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Wyd. I

SPIS TREŚCI

Mária Badinská COUNTRY STUDIES IN POST-SOCIALIST REGIONS	5
Kamila Burzyńska ONLINE TRAINING SPACES AS A WAY TO DEVELOP TECHNOLOGY ENHANCED LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY	11
Karolina Ditrych CHARACTERISTICS OF BLENDED TEACHING	24
Krzysztof Figura THE MYTH OF PROMETHEUS AND THE VISION OF THE APOCALYPSE IN <i>PROMETHEUS UNBOUND</i> BY PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY	34
Rafał Gołębek CAUSATIVE 'HAVE'-CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE DIALOGUED PASSAGES IN F. SCOTT FITZGERALD'S NOVELS: 'THE BEAUTIFUL AND DAMNED' AND 'TENDER IS THE NIGHT' AS GENDERED-MOTIVATED UTTERANCES?	42
Marcin Grygiel DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRANSLATION AND LANGUAGE LOCALISATION ON THE EXAMPLE OF KASPERSKY LAB'S WEBSITES	62
Iwona Gryz THE STUDENTS' INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTION INTO THE PROCESS OF LEARNING FOREIGN LANGUAGES	73
Ziemowit Janiak O POTRZEBIE POLONISTYCZNEGO PRZYGOTOWANIA ANGLISTÓW – STUDIUM PILOTAŻOWE	91
Jana Javorčíková GENOLOGY AS A NOETIC INSTRUMENT TO UNDERSTANDING LITERATURE	98

Ewa Klęczaj-Siara THE CULTURAL NARRATIVES OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN QUILTS	106
Jacek Kowalski JESZCZE TRADYCYJNA CZY JUŻ „NOWA” FILOLOGIA? W STRONĘ ROZWAŻAŃ WALTERA BENJAMINA	116
Radosław Lis GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN SCHULVOKABULARS. SCHÜLER- UND LEHRERBEZEICHNUNGEN IN PREUSSEN IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT	133
Przemysław Łozowski TOWARDS LEXICOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF COW: ITS FORMS, MEANINGS AND VALUES	147
Matylda Nowak BÖLLS BIOGRAFISCHES PORTRÄT IM LICHT SEINER ESSAYISTIK Teil 1: Von den Anfang an bis „Stunde Null“	161
Matylda Nowak BÖLLS BIOGRAFISCHES PORTRÄT IM LICHT SEINER ESSAYISTIK Teil 2: Von „Stunde Null“ bis zum Lebensende	171
Anna Stachurska NAIVE PICTURE OF THE WORLD AS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR LEXICOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION	184
Iwona Zamkowska RELIGIOUS DIVERSIFICATION OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON DEFINING RELIGION AND ITS ROLE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION	191

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COUNTRY STUDIES IN POST-SOCIALIST REGIONS

Abstract

Mária Badinská is a professor at Matej Bel University, Faculty of Political Sciences and International Affairs where she teaches at the Department of International Communication and Foreign Languages. This article deals with the state of Cultural Studies in Slovakia before and after 1989. The author also discusses the etymology of cultural studies and their contribution to mastering a foreign language in the “new” globalized world.

Résumé

Mária Badinská est professeur à l'Université Matej Bel, à la Faculté des Sciences Politique et des Relations Internationnelles où elle enseigne au Département de la Communication Internationale et des Langues Étrangères. Cet article examine l'état des Études Culturelles en Slovaquie avant et après l'année 1989. L'auteur analyse aussi l'avenir des Études Culturelles et leur rapport à la maîtrise des langues étrangères dans le “nouveau” monde globalisé.

Introduction

Culture and language are, by many theoreticians as well as by day-to-day users of languages, intertwined. Therefore, teaching language means teaching culture as well as competent users of a foreign language do not only function on *linguagewise* level but, more importantly, can cross cultures on a *culturewise level* (Zelenka, 2007:31; Zelenková, 2008). By what means, however, culture should be taught – that is a question that has been attracting scholars for decades. In this article I would like to explore the state of cultural studies (also known as regional studies, country studies of English speaking countries and by many other names) in Slovakia and to analyze this type of studies in the context of its past, present and future.

1. History, Etymology and Linguistic Analysis of the Term “Cultural Studies”

1.1 The Subject of Cultural Studies

Paige and Jorstad (2015:1) define culture learning as *the process of acquiring the culture-specific and culture-general knowledge, skills, and attitudes required for effective communication and interaction with individuals from other cultures. It is a dynamic, developmental, and ongoing process which engages the learner cognitively, behaviourally, and affectively.*

Javorčíková (2014: 15) understands “cultural studies” (in Europe also known as “realia courses” and country studies) is an interdisciplinary subject that integrates information from many fields of research, such as sociology, politics, economics, geography, history, and the arts, as well as literature, philosophy, law, photography, gender studies and many others. In this study we will analyze the history of cultural studies in Slovakia and also the development of terminological denomination of this type of courses.

1.1 History of Country Studies in Slovakia (former Czechoslovakia)

Prior to 1989 (the year of turbulent political changes in the former block of socialist countries including former Czechoslovakia), the English language and culture had a negative status of a “capitalist” and “decadent” language. Moreover, English was not even a priority language (Russian took the place of *lingua franca* in pro-communist Eastern Europe) and studying English was limited to few institutions (mostly universities) and few study programmes. Teaching methods that were perpetuated in the period did not stimulate the active use of the language; instead, the Grammar-Translation method dominated, and other methods mostly trained receptive skills. English was taught in a very limited scope, at highly-selective state universities (that only admitted few dozens of students per year) or at state-supported and controlled language schools. Dominant teaching methods, however, limited themselves mostly to the rather “mechanic” Grammar-Translation method and very few coursebooks allowed the learner to learn more about positive aspects of life and culture in the capitalist part of the world, especially in Great Britain and the USA. In fact, cultural studies of English-speaking countries were almost non-existent, as it was not in accordance with the official state ideology to perpetuate any positive view of culture or life in Western-block capitalist countries. Their culture was often presented through ideology-loaded, distorted views. For example, the course book of *English for High Schools 3* (published in 1989, prior to the Velvet Revolution) introduces New York as a large city where “...there are gangs of people who won’t hesitate to rob and beat pedestrians” (1989: 118). It perhaps does not come as a surprise that as a reading exercise, the same course book includes an article about V. I. Lenin’s Stays in London. One may rightly doubt the objective value of such information as well as their representation of the English-speaking world.

Since 1989, the situation in teaching cultural (country) studies in Slovakia has gradually improved. The reasons are multiple, generally including subjective, financial and objective-political ones (Javorčíková, 2014:28):

(1) Among the subjective reasons for improvement of the position of and access to cultural studies of English-speaking countries we might include personal involvement of English, American and Canadian instructors – native speakers teaching English in Slovakia who pushed English, American and even Canadian studies forward and developed courses with English-speaking region based content at various levels of schools in Slovakia.

(2) Financial circumstances often affect the scope and content of courses; since 1989, however, there has been better access to financial research grants available to students and scholars (many initiated by Fulbright and CEACS association).

(3) The political reasons relate to improved relationships between Great Britain, the USA and Canada and Slovakia (especially during the Visa-free period since 2003) which also give students more opportunities to travel and get acquainted with various English-speaking regions.

At present, the very first encounters of Slovak students with the culture of the English speaking countries (apart from regular geography lessons) occur as early as in primary schools. Cultural topics are included in some primary-school English course books. In the series of coursebook *Project*, most widely used in Slovakia, these topics are mostly related to the landscape and geography; they present big cities (e.g. New York, San Francisco, London, Vancouver, Toronto) and theme parks, a topic that is of interest to young learners. Other topics that perpetuate the lifestyle and culture of English-speaking regions, for example, include:

- the American education system (Hutchins, 2002:62),
- a detailed comparison of the American and British governments (Hutchins, 2002:82),
- American sport and pop-music: wrestling, pop music;
- the history of the English language (Hutchins, 2002:22),
- Charles Dickens' simplified version of *A Christmas Carol* and the fictitious story *The Man Who Sold Big Ben* (Hutchins, 2002:72);
- Canadian culture and lifestyle (*Opportunities – Intermediate*, a coursebook; The Canadians are presented as having many attributes, among which we select the following hints: -[They] suffer from an intense identity crisis; -[They] still don't know who they are [...]; -[They] don't like being confused with the Americans; -[They are] very polite; -[They have] clean, ultramodern cities, a liberal attitude, an educated populace [...] (Bathgate, 2008:248).
- Students even encounter Australian culture through the article *Jungle Runaways* (Hutchins, 2002:48).

Secondary schools also mostly recognize English and American studies. However, Australia and Canada-related topics have been gradually more emerging as a part of the study of English-speaking countries. For example, the higher level

of the Slovak school-leaving exam – *maturita B2* – now also recognizes Australians and Canadians as representatives of the cultures of the English-speaking countries. In the course book *Nová maturita z angličtiny* (2008), one of the topics is “English speaking countries”, discussing popular beliefs and stereotypes not only related to the British and the Americans but also to the Australians and Canadians (Bathgate, 2008:248). Students are then welcomed to debate these stereotypes and compare them with the attributes of the other English-speaking nations, which not only improves their linguistic skills but also stimulates their critical thinking and cultural awareness of a larger variety of English-speaking countries.

At Slovak universities, cultural studies are gradually attracting greater and greater attention. They form a part of teaching programmes (at teacher training universities), translation and interpretation programmes and also a part of the international relations study programmes. Many university courses are also interdisciplinary and comparative.

1.3 Etymology and Linguistic Analysis of the Term “Country Studies”

Inevitably, the aforementioned dramatic changes in the educational philosophy and implementation of country studies into various forms and levels of education in Slovakia resulted in a multiplicity of “names” denominating these types of academic subjects. What we perceive as a type of course incorporating the study of culture and its various fields (see 1.1) is also known as:

- 1.3.1 English Studies, American Studies, Canadian Studies, Australian Studies;
- 1.3.2 History and Culture of the USA, Canada and Great Britain (This type of course usually focuses on the history and integrates culture mostly on the basis of interesting footnotes);
- 1.3.3 “Realia” courses (“realia” in Slovak refer to the word “real”, meaning the “real life” in the English-speaking countries);
- 1.3.4 Country studies (This term relates to the German term *Lebenschaftslehre* and its Slovak translation: *krajinoveda*.);
- 1.3.5 Cultural Studies (This term is perpetuated by a present-day scholar Chris Barker);

Even though 1.3.1 and 1.3.2 are illustrative, they might be easily confused for the whole academic programme (e.g. a Department called The Department of English and American Studies implies that cultural phenomenon plays the key role in their curricula; however, this type of department often denominates a teacher training type of university study which integrates various linguistic disciplines as well).

The term “Realia” course(s) (1.3.3) is not common in the English language; a foreigner might not be able to make a connotation with the course orientated on the study of culture of a selected region. Also, monolingual dictionaries usually do not recognize this term as a translation equivalent to “cultural studies” which might lead to terminological confusion.

As the term itself suggest, “country studies” (1.3.4) limit themselves to the study of the “country” which implies a geographical aspect as dominant. However, cultural studies integrate many more disciplines, such as politics, economics, law, education, arts, sports and many others. The term “country studies” excludes the wide span of “cultural studies” and gives the user an impression of a subject limited to geographical and regional phenomena.

Therefore, we, in accordance with Chris Barker, suggest the term “cultural studies” (1.3.5) as most appropriate and terminologically illustrative for this type of courses. It encompasses the “cultural” phenomenon which gives the user of the term an impression of many fields integrated into this type of courses. This denomination also successfully divorces “cultural studies” courses from other linguistic disciplines.

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ONLINE TRAINING SPACES AS A WAY TO DEVELOP TECHNOLOGY ENHANCED LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

Abstract

Moving towards teaching online seems an unavoidable step in contemporary teachers' career. While having the will to address students' needs in the most professional way and let them benefit from all kinds of learning spaces including the ones available on the Internet, educators need to confront a number of challenges or even one's own resistance and fear. The aim of this article is thus to assist academic and other teachers in the process of technology and pedagogy integration by making them aware of what skills they need to build on the way and by directing them to the best informal settings which offer reliable aid and guidance in various tool's confident utilisation. Apart from technical help, by visiting the recommended websites readers will hopefully find out about the options on how to relate pedagogical practice to online learning. The critical review of the sites encompasses their strongest points but also identifies the possible drawbacks.

Key words: review, Online Language Teaching, new skills for online language learning spaces, training spaces for language teachers.

Introduction

The situation and roles of language professionals nowadays can be described as changing in an increasingly digital world. According to Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2014: 135), *It is hardly surprising that the intense contemporary interest in EFL teaching has recently fostered the development of a deep concern with language learning tools (...).* A vast number of educators seem to be aware of the fact. As research has shown, there is a call among them to develop their skills to teach online successfully (Germain-Rutherford & Ernest, 2015). Hampel and Stickler (2015) emphasize the fact educators are in need of a pedagogically transformative practice, not merely seen as a set of technical skills. Krajka (2012: 17) presents a similar view by writing:

As teachers become increasingly confident in the use of particular tools, the instructional use of technology should get more transparent, even retreating into the background, with the didactic purpose taking the most prominent place.

It appears of utmost importance to analyse contemporary learners' needs before drawing conclusions, too. Dahlstrom et al. (2013) claim that students would

also like their teachers to utilize ICT in class. For learners the use of ICT is perceived as a factor fostering their motivation due to a number of reasons. In general, they appreciate access to authentic resources which enhance autonomous learning and collaboration and accommodate varied learning styles.

In order to be able to develop online teaching efficiently, solid training should take place (Blurton, 1999). That is why, CPD (Continuing Professional Development) is becoming more and more relevant. There are, however, some limiting factors that teachers are likely to face these days such as lack of time or finances when it comes to participation in traditional forms of professional development: conferences and trainings. In response to the aforementioned problems, searching for alternate solutions seems to be a valuable idea. The Internet with its wealth of opportunities may be the key. Informal training available online seems to address the needs of all the ambitious teachers who struggle with time or money constraints (Hopkins, 2015), but want to gain some more skills and techniques.

This article is addressed not only to academic teachers but also other educators who wish to transform their teaching practices by bringing technology into their classrooms. The first part of the article is aimed at discussing a number of skills that are needed to allow situations in the classrooms which are greatly advantageous in terms of foreign language learning. Using the model of skills by Hampel and Stickler (2005), the author places descriptions of how to gain more advanced computer literacy step by step. The second part of the article encompasses a presentation of online training spaces. For the organisational reasons, the typology of freely available resources by Hopkins (2015) was used. Depicting various types of resources and what they are best suited for, the author shares her recommendations of the selected websites together with the links to the sources. With the aim of encouraging independent research and reflection, the sites will be reviewed critically giving the advice on the strengths but also pointing at some feasible limitations.

New Skills for Online Language Learning Spaces

The development of technology has influenced a number of human activity areas among which language learning and teaching take a significant place. Digital technologies provide their users with numerous online spaces which can easily become learning spaces. Not only can they facilitate information gathering but also allow creating online content, initiating collaboration, uploading and using educational games or else opening up and participating in fictional worlds. The choice seems vast and almost unmanageable (Stockwell, 2012). That is why, today's educators need to get equipped with a number of new skills. Teaching online requires good understanding and choosing wisely from what is available. Subsequently, technology and pedagogy integration should take place, which means teachers need to know how to turn various online spaces into learning spaces, how to make them coherent and usable. What is more, it seems of

particular importance to provide learners with opportunities to build their understanding and knowledge of the spaces successively so that they could use them independently from the teacher. Training students on becoming critical, reflective and responsive is necessary. Being often quite computer literate, they may still be unable to use technologies effectively in the context of learning (Parry, 2011, Pegrum, 2011). Last but not least, in-depth evaluation and reflection on both parts - the students and the teachers - is a must. This is likely to result in building the awareness of affordances of different media, successful negotiation of suitable spaces and also their appropriate use for online language learning.

Integrating technology into the language classroom may pose a number of challenges as well, since this requires selecting the right channel of communication (online or face-to-face teaching), synchronous and asynchronous tools, deciding on core teaching and optional activities and also trying out flipped classroom concept. These decisions are significant and influence the way students generate their knowledge. Being aware of the responsibility it seems crucial teachers develop the right skills in order to raise the possibility of success in achieving the aforementioned goal. Unfortunately, some teachers show a tendency to utilise technology in predominantly “old” ways. They adapt new tools to their traditional teaching style rather than acquire new skills to use the pedagogical affordances of the tools (Dougiamas, 1998; Wang, 2014).

Hampel and Stickler (2005) highlighted the fact that literature about training teachers how to use technology in the classroom had concentrated over the technical aspects. Even in later publications the same trend is observable. To exemplify, when studying the list of contents from Dudeney and Hockly’s book (2007), one can easily notice the chapters are organised over the “how to use” certain tools and affordances although they also contain various suggestions on how teachers could take advantage of these options in the classroom. Walker and White (2013) present the contents according to “how to teach particular skills and develop communication” via different tools and channels. Thus, the latter authors draw the attention towards pedagogy rather than technology. Having looked beyond the merely technical to the ways in which technical skills need to be combined with pedagogical ones, Hampel and Stickler (2005) proposed a model of skills (see Figure 1) needed to produce situations in which effective learning can take place. The researchers put forward a pyramid of skills in which they build on each other. Acquiring them does not happen in a successive time sequence but as increasing competence.

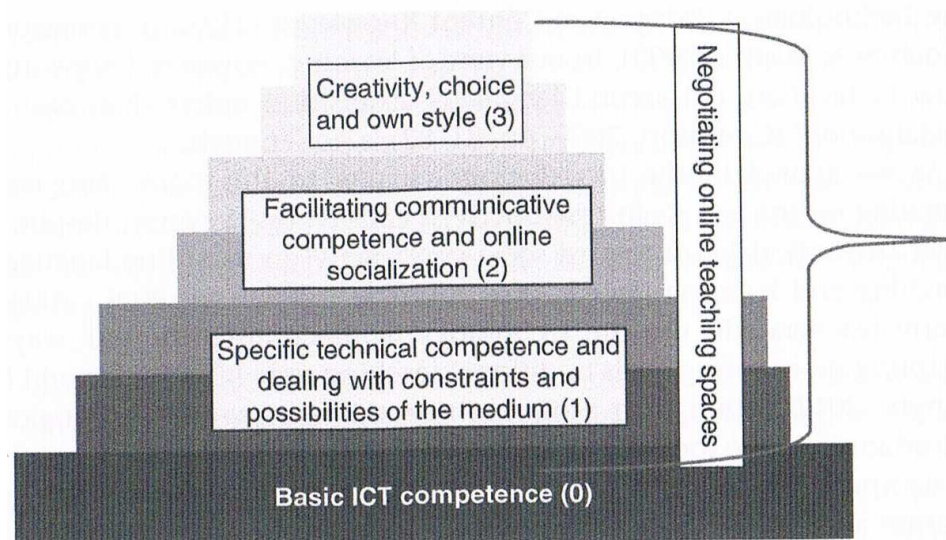


Figure 1. Skills Pyramid (Hampel & Stickler, 2005)

Matching pedagogies and technologies (Level 0 and 1)

First of all, teachers need basic competence in using networked computers. They should be able to handle the equipment, deal with the software and the Internet. Apart from these, teachers might want to be able to download and upload images, audio and video files. They ought to have some rudimentary knowledge on social networking and collaboration plus applications and tools facilitating the aforementioned activities. Having the skills to use particular applications for teaching purposes seems the first step to successful implementation of them in the classroom. It is crucial, however, to know of the constraints of the tools and their affordances for language learning. This will help educators tailor the tools to the needs of the students and evaluate them for specific learning goals.

Among the online environments that could be used in the classroom, as Hampel and Stickler (2015) put it, there are spaces that have specifically been developed for learning purposes (Moodle, Blackboard Collaborate) but also public ones, such as online forums, wikis, social networking sites. Students may be asked to produce Wikipedia entries, express their opinions on forums or communicate via Twitter. Using sites that are familiar in personal or leisure contexts, such as Facebook, allow for closed groups to be set up. Skype, as another example, gives an opportunity for video and voice calls. It is worth remembering, nonetheless, that students while using the tools for learning purposes may incorporate online behaviour they have developed while interacting via social networking sites for private use, which may be inappropriate in educational contexts. Thorne's (2003) concept of cultures-of-use indicates that people develop certain cultural practices when they use a particular environment to communicate. This may lead to clashes

between different cultures-of-use. The clashes can also appear with regard to the perspectives of teachers and learners. Teachers, for example, may design some tasks whose final outcomes are supposed to be presented online but some of the students are too shy and do not feel comfortable with the situation. It is the teacher's responsibility, thus, to be observant and sensitive towards learners' frustrations and potential discomfort. Another case refers to using such a wide range of tools that may overwhelm the learners and discourage them in this way.

Developing social cohesion and fostering communication (level 2)

The next level up the hierarchy is enabling online socialization. Teachers should possess the skills to facilitate learners' communicative competence development. This can be done through, for instance, creating online communities for students who do not know each other outside the learning space. However attractive in terms of potential gains such a learners' activity may be stressful and challenging. This is why, the whole project requires from teachers possessing the skills to prepare participants appropriately, which means setting the rules for cooperation and behaviour, building the feeling of trust and security between the learners and encouraging collaboration.

Once the community has been established, initiating interaction and maintaining it through good task design and tutor intervention need to take place. Successful communication can be achieved when students share common goals. This, however, may be problematic in collaborative settings (O'Dowd & Ritter, 2006) as it requires negotiating boundaries and status, keeping to the deadlines or interpreting humour.

Ernest et al (2013) present possible ways of supporting students in collaboration:

1. Careful planning and management
2. Training on how to use a tool for collaboration
3. Appropriate activity design
4. Netiquette and basic rules for participation
5. Monitoring the interaction (particularly in initial stages)
6. Moderating online communication
7. Regular feedback and encouraging reflection on the experience

Enhancing creativity online (level 3)

The highest level of the pyramid deals with having the searching, designing, evaluative skills needed to select, alter or create digital learning materials for a particular group at a particular time. Very competent online teachers have developed their personal style and are confident enough to delegate some tasks to the learners. Enhancing creativity of the students (creating slides, writing stories, fanfiction, creating audio and videos) can help them to find new ways of expressing the meaning and to fight problems with communication caused by

a limited range of language. Furthermore, it encourages critical awareness and evaluative skills to use online tools and spaces effectively.

Stickler and Hampel (2015) list a number of more detailed skills the language teacher needs to possess:

- *Selecting creativity-enhancing (online) tools*
- *Introducing and supporting the use of these tools without overemphasizing the technological aspect*
- *Ensuring that creativity is a necessary element of all learning*
- *Explaining the pedagogical value of creativity in language learning*
- *Providing supportive evaluation and positive feedback*
- *Clearly demonstrating the delineation between re-use and plagiarism*
- *Furthering critical self-evaluative skills in learners*

The model presented above seems very appealing. The first reason behind it is that it focuses on both pedagogy and technical skills. Moreover, it echoes theories on how beginner teachers develop. Compton (2009), however, criticised the model saying the skills can be developed concurrently, not sequentially. Chapelle (2005) expresses her reservations by claiming learning the language does not always require direct interaction with other learners in an online community. It can take place in the mind of the learner and refer to already-created language content which results in learning (listening to a podcast, singing along to the lyrics of the song on You Tube or online grammar exercises). The model also skips the ways in which using technology may affect language use, the socio-digital competence (Walker & White, 2013). Teachers need to be aware of the new genres emerging in digital contexts and novel ways in which Internet users combine written and spoken language. Finally, the model leaves out the issue of real-life classrooms skills transfer to virtual learning spaces (Walker & White, 2013). Despite the controversial issues listed above, it cannot be denied that Stickler and Hampel's model plays a significant role in directing teachers who express their will to transform their teaching so that they could become better online language teachers, thus cannot be neglected.

Online Training Spaces

It is believed computers have become 'normalised' (Bax, 2003), just like the print before. ICT, however, now plays a crucial role not only in the student learning context but also in the teacher continuing professional development (CPD). As Hopkins (2015, 79) points out *with the advent of the Internet, opportunities for self-directed development have increased dramatically*. All teachers who wish to develop have many more opportunities than before. Apart from participation in traditional trainings or conferences, educators have easy access to a wide range of online spaces and resources they may take advantage of, such as websites, webinars, tutorials, blogs or online courses. Moreover, they can come into contact with other colleagues from their country or all over the world in

the so called “communities of practice” (Lave & Wenger, 1991). They are online groups of teachers sharing their experience, ideas and discussing numerous issues that appear in their classrooms. Community members become recipients but also disseminators of knowledge. As highlighted by Petrides et al (2010: 5) online training networks support *conversations and practices that may not traditionally be available through professional development*. That is why, it is worth raising teachers’ awareness over such a possibility of self-development, which may become extremely influential, and what is also important, is very often free of charge.

Due to a great number of free online training spaces, one may find it difficult to find such options that would work well at the start of self-directed training. It seems a valuable idea to use some criteria as suggested by Hopkins (2015, 80) for evaluating open online resources. According to the researcher, the sites can be treated as worth using when they address the following criteria:

1. *Content:*
 - *Relevant topics*
 - *Well-designed materials*
2. *Pedagogy:*
 - *Pedagogical approach, indicating why a particular technology might be of use to teachers*
 - *Clear indications or concrete examples of how the tools can be used for teaching*
 - *Added value of the use of technology for teaching and learning*
 - *Theoretical underpinnings of using ICT applications in language teaching*
 - *Interaction with peers (for example, through an online discussion forum)*
3. *Usability:*
 - *Indication for the novice user*
 - *Search tool*
 - *Regular updating*

In the following sub-chapters, a review of selected websites as online training spaces will be presented with the aim of recommending the best options for teachers seeking alternative forms of self-development who do not know where and how to start. For the organisational purposes, a typology of freely available training resources (Hopkins, 2015). This will ensure clear division into resource type, its suitability for a particular use and a recommended example.

1. Self-training modules and online workshops - best suited for initial training, linking pedagogy with use of technology (Hopkins, 2015):

DOTS – Developing Online Teaching Skills <http://dots.ecml.at/>

This is the website that offers a training kit for 10 popular tools and spaces, namely:

- Audacity,
- audio-conferences,
- blogs,
- forums,
- Moodle,
- podcasts,
- Survey Monkey,
- Moodle quizzes,
- YouTube,
- and wikis
- videoconferencing
- synchronous online chat

Apart from clear definitions, descriptions of possible uses of a particular tool or application, one will find videos from other teachers recommending the tools and sharing their experience. In 'resources' section, there are short Power Point Presentations available, which contain summarising information about each tool or space and direct the users to sample sites of this type found on the Internet. Finally, readers are invited to launch a learning task based on the topic of one of the modules. They are also encouraged to participate in online forum discussions.

2. Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCS) – best suited for initial training, linking pedagogy with use of technology (Hopkins, 2015)

<http://www-mooc-list.com/course/task-based-language-teaching-digital-tools-canvasnet>

MOOCs are freely available courses for an unlimited number of participants. They are a recent trend in distance learning, and most importantly, promoted by many prestigious universities. Chen, Burnett and Stephens (2013:1) emphasize that MOOCs are perceived as beneficial since they *enhance accessibility, student engagement and experiences for lifelong learning*. Although criticised by some researchers for not being able to cater for individual students' needs, for not providing proper student performance assessment or pedagogical oversight of these types of courses, MOOCS are a powerful resource for teachers who have no or very little experience in the use of ICT skills.

The website whose link is attached above presents a list of upcoming courses for the following thirty days, the starting date for each course and a description of the course's objectives. Some details are also given on who the tutor is, on the applications and tools used during the course and the course's highlights. Participants need to take part in weekly sessions in order to receive a certificate.

Stowarzyszenie E-learningu Akademickiego (Academic E-learning Association): www.sea.edu.pl

The other website by SEA was created to address all those who would like to find out about e-learning activity at Polish universities, its types, range and organisational patterns. The site offers a detailed database of higher education schools and universities, which facilitates browsing for e-studies, e-courses, e-syllabuses, e-libraries, e-resources, etc., and consequently, contacting the chosen faculty easily and quickly. It is a valuable source of information for novice ICT teachers but also for experts. The latter group of educators can apply for a certificate of e-teacher and also e-teacher trainer. The selection is done by prominent experts and scholars in Poland on the basis of the criteria stated openly on the website.

3. Directories of online tools – best suited for identification of suitable tools (Hopkins, 2015)

Directory of Learning & Performance Tools: <http://c4lpt.co.uk/directory-of-learning-performance-tools>

Created and administered by Jane Hart, an independent educational consultant, the website provides a comprehensive list of online learning tools. The expert has compiled over 2000 tools, whose descriptions of use and links one can find on the website, too. A great benefit of the site is the fact it contains feedback from over 500 users willing to share their experience and suggestions over Hart's recommended tools. Moreover, it is regularly updated.

4. Tools training by language teacher trainers – best suited for identification of suitable tools (Hopkins, 2015)

Russell Stannard's Teacher Training Videos: <http://www.techertrainingvideos.com/>

The website's creator and owner is Russell Stannard, a well-renowned language teacher trainer. His video tutorials (also available on YouTube) on a large number of tools are very clear and easy to follow. They usually encompass a detailed procedure on how to download a tool, how to manage a certain application and how it can be used in the classroom. Despite limited indication of technology enhanced pedagogy, the source seems invaluable in terms of recommending most user-friendly tools and applications available online and offline. Stannard publishes the ranking of most popular videos and proposes signing in to receive a newsletter with the latest updates on the website, which is a very convenient option.

5. Online communities of practice – best suited for interaction with other teachers, sharing best practice, identification of suitable tools (Hopkins, 2015)

Superbelfrzy RP: www.superbelfrzyedu.pl

Popular all over the world, communities of practice can be described as *groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, who deepen their knowledge and expertise in the area by interacting on an ongoing basis* (Wengen et al., 2002: 4). Webheads in Action (<http://webheadsinaction.org/>) or Classroom 2.0 (<http://www.classroom20.com/forum>) can boast of a long tradition and a huge number of followers.

The website recommended above the paragraph was launched by Polish teachers in the Polish language and may be pointed at as a good starting point for the other educators willing to learn from their colleagues' experience and tips. The source presents numerous ideas and reflections over teaching in general but also promotes CALL approach. Moreover, its content refers to teachers of all kinds of students – from young learners to adults, and thus, can be praised for its variety.

Conclusion

Some teachers feel immediately comfortable with using technology, whilst others feel anxious. They worry about technical aspects, but most importantly, about their ability to use it effectively in order to provide students with beneficial learning situations. Another concern refers to the growing responsibility to teach students how to take advantage of the internet's wealth in the context of autonomous self-development.

As suggested by the author, it seems a good idea to follow a certain procedure in order to get aware of the options for self-development and consequently transform one's own teaching practices:

1. Get acquainted with the skills pyramid (Hampel and Stickler, 2005) to raise one's own awareness over how digital competence is gained step by step and design a plan for self-training.
2. Take part in formal forms of training or take advantage of the freely available CPD options from the Internet. Visit the recommended websites, which you can do when your schedule allows you to. Remember that these are options which are usually free of charge. Besides, you often get help from practitioners sharing their experience and open to assist you in the whole process.
3. Plan classroom activities with the use of particular tools and affordances keeping in mind pedagogical objectives behind the tasks.
4. Conduct the activities in the classroom.
5. Reflect over your practices. Let students join you in the evaluation process.
6. Share your evaluation comments with other colleagues in real life or else online (forums). Be open to their tips and suggestions.

7. When necessary, repeat a particular procedure in class making an attempt to improve any mistakes that were likely to happen during the first experiment in class.
8. Observe you students closely. Be responsive to their needs, preferences and evaluation comments. Teach them how to take the most of the Internet in terms of language learning.

The wealth of resources on the Internet that teachers could use to support their implementation of technology into their teaching is immense. That is why, in order to facilitate the process, especially to the ones who are making their first steps, a number of chosen recommended websites has been presented in the article. It seems obvious the websites can be of great assistance. One ought to, however, be aware over their limitations. Firstly, some website creators and administrators tend to present a variety of tools forgetting to describe how they can be used for language learning purposes. What is more, the nature of technology seems to be ephemeral in the sense some modules become old-dated shortly after they were generated. All things considered, free online training spaces despite their limitations can play an invaluable role in teachers' continuing professional development.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF BLENDED TEACHING

Abstract

This paper is devoted to explaining the term blended teaching in educational environment. The author's main goal is to focus on the positive aspects of described teaching system both for students and teachers. Some drawbacks which may occur in a blended teaching course are also mentioned in this article however they do not become the most important part of the whole writing. This paper describes an irreplaceable role of the teacher in the classroom and the complementary role of the human being and the computer in contemporary reality.

Key words: Blended teaching, modern technology, students, teacher, interactive whiteboard, multimedia, unlimited possibilities.

To begin this article it is crucial to start from explaining what blended teaching and learning are. There are a number of definitions and one of them presented by Sharma & Barrett (2007:7) says *the term blended learning is commonly applied to a course where all the learners meet with the teacher in a face-to-face (F2F) class, but in which the course includes a parallel self-study component such as a CD-ROM or access to web-based materials*¹.

Frendo (2009:40) claims that it is *a mixture of face-to-face (F2F) and distant learning [...] particularly when one of the media used is electronic*². Another definition explains:

*[...] blended teaching and learning, essentially comprising classroom face-to-face (FTF) interaction and online computer-mediated communication (CMC), reflect the true nature of our current schools and tertiary institutions in the sense that teachers and students not only meet in the classrooms but also engage in certain levels of communication through emails, online discussion forums and other computer-mediated interaction*³.

Online resources define this teaching style as *an increasingly popular combination of online and in-person, classroom learning activities*⁴, explaining

¹ Quoted from Sharma & Barrett (2007:7).

² Quoted from Frendo (2009:40).

³ www.formatex.org

⁴ www.cybermediacreations.com/elearning/glossary.htm

that a blended learning approach can combine face-to-face facilitation with computer-mediated instruction and/or discovery learning opportunities⁵. Web-based resources emphasize that *blended learning* (also called *hybrid learning*) is the term to describe learning or training events or activities where e-learning, in its various forms, is combined with more traditional forms of training such as 'classroom' training⁶.

The term 'blended teaching' is quite new in Poland, however more popular and common in western Europe the wealthier part of the world. According to Sharma & Barrett (2007), it refers to teaching a foreign language as a combination of face-to-face classroom component and the usage of modern technology. Blended teaching is gaining a lot of popularity in contemporary times because it covers the necessity to use technical devices like computers, CD-ROOMs, overhead projectors or interactive whiteboards. The Internet itself gives the teacher and the student almost unlimited possibilities to prepare exercises developing all kinds of language skills. Teachers can use chats, emails, blogs, Facebook and a wide variety of websites to enrich their classes and make them more challenging for the learners. It is difficult not to agree with Włodarczyk-Stachurska and Buda (2012:52) that *modern technology enriches the whole process of education*⁷, it makes this process *attractive and complete*⁸. Creating what Sharma & Barrett (2007) call virtual learning environment (VLE) seems highly beneficial for all age groups.

The same authors notice that at the beginning, the existence of the term 'blended teaching' was only associated with the business world and the situation in which the employee could continue his/her career and take a course to improve necessary qualifications simultaneously. These courses seemed very attractive as they helped saving costs. Workers did not have to take time out of work, because web-based training gave them opportunity to learn at their own time and pace. Such courses were usually set up by the employers to achieve certain goals. The training could be started with all of the workers in a company or with a specific occupational group to cover specific needs which enumerates Frendo (2009): negotiate with the client, answer the telephone, write emails, advertise, deal, compromise, interview, sell, travel... the list is almost endless.

Nowadays understanding of blended teaching is becoming more extended as it covers not only business courses but also regular courses at schools. This process is possible due to the fact that computers entered all kinds of institutions and as a result are commonly used in everyday life. It became a priority for headmasters to create at least one well-equipped language lab in every school bearing in mind new computers and fast speed connection to the Internet as an obligation. Modernization at Polish schools is blooming, the authorities feel the necessity to

⁵ www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blended_learning

⁶ Stockley, D. Available at: <http://derekstockley.com.au/blended-learning.html>

⁷ Quoted from Włodarczyk-Stachurska and Buda (2012).

⁸ Quoted from Włodarczyk-Stachurska and Buda (2012).

equip educational institutions with additional equipment too, and these are: overhead projectors and gaining more and more popularity interactive whiteboards.

Teachers' experience shows clearly that for young children and teenagers' innovative equipment becomes crucial element when the decision which school to attend comes. It is generally known that the majority of learners possess computers at home and technology plays an integral part of their lives. Due to the reality, blended teaching approach gives numerous possibilities to combine educational needs with electronic learning component in contemporary society⁹. Sharma & Barrett (2007) highlight that such language courses, which involve meeting the teacher in the classroom, having a face to face contact with him/her and simultaneously contain some elements of self-study based on materials from the websites seem extremely interesting for students. They can be given pre-lesson tasks to prepare as well as post ones, decide on some subject discussed during the classes, which makes them feel responsible for the learning process and more engaged in it.

Two academics proved the above- opinion to be right due to research they conducted. Włodarczyk-Stachurska and Buda (2012) diagnosed primary school children who used only an interactive whiteboard and online resources during their English classes for the period of two years. Changing tradition teaching style into technologically advanced one resulted in many benefits for the students. In the summary of this experiment one can read that: 100% children were interested in each lesson, those who had problems with learning by heart from the book improved their memory while working with a smart board because of intensified visual stimuli they were given, handicapped children found it easier to write and they felt more encouraged to take an active part in the learning process. What is more, the results of the tests written by weaker students improved for more than 50%.

To summarize, blended teaching is a mixture of face-to-face study combined with the element of self-study which involves using technological devices. This term becomes functioning not only in the world of business, but also in academic environments due to modernization changes taking place in these institutions. Using improvements like, computers, overhead projectors and interactive whiteboards starts a new era of teaching, which is more challenging and suited perfectly to the contemporary times. Technology gives both students and teachers numerous possibilities to organize work faster and better.

2.1 Benefits of blended teaching for the teacher

The use of modern technology can be integrated into a number of teaching and learning situations, however taking advantage of it during a language course depends on a number of factors among which we can distinguish: *attitude, level,*

⁹ www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blended_learning

costs, access to innovative devices, or type of training. (Sharma & Barrett, 2007:8,12). The same authors focus on teachers who may hold positive, neutral or even negative attitude towards modern technology, the way they feel about it may range from being a technophile to behaving as a technophobe.

Generally speaking older teachers are usually used to traditional methods of teaching based on a course book and an exercise book, they do not change their teaching habits enthusiastically and as a result they mainly hold a negative attitude to the technology. The lack of positive view over using technical devices is caused by their fear of not being able to operate machines like: the computer or an interactive whiteboard. Older teachers did not have previous experience with using modern technology, not surprisingly they stay in a distance to blended teaching.

Among middle-aged teachers we can find those who are technophobes and those who are familiar with some technical devices for instance: the computer, Sharma & Barrett (2007:12) call it 'healthy scepticism'. This group of people often possesses basic knowledge of using the Internet and what seems even more important, they are aware of unlimited possibilities it gives. From time to time some of them, but not all of them, are ready to experiment with IT (Information Technology) on their lessons. These are mainly exercises, one or two, created to enrich a particular lesson, give students the element of something different from common activities and challenging at the same time.

The youngest group of teachers holds a positive attitude towards technology as they were growing up while the technological development started. From their early years, young teachers were familiar with Information Technology. They know how to operate computers, use the Internet or different kinds of portable devices for instance: the memory stick, Mp3 player. Some of them are more advanced than others, they possess not only *core skills that include knowing which websites, interactive materials and useful CD-ROMs to recommend to your learners, and how CD-ROM dictionaries work, have ... the ability to search the Web efficiently, create a worksheet from text and pictures, and be able to evaluate materials downloaded from the Web and web-based exercises* (ibid., 2007:12), but also can create presentations in PowerPoint, use electronic projectors or interactive whiteboards. They often stay in electronic contact with their students via e-mail, chat or Facebook.

Despite various attitudes towards information technology presented by teachers, there are a number of benefits concerning blended teaching. First of all, it requires personal development from the teacher as the world of innovative technology is constantly blooming. A lot of new devices and possibilities become available every month that is why the teacher should stay curious about them; he/she needs to be open-minded and ready to test modern innovations. The qualities of character mentioned above are extremely important in this profession because young people are changing all the time, new generations are no longer interested in subjects they parents were. Generally speaking contemporary teenagers enjoy talking about fashion, famous people, extreme sports or computer

games, as a result the teacher is expected to be flexible about the topics discussed during conversation classes and other activities devoted to developing writing or reading skills.

Sharing the same opinion as Włodarczyk-Stachurska and Buda (2012) using the Internet is highly beneficial for teachers as the virtual world gives unlimited number of possibilities and at the same time is the infinite source of information on every subject. The virtual world with a wide variety of web-based activities can be very helpful in practising productive and receptive skills due to free access to materials which Claypole (2003), Salmon (2002), Smith and Baber (2005) enumerate as: authentic texts, pictures and photographs to teach vocabulary, audio recordings, online listening, news items, interviews, blogs, diaries, stories, poems and lyrics, chats, forums, email corresponding, online glossary games, online dictionaries etc.. Information presented on websites as Sharma & Barrett (2007) describe is current and up-to-date which is extremely important to grasp students' attention and achieve success in teaching.

Sharing the view of Smith and Baber (2005) using multimedia at school motivates young people to gain knowledge and regard the whole learning process as beneficial and challenging. Blended learning creates the opportunity to prepare some activities or homework using not only the computer but also portable devices like: a popular smart phone, an iPad or a tablet. Due to these solutions learning becomes more a part of students' social behaviour not a boring duty. For the teacher the process of preparing e-activities for students is less time consuming than writing everything on paper and what is more, all of them can be easily stored on portable devices like: memory sticks, or CDs, and modified any time someone wishes.

It is commonly acknowledged that teachers who use computers and interactive whiteboards at work appreciate infinite ways of employing technology into the classroom and what is more they usually look for new solutions and innovative strategies of teaching. They activate learners by brainstorming, stimulating imagination, finding different solutions to presented problems, revise vocabulary and grammar knowledge by interacting with the smart-board. They often experiment with the technique of doing theme projects prepared by learners in a form of a presentation in PowerPoint develops interests, cooperation abilities and to some extent prepares students for future public performances. Sharma and Barrett (2007) emphasize that multimedia create numerous possibilities to begin cooperation with other schools in foreign countries too. Due to this fact, students can find friends not only in Europe but all over the world, they can exchange ideas, prepare cultural projects together and develop their language skills.

To conclude, teachers may hold negative, neutral or positive attitude towards technology. It is good to be aware of unlimited possibilities that it gives and stay ready to experiment with some of these options. Innovative solutions require constant training from the teacher which prevents him/her from becoming fossilized in teaching. Due to changing times, students' nature, their interests and

past time activities, a teacher is obliged to look for new training methods and materials, for example, during the conversation classes the teacher can project a real-life situation on the whiteboard to provoke his/her learners to discussion, use interactive language games to revise vocabulary, listen to audio and video recordings with native speakers, practise writing skills by chat or Facebook, send additional exercises or homework by e-mail, etc.

2.2 Benefits of blended teaching/learning for the student

Teenagers' general view on learning stays quite critical. It has been diagnosed that the majority of adolescent students treat attending to school as a nasty duty, a painful process of spending a lot of time in a boring place. To change this way of thinking about education processes, teachers should look on them from a new perspective. It is extremely important to establish innovative teaching methods to change students' attitude towards school and encourage them to learning as much as possible.

In order to achieve this goal schools need to evolve gradually from archaic institutions to modern teaching centres. It can be done by introducing a variety of media in lessons. Using computers, the Internet, smart phones, Mp3 players, digital camcorders, interactive whiteboards is inspiring for students, more familiar to their lifestyle and it naturally accomplishes their cultural and social interactions.

As it was mentioned before there are several benefits related to a blended course both for teachers and students. One major advantage of using Information Technology, which Sharma and Barrett (2007) highlight, is that it highly motivates students to study. Włodarczyk-Stachurska and Buda (2012) comment *using information technology [...] gives the possibility to offer students different impulses and elicit some information from them*. A lot of teenage students spend some time in front of the computer screen every day. Baber and Hampel (2003) claim that young people treat surfing the Internet as an exciting past time activity, which gives them infinite options of listening to music, watching films or chatting with friends. Not surprisingly doing homework or preparing for school via the Internet can be a lot funnier than searching for information in books. Thanks to advanced browsers looking for information in the virtual world is very fast and accurate.

Furthermore, 'interactivity' (Sharma & Barrett, 2007:10) of web-based exercises attracts attention of more recipients than paper-based activities. The Internet is a wide source of varied tasks, designed to suit all educational needs related to different levels of advancement.

What is more, students receive an immediate feedback on what they are doing. In web-based exercises students know exactly where the mistakes were made, however they must understand themselves why the mistakes appeared. This makes them more responsible for learning and more independent from the teacher in the whole process. Becoming 'autonomous' (ibid., 2007:11) in acquiring knowledge is extremely important because students work on the computer mainly outside the classroom, doing extra exercises is a part of their home routine.

In addition, the same authors believe that supporting a language course with online activities helps students to work in their own pace also gives more flexibility in connection to time and place. Web-based activities are time saving for both the teacher and the learners, and eliminate the need of photocopying materials, which results in reducing the costs for education.

Moreover, via the Internet learners are able to develop all kinds of language skills. According to Sharma & Barrett (2007) in the field of receptive abilities, which are: reading and listening, they can use authentic texts easy to follow due to word translations which students can check with a click of a mouse on a hyperlink. Salmon (2002) highlights that online listening presents a high sound quality, digital audio can be stopped at will, if the recording or a part of it is misunderstood, students have an access to the transcript. Practising productive skills like: speaking and writing is different however. Komorowska (2009) is among the scholars who stress the fact that learning productive abilities is a long-lasting process, which should be continued for a period of time. Frendo (2009) and Harmer (1998) believe it requires teacher's constant assistance, who acts as a guide, gives feedback, comments on weak and strong sides of every oral performance and written composition. For the computer such correction is not possible, especially in speaking, because in comparison to human being it is only a spiritless machine.

All in all, to become successful in learning English students need to be surprised by the teacher. One possibility to achieve this, is introducing multimedia during the classes. Technology will end the everyday routine and stop things from being predictable. Web-based materials and online activities will bring freshness to the traditional classroom management and increase curiosity about the subject. Taking into account our changing world and the rapid development in the field of technology, education has no other possibility but follows this trend and suit teaching techniques to the new era.

2.3 Problems that may occur in a blended teaching course

Over the last ten years teachers witnessed a number of improvements in education, beginning from the educational base and programme, equipment available in language labs and finishing on teachers' and students' mentality. A variety of new course books appeared in bookshops offering challenging exercises, interesting topics for classroom discussions, additional materials, for instance: CDs, DVDs, e-books, e-dictionaries, exam supplements, posters, maps, to simplify teacher's life.

According to changes in mentality, teachers stay more open-minded to their learners' needs than before; they do not stick only to the course book, but listen to and put into practice students' ideas. It is mainly possible due to the technological advancement which took place in the twenty-first century and resulted in creation of laboratories in almost every school. Still a lot should be done in this area, but things are changing for the better.

Nowadays schools are becoming equipped with laptop computers, overhead projectors and interactive whiteboards which create perfect conditions to engage technology in the educational process. When the teacher decides on a blended teaching course, he/she needs to consider certain aspects of it and try to predict problems that may occur.

Firstly, technology plays a major role in blended teaching and free access to a computer with the Internet is a basic issue in this process. Moreover, being able to use whiteboards or data projectors gives more options of incorporating IT into a language course. Creation of innovative activities for students at all educational levels and learners with different language needs depends on technology, that is why, according to Sharma and Barrett (2007), devices used at schools should be new, fast and modern. Only such equipment makes it possible to prepare a successful lesson limited only by the time-frame.

Secondly, authors like Baber and Hampel (2003), Frendo (2009), Sharma and Barrett (2007) stress the role of high speed connection to the Internet as the key to a productive, flourishing blended course. If the computer or the Net do not work properly, teachers should be prepared for a failure, in described situation the lesson loses its flow, students do not get enough practice and the tutor becomes discouraged to using technology.

Thirdly, before starting a blended course every tutor needs to ask himself a question about his abilities of using technical devices. It is not possible to achieve success in teaching via multimedia without possessing at least basic knowledge about them. The same refers to students, who feel happy and secure about learning only when they are able to operate the equipment and understand teacher's instructions. Frendo (2009) emphasizes the necessity to test students' technical abilities well in advance and if problems occur pre-teach learners, make them familiar with using electronic devices. Still some learners may feel insecure about working on the material independently, to rectify this situation they can be grouped in teams and do activities together for a period of time.

In addition, perhaps the greatest disadvantage of using Information Technology refers to its reliability. Due to bad weather or technical problems the tutor may not be able to introduce web-based activities according to what has been planned. As a consequence the teacher should be prepared for all kinds of unexpected scenario during the classes, which require more time devoted to preparing for work.

Last but not least, is considering the costs. It is a general tendency that modern technology is always very expensive and due to this fact not every school can afford the novelty. There are significant differences in the standard of equipment between schools in big cities in comparison to the ones in the countryside. The same refers to students, those from villages sometimes do not possess the computer at home, not to mention the Internet, a laptop, a tablet or a digital camera. Although the lack of equipment mentioned above makes blended teaching harsh in some regions of the country, school authorities in cooperation with the European Union are trying to improve this situation.

To sum up, starting a blended teaching course with learners is only possible when the school possess a well-equipped language lab. Access to technological devices combined with skilful teacher and curious students is a mixture which may lead to a great success. When teachers begin a blended teaching course they must be prepared for unexpected complications that occasionally occur with the equipment. It is advisable to have prepared paper-based activities in case of any problems. In every classroom the teacher is a thinking unit not the computer, this puts the responsibility to act with intelligence in various situations on a human being.

2.4 The role of a teacher and the technology

In the twenty first century, the time of rapid growth and importance of technology one could ask himself a question if in schools of the future teachers will become replaced by computers? According to the opinion Sharma and Barrett (2007) express, both the man and the machine play separate roles in a complicated process of acquiring a new language.

There are certain aspects in favour of the teacher whose assistance is extremely important to achieve success in learning. Frendo (2009) highlights the irreplaceable role of the teacher in situations which require human interactions. Sharma and Barrett (2007) add that he/she knows the students in person, considers their interests, observes the way of life and attitude. Due to the interpersonal contact with learners, the teacher prepares the learning syllabus that best suits students' needs. Because the tutor acts as a guide who should stay flexible in teaching processes, not only the lesson plan may be modified, but changes can be introduced to the whole syllabus.

Secondly, Sharma and Barrett (2007) comment that relying on his/her knowledge and working experience the teacher knows exactly to what kind of practice a particular group of learners should be exposed to. The teacher can estimate the weak and strong sides of every student in his/her class, he/she chooses exercises to vary the lesson and topics for oral activities to help students develop language skills in natural environment. According to Smith and Baber (2005) the trainer reacts to learners' utterances and gives more real-world examples based on the local context to acquire new material. Finally, sharing the opinion of Komorowska (2009) and Underwood (1987) no one else but the teacher disciplines his/her students best and has a positive influence on their learning habits.

On the other hand, the computer complements a language course in a very interesting way. There are a number of various exercises to choose from, which help to develop all kinds of skills, however the teacher is the person who selects the material best as well as gives the right flow to the whole process.

Sharma & Barrett (2007) comment that one major advantage is that the computer never gets tired and offers unlimited exposure to the target language. Above all, computers work fast and searching for new information or doing some activities takes little time. From the point of view of Salmon (2002) Information

Technology makes it possible to control the exposure students receive, for instance: while listening learners can pause at will, or play the recording as many times as they wish. What is more, students can do a lot of additional exercises outside the classroom due to the fact that computers, tablets or smart phones may be used beyond the classroom.

To sum up, Sharma & Barrett (2007) emphasise that in a blended teaching course the role of the computer and the role of the teacher complements each other. The teacher will never become redundant in the classroom due to the fact that artificial intelligence is not able to deal with real-world interactions. Technology can only supplement and enhance a classroom activity.

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THE MYTH OF PROMETHEUS AND THE VISION OF THE APOCALYPSE IN *PROMETHEUS UNBOUND* BY PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

Abstract

The topic of this work is devoted to poetry concerning the myth of Prometheus and depicting the downfall of the modern world. The vision of the Apocalypse has accompanied mankind for many centuries, though the ways of expressing it and its intensity have changed according to the epoch, having its peak in the Middle Ages. The motif of the Apocalypse was present in the medieval art and culture because of the high and authoritative position of the Catholic Church in most of European societies. In this work, Percy Bysshe Shelley and his vision of the Apocalypse based on the example of Prometheus Unbound are the subject of interest.

