren Platz im Unterricht ein. Durch neue Möglichkeiten des multimedialen Lernens sind viele neue Unterrichtsmethoden in den Fokus der aktuellen Diskussion geraten. Eine dieser neuen Möglichkeiten heißt Flipped Classroom. Damit ist eine Methode bezeichnet, bei der Lerninhalte zu Hause von den Lernenden zunächst angesehen und vorläufig erfasst werden (sog. Selbstlernphase), während die vertiefende Auseinandersetzung in der Schule abläuft (sog. Präsenzphase). Das Ziel dieser Methode ist es, einen lernzentrierten Unterricht zu etablieren, der auf die Interessen, Vorkenntnisse und Hintergründe der Lernenden Rücksicht nimmt und aufbaut. Um einen kreativen, gleichsam >umgedrehten< Unterricht zu gestalten, brauchen die Lehrenden sowohl methodisches als auch technisches Wissen. Aus diesem Grund geht es im Folgenden um analoge und digitale Medien im Flipped Classroom.

### 1. Analoge und digitale Medien

Der Einsatz digitaler Medien ist für die Lernenden attraktiv, macht den Fremdsprachenunterricht vielfältiger und ermöglicht den Umgang mit authentischen Materialien (vgl. Pfeil 2015: 29). Man sollte aber nicht vergessen, dass analoge Medien immer noch von großer Bedeutung sind. So haben Mueller und Oppenheimer (2014: 1159–1168) nachgewiesen, dass die Verarbeitungstiefe des Lernstoffs beim Handschreiben größer ist als beim Schreiben, genauer Tippen auf dem Computer. Darüber hinaus ist ein Arbeiten im Wechsel analog/digital aus kognitiver Perspektive wichtig. Während des Wechsels werden metakognitive Prozesse ausgelöst, vermittelt der sich die Lernenden die Inhalte bewusster und tiefer aneignen (vgl. Mangen/Walgermo/Brønneck 2013: 61–68). Aus diesen Gründen scheint

der alternierende Einsatz von sowohl analogen als auch digitalen Medien beim Flipped Classroom berechtigt.

Als Flipped Classroom wird eine Unterrichtsmethode bezeichnet, bei der Lerninhalte zu Hause von den Lernenden angesehen und vorläufig erfasst werden (sog. Selbstlernphase), während die vertiefende Auseinandersetzung in der Schule geschieht (sog. Präsenzphase). Das Ziel dieser Methode ist es, einen lernzentrierten Unterricht zu implementieren, der auf die Interessen, Vorkenntnisse und Hintergründe der Lernenden Rücksicht nimmt und aufbaut.

Zu den analogen Materialien beim Flipped Classroom zählen Arbeitsblätter, die vor allem Anweisungen und Links enthalten. Die Arbeitsblätter sollten einen einfachen und lesbaren Aufbau haben und leicht zu verstehen sein (Amsberg 2018: 132). Die Lesbarkeit ermöglichen QR-Codes, die klassische Links ersetzen und einfach zu verwenden sind. QR-Codes wurden von Eyawo-Hauk und Gilg (2018: 7) wie folgt definiert:

Ein QR-Code ist ein zweidimensionaler Code, der verschiedenste Informationen (Links, kürzere Texte, Bilder, Filme, Tonaufnahmen) enthalten kann. „QR“ bedeutet „Quick Response“ und bezieht sich auf die Geschwindigkeit, mit der die Inhalte der Codes sichtbar gemacht werden können. Der QR-Code besteht aus einer quadratischen Matrix aus schwarzen und weißen Quadraten, die die kodierten Daten binär darstellen. Eine spezielle Markierung in drei der vier Ecken des Quadrats gibt die Orientierung vor. Die Daten im QR-Code sind durch einen fehlerkorrigierenden Code geschützt, wodurch er auch noch dekodiert werden kann, wenn er beschädigt ist.

Darüber hinaus erklären Eyawo-Hauk und Gilg (2018: 7), dass QR-Codes lizenz- und kostenfrei sind. Sie können sowohl auf einer Webseite als auch mithilfe einer Applikation erstellt werden. Die Inhalte der QR-Codes sind nur zu sehen, wenn man einen sog. QR-Code-Scanner (bspw. „QR Code Reader“<sup>1</sup>) auf einem Handy oder Tablet installiert und als Code-Les-

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<sup>1</sup> Vgl. andere Beispiele von kostenlosen Apps für Android: Bar-Code / i-nigma / QR Droid / Quick Scan

er benutzt. Ein Beispiel eines QR-Codes wird unten dargestellt. Nach dem Scannen dieses Codes erscheint ein Link zur polnischen Version der offiziellen Seite „Khan Academy“.



Abb. 1: QR-Code (<https://pl.khanacademy.org>)

Die Lehrenden, die mit QR-Codes vertraut sind, sind imstande, lesbare und verständliche Arbeitsblätter zu erstellen. Nach Amsberg (2018: 129–139) sollten sie gleich aufgebaut werden und Aufgaben sowohl auf grundlegenden als auch auf erweiterten Niveaustufen berücksichtigen. Dies ist deshalb wichtig, weil sich die leistungsschwächeren Lernenden schnell an bzw. auf den Arbeitsblättern orientieren müssen. Auf den Arbeitsblättern können sich nicht nur Aufgaben befinden, sondern auch Tipps zu diesen Aufgaben, die über einen QR-Code eingebunden werden können (vgl. Amsberg 2018: 129–139).

Wie Amsberg (2018: 129–139) hervorhebt, lohnt es sich, auch die einzelnen Aufgaben wegen der Binnendifferenzierung zu unterscheiden. Es wird vorgeschlagen, eindeutige Symbole gemeinsam mit den Lernenden zu vereinbaren. Wenn ein Symbol „☺“ neben der Aufgabe steht, bedeutet es, dass es sich um eine grundlegende, obligatorische Aufgabe handelt. Ein rotes Sternchen „\*“ kann dagegen eine fakultative Aufgabe auf einem erweiterten Niveau anzeigen. Außerdem kann man sich auf passende Symbole zu den QR-Codes festlegen, beispielsweise ein Ohr für einen Hörtext, ein „Q“ für die App „Quizlet“ oder eine Kamera für ein Video (beispielsweise auf „YouTube“).







Lerngegenstand des Arbeitsblattes		
 <p>QR-Code</p> 	 <p>QR-Code</p> 	 <p>QR-Code</p> 
Name	Name	Name
Aufgabe 1 😊	Anweisung	
Aufgabe 2 *	Anweisung	
Meine Notizen:		
Das ist für mich nicht klar:		

Abb. 2: Ein Muster-Arbeitsblatt für den Einsatz vom Flipped Classroom  
(eigene Idee und Darstellung)

Im Einklang mit Regeln von Amsberg (2018: 129–139) und eigenen Ideen hat die Autorin des Beitrags ein Arbeitsblatt vorbereitet, das als ein Muster für einen Flipped Classroom-Einsatz in der Selbstlernphase dienen kann. Das Arbeitsblatt ist universell und kann in jedem Unterrichtsfach eingesetzt werden. Am Ende des Arbeitsblattes wurde ein Platz für Notizen („Meine Notizen“) und Unklarheiten der Lernenden („Das ist für mich nicht klar“) eingerichtet. So ein konstruiertes Arbeitsblatt ist schülerfreundlich und bildet nach dem Ausfüllen einen guten Ausgangspunkt in der Präsenzphase.