Key words: Prometheus, Prometheus Unbound, Apocalypse, Percy Bysshe Shelley.

A brief presentation of the author

Taking English literature of the 18th century into consideration, it is easy to see the slow revision process of the assumptions established by the Augustinian Era. The writers, thinkers and philosophers of the Romantic period presented the influence of inconsistent powers on conventional, social and intellectual order. Those powers acted deeply under the smooth surface of 'human civilization'. Consequently, they caused the protest and abolish the forces' arrangement in France by the Revolution which broke out in 1789. Not long later, only after nine years, the similar movement started in England. The reminiscences of that are reflected in English literature. In 1798 The Lake Poets, Coleridge and Wordsworth, published The Lyrical Ballads, which contained the program prepared specially for this poetic group. The creators of that group demanded full spontaneity in expressing the soul, the inside hidden states of feelings. They did not want to agree on showing distance to the matters of soul, spirit, and writing with 'cool reason' only. That was why even the glaring transgression of the moral law became praiseworthy for them. These poets were in the opposition to every law, standard or order which meant oppression or tyranny. Percy Bysshe Shelley was born in 1792 and died in 1822. He was regarded as one of the major English Romantic poets by his contemporaries, mainly young rebels. Shelley assures the

reader that "A Poet is the combined product of such internal powers as modify the nature of others, and of such external influences as excite and sustain these powers; he is not one, but both" (P. B. Shelley: 1982: 10).

A radical, not only in his poetry, but also in his political and social views, Shelley did not achieve fame during his lifetime. However recognition for his poetry rose steadily following his death. Shelley was one of the key members of a close circle of visionaries, including poets and writers of British Romanticism (Medwin T. 1847: 323).

Shelley came from a wealthy aristocratic and titled English family, he was born in Horsham, Sussex, England. His parents wanted him to receive a solid education and shape his character. Shelley gained his early education at home. In 1802 he entered the Syon House Academy of Brentford. Two years later, he entered Eton College where he was constantly bullied and harassed by older boys (Gottlieb 2001: 51). In 1810 he published *Zastrozzi* - his first Gothic novel, in which he presented his early and immature atheistic worldview (Gottlieb 2001: 51). Later in the same year Shelley and his sister Elizabeth published *Original Poetry by Victor and Cazire*. In 1811 Shelley wrote his second Gothic novel *Saint Irvyne or The Rosicrucian* and a pamphlet *The Necessity of Atheism* and, indirectly because of this pamphlet Shelley was expelled from the university due to propagating his atheistic views and he was never admitted there again, even after his father's intervention (Harold Bloom, Melissa Edmundson 2009:1).

He disappointed his family and exposed them to shame and humiliation. After the conflict with his father, Shelley left his home and was deprived of the privileges of the members of the family. He began to live on his own. When he was eighteen, Shelley married Harriet Westbrook, an innkeeper's daughter. He led with his wife a roving life, travelling around England and Ireland. During those journeys, he was delivering the pamphlets concerning the policy (Harold Bloom, Melissa Edmundson 2009:2).

In 1813 he published his first long serious work *Queen Mab: A Philosophical Poem*. The poem emerged from Shelley's friendship with the British philosopher William Godwin, and it expressed Godwin's freethinking socialist philosophy (Harold Bloom, Melissa Edmundson 2009:2).

Shelley and his wife had two sons born in 1814 and 1815, but the marriage was not a happy one, because of Shelley's love affair with Mary Godwin, the daughter of two philosophers, who gave birth to his two sons: one of them died shortly after being born 1815 and another one was born in 1816 (Harold Bloom, Melissa Edmundson 2009:1-2).

After three years of marriage with Harriet, Shelley abandoned his wife and two children. Harriet could not stand it, she cracked and committed a suicide in December 1816. (Harold Bloom, Melissa Edmundson 2009:1-2). Three weeks after her body was recovered from a lake in a London park, Shelley and Mary Godwin were officially married. The public was shocked and they condemned Shelley. He refused even the right to care for his children. After that, Shelley, together with

his second wife Mary Godwin, left his homeland. They were travelling around Switzerland, and then they stayed longer in Italy. (Harold Bloom, Melissa Edmundson 2009:2). In 1817, Shelley wrote *Laon and Cythna*, a long, narrative poem that, because of containing references to incest as well as attacks on religion, was withdrawn after only a few copies had been published, but it was later edited and reissued as *The Revolt of Islam* in 1818 (Smith 1877:116). At this time he also wrote revolutionary political tracts titled *The Hermit of Marlow* and early in 1818 Shelley and his second wife left England for the last time. During the remaining four years of his life, Shelley produced all his major works, including *Prometheus Unbound* (1820).

On July the 8th, 1822, Shelley died tragically during the sailboat expedition from Livorno to Spezia. His literary achievements contributed to the new vision of the surrounding reality. Shelley's vision of the world was the confirmation of satanic and apocalyptic view on the world. What is more, he lived exactly with this pattern. His own life was consciously in conflict with established morality and the Decalogue. The poet neither reckoned the world surrounding him nor took other people's lives into consideration. Neglecting their own communities' rules and almost all laws which were important to others, sometimes had tragic effects. A very good example of the negation of morality and protest against social rules is the suicidal death of Shelley's wife. It can be said that the inside darkness caused the outside tragedy (Smith 1877:117).

The myth of Prometheus in *Prometheus Unbound*

It appears be obvious that the myth of Prometheus can be compared to an intellectual device that has been used to understand the relationship to gaining knowledge in general and developments in science and technology specifically. The reason for this being the case is a thought-provoking question, however above, all human beings should want to know whether or not the Promethean myth is actually a good tool for thinking about human understanding and doing, or whether have we ourselves become attached and enslaved to it and unable to move like the protagonist, or antagonist depending upon given perspective. Either way the intriguing story still holds us in its spell. It is perhaps especially remarkable that humanity turns to the myth of Prometheus to think through potential and problems brought about by advancement in science and technology simply because the myth is so omnipresent and old. The myth of Prometheus is first found in the works of the Greek poetic genius, Hesiod who lived somewhere between 750 and 650 before Christ. The idea of ancient myth used in literature has been popular. As Agata Buda underlines, using mythological figures as well as historical persons in modern writing, creates a specific image of antiquity in the eyes of the reader (Buda A. 2009: 132-133). One can gain a deeper understanding of modern times if they exploit ancient patterns.

Taking into account Shelley's works, he wrote apocalyptic and revolutionary poems. An example of such a poem is *Queen Mab*, published in 1813, in which

Shelley attacks religious bounds. Another apocalyptic piece of work by Shelley is *Prometheus Unbound* published in 1820. The four-act lyrical drama was inspired by the works of Aeschylus and John Milton. It presents Prometheus as the liberator and benefactor of mankind. In his work, Shelley expressed anarchistic tendencies, proclaimed the unlimited freedom of the individual, and predicted the victory of freedom. *Prometheus Unbound* is based on the Greek myth about Prometheus. According to Greek mythology, Prometheus is one of the sons of Iapetus. Unlike many of the mythical gods and Titans, Prometheus has a special sympathy for mankind, wanting them to develop and succeed. He steals fire from the gods and gives it to man. As a result, he is punished by Jupiter (Zeus) himself. Prometheus is chained to a rock, where every day an eagle devours his liver, only to have it regrow the next day, and the cycle is repeated, eternally.

Where did Shelley find his inspiration? The base of his poetry was The Book of Revelation, the last canon book of the New Testament. In the biblical sense the Apocalypse is represented by four horsemen - four allegorical mounted figures, commonly identified as: Pestilence (or Conquest), War, Famine and Death, whose arrivals means the end of the world.

An apocalyptic literary composition is usually meant to present a revelation, a vision, a stunning phenomenon, a frightening future vision, a prophecy of the world's end that shows the end of the present world as well as of the whole existence.

According to the creator of The Apocalypse, his description was a repertory of visions, which the author experienced being exiled on Patmos Island. All those visions concerned the world events which were to appear in the future. At the very end, he saw God leading the battle against Satan. In the result of that fight, called Armageddon, Satan would be defeated and imprisoned in the abyss for one thousand years. The Book of Revelation was written to give people hope and ensure them that those who serve God's Son faithfully, would finally take part in His victory and obtain the grace of eternal happiness after death. The Apocalypse also contains the description of the tortures and sufferings which befall those, who turned their backs on God in the time of their existence. The dark and deeply depressing picture was to herald the end of the world and the sense of its existence. The author of The Book of Revelation appeared to be the chosen man whom God used to reveal the different matters of human life with the help of visions. The Apocalypse, without any doubts has been an inspiration for the artists of different epochs.

Prometheus Unbound is a difficult and elaborated work, not entirely clear in its meaning. The main character, Prometheus, is a symbol of mankind and a personification of a moral attitude, the idea of rebellion against tyranny, fighting for the freedom of men. Jupiter is a symbol of the physical and spiritual tyranny as well as the power of evil, which made the tyranny possible (Shelley P.B. 1982:18-21). The author depicts Prometheus as an entity that symbolises the mind or soul of man in its highest potential. Two of Shelley's favourite themes lie at the heart of

Prometheus Unbound: the external autocracy of rulers, customs, or superstitions is the prime enemy, and that inherent human goodness will, eventually, uproot evil from the face of the world and usher in an eternal reign of transcendent love.

Shelley strongly believed in people being self-sufficient, ambitious, and above all self-sufficient. In his opinion, evil did not occur on Earth accidentally and therefore it can be removed. He believed that man's good will is enough to remove evil from the world and it can be the beginning of the reign of love. The aim of Prometheus of actions was freeing people from the shackles of Jupiter's tyranny. The love of the people makes him steal fire for them and provide them with a number of skills (Shelley P.B. 1982: 18-21).

In the poem, Prometheus knows the secret of the marriage of Jupiter and Tethys, but he does not reveal it to Mercury, who is sent by Jupiter. He chooses to suffer until Jupiter's destiny is fulfilled and he marries Tethys and their son Demogorgon overthrows him like Jupiter (Zeus) overthrew earlier his father Saturn (Cronus). The fall of the tyrant will free the mankind and it will happen through Prometheus's suffering (Shelley P.B. 1982:18-21).

In Shelly's *Prometheus Unbound* there are a number of references to the French Revolution. Demogorgon symbolizes the primary power inherent in people (Demos) which erupts like a volcano (revolution). It will create the new era in the world. Włodarczyk-Stachurska points that, identifying words in a cultural context means to *determine the cultural aspects peculiar to the particular speech community rather than address the domain of culture as such* (2014:103).

Henceforth the fields of heaven- reflecting sea
Which are my realm, will heave, unstained with blood,
(...) My streams will flow
Round many- peopled continents, and round
Fortunate isles
(Shelley P.B. 1982:18-21)

In the last monologue, Demogorgon describes the new era which will begin after the release of Prometheus:

Love, from its awful throne of patient power
In the wise heart, from the last giddy hour
(Shelley P.B. 1982:557-559)

The fall of Jupiter and the release of Prometheus is followed by the apocalyptic vision of the world, tyranny and evil. Demogorgon, by releasing Prometheus, creates a new, better world where Love reigns.

Prometheus is also morally superior to Jupiter because, in his suffering, he musters for the act of compassion towards his oppressor: "Disdain! Ah no! I pity thee" (Shelley P.B. 1982: 53).

Shelley understood that a real freedom cannot exist together with hate or vengeance. He knew that those lusts destroyed the prospect of the French Revolution during which cruelty, vengeance and hate ruined its ideals. During his life, Shelley was not a member of any revolutionary movement, however he approved its participants. In the victory of the social revolution Shelley did not see a goal, but a step on the way to a democratic republic, which implements the principle of freedom and equality. He approved the revolution without an outrage. He believed that any social reforms should begin with the alternation of people, so as they could live in brotherhood and widespread love. *Prometheus Unbound* reveals Shelley's bright and, intriguingly, apocalyptic view of the future. The work without doubt reflects his absolute faith in humanity and its ability to make tangible change in the world. In conclusion, Shelley takes the rehabilitation of Prometheus's reputation further when compared with other Romantics. Since Shelley perceives the apocalypse as a new creation, or reformation, of the world, *Prometheus Unbound* poses a major contribution to the Romantic perception of creativity (Cantor 1984: 77). Nevertheless, the author is equally aware that such a complete change is impossible without bravery, wisdom and sacrifice. In this piece of work, Shelley made an attempt to show an artistic redemption of the fallen state of man. Even though Shelley's drama has been a subject of discussion, focusing on both apocalyptic-utopian and millennium-redemptive overtone (: 243). Prometheus's journey from the state of gloom and anguish into hopefulness - from torpor into life, from imprisonment into independence and freedom, conveys Shelley's impression on man's metaphorical returning to paradise.

Conclusion

In the history of mankind one can find events, myths and fictional stories and ideologies that have had a profound influence on culture and literature. One of them is the vision of the Apocalypse.

The visualization of the Apocalypse and the techniques of describing it in different ages depended on numerous factors. The vision of the Apocalypse is connected with the ancient myths, and later with Christianity, mostly with the Book of the New Testament and The Book of Revelation. According to the latter, the Apocalypse was a punishment for sins and disobedience to God. Prophets and priests preached that only good, honest and fair people, obedient to the God's laws would survive the destruction and the end of the world. They would make a new beginning and create new orders on earth.

The fear of the Apocalypse and the end of the world has always been intense, but the way of its expression has varied in different ages. English Romantic literature presented an interesting, but also fearful vision of the Apocalypse. Historical events, such as the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in England have influenced the literature. It was also associated with the private lives of the poet of English Romantic literature - Shelly - his sensibility, life experiences and individual perception of the surrounding world. The author often used Biblical

plots and adjusted them to the political events and changes that were observed in the society. Many Romantic poets and writers were inspired by the revolution and approved of it taking political and social changes in the country into consideration. The Romantics fully agreed with the revolutionary ideas of liberty, equality, fraternity, democracy and human rights. For the Romantic authors the revolution was the form of change in almost all areas of human life. The French Revolution was supported by William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Lord Byron and Percy Shelley. They regarded it as a huge chance for better living of the oppressed classes. Supporting the revolution and expressing themselves in poetry, the Romantics waited for the chance to unleash the lowest classes. For them the spirit of that time had a great deal of creative ideas which waited to be used not only in communities, but also in literary and artistic works. As the stream of the revolution caught the whole nation and turned things in a quite new direction, the Romantic literature began to take a new turn and moved in a quite new direction. The newborn idea of freedom appealed to the poets, writers and artists, but they were not the only recipients. The people of lower social classes also started to express themselves, because they became flowed by this Romantic stream. That time was an enormous standard for literature. As usual people became interested in the ideas of revolution, Romantic poets, such as Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron and Shelley, started to write works for the and about the lower social classes.

The Romantic poets believed that the most important historical event was the destruction of the Bastille. They claimed that it was a symbol of the collapse of the old world and the beginning of the new one. The end of the eighteen century induced people to sum up the achievements and failures of the passing ages and wait for the new challenges though it may require a lot of sacrifice.

The Prometheus myth has blended and intermingled with traditions held in common by Judaism and Christianity about the perils of knowledge and human lust for god-like authority and power. Prometheus, the fire bringer, is put in the same company as The Evil One and Its restless minions. In addition one can place the biblical Eve and the story of the building of the Tower of Babel. The Promethean myth is frequently used nowadays as an invitation to the notion that knowledge equals power or a simple warning against the need to accept limits to endless quest for knowledge, which in turn can result in the wrath of God.

One can risk saying that Prometheus gives his technological gift not because he is trying to introduce the development to human race. It appears that he is trying to undo what he thinks was a wicked raffle of creation in which people were given the short end of the stick when compared with other animals. The Promethean myth can be classified into three varieties. One of stimulating the surmounting of boundaries and frontiers in the name of gaining authority and therefore connected with transhumanist approach. The second variety can be classified as a simple warning against wrong-doing and thus associated with a traditional Christian explanation. Finally, the third variety revolves around fostering technological progress.

In *Prometheus Unbound*, Shelley wanted to create an abstract and revolutionary image of the world. On the one hand, it showed Shelley's reluctance to the Catholic Church. On the other hand, it demonstrated his fascination of the human nature as the source of good and inspiration. To conclude, the author tried to answer the most tempting questions concerning the mankind for ages.

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**CAUSATIVE ‘HAVE’-CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE DIALOGUED
PASSAGES IN F. SCOTT FITZGERALD’S NOVELS:
‘THE BEAUTIFUL AND DAMNED’ AND ‘TENDER IS THE NIGHT’
AS GENDERED-MOTIVATED UTTERANCES?¹**

Introduction

It goes without saying that one’s social position finds reflection in the way one speaks. As Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2011a:485) notices, people in all societies tend to acquire several identities as they participate in social networks. They belong to different social groups, but they also perform different social roles. As a result *any of these identities may have consequences for the kind of language the particular person uses* (ibid.). Moreover, according to Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2011:486), *certain aspects of social variation seem to be of particular linguistic consequences. Age, sex and socio-economic class have been repeatedly shown to be of great importance as far as sounds, constructions, and vocabulary are concerned.* In the light of the above, it is hardly surprising that a major topic that has recently been in the focus of the sociolinguistic analysis is the mutual relations between the manners in which particular languages are used and the social roles performed by men and women speaking those languages.

It has been universally recognized that men and women speaking a given language do it differently. Whatever the source of those differences is, we might be tempted to investigate whether in English, one can find variation in use between men and women in the periphrastic causative verbs, such as, ‘cause’, ‘get’, ‘have’, ‘let’ and ‘make’. In our earlier article, we demonstrated that the use of the causative ‘get’ as found in selected works by F. Scott Fitzgerald is actually socially conditioned, with the gender of the speaker (masculinity) being an important factor triggering the occurrence of the verb. In other words, it is usually men who use the causative ‘get’ in the novels in question (for details, see Gołabek 2015b). In the present article, we shall endeavour to examine whether the use of the causative

¹ The present paper is a revised and elaborated version of the ideas presented in the author’s doctoral dissertation entitled ‘English Periphrastic Causative Constructions as Gender-Based Expressions of Human Experience in F. Scott Fitzgerald’s Novels ‘The Beautiful and Damned’ and ‘Tender Is the Night’ (for details, see Gołabek 2015a in the References) as well as the ideas presented in the author’s article entitled ‘Causative ‘get’-constructions in the dialogued passages in F. Scott Fitzgerald’s novels ‘The Beautiful and Damned’ and ‘Tender Is the Night’ as gender-conditioned structures’ (for details, see Gołabek 2015b in the References).

'have' can also be motivated by the gender of the speaker. To this end, we shall first briefly present and discuss some views on the mutual bonds between language and gender and subsequently examine the occurrences of the causative 'have' as found in the dialogued passages of the two novels by F. Scott Fitzgerald, 'The Beautiful and Damned' and 'Tender Is the Night'.

1. Language and gender²

As mentioned above, it seems rather obvious that the language of men and women differ. Before we analyze the 'have'-occurrences in the two above-mentioned novels with regard to the gender of the actors involved in communication, we shall briefly discuss selected peculiarities of male and female speech³. This will serve as the background to our subsequent analysis. It has been noted by numerous scholars that women's speech differs from that of men (for details see, for example, Baron 1986, Arliss, 1991, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003, Karwatowska and Szpyra 2005, Wardhaugh 2006, or Włodarczyk-Stachurska 2011a and 2011b). The question is about the source and the nature of those differences. Do the differences in the gendered speech derive from the language structure? Or, alternatively, do those differences simply reflect the way in which the two sexes interact socially with each other? As Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2011a:486) claims, the positive answer to the first question would basically confirm Whorfian hypothesis (1929), "acknowledging the close relationship between language and culture, maintaining that they were inextricably related so that you could not understand one without a knowledge of the other". In turn, as Włodarczyk-Stachurska asserts, the affirmative answer to the latter question would undoubtedly emphasise the role of social dependencies as the factors playing the most significant role in shaping the language of men and women (ibid.).

As to some peculiarities of the male and female talk, Tannen (1990:24-25) notices that in general men tend to be more concerned with power whereas women with solidarity. For men,

negotiations in which people try to achieve and maintain the upper hand if they can, and protect themselves from others' attempts to put them down and push them around. Life, then, is a contest, a struggle to preserve independence and avoid failure.

² As Wardhaugh (2006:315) holds, *the current vogue is to use 'gender' rather than 'sex' as the latter term is to a very large extent biologically determined whereas gender is a social construct (but still one heavily grounded in sex)*. Similar opinions are voiced by other contemporary linguists. Also in this paper, the term 'gender' will be used rather than 'sex'.

³ Since the speech of the two genders differs to a great degree, it would impossible and impractical to list all the discrepancies between the two varieties of talk. Therefore, the present section of the article is meant to outline only selected differences.

In other words, as Grishaver (1997:31) says, *men's major perceptions, as reflected in their language patterns, essentially involve the making of boundaries, the conquest and defence of territory and the maintenance of a pecking order*. As one can see, the key concept in men's actions is independence. In contrast for women, as Tannen (1990:25) says,

conversations are negotiations for closeness in which people try to seek and give confirmation and support, and to reach consensus. They try to protect themselves from others' attempts to push them away. Life, then, is a community, a struggle to preserve intimacy and avoid isolation. Though there are hierarchies in this world too, they are hierarchies more of friendship than of power and accomplishment.

What this means is that women's main motivations include bringing people closer as well as establishing and developing bonds with them. Following Tannen's way of reasoning, an important concept for women would be that of intimacy.

Definitely, there seems to be a lot of stereotypes and false beliefs concerning the female speech. Romaine (1999:167-168) says that *women's conversations are routinely trivialized with the labels 'gossip', 'girl talk', 'bitching', and so on, whereas similar conversation among men are called 'shop talk'*. Therefore female talk is often looked down on whereas men's speech is often stereotypically assigned some qualities of a specialized jargon which may pertain to occupational or other specialized issues. Romaine adds that such judgments tend to reflect the different social values of men and women that are present in our societies. According to those judgments, what men do is often more important from what females do. Furthermore, she mentions that we often associate men's talk with being serious whereas women's talk is often stereotypically found to be trivial (ibid.). Yet, as Romaine says (1999:168), Kippers (1987) found that women did not actually talk more than men about topics evaluated as trivial, independently by both males and females. What is interesting is that Kippers found out that nearly half of all the discussions undertaken entirely by men, entirely by women, and mixed-sex groups regarded topics that had been independently rated as trivial. Romaine adds that Coates (1996) found that some women were aware of some of the negative stereotypes associated with female speech and therefore often stressed the fact that they did not talk about 'domesticky' or 'girly' matters.

What is more, Wardhaugh (2006:317) denies that women's speech is *gossip-laden, corrupt, illogical, idle, euphemistic, or deficient (...); nor is it necessarily more precise, cultivated, or stylish – or even less profane* than the speech of males. Nor do women gossip more than men do. Apparently, men gossip just as much as females do (for details see Pilkington 1998), but as Wardhaugh (2006:317) advocates, men's gossip is different. In his words, male gossip is

a kind of phatic small talk that involves insults, challenges, and various kinds of negative behavior to do exactly what women do by their use of nurturing, polite, feedback-laden, cooperative talk. In doing this, they achieve the kind of solidarity they prize. It is the norms of behavior that are different.

This seems to be in line with what Litosseliti (2013:39) believes. She asserts that *whereas women may treat gossips as co-operative work that requires a lot of positive feedback and prompting, and avoid indirect disagreement, talk among men tends to contain little feedback and lot of open disagreement or criticism* (for details see also Coates 1996 and Pilkington 1998). Furthermore, according to Litosseliti, what the above means is that women prefer to pursue a conversation style based on solidarity, whereas men tend to engage in conversations in which competitiveness plays an important role (ibid.).

Additionally, male speech and female speech definitely differ with respect to vocabulary. Lakoff (1973), claims that women tend to use colour words such as, inter alia, 'aquamarine', 'lavender', 'magenta' and 'mauve' but most men do not. Lakoff also holds that adjectives such as 'adorable', 'charming', 'divine', 'lovely', or 'sweet' are also frequently used by females, but are very rarely found in men's active vocabulary repertoire. Females are also found to have their own lexicon that is used in order to emphasize certain effects on them. Such words and expressions would include, for example, 'so good', 'such fun', 'lovely', 'divine', 'adorable', 'darling', and 'fantastic'. Also Crystal (1987:21) reports that women use intensifiers such as 'so' or 'such' (e.g., 'It was so busy') more often than men. Moreover, according to Crystal, women are said to use *exclamations such as 'Goodness me' and 'Oh dear'* with a higher frequency than men. This seems to be confirmed by the words of Salzmann (1993:184), who also holds that certain words in American English are used much more frequently by women than by men. Among such words, he lists *expressive adjectives that convey approval of admiration* such as, inter alia, 'charming', 'cute' or 'sweet'. Salzmann presents the view that *men are much more likely to phrase their approval or liking for something by using a neutral adjective such as fine, good, or great and reinforcing it, if necessary, with such an adverb as damn* as in 'you were damn lucky not to have been killed!' (ibid.).

Another interesting characteristic of women's speech, which is reported by Lakoff (1975) is that women sometimes answer a question with a statement that has a rising terminal which reaches a level higher than the initial parts of the utterance. Such intonation is usually associated with questions rather than the falling intonation which is normally linked with making statements. Lakoff claims that women are more likely than men to use what she calls an *inappropriate question intonation*, as in the frequently quoted example in which a husband asks: *When will dinner be ready?*, and the wife replies with a rising intonation: *Oh ... around six o'clock...?* Lakoff says that the effect of such intonation is *as though one was seeking confirmation, though at the same time the speaker may be the only*

one who has the requisite information (1975:17). According to Lakoff, such intonation patterns signal uncertainty or lack of self-assertiveness of the women who use them.

For the same reason, she says that women often add a 'tag question' to statements in sentences, such as, *I did lock the door, didn't I?* (Lakoff 1975:15) asserts that question tags are used *when the speaker is stating a claim, but lacks full confidence in the truth of that claim*. The above seems to be in accordance with Włodarczyk-Stachurska's claims (2011b:116) who advocates in a similar vein that women's language is more polite than the speech of men. Włodarczyk-Stachurska claims that female language, as compared with male talk,

reflects extra politeness, one aspect of which is leaving a decision open, not imposing your mind, views or claims on the interlocutor. Note that two patterns seem to reveal this decisively; namely the abundant use of question tags ('The price of mincemeat is terrible, isn't it?'), and the high frequency of a rising intonation on utterances that are not syntactically questions (ibid).

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned claims about women's use of 'tag questions' and the lack of confidence have been tested by other linguists (e.g. Dubois and Crouch 1975, Cameron *et al.* 1989, and Brower *et al.* 1979), who do not necessarily confirm those findings.

Other researchers (e.g. Hartman 1976, Poole 1979) found that women more often than men use uncertainty verb phrases. This is especially true if the first person singular pronoun is combined with verbs of perception or cognition (e.g., *I wonder if*). What is more, Mulac *et al.* (2001) report that men use more words which refer to quantity, more directives (e.g., *Write this down*), more adjectives of judgmental character (e.g., *good, dumb*) and more *I* references than women. In contrast, according to the scholars, women make a greater use of more intensive adverbs (e.g., *really, so*), uncertainty verbs (e.g. *seems to, maybe*), and negations (e.g., *not, never*) than men. In their speech, they also refer to emotions more often than men. However, Mulac *et al.* did not find gender differences in the use of tag questions.

Let us also mention another interesting issue, that is, the use of swear words in the speech of the two genders. In the words of Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2011a:490), *another aspect of male speech is the long established tradition to use blunt Anglo-Saxon taboo words for certain parts and functions of the body, for example, 'piss', 'cunt', 'prick', 'fuck', etc.* Moreover, as Włodarczyk-Stachurska claims (2011a:491), generally speaking, *today men feel freer to use swear words, while women were – until quite recently – merely limited to such exclamations as 'sugar' and 'shoot'*. What this means is that men nowadays swear much more often than they did in the past. It is also observed that there is a trend in women to use taboo language, which was not the case some time ago. Włodarczyk-Stachurska also mentions Mulac and Lundell (1986) as well as Mehl and Pennebaker (2003)

who observe that one usually finds longer words in the linguistic repertoire of men. Moreover, as Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2011a:491) says after the above-mentioned authors, males use more articles and make more references to locations.

Above we have briefly presented some of the most prominent differences between the language of men and women in English. This outline of gendered speech will serve as a background to our subsequent analysis. Since there appears to be a consensus with regard to the fact that the speech of males and females differs, we will check whether the causative 'have', similarly to causative 'get', is preferred by one the genders in the two of Fitzgerald's novels, in other words, whether it is characteristic of male speech or, perhaps, of female speech. This will be done by examining the dialogued occurrences found in the novels.

2. Social motivation in the use of the causative 'have'

Now, we seem to be prepared to start our material investigation of how 'have'-related causative constructions happen to be distributed in F. Scott Fitzgerald's 'The Beautiful and Damned' and 'Tender Is the Night'. Our basic expectation is that, similarly to the causative 'get', we can find some gender-conditioned motivation for the 'have'-constructions, motivation being extra-linguistic in its nature. What we mean is that our research question goes beyond structural and formal considerations. In other words, we believe that the motifs for triggering the use of causative 'have' are of social rather than structural nature. Generally, we opt for the kind of sociolinguistics which presents language not as system of arbitrary systemic relations, but as a record of human conceptualization and experience. What this means in practice results in justifying (motivating) linguistic forms and structures (here: periphrastic causative 'have') not by a purely linguistic syntagmatic relations, but by extra-linguistic considerations, such as gender of the interlocutors.

The two aforesaid novels will serve as our material basis. Our analysis will focus only on the dialogued passages occurring in the novels, as this will ensure that the causative constructions are produced by a representative of one of the two genders and will be directed to men and/or women. Similarly to in our analysis of the causative 'get'-occurrences in the two novels by Fitzgerald, by using the novels as our material basis, the aim of our research is not to analyse the actual utterances produced by men and women, as those found in various corpora, but to see how the causative 'have' is operated by Fitzgerald and whether his characters, males and females use the verb differently. Our major goal is to investigate whether the gender of the interlocutors influence in any way the occurrence of the causative 'have'.

3. Analysis

3.1 The data under examination

Our data have been derived from the two novels by F. Scott Fitzgerald: 'The Beautiful and Damned' and 'Tender is the Night' and they comprise 35

occurrences of periphrastic causative 'have'⁴. The causative 'have' is used 25 times in the narrated passages. As far as the former novel is concerned, one finds 17 'have'-occurrences in the dialogued passages. With regard to the latter novel, our scrutiny refers to 7 cases of periphrastic causative 'have' used in the dialogued passages. The specific examples are presented in the Appendix, Tables 2-3 (Table 2 in the Appendix refers to the causative 'have' found in the former novel, whereas Tables 3 in the Appendix refers to the causative 'have' found in the latter one).

3.2 The data distribution

With regard to the dialogued occurrences, 'have' is used by male characters 13 times, and is addressed 7 times to another male character and 7 times to female characters⁵. In turn, female characters use causative 'have' 12 times: 9 times to male characters and 3 times to other female characters. So, the above-mentioned observations may be summarised by means of the following symbols:

'Have' 35 x	>10N + 25 D	
M: 13	>M/M: 7	M/F: 7
F: 12	>F/M: 9	F/F: 3

Moreover, our analysis with regard to the causative 'have' (Tables 2-3 in the Appendix) reveals certain generalizations as found in the dialogued passages of both novels:

$$(1) \text{'have' M (13) } \sim \text{F (12)} \quad 1.08 \times$$

Causative 'have' is used 13 times by male characters, whereas it is used 12 times by females ones. Therefore, male characters and female ones use causative 'have' with almost the same frequency.

$$(2) \text{'have' M/M (7) } \sim \text{M/F (10)} \quad 1.43 \times$$

Causative 'have' is used 7 times by a male character addressing another male character, whereas it is used 10 times by a male character addressing a female

⁴ We should stress the fact that our analysis refers only to those constructions where the causer and the causative verb are accompanied by the object of causative action (causee) and the complement of the causative verb, and as in the example: *Air'll get the rotten nicotine out of your lungs* (Fitzgerald 1922:30). Therefore, examples with one or more of the above-mentioned elements missing have been disregarded.

⁵ Male characters use causative 'have' 13 times. One of the occurrences is addressed to both male and female characters. Hence, the total number of male uses of the verb does not equal the sum of the male uses by the speaker-hearer relation. For details, see Table 3.

character. Therefore, male characters use causative ‘have’ 1.43 more frequently when addressing female characters rather than other male characters.

$$(3) \text{ ‘have’ F/M (9) } \sim \text{ F/F (3) } \quad 3 \times$$

Causative ‘have’ is used 9 times by a female character addressing a male character, whereas it is used three times by a female character addressing another female character. Therefore, female characters use causative ‘have’ 3 times more frequently when addressing male characters than female characters.

So, our expectation is, at least at this stage, that pragmatically, we can talk about something like ‘unisex’ ‘have’, which is that as a causative verb, ‘have’ is a characteristic of both men’s as well as women’s talk. It should be noted that ‘have’ is the expected form while female characters address male ones rather than female ones. Let us go into specific contexts to see whether or not this could be so. Since, it seems that the occurrence of the periphrastic causative ‘have’ is not conditioned by the gender of the speaker, bearing in mind that it is equally frequently used by males as by females, as a check-up on our prediction, we will examine all the ‘have’-occurrences in the dialogued passages, in both novels, in terms of the speaker-hearer power relation, speaker’s mood as well as the speaker’s attitude expressed. In doing so, we believe that we may find some other motivations that would trigger the use of the causative.

Table 1. Specific characterisation of causative ‘have’-contexts

Table/ No. ⁶	Gender of interlocutors and object of causative action	Speaker-hearer power relation			Speaker’s mood	Speaker’s attitude expressed
		Superiority	Equality	Inferiority		
2/1.	F/M-M ⁷	X			Relaxed/ Confident	Negative
2/2.	M/F-M	X			Tense	Negative/ Critical
2/4.	F/M-M	X			Irritated	Neutral

⁶ Our numbering here corresponds to the order of the ‘have’ examples in Table 2 and 3 in the Appendix. The specific examples are, then, referred to by the table and the occurrence number.

⁷ The above-mentioned symbols should be understood as follows: (M) – male, (F) – female, (MF) – male and female, (NH) – non human, (/) – X speaks to Y, (-) indicates the object of causative action (causee). The same symbols will be used in the Case Studies and in Appendix. Additionally, in the Case Studies and the Appendix we find the following symbols: (D) – dialogued occurrence, (N) – narrated occurrence, (na) – no speaker/hearer relation, (UH) – unspecified human.

cd. Table 1

2/5.	M/M-NH		X		Relaxed	Negative/ Critical
2/6.	F/M-NH		X		Relaxed	Negative/ Scornful
2/7.	F/M-MF	X			Concerned	Neutral
2/8.	M/M-NH	X			Confident/Boastful	Positive/ Favourable
2/9.	F/M-NH			X	Sad/Worried	Negative/ Critical
2/10.	M/M-NH			X	Tense/Cautious	Negative
2/13.	F/M-NH			X	Miserable/Lonesome	Positive/ Appreciative
2/14.	M/M-M	X			Irritated/Threatening	Positive/ Supportive
2/15.	M/F-NH	X			Good/Committed	Positive
2/16.	M/F-NH	X			Neutral	Negative
2/17.	M/F-NH			X	Listless/Indifferent	Negative/ Unfavourable
2/18.	F/M-UH			X	Tense/Concerned	Negative
2/19.	M/M-M	X			Tense/Irritated	Positive/ Favourable
2/20.	M/M-M			X	Tense	Negative/ Unwilling
3/1.	F/F-NH	X			Good/Confident	Negative/ Unwilling
3/2.	M/F-NH	X			Jovial	Negative/ Unfavourable
3/3.	F/F-NH	X			Relaxed	Negative/ Unfavourable
3/4.	M/MF-NH	X			Serious	Negative
3/9.	F/M-M	X			Tense/Concerned	Negative/ Disapproving
3/10.	F/M-NH	X			Tense/Concerned	Negative/ Disapproving
3/12.	M/F-NH		X		Tense	Positive/ Favourable
3/14.	F/F-M	X			Furious	Negative/ Disapproving

As evidenced in Table 1 above, which presents the specific characterisation of the causative 'have'-contexts, there does not seem to be any particular pattern in either the speaker's mood or the speaker's attitude expressed that would explain the use of the causative 'have'⁸. As far as the causative 'have' is concerned, the

⁸ The aforementioned observations seem to be similar to those formulated with regard to the role (or its lack) of the speaker's mood, or the speaker's attitude expressed in triggering the use of the causative 'get' in the novels in question (for details, see Gołębek 2015b).

speaker's mood can vary on the scale, starting from relaxed and jovial through good and committed to miserable and irritated.

The speaker's attitude expressed towards what is being talked about can also vary greatly. Among the attitudes found in the Table above, one can find negative attitudes (such as disapproving or unfavourable) through neutral to positive ones (such as favourable or appreciative). What this means is that, the speaker's mood may be good (for instance, he/she may be relaxed) or bad (for instance, worried or listless). A similar opinion can be formulated as to the attitude that the speaker expresses towards the subject matter of the causative action. This attitude can be as much unfavourable or disapproving as neutral or favourable or supportive. At the same time, as we see in the Table above, no correlations between the type of the speaker's mood and the type of the speaker's attitude expressed towards what is being talked about are found.

However, when it comes to the speaker-hearer power relation, the speaker's superiority (16 occurrences) seems to outnumber the neutrality (3 occurrences) and inferiority cases (6 occurrences). This would mean that the causative 'have' is more frequently found when the speaker assumes power position rather than when the speaker exemplifies an inferior position. Therefore, we postulate that the causative 'have' used in the two novels should, in most cases, be labelled as 'superior' 'have'. It seems that the gender of the speaker does not play a significant role here, as male and female speakers with the superior status use the causative 'have' with exactly the similar frequency (8 uses by male characters and 8 uses by female characters). As our finding, that the causative 'have' is more readily used by the individuals who enjoy superior status, seem to be rather evident, let us have a look at some specific contexts and analyze them in terms of (i) situational context, (ii) the intended pragmatic import and (iii) contextual assessment.

3.2.1 Case Studies

Case Study 1:

Table/ Item	Causative have occurrence in <i>The Beautiful and Damned</i> by F. Scott Fitzgerald	Page	Object of causative action
2/14.	'I'll have you taken up by the police.'	317	D-M/M-M

Situational context. The quotation is part of a dialogue between Anthony Patch and a store proprietor in whose delicatessen store Anthony tries to sell some shares while being drunk. Before Anthony comes to the store, he makes some unsuccessful attempts to sell the shares elsewhere. First, he offers shares to an architect, Percy B. Weatherbee with no success. Then, *after an hour and with the help of two strong whiskies he brought himself up to another attempt* (Fitzgerald 1922:315). This time, he intends to sell the shares to a plumber. Yet, he is unsuccessful also this time. Anthony enters a grocery store. The proprietor tells

him *that before buying any stocks he must see how the armistice affected the market* (ibid.). Anthony has several more drinks before he approaches another potential buyer, a real-estate agent. Also this time, his attempt to sell shares proves to be futile. *After another drink he conceived the brilliant plan of selling the stock to the bartenders along Lexington Avenue.* Also this plan proves to be unsuccessful.

At five o'clock, he enters a medium-sized delicatessen store where he offers the shares. He is very drunk and speaks in a loud thick voice. He tries to persuade the customers present in the store to buy the shares, yet he does not convince anyone to do so. Then, the store proprietor appears. *A portly man whose face was adorned with symmetrical scrolls of yellow hair had come out of a glass cage in the rear of the store and was bearing down upon Anthony* (Fitzgerald 1922:317). Anthony, despite being under the influence of alcohol, still tries, in his drunken voice, to persuade the people present in the store to purchase the shares. The proprietor cries that he will have Anthony taken up by the police. Because Anthony persists in making people buy his shares, the proprietor grasps Anthony's arm and tells him to leave the store or otherwise he will call the police. Anthony decides to leave.

Pragmatic import. In the dialogue between Anthony Patch and the store proprietor, it is undoubtedly the proprietor who enjoys the superior position. The very fact that Anthony is the seller and the proprietor is the potential customer puts the proprietor in the more privileged position. In healthy economies, it is usually the buyer who has the last word. Moreover, the proprietor is the owner of the store which makes him feel more self-confident, whereas Anthony seems to be an intruder and unwelcome person in the store. Furthermore, the language and gestures used by the proprietor evidently demonstrate that he is more powerful than Anthony is in the given situation.

While addressing Anthony, the proprietor uses unkind language: *See here, you!, Hey, you! or Get out, or I'll call a policeman* (ibid.). The intended pragmatic result of the analyzed quotation: *I'll have you taken up by the police* is to make Anthony leave the store. The proprietor grasps Anthony's arm sharply, which again demonstrates that he assumes a dominant, more powerful position than Anthony does. The proprietor achieves his goal as he makes Anthony leave the delicatessen. Therefore, the hearer's response to the linguistic stimulus produced by the speaker is exactly as expected by the speaker. In other words, the achieved pragmatic result accords with the intended one. This is probably achieved due to the fact that the proprietor's status is superior in relation to Anthony.

Contextual assessment. The analyzed context evidently demonstrates that the speaker of the utterance (store proprietor) is the dominant character in the dialogue. This becomes apparent if we examine the situational status, behaviour and language of the proprietor. Hence, the causative 'have' that we analyze in the present Case Study is undoubtedly an example of the 'superior' 'have'. The verb is used as one of the attributes utilized by the speaker in order to express his superiority.

Case Study 2:

Table/ Item	Causative <i>have</i> occurrence in <i>The Beautiful and Damned</i> by F. Scott Fitzgerald	Page	Object of causative action
3/15.	(...) I can't tell anything about it until I have it run off.'	328	D-M/F-NH

Situational context. The quotation is part of a dialogue between Gloria Patch and Percy B. Debris. Gloria comes to a film studio for a screen test. The test is done by the director, Percy B. Derbis. During the test Gloria is requested to play a scene according to Mr Debris's indications. The director turns to Gloria with several requests, such as: *You look around for your husband Now—you don't see him... you're curious about the office...* He also tells her to imagine, for instance, that *now the phone rings. Ting-a-ling-a-ling!* and tells her: *Hesitate, and then answer it, or Now hang up! With a bang!* (Fitzgerald 1922:328). Gloria performs all the requests. When the test comes to an end, Mr Debris informs Gloria that he cannot tell anything about Gloria's acting it until he watches the filmed scenes. Gloria leaves the studio.

Pragmatic import. When Gloria comes to the studio, she finds herself dissatisfied with her clothes, which makes her inconveniently concerned. She regrets that she has not *bought a 'misses' dress for the occasion* (Fitzgerald 1922:327). As may be expected on such occasions, Gloria feels tense. The regular sound of the camera worries her, and she wonders if she has made up her face correctly. Naturally, she would like to do well in the test. She is obedient and agreeable to Mr Debris requests.

On the contrary, the director, Mr Debris is rather relaxed and seems to be in a good mood. It is him, out of them two, who definitely dominates the situation and has a superior status in the relation. This results from several factors, the fact that he is the director being undoubtedly the most important one. It is Mr Debris who carries out the test and it is him who will decide whether Gloria can be accepted for the role. Therefore, it is not surprising that this all puts him, in a natural way, in a higher position. In turn, Gloria's inferior position may be also exemplified by her language: *Awful!* or *Terrible, wasn't it?* This stresses her lack of self-confidence and uncertainty (Fitzgerald 1922:328).

The quoted sentence under our scrutiny: *I can't tell anything about it until I have it run off* is a statement which is meant by the speaker to delay informing Gloria about the result of the test (ibid.). As one may expect, this result will be negative. Since Mr Debris is a professional, it is hard to believe that he does not know whether Gloria played well and he has to watch the film in order to form an opinion about Gloria's acting. Therefore, it is plausible to suppose that the director is not fond of Gloria's playing already at the time of acting. Hence, it can be

assumed that the speaker's intended pragmatic result accords with the achieved pragmatic effect (import), when Gloria learns that she has not been given the role.

Contextual assessment. The analyzed context clearly shows that it is the speaker of quoted utterance, Mr Debris, who is the dominant character in the dialogue. This becomes apparent if we scrutinize the status, behaviour and language of both Gloria and Mr Debris. There, the causative 'have' that we analyze in the present Case Study is evidently an instance of the 'superior' 'have' and it is used by the speaker of the quotation to express the speaker's power.

Case Study 3:

Table/ Item	Causative <i>have</i> occurrence in <i>Tender is the Night</i> by F. Scott Fitzgerald.	Page	Object of causative action
7/14.	'I won't have the child brought in.'	383	D-F/F-M

Situational context. The quotation is part of a dialogue between Nicole Diver and Contessa di Minghetti. Dick and Nicole Divers visit Mary North, who is now, after her first husband's death, the Contessa di Minghetti. Dick and Nicole's son claims that he was bathed in dirty water, which causes an unpleasant situation. Dick mistakes the count's sister for a maid, insulting the family's honour. Next morning, Mary enters the Diver's bedroom. She is furious. She asks the couple: *What is this story about Lanier having been bathed in a dirty bath?* She also says: *What is this story that you commanded my husband's sister to clean Lanier's tub?* (ibid.). Dick and Nicole realize that they have mistaken Mary's sister-in-law as a maid. They offer apologies to the woman, but Mary announces that her husbands along with his sisters have left. Mary also says that she had explained to Dick *that when the oldest member of the family (...) marries, (...) the two oldest sisters consecrate themselves to being Himadoun, to being his wife's ladies-in-waiting* (ibid.).

Mary suggests that Lanier clarify the situation with the bathing water. Nicole protests and, since the boy is still in bed, she does not agree to bring him in. Mary opposes and says that she has a right to explain the situation. Nicole persists in not bringing Lanier in. Yet, Dick agrees and the boy comes to talk them. Mary asks the boy how he knew that that water was dirty. The boy replies that it was obvious that the water was dirty as he could see soap-suds in it. Mary continues 'interrogating' the boy, while Nicole objects and tells her to stop it. While Mary is speaking, Nicole interrupts her and again tells Mary to stop questioning Lanier's words. After a while, Dick breaks the tensity with a laugh and Mary says: *It's always like that with children* and she says to the Divers: *You'd be silly to go—Hosain wanted to make this trip anyhow* (Fitzgerald 1934:384). Nevertheless, the argument continues. Dick complains to Mary thusly: *You've gotten so damned dull, Mary.*

Dick's words are the last straw which makes Mary leave the room. The Divers and Mary part on bad terms.

Pragmatic import. In the beginning of the conversation, it is Mary, and not the Divers, who seems to enjoy the dominant and superior position. She is upset and annoyed by the fact that the Divers offended her husband's sister. Her face is *toughened with quiet jerky fury* (Fitzgerald 1934:382). Gradually, however, it is Nicole who assumes the dominant and superior position. When Dick and Nicole ask whether Hosain has left the house because he had felt insulted, Mary confirms, but she does it in hesitating manner. This can be interpreted as a sign of uncertainty, self-confidence or lack of assertiveness. On the contrary, Nicole's attitude demonstrates that she neither fears Mary, nor is she going to obey her. Nicole's language is cold and firm. When requested to bring Lanier in, Nicole strongly objects. She says: *Wait a minute* and she adds: *I won't have that* (Fitzgerald 1934:383).

When Mary insists that the boy come to talk to them and says that she has a right to explain the situation, Nicole persists in not bringing Lanier in. The quotation under our scrutiny: *I won't have the child brought in*, clearly demonstrates that Nicole is self-confident and unrelenting in her decision not to bring the child in. The intended pragmatic import of the quotation is to make the hearer (Mary) aware that the speaker (Nicole) is not going to obey the hearer. In other words, Nicole says that she will not let Mary question the boy. By means of using the causative 'have', Nicole stresses the fact that it is she, not Mary, who has the last word and who will decide about whether the boy will come to talk to them. That Nicole assumes a position that is more powerful than Mary's can be further evidenced by the fact that she is determined to defend her and her family. The fact that she *threw on her clothes as though they were chain mail* also confirms that she is in a martial mood. All those facts confirm the assumption that Nicole assumes the superior position over Mary in the course of the conversation.

Yet, the achieved pragmatic result is completely opposite to the intended one. With Dick's consent, the boy is brought in. Nonetheless, Mary's superior position may still be observed throughout the conversation. When Mary continues to question Lanier, Nicole interrupts Mary as if she wanted to mark her dominance. Finally, it can be easily seen that it is Mary, not Nicole, who tries to ease the situation by saying: *It's always like that with children*. Mary also says to the Divers: *You'd be silly to go—Hosain wanted to make this trip anyhow* (Fitzgerald 1934:384). The above portrays Nicole as the superior interlocutor, whereas Mary is depicted as the weaker and inferior character. Eventually, when the argument continues, Nicole advises her husband to be quiet, but she does not speak to Mary any more.

Contextual assessment. In the beginning of the conversation, it is Mary who seems to be the superior character. Yet, the context makes it rather obvious that the roles are gradually reversed and the speaker of the quotation in question (Nicole) assumes superior status throughout the remaining part of the conversation. This

may be confirmed by Nicole's language. Nicole's use of the causative, 'superior' 'have' is one of the manifestations of her dominance and it is used by the protagonist in order to impose her superiority position on Mary. Definitely, in our Case Study, the use of the 'superior' causative 'have' accords with the higher status of the speaker.

1. Conclusion

Our analysis refers mostly to the dialogued passages in the two novels. Generally, what we have found is that, contrary to our initial assumption, with regard to the gender of the speaker, there is no clear pattern that would link the use of the causative with either male or female speakers. Therefore, the use of the causative 'have' is very much different from that of the causative 'get' (labelled as 'masculine' in our earlier article) in the novels. Pragmatically, we can talk about something like 'unisex' 'have', which is that, as a causative verb, 'have' is a characteristic of both men's as well as women's talk. It should also be noted that 'have' is the expected form while female characters address male ones rather than female ones.

Moreover, we have discovered that there does not seem to be any particular pattern in either the speaker's mood or the speaker's attitude expressed that would trigger the use of the causative verb in question. However, what seems to be a well-defined tendency, when it comes to the speaker-hearer power relation, is that the speaker usually assumes a more superior position than the hearer when he or she uses the causative verb. In this respect, the causative 'have' resembles the causative 'get'. What is very important is that the superiority in most cases is not associated with either gender and it should not be viewed in relation to masculinity or femininity. Hence, we label the causative 'have' not only as 'unisex' but also as 'superior'.

As can be seen above, we have established some very clearly-defined patterns as to the occurrence of the causative 'have' in the dialogued passages in the two novels. As far as our initial assumption is concerned, namely, that the use of the causative 'have' may, similarly to the causative 'get', be associated with masculinity of the speaker, it has proved erroneous. One may be interested, why for the two novels, the above-mentioned patterns found in relation to the causative 'have' do not fully correspond with the patterns established for the causative 'get'. It goes without saying that it is very difficult, if not impossible at all, to answer those questions satisfactorily. Definitely, it would be interesting to compare our findings with other material, be it, fiction or actual utterances gathered in corpora presenting the English language of the USA of the first half of twentieth century. This could undoubtedly shed some more light on the problem. Therefore, we postulate that further research, analysis and examination be performed in order to describe, delimit and define the most prominent motifs not only for the use of the causative 'have', but also for the remaining periphrastic causative verbs, that is, 'cause', 'get', 'let' and 'make'.

Appendix

Table 2. The causative ‘have’ occurrences in *The Beautiful and Damned* by F. Scott Fitzgerald

No.	Quotation	Page	Object of causative action
1.	‘Well, I wouldn’t have you strain yourself. (...)’	81	D-F/M-M
2.	(...) He’d probably have had me quietly assaulted by a delegation of movie supes if you hadn’t invented that phone call.’	91	D-M/F-M
3.	He even figured to a nicety what would happen in the two hours when she would come to his apartment for tea: how the good Bounds would have the windows wide to let in the fresh breeze—but a fire going also lest there be chill in the air—and how there would be clusters of flowers about in big cool bowls that he would buy for the occasion.	104	N-na-NH
4.	(...) I don’t mind playing the fool, and I don’t mind having you do it, but I can’t stand it when we’re together.’	108	D-F/M-M
5.	(...) My dentist told me once a woman came to him and insisted on having two of her teeth covered with gold. (...)’	124	D-M/M-NH
6.	(...) I imagine all the men here have their mustaches stained from drinking their coffee too quickly in the morning.’	145	D-F/M-NH
7.	‘I drove over a fire-hydrant and we had ourselves towed to the garage and then we saw your sign.’	147	D-F/M-MF
8.	(...) Then, after my book came out, I polished up three and had them accepted by one of the magazines that had rejected them before. (...)’	155	D-M/M-NH
9.	(...) And this body of mine—of yours—to have it grow ugly and shapeless? (...)’	168	D-F/M-NH
10.	You have to have some newspaper willing to buy your stuff. (...)’	170	D-M/M-NH
11.	Well, he could identify himself by having them call his apartment.	185	N-na-UH

cd. Table 2

12.	He had it typed in double space—this last as advised by a booklet, “Success as a Writer Made Easy,” by R. Meggs Widdlestien, which assured the ambitious plumber of the futility of perspiration, since after a six-lesson course he could make at least a thousand dollars a month.	250	N-na-NH
13.	(...) It’s late—I have all the windows open and the air outside, is just as soft as spring, yet, somehow, much more young and frail than spring. (...)	295	D-F/M-NH ⁹
14.	‘I’ll have you taken up by the police.’	317	D-M/M-M
15.	(...) I can’t tell anything about it until I have it run off.’	328	D-M/F-NH
16.	‘We had the test run off yesterday afternoon, and Mr Debris seemed to think that for the part he had in mind he needed a younger woman. (...)	330	D-M/F-NH ¹⁰
17.	(...) They say it’s exceptional to have one settled under four or five years.’	333	D-M/F-NH
18.	(...) He had them give me a test, and they decided that I wasn’t young enough for anything except a character part.’	350	D-F/M-UH
19.	‘He’s upstairs— have him paged.’	355	D-M/M-M
20.	“Sagainsa rules to have him paged. (...)	355	D-M/M-M

Table 3. The causative ‘have’ occurrences in *Tender Is the Night* by F. Scott Fitzgerald

No.	Quotation	Page	Object of causative action
1.	‘I’m not going to have MY nose rubbed in the sand. (...)	31	D-F/F-NH
2.	(...) Any day now I expect to have her come down with Powdery Mildew or Fly Speck, or Late Blight.’	42-43	D-M/F-NH
3.	(...) But Mother had her plans made, so Baby went to the ball and danced till two with an ice pack strapped on under her evening dress. (...)	83	D-F/F-NH
4.	(...) You had to have a whole-souled sentimental equipment going back further than you could remember. (...)	85	D-M/MF-NH

⁹ The causative construction appears in a letter written by Gloria Gilbert to Anthony Patch.

¹⁰ The causative construction appears in a letter written by John Bloeckman to Gloria Gilbert.

cd. Table 3

5.	Their voices came from far off, as if they were having experiences different from hers, different and far away, for she was with Dick in her heart, sorry she had come with the Norths, wishing she was at the hotel and him asleep across the hall, or that he was here beside her with the warm darkness streaming down.	118	N-na-NH
6.	This wish was not entirely conscious, especially on the part of Rosemary, who was accustomed to having shell fragments of such events shriek past her head.	127-128	N-na-NH
7.	Intimate to garages, where he had vague business conducted in undertones, to barber shops, to the lobbies of theatres—in such places, at any rate, Dick placed him.	137	N-na-NH
8.	It was about then he had the chasseur telephone to the Divers; by the time he was in touch with them he was in touch also with other friends—and his hunch was to put them all on different phones at once—the result was somewhat general.	152	N-na-M
9.	(...) And you see what happens—the very first thing Nicole has him crawling over the sides of the car as if they were both insane—‘	223	D-F/M-M
10.	(...)Before I knew it, almost in front of my eyes, she had her hair cut off, in Zurich, because of a picture in ‘Vanity Fair.’	223	D-F/M-NH
11.	(...)In the summer father and son walked downtown together to have their shoes shined—Dick in his starched duck sailor suit, his father always in beautifully cut clerical clothes—and the father was very proud of his handsome little boy.	300	N-na-NH
12.	‘Once I had Daddy’s Girl run off just for myself!’	309	D-M/F-NH
13.	They were both chafed, Franz at having his return marred and blurred.	372	N-na-NH
14.	‘I won’t have the child brought in.’	383	D-F/F-M
15.	Resentfully she had the staring coiffeuse remove the towels.	448	N-na-F

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DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRANSLATION AND LANGUAGE LOCALISATION ON THE EXAMPLE OF KASPERSKY LAB'S WEBSITES

Abstract

Language localisation is a concept used not only in translation studies, but also in marketing to denote a process of adapting a product that has been previously translated into different languages to a specific country or region. Analogically to the idea of achieving equivalence in translation, a product that has been localized properly is claimed to have the look and feel of a product originally written and designed for that target market. The present study is based on a contrastive analysis of linguistically and regionally localised Kaspersky's Lab websites with particular attention paid to the descriptions of its products. Its aim is to trace major differences between localisation and translation techniques.

Key words: localisation, translation, Kaspersky's Lab, marketing strategies, transcreation, cultural differences.

Introduction

Translation is a very complex and multi-faceted phenomenon which can be approached from a number of angles. In a nutshell, translation (or the practice of translation) is a set of actions performed by the translator while rendering the source (or original) text (ST) into another language. In the process, the translator makes possible an exchange of information between the users of different languages by producing in the target language (TL or the translating language) a text which has an approximately identical communicative value with the source (or original) text (ST) (Puchała-Ladzińska 2014).

In a broader sense, translation can be understood as a means of not only interlingual, but also intercultural and intermarket communication. The last of these adjectives implies that translation can also refer to transfers of meaning between culture-specific marketplaces where a new product is being introduced and whose consumers must be acquainted and familiarised with it. This leads to the ever increasing need for language localisation which has become one of the main areas of interest within the field of translation studies (Baker 2001, 2009).

Language localisation is a concept used not only in translation studies, but also in marketing to denote a process of adapting a product, whose description has been

previously translated into different languages, to a specific country or region¹. Localisation has been developing as a response to the demands of global marketing and economic phenomena such as internationalisation, standardisation or economies of scale (Ning and Yifeng 2008). It is especially used with reference to new technologies for which global market, such as the Internet (World Wide Web), has become a natural environment.

On the other hand, nowadays more and more companies which previously focused on protected domestic markets are venturing into foreign territories, creating new sources of competition, often targeted to price-sensitive market segments. Consequently, this generates a demand for a new type of translation – localisation – which becomes imperative for large global companies, whose international revenues often exceed fifty percent of their total turnover. They often need to launch marketing campaigns of their products that are specifically tailored to the needs and requirements of local customers. This process involves not only an elaboration of new versions of existing products, but also generates a need for new translations based on cultural readjustments and local market preferences. The resulting innovative terms can be treated as linguistic adaptations and word-for-word translation is replaced by product translation where particularities of specific markets are of primary importance.

To sum up, language localisation involves a comprehensive study of the target culture in order to correctly adapt the product to local needs and traditionally understood translation constitutes only a small element of it. According to Chandler (2008), the localisation process is most generally related to the cultural adaptation and transcreation of software, video games and websites, as well as audio/voiceover, video or other multimedia content, and less frequently to any written translation (which may also involve cultural adaptation processes)². Localisation can be done for regions or countries where people speak different languages or where the same language is spoken. For instance, different varieties of Spanish with differences in all levels of linguistic structure – including lexis, grammar, style and pragmatics – are spoken in Spain and in South America (Lipski 1994). Likewise, word choices and idioms may vary even among countries which share a common language. In the following, I will analyse examples of localisation based on the multi-language data extracted from Kapersky Lab's international websites.

¹ According to Esselink (2000:1), localisation consists of two basic elements: translation and adaptation.

² Transcreation is a term describing a process of creative translation used chiefly by advertising and marketing professionals to refer to adapting a message from one language to another, while maintaining its original intent, style, tone and context (Baker 2001). On the issue of localisation of video games see Bernal-Merino (2015).

Kaspersky Lab and software localisation

As stated on its website, Kaspersky Lab (Лаборатория Касперского) is a global company with local offices registered in 30 countries. Its products are sold on more than 200 national and territorial markets worldwide. The international group is headquartered in Moscow, Russia and it ranks fourth in the global ranking of antivirus vendors. It is specially focused on large enterprises, and small and medium-sized businesses. Increased globalisation has presented Kaspersky Lab with huge opportunities to expand into new markets and the Internet has drastically lowered the barriers to entry, leaving the language barrier as the main obstacle. These characteristics make Kasperky Lab a good example of a company heavily dependent on language localisation. It seems also fairly justified to believe that this technique of communicating with clients has become the multinational corporation's one of most treasured assets.

Kaspersky Lab's main website is in English³. The fact shows that this primarily Russian company treats English as its main language and this confirms the global supremacy of English in business. Another conclusion which can be drawn in these circumstances is that English should be treated as the source language in which the majority of products are described and by means of which communication with the potential customer takes place. The source language becomes a matrix for the numerous national target versions. The system is flexible enough, however, to allow for occasional inputs from other languages than English, for example Russian, but these will immediately be converted into English, still remaining its core component, and subsequently transferred into national languages.

It must be stressed that the whole process of language transfer used by Kaspersky Lab in communicating with its clients cannot be described as *reproductive translation*, but it should be referred to as *creative localisation* instead. Notice that although Kaspersky Lab's main website is in English, the national versions are not its identical copies, but they constitute independent sites with distinctive features and dynamics of their own. Another trait typical of localisation, as opposed to parallel translation, is that the national sites are accessed not by clicking on a flag representing a particular language or country, but by choosing one of five regions and finding a desired country within the group. In this way, the customer is redirected to the market s/he makes part of. The national and territorial websites seem to be quite independent as far as format and content they display are concerned.

Adhering to the localisation principle which says that communicating in your target market's everyday language is a key to achieving commercial success, the company allows its customers to choose not only a country, but also a language of their preference. That is why some countries are listed twice in two different language categories or sometimes two or more countries are grouped together.

³ The website www.kaspersky.com functions as a default address for the whole group. Kaspersky Lab refers to it as 'our global website'.

Where a user lives does not necessarily determine their native language. For example, ‘Nederland & België’ represent one target market and ‘Belgique & Luxembourg’ another one while Switzerland belongs simultaneously to three different markets with three differently customised websites. This is also the reason why there are as many as fifteen websites in English. These are marked as: Canada, United States, Caribbean, UK & Ireland, Finland, Middle East, Africa, Australia, India, New Zealand, Oceania, South-East Asia, Indonesia, Philippines, Asia Pacific.

All of the national or territorial versions are advertised independently and can be accessed directly by means of typical for a given country address, e.g. www.kaspersky.pl or www.kaspersky.ru. As a result of this market-specific strategy enhanced by search-friendly URLs, most customers can be either unaware of other language versions or do not feel any need to use them. This shows that localisation, represented here as the process of adapting brand’s identity and message for different cultures and audiences, is extremely important as different groups react differently to various symbols and create conceptualisations of their own. It goes without saying that each of the groups of clients must be catered for in a different way. The ideal situation is when clients feel that the product has been intended specifically for them and it suits their individual requirements.

Displaying dates, times and prices in the preferred local formats is also recommended as it avoids confusion and allows for an improved user experience and his/her higher engagement. This is why all Kaspersky Lab’s websites display prices in the local currency. Moreover, users in different countries also have different payment options at their disposal. For instance, the Polish version relies on the PayU system, iDeal is the preferred payment method of online buyers in the Netherlands, PayPal and Wire Transfer in Serbia, users in China prefer Alipay, Tenpay, users in Russia opt for sms payments and many prefer to pay cash on delivery.

Localisation of names of basic categories and products

The process of localisation is labour-intensive and often requires a significant amount of time from the development teams. Table 1 given below illustrates that even very basic classes of products can be categorised in very different ways when the preferences of the local market are taken into account. In the table, major classes from selected language and territorial websites are presented.

Table 1. Classes of Kaspersky Lab's products and services with their target market localisations

Global, Australia, Middle East, India, New Zealand	security for home		security for business		security for small business	
Finland	security for home		security for small business		security for business	
Africa	security for home		security for small office		security for business	
Portugal	segurança para casa		segurança para empresas		segurança para escritórios	
México, Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Caribe, América Latina	seguridad para el hogar		para pequeños negocios		para empresas	
Polska	ochrona dla domu		ochrona dla biznesu		ochrona dla małego biznesu	
Česká republika	produkty pro domácnosti		produkty pro firmy		produkty <u>pro kancelář</u>	
Россия	для дома		для малого бизнеса		для бизнеса	
Srbija	za kućnu upotrebu		za male kancelarije		za preduzeća	
United States, Oceania, South-East Asia, Philippines, Indonesia	security for home				security for business	
UK & Ireland	for home	for business	onlineshop	trials & updates	support	
Brasil	para casa	para empresas	loja online	suporte	downloads	
France & Suisse	particuliers	entreprises	boutique	assistance	téléchargements	
Italia & Svizzera	utenti privati	aziende	compra online	assistenza	prova gratuita	
España	particulares	empresas	tienda online	soporte	descargas	

As can be seen in Table 1, there are substantial differences in the categorisation and sequencing of the main groups of products. Table 1 contains only the most important types and its aim is to present them in such a way that the most frequently reoccurring classes and patterns could be visible. First of all, the most basic division is made into 'products for individual users' and 'products for businesses'. This fundamental distinction is used for United States and regions influenced by it. Notice, however, that the most common division is based on three classes and US market seems to be an exception in not distinguishing between 'business' and 'small business'. A possible explanation of this situation is that the adjective 'small', especially when referring to business, may not evoke too many

positive associations in American culture. It is a well known fact that Americans are obsessed with grandiosity and always prefer big cars, big houses, big sizes. As a result, the category of 'small business' could be discouraging or even offensive for some customers.

Even from a very cursory analysis of Table 1, it becomes obvious that the names of categories are not word-for-word translations, but rather in each of the classes meaning is shaped and modelled in various ways to suit local expectations and to adapt to local preferences. This can be sometimes accounted for by linguistic limitations, stylistic tastes, cultural incompatibility, but the ultimate motivation is always customer's satisfaction and successful communication. These factors determine localiser's freedom of choice and guide him/her in the search for the best local equivalents.⁴

Table 1 demonstrates that localisation in a way resembles very free and loose translation. At the same time, the localiser has a much greater freedom than translator. On the other hand, s/he has to be more creative, more market-oriented and more responsible. Unlike a translator, a localiser is not invisible, but s/he is directly involved in a business situation where more freedom and bigger risks can mean either bigger profits or losses. We must bear in mind that the most important characteristic of exchanges in the business context is a sense of purpose. Language is used to achieve an end, and its successful use is seen in terms of a successful outcome to the business transaction or event (Sobkowiak 2008:136).

The names of the products are mostly kept in the source language version while being localised. This procedure allows for precision and acts as a guarantee of quality for the customer. Thus, the names of products such as e.g. *Kaspersky Internet Security – Multi-Device* or *Kaspersky Office Security* are preserved in the same form in, for instance, English, Polish, Serbian, Hungarian, Spanish, French, German and even Thai, Korean and Arabic. The only exceptions here are Chinese and Japanese which use characters instead of letters and where native equivalents are preferred. A few websites use partly nativised versions of the names of standard products and this preference is regionally rather than linguistically dependent. For example, while the Spanish website opts for exclusively English names of products, in South America they are slightly modified and some words are translated. Thus, *Kaspersky Internet Security – multidispositivos* is used as a semantic calque of *multi-device*. The same technique is chosen for Russian, e.g.: *Kaspersky Internet Security – для всех устройств*. Notice that the translated elements are only extensions of the names which include some additional information about the product. By deciding to render them in the native language, the localiser makes sure that this key message is understood by the customer.

⁴ By the term 'localiser', I mean a member of a team of experts working on a complex localisation project rather than a single person working on his/her own. Notice that, in most circumstances, successful localisation can be achieved as a group work and not single-handedly.

At the same time the integrity of the product and a sense of continuity are preserved because the new product is still associated with the original English name. In other cases, however, localisation must resort to brand evaluation to determine the appropriateness of a brand name, logo or imagery.

Comparison of localised descriptions of the same product

Software localisation is the translation and adaptation of a software or web product, including the software itself and all related product documentation. Traditional translation is typically an activity performed after the source document has been finalised. Software localisation projects, on the other hand, often run in parallel with the development of the source product to enable simultaneous shipment of all language versions. For example, the translation of software strings may often start while the software product is still in the beta phase (Esselink 2000). This is the reason why localised versions may be very different from one another and difficult to compare. What is more, it is very often hard to find parallel stretches of text that would refer to exactly the same information and that would share identical semantic content. Below selected descriptions of one product – Kaspersky Internet Security-Multi-Device – are quoted. All of them include the first paragraph describing the same software extracted from the localised websites.

(Global) Platform solution for PCs, Macs & Android... Kaspersky Internet Security – Multi-Device is the easy-to-use, one-licence, multi-platform security solution that protects virtually any combination of PCs, Macs, Android smartphones and Android tablets to give you:

(USA) Kaspersky Internet Security – Multi-Device provides award-winning security that's customized to your everyday devices. Whether you connect with a PC, Mac, Android tablet or smartphone, our advanced real-time technology gives you an easy, worry-free experience that moves as fast as the web can take you.

(UK) Platform solution for PCs, Macs & Android... The Internet has the same dangers whether you're using a computer or a mobile device. Kaspersky Internet Security – Multi-Device is the one-license solution that protects your digital identity, finances & children – on your PC, Mac or Android phone or tablet.

(NZ) One-licence security solution to protect your digital assets on PC, Mac, Android smartphones and tablets. With full flexibility across desktop and mobile devices Kaspersky Internet Security – Multi-Device delivers award-winning real-time protection of your valuable information against all the Internet threats. Whatever device you use, feel safe to bank, shop or browse the web, as Kaspersky security technologies ensure your sensitive data and identity are protected.

(PL) *Ochrona dla komputerów PC, Mac oraz urządzeń z systemem Android... Kaspersky Internet Security - multi-device to łatwe w użyciu, wieloplatformowe rozwiązanie zapewniające ochronę dowolnej kombinacji komputerów PC i Mac oraz smartfonów i tabletów z Androidem - wszystko przy użyciu jednej licencji.*

(RU) *Kaspersky Internet Security для всех устройств — единое комплексное решение для защиты любых устройств на платформах Windows®, Android™ и Mac OS.*

The general impression is that these texts have not been produced as a result of traditional ST-TT translation, but rather that they have been created from scratch on the basis of common facts and data. An obvious advantage of this technique is that the resulting target text has an air of naturalness and is optimally adjusted to the expectations of the target audience. A software product that has been localised properly has the look and feel of a product originally written and designed for the target market. This shows that localisation is not just about translating the source text into the target language, but it is about conveying the correct marketing message in the target market.

There can also be a need of cultural mismatches, issues of tone and writing style to be taken into account. Sometimes it can be a matter of individual sensitivity or attention to detail. All of these demands require a certain specialised mindset on the part of the localiser. For example, some of the Kaspersky Lab's websites include testimonials where satisfied customers express their options about the products and services offered. In other cases, sections with questions about the functioning of a product, technicalities or problems pertaining to online shopping receive more prominence.

Quoting exact words in localisation

Another example of how cultural adaptation and transcreation rather than literal translation is achieved in localisation is the comparison of the same quotation with a motto describing the company's mission uttered by Eugene Kaspersky, Chairman and CEO of Kaspersky Lab, extracted from different websites:

(RU) *Мы здесь, чтобы спасти мир. Мы считаем, что каждый должен иметь возможность получать от технологий максимум, не опасаясь при этом вторжения в личное цифровое пространство. Благодаря команде наших специалистов вы можете обитать в цифровом мире, не тревожась за личную информацию и финансовые средства. Мы разрабатываем, производим и продаем решения, обеспечивающие защиту наших клиентов от информационных угроз и позволяющие компаниям управлять ИТ-рисками.*

(USA) *We believe that everyone – from home computer users and small companies to large corporations and governments – has the right to be free from cyber-security fears. We have therefore made it our mission to provide the world's most effective, responsive and efficient protection against cyber-threats: those from malware, spam, hackers, DDoS attacks, sophisticated cyber-espionage tools, and cyber-weapons that target countries' critical infrastructure with potentially catastrophic consequences. We're here to protect our users from them all.*

(PL) *Jesteśmy przekonani, że każdy ma prawo do korzystania z pełnego potencjału internetu bez konieczności martwienia się o bezpieczeństwo. Z tego powodu naszą misją stało się stworzenie najefektywniejszej i najwydajniejszej ochrony przed cyberzagrożeniami na świecie. Chronimy przed szkodliwym oprogramowaniem, spamem, hakerami, narzędziami cyberszpiegowskimi i wieloma innymi zagrożeniami. Jesteśmy tu po to, by ochronić użytkowników przed tym wszystkim.*

(UK) *We are here to save the world.*

(Mexico) *Creemos que todos deberían poder obtener el máximo provecho de la tecnología, sin intrusiones ni otras preocupaciones de seguridad. Nuestro equipo de especialistas de primera le da la libertad de vivir su vida digital sin tener que preocuparse por sus activos e información personal. Desde hace más de diecisiete años, nuestro equipo de expertos trabaja para exponer, analizar y neutralizar amenazas a la tecnología de la información. A lo largo del camino, hemos acumulado una enorme experiencia y conocimiento sobre malware y cómo lidiar con él.*

The most striking observation based on the example given above is that all of these texts are meant to refer to the exact words spoken by Eugene Kaspersky, but in reality they differ both in semantic quality and formal quantity. In each case, the localised version is substantially different and the discrepancies go far beyond what we are used to consider translator's freedom of choice or translator's standards of faithfulness (Piotrowska 2011). Notice that the first sentence from the Russian version is omitted in all the remaining quotations except for the British one, in which it constitutes the whole message and where the rest of the utterance is deleted. This shows that the localiser works on the principle of selecting only those elements which s/he thinks are the most appealing and suitable for her/his audience. Another tool visible here is paraphrasing and modification rather than faithful translation. To put it in other words, one can observe in this example a shift away from the source-oriented treatment of translation towards autonomous and independently functioning target language texts.⁵

⁵ The phenomenon of target-oriented approaches to translation is discussed in Szal (2014).

The localiser takes into consideration not only local culture, political and social situation, but also stylistic preferences of the customer and his/her expertise in a given field. For example, in the American version there is a long list of possible Internet threats, full of technical words, containing six specific entities: *malware*, *spam*, *hackers*, *DDoS attacks*, *sophisticated cyber-espionage tools*, and *cyber-weapons*. The same list, however, is shortened in all the other versions. Thus, in the Polish version there are only four elements, whereas in the Russian and Mexican version there are merely very general Internet threats mentioned with no list of specific types.

Conclusions

The presented study was based on a contrastive analysis of linguistically and regionally localised Kaspersky Lab's websites with a particular attention paid to the descriptions of its products. The choice of this multi-language material has allowed me to make some observations about differences between traditionally understood translation and language localisation which will be summarised here.

As has been argued, localisation is becoming more and more important area in need of specialists. Localisation can be understood as a type of translation process whereby the source culture-specific market content is adapted to evoke a similar meaning or connotation in the target culture-specific market. A successfully localised product or service is one that appears to have been developed within the local culture. In this sense, localisation is similar to translation because both try to establish equivalence.⁶ There are, however, substantial differences between the two processes.

First of all, localisation is much broader, more complex, more dynamic and multi-dimensional in comparison to translation. Conversely, translation can be treated only as one component in the many level structure of localisation. Linguistic equivalence is not the sole objective that a localiser must achieve. His/her main task is to locate a given product on a foreign market and this involves marketing strategies, cultural adaptation as well as linguistic issues. As a result, localisation has more to do with transcreation than traditional translation. Localisation is more creative, requires more knowledge and a lot more practice. This is the reason why localisation is usually carried out as a team project by experts from different fields and not by freelancers.

On the other hand, however, localisation has a much more limited scope of application and is performed within a restricted context of use. Its only concern is successful communication with clients. Localisation is intrinsically market-oriented and the message being transmitted is always related to the products or services offered. In contrast to specialist languages, where communication takes place in a narrow S2S (specialist to specialist) channel, here interaction involves

⁶ On the issue of equivalence in the translation of economic texts see Pikor-Niedziałek (2014).

communicating the value of a product to customers for the purpose of selling it. As a result, the code used in localisation must be not only very clear and understandable, but also must be perceived as being transparent. In other words, it must be the kind of message the customer is used to and is likely to treat as his/her own.

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THE STUDENTS' INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTION INTO THE PROCESS OF LEARNING FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Abstract

The article attempts to show the importance of students' individual features in the process of learning foreign languages. The author emphasizes the role of individualization introduced in Polish schools to which teachers are obliged to while working with students. In order to achieve this goal, a number of environmental and individual learner factors have to be discussed. The individual differences, viz., age, sex, intelligence, aptitude, motivation, learning styles and strategies, as well as personality are defined and classified. The paper concludes by emphasizing that a particular foreign language teacher must recognize the individual differences in her/his students in order to provide effective language learning.

Key words: *individualization, second language acquisition, individual learner differences.*

Introduction

Wherever you want to go, you have no choice but to start from where you are.
[Karl Popper]

When foreign language teachers wonder which way they should follow before they enter a classroom, it would be a good idea to ask themselves what their goals are. At the very beginning they ought to consider what they want to achieve. How about making an attempt to get familiar with the best features of their students and taking advantage of it in the arduous but fascinating process of teaching? What do differ the students?

The success often depends on many different factors, among which there are environmental differences and individual learner differences. Both groups are of great importance. However, some experts active in the field advocate the view that apart from those factors that influence the acquisition of a foreign language in general, there is a much more important set of such influences that vary from one

learner to another and differ according to a learner's inner characteristics (cf. Eddy, 2011).

Let me start with explaining the phenomenon of environmental differences. The first important aspects of the issue are the following: *social environment* and *mastering the mother tongue*. Many times in one class we have to cooperate with students who come from differing social backgrounds, and the fact is that the social environment sometimes helps but often may hinder student learning. From the foreign language point of view, environmental differences have a strong impact on the achievement of success. This is because there is a clear correlation between the wealth of the mother tongue and proficiency in handling it, and success in learning a foreign language. The child's environment strongly influences the level of mastering of the mother tongue. Great difficulty in learning a foreign language encounter children from environments where the closest family presents a poor vocabulary. It is easier to learn a foreign language to students from families in which they introduce a correct language with a rich vocabulary, and where a great emphasis on talking to each other, contacting openly and communicating easily is put.

Another significant indicator worth mentioning here is *the education of the mother*. Despite the equality, Mother usually spends the most time with the child when it is still small and unable to speak. It is mostly her way of using language that shapes the language of the child. In general, though not in every case, parents' education is strongly associated with the family participation in culture. It should be noted that the live contact with the culture, eg.: number of read books, newspapers, magazines, frequency of visiting the cinemas, theatres, art galleries and museums, has a major impact on the child's own language.

Environment also plays a big role in sizes of *material support* which a student receives in the form of dictionaries, educational maps or games, CD players, cable television, the Internet or even their own place to work. In my opinion, psychological support from family is the most important, therefore encouragement and constant emphasizing that science in general, and learning foreign languages in particular, for parents should be paramount. Such parents' attitude is defined as the high *educational aspirations* in the family.

The teacher has to learn how to distinguish who of her/his students have additional environmental difficulties in learning, and who, despite their abilities, put too little effort and commitment in the proces of gaining new material. Of course, environmental differences do not always determine success or failure in learning a foreign language. However, students surrounded by the support of the environment are much easier to succeed. In the case of identical environmental situation of students, their learning depends on their individual differences (cf. Komorowska, 2009: 119).

Individualization in Polish schools

The significance of the process of individualization in Polish schools is beyond any conceivable doubt, yet it is generally observed that foreign language educators are not aware of the methodologies that emphasize the aspect of obligatory focusing on their students' special needs.

In the regulation of the Ministry of Education (from November 17th 2010, as amended) relating to the principles of provision and organisation of psychological-pedagogical help in public kindergartens, schools and institutions, the special list of students with specific needs is presented (Dziennik Ustaw nr 228, poz. 1487, § 6.1): [...] *Students with special educational needs:*

- *students with disabilities,*
- *students after chronic disease,*
- *socially maladjusted students or students at risk for social maladjustment,*
- *students with specific learning difficulties (eg. : dyslexia, dysgraphia, dyscalculia, left-handedness),*
- *students with language disorders,*
- *students with traumatic experiences,*
- *students with educational failure,*
- *environmentally neglected students,*
- *students with adaptive problems related to cultural differences or a change of learning environment (eg.: prior training abroad),*
- *particularly gifted students,*
- *others ... (individualization).*

According to this regulation teachers are obliged to accommodate their educational requirements to the individual needs of the students with specific learning difficulties. Therefore, teachers are supposed to individualize work with the students during mandatory lessons and additional educational activities, according to the students' developmental and educational needs, as well as their psycho-physical capabilities.

As pointed out by Buda, Anna Włodarczyk-Stachurska and Wojton-Rzeszowska (2012) *the diversity of factors influencing learning (mental and physical diseases, social conditions) stand on their way to achieving any goal successfully. It is a real challenge for the teacher to cope with any difficulties he or she encounters in the educational process.* However, nowadays the teachers permanently educate themselves, especially in the field of special pedagogy.

The advantage of working with such students is that all the students learn naturally and subconsciously. This thesis can be supported by the statement by Ryszard Wenzel (2000: 98), at cited in Buda, Anna Włodarczyk-Stachurska and Wojton-Rzeszowska (2012), who claim that *[children possess] natural drives to learn and create in a direct contact with the surrounding world, curiosity and imagination being the most characteristic features of [...] the motivation. [...] children are not aware of these drives, so in this way the notion "natural" becomes associated with "subconscious" .*

It is the author's belief that more attention should be given to acquaint the pre-service and in-service teachers of English as a foreign language with the nature of individualization as well as with the effective teaching methods and techniques that they could employ while working with the students with special educational needs during English classes. Let me stress that the principle of individualization take into account the following aspects: student's predisposition, his / her interests, abilities, passion, love, environment in which he / she exists, the desire to achieve the objectives pursued and the desire to get to know himself / herself better. The essence and purpose of individualization is: to promote the development of the individual, to aim education at eliminating negative differences between students and stimulate them to creative actions, to mobilize learners for effective work, to follow the changes, to initiate creative and innovative activities, to study science, to participate actively and intentionally in the education process.

The individual characteristics of students – important differences

As indicated earlier, the author wants to focus on discussing the individual learner factors and she would like to find the answer to the questions: Why do some people almost achieve the native speaker's levels of competence in a foreign language while others never seem to progress much beyond a beginner's level? What is the difference to our students? What is their individuality? The individual differences, according to Dörnyei, (2005) *are enduring personal characteristics that are assumed to apply to everybody and on which people differ by degree*. Within individual learner differences, there are a number of factors that influence foreign language acquisition. Most authors state that age, sex, motivation and attitude, learning style / strategy and attitude / intelligence are of crucial importance. According to many research works (Ellis, 1985; Reilly, 1988) personality and cognitive style play an important role, too. Clearly, they are important as they are considered the key aspects in acquisition of a foreign language. According to Harmer (2007: 17):

[...] Whatever their reasons for learning (or circumstances in which it takes place), it is sometimes tempting to see all students as being more or less the same. Yet there are marked differences not only in terms of their age and level, but also in terms of different individual abilities, knowledge and preferences.

Some of the above mentioned aspects of individual learner differences seems to be easy to discuss, yet they remain a nuisance because they are persistently difficult to define. Some of them are intricately interlocked with each other and in totality play important roles in language learning (Eddy, 2011). In a sequence, I will examine and take a look at their role in second language learning in this article.

Age

Following Harmer's division (cf. 2007: 14), learners are often described as children (about 2 to about 14 years old), very young learners (between 2 and 5 years old), young learners (about 5 to 9 years old), adolescents (about 12 to 17 years old), young adults (between 16 to 20 years old) or adults.

Let me start with the statement that the age of our students is a major factor in our decisions about how and what to teach. People of different ages have different needs, competences, and cognitive skills. At a very outset let me draw reader's attention to the question that is intuitively intriguing to teachers: *Are children more successful second language learners than adults?* It should be noted that a lot of teachers might believe that children of primary age acquire much of a foreign language through play, for instance, whereas for adults they can reasonably expect a greater use of abstract thought. There are a number of commonly held beliefs about age. One of the key authorities in the science of methodology of teaching foreign languages, viz. Harmer (2005:37) is of the opinion that children learn languages faster than adults do. It often occurs that some people give the examples of kids who pick up new languages effortlessly. However, we should account for the fact that with language, according to Pinker (1994: 293): *acquisition ... is guaranteed for children up to the age of six, is steadily compromised from then until shortly after puberty, and is rare thereafter*. Along similar lines, Saville-Troike (2006:89) tries to characterize success in second language acquisition:

[...] Some define success as initial rate of learning while other studies define it as ultimate achievement. Also, some studies define „success” in terms of how close the learner's pronunciation is to a native speaker's, others in terms of how closely a learner approximates native grammaticality judgments and still others in terms of fluency or functional competence.

Some experts active in the field (eg.: Lenneberg, E. H., 1967) advocate the view that there is a critical period for foreign language acquisition. A critical period means that beyond a particular age successful acquisition of a second language is not possible due to psychological changes in the brain (Kim et al., 1997). This is supported by proponents of Critical Period Hypothesis, which states that human beings are optionally suited to learn certain types of behaviour, including foreign language abilities, during a certain age span, and that after this period has passed, learning such behaviour is difficult or impossible. Note that some authors, such as Bridsong (1999) go further still. Namely, as far as critical period hypothesis is concerned, research has found that different critical periods may apply to different language skills. Furthermore, some researches suggest that the critical period in its original conception only concerns pronunciation and native-like accent and that other levels of the target language need to be involved (Bongaerts, 1999). Moreover, adult learners can even outperform younger learners in acquisition of second language grammar. Controversial as it is, for a long time, a debate on the

existence or absence of a critical period of language learning has been going on in the field of SLA (Krashen, 2002).

So how much difference does age make? Long (1990) argues that for language learners of more than 15 years of age, it is difficult to acquire native like fluency and an absence of „an accent”. Some people say that adolescents are unmotivated, uncooperative and lazy, and therefore they make poor language learners. There are also those who are of the opinion that adults have so many barriers to learning, that they very seldom have any success.

The critical period hypothesis is yet to be tested at the scientific level and SLA theories have a long way to before the find a clear and final answer to the fascinating question of why and how children seem to be better second language learners.

Komorowska (2009:120) presents her point of view as far as the myth of the extraordinary effectiveness of teaching children is concerned. She explains two cases: mastery of the mother tongue by the child and learning it in foreign language environment. Learning the mother tongue in the family environment is actually the extremely efficient process, because we can notice that 2-3-year-olds speak fluently in their native language. This process stops to amaze if you carefully count the hours of learning. Assuming only about a ten-hour-contact with the language during standby, after 2-3 years it gives 7-10 thousand hours of real contact with the language. Bearing in mind the fact that the average language course consists of about 100 hours a year, the results obtained by the child no longer look so spectacularly, especially if you pay attention to a small extent and structural simplicity of children's speech.

In contrast, learning a second language, which involves for example emigration or foreign adoption, is characterized by a huge number of hours of learning a day, but also a strong motivation. The desire to communicate with others becomes an issue of the physical and social survival of the child in the new environment.

Research on the role of the age factor in learning a foreign language show that the most positive results conducive to the length of learning, not to its starting age. Here, I am inclined to adopt the view that the more we learn, the more we know, so it is wise to start learning a foreign language as early as possible, as outlined in Komorowska's work (2009: 120). She also emphasizes the fact that both groups of children and adults reveal some strengths and weaknesses in learning a foreign language. It should be added at this point that children have many features which are missing adult learners. These are mainly: spontaneity, plasticity of speech organs, trust, unlimited time off from other duties, lack of fear and inhibitions from speaking, willingness to take risk, the ability of quick memorizing, activity and willingness to adapt fast to new situations. Evidently, children have some difficulties, too: a small capacity of child's memory which is equivalent to rapid forgetting, short attention span, lack of literacy, which excludes own work, lack of skills to learn, undeveloped logical memory, which is often impossible to ensure grammatical correctness.

To conclude, one feels justified in saying that for these reasons mastery of the language, with the exception of a perfect pronunciation, is possible at any age. However, the students must achieve the goal by different ways.

Sex

Although nowadays it is fair to argue that males and females are equal human beings, they demonstrate different features – not just physically, but also mentally. They are said to perform differently in everyday activities or to think in different ways. As the way of thinking is closely related to use of language, it is quite predictable that the ways they learn and acquire languages will be different. In the same time, it is evident that gender can have a significant impact on how students learn a language. In the 1990's many studies of individual language learner differences related to sex (biological) or gender (socially constructed) have found that females tend to show greater integrative motivation and more positive attitudes to L2, and use a wider range of learning strategies, particularly social strategies (Oxford, Nyikos & Ehrman, 1988). As a matter of fact, as for the problem whether difference exists between male and female in terms of learning a language, Larsen-Freeman & Long (2000) believed that in the process of first language acquisition female excel male, at least at the early stage. Zhuanglin (1989) highlighted that, it was generally believed that male and female are born with different linguistic advantages, such as, female learn to speak earlier than male, and female learn a foreign language faster and better than male, etc.

In recent years it has been easy to observe an accelerated growth in the level of interest shown in sex as a differentiating factor in much of human behavior, that also applies to students learning a foreign language. There is some evidence of differences in a man and woman's brain, which definitely affects the way and effectiveness of second language learning. The research shows that, statistically, girls are more likely to frequent, spontaneous expression, tend to be slower but more accurate at work, the approval of the teacher is important for them, therefore, they are more likely to do the housework and perform teacher's commands. What is more, girls also tend to cooperate in a group better than boys. On the other hand, boys statistically show more initiative in the individual work, often exhibit a logical memory which facilitates learning grammar, they appreciate taking part in competitive actions, so boys participate in language games and competitions willingly (Komorowska, 2009:121).

While taking into consideration the above-mentioned features, the undeniable fact that should be stressed here is: the presented characteristics are only of some general trends that cannot be generalized. However, differences will be noticeable in larger groups. It is worth to take them into account in the teaching profession while formulating the expectations and planning the classes.

Intelligence

According to Komorowska (2009: 122) intelligence is most often related to the ability of coping with the new situation and adapting to it. The role of intelligence is generally stronger in the early stages of language learning. It decreases at advanced level, when knowledge becomes more important. In any case, the teacher works more easily with an intelligent student, who deals well in absorbing new material. The great popularity has a new approach to the intelligence suggesting that intelligence consists of several different components. The well-known scientist, an American developmental psychologist, Howard Gardner, lists seven types of intelligence:

- *Visual-Spatial* – students think in terms of physical space, as do architects and sailors; they are very aware of their environments, like to draw, do jigsaw puzzles, read maps, daydream; they can be taught through drawings, verbal and physical imagery; tools include models, graphics, charts, photographs, drawings, 3-D modeling, video, videoconferencing, television, multimedia, texts with pictures / charts / graphs.
- *Bodily-Kinesthetic* – students use the body effectively, like a dancer or a surgeon; they are keen on sense of body awareness; they like movement, making things, touching; they communicate well through body language and be taught through physical activity, hands-on learning, acting out, role playing; tools include equipment and real objects.
- *Musical* – students show sensitivity to rhythm and sound and love music, but they are also sensitive to sounds in their environments; they may study better with music in the background and can be taught by turning lessons into lyrics, speaking rhythmically, tapping out time; tools include musical instruments, music, radio, stereo, CD-ROM, multimedia.
- *Interpersonal* – students understand and interact with others – they learn through interaction; they have many friends, empathy for others, street smarts and can be taught through group activities, seminars, dialogues; tools include the telephone, audio conferencing, time and attention from the instructor, video conferencing, writing, computer conferencing, e-mail.
- *Intrapersonal* – students understand one's own interests and goals – these learners tend to shy away from others; they are in tune with their inner feelings, have wisdom, intuition and motivation, as well as a strong will, confidence and opinions; they can be taught through independent study and introspection; tools include books, creative materials, diaries, privacy and time; they are the most independent of the learners.
- *Linguistic* – students use words effectively and have highly developed auditory skills and often think in words; they like reading, playing word games, making up poetry or stories and can be taught by encouraging them to say and see words, read books together; tools include computers, games, multimedia, books, tape recorders, and lecture.

- *Logical-Mathematical* – students reason and calculate, think conceptually, abstractly and are able to see and explore patterns and relationships; they like to experiment, solve puzzles, ask cosmic questions and can be taught through logic games, investigations, mysteries; they need to learn and form concepts before they can deal with details.

In the light of this concept in learning a foreign language the linguistic intelligence would cooperate successfully. In the process of mastering grammar logical-mathematical intelligence would be helpful, in mastering the pronunciation – music, conversation and learning – interpersonal intelligence would be of great importance. Other types of intelligence have a supporting role in teaching a foreign language.

Aptitude

Skehan (1989) believes that aptitude has consistently been linked with L2 success, but remains one of the under investigated areas of SLA. Many language aptitude tests like TOEFL, IELTS have been used for a long period to test the aptitude of a second language learner of English. Carroll (1963: 67-102), who along with Sapon created the Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT) which was designed to predict success foreign language learning, provides us with the following four types of abilities that constitute aptitude:

- 1) phonemic coding ability (discriminates and encodes foreign sounds),
- 2) grammatical sensitivity (recognizes functions of words in sentences),
- 3) inductive language learning ability (infers or induces rules from samples),
- 4) memory and learning (makes and recalls associations between words and phrases in L1 and L2).

Many scholars believe that aptitude alone does not determine the language learning ability of an individual. Skehan (1989) further concludes that language-learning aptitude *is not completely distinct from general cognitive abilities, as represented by intelligence tests, but it is far from the same thing*. Moreover, aptitude can only predict success in second language acquisition; it cannot explain the reasons behind it.

Motivation

Motivation to learn a language is considered one of the most plausible reasons of success at second language acquisition. Gardner (1985) says that motivation = effort + desire to achieve goal + attitudes. According to Gardner and Lambert (1972) the following two types of motivation exist:

1. *Integrative*: found in individuals who want are interested in the second language in order to integrate with and become a part of a target community / culture; here the learner wants to resemble and behave like the target community.
2. *Instrumental*: found in individuals who want to get learn a second language with the objective of getting benefits from the second language skill.

Objectives, such as business advancement, increase in professional status, educational goals etc. motivate an individual to learn a second language in this case.

In most of the motivation research, the relationship between motivation and second language achievement has been shown as a strong one. But whether the achievement drives motivation or motivation drives achievement is yet to be tested.

Motivation, which is striving to achieve the objective may be associated in a foreign language with a variety of stimuli. In school learning, the major stimulus of learning is a stimulus of safety, especially for students with low self-esteem and high anxiety. It is also important to gain recognition motif among teachers, parents and classmates. The aspect of achievements is also important, and thus demonstrate certain skills and successes. There will also be a cognitive theme when the student takes pleasure in learning the language and understanding the culture and customs of another country, as well.

Among other underlying motivations of learning a foreign language we may find motifs of cognition, when we learn language as a result of fascination with it and its culture or instrumental motives, if we learn in order to gain favorable earnings or interesting work obtained through using the particular language fluently. In the case of lack of intrinsic motivation among students, teachers sometimes bring the external motives – the motives of coercion. Motivation is not given once and for all, so you can shape it and influence it, that largely depends on the teacher.

In various age groups motivation is shaped in another manner. Children's motivation to learn stems from sympathy for the teacher, and liking the teacher is often equal to liking the subject. So it is associated with the formation of a positive relationship "student / teacher". The best way to improve motivation among children is taking care of a good, friendly, conducting to learning atmosphere, with mutual respect and understanding, fair assessment and providing a sense of humor during the lessons. Teens and older students are subjected to similar laws, but it is hard for them to learn the subject if a disliked person teaches it. A positive attitude to the teacher is due to the recognition of the teaching competence. It is more difficult to maintain motivation among students at this age, because after a few years of learning, a foreign language has lost its charm of novelty. You should choose the topics of classes, attractive textbooks, interesting working methods and techniques carefully. Adults' motivation is usually already formed, so the teacher usually has less impact on its intensity. Adults' motivation is often positive, as they learn the language because of their own volition. Therefore the teacher's task is only maintaining pre-formed motivation. This is usually instrumental motivation, linked strongly to the economic factor. It is worth waking up other motives, eg. through introducing interesting topics in the classroom.

Learning styles

Students vary considerably in yet another aspect. Namely, their way of approaching the new, yet unknown classes is not the same. These methods are called learning styles. According to Cornett (1983: 9) as cited in Celce-Murcia's work (2001: 359) *learning styles are the general approaches – for example, global or analytic, auditory or visual – that students use in acquiring a new language or in learning any other subject. These styles are “overall patterns that give general direction to learning behaviour”*.

Psychological studies have proved recently that the second language students may be divided into two different groups: learners who tend to make either quick or gambling (impulsive) guess at an answer to a problem, and learners who prefer rather slower, more calculated (reflective) decisions. In Komorowska's opinion (2009:130) the most important cognitive style is the style of thinking. Some students are characterized by a *reflective style*. They spend a lot of time to think, learn slowly, but make few errors. These pupils do better in writing skills and mastering of grammar. It makes them very difficult to include in conversations, free expression and manufacturing of fluency. On the other hand, students who have an impulsive style, work on the principle of trial and error, so they master their fluency rather quickly, however, quite difficult to them is building a grammatically correct statement.

There are also two styles that may relate to the reflectivity-impulsivity dimension: systematic and intuitive styles. An intuitive style implies an approach in which a person makes a number of different gambles on the basis on “hunches”, with possibly several successive gambles before a solution. Systematic thinkers tend to weigh all the considerations in a problem, work out all the loopholes, then after extensive reflection, carefully venture a solution.

The following cognitive styles have been identified by Knowles (1972) as cited in Lochart & Richards (1994):

➤ *Concrete learning style*

Learners with a concrete learning style use active and direct means of taking in and processing information. They are interested in information that has immediate value. They are curious, spontaneous, and willing to take risks. They like variety and a constant change of pace. They dislike routine learning and written work, and prefer verbal or visual experiences. They like to be entertained, and like to be physically involved in learning.

➤ *Analytical learning style*

Learners with an analytical style are independent, like to solve problems, and enjoy tracking down ideas and developing principles on their own. Such learners prefer a logical, systematic presentation of new learning material with opportunities for learners to follow up on their own. Analytical learners are serious, push themselves hard, and are vulnerable to failure.

➤ *Communicative learning style*

Learners with a communicative learning style prefer a social approach to learning. They need personal feedback and interaction, and learn well from discussion and group activities. They thrive in a democratically run class.

➤ *Authority-oriented learning style*

Learners with an authority-oriented style are said to be responsible and dependable. They like and need structure and sequential progression. They relate well to a traditional classroom. They prefer the teacher as an authority figure. They like to have clear instructions and to know exactly what they are doing; they are not comfortable with consensus-building discussion.

Another set of language learning style according to Witkin (1973), is the cognitive learning styles. These styles are of two types: Field Independent (left brain dominance) and Field Dependent style (right brain dominance).

Field Independent style is strongly connected with our ability to perceive a particular relevant item or factor in a „field” of distracting items. This style enables a student to distinguish parts from a whole, to concentrate on something (like reading a book in a noisy train station), to analyze separate variables without the contamination of neighboring variables. Effectively, students who are more predominantly field independent tend to be generally more independent, competitive, and self-confident. A learner with a field independent style is usually more active during the process of learning, because of the rational, logical and mathematical side of his / her mind. Such a learner thrives in a class full of activities and exercises. Field independence is closely related to classroom learning that involves analysis, attention to details, and mastering of exercises, drills and other focused activities.

On the other hand, *a field dependent learner* is better at grasping the observing ideas and observing the whole situation. She / he is visually and emotionally oriented. For such a person communication and interaction help in second language acquisition as she / he is usually a social being. A field dependent person seems to be more socialized, to derive her / his self-identity from people around her / him, and is more empathic and perceptive of the feelings and thoughts of others. She / he will, by virtue of other empathy, social outreach, and perception of other people, be successful in learning the communicative aspects of a second language.

Both styles are closely connected with Left and Right-Brain functioning. The left hemisphere is associated with logical, analytical thought and with mathematical and linear processing of information. Left-brain-dominant second language learners prefer a deductive style of teaching – they are better at producing separate words, gathering the specifics of language, dealing with abstraction, classification, labelling, and reorganization. The right hemisphere perceives and remembers visual, tactile and auditory images. It is more efficient in processing holistic, integrative, and emotional information. The right-brain-dominant second language learners appears to be more successful in an inductive

classroom environment – they are better in dealing with the whole images, with generalizations, metaphors, emotional reactions and artistic expressions.

The basic differences between the Left-brain-dominant and Right-brain-dominant second language learners are presented in the table below:

LEFT-BRAIN DOMINANCE	RIGHT-BRAIN DOMINANCE
➤ intellectual ➤ remember names ➤ responds to verbal instructions and explanations ➤ experiments systematically and with control ➤ makes objective judgments ➤ planned and structured ➤ prefers established, certain information ➤ analytic reader ➤ reliance on language in thinking and remembering ➤ prefers talking and writing ➤ prefers multiple choice tests ➤ controls feelings ➤ poor at interpreting body language ➤ rarely uses metaphors ➤ favors logical problem solving	➤ intuitive ➤ remember faces ➤ responds to demonstrated, illustrated or symbolic instructions ➤ experiments randomly and with less control ➤ resistant ➤ makes subjective judgments ➤ fluid and spontaneous ➤ prefers elusive, uncertain information ➤ synthesizing reader ➤ reliance on images in thinking and remembering ➤ prefers drawing and manipulating objects ➤ prefers open-ended questions ➤ more free with feelings ➤ good at interpreting body language ➤ frequently uses metaphors ➤ favors intuitive problem solving

Learning strategies

In Celce-Murcia's work (2001: 359) learning strategies are define as *specifications, behaviours, steps, or techniques – such as seeking out conversation partners, or giving oneself encouragement to tackle a difficult language task – used by students to enhance their own learning*. Learning strategies are specific methods of approaching a particular task or a problem for achieving a particular goal. They are special actions that second language learners take to try to master the target language (the action taken to make learning easier, faster, more enjoyable, more self-directed, more effective, and more transferrable to new situations). They are means that second language learners seem to employ to help themselves in order to improve their target language proficiency, especially help students to participate actively in authentic communication.

Many studies in SLA have ventured out to identify which strategies are used by relatively good language learners, with the expectation that such strategies can be taught or otherwise applied to enhance learning. According to O'Malley and Chamot (1990) strategies are the tools for active, self-directed involvement needed for developing L2 communicative ability. O'Malley and Chamot, (1990) have identified the following strategies:

1) *Cognitive strategies* – operate directly on incoming information, manipulating it in ways that enhance learning. Some of these strategies are:

- Repetition: imitating other people's speech overtly or silently,
- Resourcing: making use of language materials such as dictionaries,
- Translation: using the first language as a basis for understanding and/or producing the L2,
- Grouping: organizing learning on the basis of “common attributes”,
- Note-taking: writing down the gist etc of texts,
- Deduction: conscious application of rules to processing the L2,
- Recombination: putting together smaller meaningful elements into new wholes,
- Imagery: visualizing information for memory storage,
- Auditory Representation: keeping a sound or sound sequence in the mind,
- Key Word: using key word memory techniques, such as identifying an L2 word with an L1 word,
- that it sounds like,
- Contextualization: placing a word or phrase in a meaningful language sequence,
- Elaboration: relating new information to other concepts in memory,
- Transfer: using previous knowledge to help language learning,
- Inferencing: guessing meanings by using available information,
- Question for Clarification: asking a teacher or native speaker for explanation, help.

2) *Metacognitive strategies* – skills used for planning, monitoring, and evaluating the learning activity; *they are strategies about learning rather than learning strategies themselves*. The following are some of the metacognitive strategies:

- Advance Organizers: planning the learning activity in advance,
- Directed Attention: deciding to concentrate on general aspects of a learning task,
- Selective Attention: deciding to pay attention to specific parts of the language input or the situation,
- that will help learning,
- Self-management: trying to arrange the appropriate conditions for learning,
- Advance Preparation: planning the linguistic components for a forthcoming language task,
- Self-monitoring: checking one's performance as one speaks,
- Delayed Production: deliberately postponing speaking so that one may learn by listening,
- Self-evaluation: checking how well one is doing against one's own standards,
- Self-reinforcement: giving oneself rewards for success.

3) *Socioaffective strategies* – involve interacting with another person to assist learning or using control to assist a learning task. These strategies are:

- Questioning for Clarification: asking for explanation, verification, rephrasing, or examples about,
- the material; asking for clarification or verification about the task; posing questions to the self,
- Cooperation: working together with peers to solve a problem, pool information, check a learning,
- task, model a language activity, or get feedback on oral or written performance,
- Self-talk: reducing anxiety by using mental techniques that make one feel competent,
- to do the learning task.