## 2. Vermittlung durch Screencasts

Flipped Classroom basiert hauptsächlich auf sog. Screencasts und Lernvideos. Kück (2014: 13) ist der Meinung, dass ein Screencast eine der wichtigsten Komponenten bei dieser Methode ist und definiert ihn wie folgt:

Ein Screencast ist ein Video, bei dem lediglich der Bildschirminhalt inklusive Ton aufgezeichnet wird. Zur Aufzeichnung ist keine externe Kamera nötig, die Screencasts werden mittels einer speziellen Software direkt auf Rechner oder Tablet-PC aufgezeichnet.

Screencasts ähneln also dem bekannten „Tafelbild“, auf dem man Gedanken (zu einem Thema) durch Bilder, Skizzen oder andere Objekte veranschaulichen kann. Es gibt diverse Möglichkeiten, Screencasts selbstständig aufzuzeichnen. Notwendig sind ein Computer / Tablet und das Mikrofon. Die Screencast-Erstellung wird von einer speziellen Screencast-Software<sup>2</sup> unterstützt. Hierbei sind jedoch einige Faktoren zu berücksichtigen. Schön und Ebner (2013: 13) weisen darauf hin, dass die Screencasts für die Lernenden möglichst professionell hergestellt werden sollten. Falls jemand

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<sup>2</sup> Siehe kostenlose Beispiele von Screencast-Software: Screencast-o-Matic (Windows und Mac) / Debut Video Capture (Windows und Mac) / Camstudio (Windows).

zu langsam malt und schreibt oder dies undeutlich tut, sollte er auf diese Methode verzichten, weil die Ansicht solcher Materialien bzw. Lernobjekte ermüdend wirkt/ist. Glücklicherweise gibt es viele Webseiten, auf denen gute Screencasts zu finden sind. Eine solche Seite ist die Khan-Academy. Von dieser Seite stammt die unten angeführte Darstellung eines Screen-casts. Das Thema dieses Screencasts betrifft den Gebrauch von Modalverben im Englischen.

× Czasowniki modalne - film z polskimi napisami Przejdź na stronę lekcji

"He must have gone that way!"  
(likelihood)

"You must be this tall to ride the  
Doom-coaster." (obligation)

To jest warunek konieczny.

▶ 🔊 2:55 / 4:52 📄 ⚙️ 🗉

Rozwiąż test

Abb. 3: Screencast zum Thema Modalverben im Englischen (<https://pl.khanacademy.org>)

Auf dem Screencast ist zu sehen, dass außer Erklärungen im Bild selbst auch polnische Untertitel hinzugefügt werden, was für polnische Lernende beim Verstehen des Materials nützlich sein kann. Nach Kück




(2014: 14) haben Screencasts deutliche Vorteile. Die Lernenden können sie mehrmals wiederholen, um Zusammenhänge zu verstehen. Darüber hinaus sind Screencasts der Lerngeschwindigkeit angepasst. Während des Anschauens ist es möglich, den Screencast zwischendurch anzuhalten, um etwas zu überlegen oder Notizen zu machen. Ebenso können die Lernenden Teile des Screencasts überspringen, wenn sie die entsprechenden Inhalte bereits kennen. Schließlich sind Screencasts für die abwesenden Lernenden von Bedeutung, weil sie jederzeit das Verpasste nacharbeiten können.

### 3. Vermittlung durch Lernvideos

Flipped Classroom beruht außer Screencasts auf Lernvideos. Das können sowohl Animationen, Interviews als auch kurze Reportagen oder Geschichten sein. Hauptsache ist, dass sie über ein didaktisches Potenzial verfügen und sich zur Selbstlernphase eignen. Die Herstellung von solchen Lernvideos ist sehr anspruchsvoll. Arnold (2016: 42) bestätigt, dass hierbei technologisches Wissen und die entsprechende technische Infrastruktur (geeignetes Video-Studio und dergleichen mehr) notwendig sind. Die Aufnahmen dauern mehrere Stunden. Versprecher dürfen nicht sofort korrigiert werden, sondern verlangen Wiederholungen. Selbst wenn das Endprodukt wunderbar und unschätzbar wäre, können wenige Lehrende aus zeitlichen Gründen solche Lernvideos regelmäßig produzieren.

Abhilfe schaffen Lernvideos zu den unterschiedlichsten Themen auf Lernvideoplattformen und -webseiten. Im Folgenden wird eine Tabelle geboten, die die bedeutendsten Lernvideoplattformen und -webseiten für Flipped Classroom berücksichtigt. Zusätzlich werden in der Tabelle Tools für die interaktive Arbeit mit Lernvideos gelistet. Jede Plattform / Webseite ist mit einem didaktischen Beispiel versehen, das im Fremdsprachenunterricht eingesetzt werden kann.

Tab. 1: Lernvideoplattformen / Lernvideowebsites / Tools zum Einsatz von Lernvideos beim Flipped Classroom (eigene Darstellung)

Name	Beschreibung	Beispiel
1	2	3
<p>Khan-Academy {kostenlos}</p> 	<p>Die Khan Academy wurde 2006 von Salman Khan in den USA gegründet und beinhaltet lediglich Erklär-Videos. Zurzeit enthält die Seite mehr als 13.000 anleitende und erklärende Videos und mehr als 100.000 an den Unterricht angepasste, interaktive Übungen. Klinkhammer (2017: 24) bezeichnet die Khan Academy als „kostenlose, erstklassige und weltweit verfügbare Bildungsplattform für Jeden.“ Die Plattform wurde bereits in 36 Sprachen übersetzt. Das Angebot umfasst unter anderem Mathematik, Musik, Kunstgeschichte und englische Grammatik. Alle Themen auf der Seite werden in Zusammenarbeit mit Lehrkräften und akademischen Experten entwickelt (vgl. Klinkhammer 2017: 24).</p>	<p><u>Grammatik im Englischunterricht:</u> „Introduction to irregular verbs“</p> 
<p>YouTube {kostenlos}</p>  <p>Vimeo {kostenlos}</p> 	<p>YouTube und Vimeo sind die Videoportale, die eine Vielfalt an Lernvideos und Tutorials anbieten. Beide Plattformen sind kostenlos und frei zugänglich (vgl. Schmid 2016: 6).</p>	<p><u>Deutschunterricht zum Thema Geld:</u> „Das Deutschlandlabor – Folge 12: Geld“ (Goethe-Institut)</p> 


1	2	3
<p><b>TeacherTube</b> {kostenlos}</p> 	<p>Schmid (2016: 5) vergleicht diese Plattform mit Youtube, allerdings enthält diese Lernvideos: „Auf der frei zugänglichen Lernvideohosting-Plattform finden sich zahlreiche kategorisierte, zum Teil englischsprachige Lern- und Instruktionsvideos sowie andere Lernressourcen zu den unterschiedlichsten Themenbereichen.“ Auf dieser Seite kann im Gegensatz zur Khan Academy jede Person Material hochladen und es veröffentlichen.</p>	<p><u>Englischunterricht zum Thema Gesundheit:</u> „What does sugar do to your body“</p> 
<p><b>TedEd</b> {kostenlos}</p> 	<p>Die Seite ermöglicht intuitiv und schnell, bestehende Lernvideos mit zusätzlichen Informationen, Quiz und Links zu versehen. Es ist auch möglich, die fertigen Lernvideos mit Aufgaben zu nutzen. Die Lernvideos sind geordnet und strukturiert (vgl. Rösch 2017: o. S.). Alle Inhalte sind verfügbar auf Englisch, aber in der Mehrheit der Videos kann man auch Untertitel in vielen Fremdsprachen dazuschalten (beispielsweise auf Polnisch oder Deutsch).</p>	<p><u>Englischunterricht zum Thema Sport:</u> „How playing sports benefits your body and your brain“</p> 
<p><b>EDPuzzle</b> {kostenlos}</p> 	<p>Die Arbeit mit Erklärvideos ermöglicht der kostenlose Dienst EDPuzzle. Häusermann (2017, o. S.) zählt die Funktionen dieser Webseite auf: „Mit EDPuzzle lassen sich Videos von YouTube und anderen Plattformen oder selbst hochgeladene Videos für den Unterricht einsatzbereit machen. Man kann die Videos kürzen, mit Kommentaren und Fragen versehen und leicht mit der ganzen Klasse teilen.“ Die Plattform eignet sich zur Arbeit mit Lernvideos in jedem Unterricht. Die Lehrkräfte können in diesem Tool die Ergebnisse ihrer Lernenden überprüfen und schnell sehen, bei welchen Fragen die meisten Schwierigkeiten auftreten.</p>	<p><u>Deutschunterricht zum Thema Mode:</u> „Do Germans care about fashion?“ (Easy German)</p> 

## 4. Weitere Tools für den Einsatz von Flipped Classroom im Fremdsprachenunterricht

Mak (2019: o. S.) bezeichnet alle Materialien in der Selbstlernphase als ein Startpaket. Das Paket kann nicht nur Screencasts und Lernvideos beinhalten, sondern auch Podcasts, Beiträge, Quiz, interaktive Aufgaben, Präsentationen oder andere interessante Materialien. Akyazi (2015: 106) ist der Meinung, dass solch eine Abwechslung das Interesse der Lernenden weckt, ihr Engagement fördert und sie mit verschiedenen Arten von Technologien vertraut macht, was sich in der Zukunft auszahlen kann.

Darüber hinaus ist zu erwähnen, dass sich die interaktiven Tools nicht nur auf die Selbstlernphase beschränken müssen. Je nach Unterrichtsplanung können sie auch in der Präsenzphase Verwendung finden (vgl. Mak 2019, o. S.). Im Folgenden werden also weitere Tools präsentiert, die in der Selbstlernphase erfolgreich eingesetzt werden können. Die Tabelle wird wie zuvor jeweils mit einer kurzen Beschreibung und einem Beispiel versehen.

Tab. 2: Weitere Tools beim Einsatz von Flipped Classroom (eigene Darstellung)

Name	Beschreibung	Beispiel
<p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <p><b>LearingApps</b> {kostenlos}</p> 	<p style="text-align: center;">2</p> <p>LearningApps.org ist eine Internetwebseite, die es ermöglicht, ohne Programmierkenntnisse multimediale und interaktive Lernbausteine zu erstellen. Viele fertige Apps sind schon in Kategorien vorsortiert. Die Webseite bietet zahlreiche Möglichkeiten an (vgl. Fuchs 2015: 2). Auf der Webseite stehen zahlreiche Aufgabentypen zur Verfügung: Paare zuordnen, Gruppenzuordnung, Zahlenstrahl, Reihenfolge, freie Textantwort, Zuordnung auf Bild, Multiple-Choice-Quiz, Lückentext, Millionenspiel, Kreuzworträtsel, Hangman, Wortgitter und viele andere.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p><u>Deutschunterricht</u> <u>zum Thema Körperteile:</u> <u>Zuordnung auf Bild</u></p> 




1	2	3
<p><b>Quizlet</b> {kostenlos, aber kostenpflichtiges Upgrade versichert unlimitierte Klassenanzahl, eigene Grafiken und Werbefreiheit}</p> 	<p>Quizlet ist ein Karteikartenlernprogramm mit computergenerierter Aussprache in vielen Sprachen. Neben mehreren Lernmodi ist es auch möglich, auf dieser Seite spielerisch zu lernen und alle Vokabeln auszudrucken. Alles in allem eignet sich Quizlet für jedes Thema in jedem beliebigen Fremdsprachenunterricht (vgl. Steinkogler 2015: 137–138). Die Webseite erfreut sich großer Beliebtheit. Aus diesem Grund veröffentlichen viele Verlage (unter anderem Nowa Era und Pearson) fertige Sets mit Vokabeln zu ihren Lehrwerken.</p>	<p><u>Englischunterricht zum Thema Sport: „Sport and equipment“</u></p> 
<p><b>Kahoot</b> {kostenlos}</p> 	<p>Kahoot ist eine spielebasierte Lernplattform. Sie ermöglicht das Erstellen von Quiz mit Fragen und Multiple-Choice-Antworten. Zu jedem Quiz darf man Bilder, Diagramme und Videos hinzufügen. Für das Spiel sind ein Gerät (beispielsweise ein Handy oder ein Tablet) und eine Internetverbindung nötig. Die Lernenden spielen und nach jeder Frage werden die Antworten auf dem Bildschirm gezeigt (vgl. Lackner 2016: 47–49). Diese Lernplattform ist besonders in der Präsenzphase zu empfehlen.</p>	<p><u>Quiz „Analoge und digitale Medien“ (eigene Darstellung)</u></p> 



## 5. Lernmanagement-Systeme (LMS)

Die letzte Frage, geht der Veröffentlichung der Materialien nach. Der Lehrende hat bereits ein Startpaket (siehe Mak 2019: o. S.) vorbereitet und will es an seine Lernenden weiterleiten. Eine Möglichkeit bietet ein analoges Medium wie ein Arbeitsblatt, das QR-Codes enthält. Die andere

Option wären Lernmanagement-Systeme, die online zur Verfügung stehen. Viele Lehrende entscheiden sich für sie, weil sie sehr übersichtlich und bedienerfreundlich sind. Nach Schmid (2016: 17–18) kann man mithilfe solcher Lernplattformen Materialien bereitstellen, Aktivitäten integrieren und Nutzerdaten verwalten. Zurzeit gibt es eine Vielfalt an Lernmanagement-Systemen, die bekanntesten sind in der folgenden Tabelle dargestellt.