Personality

Following Komorowska's view (2009: 126), the relatively greatest differences among the students are revealed in terms of personality factors. Personality is defined (by Dörnyei, 2005; as cited in Dakowska, 2012: 138) as:

[...] an individual's skill in relating to others and evoking a positive reaction in those individuals with whom he comes into contact; personality transpires in social interaction as a predisposition to behave in a consistent pattern, as total adjustment of the individuals to their natural and social environment, and as unique aspects of behaviour which give people their individuality. Personality refers to the internal processes with which individuals perceive and organize their life situation into a meaningful whole, while social considerations – to interrelationships in the social structure in which the individual is operating.

The most important personality types from the point of view of learning a foreign language is *extroversion* and *introversion*. Extroverts are considered sociable and impulsive. They seem to dislike solitude, take risks easily and are quite impulsive. Extroverts have a strong need to direct attention to the external world and other people. It is easier, for them to learn living speech, because they express themselves willingly and spontaneously. Extroverts are eager to take part in dialogues and group work. Whereas, introverts are believed to be introspective, quiet, retiring and reserved. An extrovert is said to receive energy from outside sources, whereas an introvert is more concerned with the inner world of ideas and is more likely to be involved with solitary activities. This trait does not just describe whether a person is outgoing or shy, but considers whether a person prefers working alone or feels energized and at home working in a team.

Another significant personality difference applies to *self-esteem*. Many researchers claim that no successful learning activity can take place without some self-esteem and self confidence. Coopersmith (1967) defines self-esteem as

a personal judgment of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes that the individual holds towards himself / herself. Brodkey and Shore (1976) revealed that self-esteem appears to be an important variable in SLA, particularly in view of cross-cultural factors of second language learning. Students with low self-esteem tend to underestimate their abilities. They avoid the opportunity to speak and put less effort into learning in the belief that they will not achieve good results. Students with normal, balanced self-esteem, and even the students with lower self-esteem, have no inhibitions towards speaking. Their well-being in the spontaneous handling foreign language brings good results. Lower self-esteem can lead to a reduction in quantity of an input contributed by a student while learning a language, therefore it is not particularly advantageous.

The next crucial personality feature is the tendency of taking or avoiding risks in the process of foreign language learning. *Risk-taking is the ability to make intelligent guesses* (Rubin & Thompson, 1994). According to Komorowska (2009: 127) avoiding risk students have a more difficult start in learning spoken language. They move away formulating statements until they are convinced of its complete correctness. Thus, they less exercise, do not acquire a practice in speaking, so that mastering the skills of speaking, in their case will be slow and difficult. Those students who decide to take the risk, acquire the skills to communicate in a foreign language quickly, although the correctness of their statements may leave much to be desired. Though risk taking is useful to some extent, high risk-taking will not always yield positive results in second language learning. A number of studies have found that successful language learners make willing and accurate guesses. Thus, it is not always good to be impulsive.

A significant role is also played by the level of *anxiety*. The low level of anxiety and the resulting slight stress can promote concentration and mobilization of the student. High levels of anxiety, however, will always be a factor of impeding and even incapable students to express themselves. The same situation may cause students at very different levels of anxiety. There are students with consistently high level of anxiety and they are prone to school neuroses. In the case of normal, routine monitoring and assessment, the teacher can aggravate the difficulty, wrongly interpreting student's paralyzing fear as a symptom of laziness and not sufficiently mastered skills. Almost all pupils react with fear to situations of public speaking. For this reason, it is worth restricting the activity of this factor by introducing teamwork.

Conclusions

From the details in the article given above, one can conclude that individual learner differences play a crucial role in the acquisition of second language. However, despite the efforts of many researchers at reaching a conclusive theory with regard to this, success has eluded them. At present, the scientific study of the role of these differences in second language learning, especially in the important process of individualization, may not be very sophisticated and advanced, but it can be hoped that the growing

awareness of the need to focus on the individual student and his individuality in a language learning situation will fuel the need to study the phenomenon in a detailed and empirical manner. Moreover, the analysis of these differences calls for the commonly held belief that a teacher, especially a language teacher, apart from imparting knowledge must also be a psychologist who can modify his / her teaching methodology according to the factors related to the individual differences of his/ her students. It is not enough to just know that all students are different from each other (Zafar and Meenakshi, 2012). The teacher should also be skilled and willing enough to help the students use these differences to their advantage in the process of second language acquisition. Thus it is hoped that the study of individual differences and their pedagogical implications will further lead to the kind of teaching practices that increase the success ratio at second language acquisition. Still, it might be suspected that if the students with special educational needs were provided with the opportunity to learn foreign languages in the way that proved to be successful, they would not have to resign from learning them in order to avoid failure. Collaboration between special educators and foreign language teachers seems to be of tantamount importance as far as dealing with the learners who need the teacher's special attention is concerned.

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O POTRZEBIE POLONISTYCZNEGO PRZYGOTOWANIA ANGLISTÓW – STUDIUM PILOTAŻOWE

1. Wstęp

Obecnie mamy do czynienia z dużym nasyceniem rynku tłumaczeniowego, szczególnie w przypadku tłumaczeń z języka angielskiego na język polski. Na jednym z najbardziej popularnych portali internetowych, na którym angliści oferują swoje usługi (e-tlumacze.net) znajduje się niemal 1600 ofert tłumaczeń z języka angielskiego na polski¹. Wirtualne oferty dotyczą głównie tłumaczeń pisemnych.

Po pierwsze, nasycenie rynku tłumaczeniowego wynika po części z faktu, że na kierunkach takich jak filologia angielska czy lingwistyka stosowana, z roku na rok, uczy się coraz więcej studentów. Wystarczy porównać liczbę absolwentów filologii angielskiej UMCS w Lublinie z roku 1969 (kierunek ten utworzono na UMCS w 1964 roku), tj. 7 osób, z liczbą studentów filologii angielskiej UMCS przyjętych na pierwszy rok studiów licencjackich w latach 2012/2013, 2013/2014 oraz 2014/2015: odpowiednio 106, 132 i 164 osoby. Na pierwszy rok lingwistyki stosowanej UMCS przyjęto w tym czasie 92, 99 i 112 osób². Podobnie sytuacja ma się też na innych uczelniach wyższych.

Uczelnie wyższe oferują także kursy tłumaczeniowe dla uczestników studiów podyplomowych. Może się wydawać, że wielu studentów myśli o pracy tłumacza jako o przeciwwadze dla nauczania czy pracy w korporacji. Przeciwwadze, która zapewnić może pewnego rodzaju niezależność wynikającą z możliwości uzyskania dodatkowych dochodów. Należy jednak pamiętać, że samo ukończenie filologii, lingwistyki stosowanej czy dwuletniego kursu tłumaczeniowego nie gwarantuje zamierzającym pracować w zawodzie tłumacza absolwentom, że będą oni posiadać odpowiednie kompetencje językowe i kulturowe, niezbędne do wykonywania zawodu.

2. Dlaczego znajomość języka obcego nie jest wystarczająca?

Stawiając pytanie o przyczyny, doszliśmy do następujących wniosków: sama znajomość języka obcego, nawet na poziomie C2, nie gwarantuje, że dana osoba będzie dobrym tłumaczem. Wynika to z faktu, że posługiwanie się językiem

¹ Stan na 21 listopada 2014 r.

² Dane na podstawie dokumentów wewnętrznych Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej w Lublinie (protokoły przyjęć).

obcym stanowi kompetencję innego rodzaju niż umiejętność poprawnego przekładu.

Osoba posługująca się językiem obcym w stopniu zaawansowanym przestaje tłumaczyć, a zaczyna myśleć w danym języku. Dochodzi tutaj problem nieprzekładalności pewnych konceptów wynikających z odmienności strukturalnej języka (szczególnie widocznej na przykładzie tak odmiennych systemów, jakimi są język polski oraz język angielski), ale także z różnic natury społeczno-kulturowej. Można powiedzieć, że proces przetwarzania języka w przypadku posługiwania się językiem obcym do komunikacji ma naturę liniową (język ojczysty oraz obcy nie przenikają się lub też interferencja ta jest niewielka), podczas gdy w przypadku tłumaczenia ma on naturę iteratywną – przechodzi się od języka źródłowego do języka docelowego (lub odwrotnie), patrząc najpierw na dany tekst całościowo, a potem rozkładając go na części składowe, w poszukiwaniu najbliższych odpowiedników słów, przy jednoczesnym porównywaniu fragmentów tekstu źródłowego z docelowym.

Absolwentom filologii angielskiej może się wydawać, że samo ukończenie studiów jest wystarczające do tego, aby uważać, że posiadli wszelkie kompetencje potrzebne do bycia dobrymi tłumaczami, a ich rozwój w zakresie języka ojczystego jest zbędny. Jest to jednak błędne przekonanie, zważywszy na fakt, że na uniwersytetach zajęcia na filologii angielskiej odbywają się w większości w języku obcym, również prace licencjackie i magisterskie pisane są w języku angielskim. W związku z powyższym, można pokusić się o stwierdzenie, że duży odsetek absolwentów anglistyki posiada większą wiedzę w zakresie zasad rządzących językiem angielskim niż polskim. Zdawać by się mogło, że niektórzy studenci (i absolwenci) filologii pokładają nadmierne nadzieje w swoje umiejętności językowe, podczas gdy inni zbyt ufa słownikom (także specjalistycznym), które, jak odnotowują Włodarczyk-Stachurska i Kleparczyk (2014 :53) dopiero od lat sześćdziesiątych ubiegłego wieku przestały mieć wyłącznie na celu standaryzację języka. Ponadto, w naszej opinii, studenci powinni obierać drogę analizy tekstów modelowych i opierać się na pracy z encyklopedią. Wspomniane podejście byłoby na pewno bliższe osobom, które wywodzą się ze szkoły kognitywistycznej – jest to jednak temat na odrębny artykuł.

Nie należy też zapominać, że ostatni kontakt z nauką języka ojczystego przypada na okres liceum – w szkołach ponadgimnazjalnych nie kładzie się nacisku na analizę struktury języka, ale raczej na poprawność ortograficzną, interpunkcyjną oraz stylistyczną, doskonalą się także umiejętność „pisanie pod klucz”.

Biorąc pod uwagę powyższe rozważania, a także jakość tłumaczeń na język polski z języka obcego, która – wbrew pozorom – nie ulega poprawie, należy zastanowić się nad problemem poprawności językowej tłumaczeń na język polski wykonywanych przez anglistów. Należy podkreślić, że powyższe przemyślenia nie wynikają jedynie z osobistych obserwacji rynku tłumaczeniowego, lecz są także wynikiem rozmów przeprowadzonych ze znajomymi tłumaczami. Nie znaczy to jednak, że powyższa argumentacja opiera się jedynie na opinii autora i wąskiego

grona znajomych tłumaczy; ma także poparcie w metodach naukowych. Powyższe przemyslenia opierają się metodologicznie na wnioskowaniu indukcyjnym i statystycznym, które stosowane są w naukach humanistycznych. Zdajemy sobie sprawę z zawodności tego typu wnioskowania, jednak metody redukcyjne przybliżają nas do prawdy i temu zaprzeczyć się nie da.

3. Studium pilotażowe

Poszukując odpowiedzi na nurtujące nas pytanie, tj. dlaczego, mimo wciąż rosnącej liczby studentów i absolwentów wspomnianych kierunków, nie zwiększa się jakość tłumaczeń oferowanych przez polskich tłumaczy, postanowiliśmy przeprowadzić badanie pilotażowe, aby potwierdzić bądź też odrzucić wyniki naszych przemyśleń na ww. temat. Analiza wyników rzeczonych badań znajduje się w dalszej części artykułu.

3.1. Grupa badanych

W badaniu wzięło udział 10 respondentów – studentów pierwszego roku podyplomowych studiów w zakresie translatoryki w Centrum Języka i Kultury Polskiej UMCS w Lublinie. Dziesięciu na dziewięciu respondentów posiada stopień magistra filologii angielskiej, jedna zaś osoba stopień licencjata. Grupę stanowili absolwenci różnych uczelni, w różnym przedziale wiekowym (od 26 do 34 lat, 3 osoby nie podały swojej daty urodzenia). Żadna z badanych osób nie posiada doświadczenia w pracy tłumacza. Studenci mieli za zadanie przetłumaczyć tekst z języka angielskiego na język polski (tekst źródłowy zawarte został w dodatkach). Respondenci, w procesie tłumaczeniowym mieli do dyspozycji wszelkie możliwe pomoce, ponieważ zadany im tekst źródłowy miał zostać przetłumaczony w ramach pracy domowej.

3.2. Analiza materiału językowego

Tekst źródłowy w języku angielskim (*SLT*) nie należał do kategorii tekstów trudnych. Studenci, którzy w większości przypadków określili swój poziom kompetencji językowej na C2, czyli najwyższy wg klasyfikacji CEFR³, nie powinni mieć problemów z jego zrozumieniem. Należy podkreślić, że tłumaczenia nie były oceniane pod względem ich zgodności (*accuracy*) z tekstem źródłowym, chociaż niektórzy z badanych mieli problemy z poprawnym zrozumieniem pewnych fragmentów tekstu, co przełożyło się bezpośrednio na błędy zawarte w tekście docelowym.

Do błędów, które ankietowani popełnili w procesie tłumaczenia można zaliczyć takie kategorie jak: błędy tłumaczenia syntagmatycznego, np. kalki; błędy realizacji, wynikające z braku wiedzy ogólnej i specjalistycznej; błędy języka docelowego; błędy metatranslacyjne, np. opuszczenia czy niepoprawianie oryginału (Hejwowski 2004: 124-149). Przykładem ilustrującym problemy

³ Patrz: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/elp/elp-reg/cefr_EN.asp.

wynikające z niewystarczającego warsztatu może być przetłumaczenie wyrazu *mercenaries* (tj. *najemnicy*) jako *emisariusze*, a nawet *samoloty bezzałogowe* (sic!). Nie chcemy jednak skupiać się na powyższych błędach tłumaczeniowych, pomimo tego, że wynikają z nich i bezpośrednio łączą się z nimi błędy natury poprawności językowej (np. kalki czy zbyt kurczowe trzymanie się oryginału⁴). W niniejszym artykule chcielibyśmy się zająć jedynie analizą poprawności językowej tekstów docelowych, czyli takich, które trafiają do odbiorcy niemającego dostępu do tekstu źródłowego. Chcemy skupić się jedynie na warstwie językowej, bez zagłębiania się w analizę przyczyn takiego stanu rzeczy (może to stanowić doskonały zaczyn do kolejnej analizy). Innymi słowy, zamierzamy potraktować tekst docelowy jako zupełnie oderwany od oryginału, aby pokazać, jak ważna jest znajomość własnego języka ojczystego. W naszej opinii pewne błędy nie wystąpiłyby w tłumaczeniu lub zostałyby wychwycone na późniejszym etapie edycji i korekty tekstu źródłowego, gdyby studenci mieli większą wiedzę na temat mechanizmów i zasad rządzących językiem ojczystym.

3.3. Błędy występujące w tekstach docelowych

Poszczególne teksty nie różniły się znacząco, jeśli chodzi o liczbę błędów i ogólny standard. Najczęściej występujące błędy w warstwie językowej podzieliłiśmy na następujące kategorie: A – użycie niepoprawnej kolokacji niewystępującej w języku docelowym, B – błędy syntaktyczne, C – błędy leksykalne i ortograficzne, D – użycie niepoprawnych nazw własnych, E – błędne użycie przyimków, F – niepoprawne użycie wielkiej litery, G – błędy interpunkcyjne oraz H – inne. Niektóre z tych błędów należą do więcej niż jednej kategorii.

⁴ Należałoby w tym miejscu powrócić do debaty trwającej od wieków na temat poprawności tłumaczeń, a mającej swój początek w I wieku p.n.e. (patrz: Cyceon). Niestety ograniczenia objętościowe nie pozwalają nam na daleko odbiegające dygresje. Chcemy jedynie zaznaczyć, że bliższy nam jest ideał przekładania nie wyrazów i struktur tekstu źródłowego lecz sensu w nim zawartego – co nie znaczy, że tzw. tłumaczenie dosłowne nie ma swojego zastosowania w niektórych kontekstach (patrz: Munday 2008: 33). Nie uważamy także, że adaptacja to tłumaczenie, a nadmierna naturalizacja tekstu źródłowego jest poprawna – także w tłumaczeniu należy trzymać się złotego środka – tradycja „pięknych zdrajczyń” (*les belles infidèles*) zapoczątkowana przez D’Ablancourta jest nam daleka (Venuti 2012: 17). Czytelników, którzy pragną poznać szczegóły tej debaty w zarysie historycznym odsyłamy do: Munday (2008) oraz Venuti (2012).

Kategoria	Błąd/błędy	Wartość liczbową
A	transportery opancerzone działami kalibru ponad 100 mm// pojazdy opancerzone o kalibrze większym niż 100 mm// w regionie Doniecka i Ługańska, kruchego rozejmu, w rejonach Doniecka i Ługańska// Pomimo (...) rozejmu pojawiają się rozłamy w okolicach miast Donieck i Mariupol (...) [rozłamy] pochłonęły one ponad 3000 osób// pojazdy uzbrojone w kaliber powyżej 100mm// Po tym jak niepewne zawieszenie broni uprawomocniło się// Mimo, iż zawieszenie broni nadal ma miejsce; w dwóch regionach Doniecku i Mariopolu// rozpoczęli przenoszenie swojej artylerii jednak nie tak masowo jak się spodziewano// artyleria i pojazdy opancerzone z kalibrem większym niż 100 mm// mają wprowadzony zakaz latania// kruchego zawieszenia broni// w regionach Doniecka i Ługańska rozpętały się walki// Wiadomo jest o obcokrajowcach walczących// Ukraina przygotowuje się do wycofania ciężkiego uzbrojenia od linii separatystów na Wschodzie// rebelianci rozpoczęli przenoszenie ciężkiej artylerii, ale nie była ona „tak ogromna jak się spodziewano”// szykuje się do wycofania broni ciężkiej z linii separatystów// pojazdy opancerzone z działami kalibru ponad 100 mm// punkty kontrolne (...) zostały poddane ciężkiemu ostrzałowi// projekt ustawy przyznający okres samoustawy// akt samo kapitulacji; pojazdy opancerzone o kalibrze większym niż 100 mm [1] będą usunięte ale inne jednostki i ich broń pozostaną na miejscu [2]// Obcokrajowcy są znani z walk po obu stronach i Rosja systematycznie kładła nacisk, że każdy z obywateli walczący z separatystami robi to w prywatnym interesie// z terenów separatystów (zajmowanych przez)// na więcej niż dwa tygodnie po tym; pojazdy opancerzone o kalibrze większym niż 100 mm// Obcokrajowcy znani są z walk po obu stronach//	24
B	Od rozpoczęcia walk w rejonie Doniecka i Ługańska w kwietniu, zginęło ponad 3000 osób.// Po tym jak niepewne zawieszenie broni uprawomocniło się// ukraińskie media doniosły w poniedziałek// Ministerstwo Obrony (...) i rzecznik (...) powiedział//	4
C	separatystycznych rebeliantów// rozłamy// pro rosyjscy// pro-rosyjscy buntownicy// udzielającą prawa samodzielnego rządzenia// dochodzi do pojedynków w Doniecku// gwarantującą trzyletnią samorządność w niektórych regionach// pro-rosyjscy// Według umowy, wojskowe statki powietrzne// nieustają// samostanowienie// pro-Rosyjscy// pro-rosyjscy// samoustawy// akt samo kapitulacji// przyznający okres samoustawy// uznali za akt samo kapitulacji//	17
D	Mariopolu// Mariopola// Mariopolu// Mariopolu// Mariopolu// Ługańska//	6
E	Zgodziły się do ustalenia// na więcej niż dwa tygodnie po tym jak// zgodziły się do ustalenia//	3
F	I zamiast i (x2)// pro-Rosyjscy// Wschodzie//	4

cd. Tabeli

G	<i>W sobotę, obie strony// W zeszłym tygodniu, ukraiński parlament// W poniedziałek, ukraińskie media doniosły// „autonomię” (zbędny cudzysłów)// konfliktu, i// ‘zagraniczni najemnicy’ (niepoprawny cudzysłów)// Płk.//</i>	7
H	<i>dopiero dopiero// od miejsc bitwy// od linii konfliktu// 9-cio punktowy// 15kg zamiast km// po obu stronach (powtórzenie)// Rosja wielokrotnie podkreśla// Posterunki nadzorowane przez ukraińskie siły zbrojne dostały się pod ostrą ostrzał na lotnisku w Doniecku w pobliżu Mariopolu// 3 tys.// 9.5 mil// Wojsko wycofa zbrojną artylerię// 9.5 mili// 9.5 mili// Col (zamiast Płk).</i>	14

Jak łatwo wyliczyć, na dość nieskomplikowany tekst o objętości około jednej strony maszynopisu (1800 zzs) przypada uśredniona liczba ośmiu poważnych błędów natury językowej, które powinny zostać wychwycone podczas korekty tekstu docelowego. Pomijamy oczywiście dużą liczbę błędów wynikających z niezgodności tłumaczenia z tekstem źródłowym; wspomniane błędy powinny z kolei zostać zauważone w fazie edycji.

4. Dyskusja

Zgadamy się oczywiście z opinią Mony Baker (1992: 1-4), która we wstępie do swojej najbardziej znanej książki *In Other Words* pisze o znaczeniu ciągłego rozwoju tłumacza i doświadczeniu, które przychodzi dopiero po wielu latach pracy w zawodzie. Autorka cytuje także Lenę Castelano, która sugeruje nawet, że dobry tłumacz czy tłumaczka nie powinni zawierać związków małżeńskich w obrębie swojej narodowości (1992: 3). Jest to oczywiście „idealna” droga rozwoju kariery w tej profesji. Niemniej jednak, w naszej opinii, można poprawić jakość tłumaczeń (nie tylko na polskim rynku), wprowadzając w większym – niż obecnie – wymiarze zajęcia z języka ojczystego, szczególnie w przypadku studentów filologii, którzy chcą specjalizować się w tłumaczeniach. Jak widać na przykładzie przeprowadzonej przez nas pilotażowej analizy, dużo można w tym zakresie jeszcze poprawić.

5. Dodatki

5.1. Tekst źródłowy w języku angielskim

Ukraine crisis: Military to pull back artillery in east

Ukraine is preparing to withdraw heavy weaponry away from separatist rebel lines in the east, the military says.

The two sides agreed on Saturday to set up a buffer zone in eastern Ukraine, more than a fortnight after a shaky ceasefire came into force.

Although the truce is still in place, clashes have continued around the cities of Donetsk and Mariupol.

More than 3,000 people have died since fighting broke out in the two regions of Donetsk and Luhansk in April.

Ukraine's parliament passed a bill last week granting three-year "self-rule" to parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions - a decision condemned by some MPs as "capitulation".

'Foreign mercenaries'

Under the terms of the nine-point deal agreed in Belarus, both the pro-Russian rebels and Ukrainian forces are to pull back their heavy artillery 15km (9.5 miles) from the line of engagement, creating a 30km buffer zone.

Ukrainian National Security and Defence Council spokesman Col Andriy Lysenko said pro-Russian rebels had for their part begun moving their heavy artillery, but it was "not as massive as we expected".

Artillery and armoured vehicles with a calibre greater than 100mm would be moved, but all other units and their weapons would remain in place, he said.

According to the deal, military aircraft are banned from flying over the conflict zone and "foreign mercenaries" are to be withdrawn on both sides.

Foreigners are known to be fighting on both sides and Russia has repeatedly insisted that any of its citizens fighting alongside separatists in Ukraine are doing so in a private capacity.

Checkpoints manned by Ukrainian forces had come under heavy shelling at Donetsk airport and near Mariupol, Ukrainian media reported on Monday.

Col Lysenko said that two servicemen had been killed in the past day.

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GENOLOGY AS A NOETIC INSTRUMENT TO UNDERSTANDING LITERATURE

Key words: genre, genology.

Literary genre is for many reasons a fascinating category. Not only it is an attempt to approach pieces of art systematically. Literary genres also reflect the dominating view of life and even lifestyles of a selected period. Critics often point out that each epoch had its “characteristic” genre:

- Prevalent genre of the ancient times was drama;
- Dominating genre of middle ages was poetry;
- The most popular genre of present period is prose.

As understanding literature lies on understanding context and interrelation of literary pieces, attention will be paid to genesis, transformations and experiments with the concept of literary genre in various literary periods in order to point out the continuity of development and relationships between various historical and contemporary genres.

What is a Literary Genre?

Before we advance to the essentials of genology (literary discipline focused on literary genres), it is necessary to answer the basic question: what is a literary genre? The answer to this question is surprisingly difficult:

The word “genre” relates to the French term *genre* (meaning “kind” or “type” or “class”; Cuddon, 1998:342). It refers to the category or sort (Žilka, 1984:208; Timofejev – Turajev, 1981:293) of a literary work. *Genre* represents a normative esthetic convention which serves as an invariant model for creating of specific texts which represent variant forms of genre invariant (Žilka, 1984:208). In order to illustrate this ambivalent nature of genre, Chris Barker (2006:202-204) uses an illustrative metaphor: Genre is like jazz – it partially follows and copies the pre-described form but it also improvises and enriches the original form. The result is that the spectator perceives the original form as well as the improvisation based on the original as a creative enhancement of the original.

Thus genre and its formal elements (such as the type of hero, conflict and resolution, to name a few) alter and enrich or diminish with any new usage and each deviation from the norm becomes a new norm. History and evolution of literary genres has been a subject of many researchers, for example those conducted by G. Steiner, G. Muller, J. Pašteka and many others.

What is Genology?

The research of literary genres is one of the oldest and most complex kinds of literary research. It is carried out by several disciplines; primarily by *genology* (Latin: genus = mode) and also by genre criticism and genre scholarship, partially also by comparative criticism and new type of rhetoric discourse called New Rhetoric. The nature of the research of literary genres has changed its substance several times in the history. Historically, the research of literary genres encompassed:

- normative historical research of literary genres (focused on normative taxonomy);
- decoding functions of literary genres, advocated for example by J. Hvišč (1979:37);
- search for complex literary relations, advocated for example by N. Frye (1957:131).

Understanding of literary genre inevitably requires a view of the genesis of literary genre in the history of literature.

Some Historical Approaches to Literary Genres

Historically, there have been numerous approaches to the essence of literary genre. The very first attempt to systematically explore literary genre has been done by Aristotle in *Poetics* (355 AD). He believed that there are three basic literary genres – tragedy, comedy and poetry and that they have fixed characteristic elements which should be identifiable in any piece of art. His criteria for genres were so well formulated yet non-prescriptive and that is perhaps why they have survived until present days.

In medieval ages, the research of literary genres stagnated. Scholars were mostly searching for petrified elements of genres and set strict categories for what is and what is not a certain genre.

A new evolutionary approach to genre was initiated by a French scholar, Ferdinand Brunetière, in 1890 in his study *L'Évolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature*. He set five basic phases of the “life” of literary genres (1890:15):

- Creation and existence;
- Differentiation (from other genres);
- Stabilization;
- Modification;

- Transposition (“death” of the original genre and creation, “birth” of a new one).

Brunetière’s thought was very innovative as he was the first who recognized that literary genres, just like many social and biological phenomena are subject to development, deterioration, transformation and sometimes also natural and historically conditioned end of their being.

19th century, however, was greatly influenced by the positivistic philosophy and many overoptimistic attempts to quantify research, even in humanities emerged. Literary scholars were setting strict criteria on literary genres and conducted vigorous debates whether a certain piece of literature (e.g. *The Lady of the Camellias* by Alexandre Dumas) contains pre-conceived elements (e.g. those of melodrama and tragedy) or not. Needless to say, this period was the high time for inflated scholarly debates searching for the “truth” about a literary work.

Post Second World War literary scholarship was multilayered; there were both conservative and liberal genologic wings.

The orthodox, conservative view is represented by George Steiner, the author of monograph *The Death of Tragedy* (1963). He denies the possibility of evolution of genres, namely of tragedy because, as he believes, tragedy was society-bound and the present-day society lacks the attributes of the ancient *polis* (town, community) which mostly lied on the principles of a closed society (compare: Karl Popper: *Open Society*). Thus, according to Steiner, no modern tragedy is possible.

Another “ultraextreme” opinion on literary genres is represented by an Italian scholar Bernardo Croce. Croce denies the existence of literary genres as they are not inherent to the literary piece but only represent secondary, artificial aesthetic literary criteria.

There were also more tolerant attempts to literary genres. New literary pieces based on the original genres were understood as enrichment of the original genre rather than its destruction. For example, notable scholars René Wellek and Austin Warren respect the historical attempts for “pure” genres (*genre tranché*) but for modern understanding of literary genres they set less normative criteria. Modern theory of genres is more interested in search for a common feature among genres (Wellek – Warren, 1966:235).

Oscar Mandel (1961:62) attempted to systemize theory of genres and divided existing definitions of genres (namely tragedy) into four groups:

- **Definition according to formal elements** (e.g. nobility of the hero, unity of time and place, etc.). However, this approach has been rejected by many modern scholars as dated and unreliable (R.C. Miller, Arthur Miller).
- **Definition according to situation**, focused on the essence of the situation depicted (e.g. Aristotle’s fall from great fortune to ill-fortune). This approach has been recognized by Július Pašteka and George Steiner.

- **Definition according to ethical directions**, focused on the overall meaning of the play and its legacy for the spectator.
- **Definition according to the emotional effect of the play (or work of art in general, note JJ)**, based on the original Aristotelian imperative of fear and sympathy as navigational emotions of a play. Paul Hernadi calls this type of definition by another name, a “pragmatic orientation” (Hernadi, 1972:37).

Many scholars doubted measurability of one’s personal experience with literary genre. However, H. D. F. Kitto’s counterargument to these skeptical voices recommends to “trust” one’s literary intuition: “If the meaning is the total impact of the play on the audience, how is it possible to say what it is, since audiences vary from age to age? The answer is: If you trust the dramatist, if you will consider the form of his play, patiently and with some imagination, as being probably the best possible expression of what he meant, then you will be giving yourself the best chance of appreciating the impact of what he was hoping to make on the audience for which he was writing” (1960:7).

There are almost as many systematic and a-systemic approaches to understanding genres as there are genres themselves and more will be developed. A scholar then faces the dilemma of which approach to select to obtain most objective results. Sometimes, the literary work itself invites a specific method of research (e.g. some features of a classic genre are so obvious one cannot but trace them systematically, as for example in Arthur Miller’s play *Death of a Salesman*, 1949).

Othertimes, one just intuitively follows a certain type of genre and its elements and tries to interpret them in the selected work of art. In the next part, various methods and forms of genological research will be subject to a methodological analysis.

Forms of Literary Genres

The form of literary genres contributes to the meaning of the artistic piece.

Wellek and Warren (Wellek – Warren, 1966:231), for example, recognize:

- Outer form of genre (e.g. its metric system); and
- Inner form of genre (e.g. approach, tone, aim or theme and type of audience).

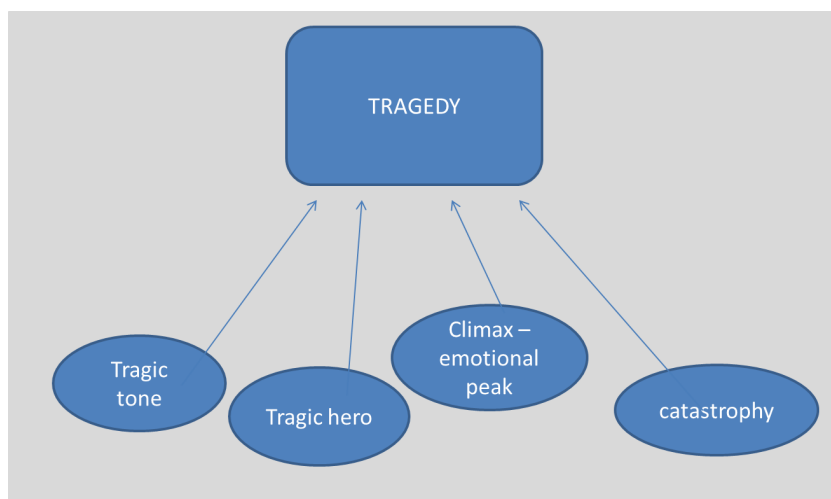
One should remember that in quality art, nothing is deliberate, random or purposeless. Each detail has its significance within the broader context of a literary work and enhances its artistic impact on the perceiver. A French sculptor, August Rodin liked to sculpture his sculptures with the most solid shape because he believed that if a sculpture is pushed down the hill, everything that falls off is redundant. The same is true for quality literary works and the researcher’s role is to identify the indispensable parts and find out the importance of details as well as the whole.

The Methods of Genological Research

According to a Slovak scholar Peter Zajac (Zajac, 1990:127-128), there are two basic approaches to the analysis of a literary genre:

- (1) DOWN TO TOP, and
- (2) TOP TO DOWN method.

(1) DOWN TO TOP method (see Picture 1 below) starts with the analysis of individual genre elements. These elements can first be fragmentary and seemingly unrelated. Later in the course of the play, novel or other kind of literary work they tend to unite into a meaningful unity (Zajac, 1990:127-128).



(Picture 1)

(2) TOP TO DOWN method starts with pre-conceived genre estimate which the researcher tries to support by individual elements, themes, and other literary features of the literary work. That means, one intuitively feels a play is a tragedy and then starts to systematically search for a broader system of tragic elements (e.g. nobility of the tragic hero, the moment of recognition, presence or absence of a chorus) in the play.

Zajac understands both methods as complimentary and interrelated as long as they equally incorporate two features: inner differentiation of literary works and their complex nature (1990:127-128).

Nevertheless, both methods evoke the basic question of genologic research, which first has been asked by George Muller (1972:2):

How can I define tragedy (or any other genre) before I know on which works to base the definition, yet how can I know on which works to base the definition before I have defined tragedy?

This type of argumentation is called “**circular evidence**” and is generally unacceptable in exact scientific research. Robert B. Sewall, however, fully agrees with this sort of argumentation in literature and with regards to the specific nature of a literary genre accepts it as a legitimate form of genological research (Sewall, 1991:175).

The Hierarachy of Genologic Terminology

In most literary scholarships, a tripartite structure of genre systems, starting from the most abstract terms towards the most specific ones) is followed (see Ivan Šuša: *K terminologickej diferenciácii v oblasti žánrovej klasifikácie z aspektu česko-slovenskej a talianskej teórie literatúry*; 2006:1; Eva Hohn, 2010: 5-9):

Literary kind (SK: Literárny druh): (general, high level of abstraction) literary kind: ↓	Lyrics, poetry	Prose	Drama
Genre (SK: Žáner) (more concrete, lower level of abstraction) ↓	E.g. poem	E.g. saga, novel	E.g. Tragedy, Comedy <i>drama</i>
Genre variant (SK: Žánrový variant): (concrete, low level of abstraction)	E.g. Ode Elegy Idyll	E.g. Heroic epos, novel of adventure, detective novel,	E.g. melodrama, grotesque, psychological play

Unfortunately, many of these terms (for example genre and literary kind) have more terminological equivalents in various languages or they are misused (Compare: Buda, A.; (2014: 1-10). For example, *drama* denominates both literary kind and genre, which might cause genologic problems. Therefore, alternative terms for drama (as genre) have been introduced (e.g. *drame*, drama as a genre, SK: *činohra*), however, they are not abiding and scholars use them at random. That often causes imprecision in genre classification.

Conclusion

Scholars differ in their opinions on the significance of literary genres as means to understanding literary works. Nowadays, literary genre is understood more as an essential “orientation point” that transmits the very introductory information to the

reader and helps the reader to organize his or her anticipations toward literary works. Therefore, genologic information about the genre and about various hybrids that enter and artistically enhance a literary work play a significant role in the process of acquainting oneself with a work of art in debate.

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THE CULTURAL NARRATIVES OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN QUILTS

Abstract

The article discusses the historical and cultural significance of African-American quilts. Specifically it focuses on the images of quilts which have recently been used by African-American artists as illustrations of children's picture books. Quilts are popular motifs in narratives focusing on such issues as slavery or other social inequalities concerning blacks. They do not only mitigate the pain and suffering experienced by many enslaved blacks but also work as signifiers of resistance and hope to present generations of African-American readers. The article focuses on several contemporary African-American picture books where quilts are the central images. It analyzes to what extent they affect the sense of the story and how they combine the verbal and the visual layers of the narrative.

Key words: quilts, picture books, African-American culture.

Quilts are part and parcel of African-American culture. Popularly known as patchworks, they are produced by combining small pieces of fabric into a variety of patterns. Although the historical significance of utilitarian and artistic quilts has been discussed in a number of publications, the images of quilts incorporated into paintings or picture books open a new scope for scholarly debate. Which aspects of African-American experience do they emphasize?

The tradition of quilting dates back to colonial times but it is still a popular activity with modern artists. Originally quilts were used as bed covers or as elements of home decoration. In slavery times they were produced by black women both for themselves and for the families of their white masters. Whereas the quilts for whites were made of large textile pieces, those for enslaved blacks consisted of small scraps and bits that remained from the "white" quilts. Oftentimes African-American women matched pieces of old clothing to sew quilts for themselves. Such products had an emotional meaning for their possessors as they involved bits and pieces of the family history. Specific elements of quilts brought memories of dead or alive family members, of the events and celebrations that bound them together. Quilts were passed down from generation to generation. They were even enlarged by those who inherited them by adding new pieces of fabric or a new border being a frame to the quilt. What was an everyday item for one generation became an artifact for another. Quilts were symbols of continuity and thus did not

allow their owners to forget about their family past. For instance, the memories of slavery were particularly vivid in black families that became free but still kept their quilts made in the slave quarters. In the slavery period quilts were even used as communicative tools. In order to mislead their white masters, blacks incorporated a myriad of symbols into their patchworks. For instance, the motif of the North Star, which signifies safety and protection, was a secret message understood only by those who belonged to the enslaved black community. When hung on a porch or placed on the ground in front of the house, the quilt served as a message board guiding runaway slaves to the North along the secret paths called the Underground Railroad. Fugitive slaves knew that in the houses marked with a quilt they could get shelter, food and clothing. Thus quilts became both forms of resistance to structures of dominance and control and symbolic expressions of freedom.

As Olga Davis observes, African-American quilts flow directly out of the black oral tradition (Davis 1998: 67). Storytelling was and remains an important way of imparting the culture and preserving the history of black people in America. Watching a quilt is like learning a story of its creators, past and present owners, as well as their values and life experiences. The life stories of black women who created the quilts were particularly important to their meaning. Women passed the skill of quilt-making to younger generations. While teaching their daughters or granddaughters how to stitch scraps of cloth, mature black women were sharing their family stories. Gathering together to quilt gave black women a sense of community and continuity¹. It was during such meetings that black women expressed their political views or created new ideas of resistance. Elaine Hedges describes the political character of quilting in the following way: *if comparatively few women wrote, practically all of them sewed, and in their quilts, especially, they found a capacious medium for expression. For vast numbers of [...] women, their needles became their pens and quilts their eminently expressive texts* (Ferrero 1987: 11). Quilts had a healing effect on their creators. bell hooks, a black feminist writer, describes the tradition and significance of quilting in her own family: *[quilting was] a spiritual process where one learned to surrender. It was a form of meditation where the self was let go [...], it was an art of stillness and concentration, a work which renewed the spirit [...], a way to calm the heart and ease the mind* (hooks 1990: 117).

Quilts remained important articles in black homes long after slavery was abolished. However, they were treated more and more frequently as decorative textiles rather than everyday objects. For many African-Americans quilts became memory artifacts or real artworks as they were more carefully designed than before. At the beginning of the twentieth century artistic quilts were created not

¹ Quilting bees was a popular term used by African-American women to describe their gatherings to quilt and share their stories. Carolyn Mazloomi calls quilting bees “the first feminist consciousness raising groups,” which allowed them to escape from fieldwork and achieve a sense of community (Mazloomi 1998: 144).

only by black artists. The skill of quilting was taken up by a growing number of mainstream artists who got fascinated with African-American folk art. Initially white quiltmakers received even more recognition for their works than black artists.

Black quilters have long been ignored within their own communities as well as by the wider public. Although they were discovered by white scholars in the late 1970s, this academic interest led to a specific fragmentation. African-American quilts remained in isolation from the mainstream art of quilting due to the fact that they were made by black women. More often than not their products were treated as everyday objects rather than as authentic expressions of African-American art and craft. When assessed with mainstream criteria they were misunderstood for the symbols incorporated within their structures. After a thorough analysis of a series of quilts made by African-Americans, white scholars worked out a number of qualities that were inherent in the works of black quilters. These categories, however, isolated quilters who did not include the "authentic" features of black quilts such as bright colors, irregular patches and big stitches. There is, however, a large body of diverse quilts which should be considered authentic African-American works of art. Carolyn Mazloomi proposes a more inclusive approach that embraces all kinds of quilts, utilitarian and artistic ones (Mazloomi 1998).

Quilting is still a popular activity with African-American artists. As Mazloomi observes in her book *Spirits of the Cloth, Contemporary African-American quilters create richly narrative quilts because we are a people with many stories to tell* (Mazloomi 1998: 12). The black oral tradition as well as the ability to code secret messages by means of words and pictures is what today's black artists inherited from their forefathers. Contemporary quilts are not just works of art. They are political objects that express different aspects of black experience in America. The quilts made today concern the artists' personal experiences as well as larger social and political issues. In the 1970s, black artists involved in the women's art movement raised quilts to the status of art by displaying them in museums and introducing them into scholarly debates. The 1971 exhibition at the Whitney Museum, entitled *Quilts As Abstract Art*, as well as Pat Mainardi's essay "Quilts: The Great American Art" published in 1973 opened new opportunities to the growing number of black quilters.

Visions of Africa and seeking a reconnection with that continent is one of the most common themes expressed by today's quilts. Inspired by their trips to Africa or their studies of African culture, the artists frequently combine African patterns and symbols with traditional American design elements. Carole Y. Lyles's quilt entitled *Dreams of America: American Portrait #1* is a good example of what makes the African-American art (Mazloomi 1998: 29). Made in the form of collage, which is a strictly American genre, this artwork presents a portrait of an African-American man surrounded with a myriad of images depicting the risks and benefits of living in Africa. The concept of family and home is another frequent theme of contemporary quilts. They usually depict holidays, happy childhoods or

stable, extended families. Michaeline Redd's series of quilts entitled *Memories of Childhood* or Barbara Pietila's *Picnic Day For Barbara* reflect on some positive aspects of black family life such as carefree life of a child, Christmas celebrations or family trips. Although the scenes presented in the quilts are set in modern times, they evoke the institution of the family, which has always been critical to the survival of blacks in a world where racial oppression and discrimination have been devastating. Since protest is a defining characteristic of African-American art, contemporary quilts reflect a wide range of social and political issues. They constantly remind of the institutions of slavery, expose the persistence of racism and other forms of oppressions experienced by blacks now and in the past. In the mid-1990s Kyra E. Hicks produced a number of quilts protesting against discrimination of black people in advertising and media. For instance, *Black Barbie* (1996) and *Cinderella* (1995) portray black female figures standing in the positions usually occupied by white girls.

The motif of African-American quilts has recently been introduced into African-American children's books with strong political content. The books concern the topic of black struggle and resistance, both in the historical context and in contemporary settings. Quilts in those books appear either as complimentary comments to the verbal narrative or as metanarrative elements. Book illustrations made in the form of quilts or with quilts as their elements are extremely attractive for the readers. These pictures are not only appreciated for their artistic qualities but also for the load of information that words may not express. Like the original quilts made by enslaved women, painted quilts that are used as book illustrations contain a lot of hidden meanings within the structure of their colors and patterns. At times it might be difficult to recognize the artist's intentions unless one is knowledgeable about African-American artistic styles and their ways of conveying secret messages. Some quilts include verbal elements as well, which more often than not are part of the black dialect. As Anna Włodarczyk-Stachurska observes, *linguistically, many black people in the United States of America have been set apart—and hence isolated—from the surrounding communities by—among other things—the way they speak* (Włodarczyk-Stachurska 2011: 158). As a result of this isolation, some elements of Black English can be understood only by those who live inside the black community. Thus it may only be African-Americans who are able to decode the messages inscribed in the quilts.

The size and the position of quilts in book illustrations is important to their significance in the story. In her discussion of the structure of children's picture books, Perry Nodelman writes that quilts are often emphasized in picture books by their "visual weight" (Nodelman 1988: 101). It means that they *become meaningful in relation to the extent to which we notice them and single them out for special attention* (Nodelman 1988: 101). The "weight" of the quilts may be emphasized by unusual patterns or bright colors contrasting with the surrounding scene. Nodelman claims that objects in a picture can also be given "weight" by means of contextual information (Nodelman 1988: 102-103). For instance, the ways in which we

interpret the relative “weight” of quilts presented in the book illustrations depend on our knowledge of African-American culture. In some books the context for the pictures is provided in the text, whereas in others the visual material offers more information than the accompanying text.

Quilts as central images are most likely to be found in picture books about slavery. The last two decades have seen a proliferation of children’s books on the early African-American history, which offer a variety of approaches to the presented issues. Interestingly, the majority of these books do not focus on the suffering of black people but emphasize their successful attempts to achieve freedom. Quilts serve here as important tools to mitigate the history of slavery and offer a sense of hope to very young readers. As Paula T. Connolly observes, *quilts semiotically function as complex signifiers of resistance, community, hope, and acknowledged loss* (Connolly 2003: 30). These and other meanings of quilts are present in picture books by two renown African-American authors, Faith Ringgold and Jacqueline Woodson. Discussing the issue of quilts in their books is interesting because they are set in different historical contexts and provide a number of meanings.

According to many art and literary critics, Faith Ringgold is the most distinguished African-American artist and author who both produces painted quilts and writes children’s books, where quilts are the strongest metaphors of black experience. Ringgold inherited the skill of quilting from her great-grandmother who was a slave. Ringgold’s grandmother and mother were both dressmakers and fashion designers, thus sewing was a strong family tradition. As a young girl Ringgold was taught how to make patchworks, which she later incorporated into her paintings. Determined to continue her family tradition of quilting, since 1980 Ringgold has been producing painted quilts focusing on the past and the presence of black people in America. *Echoes of Harlem* depicting a series of portraits framed in a fabric border is her first quilt. It was created in collaboration with her mother, who died soon after the completion of this work. In order to pay tribute to her mother, in 1981 Ringgold conceived of another painted quilt, *Mother’s Quilt*, representing eight doll figures, a mother and her eight daughters, all wearing a dress which Ringgold’s mother designed before her death. The other quilts created in the 1980s also concern the theme of African-American women and the obstacles they experience in their lives due to the stereotypes ascribed to them historically. In *Who’s Afraid of Aunt Jemima* of 1983, for instance, Ringgold appropriates the stereotype of the Mammy. In fact, it is her first story quilt including a lengthy narrative within a series of squares incorporated into a checkerboard composition of the quilt. It seems like a logical step in the artist’s development as in her earlier works she inscribed individual words into the structure of the picture, then she placed single sentences above the images, and finally the whole story became an integral part of the painting.

Quilting has led Ringgold into a second career, that of an author and illustrator of children’s books. She transformed some of her painted quilts into

picture books for young readers. The idea of publishing the quilt came to the artist in 1990 when Crown Books offered to publish one of them, *Tar Beach*, as a children's book. It was an immediate success, and since then Ringgold has written and illustrated over a dozen of more similar stories. Her quilts and picture books are related in their use of literary and fine art elements. They share visual elements, narrative styles, recurring themes, and similar characters. So far Ringgold's children's books have not gained much attention from the African-American literary community nor from art historians, but, according to Joyce Millman, *If her quilts have been accepted as fine art form that integrates written text and images and invite the viewer to create meaning from that union, then Ringgold's picture books, and those of other authors-illustrators, should be seriously considered as a fine art form* (Millman 2005: 391).

The images of quilts which Ringgold incorporates into her stories serve a number of functions. First, as in pre-Civil War America, quilts appear as signs giving directions to fugitive slaves escaping to the North along secret paths called the Underground Railroad. Placed on the sides of a building or on the gate of a house, they convey secret messages about where the slaves can get shelter and assistance on their way to freedom. Quilts as symbols of hope and protection appear in Ringgold's picture book *Aunt Harriet's Underground Railroad in the Sky* (1992). It tells the story of slaves trying to move to the North under the protection of their leader Harriet Tubman. One of the most significant illustrations presents a colorful quilt with the figure of the star surrounded with regular geometric patterns. The "visual weight" of the quilt is immense. It contrasts with the surrounding landscape of the forest formed with slashes of black, purple and dark greens. Although it is attached to a roof of a house making it visible from a distance, the quilt serves as a secret message understood only by those who belong to the enslaved black community. Being in the center of the book illustration, the quilt certainly affects the reader's appreciation of the image irrespective of whether they have any experience or general knowledge of the true meanings of quilts.

Except for being symbols of safety, quilts are a medium of resistance to the oppressions faced by African-Americans in later periods of their history. Ringgold's painted quilt *Tar Beach* as well as the images of quilts in her picture book of the same title refer to the economic difficulties black people faced during in the 1930s. *Tar Beach* (1991) tells the story of the African-American family, whose father lost his job since he was black and thus was excluded from the trade unions. However, it was him who built the Union Building, which now he has no right to enter. The mother of the family struggles with the lack of financial resources by leading a modest lifestyle. Their daughter, Cassie, is not resigned though. One starry night, as her parents are having dinner with their neighbors on the roof of their apartment block, which they call "tar beach," the girl imagines that she can improve the situation of her family by flying in the stars above the roof of the building. The image of the girl flying over the George Washington Bridge

made in the form of the quilt is the central image of the story. It is a highly symbolic scene in which Cassie says: *Now I have claimed it [the bridge]. All I had to do was fly over it for it to be mine forever. ... I can fly. That means I am free to go wherever I want for the rest of my life* (Ringgold 1991: 14-15). By the act of flying she wants to find a job for her father, a construction worker denied access to the labor unions due to his African-American origins, and thus improve the economic situation of the whole family. After several illustrations depicting the difficulties of living in the Harlem community, the image of the quilt gives readers hope that they can change their lives on condition that they dare to resist.

Quilts are specifically female forms of rebellion as originally it was women who designed and produced them. In the twentieth century on many occasions African-American female artists returned to this tradition and took up quilting as a form of protest art. In the 1970s, with the emergence of the women's art movement, quilts with a clear political message were displayed in major American museums. In the 1990s artistic quilts were not exclusively confined to the African-American experience but to the lives of all women globally. Artists connected with the second-wave women's movement produced a myriad of quilts addressing the joys and difficulties of what it means to be female. Ringgold, being a black feminist herself, did not fail to express her concern with women's issues in her images of quilts. In *Aunt Harriet's Underground Railroad in the Sky*, the final page of the book presents a quilt celebrating one hundredth anniversary of the Underground Railroad. The quilt, marked with a colorful frame, strongly contrasts with the crowd of black faces standing in front of the figure of Harriet Tubman. Although a lot of black people, both men and women, were involved in helping fugitive slaves, it is a woman who is celebrated for her achievements. The quilt is represented here as an artifact of remembrance. It pays tribute to those who experienced the difficulty of escaping from the bonds of slavery into freedom.

Another meaning of quilts expressed in Ringgold's picture books is that of the quality of life. In slavery times, black women made luxurious quilts for their masters, whereas their own ones were sewn out of scraps of fabric left over from those of whites. Ringgold applies this idea in her story *Tar Beach*, in which she focuses on the economic situation of one family living in New York City in the 1930s. Cassie, the main character, while dreaming of raising the living standard of her parents, envisions her mother not having to go to work early in the morning but relaxing and sleeping like their neighbor, Mrs Honey. In the illustration accompanying this dreamlike vision we can see her mother lying in bed covered with a richly decorated quilt. It is interesting that this image of the quilt serves as a visual counterpoint to the verbal narrative as it provides alternative information to the story.