Tab. 3: Lernmanagement-Systeme (eigene Darstellung)

Name	Beschreibung	Beispiel
1	2	3
<p><b>Moodle</b> {kostenlos}</p> 	<p>Moodle ist eine weltweit genutzte Lernplattform, und zwar seit 1999. Sie bietet zahlreiche Möglichkeiten zur individuellen Gestaltung. Die Administratoren können kostenlos Moodle auf einem eignen Schulserver installieren (vgl. Schmid 2016: 17). Nicht nur Schulen verwenden diese Lernplattform, auch Universitäten (beispielsweise die Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität in Poznań).-</p>	<p>Moodle-Lernplattform der Warschauer Universität (Kampus COME):</p> 
<p><b>Classroom Google</b> {kostenlos}</p> 	<p>Schmid (2016: 18) erklärt, dass seit 2014 Google Bildungsmodulanbietet. Classroom Google integriert verschiedene Apps, wie Cloud-Speicher, Online-Programme und Kalender. Classroom Google ermöglicht schnelle Feedbackmöglichkeiten und Kommunikation zwischen Usern (vgl. Schmid 2016: 18).</p>	<p>Die Webseite: „Classroom Google“:</p> 

1	2	3
<p><b>Padlet</b> {kostenlos}</p> 	<p>„Das Tool ‚Padlet‘ ist eine kostenlose Internet-Tafel, die man sehr einfach gestalten kann und darüber hinaus vielfältige Möglichkeiten für die Verwendung im Unterricht bietet.“ (Schwarz 2013: o. S.)</p>	<p>Padlet über digitale Tools im FSU (eigene Darstellung)</p> 

## 6. Schlussfolgerungen

Die Digitalisierung bringt viele Möglichkeiten für die Lehrenden, um einen kreativen und effizienten Unterricht zu gestalten. Flipped Classroom zählt zu den neusten Konzepten, die sowohl auf analogen Medien (Arbeitsblätter) als auch auf digitalen Medien (Screencasts, Lernvideos, Lernplattformen, Lernwebseiten usw.) beruhen. Im Beitrag wurden diese Medien genau beschrieben: von einem Arbeitsblatt-Muster bis hin zu Screencasts, Lernvideos und weiteren Tools. Die Tabellen sollen einen Überblick über den Medieneinsatz beim Flipped Classroom geben. Jede Position wurde mit einem Beispiel versehen, so dass man als Leser bzw. Leserin die Medien mithilfe eines QR-Scanners selbst erproben kann.

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## Teaching vocabulary to ASD learners through mnemonic device

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**Abstract:** Mnemonic devices have been considered as one of the most powerful second language learning strategies. The use of mnemonics enhances imagination, learning and recall. Decades of research show that learning through mnemonics can make subtle changes in the human brain by activating the organ and stimulating its potential. These changes appear to be significant enough to improve memory function and increase intellectual ability. Therefore, this approach to language teaching and learning is also used to support students with autism spectrum disorder, who often demonstrate memory deficits and learning disabilities. The present paper provides a brief overview of mnemonics for foreign language vocabulary learning – with particular attention to the keyword method. Furthermore, it attempts to investigate the role and impact of mnemonic devices on foreign language vocabulary learning of students with ASD.

### Introduction

The analysis of statistics concerning the Polish educational system, including information on the activity of schools and other educational care centres allows us to observe that over the recent years, the number of students with special educational needs attending schools has been gradually increasing. The number of people diagnosed with autism is increasing worldwide, it is estimated that already 1 in 54 children in the United States of America is born with this disorder, while in Europe the prevalence of autism spectrum disorder is estimated at about 1 in 100 children. Equalizing educational opportunities and creating a friendly, stimulating and motivating learning environment in which every student develops his or her

linguistic, social and emotional competences is a particular challenge for language teachers. Furthermore, educators who work with individuals on the autism spectrum are very often exposed to make changes to the lesson plan or change and modify instructions in order to accommodate students' needs. By recognizing individual student learning needs as well as developing strategies to meet those needs, teachers have a profound effect on learner's educational experience.

Therefore, among all the vocabulary teaching methods and strategies, it is important to use an individual approach and methods tailored and adjusted to psychophysical abilities of each student.

### **Evolution of the definition of *autism***

The term autism was first used by Eugenie Bleuler in order to describe the condition of withdrawal from reality in people with schizophrenia. In 1943 the term was redefined by Kanner who used it to describe children with disability to manage reality. Kanner listed a number of signs and symptoms of autism:

- delay in the acquisition of language
- difficulties with communication
- short attention span
- hyperactivity
- problems with listening, concentrating, organizing and understanding
- interpersonal difficulties
- making and maintaining appropriate eye contact
- understanding expectations – misinterpretation of gestures, facial expressions
- reacting appropriately in situations of tension, stress and change

- recognizing and naming their own feelings and emotions and the emotions of others

The current diagnostic criteria for autism spectrum disorder published in DSM-V introduces the concept of the *Autism Spectrum Disorder* and identifies autism as a spectrum disorder with varying degrees of symptoms. According to DSM-V Autism Spectrum Disorder includes two areas:

1. Social communication deficits
2. Persistent interests and repetitive behaviours<sup>1</sup>

## An autistic visual learner – definition and characteristics

Temple Grandin, the scientist and author who shares her own experience of living with autism, in her book the *autistic brain* provides a description of an autistic visual learner:

*I think in pictures. Words are like a second language to me. I translate both spoken and written words into full colour movies, complete with sound, which run like a VCR tape in my head. When somebody speaks to me, his words are instantly translated into pictures<sup>2</sup>*

This quotation indicates that many people on the spectrum think visually. Additionally, they can have an exceptionally good visual memory – then it is important to base learning on the sense of sight.

As follows, it is beneficial to provide autistic learners with a word or information presented in a way where it is written down and can be seen. Furthermore, in some cases, students with autism spectrum disorder will have difficulties with expressive and receptive language. Expressive lan-

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<sup>1</sup> Rosen, N., Volkmar, F.R., & Reichow, B. (2013), s. 1–4.

<sup>2</sup> Grandin, T. (2019), s. 203 3 Tissot, C. (2003), s. 5.

guage represents the ability to use spoken or written speech correctly, appropriately, and effectively. Some people on the autistic spectrum can have difficulties with understanding the meaning of spoken or written words. It means they simply cannot learn new words just by hearing other people use them or seeing its written form.<sup>3</sup>

Regrettably, school material typically requires verbal thinking. Particular issues/topics are often explained using speech and lecture style, and rarely using practical demonstration. Many autistics students benefit from the visual form of a written word and for this reason they require visually supported instruction in order to boost their learning.<sup>4</sup> Mnemonic techniques involve visual functions. They are based on multisensory coding, which means that to memorise we use different neural pathways, the use of which improves the functioning of natural memory.