In Jacqueline Woodson's picture book entitled *Show Way* (2005) the quilt is a metanarrative image of the whole story. Black history is presented here as a quilt of experiences of several generations. The book is Woodson's own family history from slavery to the present day. It starts with the image of a young enslaved girl,

the author's great-grandmother, who is separated from her family by being sold to another plantation. The only thing that she is allowed to take with her is a piece of muslin, which she extends into a quilt later in her life. As she gets older, the same story happens to her daughter, who receives a quilt from her mother including the original scrap of muslin. The next generation of the family becomes free but the ever-growing quilt remains in their possession. In times of trouble it gives them hope and incessantly reminds them of their way to freedom. Except for being the main objects of the family history, the images of quilts included in the book evoke important moments from African-American history. Quilts accompany the fugitive slaves heading north to Canada. The separation of the country during the American Civil War is depicted as a patchwork map, where each scrap represents one state. All the scraps are tightly connected in upper and lower part of the quilt, but the stitch is ripped in the center and divides the country into two separate parts. Another illustration features the Civil Rights marchers as they were walking upon patches of quilt including quotes by famous African-Americans, such as Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Langston Hughes and Martin Luther King, Jr. The quotes appear on individual piece which are stitched together, thus creating one historical narrative. The images of quilts in Woodson's book usually take up the whole double spread, which is divided into small pieces depicting either the author's family history or the major political events of the country. The verbal material, however, concerns only the family narrative. For instance, the following text, describing the main events of the story, is placed in the center of the quilt, which is surrounded by visual images depicting different situations from the slavery period:

*When Mathis May was seven,
she got sold away.
Took a star from her mama's blanket,
took a little piece of the road.
Pressed it to her face when she
wanted to remember back home.
Held it to her heart to feel back home.
Got herself a piece of muslin
and some thread somewhere
and kept up her sewing.
Sewed so fine, she was making clothes
for everyone in the big house
and slaves too (Woodson 2005: 12).*

The integration of the personal and political in one quilt indicates to what extent one's personal history becomes part of the nation's history. In order to find connections between these two narratives it might be necessary to reread parts of the book. Lawrence Sipe uses the term "recursive reading" and proposes *to go*

backward and forward in order to relate an illustration to the one before or after it, and to relate the text on one page to an illustration on a previous or successive page; or to understand new ways in which the combination of the text and picture on one page relate to preceding or succeeding pages (Sipe 1998: 101). Quilts accompanied with the verbal narrative thus demand a great deal of attention from the readers as failing to notice important visual objects or misunderstanding symbolic words incorporated into the verbal text may lead to wrong interpretations.

To conclude, in African-American tradition quilts serve varied purposes. They are either utilitarian objects or artworks reflecting a variety of styles based on the integration of African textile traditions and American arts and crafts. They function as artifacts of remembrance as most of them evoke important moments from the history of black people in America as well as celebrate the achievements of their heroes. They make a space for oppressed voices to name their experience. African-American quilts, originally created to convey secret messages only to members of the black community, are always marked with the rhetoric of resistance. They are symbols of black people's rebellion against the many oppressions they experienced in the slavery period and in the more recent past. Simultaneously quilts relay a sense of hope by celebrating successes rather than failures of black communities.

Picture books including images of quilts are based on the same rhetoric. Incorporating quilts into the structure of picture books certainly affects their aesthetics and political meaning. The book illustrations featuring quilts have more "visual weight" than those without any extraordinary objects. They add new narrative layers as every patch in a quilt has a different story to tell. The images of quilts contain a myriad of symbols Black women used in their communities to create their own vision of African-American identity. The coded information they contain can be puzzling and inspiring for many a reader. Davis writes of the transformative role of the quilt saying that *Its symbolic nature transforms children into a community of readers of the world and of culture by illuminating Black experience in America through rhetorical art* (Davis 1998: 67). To finish, in order to have a deeper insight into the complexity of black experience in America there is a need to study not only the painted quilts exhibited in museums but also smaller images included in picture books, which, together with the verbal narrative, provide a load of information on African-American experience.

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JESZCZE TRADYCYJNA CZY JUŻ „NOWA” FILOLOGIA? W STRONĘ ROZWAŻAŃ WALTERA BENJAMINA

Abstract

The paper entitled „Jeszcze tradycyjna czy już „nowa” filologia? – w stronę rozważań Waltera Benjamina” consists of four parts: 1. Introduction (introductory word), which depicts the condition of contemporary philology, its traditional roots and new tendencies of development of particular philological disciplines; 2. Presenting the figure of Walter Benjamin, a German philosopher of culture, and his chosen esseistic considerations which strongly influenced contemporary literary, cultural and media studies; 3. Analytical part – 3 examples of literary texts and 1 example connected with the area of music narration – it, in all cases, particularly takes into consideration the notion of a „distance” by Walter Benjamin and the attempt to interpret the texts through the perspective of the above-mentioned idea; 4. Summarizing the raised considerations and the attempt to answer the question asked in the title of the paper.

Key words: traditional vs. new philology, contemporary literary, cultural and media studies, the notion of a „distance”, Walter Benjamin

1. Słowo wstępne

Dynamiczny rozwój nowych technologii łączy się z wyjątkowo szybkimi zmianami w kulturze, przekształca utrwalone systemy wartości. Ponowoczesność cechuje niedefiniowalność wynikająca z wielości idei, punktów widzenia i metod badawczych stosowanych w dyscyplinach filologicznych.

Podstawowe działy filologii: literaturoznawstwo, językoznawstwo, kulturoznawstwo czy glottodydaktyka¹ dawno przestały być autonomicznymi obszarami badań naukowych. Innymi słowy filologia jako nauka przestała być interdyscyplinarna, a stała się trans-dyscyplinarna, tzn. nie tyle już czerpiąca z metodologii przyległych dziedzin (jak w przypadku np. szeroko pojętej lingwistyki

¹ Por. B. Sadownik, *Zdolności językowe w świetle modularnej teorii umysłu – implikacje glottodydaktyczne*. [w:] *Neofilolog* Nr 36 (2011), s. 257-275.

kulturowej)², lecz przekraczająca własne wyznaczone ramy badawcze. Najszybciej te zmiany dostrzec można właśnie w obrębie metodologii badawczej, w zakresie prowadzonych badań w dobie komunikacji w społeczeństwie zdominowanym postęmem technologicznym. Tutaj wyraźnie widać, że filologia i jej „dyżurny” przedmiot badań – tekst (tekst literacki, tekst w ujęciu językoznawczym, tekst-obraz) – stały się punktem wyjścia (względnie odniesienia) w ramach innych dyscyplin badawczych, tj. niezwiązanych bezpośrednio z filologią:

Aż do pierwszych dekad XX wieku to, co dziś określamy mianem kulturoznawstwa i literaturoznawstwa, nazywano filologią i oczywiste było, że wszystkie jej procedury interpretacyjne są głęboko zakorzenione w nauce o tekście. Punkt ciężkości XX-wiecznych badań nad tekstem przesunął się jednak od filologii w stronę hermeneutyki, owego podzbioru badań filologicznych skupiającego się na specyficznie literackim interpretowaniu kultury.³

W epoce ponowoczesnej, w której praktycznie wszystko jest „stekstualizowanym” przekazem filologia stała się czymś w rodzaju metanauki wyznaczając swoim poszczególnym działom, w szczególności – języko- i literaturoznawstwu nowe kierunki rozwoju. I tak o to – w przypadku językoznawstwa – mamy do czynienia np. z lingwistyką płci⁴, lingwistyką mediów⁵ czy lingwistyką obrazu⁶. W przypadku literaturoznawstwa – już od kilku dekad notoryczne zbliżenia literatury i innych dziedzin związanych z szeroko pojętą komunikacją od czasów przełomu poststrukturalistycznego. Zbliżenia te badane są na różnych płaszczyznach – np.: literatury i fotografii⁷, literatury

² A. Włodarczyk-Stachurska, *Lingwistyka kulturowa – próba syntezy*. [w:] „Radomskie Studia Filologiczne”, red. Dariusz Trześniowski, Anna Włodarczyk-Stachurska, Radom 2014 (1), s. 71-80, tu: s. 71.

³ J.J. McGann, *Dlaczego nauka o tekście jest ważna?*, tłum. Jan Prussak [w:] „Teksty Drugie – Nowa (?) filologia”, Warszawa 2014 (2), s. 158-171, tu: s. 151.

⁴ M. Karwatowska/J. Szpyra-Kozłowska, *Lingwistyka płci. Ona i on języku polskim*, Lublin 2005, ss. 294.

⁵ G. Antos/R. Opilowski /J. Jarosz (red.): *Sprache und Bild im massenmedialen Text. Formen, Funktionen und Perspektiven im deutschen und polnischen Kommunikationsraum (pl. Język i obraz w tekście masowym. Formy, funkcje i perspektywy w niemieckiej i polskiej przestrzeni komunikacyjnej)*, Wrocław/Dresden 2014, ss. 302. (=Breslauer Studien zur Medienlinguistik – Wrocławskie Studia z lingwistyki mediów).

⁶ G. Boehm, *O obrazach i widzeniu. Antologia tekstów*, tłum. Małgorzata Łukasiewicz, Anna Pieczyńska-Sulik, Kraków 2014, ss. 328.

⁷ W zakresie związków (zbliżeń) literatury i fotografii (podobnie zresztą jak w przypadku związków literatury i filmu) przytoczyć już można cały szereg prac badawczych zarówno na gruncie polsko- jak i niemieckojęzycznym – z najnowszych prac: M. Koszowy, *W poszukiwaniu rzeczywistości. Mediacyjna rola fotografii we współczesnej prozie polskiej*, Kraków 2014 czy A.K. Hillenbach *Literatur und Fotografie. Analysen eines intermedialen Verhältnisses [Literatura i fotografia – analiza relacji intermedialnej]* – tłum. J. Kowalski, Bielefeld 2012.

i muzyki⁸, literatury i innych sztuk „przestrzennych” wykorzystujących najnowsze technologie przekazu (cyfrowe media audiowizualne)⁹. O czym świadczą te wszystkie przeobrażenia tradycyjnie rozumianej filologii w „nową”? Czy rzeczywiście nadciąga „nowe”? Obecnie mówi się dużo o kryzysie humanistyki, którego szczególnym wyrazem jest nieprzerwany konflikt: humanistyka vs. technika/technologia:

Dylemat, o którym wspominam, wprowadza nas w inną ważną konfrontację, w której bierze udział humanistyka: w konfrontację ze światem techniki, Heideggerowskim »»Ge-Stell««. (...) Powiedzmy więc tylko krótko: konsekwencją „triumfalnego pochodu” techniki jest przede wszystkim kryzys wszelkich dawnych stosunków między człowiekiem a światem, kryzys relacji międzyludzkich i wolności. Humanistyka okazuje się więc także w tym sensie niezbędna: z jednej strony przeciwstawia się panowaniu techniki, z drugiej – pragnie nadawać jej humanistyczny wymiar¹⁰.

Współczesne stechnicyzowanie przekazów kulturowo-literackich¹¹, ich silny zwrot w kierunku cieszącej się dziś dużym zainteresowaniem badawczym nauki o komunikacji wspartej artystycznymi środkami wyrazu charakterystycznymi dla II połowy XX oraz cyfrowymi dla przełomu XX i XXI wieku wciąż odsłania nieustanną potrzebę opracowywania takich kategorii badawczych, które – poprzez re-lekturę znanych i lekturę tekstów najnowszych – pozwoliłyby w badaniach filologicznych – w przypadku niniejszej pracy - literaturoznawczych - dokonać pewnego uporządkowania najbardziej charakterystycznych „nowych” zjawisk. Mam tutaj na myśli nie tylko sprawy gatunkowe, ale także i same zjawiska bezpośrednio w obrębie języka literatury pięknej jak również kwestie dotyczące przyjętej konwencji literackiej (np. jej zapożyczenie lub nowe – jak to ujmują poszczególni badacze – „życie”¹²) czy wreszcie kwestie związane z techniką kompozycyjną, estetyką zapisu – najbardziej podatnym na zmiany elementem

⁸ Por. A. Hejmej, *Muzyka w literaturze. Perspektywy komparatystyki interdyscyplinarnej*, Kraków 2012, ss. 361.

⁹ S. Zielinski, *Tekst elektroniczny. Niektóre problemy audiowizualnych tekstur*, tłum. Konstanty Szydłowski [w:] „Teksty Drugie – Nośnik jest przekazem”, Warszawa 2014 (3), s. 214-226, tu; s. 214.

¹⁰ Źródło multimedialne:

<http://www.miesiecznik.znak.com.pl/archiwumcyfrowe/x00s/2009/653.pdf>, dostęp 15.06.2015.

¹¹ Por. J. Kowalski, *Przybliżanie, oddalanie... Technika zoomu fotograficznego w przekazach kulturowo-literackich na przykładzie wybranych tekstów powojennej oraz współczesnej literatury niemieckojęzycznej – próba konceptualizacji* [w:] *Komunikacja w świecie stechnicyzowanym. Wpływ postępu technicznego na język i literaturę* pod red. Bogdana Walczaka, Agnieszki Niekrewicz, Jowity Żurawskiej-Chaszczyńskiej, Gorzów Wielkopolski 2014, s. 269-282.

¹² Por. A. Buda, *Powieść wiktoriańska i jej dwudziestowieczne życie*, Radom 2014, ss. 202.

ponowoczesnej komunikacji literackiej. Co jest z kolei typowe dla współczesnej kultury przełomu wieków?:

Kulturę przełomu XX i XXI wieku charakteryzuje z pewnością heterogeniczność nośników, które transmitują treści kultury, ich powszechna dostępność (stąd demokratyzacja uczestnictwa w kulturze i globalizacja oddziaływań). A z drugiej strony cechuje ją wymuszanie czynnego udziału w tym procesie, tj. interaktywność z perspektywy odbiorcy.¹³

Celem niniejszej pracy jest odwołanie się do konkretnych ustaleń teoretycznych z zakresu filozofii kultury Waltera Benjamina i odniesienie ich do czterech praktycznych przykładów „tekstów”¹⁴ w kontekście ich usytuowania w kulturze ponowoczesnej, dla której charakterystyczna jest często (ale nie we wszystkich omawianych w tej pracy przykładach) reprezentacja na pograniczu słowa oraz obrazu.

2. Myśl Benjaminowska jako źródło współczesnych inspiracji filologicznych – pojęcie „dystansu”

Recepcja myśli Benjaminowskiej zarówno w badaniach literaturo- jak i kulturoznawczych przeżywa w ostatnim czasie swoisty renesans. Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) jako człowiek niezwykle wszechstronny w podjętych przez siebie rozważaniach zajmuje szczególne miejsce na mapie rozwoju myśli filozoficznej XX wieku – czerpać z jego myśli mogą praktycznie wszyscy badacze reprezentujący poszczególne działy filologii, a nawet – a raczej w szczególności - dziedziny pozostające na pograniczu określonych dyscyplin, np. literaturo-, kulturo- oraz medioznawstwa, do czego zmierzam w tej pracy. Najtrafniej sylwetkę filozofa kultury scharakteryzował w swym artykule badacz Ryszard Rózanowski:

Walter Benjamin – filozof, teoretyk literatury i sztuki, krytyk, tłumacz i eseista, kolekcjoner i bibliofil – wywarł olbrzymi wpływ na współczesną refleksję o kulturze. Mniej konwencjonalne etykiety określają go jako „geniusza stulecia”, „księcia życia intelektualnego” , „saturnicznego bohatera współczesnej kultury”. Hannah Arendt mówi o jego poetyckiej wyobraźni, poszukującej correspondances między konkretami a obrazami, stwierdzając jednocześnie, że nie był poetą ani filozofem – tłumaczył na język niemiecki utwory Prousta i Baudelaire’a, ale nie był tłumaczem. Napisał mnóstwo recenzji i klasycznych esejów, był autorem książek

¹³ H. Ludorowska, *Literatura i nowe media*. [w:] Publicystyka – Literatura, Lublin 2002, s. 107-114, tu: s. 114. (=Literaria Lublinensia).

¹⁴ W nawiązaniu do współczesnej myśli techniczno-humanistycznej w tym miejscu trafniej byłoby użyć sformułowania – przekaz, komunikat wsparty estetyką medialnego zapisu lub prezentujący nową konwencję zapisu – J.K.

o niemieckim baroku i romantyzmie, (...). Według Susan Sonntag u Benjamina »umysłowe i historyczne procesy przybierają kształt pojęciowych obrazów (...)«. Swoboda, z jaką się poruszał w różnych obszarach kultury, rzeczywiście budzi podziw, podobnie jak jego metoda krytyczna, której atrybuty – metafora, wizja poetycka, aforyzm i przypowieść – zastąpiły tradycyjne formy wypowiedzi naukowej. Jego prace to samoistne, oryginalne i świetnie skonstruowane dzieła sztuki, dalekie od ideału akademickiej drobiazgowości i przesadnej dbałości o obiektywistyczny wydzwitek analiz.¹⁵

Moim głównym teoretycznym punktem odniesienia w niniejszej pracy jest jeden z najbardziej znanych esejów Waltera Benjamina pt.: „Dzieło sztuki w dobie jego reprodukcji technicznej (1936)”¹⁶. Jest to praca wielokrotnie komentowana i tłumaczona na różne języki obce, przywoływana dzisiaj głównie w kontekście badań literaturo- oraz medioznawczych (ale i nie tylko).

Skąd zaczerpnąłem pojęcie „dystansu”? Jest ono logiczną konsekwencją pojęcia AURY. W świetle Benjaminowskiej definicji aury oraz śladu – gdzie AURA to „przejaw dali, bez względu na to jak blisko dana rzecz może się znajdować”¹⁷, ŚLAD z kolei „jest przejawem bliskości bez względu na to, jak daleko rzecz, która go pozostawiła, może być”¹⁸:

Jest ona (aura – J.K.) czasoprzestrzennym usytuowaniem, kontekstem dzieła, od którego nie może ono zostać odseparowane. W Dziele sztuki filozof pisze również, że aurę można określić jako „niepowtarzalne zjawisko oddalenia, obojętne czy będzie ono znaczne czy znikome”, utożsamiając je z duchowym i jednocześnie fizycznym dystansem wobec przedmiotu zewnętrznego, który umożliwia jego estetyczny ogląd.¹⁹

Pojęcie „dystansu”, którego głównymi składnikami w estetyce myślenia Waltera Benjamina są perspektywa bliży oraz dali, rozpatruję jako możliwą kategorię badawczą związaną z komunikacją literacką w świecie stechniczowanym oraz tego konsekwencją – czyli utratą „aury” – jedynej

¹⁵ R. Rózanowski, *Odradek, albo kto się boi Waltera Benjamina?* [w:] Nowa Krytyka Nr 8, Szczecin 1997, s. 5-31, tu: s. 5-6.

¹⁶ W. Benjamin, *Dzieło sztuki w dobie reprodukcji technicznej*, [w:] *Twórca jako wytwórca*, tłum. H. Orłowski, J. Sikorski, Poznań 1975, s. 66-105.

¹⁷ B. Frydryczak, *Świat jako kolekcja. Próby analizy estetycznej natury nowoczesności*, Poznań 2002, s. 165.

¹⁸ Tamże, s. 165.

¹⁹ Źródło multimedialne,

http://www.academia.edu/10022332/Waltera_Benjamina_koncepcja_sztuki_odczarowanej_Walter_Benjamin_s_concept_of_disenchanted_art_, dostęp 15.07.2015.

i niepowtarzalnej właściwości dzieła sztuki. Podobnie – jak w przypadku dzieła sztuki, o którym pisał filozof – w dobie kultury technicyzowanej przemianom uległa bowiem także estetyka zapisu literackiego. Konsekwencją tego stanu rzeczy jest „nowa” jakość komunikatu literackiego. Wciąż jednak takie rozpatrywanie literatury przez pryzmat myśli Benjaminowskiej oprzeć należy o jedną z definicji wymiaru tekstu jako struktury dynamicznej – w rozumieniu takich teoretyków poststrukturalizmu jak semiotyka kultury Roland Barthesa czy badacza zjawiska intertekstualności i form narracyjnych Gerarda Genette²⁰. Nawet technicyzowany komunikat kulturowo-literacki musi posiadać swą indywidualną estetykę zapisu, swoje konkretne materialne utrwalenie. W tej perspektywie tekstu jako tworu o charakterze dynamicznym tradycyjny układ autor (nadawca) – tekst (komunikat) – czytelnik (odbiorca) jest gruntownie rewidowany: „Kiedy bowiem – w ujęciu semiotycznym – wszystko uważane jest za tekst, wówczas medium (lub media) staje się tym wymiarem, który określa tożsamość dzieła”²¹. Jeśli dzisiaj – w dobie epoki zdominowanej obrazem cyfrowym – teksty literackie, a zwłaszcza teksty autobiograficzne traktuje się jako teksty kultury²², to hipoteza badawcza związana z pojęciem „dystansu” u Waltera Benjamina i jego funkcjonalizacja w ponowoczesnej produkcji literackiej mogłaby być tym narzędziem badawczym, którego zastosowanie do re-lektury, tj. po-NOW-nEGO (podkreślenie – J.K.) odczytania komunikatu kulturowo-literackiego zdaje się być w pełni uzasadnione. Ten szczególny i najczęściej przywoływany esej Waltera Benjamina jest dowodem tego, iż tak naprawdę to, co „nowe” w kontekście postępujących przemian kulturowych wyłoniło się jeszcze z tego co „tradycyjne”. Wielu badaczy (np. Dietrich Thierkopf²³) podkreśla jednocześnie, iż eseistyczny i dość zawiły styl myślenia Waltera Benjamina, merytoryczne bogactwo stosowanych przez niego pojęć ciężko przeszczepić na inne grunty badawcze, gdyż niełatwo z tymi pojęciami (np. „Aury”) pracować. We słowie wstępnym wspomniałem już o możliwościach „przeszczepienia” tego pojęcia na grunt literaturoznawczy. Tak, jak bowiem kultura technicyzowana I połowy XX wieku – co wycytujemy z pracy W. Benjamina - w ekspresowym tempie zaczęła zmieniać zasady recepcji i postrzegania ludzkiego, tak i literatura II połowy XX wieku oraz przełomu XX i XXI wieku stała się nieuchronnie częścią procesów tych przemian. Z początkiem

²⁰ A. Burzyńska, M.P. Markowski, *Teorie literatury XX wieku*, Kraków 2006, s. 307.

²¹ M. Chmura-Wasilewska, *Przestrzeń intermedialna literatury i muzyki. Muzyka jako model i tworzywo w szwedzkiej poezji późnego modernizmu i neoawangardy*, Kraków 2011, s. 23.

²² A. Rutka, *Pamięć i płeć we współczesnych niemieckich powieściach rodzinnych i generacyjnych*, Lublin 2011, s. 265.

²³ D. Thierkopf, *Nähe und Ferne. Kommentare zu Benjamins Denkverfahren* [Perspektywa bliży i dali. Komentarze dotyczące stylu myślowego Benjamina – tłum. J. Kowalski], [w:] L. Heinz, *Text und Kritik. Zeitschrift für Literatur. Heft 31/32: Walter Benjamin*, München 1979, s. 3-18, tu: s. 15.

lat 60-tych zauważalnym np. w literaturze niemieckojęzycznej staje się systematyczne dystansowanie się od Stanzelowskiej koncepcji narracji pierwszoosobowej²⁴. Dzieje się tak za sprawą literatury dokumentu, w której narracja oparta na dokumencie w postaci pisma i/lub obrazu ma za zadanie wizualizować rzeczywiste zdarzenie i pozwolić mu kontrolować schemat narracyjny danego tekstu literackiego. Celem tej literatury jest przede wszystkim wiarygodny, autentyczny przekaz literacki. Literatura dokumentu wykorzystuje pozaliterackie środki artystycznego przekazu, w przypadku gdy fikcja – zmyślony układ planu wydarzeń oraz postaci (sfingowana wypowiedź o rzeczywistości) okazuje się odległą, wręcz abstrakcyjną pod względem komunikacyjnym. Literatura ta często poddaje tekst literacki eksperymentom polegającym na syntezie elementów fikcyjnych (opowiadanych) i nie-fikcyjnych (dokumentarnych) poprzez tworzenie określonej całości z pozatekstowych segmentów (zapożyczone cytaty, fotografie, zapis dźwiękowy). W obszarze gatunków literackich skutkiem takiej nowej jakości tekstu jest łączenie (szczególnie w literaturze między rokiem 1980 a 2000 oraz w tekstach późniejszych) elementów autobiograficznych oraz dokumentarnych z użyciem fotografii (np. biografie tekstowo-zdjęciowe Alfreda Anderscha, Anny Seghers czy Christy Wolf) czy też widoczne bezpośrednio w schemacie narracji pisarskiej sytuacje przejściowe między narracją w pierwszej i trzeciej osobie z wykorzystaniem bogatego materiału zdjęciowego. Literatura jako obszar kultury w dobie komunikacji stechnicyzowanej także potrafi posługiwać się technikami reprodukcji na masową skalę w postaci licznych zabiegów intertekstualno-intermedialnych i w tym sensie jest również przestrzenią komunikacyjną umożliwiającą stosowanie różnych form zapisu czy rodzajów estetycznej gry (podobnie jak w narracji muzycznej, do której w tej pracy krótko się odniosę).

W niniejszej pracy podejmuję próbę rozpatrzenia pojęcia „dystansu” w odniesieniu do czterech różnych tekstów: trzech literackich, których elementem struktury są m.in.: elementy wizualne (ilustracje książkowe oraz rodzinne fotografie albumowe) względnie tekstów stanowiących przykład gry z konwencją oraz jednego przykładu muzycznego, któremu w dotychczasowych badaniach przyznano już w sposób jednoznaczny status iluzorycznego schematu bliży i dali.

3. Praktyczne przykłady literackie oraz muzyczne

3.1 Dystans jako forma zabawy

Odzwierciedlenie dystansu w rozumieniu W. Benjamina jako formy zabawy odnaleźć można w fikcjonalnym (noszącym śladowe znamiona autobiograficzne) utworze praskiego pisarza oraz muzyka rockowego, germanisty z wykształcenia,

²⁴ F.K. Stanzel, *Theorie des Erzählens* [Teoria narracji – tłum. J. Kowalski], Göttingen 2001, s. 290.

Jaroslava Rudiša *Niebo pod Berlinem*²⁵. Określenie powieść „ilustrowana” w przypadku tego utworu wydałoby się nie do końca trafne, ponieważ tekst jest koncepcyjnym przykładem postmodernistycznej syntezy słowa, obrazu i koncepcji muzycznej jako pewnej idei odautorskiej. Od strony gatunkowej ten tekst przypomina rodzaj dziennika z podróży: składa się z 12 odrębnych rozdziałów, które mogłyby funkcjonować jako osobne, samodzielne segmenty – surrealistyczne historie opowiadane w tytułowym „Niebie pod Berlinem”, czyli metrze berlińskim. Wizualizacja mikrokosmosu świata przedstawionego – metra berlińskiego - ujawnia się tym razem w niewyraźnych książkowych ilustracjach, które należy rozumieć jako zapis dynamiki „opowiadanej” przestrzeni, medium prędkości dworcowego życia. „Zapis” ten dotyczy aktywności rockowego półświatka w berlińskim metrze (rockowej subkultury), w którym odnaleźć można wyłuszczone fragmenty innych tekstów, tj. tekstów piosenek, komentarzy narratorskich, treści ogłoszeniowo-reklamowych. Metro berlińskie w tekście J. Rudiša to wreszcie przestrzeń typowej refleksji postmodernistycznej wyrażającej się w poszukiwaniu przez członków „powieściowego” zespołu U-Bahn nowych melodii, nowych tekstów, a więc pewnych wzorców odniesienia. Tekst i obraz koncipowane jako dynamika przestrzeni wyostają u odbiorcy tego tekstu zmysł słuchu, który nie dotyczy tylko licznych dźwięków stricte kolejowych ewokowanych za pośrednictwem przygód bohaterów tej książki, ale pozwala otworzyć się odbiorcy tekstu na muzyczny akompaniament „z zewnątrz” - w szczególności instrumentalny utwór Davida Bowiego²⁶ pt. „Speed of life” z albumu „Low” pochodzący z tzw. trylogii berlińskiej. Odtwarzając ten utwór muzyczny i kartkując ilustracje w tekście można lepiej zrozumieć formę „zapisu” wspomnianej dynamiki przestrzeni. Jest to model tzw. reprezentacji epistemologicznej, o której pisał m.in. Michał Paweł Markowski oraz Cezary Zalewski: „to, co przedstawione, jest zatem tworem samego umysłu, który operuje na poziomie teoretycznym, zakładając niezbędny dystans. Dzięki temu jednakże porządkuje on i poznaje świat, a zarazem może nad nim zapanować”.²⁷ Główny bohater – praski nauczyciel opuszcza swoje dotychczasowe uporządkowane miejsce na ziemi, by wraz z nowo poznanymi przyjaciółmi stać się

²⁵ J. Rudiš, *Niebo pod Berlinem*, tłum. Joanna Derdowska, Warszawa 2004, ss. 140 - oryginał w języku czeskim ukazał się w 2002r., tłumaczenie niemieckie w 2004 r. Przywołuję ten tekst jako przykład dla szerokich ram niemieckiego obszaru kulturowego, gdzie autorzy tekstów niekoniecznie muszą być rodowitymi Niemcami, a których twórczość porusza problematykę związaną z historią i kulturą charakterystyczną dla tego obszaru – J.K.

²⁶ Nazwisko artysty jest często przywoływane w kontekście muzycznej kultury metra berlińskiego – J.K.

²⁷ C. Zalewski, *Literatura i fotografia. Modele reprezentacji wobec kwestii interpretacji*. [w:] *Kulturowe wizualizacje doświadczenia* pod red. W. Boleckiego i A. Dziadka, t. 89, Warszawa 2010, s. 352-369, tu: s. 357. (=Z dziejów form artystycznych w literaturze polskiej PAN).

„Berlińczykiem”: muzykiem-podróżnikiem w metrze berlińskim. Narrator zdaje się w pełni panować nad kreacją swojego surrealistycznego świata. Ironicznie ten tożsamościotwórczy punkt zawiązania akcji utworu wizualizuje ilustracja w postaci plakatu prawdopodobnie na jednej ze stacji metra, która opatrzona jest podpisem – „Du bist kein Berliner“! (Nie jesteś Berlińczykiem!)²⁸ Lektura tekstu zaczyna się więc od ilustracji plakatu będącego wizualną metaforą-cytatem, zachętą (komentarzem) do wyruszenia w podróż, u podstaw której tkwi określona reprezentacja, tj. obraz względnie idea tożsamościotwórcza w umyśle narratora tekstu - przemiana z nauczyciela w muzyka. Gdyby pozbawić ten tekst jego zawartości wizualnej, czytelnik nie byłby w stanie uchwycić wspomnianej już idei odautorskiej – zostałby jedynie skonfrontowany z obrazami wspomnień osobistych narratora i jego zmyślonych współtowarzyszy, z trudnym do opowiedzenia transferem pamięci o epoce NRD i byłej Czechosłowacji sprzed przełomu 1989. Jaki głębszy schemat komunikacyjny pokazuje czytelnikowi taka forma dystansu? Imaginacja (bliskość) versus rzeczywistość (oddalenie) w tekście Rudiša odgrywa rolę centralną – autor wykorzystuje tę perspektywę niemalże w każdym rozdziale swojej książki: nie tylko w warstwie tekstowej (np. tekst główny rozdziału dotyczący konkretnych historii z życia vs. tekst osobny, wtrącenie w postaci wytluszczonych tytułów piosenek, playlisty „Ubany” czy tekstów-plakatów pełniących funkcję zapowiedzi koncertów zespołu), ale także w warstwie wizualnej (pomniejszone i powiększone ilustracje postaci z berlińskiego metra). Funkcja ilustracji w utworze J. Rudiša polega na tym, iż pozwalają one kontrolować „potoczne doświadczenie narratora i potrafią zatrzeć różnice między przedstawieniem a rzeczywistością”²⁹. Innymi słowy, wyobraźnia pozwala autorowi ująć tradycyjny obraz świata (życie jako praski nauczyciel) w cudzysłów, zdystansować się, by doświadczyć bliskości innego życia jako muzyk rockowy. Doświadczenie tejże „rockowej” bliskości jest narratorowi potrzebne do zrozumienia opowieści o sobie samym i swoich współtowarzyszach podróży metrem berlińskim.

Dystans w kontekście utworu Rudiša można określić jako optymistyczną konwencję literacką – jako zabawę, ponieważ u jej podstaw tkwi zabieg odautorski polegający na przedstawieniu przemiany z nauczyciela w artystę/muzyka

²⁸ J. Rudiš, nienumerowana strona tekstu – tę ilustrację można odczytać jako wizualny palimpsest w podwójnym znaczeniu: 1. nawiązanie do znanego na całym świecie amerykańskiego plakatu Jamesa Montgomery’ego Flagga z 1917 r. stanowiącego wezwanie (a więc spontaniczne wyruszenie w podróż, opuszczenie domostwa i włączenie się do akcji zbrojnej) do udziału w I wojnie światowej; 2. a także jako parafrazę słynnych słów prezydenta USA Johna Kennedy’ego „Jestem Berlińczykiem” podczas wizyty w ówczesnym Berlinie Zachodnim w 1963 r. podkreślających wolność i niezależność – idei, którym również tekst J. Rudiša hołduje w pierwszym rzędzie – J.K.

²⁹ G. Boehm, *O obrazach i widzeniu. Antologia tekstów*, tłum. M. Łukasiewicz, A. Pieczyńska-Sulik, Kraków 2014, s. 276.

rockowego – potencjalnego orędownika historii minionych i pamięci o nich. Rudiś bawi się, opowiadając o metrze berlińskim i życiu w nim, toteż z perspektywy bliży widzimy przedrukowane w tekście obrazki jak fikcyjne zdjęcie zespołu „Ubany” czy plakat reklamujący turecki kebab – kulinarną specjalność multikulturowej dzielnicy Berlina – Neuköln. Z perspektywy dali widzimy niewyraźne ilustracje wejścia do stacji metra, czy punktu informacyjnego jednej ze stacji – tak, jak byśmy uczestniczyli w tej surrealistycznej podróży wraz z narratorem, przejeżdżając obok tych wszystkich miejsc.

3.2 Dystans jako lektura (auto)-biograficzna

Jako wzorcowy tekst literacki niemieckiego obszaru kulturowego rozpatruję utwór quasi-autobiograficzny autorstwa niemieckiej dziennikarki Wibke Bruhns *Kraj mojego ojca*³⁰. W świetle poststrukturalnych, semiotycznych stanowisk teoretycznoliterackich utwór ten zajmie miejsce szczególne. Lektura tego utworu wyraźnie pokazuje czytelnikowi, iż w tym wypadku pojęcie tekstu można bezsprzecznie poszerzyć o kod wizualny, którego funkcję będzie pełniła np. fotografia jako osobisty dokument rodzinny, wymagający określonego sposobu odczytania kontekstu literackiego. Dotyczy to w szczególności współczesnych utworów autobiograficznych niemieckiego obszaru kulturowego rozumianych jako teksty kultury, które charakteryzują się wprawdzie określoną heterogenicznością grupy tekstów (konstrukty autobiograficzne jako wyraz rodzinnej integracji i pewnego rodzaju kontynuacji tożsamościowej piszącego), ale jednocześnie hybrydowością formy ze względu na różnorodność wykorzystanych mediów „umożliwiających autorowi/-ce dostęp do przeszłości takich jak np. rodzinne fotografie albumowe czy nagranie filmowe, listy, pamiętniki”³¹.

Tekst ten wykorzystuje w szczególny sposób dokument rodzinny – fotografię albumową jako m.in. środek narracji w tekście głównym, a także w formie wizualnego suplementu opatrzonego prywatnym komentarzem odautorskim oraz w formie paratekstowej oprawy zdjęciowej. U podstaw intencji odautorskich leży w moim rozumieniu pewien schemat wirtualności pomiędzy autorką tekstu a jego potencjalnym odbiorcą. To autorka jako kreatorka rekonstrukcji biograficznej własnego ojca – i tak naprawdę główny odbiorca tekstu – doświadcza osobistego, ojcowskiego oddalenia i przybliżenia w oparciu o licznie cytowane rodzinne dokumenty archiwalne. Elementy opowiadania czerpią również z pozatekstowych, intermedialnych źródeł przekazu jak np. nagranie filmowe. Paratekstowa oprawa zdjęciowa w rozumieniu Gérarda Genette’a jest kluczowym aspektem wymiaru komunikacyjnego tego tekstu. W oryginale czytamy – *Meines Vaters Land*.

³⁰ W. Bruhns, *Kraj mojego ojca*, tłum. Wojciech Szreniawski, Gdańsk 2007, oryginał w j. niemieckim ukazał się w 2004 r. – J.K.

³¹ A. Rutka, *Pamięć i płeć we współczesnych niemieckich powieściach rodzinnych i generacyjnych*, Lublin 2011, s. 48-49. Tłumaczenie fragmentu tekstu w języku niemieckim – J.K.

Geschichte einer deutschen Familie - czyli historia pewnej niemieckiej rodziny. Na stronę tytułową – bogatą kompozycję słowa i obrazu – paratekst - składa się zatem dwuczłonowy tytuł oraz zdjęcie pochodzące najprawdopodobniej z prywatnej rodzinnej kolekcji. Na fotografii widzimy oficera Hansa Georga Klamrotha oraz 6-letnią wówczas Wibke Bruhns. To zdjęcie podsumowuje cel powstania całego tekstu – chęć dokładnego zgłębienia osobowości ojca autorki jako jednostki niewykłanej w system ideologii totalitarnych, ojca jako głowy rodziny i strażnika rodzinnych tradycji. Lektura tekstu zaczyna się już zatem na stronie tytułowej. Zdjęcie jest wyrazem symbolicznego dialogu między córką a ojcem. Na końcowej stronie okładki książki widzimy zatrzymany kadr fragmentu nagrania filmowego - Hansa Georga Klamrotha w otoczeniu strażników już podczas słynnego procesu sądowego z 15 sierpnia 1944 przeciwko spiskowcom w zamachu na Adolfa Hitlera. Po rozłożeniu okładki książki jako całości powstaje optyczne wrażenie, iż mała postać autorki ze strony tytułowej wskazuje palcem na patrzącego w stronę kamery Hansa Georga Klamrotha. Poznanie przyczyn kolei jego życiowego losu, doświadczenie bliskości ojca, której realnie nie było dane Wibke Bruhns doświadczyć, nie jest uzależnione od dostępności licznych materiałów archiwalnych, którymi niemiecka dziennikarka dysponowała. Idea utworu jawi się jako efekt intermedialnej koncepcji komunikatu literackiego paratekstowej oprawy – jest złożeniem świadectwa więzi córki względem postaci ojca, którego nigdy dobrze nie poznała i już nie pozna. Jednocześnie uwagę zwraca kwestia konstrukcji autobiograficznych – odbiorca i „producent” tekstu – nie autor. Umieszczając w centrum poszukiwań postać ojca, Wibke Bruhns jako producentka tekstu sama ożywia własną konstrukcję biograficzną w oparciu o niezliczony repertuar mediów pisanych i wizualnych, tj. sama staje się „odbiorcą” eksplorowanych treści. Konsekwencją tego jest zatem zdystansowanie się wobec samej siebie względem pozycji ojca, innymi słowy - próba zacytowania własnego życia przez pryzmat odkrywanej postaci Hansa Georga Klamrotha.

3.3. Ambiwalencja jako źródło dystansu

Czy „dystans” w rozumieniu W. Benjamina może stanowić przykład ambiwalencji komunikatu kulturowo-literackiego? W ten sposób odczytać można kontekst, w jakim usytuowana została główna postać ze znanej na całym świecie niemieckojęzycznej powieści postmodernistycznej Patricka Süskinda pt. *Pachnidło. Historia pewnego*³² *mordercy* (1985). Główny bohater Jean Baptiste Grenouille doskonale wpisuje się w ponowoczesną estetykę literackiego zapisu lat 80-tych XX wieku – estetykę krytycznego stosunku do języka, gier intertekstualnych, palimpsestów, kolaży cytatów, kulturowej hybrydyzacji (polemiki epok, stylistycznych gier konwencjami)³³. Jest on geniuszem, którego

³² Konkretnie założenie fikcjonalności tekstu literackiego w połączeniu z literackim odzwierciedleniem rzeczywistości historycznej świata XVIII-wiecznego – J.K.

³³ M. Czarnecka, *Historia literatury niemieckiej*, Wrocław 2011, s. 319.

znakiem rozpoznawczym będącym jednocześnie czynnikiem tożsamościowotwórczym jest absolutny zmysł zapachu jako narzędzie poznawania świata oraz ludzi, a także jako narzędzie czyniące z bohatera władcę nad zapachami świata i ludzi, które prowadzą go do popełniania zbrodni w równie eteryczny, tj. niezauważalny dla zwykłego oka ludzkiego sposób – czyniąc go w ten sposób istotą niemal nadprzyrodzoną. Z jednej strony człowiek-geniusz, z drugiej strony ulotny niczym zapach ludzki morderca, którego pisarz pozbawia własnej sygnatury – tj. własnego zapachu. Dzieje się tak dlatego, iż „granica między fikcją a rzeczywistością, (...), podmiotem a przedmiotem zostaje w tej powieści zniesiona”³⁴. Jednocześnie z tego samego powodu bycia człowiekiem posiadającym węch absolutny jest skazany na społeczne potępienie – na oddalenie się od tradycyjnego obrazu świata ludzkich zapachów, w których zakodowane są podstawowe ludzkie doświadczenia takie jak miłość, ból, rozpacz czy pożądanie:

*Ulgę sprawiło mu przede wszystkim oddalenie się od ludzi. W Paryżu na najmniejszej przestrzeni żyło więcej ludzi niż w jakimkolwiek innym mieście świata. W Paryżu żyło jakieś sześćset-siedemset tysięcy ludzi. (...) Nie było w Paryżu takiego zakamarka, gdzie by się nie roiło od ludzi, nie było skrawka bruku, piędzi ziemi, gdzie by nie pachniało ludźmi. Dopiero teraz, znalazłszy się już daleko, Grenouille zdał sobie sprawę, że przez osiemnaście lat skłębione wyziewy ludzkie dusiły go jak powietrze przed burzą*³⁵.

W swoim słynnym esej W. Benjamin problematyzował pojęcie „Aury” jeszcze w taki sposób: „Odpoczywając w letnie popołudnie, wodzimy oczami po górach na horyzoncie lub po gałęzi, która rzuca swój cień na nas – oddychamy aurą tych gór czy tej gałęzi”^{36 37}. Na przykładzie ambiwalentnej postaci geniusza-mordercy Jeana Baptiste’a Grenouille’a doskonale widać kontekst Benjaminowskiego dystansu, którego Aura jest składnikiem elementarnym. Jean Baptiste Grenouille był za każdym razem „cieniem” zapachów ludzi, których napotkał na swej obfitującej w przygody drodze życiowej. Jego umysł pełen był obrazów utkanych z doświadczenia wynikającego z zetknięcia się z zapachem ludzi. Główny bohater jako władca zapachów najbliższej pełni zaznania prawdziwego szczęścia był dopiero w osamotnieniu, z dala od świata

³⁴ M. Czarnecka, *Historia literatury niemieckiej*, Wrocław 2011, s. 319.

³⁵ P. Süskind, *Pachnidło. Historia pewnego mordercy*, tłum. Małgorzata Łukasiewicz, Warszawa 2005, s. 118.

³⁶ „An einem Sommernachmittag ruhend einem Gebirgszug am Horizont oder einem Zweig folgen, der seinen Schatten auf den Ruhenden wirft – das heißt die Aura dieser Berge, dieses Zweiges atmen“ – tłumaczenie z j. niem – J.K.

³⁷ B. Walter, *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner Reproduzierbarkeit* [pl. Dzieło sztuki w dobie jego reprodukcji technicznej], Stuttgart 2011, s. 17.

zewnątrznego, u podnóża góry wulkanicznej, w której uwił sobie kryjówkę przed światem ludzi i wykreował swój własny świat zapachów na nowo. Ponieważ nie posiadał własnego zapachu, stworzył zatem świat wewnętrzny na kształt świata zewnętrznego. Oddychał „aurą” zapachów indywidualnego świata wewnętrznego, której do tej pory usilnie poszukiwał w świecie zewnętrznym – oddychał „aurą” czegoś, czego już nie tyle utracił, a tak naprawdę od początku był pozbawiony. Tą aurą w kontekście powieści P. Süskinda – jedyną i niepowtarzalną właściwością (jak w przypadku dzieła sztuki, które w dobie reprodukcji i kultury masowej ją utraciło) – jest zapach jako estetyczna kategoria zapisu na kulturowej mapie XVIII-wiecznej Francji przedstawionej w powieści Patricka Süskinda. Zapach własny, którego głównemu bohaterowi brakowało i którego on sam zrekonstruować nie mógł. Zapach jest istotnym przekazem kulturowo-literackim w tekście – motywuje postaci do działania, odtwarza – a mówiąc językiem W. Benjamina – podkreśla niepowtarzalność ludzkiego istnienia i trud związany z jego reprodukcją, poszukiwaniem tej niepowtarzalności – zamknięcia indywidualnego ludzkiego zapachu w szklanym flakoniku. Dodatkowo liczne opisy krajobrazowe w tekście powieści wzmagają w czytelniku fascynację światem, który skonstruowany jest wyłącznie z zapachów. „Dystans” wyznacza zatem granice między tym, co zwykłe, rzeczywiste, a tym, co nadzwyczajne i magiczne. Oddziela to, co ulotne, od tego, co trwałe i przez całą lekturę tekstu poświadcza narrację jako nieustanną grę z konwencją literacką, do jakiej przyzwyczał czytelnika tradycyjny gatunek powieściowy.

3.4. Dystans jako efekt iluzji

W ramach końcowego uzupełnienia niniejszego szkicu związanego z komunikacją literacką w oparciu o rozważania filozofa kultury W. Benjamina chciałbym odnieść się krótko do dość interesującego przykładu związanego z techniką kompozycyjną tym razem w obszarze narracji muzycznej, którą przedstawił niemiecki badacz Michael Fend³⁸ w swojej pracy poświęconej operom wybitnego włoskiego kompozytora, jakim był Luigi Cherubini. Jeden z podrozdziałów pracy badacza zatytułowany jest wymownie jako *Illusionäre Ferne und Nähe*³⁹ im Finale des 1. Aktes von Lodoiska⁴⁰. Opera, pełna ekspresyjnych napięć i zwrotów akcji, poświęcona jest słynnej postaci Lodoiski,

³⁸ M. Fend, *Cherubinis Pariser Opern* (1788 – 1803), [Opery Paryskie Cherubiniego – tłumaczenie z j. niemieckiego - J.K.], Stuttgart 2008, s. 408, tu: s. 179-185. (=Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft – Zeszyty Archiwum Muzykoznawczego – tłum. J.K.).

³⁹ D. Thierkopf, *Nähe und Ferne. Kommentare zu Benjamins Denkverfahren* [Perspektywa bliży i dali. Komentarze dotyczące stylu myślowego Benjamina – tłum. J. Kowalski], [w:] L. Heinz, *Text und Kritik. Zeitschrift für Literatur. Heft 31/32: Walter Benjamin*, München 1979, s. 3-18

⁴⁰ Iluzoryczna perspektywa dali oraz bliży w finale pierwszego aktu Lodoiski – tłumaczenie z j. niem. J.K.

fikcyjnej córki Kazimierza Pułaskiego⁴¹, która zostaje uwięziona w twierdzy przez tyranicznego Dourlinskiego i jest poszukiwana przez służącego Varbela oraz hrabiego Floreskiego. Tak badacz podsumowuje rozważania związane z techniką kompozycyjną opery Cherubiniego:

Technika kompozycyjna Cherubiniego w pierwszych dwóch częściach finału służyła mniej muzycznej realizacji indywidualnych emocjonalnych walorów tekstu a bardziej stworzeniu (wyprodukowaniu) muzycznego związku, którego zadaniem byłoby zniesienie przestrzennego i emocjonalnego dystansu. Zaadoptował on konwencję gatunkową finału (Ensemble) dla potrzeb efektu scenicznego o tyle, o ile stopniowe przejście od śpiewu solo do ensemble funkcjonuje jako środek umożliwiający, aby to, co powiązane muzycznie, również w wymiarze scenicznym tworzyło jedność. »Indywidualną« zdaje się być muzyka zauważalnego tylko w początkowej fazie kontrastu, który naśladuje opozycję między bezbronną, odizolowaną Lodoiską i wspólną wolnością Varbela/Floreskiego – ten kontrast Cherubini próbuje znieść. W retrospektywie wymienione wcześniej elementy kompozycyjne okazują się być elementami służącymi konstrukcji iluzjonistycznej bliżej, której tej sytuacji brakuje⁴².

Ten krótki przykład związany z techniką kompozycyjną w obszarze narracji muzycznej stanowi, moim zdaniem, wyraźną aluzję do zaprezentowanego w niniejszej pracy pojęcia „dystansu” u W. Benjamina. Nie jest już to kwestia gatunku, przyjętej konwencji czy stylu jak w poprzednich omówionych przypadkach, lecz tutaj „dystans” ma służyć osiągnięciu przez kompozytora, co niemiecki badacz słusznie stwierdził, określonych efektów komunikacyjnych, których tłem jest przestrzeń teatralna. Opera jako dość eklektyczny gatunek wykorzystujący wiele środków artystycznego wyrazu jednocześnie (słowo, obraz, dźwięk) stwarza duże pole możliwości kompozytorskich: w tym przypadku dystans ma być efektem zanegowania rzeczywistości opowiadanej, a więc stworzenia iluzji, która polega na tym, iż ranga tego, co widzialne i zaprojektowane na scenie przeważa nad tym, co jest centralnym punktem odniesienia schematu narracyjnego zawartego w tekście libretta: „Cherubini podniósł to, co widzialne, nie to, co narracyjne (dające się opowiedzieć, przedstawić) do rangi substancji aktu i w ten sposób dostosował artystyczny charakter finału do jego oddziaływania scenicznego”⁴³. Efekt komunikacyjny iluzorycznego dystansu między bohaterami opery Cherubiniego ma wymowę symboliczną – jest odczytywany jako aluzja do

⁴¹ S. Meyer, *Terror and Transcendence in the Operatic Prison, 1790-1815* [w:] *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 3/2002, s. 477-523, tu. s. 484.

⁴² M. Fend, tamże, s. 179-185, tu: s. 184.

⁴³ M. Fend, *Cherubini's Pariser Opern (1788 – 1803)*, [Opery Paryskie Cherubiniego – tłum.- J.K.], Stuttgart 2008, s. 185.

uwięzienia ówczesnych realnych postaci historycznych okresy Rewolucji Francuskiej, w szczególności więzionej królowej Marii Antoniny. Źródłem takiego efektu dystansu jest więzienie jako rodzaj obszernej historycznej metafory, której sporą uwagę poświęcił w swej pracy amerykański badacz Stephen Meyer, odnosząc m.in. metaforę więzienia przedstawionego w operze do Polaków żyjących pod zaborami⁴⁴. Tak rozumiane pojęcie iluzorycznego dystansu nie jest więc przykładem powierzchownego sensu czy jedynie zabiegu odautorskiego, lecz implikuje głębokie treści społeczno-historyczne i może ono zostać zaaplikowane w przekazach kulturowo-literackich, których matrycę stanowi nie tylko tekst pisany czy ustny (śpiewany) wsparty różnorodnymi środkami artystycznego wyrazu. Jest to bowiem przykład zapisu kulturowego będącego istotnym elementem świadomości kolektywnej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem kategorii wolności jako kategorii uniwersalnej w wielonarodowej komunikacji kulturowej.

4. Podsumowanie – perspektywy na przyszłość:

Z powyższych przykładów można bez żadnych wątpliwości wywnioskować, iż myśl Benjaminowska związana z technicyzacją kultury jest aplikowalna w obszarze współczesnej refleksji filologicznej, tj. zwłaszcza na pograniczu literaturo-, medio- oraz kulturoznawstwa i może stanowić źródło inspiracji również w zakresie dyscyplin niezwiązanych bezpośrednio z naukami filologicznymi (np. muzyki), dla których centralną osią układu jest dziś szeroko rozumiane pojęcie tekstu jako tworu o charakterze dynamicznym. To może prowadzić do eksplorowania nowych obszarów komunikacji artystycznej – otwierania się na nowe formy ekspresji, formy gatunkowe, nowe konwencje czy sposoby zapisu, uchwycenia języka literatury pięknej, zapisu tradycyjnie postrzeganych wartości w inny niż dotychczas sposób. Nie można jednak jeszcze na tej podstawie wysnuć uniwersalnych wniosków, gdyż „nowa” filologia, tj. re-lektura, nowy sposób odczytywania komunikatów literacko-kulturowych, ich sensów, w tym także roli autora i odbiorcy wciąż podlegają nieustannej wariabilizacji, a ich korzenie tkwią w jeszcze, w znacznej mierze, tradycyjnie rozumianej nauce, jaką jest filologia.

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GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN SCHULVOKABULARS. SCHÜLER- UND LEHRERBEZEICHNUNGEN IN PREUSSEN IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT

Einführung

Das 19. Jahrhundert eignet sich in besonderer Weise zur lexikologischen Themenstellungen im schulischen Bereich. Es war eine Zeit des geistigen, ökonomischen, politischen und somit auch des sprachlichen Wandels. Eine neue Art des Denkens und eine neue Art des Wirtschaftens brachen sich Bahn. Neuhumanismus, Kapitalismus und Industrialisierung veränderten auch die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse und die sprachlichen Erscheinungen.

Die Schulentwicklung spiegelte von Anfang an die jeweiligen politischen, wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und geistesgeschichtlichen Strömungen wider. Die vorliegende Darstellung beschreibt diesen Aspekt am Beispiel des preußischen Schulwesens. Die Ausklammerung der anderen deutschen Staaten ist in der Tatsache begründet, dass Preußen, als ein mächtiger deutscher Staat, der auch den Bildungssektor dominierte und an dessen Schulwesen sich die kleineren Staaten orientierten, bis zu einem hohen Grade als repräsentativ für den deutschen Gesamtentwicklungsprozess angesehen werden kann. Denn Preußen wandelte sich im 19. Jahrhundert von einem bloß mustergültigen Bildungsstaat zum pädagogischen Systemexporteur und bewirkte damit auch einen weitgehenden Ausgleich der noch vorhandenen Unterschiede zwischen den Bildungssystemen der einzelnen Staaten. Preußische Normen und Standards galten fortan allerorts. Diese faktische Überlegenheit Preußens übte auch einen tiefgreifenden Einfluss auf die Schulterminologie aus. In der Tat kann Preußen die bei weitem größte Beachtung beanspruchen, wenn es um die Erforschung sprachlicher Phänomene im niederen und höheren Schulwesen des 19. Jahrhunderts geht.

Schülerbezeichnungen im 19. Jahrhundert

Bereits mit der Einführung und Verbreitung des Christentums in den deutschen Staaten wurden die ersten Schulanstalten gegründet. Im gleichen Moment ergab sich selbstverständlich auch der Bedarf, die neu entstandenen Einrichtungen und die damit in Verbindung stehenden Vorgänge und Angelegenheiten mit Namen entsprechend zu charakterisieren. Synonyme Ausdrücke für sie zu finden oder entsprechende Neubildungen zu schaffen, war aber kein einfaches Unterfangen. Aus diesem Grunde holte man die nötigen Benennungen für die neuen schulischen

Erscheinungen vor allem aus dem Latein, weil sie in dieser Sprache bereits vorhanden waren und auch das 19. Jahrhundert in hohem Maße beeinflussten.

Wie oben erwähnt, sind ihrem Ursprung nach die allermeisten Schülerbezeichnungen lateinisch und die meisten davon enden auf *-us*, *-ist* oder *-ent*. Doppeltes Suffix zeigen diejenigen Schülerbenennungen, in denen dem lateinischen Suffix *-anus* ein einheimisches *-er* angefügt wird (z. B. *Primaner*, *Sekundaner*, *Tertianer*, *Quartaner*, *Quintaner* etc.). Die einheimischen Schülerbezeichnungen sind dagegen vor allem durch Zusammensetzungen mit *Schüler*, *Kind* oder *Knabe* bzw. *Junge* zustande gekommen.

Bereits in der althochdeutschen Zeit erfolgte die Aufnahme des in der Geschichte des Wortschatzes häufig auftretenden Nomens *Schüler*, das selbstverständlich auch im 19. Jahrhundert sehr oft gebraucht wird, wodurch auch zahlreiche Komposita entstehen, die auf eine ganze Reihe von bestimmten Schulformen zurückzuführen sind. Daher spricht man beispielsweise von *Volksschülern*¹, *Fabrikschülern*², *Freischülern*³, *Armenschülern*⁴, *Kostenschülern*⁵, *Wanderschülern*⁶, *Sonntagsschülern*⁷ etc.

Das Nomen *Schüler* (ahd. *schuolari*, *schualari*, mhd. *schuolære*, *schuelære*⁸), das aus dem Latein entlehnt ist (*scholaris* - „zur Schule gehörig“⁹), ist viel üblicher als die rein deutschen Bezeichnungen. Bereits in den ältesten auf Deutsch veröffentlichten Erlassen, Bestimmungen oder Verordnungen werden die Zöglinge der Unterrichtsanstalten *Schüler* genannt.¹⁰

Man muss sich aber auch dessen bewusst sein, dass das Wort von Anfang an nicht nur die Zöglinge der Schulen bezeichnet, sondern auch eigentlich jeden, der auf irgendeine Art und Weise Unterricht empfängt, der belehrt wird, der Lehre eines Gelehrten oder Künstlers auf sich wirken lässt.¹¹

In den Schulordnungen, die in der deutschen Sprache verfasst worden sind, werden die Schüler nicht selten auf eine völlig allgemeine Art und Weise als *Zöglinge*, *Kinder* bzw. *Knaben* benannt. Parallel zu diesen generellen Bezeichnungen kann man sehr oft auch solche Ausdrücke finden, die sich einerseits durch Zusammensetzungen mit *Kind*, *Junge* oder *Knabe* entwickelten,

¹ Heppe 1858, S. 106f.

² Demian 1815, S. 386.

³ Zerrenner 1820, S. 36f.

⁴ Thieme 1898, S. 5.

⁵ Zerrenner 1820, S. 36f.

⁶ Hübsch 1842, S. 116.

⁷ Jütting 1874, S. 304.

⁸ Kluge 1899, S. 354.

⁹ Kluge 1899, S. 354.

¹⁰ 1908, S. 12.

¹¹ Pierer 1862, Band 15, S. 463.

andererseits – wie schon oben erwähnt – auch dem zahlreichen lateinischen Wortschatz entlehnt sind.¹²

Bereits für das 13. Jahrhundert lassen sich solche Zusammensetzungen wie *Lehrkind*, *Schulkind*, *Lehrknabe* oder *Schulknabe*¹³ bezeugen. Dreihundert Jahre später kommen auch *Schuljunge* und *Lehrjunge* hinzu. Allen hier genannten Benennungen, sowie den infolge der neuen politisch-gesellschaftlichen Situation im Staate entstandenen Bezeichnungen – z. B. *Fabrikkinder*, *Freikinder*, *Armenkinder* – wird ein breiter Raum auch im 19. Jahrhundert eingeräumt.¹⁴

Auch der Ausdruck *Lehrling* hat sich gegen *Lehrkind*, *Schulkind*, *Lehrknabe* etc. in den schulischen Verhältnissen in Deutschland erfolgreich durchgesetzt. Der Begriff wurde recht häufig synonym für *Schüler* gebraucht, darüber hinaus assoziierte man ihn schon damals auch mit jemandem, der die Anfangsgründe eines Handwerkes oder zünftigen Kunst erlernt.¹⁵

Das Wort *Alumnus* (lat. „der Pflegling“, „der ernährt wird“¹⁶) erscheint seit der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts zuerst ausschließlich in den lateinischen und etwas später auch in den auf Deutsch verfassten Schulordnungen. Laut der ursprünglichen Bedeutung des Wortes bezeichnete *Alumnus* vor allem die Zöglinge der mit den Schulen verbundenen Internate (*Alumnate*)¹⁷.

Eher seltener kommt der im Mittelalter übliche Begriff *Scholar* vor.¹⁸ Diese Bezeichnung (lat. *scholaris*¹⁹) ist zum ersten Mal in den auf Deutsch abgefassten Schulordnungen im 16. Jahrhundert erschienen.²⁰ Sie wird vorwiegend eher in Bezug auf diejenigen Personen gebraucht, die außer den gewöhnlichen Schulanstalten von anderen eine anständige Kunst oder Wissenschaft erlernen. In manchen Gegenden wird mit dem Begriff *Scholar* der Direktor einer hohen Schule genannt oder ein die Aufsicht über mehrere Schulen führender Beamter.²¹

Darüber hinaus bedient man sich im 19. Jahrhundert mehrerer Kollektivbezeichnungen. An dieser Stelle muss hier das Nomen *Cötus* (in vielen Schulordnungen auch *Coetus*) genannt werden, das auch aus dem Lateinischen kommt („Versammlung“, „Kreis“²²). Dieses Wort kann sowohl die ganze Schulgemeinde, als auch nur eine ganz bestimmte Gruppe von den Lernenden bezeichnen, z. B. sämtliche Schüler derselben Klasse.²³

¹² Nagel 1892, S. 5.

¹³ Nyström 1915, S. 179.

¹⁴ Richter 1981, Band 13, S. 52f.

¹⁵ Ruckert 1875, S. 60f.

¹⁶ Pierer 1865, Band 19, S. 791.

¹⁷ Pierer 1865, Band 19, S. 791.

¹⁸ von Liliencron 1886, Band 23, S. 682f.

¹⁹ Pierer 1862, Band 15, S. 366.

²⁰ Pierer 1862, Band 15, S. 366.

²¹ Pierer 1862, Band 15, S. 366.

²² Pierer 1862, Band 15, S. 486.

²³ Thomé 1890, S. 57.

Als eine andere Sammelbezeichnung für Zöglinge hat man bereits am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts das Kompositum *Schuljugend* gebildet.²⁴

An mehreren Stellen der die Schulanstalten begleitenden Texte des 19. Jahrhunderts findet man noch den Sammelbegriff *Schülerschaft* oder ganz einfach *junge Leute*.²⁵

Es lohnt sich an dieser Stelle noch drei weitere Beispiele für Schülerbezeichnungen zu nennen, die die mit dem Lehnsuffix *-ist* gebildet werden: *Pensionist*²⁶, *Gymnasi(a)st* und *Lyzeist*.²⁷

Nicht zu übersehen sind auch zahlreiche Schülerbenennungen, die auf bestimmte Lehrstufen Bezug haben. Sie treten in den deutschen Schulordnungen bereits seit dem 15. Jahrhundert auf. Einige von diesen Bezeichnungen hängen mit Vorgängen der Schulanstalten zusammen, andere dagegen unterscheiden die Lernenden ausschließlich nach der Nummer der Klasse.

Die im 19. Jahrhundert sehr verbreitete Sitte, die verschiedenen Unterrichtsstufen durch lateinische Ordnungszahlen zu bezeichnen, liegt im 16. Jahrhundert, in der Reformationszeit zurück. In der Regel wurde die oberste Stufe *Prima*, die zweitoberste *Sekunda* genannt usw. Aber auch umgekehrt – in einigen Gebieten wurde unter dem Begriff *Prima* die unterste Stufe verstanden und mit der *Sekunda* konnte die zweitunterste Stufe bezeichnet werden.²⁸

In Übereinstimmung mit dieser nummerierenden Bezeichnungsweise werden die den betreffenden Unterrichtsstufen angehörenden Lernenden in den Schulordnungen des 19. Jahrhunderts nach dem Muster der Ableitungen auf *-er* aus den lateinischen Zahlwörtern auf *-anus* (*Primanus*, *Secundanus* etc.) bezeichnet.²⁹

Auf Vorgänge in der Schule beziehen sich auch die Bezeichnungen *Examinandus*³⁰ (lat. *examinandus*, „ein zu Prüfender“³¹) und *Abiturient* (lat. *abiturient*, „der, der abgeht“, „einer, der weggehen will“³²) sowie *Prüfling*. Sie beziehen sich auf solche Zöglinge, die kurz vor ihrer Entlassung stehen.³³

Mit anderen Schulvorgängen sind die Formen *Promovierte*, *Repetenten*, *Neueingetretene* eng verbunden.³⁴ Darüber hinaus unterscheidet man auch die die deutschen Schulen besuchende Jugend nach ihrer Konfession. So zum Beispiel ist

²⁴ Poeschel 1901, S. 5.

²⁵ Thomé 1890, S. 3.

²⁶ Meier 1908, S. 20.

²⁷ Rosenkranz 1878, S. 141.

²⁸ Nyström 1915, S. 209.

²⁹ Kühlewein 1886, S. 44.

³⁰ Rickmann 1903, S. 115.

³¹ Schulz et al. 1913, S. 184.

³² Schulz et al. 1913, S. 13.

³³ Brunnemann 1890, S. 4.

³⁴ Stern 1891, S. 11.

in den Schulordnungen die Rede von *israelitischen Schülern* bzw. *Israeliten*³⁵, *protestantischen, evangelischen, katholischen* und *altkatholischen Schülern*.³⁶

In Bezug auf den Wohnort der Lernenden spricht man einerseits von *hiesigen*³⁷, andererseits von *auswärtigen Schülern*³⁸ bzw. *Extraneern*.³⁹

Lehrerbezeichnungen im 19. Jahrhundert

Im 19. Jahrhundert ergibt sich immer wieder der Bedarf, auch die in Verbindung mit den zahlreichen Schulanstalten stehenden Beamten und Fachleute entsprechend zu bezeichnen. Wie auch früher holt man die nötigen Benennungen für die entsprechenden schulischen Vorgänge und Erscheinungen vorwiegend nicht nur aus dem Latein (da die lateinische Sprache immer noch die deutsche Schulterminologie in hohem Maße beeinflusst), sondern auch von der Kirchenterminologie, die an vielen Stellen in den Schulordnungen zu finden ist, auch wenn die jeweiligen Schulanstalten nicht mehr der Kirche unterstehen.

Das Nomen *Lehrer* (got. *laisareis*, ahd. *lêrari*, mhd. *lêrære*⁴⁰), das bereits seit dem 8. Jahrhundert belegt ist und meist einen Unterweiser im göttlichen Wort bezeichnet⁴¹, gewinnt erst im 18. Jahrhundert allgemeineren Gebrauch und erfreut sich im 19. Jahrhundert in deutschen Quellen viel häufigerer Verwendung als in vorangehenden Epochen. Darunter versteht man jetzt eigentlich jede berufsmäßig unterrichtende Person, die an einer Schulanstalt arbeitet und anderen sein Wissen vermittelt.

Durch diese bereits in der althochdeutschen Zeit aufgenommene Bezeichnung entstehen auch zahlreiche Zusammensetzungen, die u. a. auf eine ganze Reihe von bestimmten, im 19. Jahrhundert bestehenden Schulformen zurückzuführen sind. Aus diesem Grund spricht man beispielsweise von einem *Gymnasiallehrer*, *Mittelschullehrer*, *Volksschullehrer*⁴² etc.

Auch in Bezug auf die einzelnen Unterrichtsfächer dient der oben genannte Begriff als Basis für zahlreiche Komposita. Darunter sind u. a. solche Zusammensetzungen zu verstehen wie z. B. *Gesanglehrer*, *Musiklehrer*, *Religionslehrer* (evangelischer, katholischer, altkatholischer, jüdischer), *Sprachlehrer*, *Tanzlehrer*, *Turnlehrer*, *Zeichenlehrer*⁴³ und viele andere.

³⁵ Stern 1891, S. 11.

³⁶ Stern 1876, S. 22.

³⁷ Stern 1876, S. 19.

³⁸ Brunnemann 1890, S. 16.

³⁹ Poeschel 1901, S. 11.

⁴⁰ Kluge 1899, S. 242.

⁴¹ Kluge 1899, S. 242.

⁴² Thomé 1890, S. 49.

⁴³ Poeschel 1901, S. 86.

Der Begriff *Religionslehrer* muss an dieser Stelle noch durch andere parallel gebrauchte schultechnische Begriffe ergänzt werden. Dazu zählen z. B. *Pfarrer*⁴⁴ (mhd. *pfarrære* – „der zur Gemeinde Gehörige“⁴⁵), *Theologe*⁴⁶ (griech. *theólogos* – Gottesgelehrter, ursprünglich „von Gott Redender“, „der Mythen von den Göttern berichtet“⁴⁷), *Seelsorger*⁴⁸, *Predigtamts-Candidat*⁴⁹ (auch *Predigt-Amts-Kandidat*⁵⁰, entlehnt aus lat. *candidatus* – „weiß Gekleideter“, zu *candidus* – „glänzend“, „weiß“⁵¹) und *Rabbiner*⁵² (seit dem 16. Jahrhundert bezeugt, Entlehnung über das Kirchenlatein *rabbi*, die dem hebräischen Wort *ravvî* entstammt – „mein Lehrer“, „der Große, Angesehene“; allgemeiner Titel für ordinierten Vertreter der jüdischen religiösen Lehre⁵³).

In den Schulordnungen findet man auch synonyme Bezeichnungen für die bereits oben genannten Begriffe *Gesanglehrer* und *Musiklehrer* – vereinzelt belegt wird das Nomen *Musikdirektor*⁵⁴, viel häufiger tritt aber immer noch das lateinische Wort *Kantor*⁵⁵ bzw. *Cantor*⁵⁶ auf (entlehnt aus lat. *cantor* – „Sänger“, „Vorsänger“, „Chorleiter“, zu *canere* – „singen“⁵⁷), das in den deutschsprachigen Quellen seit dem 15. Jahrhundert belegt ist. Diese Bezeichnungen für Lehrer, wie so viele andere, sind von der Kirchenterminologie entlehnt. Schon im 4. Jahrhundert wurde in lateinischen Quellen der Direktor des kirchlichen Chorgesanges häufig auf diese Art und Weise genannt. Und nach der Analogie des kirchlichen Sprachgebrauchs wurde auch viele Jahrhunderte später an den weltlichen Lehranstalten derjenige von den Gehilfen des Schulmeisters, der mit dem Gesangunterricht und der Leitung des Kirchengesanges betraut war, gleichfalls *Kantor* genannt.

Die einzelnen Pädagogen unterscheidet man auch nach deren Rang bzw. Funktionen in der jeweiligen Schulanstalt. Auch in diesem Bereich sind viele Komposita durch *Lehrer* üblich, z. B. *Hilfslehrer*⁵⁸, *Hülfslehrer*⁵⁹, *Hülfelehrer*⁶⁰,

⁴⁴ Stern 1891, S. 10.

⁴⁵ Pierer 1861, Band 12, S. 936.

⁴⁶ Rickmann 1903, S. 128.

⁴⁷ Hoppe et al. 1987, S. 157f.

⁴⁸ Beyer 1902, S. 54.

⁴⁹ Brunnemann 1890, S. 8.

⁵⁰ Brunnemann 1890, S. 3.

⁵¹ Hiltbrunner 1981, S. 205.

⁵² Thomé 1890, S. 45.

⁵³ Meyer 1908, Band 16, S. 536.

⁵⁴ Rickmann 1903, S. 125.

⁵⁵ Poeschel 1901, S. 100.

⁵⁶ Reuter 1901, S. 10.

⁵⁷ Pierer 1857, Band 3, S. 647.

⁵⁸ Poeschel 1901, S. 12.

⁵⁹ Thomé 1890, S. 34.

⁶⁰ Kühlewein 1886, S. 38.

aber auch *Gehülfe*⁶¹ (mhd. *gehelfe*, ahd. *gehelfo*⁶²). Unter dieser Bezeichnung verstand man im 19. Jahrhundert wohl einen solchen Pädagogen, der – im Unterschied zu ordentlichen, d. h. ständigen, etatsmäßigen Lehrern – nur für einzelne Stunden vertragsweise angenommen wurde. *Probelehrer*⁶³ (ein junger Lehrer, Absolvent, der üblicherweise ein praktisches Jahr zu absolvieren braucht), *Oberlehrer*⁶⁴ (Amtstitel der Lehrer, die volle akademische Bildung besitzen und die im höheren Dienstalter den Professortitel erhalten können), *Elementarlehrer*⁶⁵ (Lehrer, die in den unteren Klassen Elementarfächer zu lehren haben, d. h. Lesen, Schreiben, Rechnen etc., oft auch zugleich als *technischer Lehrer*⁶⁶ den Gesang-, Turn- und Zeichenunterricht), *Privatlehrer*⁶⁷ (Lehrer an Privatschulen bzw. Lehrer, der – für sich stehend – Privatunterricht erteilt), *Hauslehrer*⁶⁸ (Lehrer, den eine Familie zum regelmäßigen Unterricht ihrer Kinder als Mitglied ihres Hausstandes bei sich aufnimmt).

Im 19. Jahrhundert lässt sich auch die Zusammensetzung *Klassenlehrer*⁶⁹ (Lehrer, der für die pädagogische Betreuung und die organisatorische Leitung einer Klasse verantwortlich ist) bezeugen. In der gleichen Bedeutung findet man in den deutschsprachigen Quellen des 19. Jahrhunderts die interessanten Bezeichnungen *Klassenvorstand* (oder einfach *Vorstand*⁷⁰ – „Leiter“⁷¹), darüber hinaus – der Kirchensprache entnommen – *Ordinarist*⁷² (seltener) und recht häufig *Ordinarius*⁷³ (zu lat. *ordinarius* – „ordentlich“, zu *ordinis* – „Reihe“, „Ordnung“⁷⁴).

In den Schulordnungen, die in der deutschen Sprache verfasst worden sind, wird ein Lehrer nicht selten auch auf eine völlig allgemeine Art und Weise als *Ausbilder*⁷⁵, *Erzieher*⁷⁶, *Lehrende*⁷⁷, *Lehrherr*⁷⁸, *Lehrkraft*⁷⁹, *Lehrmeister*⁸⁰ (seit

⁶¹ Möller 1848, S. 3.

⁶² Meyer 1907, Band 7, S. 467.

⁶³ Poeschel 1901, S. 67.

⁶⁴ Brunnemann 1890, S. 3.

⁶⁵ Kühlewein 1886, S. 3.

⁶⁶ Reuter 1901, S. 16.

⁶⁷ Beyer 1902, S. 103.

⁶⁸ Poeschel 1901, S. 35.

⁶⁹ Reuter 1901, S. 34.

⁷⁰ Stern 1876, S. 21.

⁷¹ Pierer 1864, Band 18, S. 701.

⁷² Stern 1891, S. 9.

⁷³ Poeschel 1901, S. 13.

⁷⁴ Meyer 1908, Band 15, S. 104.

⁷⁵ Braun 1865, S. 98.

⁷⁶ Braun 1865, S. 42.

⁷⁷ Braun 1865, S. 31.

⁷⁸ Thomé 1890, S. 4.

⁷⁹ Beyer 1902, S. 8.

⁸⁰ von Liliencron 1882, Band 15, S. 590f.

dem 8. Jahrhundert bezeugt, mhd. *meister*, ahd. *meistar*, von dem lateinischen Substantiv *magister* entlehnt – „Meister“, „Vorstand“, „Anführer“⁸¹) oder *Lehrperson*⁸² bezeichnet (mhd. *persone*, entlehnt bereits im 12. Jahrhundert aus lat. *persona* – „Charakter“, „Rolle“, eigentlich „Maske des Schauspielers“, dessen Herkunft jedoch umstritten ist⁸³).

Parallel zu diesen oben angeführten generellen Bezeichnungen eines Lehrers kann man im 19. Jahrhundert sehr oft auch solche Ausdrücke finden, die sich durch Zusammensetzungen mit *Schule* entwickelten, wie beispielsweise *Schulperson*, *Schulmann*, *Schullehrer*, *Schulmeister* oder *Schulgesell(e)*⁸⁴ (seit dem 8. Jahrhundert belegt, mhd. *geselle*, ahd. *gisello* – „Saalgenosse“, „Hausgenosse“, „Verbrüderter“, „Freund“, „Gefährte“⁸⁵). Diese Begriffe sind keine Amtstitel im herkömmlichen Sinne des Wortes, sondern vielmehr gelegentliche Benennungen, die die Berufstätigkeiten der jeweiligen Pädagogen hervorheben.

Andererseits – wie schon oben erwähnt – findet man im 19. Jahrhundert auch viele Ausdrücke, die aus dem lateinischen Wortschatz entlehnt sind, wie z. B. synonym gebrauchte Bezeichnungen für Hilfslehrer wie *Pädagog*⁸⁶ (lat. *paedagogus*, griech. *paidagogos* – „Betreuer“, „Erzieher“, „Kinderführer“⁸⁷), *Kollaborator* („Mitarbeiter“⁸⁸, entlehnt aus lat. *laborare* und *con*, dringt in den deutschen Sprachgebrauch seit dem 16. Jahrhundert ein und erlangt bald allgemeine Verbreitung) und *Adjunkt*⁸⁹, auch *Adjunct*⁹⁰, *Adjunctus*⁹¹ (seit dem 16. Jahrhundert, aus lat. *adjunctus*, zu *adjungere* – „anknüpfen“, „beifügen“⁹²), der vor allem einen Hilfslehrer bezeichnet, der im Lehrerkollegium meist unmittelbar nach dem Rektor rangiert, für Oberlehrer (*Dekan*, *Decan*⁹³, entlehnt aus lat. *decanus*, eigentlich „Vorsteher von zehn“, im Kirchenlatein „Vorgesetzter von zehn Mönchen“, dann Verallgemeinerung der Bedeutung unter Verlust des Bezugs auf diese Anzahl⁹⁴) und für stellvertretende Lehrkraft (*Vikar*⁹⁵ – lat. *vicarius*,

⁸¹ Kluge 1899, S. 611.

⁸² Kühlewein 1886, S. 90.

⁸³ Ritter et al. 1970, S. 269.

⁸⁴ Brunnemann 1890, S. 7.

⁸⁵ Brunner et al. 1972, S. 719.

⁸⁶ Poeschel 1901, S. 1.

⁸⁷ Brunner et al. 1972, S. 623.

⁸⁸ Meyer 1907, Band 11, S. 263.

⁸⁹ Poeschel 1901, S. 25.

⁹⁰ Reuter 1901, S. 12.

⁹¹ Reuter 1901, S. 8.

⁹² Pierer 1857, Band 1, S. 134.

⁹³ Stern 1876, S. 21.

⁹⁴ Götze 1929, S. 7.

⁹⁵ Poeschel 1901, S. 70.

„Stellvertreter“, „Statthalter“, zu *vicis* – „Abwechslung“, „Stellvertretung“; ahd. *fikâri*, mhd. *vicâr(i)*⁹⁶).

Das Wort *Kollege*⁹⁷ (oder: *College*⁹⁸) bedeutet im Latein so viel wie „Amtsgenosse“, „Amtsbruder“, „Berufsgefährte“⁹⁹ (lat. *collega*, aus dem Präfix *con* – „mit“, „zusammen“ und dem Substantiv *lex* – „Gesetz“; der *Kollege* ist also ursprünglich diejenige Person, die unter demselben Recht steht wie man selbst¹⁰⁰) und findet sich im schultechnischen Bereich als Bezeichnung des Lehrers in den Schulordnungen bereits um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts.

Dazu wird das Kompositum *Schulkollege*¹⁰¹ gebildet und beide Bezeichnungen, sowohl die einfache als auch die zusammengesetzte, sind im 19. Jahrhundert durchaus geläufig. Synonym dafür wird nicht selten auch der Ausdruck *Fachgenosse*¹⁰² gebraucht.

Weitere allgemeine Bezeichnungen für Lehrer, die im 19. Jahrhundert recht häufig ihren Gebrauch finden, sind die Begriffe *Professor*¹⁰³ (entlehnt im 16. Jahrhundert aus lat. *professor*, zu *profiteri* – „öffentlich bekennen“, „gestehen“, „vortragen“¹⁰⁴), bei dem sich schon von Anfang an die Tendenz geltend machte, ihn vorzugsweise den Lehrern besonders hochstehender Unterrichtsanstalten beizulegen, *Dozent*¹⁰⁵ (bereits im 16. Jahrhundert entlehnt, Nomen Agentis zu lat. *docêre* – „lehren“, „unterrichten“¹⁰⁶; meist nur an besonders hochstehenden Anstalten üblich) und *Magister*¹⁰⁷ (im 9. Jahrhundert entlehnt aus lat. *magister* – „Vorsteher“, „Leiter“, „Lehrmeister“, „Lehrer“, im Mittelalter der üblichste Titel, der unterweisend tätigen Personen beigelegt wurde¹⁰⁸; vom 15. Jahrhundert an ist *Magister*, das sich erst allmählich der deutschen Flexion angleicht, akademischer Grad, erscheint gewöhnlich im engeren Sinne auch als Titel eines Schulvorstands und erhält seit dem 18. Jahrhundert – nach allgemeiner Einführung des Dokortitels – wieder die Bedeutung „Lehrer“¹⁰⁹).

*Volontär*¹¹⁰ (lat. *voluntarius* – „Freiwilliger“¹¹¹) bezeichnet dagegen einen Pädagogen, der zur Vorbereitung auf seine künftige berufliche Tätigkeit arbeitet,

⁹⁶ Schulz et al. 1913, S. 183.

⁹⁷ Kühlewein 1886, S. 46.

⁹⁸ Stern 1876, S. 18.

⁹⁹ Götze 1929, S. 17.

¹⁰⁰ Kluge 1899, S. 242.

¹⁰¹ Rickmann 1903, S. 129.

¹⁰² Poeschel 1901, S. 59.

¹⁰³ Braun 1865, S. 33.

¹⁰⁴ Kluge 1899, S. 722.

¹⁰⁵ Beyer 1902, S. 88.

¹⁰⁶ Nyström 1915, S. 124.

¹⁰⁷ Möller 1848, S. 38.

¹⁰⁸ Götze 1929, S. 11.

¹⁰⁹ Nyström 1915, S. 209.

¹¹⁰ Stern 1891, S. 3.

ohne Lohn dafür zu beanspruchen und unter den Begriffen *Probandus*¹¹² (*Proband*, *Probekandidat*¹¹³; lat. *probandus* – „ein zu Untersuchender“¹¹⁴) versteht man im 19. Jahrhundert einen neu angestellten Lehrer, der vor seiner festen Anstellung das vorgeschriebene Probejahr ableistet.

*Kandidat*¹¹⁵ (auch: *Lehramtskandidat*, *Probekandidat*, *Schulamts-Candidat*, *Schulamtskandidat*; im 16. Jahrhundert Bewerber um einen akademischen Grad, dann seit dem 18. Jahrhundert Student höheren Semesters, der nach bestandener Prüfung die Berechtigung auf ein Lehramt erhalten hat¹¹⁶).

Die im 19. Jahrhundert sehr verbreitete Sitte, die verschiedenen Unterrichtsstufen durch lateinische Ordnungszahlen zu bezeichnen, liegt in der Reformationszeit – im 16. Jahrhundert – zurück. In der Regel wurde die oberste Stufe *Prima*, die zweitoberste *Sekunda* genannt usw.¹¹⁷ In Übereinstimmung mit dieser nummerierenden Bezeichnungsweise werden die in den betreffenden Klassen unterrichtenden Pädagogen in den Schulordnungen des 19. Jahrhunderts nach dem Muster der Ableitungen aus den lateinischen Zahlwörtern bezeichnet, z. B. *Primus*, *Secundus*, *Tertius*, *Quartus*, *Quintus*, *Sextus*¹¹⁸ etc., die zu den Klassenbezeichnungen *Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia*, *Quarta*, *Quinta*, *Sexta* gebildet worden sind. Es sei aber darauf hingewiesen, dass auch die Rangfolge der einzelnen Schullehrer durch die Ordnungszahlen angegeben werden konnte. Je nach dem Platz innerhalb des Lehrerkollegiums konnte der betreffende Lehrer nämlich *Tertius*, *Quartus*, *Quintus* etc. genannt werden.

Eine besondere Gruppe der Lehrerbezeichnungen im 19. Jahrhundert bilden die Begriffe, die sich unmittelbar auf Schulvorstände beziehen. Der schon fast völlig aus den Schulordnungen verdrängte Begriff *Scholarch*¹¹⁹ (lat. *scholarcha* – „Leiter“, „Aufseher“¹²⁰) wurde immer wieder durch modernere, aus dem Latein entlehnte, aber bereits eingedeutschte Nomen ersetzt. Unter den moderneren Ausdrücken, die als Amtsbezeichnung für den Leiter einer Schulanstalt gebraucht werden, kommt vor allem *Rektor* oder *Rector*¹²¹ (lat. *rector* – „Leiter“, „Lenker“, „Ordner“, „Verwalter“, zu *regere* – „regieren“¹²²) in Betracht. Der Weg des Ausdrucks geht aus der Terminologie der Kirche in die der Schule herüber, schon

¹¹¹ Meyer 1909, Band 20, S. 249.

¹¹² Poeschel 1901, S. 15.

¹¹³ Poeschel 1901, S. 68.

¹¹⁴ Meyer 1908, Band 16, S. 361.

¹¹⁵ Reuter 1901, S. 11.

¹¹⁶ Schulz et al. 1913, S. 322.

¹¹⁷ Nyström 1915, S. 209.

¹¹⁸ Poeschel 1901, S. 100.

¹¹⁹ von Liliencron 1894, Band 37, S. 206f..

¹²⁰ Pierer 1862, Band 15, S. 366.

¹²¹ Reuter 1901, S. 11.

¹²² Pierer 1861, Band 13, S. 901.

im 9. Jahrhundert werden die Leiter der Stifte und Klöster *rectores Ecclesiarum*¹²³ genannt, im 19. Jahrhundert steht er für die Amtsbezeichnung derjenigen, die an Schulanstalten (aber auch an der Universität – vielleicht eben deshalb begegnet man an manchen Stellen der Zusammensetzung Schulrektor, die zum Unterschied von dem Universitätsrektor gebildet wurde) die erste Lehrerstelle bekleiden, und denen zugleich die Leitung der ganzen Anstalt übertragen ist.

Ein Stellvertreter, der im Range unmittelbar nach dem Rektor folgt und ihn vertritt, wird bereits seit dem 16. Jahrhundert als *Konrektor* oder *Conrektor* bezeichnet¹²⁴ („Mitvorsteher“; *con* – lat. „mit“, das Präfix – mit dem Substantiv verbunden – drückt eine gemeinsame Beschäftigung oder Gleichschaltung aus¹²⁵).

Zu parallel gebrauchten Begriffen, die auch Amtsgenossen und Mitarbeiter des Rektors bezeichnen, zählen *Prorektor*¹²⁶ und *Prorektor* (*pro* – lat. „anstelle“, „für“, in deutschen Texten seit dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts¹²⁷), darüber hinaus *Subrektor*¹²⁸ und *Subrektor* („Unterrektor“; *sub* – lat. „unter“, in räumlicher und hierarchischer Hinsicht¹²⁹). Alle drei angeführten Nomen halten sich an vielen Schulanstalten bis in das 19. Jahrhundert hinein.

Immer häufiger wird dafür an vielen Orten der noch heute geltende modernere Name *Direktor*¹³⁰ (*Director*, *Schuldirektor*) eingeführt (lat. *director* – „Aufseher“, „Leiter“, „Lenker“, „Vorsteher“; Nomen Agentis zu lat. *dirigere* – „richten“, „lenken“, bereits im 16. Jahrhundert ins Deutsche übernommen¹³¹).

Seltener kommt das Nomen *Dirigent*¹³² vor (lat. *dirigere* – „die Aufsicht über etwas haben“, „führen“, „lenken“, „leiten“, „herrschen“, „richten“, seit dem 16. Jahrhundert belegt¹³³), dagegen viel häufiger gebraucht man den Begriff *Leiter*¹³⁴, auch in Zusammensetzungen wie z. B. *Anstaltsleiter*, *Schulleiter*, ahd. *leitāri* (9. Jahrhundert), mhd. *leitære* („wer an der Spitze steht“, „Vorgesetzter“, „Führer“¹³⁵, Nomen Agentis zum Zeitwort *leiten*, zusammengesetzt aus dem Wortstamm *leit-* und dem Derivatem *-er*).

Darüber hinaus bedient man sich im 19. Jahrhundert einiger Kollektivbezeichnungen. An dieser Stelle müssen hier die Nomen *Kollegium*¹³⁶ und

¹²³ Giese 1961, S. 11.

¹²⁴ Poeschel 1901, S. 56.

¹²⁵ Meyer 1907, Band 11, S. 411.

¹²⁶ Poeschel 1901, S. 13.

¹²⁷ Meyer 1908, Band 16, S. 361.

¹²⁸ Brunnemann 1890, S. 5.

¹²⁹ Pierer 1863, Band 17, S. 28.

¹³⁰ Rickmann 1903, S. 127.

¹³¹ Schulz et al. 1913, S. 623.

¹³² Rickmann 1903, S. 128.

¹³³ Meyer 1906, Band 5, S. 43.

¹³⁴ Rickmann 1903, S. 125.

¹³⁵ Kluge 1899, S. 246.

¹³⁶ Beyer 1902, S. 62.

Collegium (in vielen Schulordnungen auch *Lehrer-Kollegium*, *Lehrer-Collegium*, *Lehrerkollegium*, *Lehrkollegium*) genannt werden, die auch aus dem Lateinischen kommen (*collegium* – „Korporation“, „Amtsgenossenschaft“, „Amtsgemeinschaft“, „Verein“¹³⁷).

An dieser Stelle kann hier auch das Wort *Cötus* (auch *Coetus*) genannt werden, das auch aus dem Lateinischen kommt („Versammlung“, „Kreis“¹³⁸). Dieses Nomen kann die ganze Schulgemeinde, also Gesamtheit der Angehörigen einer Lehranstalt, besonders aber eine ganz bestimmte Gruppe von den Lernenden bezeichnen, z. B. sämtliche Schüler derselben Klasse. In Bezug auf die Gesamtheit von Lehrern wird es aber nur selten belegt.

Vereinzelt wird die Gesamtheit der Lehrer einer Schulanstalt durch die Zusammensetzung *Lehrpersonal*¹³⁹ bezeichnet (lat. *personale* – „Dienerschaft“¹⁴⁰).

Zum Schluss soll noch der nicht selten gebrauchte Begriff *Praktikant*¹⁴¹ erwähnt werden (auch *Lehramtspracticant*, *Lehramtspraktikant*, zu lat. *practicans* – „ausübend“¹⁴²). Das Wort ist seit dem 17. Jahrhundert belegt und bezeichnet schon damals diejenigen, die ihr Praktikum absolvieren, bevor sie die Berechtigung auf ein Lehramt erhalten haben.

Schlusswort

Die oben besprochene Schulterminologie des 19. Jahrhunderts stellt auf jeden Fall einen besonders wichtigen Markstein in der Geschichte des deutschen Schulvokabulars. Denn mit der Geschichte der Schule kommen parallel auch zahlreiche Veränderungen in der deutschen Sprache zum Ausdruck.

Die Entwicklung des Schulwesens und eines allgemeinen Schulbesuches ist unlösbar mit den Fragen der Struktur und der Entwicklung des Schulwortschatzes verbunden und so auch mit dem Stand der Schüler- und Lehrerbezeichnungen. Dies kommt nirgends so deutlich zum Ausdruck wie bei der allgemeinen Beschulung der Kinder auf dem deutschen Sprachgebiet im 19. Jahrhundert.

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¹³⁷ Pierer 1858, Band 4, S. 260.

¹³⁸ Pierer 1862, Band 15, S. 486.

¹³⁹ Meier 1908, S. 6.

¹⁴⁰ Pierer 1862, Band 12, S. 874.

¹⁴¹ Stern 1891, S. 3.

¹⁴² Meyer 1908, Band 16, S. 259.

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TOWARDS LEXICOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF COW: ITS FORMS, MEANINGS AND VALUES

Abstract

Lexicography is basically concerned with the meaning and use of words. In recent times, lexicographers have investigated not only the meanings of words and their synonyms, but modern lexicographic research has extended its interest into the area of studying the way words are used and, in particular, how lexical associations are used and how various meanings linked to individual lexical items are reflected in the areas of their word-formation, phraseological and paremiological productivity of lexicography is, therefore, directly connected to phraseology because the target of both the disciplines is to investigate sets of fixed expressions (idioms, phrasal verbs, etc.) and other types of multi-word lexical units. This paper makes an attempt to make an in-depth lexicographic account of the lexical item **cow** and its panchronic productivity, as evidenced by lexicographic materials. The analysis the sample data may provide a starting point for producing an alternative reference work for non-native learners of English.

Key words: lexicography, historical productivity, bilingual/monolingual dictionaries, lexical units, productivity, evolution.

Introduction

It is hardly surprising that the intense contemporary interest in *EFL* teaching has recently fostered the development of a deep concern with language learning tools, and – in particular – lexicographic tools. With little experience in the selection and use of dictionaries, one may be tempted to seize upon voluminous reference works, being under the impression that there exists some correlation between the book size and the language input. Simultaneously, it is apparent that vocabulary-learning tools are immensely varied.

By laying open the recent achievements in *EFL* lexicography and by pointing out the areas where further changes and improvements would be welcome, this present study aims to shed some light on the issue of the way words are used and, in particular, how metaphorical associations build new senses and how various meanings linked to individual lexical items are reflected in word-formation, phraseological and paremiological productivity. Lexicography is, therefore, directly connected with phraseology because the target of both disciplines is to investigate sets of fixed

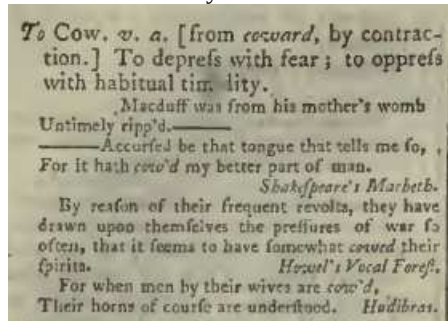
expressions (idioms, phrasal verbs, etc.) and other types of multi-word lexical units. At this point, a few choice remarks would appear pertinent concerning the reason why this particular category plays such an important role. As mentioned by Jackson (1988:176), „[...] language learners, like all users of language, employ language in two functions: decoding [...] and encoding”. Compilers of *EFL* dictionaries declare that special emphasis is placed on aiding the user in encoding correct and natural sentences in the target language (see Jackson, 1988:176). Although the field of lexicography has been developing at an unprecedented pace, there still remains the problem of the indispensable requirements that any lexicographical description will have to address if it is to be somehow satisfactory.

This paper makes an attempt to illustrate some of lexicographic problems with the word history of the English lexical item *cow*.

Etymology and semantics of *cow*: One may speak of both nominal and verbal category *COW* in the history of English, only the former of which shall be subject to our in-depth scrutiny. As to the verbal use of the lexical item in question, one needs to list here verbal *COW* 4 that – according to various etymological sources – ultimately goes back to O.N. *kúga* ‘to cow, force, tyrannize over’ (cf. Nor. *kue*, Sw. *kufva* used in the sense ‘to subdue’). Like many other etymological sources that have been consulted Skeat’s *EDEL* (1963) attributes the presence of the verb in English to Scandinavian influence, and – in particular – seeks affinity of the English verb with Dan. *kue*, ‘to bow, coerce, subdue’). On the other hand, owing to its late appearance in English (Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*). Weekley’s *EDME* (1921) seems to favour the view that the form may justifiably be felt as back-formation from *cotvard*.

All in all, though supposedly the verb is a Scandinavian borrowing it remained in hiding long as it surfaced in English literary texts as late as Shakespeare’s times in the sense ‘to depress with fear, intimidate’, and – although the sense is well documented in the *OED* only till the end of the 19th century (a1616 Accursed be that tongue that telsmee so, For it hath cow’d my better part of man. >a1862 The nation, cowed and broken, gave way.) – it has remained in the lexical resources of the English language until today¹. As shown by, among others, Cobuild *Dictionary*

¹ The verb is richly documented in Johnson’s *DEL*(1785):



in its verbal *COW 4cow* requires <STYLISTIC LABEL: FORMAL> in present day English. Note that it is listed in the macrostructure of various dictionaries of current English (see, for example, *LDCE* 2003), as a frequently passivized phrasal verb employed in the sense ‘to frighten someone in order to make them do something (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION 1: *The protestors have been cowed into submission by the police*), and the closest synonym that is provided is the verb *intimidate* (see *OALDCE* 2000)².

As to the nominal category, in the history of English there have been at least three different realizations of *cow*. Apart from *COW 1* that is the subject of special interest in this analysis one may speak of *COW 2* that surfaced in English during Elizabethan times, and its currency is documented down to the end of the 19th century when the noun was applied in the sense ‘a twiggy branch, a bunch of twigs’. By the editors of the *OED* and other lexicographic reference works the word is marked as <ORIGIN LABEL: ROMANCE> (cf. O.F. *coe, coue, cove*) borrowing (a1598 It is a bairmoore, that he goes over and gets not a cow. > 1885 He waved aloft a flaming coveO’whin.), and in present-day English its use is restricted to Scottish English where it is used in the sense ‘a branch, a bunch of twigs’, and hence it needs to be marked as <REGIONAL LABEL: SCOTTISH>. In turn, one may speak of *COW 3* that needs to be marked as <REGIONAL LABEL: SCOTTISH> alike, and the noun was employed and recorded in the non-animate sense ‘a hob-goblin; a scare-crow’ from the very beginning of the 16th century till the first half of the 19th century (c1500 And Brownys, that can play cow Behind the claith with mony a mow. > 1838 O what a brow has Betty! O sic a cove is Betty!...Sae baleful is the power o’Betty.). All in all, in present-day English *COW 2* must be marked for frequency of usage as <CURRENCY LABEL: OBSOLETE>.

As to the etymological roots of the nominal category *COW 1* that our discussion centres around it must be marked as <ORIGIN LABEL: GERMANIC> (see Dutch *koe*, Old High German *chuo* German *kuh* Swedish and Danish *ko, koe*) that is supposed by etymological dictionaries, such as, among others, Skeat’s *EDEL* (1963) to go back to the I-E root *g(u>yn.³ The entry is richly documented in the historically original sense ‘the female of any bovine animal; most commonly applied to the female of the domestic species), and in this sense the noun is recorded in the *OED* already at the break of the 9th century (a800 *Vacca cuu*. > 1886 ‘Three Acres and a Cow’ is the title of a leaflet issued by

² Apart from this verb, the editors of the *OED* mention the verbal form *cow/cove* that may simply represent a dialectal Scottish variant of *coll* that for the 16th-19th centuries is documented in the sense ‘to clip, to cut short, to prune’ (1507 Weil *couth* I..kemm his kewtnoddill. > 1828 To cut and cow her hair, gif need be.).

³ The history of the noun is interesting in many ways. Among others, *cow* is a member of the historical body of nouns that have – historically speaking – formed irregular plural. Like many other nouns, such as *child/children*, *brother/brethren*, *mouse/mice*, *cow* had a southern irregular plural *kine* that was current in English up to the 17th century.

the Allotments and Small Holdings Association, 95 Colmore-row, Birmingham. This leaflet was..the origin of the phrase.). Skeat's *EDEL* (1963) maintains that the etymological meaning of the word is 'the female of the bull'.

As frequently the fate of animal names, for the beginning of the 18th century one may speak about the mechanism of generalization that affected the historically primary meaning range of the noun analyzed here. Namely, in the first decades of the 18th century *cow* started to be used with reference to the female specimens of other large animals, such as elephant, rhinoceros, whale, seal⁴. (1726 They [whales] generate much like to our neat Cattle, and therefore they are termed Bull, Cow, and Calf. > 1886 The female [of the Fur Seal], or *cow* as she is always termed.). This change may be said to have been almost simultaneous with the beginning of the use of the word attributively where the noun *cow* acquired the function of gender determining marker 'she/female' (1751 At Night I killed a fine barren Cow-Buffaloe. > 1946 When the *cow* moose is alarmed, it is not uncommon for her to desert her calf.). One may conclude that this change meant that the analyzed noun associated with the <FIELD LABEL: ANIMALS> because its bovidae original application was widened considerably.

Before the process of generalization affected the semantics of *cow* for the Early Modern English period one can speak about the process of evaluative change that was directed in two different ways and resulted in what has come to be known as behavioural pejoration on the one hand, and moral pejoration on the other, significantly the former preceding the latter (on this issue see Kleparski 1990). To start with, for the second half of the 16th century, and the first decades of the 17th century the word is documented to have been used in the negatively loaded sense 'a faint-hearted person, a coward', frequently used attributively in such formations as *cow-baby*, *cow-hearted* (1581 What a one shal I seeme to bee unto my Lady? will she not thinke herselfe to be coupled with a *cow*? > 1616 Vain vpstartbraggadochio! heartlessecow!) and for this historical sense thread one may posit the marking <AXIOLOGICAL LOAD: BEHAVIORALLY(NEG.)>. Further on, in the second half of the 17th century the meaning of *cow* underwent the process of moral pejoration as the noun started to be used with strongly negative overtones in the sense 'coarse or degraded woman', and – although until today it is also used as a coarse form of address – its documented sense is frequently contextually synonymous with that of *hussy* or *prostitute*⁵ (1696 Cow..theEmblem..of a Lazy,

⁴ It should be mentioned in this context that male-specific *bull* that was originally applied in restricted sense 'the male equivalent of the cow' underwent the same process of widening during its history in English.

⁵ Yet, this sense is not included in Johnson's *DEL*(1785):

COW, (kɒp) *n. s.* Plural *kine* or *cows*; the female of the bull.
To COW, (kɒp) *v. a.* To depress with fear.
COW-HERD, (kɒp-'hɜ:d) *n. s.* One whose occupation is to tend cows.
COW-LEECH, (kɒp-'li:tʃ) *n. s.* One who professes to cure distempered cows.

Dronish, beastly Woman, who is likened to a Cow. > 1891 Cow, a woman; a prostitute. > 1960 You shan't do this to me, you filthy old cow!), and hence – as in other cases of moral pejoration discussed here – one is justified in positing the label <AXIOLOGICAL LOAD: MORALLY(NEG.). In the dictionaries of current English that have been used for verification the present-day human-and-female-specific sense of the word is ‘a woman who is unkind, unpleasant or stupid’, and the labels that must be postulated for the evaluatively slightly ameliorated sense are <STYLISTIC LABEL: INFORMAL> and <USAGE LABEL: INSULTING/DISAPPROVING>.

When we analyze the lexical resources of most recent regional varieties of English we find out that, especially in Australian and New Zealand English slang usage, *cow* has become a general gender-unspecific means used to refer to anybody or anything that is or is considered to be objectionable or distasteful. Besides, the human-and-female-specific use is still present in both varieties of English where the metaphorical sense of *cow* is defined as ‘ugly or bad-tempered woman’. This dialectal application of the noun in question is first documented for the close of the 19th century, and the negatively loaded sense thread may be defined as ‘an objectionable person or thing, a distasteful situation’, especially as emerging from the idiomatic phrases *a cow of something/someone* meaning ‘a difficult, unpleasant or disagreeable thing or a person’ on the one hand, and *a fair cow* ‘anything regarded as disagreeable or difficult’ on the other (1894 Well, 'e ups to me and sez ‘Yer a mean cow.’ > 1963 There's that truant joker too. Rotten cow.) and hence one is justified to postulate for this regional use <USAGE LABEL: INSULTING/DISAPPROVING>⁶. Also, in Australian English the use of *cow* as a derogatory designation for a woman is documented from the middle of the 19th century (see Ramson's *AND* 1988)⁷. The table given below provides a survey of current senses of *cow* based on several representative pedagogical dictionaries of current English:

⁶ Apart from the senses discussed here one may speak about yet another transferred sense, because the noun – in the highly specialized lingo of mining community – developed in the first half of the 19th century the inanimate quasi technical sense ‘a kind of self-acting brake with two prongs or horns used in ascending an inclined line of rails’ (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *The cow is essential to the safety of the carriage; for should the rope, the centre crooks, or the chains which connect the carriages together, break..it takes firm hold of the ground, and thus sustains the carriages, which are prevented descending the plane.*).

⁷ Apart from this inanimate sense, in the history of English the meaning of *cow* was metaphorically extended in the 18th century to mean ‘a barrel of beer’, probably due to certain similarities in shape, frequently in such collocations as *brown/black cow* and *the cow the the iron tail*, that is the pump (1725 The auld anes think it best With the brown cow to clear their een. >1886 The cow with the iron tail is still milked a great deal in London.