## Autistic brain

One of the common problems faced by students on the autism spectrum who struggle with learning a foreign language is that they easily forget the newly learned words or they cannot memorise them. As Grandin<sup>5</sup> (2019) claims, the fundamental reason for this is the language disorder that is the implication of many abnormalities which have been found in the brain structure of people with ASD. Her research shows autistic people can have larger-than-average brain volume, cerebral hemispheres, cerebellum and caudate nucleus. It has been proved that the left hemisphere of the autistic brain is not active in the same way as in the non-autistic brain. Left hemisphere activity is strictly connected with the blood supply. The blood circulation in

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<sup>3</sup> Tissot, C. (2003), s. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Low, H.M., Lee, L.W. (2011), s. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Grandin, T. (2019), s. 42-51.

autistic people at rest is the same in both hemispheres, while in neurotypical people at rest more blood reaches the left hemisphere than the right. The less circulated areas of the brain in autistic people are responsible for language and analytical skills. Therefore, the limited development of language skills in autistic people is related to reduce activity of the brain left hemisphere.

There were also many abnormalities in the limbic and responsible system for emotions, memory and learning. The research published by the American Psychological Association found that due to differences in memory organization and spatial working memory, autistic students demonstrate problems with information processing, memorising new words and unfamiliar and complex facts. In order to make it easier for students to understand and remember new information, and especially to become more efficient in recalling newly learnt English words, it is beneficial to use mnemonics.

## Mnemonics – definition

According to Solso (1995),

mnemonics are techniques or devices that serve to improve the storage of new information, and the recall of information contained in memory. Teaching through mnemonics involves teaching students to link new information taught to information they already know.<sup>6</sup>

Mnemonics or memory techniques are an alternative to traditional methods of learning. Mnemonic devices play a significant role in the process of teaching and learning. One of the reasons why the use of mnemonics in teaching and learning is so effective is the engagement of the two hemispheres of the brain. It is believed that people learn best when both sides of the brain communicate with each other.

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<sup>6</sup> Schmitt, N. (200).

There are different types and classifications of mnemonic strategies used in the process of learning and teaching language. The basic principle used in mnemonics is visualization or thinking in a pictorial manner in which the work of the left and right hemispheres is activated simultaneously. However, it is not the primary purpose of the article to engage in an extensive discussion on all the types of mnemonics. Therefore, I will briefly introduce three fundamental mnemonic strategies that are often used in teaching students with disabilities, and my focus will be on the keyword method.

## **Teaching vocabulary to ASD learners through mnemonic strategies Pictures**

It is one of the best teaching techniques that are used to develop vocabulary. A mnemonic image is created by a visual association to the word and then the particular word is paired with the picture. This method is used in order to give meaning of the word and make the meaning clear. It also increases the motivation and interest of the students.<sup>7</sup>

### **Mind maps**

This method was first introduced by Tommy Buzzan who sought a strategy that would support his students who struggled with learning problems. It is one of the most popular and also the most effective learning techniques. A mind map is a method of creative multidirectional thinking that effectively engages both hemispheres. A schematic mind map is effective because the brain works most efficiently when information is processed into drawings and graphics. In this way, passive reception of the

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<sup>7</sup> Amiryousefi, M. (2011), s. 180.

text is transformed into active absorption of knowledge. Mind map can be a great tool for students with memorization difficulty and for students who have poor organizational skills because it helps them organize the material by sorting it and creating networks of information. It also forms association in a creative and enjoyable way.

## **Songs and rhymes**

Music has been used as a therapeutic tool for centuries. It is a low-cost intervention that affects many areas of the brain and supports learning. Songs and rhymes provide examples of rhythmic, memorable and authentic language. They can be used at any stage of education. Songs give students the chance to learn new vocabulary and practice pronunciation and intonation. This strategy is particularly good for those who struggle with verbal communication because it is a way to express feelings without using words. This method can be employed even with non-verbal students because we can add visual aids for songs and rhymes. However, we need to remember that people with autism can be hypersensitive to sounds, therefore they can experience overwhelming sensory stimulus. Hence, it is worth asking a specialist or students if playing a particular song is helping them or not.

## **The keyword method**

The keyword method was developed by Atkinson in 1975, and it is a three stage method. Beforehand, we need to associate the spoken form of an English word to acoustically similar first language word. This acoustically similar first language word is called the keyword. Next, we build a meaningful association between the words and when the sound association is formed, we create a visual image that links the meaning of the En-

English word and the keyword. An example of this strategy can be used when teaching the English word *court* and its meaning. Initially, we can associate the spoken word with the word *kot* – meaning a cat in Polish.

As we have already found the acoustically similar word and the association is created, then we can go to the following stage and create an image. Use a visualisation of a cat being a judge in court as it can be clearly pictured.

This visualization and association made on the basis of the word we want to learn will help to memorize the target word and then to recall it.

## **The effectiveness of mnemonic strategies for teaching vocabulary – research overview**

Raugh and Atkinson, in their research compared the keyword method with different vocabulary teaching strategies. “In all cases the keyword method proved to be highly effective.”<sup>8</sup> Results of the study revealed that students who learnt new words through keyword method remembered more vocabulary than students who were instructed in different procedures for learning vocabulary.

Students using the keyword technique remembered 72% of the words they had learned, while students in the control group remembered 45% of the words. Six weeks later, another study was conducted. Researchers found that students using the keyword strategy remembered 50% of the previously learnt words and students in the control group remembered only 15% of the words.<sup>9</sup> In order to make the keyword method even more effective it is good to follow the 3R’s rule: reconstructing, relating and retrieving.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Atkinson, R.C. (1975), s. 821–828.

<sup>9</sup> Atkinson, R. C. (1975), s. 821–828. 10 Bakken, J. P. (2017), s. 69.

<sup>10</sup> Wolgemuth, J., Cobb, R., Alwell, M. (2008), s. 8–9.

Researches claim that the keyword method is highly effective for students with disabilities because it emphasises a visual approach and it is flexible. The research conducted by Atkinson has shown that implementation of the mnemonics is very beneficial in development of foreign language vocabulary because it incorporates both logic and creativity into the classroom setting. Studies on the effects of mnemonics for secondary school students with disabilities presented by Wolgemuth found that using mnemonics strategies for learning has a significant impact on the improvement of imagination and visualization. The researchers observed that mnemonics promoted active learning and stimulate curiosity and cognitive functions.<sup>11</sup> They help to transfer information from short-term memory to long term-memory as the participants showed improvement in recall concentration, self- regulatory behaviour and planning.<sup>12</sup>

There appears to have been little research on the effects of using mnemonics for teaching foreign language vocabulary to autistic students, however, the neurological benefits of learning through mnemonics are clear and significant. The recent study undertaken by a group of neurologist and neuropsychologists from Sao Paulo University investigated the behaviour and effect of mnemonic instruction on patients with injured brain regions (autism is a neurological disorder which means it affects functioning in the brain, and this is similar to brain injury which affects part of the brain while leaving other parts untouched). The researchers used magnetic resonance imaging to follow changes in the brain while the participants were performing tasks. The results showed that the brain connectivity changes while learning through mnemonics what activate the brain and stimulate its potential, having a positive effect on its functioning.<sup>13</sup> The study found

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<sup>11</sup> Yates, F. (2001), s. 4–6.

<sup>12</sup> Asaro-Saddler, K., Bak. N. (2012), s. 376.