	MACMILLAN <i>Dictionary</i>	COBUILD <i>Dictionary</i>	ED <i>Dictionary</i>	CALD <i>Dictionary</i>
<i>COW</i> 1 in dictionarie s of current English	1) 'an animal kept by farmers for its milk or meat. 2) 'the female of some types of animal such as an elephant or whale' 3)'British <STYLISTIC LABEL: INFORMAL><<USAGE LABEL:INSULTING> DISAPPROVING> 'woman, especially one who is stupid or unkind'	1)'a cow is a large female animal that is kept on farms for its milk. People sometimes refer to male and female animals of this species as cows' 2)'some female animals, including elephants and whales, are called cows (e.g. a cow elephant.). 3)<STYLISTIC LABEL: INFORMAL><US AGE LABEL: INSULTING, DISAPPROVING >'if someone describes a woman as a cow, the dislike her and think that she is unpleasant or stupid. 5. (verb <i>to cow</i> STYLISTIC LABEL: FORMAL> if someone is cowed, they are made afraid, or made to behave in a particular way because they have been frightened or badly treated.	1) 'a large female animal that is kept on farms and used to produce milk or meat' 2) 'a male or female animal of this type; the female of some large animals, such as the elephant or the whale' 3)' British English <STYLISTIC LABEL: INFORMAL>, <USAGE LABEL: INSULTING> DISAPPROVING> 'a woman who you think is stupid or unpleasant'	1)'a large farm animal kept for milk or meat' 2) <STYLISTIC LABEL: INFORMAL><USAGE LABEL:INSULTING/DIS APPROVING> 'a woman'

Word formation and phraseological potential of cow: The noun has been historically productive in the formation of numerous compounds, several of which appear already at Old English stage although, in fact, it is not always easy to separate genuine compounds from syntactic combinations. Clearly, in one of the oldest compound formations *cow* appears to function in the sense 'of a cow' or 'belonging to a cow'). One of the earliest English compounds is *cow-butter* documented at the beginning of the 11th century (c1000 On hunige and on cubuteran.). A relatively small amount of Mid. E. acquisitions is represented by Mid. E. *cow-kind* (1377 Pere ne was cow ne cowkyndeþatconceyuedhaddePatwoldebelwe after boles.). In contrast to the

earlier periods, for the Early Modern English period one can speak of somewhat accelerated tempo of forming cow-based compound innovations. Probably one of the most intriguing formation from this historical period is the currently obsolete *cow-meat* which, as shown by the *OED* documents, was used in the sense ‘fodder for cows’ (1580 Some countries lack plow meat& some doe want cow meat.), as the morpheme *meat* still in the Mid. E. period was used in the sense ‘food, in general, as contrasted with drink’⁸. The number of 16th-17th century formations, such as, for example, *cow-flesh*, *cow-bellied*, *cow-lick*, *cow-pasture*, *cow-yard* is particularly impressive and they all reflect the historically primary sense of the word. In particular, the period of the last two centuries resulted in the downpour of cow-headed compounds, such as the 19th century formations *cow-breath*, *cow-town*, *cow-county*, *cow-feed*, *cow-hair*, *cow-shed*, *cow-stall*, *cow-trail*, *cow-whip*, *cow-driver*, *cow-farmer*, *cow-stealer* which are also invariably linked to the historically original bovine sense of the noun⁹.

In particular, in American English in which the animal referred to by *cow* in the past formed the economic basis of the country’s existence through the work of *cowboys*, and currently obsolete *cow-girls* (see the *OED*) riding their *cow-horses* one may speak about the whole array of typically American formations. Obviously, *cowboy* is – in the words of Blevins DAW (1992) – probably the most representative American compound, not only of the entire quantum of cow-based words and expressions, but also it may be labeled as the most American of terms at least in American mythology¹⁰. The word – according to Harper’s *OED* (2001) – appeared in English in 1725, and – according to Hendrickson’s *FFEWPO* (2008) – on American soil the compound was first applied to members of Tory bands in New York state who rustled cows, but by the mid-19th century, it came to mean ‘a man who herds and tends cattle on a ranch’; obviously most of his work was obviously done on horse back. Because of Hollywood westerns, *cowboy* has also taken on the meaning of ‘any reckless person, such as a speeding automobile driver’.

The mechanism of metonymy has been at work in the formation of a number of cow-based compounds, and hence let us digress with a side discussion on a group of synonyms which may shed some light on the importance of *cow* for the growth of the variety of compounds the noun entered in American English. To take a very much peripheral sector of the animal’s existence in American variety of English one may speak of a synonymic set consisting of a chain of complex lexical items, such as *cow chip*, *cow*, *pie*, *cow patty* and *cow flop* all four of which are

⁸ Note that the original sense of *meat* ‘food in general’ is still visible in such relics of the past as *sweetmeat* and *mincemeat* and in the use of the noun to designate the edible portion of a nut or other fruit’ (on this issue see, inter alia, Heller, *et al.*’s *PLEW* (1983).

⁹ As shown by Avis’ *DCHP* (1967) many of these formations are also present in Canadian English.

¹⁰ According to Blevins DAW(1992), the compound *cowboy* got its start in medieval Ireland, as the term for literal boys whose task was to tend cattle.

used in the sense ‘a pile of cow manure’. Apart from the ones already mentioned, one may speak about a variety of cow-based 19th-20th century formations, such as, for example, *cow camp*, *cow hand*, *cow-puncher*. Let us also point to the fact that some of the compounds are picturesquely imaginative, and yet that feature makes them in no way self-explanatory, and may hardly be related to any aspect of the animal involved, either its nature or the nature of breeding cattle. Here one may quote such formations as, for example, *cowboy pencil* used in the much telling sense ‘a stick used to draw in the dirt,’ *cow’s breakfast* used jocularly in the sense ‘a straw hat’ and *cowboy caviar* used in the sense ‘baked beans’ (see Kipfer 2008:12).

Likewise, some of the cow-based compounds that are currently used in Scottish English may be said to be conceptually witty and humour arousing. Here, let us mention such nominal compounds as *cow beast* used in the sense of ‘cow or ox’, *cow cakes* that is used in the sense ‘wild parsnip’, *cow plant* meaning ‘cow dung dropped in the fields or *cow’s thumb* ‘a short distance’ (see Warrack’s *CSDD* 2000). Also, when we look into the development of lexical resources of other regional varieties of English, namely Canadian English, Australian English and New Zealand English we find a number of 19th century cow-based innovations, too. The body of documented compounds includes, among others, *cow-bail*, *cow-banger*, *cow-spanker*, *cow-cocky*, *cow-cockeydom*, *cow-kicked* (see Ramson’s *AND* 1988). More generally, Rawson’s *DEOD* (1981) reports that in the 20th century there existed more or less a score of human-specific ‘bullish expressions’ – as the author terms them – in the Canadian New England states and, these were, in order of popularity: *gentleman cow*, *male*, *toro*, *sire*, *animal*, *gentleman ox*, *critter* (or *creature*), *gentleman*, *beast*, *male animal*, *male cow*, *he cow*, *top cow*, *roarer*, *masculine*, *bison*, *he animal*, *seed ox*, *short horn*, *he critter*, *the he*, *top ox*, *he ox*, *male ox*, *hooter*, *cow critter*, *he creature*, *old man*, *top steer*, *gentleman heijer*, *master*, *male beast*, *brute*, *male critter*, *man cow*, *cow man*, *bullock*, *cow topper*, *doctor*, *bullit*, *paddy*. The list given here shows a relatively high-ranking position of cow-based, or – more generally – cattle-based expressions in the 20th century Canadian English.

As we have seen cow-based compounds may be found in various spheres of English lexicon, starting from those areas that are marked <FIELD LABEL: HUMAN BEING><FIELD LABEL: BUILDINGS> and <FIELD LABEL: FOODSTUFFS>. Lexicographic data search shows, however, that a great number of compounds are ocomasiologically linked to the area marked as <FIELD LABEL: PLANTS>, which is probably yet another reflection of the past importance of the animal and all that goes with it. Here one may enumerate such formations as *cow-lily*, *cow-clover*, *cow-crackers*, *cow-cress*, *cow-herb*, *cow’s lungswort*, *cow-mack* and *cowslip*. In his discussion dedicated to the rise and evolution of the last compound mentioned here, Funk (1978:151) says that the name of the flower with the much unromantic name *cowslip* goes back to Anglo-Saxon *cu-slyppe* literally meaning ‘cow dung’. The plant grows especially

well in cattle pastures which provides an extralinguistic explanation for the role of individual constituents that have come to form its name.

Ammer's *AHDI* (1997) draws our attention to a large number of compound formations that have come into existence during the course of the 20th century. The human-specific compound *sacred cow* used in the sense 'a person or thing immune to criticism or questioning' apparently encapsulates an allusion to the honored status of cows in Hinduism, where they are a symbol of God's generosity to humankind.¹¹ This is confirmed by Spears' *NAID* (2000) who defines its sense as 'something that is regarded by some people with such respect and veneration that they do not like it being criticized by anyone in any way. (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *A university education is a sacred cow in the Smith family. Fred is regarded as a failure because he quit school at 16.*). The compound has been truly immortalized in Alistair Cooke famous book *Talk about America* in which the author says VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *He [Franklin D. Roosevelt] was a great tickler of sacred cows not bred in his own pastures* (quoted in Sommer and Weiss MD 2001). It is worthy of note that President Roosevelt's nickname was *Cowboy President* most certainly due to the fact that he was a North Dakota ranchman and remained interested in cowboy life throughout his life. In turn, the expression *cow college* used in the sense 'an agricultural college; any small, relatively unknown rural college' appeared in English in the first decades of the 20th century. Among others, one may speak here of *cash cow* used in the sense 'a dependable source of profit, that surfaced in English existence in the 1970s and replaced the earlier compound *milch cow* the roots of which go back to the early 17th century.

When we turn to the idiomatics of *cow* we see that the noun functions as the head of a considerable number of phraseological formations, that is both fixed collocations or complex expressions with the various degree of idiomaticity involved in the sense of Lipka (1990), as well as a variety of proverbial expressions, apparently much richer in number than the ones related to other names of other domesticated animals. What strikes one first is a variety of idioms of comparison and here we are dealing with both two semantic types, that is 1) idioms

¹¹ The editors of Moser's *WMH* (1986) explain the nature of the close connection between a cow wandering down the street in India and an someone/ something considered immune from criticism in the following manner: *Sacred cow, meaning "a cow as an object of veneration among Hindus," is first found in English in the late nineteenth century. This cow, having crossed the ocean, is next found wandering through the pages of the March, 1910, edition of the Atlantic Montbly "In the office these corporations were jocularly referred to as 'sacred cows.'" And one of the two journalistic uses of the term sacred cow is illustrated here: "someone who is not to be criticized." Another sense in journalism is "copy that is not to be changed or cut." From the world of journalism it was an easy amble into the wider world and greener pastures where sacred cows are found today.*

of comparison based on patterns of likeness and 2) those that are based on patterns of degree¹².

To start with, there are a number of comparative phrases quoted in Spears' NAID (2000) that embody the notion of stereotypical awkwardness of the animal designated, such as *(as) awkward as a cow on a crutch* and *(as) awkward as a cow on roller skates* both used in the sense 'very awkward' (VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *When Lulu was pregnant, she was awkward as a cow on a crutch.* VERBAL ILLUSTRATION: *Tom will never be a gymnast. He's as awkward as a cow on roller skates!*). Wilkinson's TTEM (2002) adds the idiomatic phrase *to stand like the dun cow* meaning 'to stand awkwardly, stiffly, without response or help', and *graceful/solemn as a cow* and *like a cow handling a musket* 'awkward, very clumsy'. The concept of stereotypical awkwardness of the animal is often echoed in the semantics of various dialectal formations such as, for example, the Northern English historically documented idiom of comparison *like a cow in an unco* [=uncouth, unfamiliar] *loan/fremitloanin* [the uncultivated area near a farm left for milking cows in] 'awkward and bewildered'. The typically American and Canadian idiom of comparison is a somewhat vulgar-sounding expression *tight as a bull's/cow's arse in fly-time*.

This paper lies on the border line of lexicography, lexicology and semantics, and it clearly continues decade-lasting interest and research in the theory and practice of lexicography, in particular in the multitude of questions related to dictionary macrostructure, dictionary typology, the tools that serve the purpose of marking of stylistic and regional peculiarities [see, among others, Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2008 a, 2008 b, 2008 c, 2014, 20015 a, 2015 b, 2015 c, 2015 d)]. This work is meant to be an attempt to put to work a variety of lexicographic materials in the field of lexico-semantic analysis, both synchronic and diachronic, with the aim of accounting for semantic history and present-day status of the English lexical item that shares the element (+FEMALE) for its metaphorically transferred human-specific senses, that is the analytical corpus consists of selected lexical items that at various stages of the history of English became associated with what has been termed thematic field FEMALE HUMAN BEING. The pilot study that may be said to have signaled this type of linguistic analysis is Łozowski and Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2015)¹³ where it is argued that in recent research students of lexicography show a marked tendency not only to investigate the meanings of words and their synonyms, but rather modern lexicographic research has clearly extended its interest into the area of studying the way words are used and, in particular, lexicographers attempt to show how various meanings linked to individual lexical items are reflected in the areas of their word-formation potential, as well as the phraseological and paremiological productivity of lexical items. The analysis carried out here tackles all of these problems to a different degree.

¹² On the distinction see, among others, Rayevska (1979:272-273).

¹³ Accepted for publication in *Studia Anglica Resoviensia* (2015).

We believe that the analysis of the female-specific sample data may provide a starting point for producing an alternative reference work for non-native learners of English. To this end, following various suggestions made in the literature, for example Burkhanov (1998) and the earlier system proposed in Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2009, 2011) a set of information labels has been devised that are meant to determine style, register and attitude that characterize various word applications. Also, we have added new labels that are justified by the nature of the material analyzed.

To start with, in our analysis what has come to be known as attitudinal labels have acquired the form of <USAGE LABEL>, such as, for example, <USAGE LABEL: DEMEANING/DISAPPROVING> or <USAGE LABEL: DISPARAGING/ DEROGATORY>. On the other hand, those pieces of pragmatic information that may be termed stylistic have been formalized here as <STYLISTIC LABEL> with such peculiarities of style as <INFORMAL>, <REGIONAL> or <COLLOQUIAL>. In an attempt to account for this shortcoming we have postulated the category termed <FIELD LABEL> that materialized in individual case studies as, for example, <FIELD LABEL: ANIMALS> or <FIELD LABEL: MILITARY LIFE>. While analyzing language data we resorted to a number of lexicographic works that account mainly for the standard variety of English, but – at the same time – attempt was made to handle dialect differences which is by no means a strong point of the majority of the *EFL* dictionaries, though it seems that dialectal peculiarities are essential in any specialized fully-fledged analysis of any segment of the lexical system. In this work dialect peculiarities acquired the form of such labels, as for example, <REGIONAL LABEL: AUSTRALIAN/SCOTTISH> or <REGIONAL LABEL: AMERICAN>.

Finally, guided by the multitude of analytical works targeted at analyzing the axiological load present in the semantics of language material, such as Kiełtyka (2008), Kochman-Haładaj and Kleparski (2011) we have proposed a system of labels the aim of which is to formalize the evaluative charge present in the semantic content of the nouns analyzed. To this end we have proposed the construct termed here as <AXIOLOGICAL LABEL> which is most frequently realized as <AXIOLOGICAL LABEL: SOCIALLY (NEG.)> or <AXIOLOGICAL LABEL: MORALLY (NEG.)>. Obviously, the labeling system that has been used in this work may be developed and refined further. However, it is our belief that such a system may successfully be employed both in language analysis and in the lexicographic theory and practice.

To close, let us observe that we have made use of a great number lexicographic works from which much illustrative material was borrowed, and this number includes a selected number of *EFL* dictionaries, historical dictionaries, such as the *OED*, dictionaries and collections of idioms and proverbs. It has long become obvious that most frequently one can hardly dissociate linguistic from extralinguistic knowledge, and while analyzing the data it has become fairly clear that such aspects as pragmatics, cultural allusion and encyclopedic information that

are present in illustrative material can hardly be ignored. Last but not least, let us stress that our account takes into consideration only a very limited number of nouns that in the history of English have been used in the female-specific sense, and one may expect that the picture would become more complete if one attempted to analyze to analyze a larger part of data.

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BÖLLS BIOGRAFISCHES PORTRÄT IM LICHT SEINER ESSAYISTIK Teil 1: Von den Anfang an bis „Stunde Null“

Heinrich Bölls Biografie ist in die Geschichte hineingestellt. Das kann man übrigens von allen seinen Zeitgenossen sagen. Die, nach Gustav Herling-Grudzińskis Worten, „von der Kette losgelassene“ Geschichte griff in die Alltagsexistenz ein, zerschnitt die intimsten Bande, brachte alle Lebensverhältnisse durcheinander.

Als Böll am 21. Dezember 1917 geboren wird, toben noch die Schlachten des Ersten Weltkrieges. Der Vater wird eingezogen, allerdings bloß zum Heimatdienst. Der Krieg endet mit Deutschlands folgenreicher Niederlage. Bölls erste Erinnerung: „Hindenburgs heimkehrende Armee, grau, ordentlich, trostlos zog sie mit Pferden und Kanonen an unserem Fenster vorüber“ (Böll 1963: 285). Die Kindheit verbringt Heinrich Böll unter relativ luxuriösen Umständen, in einem vom Vater errichteten villenartigen Neubauhaus.¹ Die Sozialisation der Kinder findet im wesentlichen im familiären Milieu statt: Von dort stammt die frühgeprägte christliche Gläubigkeit. Dort empfängt Heinrich Böll auch Keime für urwüchsige moralische Grundehrlichkeit. „Familienloyal - eine wenig schöne Wortschöpfung – ist Böll zu einem der höchsten Prädikate geworden. (...) Die

¹ Die Beobachtung möchte ich mir nicht entgehen lassen. Man pflegt Böll als den Dichter der „kleinen Leute“ abwechselnd zu preisen und zu schmähen, und die kleinbürgerliche Herkunft als Quelle besonderer Zu- und Abneigungen des Schriftstellers hinzustellen. Dabei übersieht man, dass Bölls Familie dem Mittelstand, wenn nicht gar dem Grossbürgertum sich zuschlagen ließe. Sein Vater, ein Schreiner, war Handwerker, aber kein beliebiger. Er verstand sich als Bildhauer und mit seinen Schnitzwerken, die er vor allem für den Kirchenbedarf ausführte, vermochte er ein ansehnliches Vermögen zu erwerben. Im Laufe des Lebens hat er es bis zu vier Häusern gebracht. Mit dem Wohlstand hat es, zugegeben, 1930, als die Wirtschaftskreise auf dem Höhepunkt stand, ein Ende genommen. Nicht einmal die wichtigsten (Roman)helden Bölls kommen von Kleinbürgertum her. Hans Schnier „der Clown“ (Siehe, *Ansichten eines Clowns* von 1963) ist Sohn eines Großindustriellen. Männliche Vertreter von drei Generationen der Familie Fäbmel (Siehe, *Billard um halb zehn* 1958) sind hochgeschätzte und hochbezahlte Architekten. Im Milieu der Bonner Machtelite bewegen sich die Gestalten von posthumem Prosawerk *Frauen vor Flusslandschaft*. Die These dürfte ausreichend belegt sein, dass es nicht angeht, Böll in einen literatursoziologischen Raster zu pressen. Es kommt ihm nämlich stets auf die moralische „Wertigkeit“ einer Gestalt an. Diese liegt der jeweiligen Erzählperspektive zu Grunde.

Familie und ihre Werte werden zur höchsten Instanz – nicht für sein Bild der Gesellschaft, aber für jedes Individuum und dessen persönliche Bewährung“ (Schröter 2007: 30f).

Die Kindheit, jede Kindheit, ist von Trennungs- und Abschiedserlebnissen bestimmt. Von den Schwankungen der wirtschaftlichen Lage gezwungen ziehen die Bölls mehrmals um. Für Heinrich, den Jungen, der beim ersten Umzug vier Jahre alt war, war es jedesmal ein aufregend beunruhigender Einschnitt. Von diesen Umzügen, von den durch sie bewirkten Veränderungen der Lebenslage, des Lebensgefühls erzählt die Skizze, *Raderberg, Raderthal* (HK: 116-124) Erstdruck: Atlas. Berlin 1965. An Vergegenwärtigungskunst und epischer Dichte steht sie hinter den besten Seiten der Böllschen Prosa nicht zurück; sie ist Dokument einer geradezu stupenden Erinnerungssicherheit, die auch bei den entferntesten den Eindruck von unanfechtbarer Stimmigkeit vermittelt. In die Familiengeschichte ist völlig nahtlos die Sozialgeschichte integriert.

Die Spannungen und Risse reichen auch in das Leben des heranwachsenden Heinrich Böll hinein. Man spielt mal mit den „Roten“ (Kindern von Proletariern), man spielt mal mit den „besseren Leuten“. Bölls Eltern halten sich, obgleich bürgerlich, an die Regeln nicht und der Sohn darf seiner Vorliebe für „Schlagball, Treibball, Völkerball, Bückball, Hockey mit Milchbüchsen, Fußball (...)“ (HK: 123) ungehindert nachgehen. Alles in allem: eine aus der Perspektive des Kindes zwar vielfach bedrohte, aber immerhin an Glücksmomenten reiche Lebenswelt. Der Schluss ist einigermaßen abrupt und doch wohlüberlegt eingesetzt: „Der Beginn der dreißiger Jahre: es war nicht ganz, aber fast ganz aus mit dem Spielen. Es wurde ernster“ (HK: 123). Und weiter: „Es kommt zuviel auf mit den dreißiger – ich springe in die vierziger vor. Sehe es tausendmal vor mir (...), ich sah und sah es auf allen Waggonen (...) das unvergessliche mit der sauberen, exakten Schablone schneeweiß auf Ochsenblut rotgemalt. Todgeweihte, Soldaten und Verwundete, Mensch, Vieh, Untermensch und Übermensch zu Sieg und Niederlage, zu Tod, Gefangenschaft, aus dieser heraus, es stand und steht zu lesen, was mir überall Kindheit in Erinnerung rief“ (HK: 124).

So arbeitet der epische Zeitraffer. In einer Bildmotiv sind sie miteinander verzahnt: die Unschuldjahre der frühen Lebenszeit und die Zeit der Großen Schuld.

1930 setzt im Leben der Bölls eine traurige Zäsur ein. Viktor Böll, das Familienoberhaupt, erfährt, wie Millionen andere auch, die Folgen der Weltwirtschaftskrise, die Deutschland mit voller Wucht traf. Die Familienfirma kommt nur knapp an der Pleite vorbei. Die villenartige Behausung muss aufgegeben und ein bescheidenes Domizil bezogen werden. Die Lebensangst stellt bei dem zwölfjährigen Böll sich ein, von der für den Jungen schier unfasslichen Erkenntnis ausgelöst, dass sein Wohl und Weh von Faktoren abhängt, auf die selbst seine Eltern keinen Einfluss hätten.

Böll gedenkt allerdings nicht ungern dieser Zeit, da er sie, neben der Erfahrung des Gefährdetseins auch mit einer „Art Anarchismus, Nihilismus, Antibürgerlichkeit“ (Böll KA, 2010: Interview 1: 540f) in Verbindung brachte, wie sich dies eben aus dem erzwungenen sozialen Abseitsstehen ergab. „Anarchismus als eine immanente Verachtung bürgerlicher Formen. (...) Dieser anarchistische oder fast anarchische Zug war damals sehr stark, es war kein reiner Trotz mehr, es war nur ein Sich-durchschlagen von Tag zu Tag. Ein Zustand der permanenten Improvisation, wo gar keine Regelmäßigkeit und Ordnung – auch im kleinbürgerlichen Sinne – mehr möglich ist“ (Böll/Linder 1975: 55f).

Damit war der Boden für die Loslösung vom bürgerlichen Erwerbs- und Besitzdenken, ja für einen zum Revolutionären tendierenden Gesinnungswechsel gegeben. Böll: „(...) bin ich ziemlich sicher, dass ich, wenn die faschistische Zeit nicht gekommen wäre – die natürlich auch mein politisches Bewusstsein gestört hat, in reinem Reflexwiderstand – dass ich wahrscheinlich spätestens 1936 Kommunist geworden wäre(...). Bestimmt hier in dieser Stadt, aus diesem Milieu kommend, und die sozialen Verhältnisse kennend(...)“ (Linder 1986: 54).

Der Machtantritt Hitlers hat alle politischen Auswege verbaut. Kaum einer vermag vorerst die weiterreichende Bedeutung des Geschehens richtig einzuschätzen. Die Mehrheit der Deutschen steht selbst nach dem Reichsbrand der neuen Regierung ablehnend gegenüber. Die Haltungen reichen von abwartender Skepsis bis zum dezidierten Antifaschismus. Aber das Regime festigt bald seine Position, kann tatsächlich innen- wie außenpolitische Erfolge aufweisen. Viele „fallen“ „um“, und zum Widerstand nur sind noch die Mutigsten entschlossen. Böll betonte im Rückblick, dass er wie seine gesamte Familie für die „braune Herrschaft“ nichts übrig gehabt hätte. Die Verankerung im christlichen Wertfundament stellte ein zuverlässiges Schutzmittel gegen den wahrhaftig diabolischen Ungeist dar, der da über Deutschland heraufzog. Für aktive Opposition reichte es allerdings nicht aus. Es blieb bei inneren Vorbehalten. Es reichte nicht einmal für die „innere Emigration“. Denn nach außen hin arrangieren sich die Bölls, versuchen ihre Position zusätzlich noch dadurch abzusichern, dass die Familie den ältesten Sohn, Alois in die SA abdelegiert. Einen besonderen Bürgermut legen sie nicht an den Tag.

Es wäre freilich unfair, dies ihnen abzuverlangen. Der Terror unterdrückt jede freiere Gefühlsregung, um von freier Meinungsäußerung zu schweigen: „Da muckte offenbar niemand, jedenfalls nicht hörbar (...) Die Ewigkeit des Nazismus brach an“ (Böll/Lindner 1975: 39).

1953 stellt Böll sich selbst – und zwar als einen „jungen Autor“ vor. (VW:109-112). Dieser sei fünfzehn Jahre alt gewesen, als Hitler an die Macht gekommen war. Eine Prüfstunde auf moralische Integrität hin. Man weiß: Hitler wurde von einer wachsenden Anhängerschaft unterstützt und als er sich Mitte der 1930er auf dem Höhepunkt seiner Popularität befand, hätte er sich getrost in den demokratischen Wahlen dem vox populi stellen können. Zahllose sind umgefallen, teils aus Konformismus, viele jedoch aus Überzeugung, die sich aus innen- und

außenpolitischen Erfolgen des Regimes nährte. Böll bleibt gegen solche Versuchung gefeit, obgleich er „generationsmäßig dazu ausersehen war“ (VW: 109). Es sei sein Lebensmilieu, es seien „Eltern, (...) Geschwister, viele Freunde und Freundinnen meiner Geschwister – und manche meiner Lehrer“ (VW: 109) gewesen, die Böll davor bewahrt hätten, den Naziparolen Glauben zu schenken.

Böll selbst sucht sich jedenfalls aus allen Verstrickungen in die nazistische Gleichschaltungsmaschinerie herauszuhalten. Als einer der nur zwei-drei Gymnasiasten tritt er nicht in die Hitlerjugend ein; die Obrigkeit lässt dies, von einigen eigentlich harmlosen Schikanen abgesehen, hingehen. In der Erzählung *Wanderer, kommst du nach Spa...* hat Böll das deutsche Gymnasium als eine die nationalistische Abrichtung der Jugendlichen als ihren obersten Zweck verfolgende (Miss)bildungsanstalt charakterisiert. Sein humanistisch ausgerichtetes Gymnasium verschonte ihn zum Glück mit derartigen (Miss)bildungserlebnissen. Er überstand es in integrer Geistesverfassung, ohne an der Schule gelitten zu haben. (Ebenda: 108).

Sein Interesse für politische Gedankengänge ist übrigens zu dieser Zeit eher gering und – „Ich war kein Widerständler“ (Literaturmagazin 7: 66). Auch seine Lektüreauswahl weist auf eine beschauliche Haltung hin. Ausgesperrt bleibt – man muss sich wundern – das Gesellschaftskritische, um vom „Dekadenten“ ganz zu schweigen. Immerhin hat der zwanzigjährige Heinrich Böll Georg Trakl zur Kenntnis genommen. Aber in das Jahr 1936 fällt die Entdeckung Leon Bloys durch Böll. Von allen Autoren, die Böll als junger Mann gelesen hat, hat ihn Bloy am nachhaltigsten geprägt. Es wird noch im Nachfolgenden ausführlich davon die Rede sein. In aller Allgemeinheit sei hier gesagt, dass Böll bei dem französischen Philosophen heraushörte, was er damals schon im deutschen Katholizismus vermisste: einen Ton moralischen Ernstes, eine gleichermaßen ethische wie existenzielle Betroffenheit (Böll 1979: 32). So setzte sein Hadern mit der (sichtbaren) Kirche ein, so begann sein Weg zu jener unsichtbaren Kirche, wie sie jenseits aller Institutionalisierung in den Sakramenten verkörpert ist.

Tief aufgewühlt fühlt sich Böll durch das Reichskonkordat, das der Vatikan 1934 mit dem nationalsozialistischen Staat unterzeichnet hat. Dies wird von ihm durchaus richtig gedeutet: als Veruntreuung des evangelischen Auftrags der Kirche. Böll erwägt sogar den Kirchenaustritt, belässt es letzten Endes bei der resignativen Erkenntnis: „Notwendigerweise musste man die Kirche mitnehmen, wenn man Religion ausüben wollte, es war eigentlich ein notwendiges Übel“. (Schröter 2007: 49).

Der Abiturient Böll hat keine klaren Berufsvorstellungen. Wie auch immer. Zum Sommersemester 1939 nimmt er an der Kölner Universität das Philologiestudium (Germanistik und Klassische Philologie) auf. Der Krieg macht dieses Vorhaben zunichte.

Heinrich Vormweg fällt das Verdienst zu, die zwischen 1936 und 1939 entstandenen Erzählungen und Prosastücke eingesehen und durchstudiert zu haben.

Sie zeigen kein genialisch frühreifes Talent und es besteht kein Grund zu bedauern, dass sie nicht veröffentlicht worden sind. Wer indes an Bolls Mentalität und Emotionalität interessiert ist, dürfte sie nicht außer Acht lassen. Die Grundthemen dessen, was der zur literarischen Meisterschaft herangereifte Böll nach 1945 geschrieben hat, findet man schon in ihnen, und zwar manchmal in grotesk überspitzter Form vor: Kritik an den Institutionen der Kirche, Bekenntnis zu den evangelischen Tugenden der Freundlichkeit und solidarischen Mitmenschlichkeit, Einheit von Liebe und „fleischlichem Verlangen“. Auch die Parteinahme für die Armen, in der „Glaube und Liebe die Kraft des Widerstands gegen die Welt, wie sie ist“ gewinnen. (Vormweg, 2002: 72f). Sein damaliger Satz „Der Klerus ist des Teufels“ (zit. Nach Vormweg 2002: 68) könnte über den späteren Romanen *Und sagte kein einziges Wort*, *Ansichten eines Clowns* und auch über dem posthumen *Frauen vor Flusslandschaft* stehen; auch bildet er den Grundtenor der Aussage in vielen publizistischen und essayistischen Wortmeldungen Bolls.

Von dem Augenblick der Einberufung an fühlt sich Böll wie ein Gefangener einer Lebensform, die alle seine Pläne und Bestrebungen zu nichts macht. Gefangen in der Unnatur des blinden Gehorsams, des auch noch den letzten Rest von Geist tötenden Exerzierens, der immer gleichen Vernichtungen, hat er das quälende Gefühl, seine Lebenszeit sinnlos opfern zu müssen.

Er hat allerdings als Soldat zunächst ein einigermaßen erträgliches Los gezogen. Obwohl schon im August 1939 mobilisiert, braucht er am Polenfeldzug nicht teilzunehmen, weil seine Ausbildung noch nicht abgeschlossen ist. Man delegiert ihn nach Bromberg (Bydgoszcz) ab. In dieser Zeit geht der Frankreichfeldzug zu Ende. Kaum werden die Kriegshandlungen eingestellt, so wird Böll in das pazifizierte Land verlegt. Eine schwere Erkrankung (Ruhr im akuten Zustand) hat ihr Gutes: als Rekonvaleszent wird Böll nach Deutschland zurückgeschickt. Dort verbringt er die Monate, in denen die Wehrmacht in der Sowjetunion mit Riesenschritten vorrückt. Das Glück bleibt ihm weiterhin hold. Obgleich stets weitere Tausende-Abertausende Männer an die immer krisenhafter werdende Ostfront sich begeben müssen, darf Böll mit seiner Einheit erneut nach Frankreich fahren. Er tut seinen Dienst an der Atlantikküste, in Erwartung der Invasion, vorerst indes unter friedlichen, wenn auch durch Monotonie seelenbetäubenden Umständen.

Dann wendet sich das Blatt. Böll gerät mitten ins Kriegsinferno hinein. Die Einheit wird nämlich nach Russland versetzt. Auf der Krim nimmt Böll an blutigen Kampfhandlungen teil, sieht Kameraden fallen, trägt selbst eine Verletzung davon. Nach der Genesung sieht man ihn wieder in Frankreich, wo er es mit schwejkhaften Tricks schafft, sich bis Mai 1944 fern der Front durchzuschlagen.

Auf die Dauer gelingt es ihm nicht, sich den Fronteinsätzen zu entziehen. In Rumänien wird er wieder verletzt. Nun will Böll es nicht noch einmal riskieren. Er beschließt, seinen Kopf durch eigene Initiative aus der Schlinge zu ziehen. Es beginnt seine – so betitelte er übrigens eine 1966 erschienene Erzählung – *Entfernung von der Truppe*. Mit gefälschtem Marschbefehl entflieht er der

grausamen Ostfront und setzt sich Richtung Westen ab. Das ist ihm, der den Krieg hasst, nicht genug. Er versucht als Deserteur unterzutauchen. Dann wird es ihm doch zu gefährlich und – wieder mit getürkten Papieren – er meldet sich bei der Wehrmacht wieder. Das Kriegsende steht schon unmittelbar bevor. Die ganze Westfront ist zusammengebrochen. Böll gerät in amerikanische Gefangenschaft. Wieder vom (relativen) Glück begünstigt, wird er nach einigen Monaten auf freien Fuß gesetzt. Er darf sich dem großen Strom der Heimkehrer anschließen, die nach den Strapazen und Gefährdungen des Krieges nun vor der überaus schwierigen Aufgabe stehen, dort wieder anzuknüpfen, wo ihre ehemalige Existenz durch den Krieg unterbrochen worden ist.

Exkurs

Die in der Wehrmachtsuniform verbrachten Jahre, dieses biographische Kapitel bedürfte einer eingehenden Untersuchung. In sachlicher Hinsicht sind sie detailliert belegt: seit 1998 liegt die umfangreiche Korrespondenz frei, die Böll in der Zeit von 1939-45 mit seiner Braut und, ab 1943 seiner Frau geführt hat.

Man nimmt sie eher enttäuscht zur Kenntnis. Zum ersten. Sie lassen vermissen, was von der Beschreibungskunst (und es ist ja erlaubt, die Briefkunst zu ihr zu zählen) mit gutem Recht erwarten dürfte: Blick für die charakteristische Einzelheit, für diverse Erscheinungsformen des Menschlichen, wie es sich im Wechselspiel mit den historischen Zeitläufen dem Beobachter darbot. Bölls Briefe sind durch eine Eiligkeit gekennzeichnet, die gerade darüber meistens hinweg huscht, wohin sich das Besondere einer Situation / einer Schicksalslage hätte äußern können. Zum zweiten.

Man soll freilich im Auge behalten, dass Böll bei der Niederschrift der Briefe dem (Militär)zensor im Rücken spürte, also von manch einer kritischen Anmerkung Abstand nehmen musste. Und doch weckt die Tatsache das Befremden, dass Bölls Kasernen- und Frontberichte der ethischen Reflexion darüber ermangeln, was es für einen Christen bedeutet, als Uniformträger fürs Töten bestimmt zu sein.

Ende des Exkurses

Böll und Millionen seinesgleichen fahren einer zerstörten Heimat entgegen. Das Ausmaß der Verwüstungen wird er nach und nach kennenlernen. Als er heimkehrte, war er „fast 28 Jahre alt. Fast sieben das Leben prägende Jahre hatte er in Knechtschaft verbracht(...). Er war ja unter Zwang, nicht aus freiem Willen Soldat geworden. Er hatte sich als Soldat gequält, weil er unfrei war, fremdbestimmt, unterworfen in sinnlosem Gehorsam, von Angst bedroht und ohne die Möglichkeit, zu einem eigenen Leben zu finden“ (Vormweg, 2002: 109).

1945 ist Böll einer von den Millionen Heimkehrer. Er findet eine zerstörte Stadt, er findet ein völlig zerrüttetes Land vor. Vom Elend ist, von wenigen ganz Reichen abgesehen, die ganze Bevölkerung betroffen. Es gleicht schon einem Kunststück, wenn man die Nahrung wenigstens für den laufenden Tag beschaffen

will. Das Ehepaar Böll versteht es, solidarisch über die Widrigkeiten hinwegzukommen. Allerdings eher schlecht als recht. Immerhin kann man auf stetige Einnahmen rechnen. Annemarie Böll ist als Lehrerin beschäftigt. Das erspart den Beiden, die seit 1945 Eltern sind, die zeitübliche Erfahrung mit Hunger und Kälte nicht.

Die Zeit nach dem 9. Mai, zwischen 1945 und 1950 – sei, tatsächlich so etwas wie eine „Stunde Null“ gewesen. Die Katastrophe des Dritten Reiches hat die Grundlagen der gesamten Gesellschaft zum Einsturz gebracht; was zurückblieb, war „ein wüstes Land nach einem dreißigjährigen Krieg (...)“ (Ebenda). Und genau dieser Meinung vertritt auch Agata Buda in ihrem Buch. (Buda 2014: 142). Die Fakten: Die Alliierten haben alle politischen und Verwaltungsfunktionen den Deutschen abgenommen. Die Entmündigung war in diesem Bereich total. Dass die zerbombte und demolierte Wirtschaft darniederlag, belastete schwerstens Millionen Normalverbraucher, die sich bald in der Lage erblickten, die letzten Reserven – wenn irgendwelche Reserven überhaupt vorhanden waren – verbraucht zu haben. „Wüst“ sah es in den Köpfen aus. Der Nationalsozialismus füllte bis zuletzt den inneren Raum von Millionen Deutschen aus. Nun mussten sie mit seinem schmachvollen Niedergang fertig werden.

Exkurs

Max Frisch, der 1945 Deutschland bereiste, erkannte illusionslos, wie wenig Einwohner des darniederliegenden Landes über innere Reserven noch verfügten, um in Kategorien wie „Schuld“, „Verantwortung“, gar „Humanität“ denken können. Frisch: „Wenn ich in tödlicher Lungenentzündung liege und man meldet mir, dass mein Nachbar gestorben sei, und zwar durch mein Verschulden, mag sein, ich werde es hören, ich werde die Bilder sehen, die man mir vor die Augen hält, aber es erreicht mich nicht: Die tödliche Not, die eigene, verengt mein Bewusstsein auf einen Punkt“ (Frisch 1965: 37).

Den gleichen Eindruck hat der wie durch ein Wunder der nazistischen Todesmaschinerie entkommene Verleger Peter Suhrkamp. Er will die Arbeit aufnehmen. Das will nicht so recht von der Stelle kommen, weil er „zwischen Menschen sein muss, die noch nichts begreifen und schwer begreifen werden, die ameisenhaft ihr Gut aus Trümmern und Ruinen zusammenschleppen, zu müde, um den Himmel wahrzunehmen, geschweige denn auf einen Schimmer von Geist im Herzen zu achten“ (Fischer 1967: 221f).

April 1946 erscheint Heft 1 der Zeitschrift für Kultur und Politik. *Frankfurter Hefte*. Als Herausgeber zeichneten Walter Dirks und Eugen Kogon, der vor kurzem mit dem Buch *Der SS-Staat. Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager* zu der Debatte um deutsche Schuld und Verantwortung gewichtige Argumente beitrug. Nur wollten *Frankfurter Hefte* im Geiste des linkskatholischen Ethos Wege zur inneren Wende und Läuterung weisen. Man konnte also lesen: „Wir wiederholen es, weil es wichtig ist: Mut zum Nein und Mut zum Ja, und wir möchten die Kraft des Herzens und des Geistes, wie dazu gehört, mit Einsicht nähren. Das klärende

und das nährendes Wort, das hier zu lesen sein wird, soll von christlichen Gewissen bestimmt sein, die Welt aber, auf die er sich bezieht, ist nicht etwa das Religiöse, sondern die ganze vielschichtige, reiche, arme Wirklichkeit“ (*An unsere Leser: Frankfurter Hefte*, Heft 1/1946. S.25f).

Hier bot sich Menschen wie Böll eine Art geistige Heimat, hier wurde der Zusammenschluss der Gutwilligen nahegelegt. Direkte Bezüge zwischen der religiösen Erneuerungswelle der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit und dem geistigen Werdegang Bölls, lassen sich zwar nicht nachweisen, die Gemeinsamkeiten liegen indes auf einer fundamentalen Ebene. Sie betreffen jenen „Mut zum Nein und Mut zum Ja“, der freie Persönlichkeit konstruiert und auch die notwendige Voraussetzung der Literaturschreibung überhaupt bildet. Generell gilt es für jene fruchtbare Zeit. Nicht nur brach eine Welt zusammen: etwas brach zugleich auf. Rasch zeigten sich Aufsätze eines neuen Kulturerlebens. Worte wie „Erneuerung“, „sittlicher Wandel“ kamen in Umlauf: man gebrauchte sie immer kühner, selbst wenn die äußeren Umstände vorerst desolat blieben. Wie auch immer. Die deutsche Geistigkeit erholte sich. Aus verschiedenen Ecken konnte man Stimmen vernehmen, die so vermessen waren, Deutschlands besseres Morgen zu planen. Es sollte aus dem inneren Impetus herauskommen und – zwar in mehr einem Sinne – ihr Fragwürdiges. Die Hoffnungsvorräte sind in der Nazizeit so gut wie völlig erschöpft worden. Damit ist ein ganzes Begriffsinstrumentarium in die Brüche gegangen, wie die menschen- und fortschrittsgläubige „gute, alte Zeit“ mit souveräner Selbstverständlichkeit zu verwenden liebte. Für viele betroffene Überlebende ist es schwierig geworden, erhobene Worte in den Mund zu nehmen. Der ihnen in den Ohren klingende Ton hat der Dichter Günter Eich getroffen; sein Gedicht *Latrine* gewann den Charakter eines Manifests:

Über stinkendem Graben,
Papier voll Blut und Urin,
umschwirrt von funkelnden Fliegen,
hocke ich in den Knien,

den Blick auf bewaldete Ufer,
Gärten, gestrandetes Boot.
In den Schlamm der Verwesung
klatscht der versteinte Kot.

Irr mir im Ohre schallen
Verse von Hölderlin.
In schneeiger Reinheit spiegeln
Wolken sich im Urin.

Geh aber nun und grüße
die schöne Garonne

Unter den schwankenden Füßen
schwimmen die Wolken davon. (Eich 1973: 36)

Ende des Exkurses

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BÖLLS BIOGRAFISCHES PORTRÄT IM LICHT SEINER ESSAYISTIK Teil 2: Von „Stunde Null“ bis zum Lebensende

Über die Zeit nach 1945 gibt es von Böll mehrere autobiographische Zeugnisse. Man höre ihm zu: „Wie wir zwischen 1945 und der Währungsreform gelebt haben, wovon? Kaum von der Hand in den Mund, denn oft genug waren die Hände leer. Meine Frau verdiente als Mittelschullehrerin etwa 350 Reichsmark im Monat, das waren nach rechter Mark, das heißt nach Schwarzmarktwerten gerechnet, zehn Brote, etwas mehr als ein halbes Pfund Butter(...). Ich gab Nachhilfestunden und arbeitete für eine Mark Stundenlohn in der Werkstatt meines Bruders(...). Nebeneinnahmen gab es, wenn wir aus den Trümmern geklaute Stahlträger an aufbauwillige Schwarzhändler verkauften“ (FT: 162f).

Alles in allem war das eine trübe Lebensstrecke. Und doch erinnert sich Böll ihrer nicht ohne Beimengung von Nostalgie. Sie erscheint ihm im Nachhinein als ein verheißungsvolles Intervall zwischen dem Inferno des Krieges und dem Perspektivverlust, wie ihn die Restaurationsära mit sich brachte. Es ist schon merkwürdig, wie Böll in die Nachkriegswirklichkeit sich hineinlebte. Die Zerstörung Kölns hinderte ihn nicht, die Stadt als „eine Heimat“ (HK: 111) zu betrachten, an der man hängt und von der man sich nicht wegdenken kann. „Staub und Stille“ (Ebenda) sind das dominierende Erlebnis. Ein Drittes – um wieder Böll zu zitieren – kam hinzu: „Besitzlosigkeit“ (HK: 112). Sie gewinnt geradezu mythologische Züge: „Jeder besaß das nackte Leben und außerdem, was ihm unter die Hände geriet: Kohlen, Holz, Bücher, Baumaterial. Jeder hätte jeden mit Recht das Diebstahls bezichtigen können. Wer in einer zerstörten Großstadt nicht erfror, musste sein Holz oder seine Kohlen gestohlen haben, und wer nicht verhungerte, musste auf irgendeine gesetzeswidrige Weise sich die Nahrung verschafft haben oder haben beschaffen lassen“ (Ebenda)¹.

¹ Anzumerken ist. Die von ihm vielfach berufene „einmalige Situation der Gleichheit“ hat es keinen Augenblick gegeben. Es ist schon zweierlei, wenn jemand nur eine dürftige Habe oder aber mobiles und immobiles Eigentum sein eigen nennen und zu Überlebenszwecken einsetzen konnte. Und was war mir den Bauern, die über das Kostbarste, die Lebensmittel verfügten und sich in kürzester Zeit bereicherten? Hier soll keine soziologische Studie geboten werden. Aber schon ein Blick auf die Geschichtsbücher genügt, um Bölls Retrospektive zu widerlegen. Tendenzen zum Rückzug aus der Politik hat es tatsächlich gegeben: es lag in Wesen des historischen Augenblicks. Die Gegenströmung - der Wille zur politischen Willensäußerung – war indes genauso deutlich zu beobachten.

Dies ist Bölls Erinnerung an die Stunde Null, als die Grundfesten der bürgerlichen Ordnung in Trümmer sanken. Er scheint den Zustand irgendwie genossen zu haben: nach der Art des Anarchisten etwa, der mit dem Weltenende liebäugelt. Die Stunde Null – das Schibboleth vieler Überlebenden des Weltkrieges, vieler Angehörigen der Frontgeneration. Wer sich eine Renaissance der Humanität, eine moralische Wiedergeburt oder gar den Umsturz der sozialen Strukturen erhoffte, glaubte nach dem 9. Mai 1945 diesen seinen Wunschvorstellungen näher denn je gekommen zu sein. Die „alte Welt“ gab es nicht mehr. Ihre Machtinstanzen lösten sich auf. Man glaubte an die Bereitschaft der Menschen, aus der grauenvollen historischen Lektion für die Zukunft zu lernen. Die Beharrungskraft der Dinge bewahrte indes ihr paralysierendes Gewicht. Man nahm den Aufbau in Angriff und siehe, es schälten sich die gleichen Umrisse heraus, wie man sie von der Vergangenheit her kannte. Überall drängte sich derselbe Menschenschlag vor: geschäftstüchtig, betriebsam. Die kompakte Mehrheit war zu keinen Höhenflügen aufgelegt und als es so weit war, dass die (West)deutschen politisch die Weichen stellen durften, haben sie die Entscheidungsgewalt dem restaurativ gesinnten Konrad Adenauer zugesprochen.

Zu den vielen Widrigkeiten, die der Krieg mit sich brachte, gehörte auch dies, dass er in all seiner Soldatenzeit weder Gelegenheit noch die notwendige Konzentration fand, um seine literarischen Versuche fortzusetzen. Als er endlich in die Freiheit entkommen durfte, war der Nachholbedarf riesengroß. Böll beginnt intensiv zu schreiben. Sein großes Thema, das ihn für lange nicht loslassen wird, hat er gleichsam auf Anhieb gefunden. Es sind Krieg und Nachkrieg samt zahllosen dazugehörigen individuellen Lebensgeschichten, die Böll festhalten möchte.

Man ist geneigt zu glauben, der ungeheure, auch moralisch bewegende Stoff sei von allen nach 1945 ernstzunehmenden Schriftstellern als eine elementare Herausforderung empfunden worden und auch das deutsche Lesepublikum habe mit ungeduldigem Interesse auf Werke gewartet, die der Kriegs- und Nachkriegsrealität ihren Spiegel vorhalten würden. So selbstverständlich war es gar nicht, ja man kann sagen, dass das Bedürfnis vorherrschte, die düstere Vergangenheit und die triste Gegenwart zu vergessen und zu verdrängen. Die Literatur kam dieser Tendenz mit ihren Sublimierungsverfahren entgegen: sie bot magisch Verschlüsseltes (Hermann Kasack) oder Sicherheiten des Glaubens (Elisabeth Langgasser), poetische Asyle (Ernst Kreuder). Die nackte Faktizität blieb dabei ausgespart, der direkte Bezug zu der historischen Erfahrung der Deutschen wurde nicht hergestellt; man entwich ins Allgemeine, letzten Endes – Unverbindliche. Böll bestand dagegen darauf, dass vor allem das Wirkliche, wie es sich in dem Gedächtnis abgelagert habe, Aufmerksamkeit verdiene. Mit dieser seiner Einstellung hatte er Gesinnungsgenossen, von denen er allerdings vorerst nichts wusste. (Vgl. Barner 1994: S. 43-50 und 66-69.)

„Engagiert“ oder nicht, das musste sich jeder fragen, der angesichts der Erfahrungsmasse 1933-1945 schreiben wollte. Auch kam eine dritte Möglichkeit in

Frage, dass man überhaupt mit dem Schreiben aufhöre, wo doch das Wort angesichts dieser Realitäten ohnehin versagen müsste und jedes andere Thema, aus Gründen der Pietät vor den Ermordeten, sich verbot.

Paul Celan steht symbolisch für diese Selbstzweifel, die einerseits seine Kreativität bis an die Grenze des Verstummens lähmten, andererseits immer hermetischere, immer „poetischer“ sich gebende Gedichte gebaren. Das war seine, für andere kaum nachvollziehbare Art, der von ihm selbst aufgestellten Forderung zu genügen, in jeder gedichteten Zeile der Tatsache eingedenk zu sein, dass unvorstellbar Grauensvolles geschah, das Gleichgewicht von Mensch und Welt aufs tödlichste zerbrach und schließlich an der Stelle, wo einst Gott stand, eine gähnende Leere sich auftat. Ähnliche Bemerkungen zieht auch Agata Buda in ihrem Buch.

Celans Radikalität stellt indes einen, zugegeben: signifikanten Sonderfall dar. Schreckenslandschaften der Geschichte vor Augen optierten viele für eine Literatur des Konkreten, des Zeitbezogenen, des verbindlich Wirklichkeitsnahen. Darauf ließ sich das Schreibkonzept zurückführen, wie es die Autoren des *Ruf* - Kreises erprobten. Künstlerischer Erfolg war ihnen nur in Grenzen beschieden und doch kommt ihren Schreibversuchen die nicht zu vernachlässigende Bedeutung zu, eine wichtige Zeittendenz repräsentiert zu haben. Böll hat sie am konsequentesten, dabei mit genuin künstlerischen Mitteln verfolgt, sich auch nach und nach einen Platz in den oberen Rängen der Literaturhierarchie erobert.

Exkurs

Wie keine andere Einrichtung des literarischen Lebens hat *Gruppe 47* in den über zwanzig Jahren ihres Bestehens die Entwicklungstendenzen der bundesdeutschen Literatur beeinflusst. Davon gleich mehr.

Der Formierung der Gruppe 47 ist die Gründung der Zeitschrift *Der Ruf - Unabhängige Blätter der jungen Generation* vorausgegangen. Als Herausgeber zeichneten Alfred Andersch und - ab Heft 4 - Hans Werner Richter, der in zunehmendem Maße in die Rolle des Wortführers der Frontgeneration hineinwuchs. Unter seiner und Anderschs Leitung profilierte sich *Der Ruf* als das Sprechorgan der jungen Intellektuellen, die einerseits eine dezidiert antinazistische Position einnahmen, andererseits sich ebenso eindringlich von dem Kommunismus mit seinen totalitären Praktiken, mit seiner Menschenverachtung distanzierten. Der Antifaschismus war die als selbstverständlich vorausgesetzte Basis, der freiheitliche Sozialismus hieß die auf ihr fußende gleichermaßen politische wie moralische Botschaft.

Im Ästhetischen hatten sie eine gemeinsame Zielvorstellung: eine realistische Literatur mit dezidiert antinazistischer Ausrichtung. Eine Literatur, die sich dem sachlichen Erkenntnisauftrag verpflichtet fühlt. Eine Literatur ohne ideologische Überhebungen, ohne wie immer auch geartetes Pathos. Eine Literatur, die um präzisen Ausdruck sich bemüht und daher allen „großen Worten“, allem vagen Allgemeinen misstraut.

Diesem Literaturideal kommt Böll in den Kurzgeschichten am nächsten, die er zwischen 1946 – 1948 schrieb.

Der Ruf durfte nur ein Jahr erscheinen, danach wurde er von der amerikanischen Zensurbehörde verboten. Das hatte sein Gutes. Auf seinen Trümmern schlossen sich die gleichgesinnten Autoren zu einer Gruppe zusammen. Da sie erstmal im Jahre 1947 tagte, nahm sie eben den Namen *Gruppe 47* an. Noch wurde kein Preis für die beste literarische Leistung vergeben. Fast einmütig befand man indes, dass Wolfdietrich Schnurres kurze Erzählung *Das Begräbnis* am suggestivsten die Erzählart präsentierte, wie sie den Anwesenden vorschwebte: Einen alltäglichen Vorfall aufgreifend und in kargen Sprache vergegenwärtigend erfasste sie zugleich die ganze mentale Verwirrung, die Heillosigkeit des gegenwärtigen geschichtlichen Augenblicks. Böll war bei diesem ersten Mal noch nicht zugegen. Er wurde nach Bannwaldsee nicht eingeladen, man wusste nichts von ihm, wo doch seine ersten nennenswerten Publikationen erst in das Jahr 1948 fielen.