<sup>13</sup> Batista, A., Bazan, P., Conforto, A., Martin, M., Simon, S., Hampstead, B., Figueiredo, E., Miotto, E. (2019), s. 1–16.

significant improvement in the brain functions, especially in memory performance. Behavioural improvement was observed as well as facilitation of the organization and association of information. This means that teaching through mnemonics promotes positive effects on cognitive and brain functioning, especially in the left hemispheres.

## Conclusion

For some students with ASD who struggle with studying a foreign language, learning new words can be a very demanding process. Mnemonic strategies have been proved to help students with disabilities memorize new information and words easily and more effectively. Using mnemonics in teaching and learning can improve efficiency and recall. There are different types of mnemonics strategies used for teaching vocabulary to autistic and disabled students however, there are many factors that affect how well students learn foreign language vocabulary. Therefore, it is important to first identify and meet individual learners' needs and then adapt the appropriate mnemonic strategies to students' psychophysical abilities.

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## Die Kraft der Musik im DaF-Unterricht

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**Abstract:** Kaum jemand ist sich bewusst, dass durch fremdsprachliche Liedtexte die Interkulturalität, der im FSU ein hoher Stellenwert zum Erlangen der weit gefassten sprachlichen Kompetenzen zukommt, auch allgegenwärtig ist. Lieder vermitteln sowohl linguistisches wie auch (inter)kulturelles Wissen, und sie unterstützen die Entwicklung der kommunikativen Fertigkeiten. Deswegen sollten sie bezüglich der Ziele der Fremdsprachendidaktik genauer in den Blick rücken. **In diesem Beitrag wird das Problem des Einsatzes** von Liedgut im FSU aus theoretischer und praktischer Sicht diskutiert.

### 1. Einleitung

Musik ist in allen Kulturen zu allen Zeiten eine menschliche Konstante, sie befördert das effektive Gehirntraining, denn beim Musikerleben wird nicht nur der Hörapparat, sondern ein komplexes organologisches Wechselspiel aktiviert. Zum einen ist die auditive Wahrnehmung eine der ersten Sinne, die von einem Kind überhaupt entwickelt wird. Zum anderen verinnerlichen Kleinkinder Reihenfolgen von Ereignissen am besten, wenn diese in einen kausalen Zusammenhang gebracht und dargeboten werden. Zudem wird die Merkfähigkeit verbessert, wenn die Sätze von Melodien, Takt und Rhythmus unterstützt werden. Die Koordination, die das gemeinsame Musizieren voraussetzt, führt weiterhin zur besseren zwischenmenschlichen Kooperation und das spiegelt sich wiederum in einer partizipativen Gemeinschaft wider. Mittels einer positiven Einstellung und einem entsprechenden Gefühl gegenüber einer Fremdsprache können die Lernenden schließlich ihre Motivation steigern, um den langwierigen Prozess des

Fremdsprachenerlernens erfolgreich durchzustehen und eine solide sprachliche Sensibilisierung zu erwerben.

Wie bewältigen die Studierenden die inhaltliche Interpretation eines kulturell und historisch informierten Liedes? Welche Lieder eignen sich für didaktische Zielsetzungen im FSU? Die Beantwortung dieser Fragen ist das Ziel des Beitrags, der auf einer statistischen Erhebung unter Germanistikstudenten der Universität Rzeszów basiert.

## 2. Das unterbewertete Potenzial der Musik im (Fremdsprachen)Unterricht

Die Völker suchten schon immer den Kontakt zu anderen Kulturen, sei es aufgrund kommerzieller Nöte, Herrschaftsansprüche oder auch aus Neugier. Getreu den Worten »Wer meine Sprache spricht, ist mein Freund«, sollten die Lehrpläne im Bereich der Fremdsprachendidaktik genau hier anknüpfen und die selbstverständliche Neugier des Menschen für die didaktischen Zwecke, nämlich die kommunikativen Fähigkeiten und die interkulturelle Kompetenz auszubilden, nutzen.<sup>1</sup>

Die Verbindung von Sprache und Musik wird im FSU „eher als optionale Ergänzung gesehen und [ist] in den Lehrplänen kaum vorzufinden“ (Morgret, 2015: 49). Eine der Ursachen dafür liegt in der Unkenntnis der Lehrenden, wie sie Musik als Werkzeug bzw. Unterrichtsmittel sinnvoll einsetzen sollen; oder aber es ist der Aufwand zu groß, über den Tellerand des gewohnten Unterrichtsgeschehens zu schauen, um Materialien zu verwenden, die aus Quellen außerhalb des Lehrbuches stammen (vgl. Badstübner-Kizik, 2007: 22). Die große Kraft von Musik, Erinnerungen bestimmter persönlicher Erfahrungen wachzurufen und spezielle atmosphä-

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<sup>1</sup> Raasch, A. (1999), S. 63; Mihułka, K. (2017), S. 169.

rische Kontexte zu schaffen, ist nicht zu unterschätzen.<sup>2</sup> Jeder kennt das Phänomen: Man hört eine Melodie und assoziiert diese automatisch mit einer erlebten Situation. Dabei werden bestimmte emotionale Empfindungen automatisch wach- und zurückgerufen, d.h. getriggert und reaktiviert, die im limbischen System gespeichert wurden und eine dauerhafte Memorierung der Inhalte (vgl. Apeltauer, 1997: 59–61) im Langzeitgedächtnis garantieren. Stöver-Blahak/ Perner (2011: 321) bewerten das Einbeziehen von Musik in den Lernvorgang als eine besonders effektive Methode, gleichzeitig Gefühle, den Leib und den Verstand anzusprechen und miteinander in Austausch zu bringen.

### 3. Musik: wirksamer Motivator im Fremdsprachenunterricht

Durch das Singen wird automatisch eine positive Bewertung der Fremdsprache erreicht und die interkulturelle Neu- und Wissbegier geweckt. Außerdem wird ein emotionaler Anschluss an das Thema der Handlung eines Liedes durch dessen musikalische Präsenz und Wirkung erreicht. Dies schlägt sich wiederum in einer erhöhten Interaktions- und Lernmotivation im Unterricht nieder: die Lerner werden mit guter Wahrscheinlichkeit dem Unterricht engagierter folgen (vgl. Quast, 1996: 108; Mihułka 2008: 48). Zudem entnehmen die Lernenden den Liedern grammatische Strukturen und lexikalische Inhalte, die einer konkreten Kommunikationssituation entstammen. Ihre Verwendung können sie in der natürlichen Umgebung nicht nur (wieder)erkennen und erfassen, sondern später sprechaktiv und passiv auch in der eigenen realen Kommunikation anwenden.

Wesentlich für das auditorisch-vokale Erinnern sind außerdem ein gemeinsamer Rhythmus und Beat in Musik und Text. Hören stellt einen aktiven Prozess dar, der sich aus eingehenden Impulsen, die die Hörnerven

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<sup>2</sup> Siek-Piskozub, T./ Wach, A. (2008), S. 146.

enkodieren, und den bereits im Gehirn gespeicherten Informationen zusammensetzt (vgl. Spitzer, 2005: 115–119). Man schöpft also aus der Erfahrung, die man bis dato gesammelt hat, da man beim erneuten Hören des Gleichen Dinge schneller und einfacher erkennt. Diese Verbindung ist für didaktische Zwecke förderlich und gewinnbringend, zumal die Verwendung authentischer fremdsprachlicher Materialien seitens der Lernenden ohnehin im Unterricht bevorzugt wird (vgl. Miłutka 2008: 48).

#### 4. Didaktische Funktion von Liedgut

Die etablierte Einteilung der Literatur in Lyrik, Epik und Drama (Hauptgattungen) hat in der Literaturwissenschaft eine lange Tradition. Die Dichtkunst, zu der auch Lieder gehören, wird als Unterkategorie der Lyrik gesehen und zeichnet sich durch „Reim, Rhythmus, Metrik, Takt, Vers, Strophe etc. und subjektives Empfinden, Gefühle, Stimmungen oder Reflexionen, weltanschauliche Betrachtungen“<sup>3</sup> im Besonderen aus.

Burdorf (1997: 21) fügt weitere Merkmale hinzu, wobei nicht alle zwingend bei jedem Liedtext vorhanden sein müssen:

- grammatische Abweichungen von der Alltagssprache, Verformungen (Wortgestalt, Wortstellung),
- komprimierter Text, präziser sprachlicher Ausdruck,
- Selbstreflexivität,
- strukturell einfache Sprechsituation,
- direkte Ansprache des Rezipienten,
- gezielte Wiederholungen (Wörter, Sätze),
- große Bedeutung der Bildlichkeit (Metapher, Symbole),
- Sangbarkeit.

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<sup>3</sup> <https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Lyrik>. (Zugriff am 23.05.2020).

Jeder lyrische Text weist also durchaus eine besondere Struktur (grammatisch und lexikalisch) auf – auf wenn diese auf den ersten Blick vom sprachlichen Standard nicht abzuweichen scheint –, und offenbart einen bestimmten, zum Nachdenken anregenden Inhalt. Dank seiner Sangbarkeit und dem Gebrauch von emotionsgeladenen Darstellungen, Vergleichen sowie Wiederholungen besitzt er zudem eine enorme Einprägungskraft im menschlichen Gehirn. Außerdem werden die kodierten Nachrichten durch den Rezipienten enkodiert, um den Sinn der Botschaft zu verstehen, weshalb Musik auch Brücken der Verständigung zwischen Sender und Empfänger baut (vgl. Paczoska/ Poniatowska/ Osiński 2018: 3).

## 5. Einsatz von Liedern im Fremdsprachenunterricht

Bei der Auswahl geeigneter Texte für den FSU sollte vordergründig der Lernbezug beachtet werden (vgl. Heyd, 1997: 124; Segermann, 2003: 297). Das im Text berührte Thema sollte sowohl dem Alter der Rezipienten/ Lerner entsprechen als auch an ihre Lebenswelt anknüpfen. Er sollte zum Nachdenken und Reflektieren anregen und zudem sprachlich beim ersten Lesen so einfach sein, dass die Lerner sich nicht überfordert fühlen und ihn womöglich innerlich ablehnen. Gleichzeitig sollte er aber anspruchsvoll sein, um die Sprach- und die emotionalen Kompetenzen der Lernenden auszuweiten. Der Text sollte auch landeskundliche Bezüge aufweisen und genügend Diskussionsstoff bieten (vgl. Heyd, 1997: 125). Je abstrakter, wirklichkeitsfremder und kulturell weiter entfernt der Text von der Lernsituation, desto schwieriger ist er. Den Schwierigkeitsgrad können verdichtete Handlungsstränge, Regionalismen oder ein stark ausgeprägter individualistischer Schreibstil des Autors noch erhöhen (vgl. Heyd, 1997: 12–126). Die Wahl der musikalischen Überformung ist zweitrangig, dennoch ist es sinnvoll, ein Genre sowie ein Thema zu wählen, das die Altersgruppe anspricht (vgl. Busse, 2009: 69).

Die Liste der Pro-Argumente für den Einsatz authentischer Texte im FSU<sup>4</sup>, die Adamczak-Krysztofowicz (2003: 91–92) anbringt, bezieht sich auf den ganzheitlichen Erwerb einer Fremdsprache und beinhaltet verschiedene Bereiche. Angereichert durch einen Liedtext (hier „Deutschland“ von Rammstein) kann man der Richtigkeit der Argumente zustimmen und die gewinnbringende Wirkung der Lieder bestätigen.

Tabelle 1: Pro-Argumente für den Einsatz authentischer Texte im FSU nach Adamczak-Krysztofowicz (2003: 91–92) – veranschaulicht anhand des Liedes „Deutschland“ von Rammstein.

Adamczak-Krysztofowicz (2003: 91-92)	„Deutschland“ – Rammstein	Lerner
1	2	3
<i>Beitrag zur Erreichung linguistischer Fähigkeiten und Fertigkeiten der Lernenden</i>  <b>Wortschatz,</b>  <b>Grammatik,</b>  <b>Redemittel / Modelle des schriftlichen und mündlichen Ausdrucks</b>	überheblich, überlegen, übernehmen, übergeben, überraschen, überfallen  du hast, du weinst, wir sind, ihr seid  Mein Herz in Flammen	lernen die Wörter, die das gleiche Präfix „über“ besitzen und ihre Bedeutung,  üben die Konjugation des Verbs  merken sich den Begriff im Ganzen und können ihn auf die eigenständig produzierten Aussagen projizieren
<i>Grundlage für den Erwerb kultureller Kenntnisse und zusätzlichen Wissens über Landeskunde (politische, geografische, literarische etc.),</i>	Deutschland, dein Atem kalt  So jung, und doch so alt	assoziieren mit deutschen Verbrechen, bzw. dem Kalten Krieg  verbinden mit der jüngsten Geschichte nach der Wiedervereinigung und der alten seit der Geschichte der Germanen in der Antike

<sup>4</sup> Lütge, Ch. (2010), S. 99.

1	2	3
	Deutschland, deine Liebe ist Fluch und Segen	verknüpfen mit dem Verantwortungsgefühl für die deutschen Verbrechen sowie dem Stolz wegen der deutschen Errungenschaften
<i>Basis für die Entwicklung von Techniken und Strategien (Texterschließungsstrategien, Textverarbeitungsstrategien),</i>	Lieder entwickeln Lese-, und Arbeitsstrategien.	
<i>Anlaß für die Sprachproduktion (verschiedenartige Inhalte),</i>	Die Lerner bearbeiten auch schwierigere Textinhalte, artikulieren bereitwilliger einen neuen Wortschatz in gesungener Form, hören die korrekte Aussprache des Muttersprachlers und üben die Artikulation sowie Phonetik der Fremdsprache.	
<i>Beitrag zur Erhöhung der Motivation der Lernenden (interessante Themen),</i>	Lieder fördern die Motivation zur Bearbeitung schwieriger Themen, weil man eine authentische, aus dem Leben gegriffene Textquelle hat, die den Schülern per se interessanter erscheint, und die meist aktuelle Themen behandelt und die emotional berührt.	
<i>Baustein zur Entwicklung eines lerner- und handlungsorientierten Fremdsprachenunterrichtes (Fragen und Spekulationen),</i>	Die Lerner bringen sich freiwillig im Unterricht ein, indem sie Dinge erfragen, die sie selbst interessieren oder Spekulationen über das Gehörte und Vernommene aufstellen.	
<i>Beitrag zum Fremdverstehen und zur Entwicklung interkultureller kommunikativer Kompetenz.</i>	Die Lerner verlieren die Furcht vor Neuem bzw. Fremdem und entwickeln ihre interkulturelle kommunikative Kompetenz.	

Quelle: eigene Bearbeitung

## 6. Lied als Kulturträger – empirische Studie

Zur Durchführung der empirischen Untersuchung wurde ein Sprachtest eingesetzt, der das Hörverstehen sowie das Verständnis kulturell-geschichtlicher Aspekte prüfte, die die gesamte deutsche Geschichte betreffen und im Lied „Deutschland“ von Rammstein behandelt werden. Anhand dieses Tests wurde das Hörverstehen nicht in reiner Form kontrolliert, denn die Probanden (Germanistikstudierende der Universität Rzeszów, insgesamt 102 Personen<sup>5</sup>) schauten sich beim Hören den offiziellen Videoclip zum Song an. Der Hörprozess wurde mehr oder weniger durch das Bild erleichtert.

Die Ergebnisse des Tests zeigen, dass die Probanden sichtliche Probleme bei der Verknüpfung verschiedener, zudem bereits im Studium erworbener Informationen im Bereich der deutschen Geschichte haben. Im Wesentlichen erkannten die meisten der Probanden die folgenden Merkmale: deutsche Geschichte und/oder die innerliche Zerrissenheit der Rockgruppe Rammstein. Die Schwierigkeiten begannen meist bei der Verknüpfung der grausamen Verbrechen der Deutschen im Zweiten Weltkrieg mit dem Verantwortungsbewusstsein und der Hass-Liebe des Protagonisten. Sie steigerten sich noch bei der finalen Bekundung des Sängers, sein Vaterland wegen der zahlreichen unwürdigen und grausamen Taten nicht lieben zu können.

Am leichtesten fiel es den Studierenden, über den Zweiten Weltkrieg (Hitler, die Übermacht Deutschlands) und über die grausamen Verbrechen des NS-Regimes (KZ, Völkermord) zu berichten. Manche Probanden verwiesen angeregt durch den Song Rammsteins auf die deutsche Nationalhymne, wobei unklar ist, inwiefern dieser Verweis dem Wissensstand der Probanden entsprach, denn es wurden widersprüchliche bzw. Aussagen vorgebracht, die teilweise im Internet zu finden sind. Dennoch zeigte sich auch in diesen Meldungen eine gewisse Kenntnis des thematischen Kontextes,

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<sup>5</sup> Germanistikstudenten des Studiums I. Grades (Gruppe A) und des Studiums II. Grades (Gruppe B).

den der Song von Rammstein eröffnet. Wesentlich problematischer erwiesen sich weiter in die Vergangenheit zurückreichende historische Ereignisse wie die Kreuzzüge und die Varusschlacht im Teutoburger Wald sowie Begebenheiten der neusten Geschichte, etwa der „Sozialistische Bruderkuß“ oder die Aktivitäten der terroristischen Organisation RAF, von denen die Probanden nichts berichteten.

Deutlich geworden ist damit, dass die Studierenden sehr häufig das Gelernte, sofern es sie nicht interessiert, nur im Kurzzeitgedächtnis speichern und ausschließlich für Prüfungszwecke verwenden. Dieses Versäumnis ist nicht unbedingt ausschließlich den Studierenden anzulasten, sondern teilweise auch den Wissensvermittlern, die möglicherweise die Lerninhalte wichtiger Themen und Ereignisse nicht so kreativ und inspirierend didaktisch aufbereiten, dass die Lernlust der Studierenden hinreichend stimuliert würde. Abgesehen davon sollten die MA-Studenten über gut und sehr gut entwickelte interkulturelle Kompetenzen verfügen, so dass ihnen das Wiedererkennen der kulturellen Einbettung der im Lied vorkommenden Ereignisse keine Probleme bereiten sollte. Die Analyse der Ergebnisse des Sprachtests zeigt allerdings das Gegenteil, denn den angehenden Germanistinnen und Germanisten fehlte es an elementarem Kulturwissen. Grundsätzlich kann man festhalten, dass die überwiegende Mehrheit der Probanden aus beiden Gruppen, nämlich 83 % der Probanden der Gruppe A und 68 % der Gruppe B, den Test nicht bestehen würden.

Unabhängig vom Sprachniveau der Lernenden ist es empfehlenswert, Lieder mit vielfältigem historischen und kulturellen Hintergrund alternativ und wiederkehrend zu verwenden. Mit ihrer Hilfe wird die sprachliche Kompetenz der Lernenden im umfassenden Sinn gefordert und gefördert, was das Hauptziel des FSU ist. Außerdem wird die Motivation, die Fremdsprache zu lernen, gesteigert und gleichzeitig die Qualität des Unterrichts- und Lernprozesses verbessert, weil das zu Erlernende erstens als ansprechender und interessanter Lernstoff angeboten und vermittelt wird und zweitens das Erlernete nachhaltiger im Gedächtnis bleibt.

## 5. Ausblick

Für den Einsatz von Liedern ebenso wie von literarischen Texten allgemein im FSU sprechen verschiedene Gründe. Zum einen sollten die Lerner die ästhetischen Qualitäten der Fremdsprache kennenlernen und neben dem Vokabelpauken deren wie allgemein die kontextgebundenen Nuancen von Sprache erleben. Zum anderen können sie eigene Erfahrungen und Erlebnisse in die literarische Fiktion einarbeiten und durch diese Art der Selbstanreicherung des Lernstoffs kreativ, vergnügt und effektiv lernen. Zudem lernen sie gleichsam *on the fly*, d.h. während der primären Sprachaneignung kulturelle und geschichtliche Zusammenhänge aus dem Zielsprachenkontext kennen und entwickeln eine tolerante und empathische Haltung gegenüber dem Neuen und Fremden. Letztlich sollen die Lerner in die Lage versetzt werden, fremde Erfahrungen subjektiv nachzuerleben, zugleich aber auch die subjektive Wahrnehmung in Frage zu stellen, und zwar sie als die eigene, nämlich persönliche und erfahrungs- und sozial bedingte Erfahrung zu betrachten und so zu lernen, kritisch eigene von fremdkulturellen Phänomenen zu unterscheiden. Dieser Lernprozess erweitert den Horizont, weil es ermöglicht, die Menschen und die Gesellschaft des Ziellandes nicht als fremd, sondern im Sinne des Forschungsparadigmas der Alterität als anders wahrzunehmen (vgl. Heyd, 1997: 124).

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