Erst 1951 ist es soweit: Böll wird der Gruppenpreis zugesprochen.

Man kann allerdings nicht sagen, dass dies ihn sogleich auf die Höhen des Literaturestablishments hinaufhievte. Aber Rezensenten und Leser wurden auf ihn aufmerksam. Auch konnte er bei einem mehr zahlenden Verleger unterkommen. Dass er bei der *Gruppe 47* reüssierte, war nicht zufällig, kann nicht restlos mit der unbestreitbaren Qualität des vorgelesenen Textes erklärt werden. Hinzu kam, dass Böll dem Selbstverständnis der Gruppe nicht nur entgegen kam, sondern darüber hinaus eigene „Farbtöne“ aufsetzte: Er bot 1951 ein Stück Prosa, die eng an der (trostlosen) Wirklichkeit haftete, ohne indes ins Jammern zu verfallen oder gar weinerlich zu werden. Böll präsentierte, was zu diesem kurz nach dem Kriegsende gelagerten Zeitpunkt Seltenheitswert hatte: Humor, und zwar jenen Humor, der nach seiner eigenen Darlegung, die Realität mit einem trockenen und mit einem nassen Auge betrachte (Vgl. *Bekenntnis zur Trümmerliteratur*), das emotionelle Gleichgewicht austariere, Extreme meide, das Trostlose nicht übersehe, die Aussicht auf die Hoffnung nicht verbaue.

Die schwarzen Schafe heißt der übrigens schon 1949 entstandene Text, wahrlich ein Musterbeispiel eines sich über die trübe Gegenwart souverän erhebenden Erzählens. Der Figurenkonstellation wird man im Laufe der Zeit in weiteren Werken von Böll wiederbegegnen: ein sanft anarchischer Neinsager entlarvt mit seiner bloßen unangepassten Existenz das Nichtleben im Leben der sich normal dünkenden Zeitgenossen: das ungewollt Komische an dem allerorten maßstabsetzenden Bürgertum.

Ende des Exkurses

Nach dem Triumph von *Bad Durckheim* ist Böll in beschwingter Stimmung. In Zeit kurzer gelingt es ihm „Wo warst du, Adam“ abzuschließen, es sollte sein erster vollwertiger Roman werden nach unterschlagenen früheren Versuchen in dieser Richtung. Er erscheint im November 1951, hat übrigens alles andere als

einen durchschlagenden Erfolg. Geringe Verkaufszahlen mögen, Böll selbst sah die Sache so, die Schuld des wenig rührigen Middelhauve Verlags gewesen sein. Böll zieht die Konsequenzen und wechselt über zu Dr. Joseph Caspar Witsch, dem Verleger von Kiepenhauer & Witsch in Köln. Dieses Verlagshaus wird Bölls Werke bis zum natürlichen Schluss betreuen. Vom Ertrag seiner Arbeit als Erzähler konnte Böll indes erst seit der zweiten Hälfte der 1950er Jahre seinen Lebensunterhalt bestreiten. Man war also auf Nebenverdienste angewiesen. Dies ist die Geburtsstunde des Publizisten/Essayisten Böll, der kleine Zeitungsbeiträge, Literaturrezensionen, auch Essays in schneller Folge zu Papier zu bringt und sich mit ihnen finanzielle Basis für gewichtigere Schreibprojekte absichert. Man sollte indes keineswegs vermeinen, dass diese kleineren Texte Böll als Nebenarbeiten behandelte. Sie sind in der Regel solide und sorgfältig gearbeitet und es befinden sich unter ihnen, um nur im Zeit 1952-1957 zu verbleiben, solche meisterhaften Miniaturessays wie; *Bekenntnis zur Trümmerliteratur* (1952) oder aber *Zur Verteidigung der Waschküchen* (1959). Wie auch immer. Böll ist entschlossen, seine künftigen Lebensaussichten mit dem Existenzstatus des freiberuflichen Schriftstellers zu verbinden. Auch Rundfunkfeatures und – damals sehr gefragte - Hörspiele sorgen für ausreichende finanzielle Polsterung. In diese Zeit fällt auch eine thematische Schwerpunktsverschiebung. Die unmittelbare Kriegsproblematik tritt zurück, ab etwa 1952 sind es Gegenwartsstoffe, die in zunehmendem Masse Bölls Aufmerksamkeit okkupieren.

In den 1950er Jahren publiziert Böll in schneller Folge eine Reihe von Prosawerken. 1951 erschien *Wo warst du Adam*. Zwei Jahre später folgte *Und sagte kein einziges Wort*. 1954 schloss sich *Haus ohne Hüter* unmittelbar an. Ein Intermezzo nach drei Romanen stellte die romanhafte Erzählung *Das Brot der frühen Jahre* (1955) dar. Dieses umfangreiche Romanwerk wird von zahlreichen Kurzgeschichten, Hörspielen, Reportagen, publizistischen Arbeiten flankiert, in manchem auch vertieft. Das Erfahrungsfeld Irland gewann dabei besondere Bedeutung. 1954 ist Böll zum ersten Mal dorthin gereist. Ab diesem Zeitpunkt blieb Irland ein ständiger Bezugspunkt seiner Wahrnehmung. 1958 kaufte er sich in Irland ein kleines Haus, sein geruhames Asyl, seine „grüne Insel“, wohin er sich stets zurückziehen konnte, wenn er Distanz zu den ihn beunruhigenden Entwicklungen in Westdeutschland gewinnen, sozusagen aus der aktuellen Geschichte aussteigen möchte. Seine Irland-Aufenthalte spiegelte *Irishes Tagebuch* (1957) ab, das in seiner Voraussetzungslosigkeit wohl schönste Dokument von Bölls epischer Vergegenwärtigungskunst.

Da ist Böll übrigens längst ein arrivierter Autor. Die Auflagen seiner Werke klettern und auch im Ausland hat man diesen Deutschen zur Kenntnis genommen. Ein Kapitel für sich ist die Popularität, die Böll in der Sowjetunion genießt, wo er geradezu zu einem Volksschriftsteller avanciert. Von dort ausgehend konstituiert sich sein symbolisches Renommee des „guten Deutschen“, als welcher er solche Charakterzüge wie Güte, Toleranz, dezidierten Antinazismus und auch

Antikapitalismus verkörperte. Seine katholische Gesinnung kam allerdings bei diesem Aneignungsvorgang weniger zum Tragen.

Wie dem auch im Einzelnen gewesen sei. Böll ist zu einer Institution geworden. An seine Werke werden hohe Erwartungen geknüpft; er ist es in den Augen eines großen Teils der Kritik sowie seiner treuen Leserschaft, dem man die Fähigkeit zutraut, einen großen Gesellschaftsroman zu verfassen. Als 1958 *Billard um halb zehn* erscheint, sieht man diese Hoffnung bestätigt. Ein großer Wurf, ein Panorama der bundesdeutschen Gesellschaft gelingt übrigens zu etwa der gleichen Zeit dem 1927 geborenen Martin Walser in *Halbzeit* (1960). Überhaupt geraten die erstarrten literarischen Hierarchien in Bewegung. 1959 feiert Günter Grass (geb. 1927) Triumphe mit der *Blechtrommel*. Viel beachtet wurden auch *Mutmaßungen über Jakob* (1959), der Romanerstling des gebürtigen Mecklenburgers Uwe Johnson (geb. 1931). Man sprach von dem Generationswechsel, von der längst fälligen Wachablösung. Für schon arrivierte Autoren, wie es Heinrich Böll einer war, stellte die Situation eine Herausforderung dar. Seine Fähigkeit war gefragt, über die bis dahin bewirtschafteten Themenkreise hinauszugehen und sich den Stoffen zuzuwenden, wie sie die schnell fortschreitende Gegenwart mit sich brachte.

Die Aufgabe hat Böll bewältigt. Schon seine früheren Romane waren durch die Wandelbarkeit des epischen Materials wie der Formgebung gekennzeichnet. Nein, Böll war kein Epigone seiner selbst. Und auch in *Ansichten eines Clowns*, einem 1963 erschienenen Roman konnte er mit einem neuen Stoff und neuen Fragestellungen aufwarten. Der Roman atmet den Geist der Aktualität. Mit solcher Direktheit ist Böll noch nie dem bundesdeutschen Establishment zu Leibe gerückt und diesen seinen Angriff so frontal vorgetragen. Die Schärfe der Attacke verstärkte noch die, übrigens höchst geteilte, Resonanz des Buches. Wieder einmal stellte er seine Fähigkeit unter Beweis, Gemüter zu bewegen.

Exkurs: Reise durch Polen (VW: 206-214)

1957 hat Böll einen Besuch in Polen abgestattet. Er war der erste westdeutsche Schriftsteller, der eine solche Reise unternahm. Ihr literarischer Ertrag ist in der Reportage *Reise durch Polen* (VW: 206-214) enthalten. Diese *Reise durch Polen* ist eigentlich keine, denn Böll ist über Warschau nicht hinausgekommen. Auch sonst ist Bölls Polenbericht bedauerlicherweise recht fragmentarisch ausgefallen. Frei von Sachfehlern ist er nicht: Statt vom Polnischen Oktober spricht Böll vom „polnischen Frühling“ (VW: 209). Das dürfte immerhin als eine auf das Jahr 1848 verweisende Metapher hingehen. Wie auch immer. Böll kommt nach Polen, das gerade eine historische Entscheidungsstunde hinter sich hat. Und Böll nutzt die Gunst der veränderten Situation: Seine Gesprächspartner reden freimütig, wie es vor kurzem undenkbar gewesen wäre. Die Gesprächsthemen sind: Warschaus Architektur, die verzwickten deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen, die Kriegsgefahr, Stalin und Jalta.

Systematischen Vortrag strebt Böll nicht an. Die Berichterstattung bewegt sich sprunghaft von einem Themenfeld zum anderen. Der implizite Leser ist gehalten, einiges Vorwissen in die Textlektüre einzubringen. Selbstverständlich (selbstverständlich bei dem Katholiken Böll) ist der Hinweis auf die Lebendigkeit des polnischen Katholizismus, die ihn wohlthuend von dem nur noch in Kümmerformen fortexistierenden Katholizismus des westlichen Europas abhebe. Bölls Polen: Ein katholisches Land in den Fängen einer unglückseligen geopolitischen Lage, seine Existenz mühevoll im Schatten eines stets möglichen Krieges aufbauend.

Ende des Exkurses

Ende der 1960er Jahre wurde die „alte“ Literatur feierlich zu Grabe getragen. Hans Magnus Enzensberger war der Zeremonienmeister und die Zahl derjenigen, die sich der Zeremonie anschlossen, war Legion. Es gilt die Metapher zu entschlüsseln. Die Beharrungskraft der west(deutschen) Restaurationsgesellschaft verursachte seit langem vielen Schreibenden Unbehagen, hatte Frustrationen zur Folge. Man wurde ein Mal um das andere belehrt, wie gering die Schriftsteller geachtet werden, wie wirkungslos ihre Worte verhallen. Die Frustration drängte nach Ausdruck, und wer Unbehagen empfindet, sinnt auf Abwehrmittel. Um den Sachverhalt in aller Allgemeinheit zu charakterisieren. Die Antworten, wie sie, mutadis mutandis, Autoren vom Range eines Günter Grass, eines Martin Walser, eines Peter Weiss der Situation erteilen, haben einen gemeinsamen Nenner. Anvisiert wird der dezidierte Auszug aus dem Kunstasyl. Anvisiert wird eine mit den realen Kraftverhältnissen rechnende, auf reale Wirkungen bedachte Literatur.

Keinen Augenblick lang lässt sich Böll in das allerorten ablaufende ästhetische Palaver hineinziehen. Es hat den Anschein, als ob er überhaupt nicht gewillt wäre, es sie zur Kenntnis zu nehmen. Aber indirekt antwortet er auf die Fragen, wie sie in diesen Debatten aufgeworfen werden. Ihm war es auch um die soziale Relevanz der Literatur zu tun. Aber den Gedanken an irgendeine Bündnisse zwischen ihr und der realen Politik erwog er nicht einmal. Keine Utopie diktierte ihm die Worte.² Keine Partei / Gruppierung liefert ihm eine Hoffnungssubstanz. Die Lage der Literatur in der Bundesrepublik war ihm charakteristischerweise kein Gegenstand des Nachdenkens. Und doch entwarf er eine Wirkungsstrategie, die nicht vom

² Keine Partei / Gruppierung liefert ihm eine Hoffnungssubstanz. Dass man sich in dieser Sache anders verhalten kann, beweist das Beispiel von Günter Grass, der nach 1965 die alles „vernichtende Blechtrommel“ gegen die Werbetrommel der (west)deutschen SPD eintauscht. Peter Weiss veröffentlicht 1965 *Zehn Arbeitspunkte eines Autors in der geteilten Welt*, wo er den Versuch unternimmt, die weltanschauliche Teilung, die bis dahin auch durch sein Inneres verlief zu beheben und die allgemeingültige Wahrheit sich zu eigen zu machen, wie sie in den Richtlinien des Sozialismus verkörpert ist. Auf derart wirklichkeitsfremde Simplifizierungen würde Böll nie hereinfallen. Er war gefeit: durch seinen naturhaften Tatsachensinn.

Wunschdenken, sondern von einer nüchternen Einschätzung der Verhältnisse diktiert wurde.

Ende der 1960er war es, allerdings, dass Böll das politische Abseits verließ und für die sozialliberale Koalition unter Willy Brandts Führung öffentlich das Wort ergriff. 1969 ist das Jahr des Machtwechsels in Bonn, - die Koalition der SPD und der FDP kommt zustande, der als Bundeskanzler Willy Brandt vorsteht. Es fehlen Bölls direkte Meinungsäußerungen dazu. Und doch ist die politische Wende wichtig genug, dass er im Wahljahr 1972, als es um den Fortbestand der Koalition geht, direkt Partei ergreift, ja als Parteiredner der SPD auftritt. Am 12. Oktober 1972 hört man ihn auf dem Parteitag der SPD sprechen (Vgl. *Gewalten, die auf der Bank liegen*. In EB: 285-288).³ Grundsätzliches bringt er in der Wahlrede in Kleve zur Sprache, die er am 3. Oktober 1972 hält. Im gleichen Jahr wurde ihm der Nobelpreis zuerkannt.

Seit 1946, als man Hermann Hesse derart auszeichnete, wurde keinem deutschsprachigen Autor eine solche Ehre zuteil. Der Bundeskanzler und der Bundespräsident gratulierten und auch ansonsten waren viele Böll wohl gesonnene Literaturkritiker/Publizisten emsig dabei, seine nunmehr mit dem Qualitätszeichen des Klassischen versehene schriftstellerische Leistung zu würdigen. Der kluge Jean Amery schrieb damals: „Nobelpreis für Heinrich Böll, das ist schließlich auch die endgültige Konsekration nicht nur eines dichterischen Werkes, sondern auch der definitiven Rückkehr Deutschlands auf die Weltszene (...) Was man einst in den dunklen Tagen „das andere Deutschland“ genannt hat, ist vielleicht schon das eigentliche – jedenfalls scheint es von der Welt (...) als Zeugnis angenommen zu werden“ (zit. nach Linder 1986: 252f.)

An Aburteilungen gab es übrigens ebenfalls keinen Mangel. Die These wurde mehrstimmig aufgestellt, dass Böll den Preis außerkünstlerischen, lies: politischen Erwägungen verdanke. Dem wurde hinzugefügt, dass es in der Bundesrepublik bessere Schriftsteller gäbe. Bei der Gelegenheit monierte man handwerkliche Schwächen der Böllschen Poetik. Am 10. Dezember 1972 hält Böll im Stockholm seine Rede zur Verleihung der Nobelpreises. Sie ist karg und doch bewegt ausgefallen. Grundsatzzerklärungen bekam man von dem Preisträger nicht zu hören. Das mag enttäuscht haben, wo doch der liberale / linke Teil der deutschen Öffentlichkeit Böll den Rang des *praecceptor Germaniae* zugewiesen hat.⁴ Wie auch immer. Böll spricht assoziativ. Die unheilvolle Ereignisfolge der neusten europäischen Geschichte löst den Assoziationsfluss aus. Böll blickt auf die literarischen Anfänge seiner Generation zurück: „Gewalt, Zerstörung, Schmerz Missverständnisse liegen auf dem Weg, den einer daherkommt, aus den Schichten vergangener Vergänglichkeit in eine vergängliche Gegenwart“ (EB: 301). Auch „Scherben, Geröll, und Trümmer“ hätten das Bewusstsein derjenigen okkupiert, die

³ Erstdruck: Frankfurter Rundschau vom 12. Oktober 1972

⁴ Gegen solche Rangbestimmungen hat Böll übrigens mit Nachdruck sich verwahrt. Vgl. besonders den Text: *Der liberale Labberdreck stammt nicht von mir* (EB: 190-192).

nach dem Zusammenbruch des nazistischen Verbrecherstaates zur Feder griffen, um die Aufräumarbeit zu leisten. „Rest war Eroberung der Sprache in dieser Zurückverweisung an das Material, an diese Hand voll Staub, die vor der Tür zu liegen schien und doch so schwer zu greifen und zu begreifen war“ (EB: 302). Die Sprache, die deutsche Sprache: „mein einzig gültiger Ausweis“ (EB: 303). Das war freilich reichlich vage, hatte jedoch das rhetorische Pathos, wie es dem feierlichen Anlass angemessen war.

In Stockholm trat Böll selbstbewusst auf. Seine Nobelpreisrede war ein Plädoyer für die Sache der Literatur, ein Bekenntnis zu der Wahrheit, wie sie in dichterisch viel- sagendem Wort enthalten ist. Auf der Wahrhaftigkeit bestand er auch in der umfangreichen Publizistik der nachfolgenden Zeit.

Man weiß nicht, wo die Zäsur lag. Gewisslich handelte es sich um einen sukzessiven Prozess, bei dem das eine zum anderen hinzukam. Wie auch immer. Seit Mitte der 1970er macht sich in Bölls Schriften ein neuer, bitter hoffnungsloser (Grund)ton bemerkbar. Ein herausfordernd lustiges Buch, wie es *Ende einer Dienstfahrt* (1966) gewesen war, hätte Böll unter diesen veränderten (emotionellen) Vorzeichen nicht mehr verfassen können. Die utopischen Einsprengsel, von denen es so viele in *Gruppenbild mit Dame* gibt, scheinen nicht mehr auf. „Das Prinzip Hoffnung“ ist aus Bölls Vorstellungshorizont verschwunden. Die Ursachen dafür sind die gleichen, die Günter Grass bewogen haben, in seinen in den 1980er Jahren entstandenen Prosawerken (*Die Kopfgeburten* 1982, *Die Rättin* 1987). Schreckensszenarien einer dem Untergang entgegenrasenden Menschheit aufzubauen. Als der an Krücken gehende Böll an einer Demonstration vor dem amerikanischen Raketenlager Mutlangen teilnimmt, so ist das eine hilflose Verzweiflungsgeste.

Exkurs: Literatursituation der 1970er Jahre

„Auf die spektakulären Terrorakte (Banküberfälle, Geiselnahmen, Attentate) reagierte man in der Bevölkerung mit Angst und Abscheu, in der Presse mit „law-and-order“-Parolen, in Parlament und Regierung mit restriktiven Gesetzen, die Meinungsfreiheit wurde eingeschränkt, der Meinungsspielraum der Massenmedien verengte sich. Erschreckend zeigte sich „wie Gewalt entstehen und wohin sie führen kann“ (Kreutzer 1970: 10).

Der gewandelte Zeitgeist macht es, dass solche politisch brisanten Meisterwerke, wie Peter Weiss' *Die Ästhetik des Widerstands* (1975-1980) oder aber Uwe Johnsons *Jahrestage* (Band 1, 1970, Band 2, 1971, Band 3, 1973, Band 4, 1983) so gut, wie keine soziale Resonanz ausgelöst haben. Das mag freilich an der problembeladenen Erzählungsweise gelegen haben, die sich gegen das eingängige Verstehen sperrte. Entscheidend war indes, dass die Bereitschaft geschwunden war, das Bestehende am Möglichen zu messen – sich ins Andere, ins Bessere zu denken. Generell gesehen begann ideologischen Kollektiventwürfen, wie sie etwa die Philosophie Herbert Marcuses oder aber die Ernst Blochs ausformulierte, der Geruch des Obsoleten anzuhaften. Der Historismus war auf

dem Rückzug, die Stimmung: „Nur keine Experimente“ machte sich breit. „(Neue) Innerlichkeit, (Neue) Subjektivität ist dernier cri, ist trendy, ist Lieblingskind der Rezensenten, wie der Literaturliebhaber im allgemeinen. Eine Expansion von ich-bezogenen psychischen Lotversuchen kommt in Gang, wie sie Peter Handkes (Erzähl)kunst wenigstens ab 1970 am konsequenten repräsentiert. Neue Innerlichkeit „reaktionär“ zu nennen, hieße ein überaus kompliziertes Phänomen einlinig auf ein soziologisches Substrat zurückzuführen. Damit würde allerdings bloß Zweitrangiges erklärt, so wie jegliche politische Intention diesen Autoren überhaupt fernlag. Reaktionär sind die Werke eines Handke oder aber eines Bernhard nicht. Nur: sie sind Dokumente eines gewandelten Literaturparadigmas. Sie passen in die entpolitisierte Öffentlichkeit hinein, deren Bedürfnis nach extravaganten Seelenabenteuern sie befriedigen. Ihre Antwort auf die Reibungsfläche „Gegenwart“ ist, dass sie diese gar nicht zu Kenntnis nehmen wollen. Böll harrt konsequent auf, der Gegenposition aus.

Ende des Exkurses

Wie groß weltliterarische Autorität (und Beliebtheit) Bölls waren, zeigte sich, als er 1971 zum Präsidenten des Internationalen PEN gewählt wurde, übrigens unter anderem mit Stimmen der realsozialistischen Staaten. Die von zahllosen Einzelinteressen dissoziierte Organisation vermochte auch unter seiner Führung nicht geschlossen aufzutreten, was schon angesichts des immer blutiger werdenden Vietnam-Kriegs, bitter notgetan hätte.

Böll führt indes das leise Werk der Humanität fort. Er interveniert in zahllosen individuellen Fällen von Verfolgung und immer wieder geschieht es, dass er sich durchsetzen kann. „Unzählige in der ganzen Welt verdanken ihm unendlich viel, viele das Leben“ (Marcel Reich-Ranicki: 1985: 19). Er nutzte also seine Position, um die Sache der sowjetischen / osteuropäischen Dissidenten vor das Forum der Weltöffentlichkeit zu bringen. Er setzte dafür sogar private Lebensreserven ein: Als der in der Heimat verfemte große Russe Alexander Solschenizyn von den Machthabern schließlich ausgebürgert und unter geheimpolizeilicher Bewachung in die Bundesrepublik ausgeflogen wird, steht ihm Bölls Haus als erstes zur Verfügung.

Gegen Ende der 1970er und zu Beginn der 1980er Jahre reißt der essayistische/publizistische Faden im Werk Heinrich Bölls nicht ab. Wie konnte es denn anders sein, wo dieses Ausdrucksmittel für Böll zu einer notwendigen Ergänzung der Schriftstellerexistenz gehörte, diese mit radikaler Direktheit in die sozialen Zusammenhänge einband, unmittelbares Reagieren ermöglichte, erweiterte Wirkungsmöglichkeiten schuf. Das öffentliche Interesse des Autors an den Entwicklungen des Gemeinwesens und der verbale Ausdruck dieser energischen „Zeitgenossenschaft“ schafften sich Raum in einer stetig wachsenden Fülle von Aufsätzen, Essays, Reden, kritischen, polemischen und ermunternden Schriften, die einerseits analytisch reflektierend verfahren (...), andererseits zugleich den erzählenden Böll durch ihren narrativen, die exemplarische Episode und das

sinnliche Detail entfaltenden Gestus zum Vorteil eindringlichster Anschaulichkeit glänzend zur Geltung bringen“ (Jesiorkowski 1993: 777). Genannt also seien: *Aufsätze, Kritiken, Reden* (1967), *Neue politische und literarische Schriften* (1973), *Einmischung erwünscht* (1977), *Vermintes Gelände* (1982), *Ein- und Zusprüche* (1984), die *Fähigkeit zu trauern* (1986, posthum).

Böll beschränkt sich nicht auf verbale Parteinahme gegen den Rüstungswahnsinn. Er nimmt trotz der fortschreitenden Krebserkrankung an Demonstrationen und Kundgebungen bei denen – die Zahl ist keine schöngeistige Erfindung – Hunderttausende Bundesbürger gegen die Pläne der NATO, die Pläne der Bundesregierung protestieren.

Böll hat in seinem Władysław-Bartoszewski-Portät (Vgl. FF: 186-195) die Polen als ein Volk charakterisiert, dessen „Geschichte und Leben Widerstand“ (FF: 184) bestimmen. Er schreibt das mit dem Seitenblick auf seine Landsleute, denen die Tradition des zivilen Ungehorsams so gut wie unbekannt war, die sich mit wechselnden Regierungsformen arrangierten und als es ganz schlimm wurde, murrten, ohne indes auf die sprichwörtliche Straße zu gehen. Nun erlebt Böll einen sozialen Aufschwung, eine Mobilmachung der Gutwilligen, der Nichtindifferenten gegen „Einäugigkeit“, gegen Denkverkrustungen der Militärplaner / des gesamten politischen Engagements. Als die amerikanische Militärbasis Mutlangen blockiert werden soll, schließen sich Heinrich und Annemarie Böll den Blockierern an. „Wir nahmen an der Blockade teil, nahmen Regelverletzung, Ordnungswidrigkeit, möglichen Rechtsbruch in Kauf“ (FF: 168). Die Begründung: „weil wir und genötigt sahen“ (Ebenda). Um die Welt ging ein Foto, das zeigte, wie der sichtlich geschwächte, von der Krankheit gezeichnete Schriftsteller von den Polizisten gewaltsam weggetragen wurde. In dieser in einem ohnmächtigen wie tapferen Gestalt ist er zur Ikone des Nein-Bewegung geworden. Die Medien haben dieses besondere Mal eine emanzipatorische Rolle gespielt: in einem prägnanten Bild wurde die mythische Goliath-David-Konstellation zusammengefasst.

Als Heinrich Böll am 16. Juni 1985 verstarb, war das Einverständnis darüber allgemein, dass mit ihm ein wichtiges Kapitel der deutschen Geistesgeschichte zu Ende ging. Das Wort „Geistesgeschichte“ ist hier wohlüberlegt eingesetzt. Bölls Bedeutung beruhte freilich vor allem auf seiner literarischen Leistung, ging indes weit über diese hinaus. Böll hat „fast vier Jahrzehnte lang kontinuierlich und intensiv wie kein anderer Gegenwartsautor, die Entwicklung der westdeutschen Nachkriegsgesellschaft kritisch-produktiv begleitet“. (Vogt 1987:12) Die Wirkung konnte sein Werk allerdings erst dadurch entfalten, dass es das Erfahrungsmaterial aufgriff und verarbeitete, in dem viele die eigene Lebensnot (die eigene Lebensproblematik) wiedererkannten.

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NAIVE PICTURE OF THE WORLD AS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR LEXICOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION

The aim of the article is to propose a conceptual framework (a) for the description of cultural data stored in the lexicon, and (b) for the lexicographic description of phraseological units. In order to achieve these goals, a number of issues of paramount importance, which have always been in the focus of attention in Apresjan`s publications, have to be discussed:

- (a) the notion of naive picture of the world,
- (b) basic properties of semantic description,
- (c) representation of synonymy in lexicography.

Key words: the anthropocentric approach, commonsense knowledge, expert knowledge, definition, lexicographic portrait, dictionary structure.

At a very outset let us stress that as indicated by Benson, Benson & Ilson (1986) the correlation between lexicography and society is latent in, at least two aspects. On the one hand, the number as well as variety of lexicographic projects undertaken by a given linguistic community represent the cultural development of the nation speaking the particular language. On the other hand, social and economic considerations may also prompt the number of lexicographic products. Consequently, as observed by Glinert (1998: 111) collective underpinnings of lexicographic activity and use of reference works are quite complex and involve matters of ideology, politics, economics and cultural background of a given linguistic community, its social stratification and social identities of its members. Zgusta (1989b: 3-4) stresses the importance of cultural information to dictionary users. The significance of the problem of culture in dictionaries is beyond any conceivable doubt, as every dictionary is a snapshot of the society's life reflecting the culture (as the system of values existing in the society). Rey (1987) has attempted to characterize those features of content and organization that can be assumed to convey a cultural load. The author also discusses the issues of internal organization and the range of arrangement conventions. At the same time, Rey (1987: 4) admits that the EFL dictionary is one of a number of dictionary types with a low cultural content and it stands in direct contrast to such dictionaries as Room's (1986) *Dictionary of Britain* or Crowther's

(2000) *Oxford Guide to British and American Culture* the sole task of which is to familiarize the potential users with cultural facts related to Anglo-Saxon countries.

The very term *culture* goes back to the Latin word *cultura*, with its core meaning *tilling the soil*. Most current uses of the term encompass the status of higher and lower culture on various social and aesthetic scales. No matter if we investigate primitive or popular culture, it anyway shows that different forms of culture exist.¹ As Herskovits (1960: 17) indicates, it is „the man-made part of the environment“. Much along similar lines is the definition given by the *Oxford Dictionary of English* (henceforth *ODE*): „The arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively“.

As Goodenough (1957: 167-173) explains:

As I see it, a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members [...] Culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end-product of learning: knowledge, in a most general [...] sense of term.

No matter if we highlight intellectual aspects of culture or stress the importance of its institutionalised meaning, the fact is that we easily accept that the meaning can evolve over time. The question is what earlier meanings can be carried over into new contexts and to what extent dictionaries provide the up - to - date senses/meanings.²

It seems obvious enough that most of the vocabulary is culture-specific. That means that the lexicon reflects the particular and unique way of life of its speakers. It is fair to say at the same time that - while there are degrees of culture-specificity - some items are more culture-bound than the others, there is very little in the lexicons of different languages that is truly universal (cf. Hartmann, 1983). In the words of Zgusta (1989: 3):

[...] since language is embedded in culture, cultural data are important to the learner not only for steering his linguistic behavior but frequently for choosing the correct lexical equivalent. Such cultural information can be understood in a broad way, so that it can pertain to political and administrative realities of the country or countries whose language is being learned, and so on. Undoubtedly a good part of this information is of encyclopedic character; be this as it may, it belongs to what the learner has to learn.

¹ Obviously, culture cannot be investigated as neither primitive nor for the masses.

² As Hanks (2000) explains dictionaries do not contain the meaning of words, but only describe how have been used, and list meaning potentials. From the meaning potentials, we can extrapolate new meanings from new contexts.

In general, however, it appears that compilers do have problems with the culture-bound words.

As the purpose of this article is an examination of the interconnection between culture and lexicography, first the interconnection between language and culture in general and then lexicography in particular is undertaken.

Simultaneously, let us stress that both - culture and culture of language are historical concepts that call for linguistic theory to make them precise. As explained by Rey and Delesalle (1979: 11-20) the Saussurean dichotomies of synchrony/diachrony as well as language/discourse, the Chomskyan dichotomy of language/performance and plain linguistic description cannot explain what the cultural dictionary is. The fact that seems to be of a particular importance is the manifestation of culture in a dictionary that requires certain characteristics and thus, lexicographic techniques.

Rey and Delesalle (1979: 11-12) indicate five clashes between linguistic theory and elaboration of the cultural dictionary. These are as follows:

- Opposition between synchrony and diachrony (functional description vs. description of evolutions - that deals with the Saussurean opposition between synchrony/diachrony),
- The description of a unique and fictive lexical competence vs. the description of social variation and connotations (this leads to the Chomskyan competence/performance dichotomy),
- The philological usage of a corpus against the construction of a linguistic model behind the linguistics conception,
- The analysis of particular lexical items vs. Saussurean language/discourse analysis,
- The analysis of signs vs. analysis of notions.

Obviously enough, it is language that represents culture. When the members of a particular community share their experiences in order to improve the quality of their lives, they use the resources of the community to educate younger generation. Language is the tool to teach it, to fix it and to remember.³

Taking the aforementioned conception of language into consideration, it seems clear that the characteristics of a cultural dictionary come from the theory of

³ As Rey (1987: 246) stresses, here is the mistake made in not recognizing that the cultural processes are so selective as the interests of the human beings in the relation to all the every day events. Assigning a cultural character to every social fact equals to denying the main character of the cultivation of experiences in a society. On the other hand, though, the mistake in the conception of culture as a purely intellectual, aesthetic and ethical fact, disdains the cultivation effectively found, among others, in the agricultural traditions. According to him, both mistakes can be overcome, if the emphasis is placed on the cultivation of the pertinent experiences to the interests of a society and, consequently, on the cultivation of its language.

culture and from the theory of language. Therefore, to elaborate a truly cultural dictionary⁴ it is not enough to employ lexicographic methods and techniques. One of the methods of identifying words in cultural context is to determine the cultural aspects peculiar to the particular speech community rather than address the domain of culture as such. It is also more informative to concentrate on a single speech community rather than to treat the interconnection between language and culture in general.

1. The notion of the naïve picture of the world

Up till quite recently, lexicography has been seen as practical venture without any theoretical prerequisites. The increased interest of linguists in the art of dictionary making was clearly noticeable in the 1940s and 1950s. At that time, publishers begun to seek the advice of linguists and information and, what is more [...] *curiously enough, this question seems to have interested few linguists* (see Knudsen and Sommerfelt 1958:98). Evidently, it had become clear by that time that what linguists had to offer could play a crucial role in the improvement of the quality of lexicographic production. As a consequence of this, the relations between lexicographers and linguists gradually warmed and – with time – became both more pervading and more intensive. Atkins (2002:25) describing her career, started in 1970s, admitted that her work had been influenced by linguistics: *The most significant difference, I believe, between the 1967 lexicography and that of today is that in the interval my approach to lexicography has benefitted from the insights of linguistics...Linguistics theory, particularly recent work in lexical semantics, can light the way to better lexicography*'.

Consequently, Apresjan's writings can be understood and evaluated within the framework of theoretical linguistics which developments are of paramount importance for dictionary compilation. In his words:

[...] I am concerned with two main issues – linguistic theory and lexicography. Until quite recently there has been a gap between the two. Moreover, in some quarters lexicography was looked down upon as a purely practical enterprise unworthy of scholar interest. The present author is convinced, however, that sound lexicography can only be based on sound linguistic theory and that recent theoretical developments are of paramount importance for the practical skills of compiling a dictionary. (Apresjan, 2000: XI).

It is worthy of noting that, as indicated by Apresjan (2002) there are five principles intrinsic in linguistic theory that are of importance as far as systematic lexicography is concerned:

⁴ Simultaneously, the cultural load of modern dictionaries seems not to be an intrinsic quality, as a consequence of a change of view in its interpretation.

1. The reconstruction of naïve (language) picture of the world, understood as conceptualisations underlying lexical and grammatical meanings of a particular language,
2. The unification of grammatical and lexicological studies within linguistic description,
3. The quest for systematicity in lexicon,
4. The emphasis on meticulous studies of distinct word senses as far as linguistically relevant properties are concerned,
5. The formulation of grammatical and lexical rules governing text meanings.

Yet, the article deals with lexicography issues (here: lexicographic description of cultural data stored in the lexicon, we should focus first on Apresjan's approach to the study of lexical and grammatical semantics expressed via the notion of naïve picture of the world, as the concept seems to be indispensable in lexicographic description. As explained by Apresjan (2000:104) [...] *the primary task of systematic lexicography is to reflect the worldview in-built in a particular language*. The world view as understood by the author encompasses the so-called obligatory meanings (understood as meanings which a particular language forces its speakers to convey, no matter if they are crucial for the essence of their messages or not).

The category assumes that there are two fairly independent conceptual systems:

- (i) the naïve picture of the world, formed by commonsense notions,
- (ii) the scientific picture of the world, formed by scientific concepts.

The first of the aforementioned represents material and spiritual experience of the specific linguistic community. It seems to be explicit in two ways:

- it may be different from its logical, scientific picture,
- the naïve picture of the world gained through the analysis of several languages differs, while scientific picture of the world is independent.

Obviously, in linguistics various understandings of the correlation between these have been proposed.⁵ The concept of naïve picture of the world introduced by Apresjan in 1974 and his later publications was introduced into lexicographic description to designate commonsense concepts underlying meanings of lexical items of general vocabulary.⁶ According to the scholar, naïve picture of the world has been shaped over years. It stands for cultural as well spiritual experience of a particular linguistic community. Note that also Berenholtz and Tarp (1995: 61) claim that the division between culture – dependent and culture – independent matter seems to be useful, although sometimes may pose problems to draw a distinction between these two.

⁵ Here Bloomsfield's (1933) idea that the commonsense notions in the definitions of lexical meanings should be replaced by corresponding scientific concepts. Shcherba (1940) postulated commonplace concepts as different from scientific concepts.

⁶ Note that the idea of a system forming particular worldview is rooted in Humboldt's as well as Sapir-Worf hypotheses of linguistic relativity.

All in all, the language picture of the world, including meanings peculiar to the particular language, is therefore the first keynote of systematic lexicography.

2. Basic properties of semantic description

The complete linguistic description consists of a grammar as well a dictionary. According to Apresjan (2000) these natural principles have not been clearly framed, not to mention stick to. Initially, grammars and dictionaries were formed by different authors. Consequently, there were sources not giving compatible picture of language at large. Hence, Apresjan's (2000) principles concerning lexicographic description have been introduced:

- (i) The dictionary is to accommodate the needs of active production,
- (ii) The dictionary should be integrated, what means that ought to take account of differing grammatical usages,
- (iii) The dictionary should be systematic,
- (iv) The dictionary should reproduce the naïve picture of the world.

In the words of Apresjan (2000:102):

The central concept of systematic lexicography is that of a lexicographic type, a group of lexemes with at least one common property (semantic, pragmatic, communicative, syntactic, combinatorial, prosodic, etc.), to which the same rules of linguistic description (of 'grammar' in the broad sense) refer and which therefore requires a homogenous description in a dictionary.

3. Representation of synonymy in lexicography

A lexicographic portrait is a comprehensive description of all the linguistically relevant properties of a lexeme, with particular emphasis on the semantic motivation of its properties. An exact property is considered to be linguistically relevant if there is a grammatical or lexical rule that access the property. When the given lexical item is viewed against the set of linguistic rules, a new point of reference is made. It highpoints new facets of lexical units and helps to uncover a number of their lexicographically related as well as semantically motivated properties that have never been documented in the dictionary. As we may find in Apresjan (2000: xvi):

A lexicographic portrait is an exhaustive account of all the linguistically relevant properties of a lexeme, with particular emphasis on the semantic motivation of its formal properties. A certain property is considered to be linguistically relevant if there is a rule of grammar or some other sufficiently general rule (semantic rules included) that access this property.

It should be noted that Apresjan's (2000) intention was to emphasise that a dictionary entry should expand the total number of lexicographic data dictionaries contain. What is also worth mentioning, is the fact there is particular emphasis on lexical co-occurrence (combinability of lexical items). Also, we may

find out his own understanding of the pragmatics of language⁷. It seems to be of a particular importance as different types of lexicographic information are to be presented within diverse parts of the dictionary entries.

All in all, we may conclude that lexicographic portrait accounts for individualization of lexical items. Apresjan (2000) attempted to highpoint basic requirements for lexicographic principles of synonymy.

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⁷ It seems important as far as the distinguishing pragmatic, communicative and semantic properties is concerned.

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RELIGIOUS DIVERSIFICATION OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON DEFINING RELIGION AND ITS ROLE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

Abstract

Immigration mobility is one of the key reasons behind the transformation of modern-day societies. As countries are flooded with new waves of comers all areas of life are affected, including the system of education. Among the factors that pose an outstanding challenge to the system is the religious diversification of the community with its many tensions and a new spectrum of needs. One of the countries that is very well familiar with the challenges of religious diversity is the United States of America. The article will present the religious makeup of this most religious and religiously diverse nation in the world as well as the stages of transformation that the nation went through as it evolved from toleration to pluralism in its approach to religious diversity. The shift towards pluralistic perspective and the resultant challenges will be illustrated on the example of the definition of religion as well as the attempts of Muslim community to define its place in the system of education.

Key words: Religious diversity, pluralism, public schools, the definition of religion, Muslim community.

Introduction

The United States of America is one of the most religious and religiously diverse nations in the world. The diversification of the American religious landscape has been the nation's characteristic from its birth, yet the intensification of the process occurred only as the waves of Jewish, Catholic and then non-Christian immigrants successively flooded the country. At present the United States and Canada are home to over 2,500 religious groups—from Adventists to Zen Buddhists— according to *Melton's Encyclopedia of American Religions* (Melton et. al. 2009) listings. The findings of the latest *U.S. Religious Landscape Study*, conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2104, show that Christians continue to constitute the largest religious body both in America and worldwide as roughly seven Americans in ten claim to be followers of some branch of the Christian faith ("America's Changing Religious Landscape" 2015:3). Among Christian denominations, Protestant religions are the most represented,

accounting for 46.5 percent of the research respondents, with the highest score, i.e. 25.4 per cent, ascribed to the evangelical branch. Another Christian denomination with a high score is Catholicism, followed by 20.8 per cent of the respondents (“America’s Changing Religious Landscape” 2015:4). Non-Christian faiths account for per cent. The most represented here is the Jewish faith, with 1.9 per cent of adherents and the Muslim faith with 0.9 per cent of believers, followed by Buddhists and Hindus, each constituting 0.7 per cent.

Alongside this constant transformation of the religious landscape, national feelings towards the process of diversification have experienced a transformation on their own, developing from mere tolerance to acceptance and encouragement. The article presents the consecutive stages of this evolution, with a special focus on the acceptance and encouragement of religious diversity—a concept known in literature as religious pluralism. The following part of the article will focus on the implications of this transformation on the accepted definition of religion and its legal consequences. The final part of the paper will discuss the impact of the most numerous religious groups represented in the post-1965 immigration, that is Muslims, on religious diversification of the public school community, with resultant tensions and the need for accommodation to the religious needs of the diverse student body.

On the way to pluralism: the nation’s religious paradigm under transformation

As much as diversity has been inherent to the American social makeup from the very beginning, it has not always been accepted or encouraged. This process of acceptance and encouragement, often termed “pluralism” in literature, has undergone a number of stages, which William R. Hutchison identifies as toleration, inclusion and participation (2003:6). Pluralism as toleration dominated the scene through much of the nineteenth century and involved

[...]legal toleration and social tolerance—either of which would sometimes be little more than an absence of persecution ...a deviant person or group should be accorded the right to exist and even to thrive, but in general to do so only as an outsider to the dominant religion and culture (Hutchison 2003:6).

By the end of the century the criticism of the toleration approach as morally and practically inadequate led to the second stage of pluralism; namely, the emergence of “inclusionist” theory. Inclusion was seen as a step forward towards the pluralist perspective, yet—as the author observes—it *rarely granted to the newly included an equal or proportional right to share in the exercise of cultural authority* (Hutchison 2003:6). This “melting pot” form of inclusiveness proved to

fall short of an adequate realization of pluralism and called for an extended participation of diverse religious groups in social life.

The right to participate, stressed in social experience, social theory and judicial decisions resulted in the emergence of the third stage of pluralism, termed by Hutchinson “pluralism as participation,” which *implied a mandate for individuals and groups ... to share the responsibility for the forming and implementing of the society’s agenda* (2003:7). First to benefit from the participation, or to join the “new mainstream,” as Hutchinson puts it, were Catholics and Jews, who *had been accorded nearly equal legitimacy despite a continuing wide disparity in numbers* (2003:169). This new paradigm was embodied in a new term “Protestant-Catholic-Jew” (Stein 2000:12-13), first used by the sociologist William Herberg in his 1955 essay under the same title. Herberg’s “triple melting pot” evidenced the transition from “Christian” America to a “Judeo-Christian” nation.

However accurate at the time, the characterization soon proved *woefully incomplete*, as Daniel O. Conkle observed (2011:1768). With the passage of the Nationality Act of 1965 eliminating the quota for Asian immigration, a new wave of multi-religious comers started flooding the country, thus elevating the diversification process to a new level. Addressing the results of this new development, Diana L. Eck (2009:63) observes:

The post-1965 immigrants have brought with them their many religious traditions—Hindu, Sikh, Muslim, Buddhist, Jain, and Zoroastrian. They also brought their own perspectives on American society and, increasingly, their own styles of participation. Now the “Protestant, Catholic, Jewish” image of America has been amplified to include many other voices, and a new era of America’s religious pluralism has begun.

The beginning of this new era of America’s religious pluralism also marked the beginning of a new pluralist paradigm *that sees the United States as a nation of religions whose skyline is punctuated not only by church spires but also by onion domes and minarets* (Prothero 2006:4). In 1990 the Muslim population in America voiced their demands to be fully accepted in the tripartite model, thus calling for the replacement of the Herberg’s “Protestant-Catholic-Jew” with a “Judeo-Christian- Islamic” or “Abrahamic” paradigm (Prothero 2006:6).

The idea of extending tolerance to Muslims soon gained acceptance at the highest political levels. President George W. Bush was the first president to mention the Qur’an in his Inaugural Address on January 20, 2005 and the first president to celebrate Muslim Ramadan in the White House in 2001 (Federer 2007:164). President Bill Clinton and vice president Al Gore, emphasized the significance of faith-based social work being performed in American churches, synagogues and mosques (Prothero 2006:9). The same policy is being continued by the president-in-office Barak Obama. One of many expressions of his embracement of the “Abrahamic” model was his Statement on Hajj and Eid al-Adha delivered on

October 03, 2014. The President congratulated American Muslims on the holiday and said that [t]heir service to the poor as well as those suffering from hunger, sickness, oppression, and conflict *is a powerful example of the shared roots of the world's Abrahamic faiths and how our communities can come together in shared peace, with dignity and a sense of justice* (Obama:2014).

The impact of diversity on the definition of religion and its legal implications

The new pluralistic paradigm entails the adjustment of the way “religion” is defined in American lexicography. As Anna Włodarczyk-Stachurska observes, to identify words in a cultural context means *to determine the cultural aspects peculiar to the particular speech community rather than address the domain of culture as such* (2014:103). With regard to the American speech community, the determination of cultural aspects of “religion” would have to consider both the diversity of the religious landscape and the pluralistic paradigm. This impact of the transformation of religious reality is well evidenced in the evolution of the definition of “religion” in American dictionaries over the years. Webster’s Dictionary 1828 definition, for instance, rendered ‘religion’ as *belief in the being and perfections of God* (Federer 2007:155). Due to the changing religious makeup this rendering that assumes the existence of a *divine or superhuman power to be obeyed and worshiped, or the expression of such a belief*, is no longer considered *expansive enough—as Stein argues—to deal with the breadth of religious experiences and spiritual endeavors in contemporary America*. In the new pluralistic paradigm, the author suggests, it is *[o]nly a very fluid definition of religion [that] can do justice to the multitude of different “religions” and forms of spirituality* (2000: 58).

To meet the new standards, the object of religious activities is no longer considered as *God*, but as a present-day Merriam-Webster dictionary puts it *a god or ... a group of gods*, a non-personal entity, such as *any specific system of belief* (Federer 2007:155) or even *whatever a person declares to be the object of regard or pursuit* (Stein 2000: 58). What is also symptomatic of the change is the transition from the object and a form of worship being arbitrarily defined by one of the existing religious systems to a more individualized and subjective perspective on the object of religious activity. For this reason, even the very term “religious” has been witnessed to be completely rejected by an increasing number of Americans and replaced with a more universal word “spiritual” (Stein 2000: 58).

Since “religion” has become an increasingly fluid term, its legal definition becomes a challenge, and so does the provision of legal protection of religious beliefs and activities, as Daniel O. Conkle observes:

Amid the welter of contemporary belief systems, it has become increasingly difficult to define "religion" in any coherent fashion. For purposes of religious liberty, one could attempt to confine "religion" to conventional understandings, but that path seems increasingly arbitrary (2011:1774).

Despite evident drawbacks of restricting "religion" to conventional understandings, the author argues, the limitation is unavoidable as *too broad definition [entails] no serious degree of constitutional or legal protection* (Conkle 2011:1774). This rationale underpinned several court decisions, including *Employment Division v. Smith*, which finally led the general exclusion of religiously motivated conduct from presumptive constitutional protection (ibid.).

The challenge of religious diversification in public schools: school curriculum and the case of Islamic textbooks

The process of religious diversification of American society not only poses a significant challenge to lexicographers and courts of law, but equally so to public educational institutions, as the authors of the Pluralist Project rightly put it: *Religious diversity is now part of school systems everywhere... public schools are the front line for encounter in a society that now includes Muslims and Hindus, Jains and Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians, and Buddhists (The Pluralism Project 2015).*

James Davison Hunter and David Frantz identify two major problematic areas related to religious diversity of the school system:

1. The curriculum adjustment to ensure due attention, respect and consideration of the diverse religious groups, and
2. The concerns of the immigrant community related to the preservation of their own culture (2006:269).

The problem of curriculum adjustment to accommodate diverse religious needs of the post-1965 immigration was a core issue of the New Consensus on Teaching about Religion reached in the 1980s by a wide spectrum of diverse religious bodies. The Consensus proponents developed a set of documents that stated the current legal provisions related to the problem of the public school curriculum both in terms of its religious content and the permitted religious practices and observances.

One of the foundational documents of the New Consensus *Religious Liberty, Public Education, and the Future of American Democracy: A Statement of Principles*, stresses the importance of the protection of the religious rights of all faiths when it says that *Public schools uphold the First Amendment when they protect the religious liberty rights of students of all faiths or none*. To meet the constitutional requirements the document proposes the introduction of study about

religion in the school curriculum as *a demonstration of fairness [and] as an important part of a complete education* (Vanderbilt University 1995:4). Teaching about religion may include the history of religion, comparative religion, the Bible (or other scripture) as literature, and the role of religion in the history of the United States and other countries. Religious influences on art, music, literature, and social studies are also regarded to be permissible public school subjects (Haynes, 2001:76).

Article III of the above-mentioned document extends the decision-making process concerning the school policies and curricula to include the affected bodies, as it makes the following claim:

Public schools must model the democratic process and constitutional principles in the development of policies and curricula. Policy decisions by officials or governing bodies should be made only after appropriate involvement of those affected by the decision and with due consideration for the rights of those holding dissenting views (Vanderbilt University 1995: 4).

By acknowledging these rights, the New Consensus opened a window of opportunity for educational institutions representing religious communities to take an active stance on shaping the school curriculum. Among non-Christian religious traditions the most active role on the educational arena has been played by the Muslim community. One of their objectives is to extend the curriculum *to include teaching about major religions in general and Islam in particular* (Hunter and Frantz 2006:270).

These efforts are headed by the Council of Islamic Education (CIE), an Islamic organization which was also among 23 educational and social and legal institutions that signed "Religious Liberty, Public Education, and the Future of American Democracy: A Statement of Principles," the above-mentioned foundational document of the New Consensus on Teaching *about* Religion. With this multicultural perspective in mind, the CIE works to persuade textbook producers, school districts, and teachers to devote more time to the teaching about Islam and to do it *in the ways that assume neither the superiority of Christianity nor the stagnation of Islam* (Hunter and Frantz 2006:270).

Opinions on these Islamic curricula are split. Muslim educational organizations such as the Islamic Networks Group see them as a potent instrument to combat a post-9/11 wave of Islamophobia in public schools, as presenter of the Islamic Network Group by Ameena K. Jandali states:

The organization I work for, Islamic Networks Group, did not begin as a provider of education about Muslims and their faith to address harassment of Muslim students. However, with the rise in Islamophobia over the past 20 years, ING's presentations have become an important resource for educators who want to provide an authentic and alternative narrative to the one that has become common fare in popular culture (2012).

Islamic curricula in the opinion of their opponents may intend to be instruments of indoctrination of students in American schools. According to the American Textbook Council Report that examined ten widely adopted junior and senior high school history textbooks *Islamic activists use multiculturalism and ready-made American political movements, especially those on campus, to advance and justify the makeover of Islam-related content in history textbooks* (Sewall 2008: 4). William J. Bennetta, the author of several articles reviewing the content of Islamic public school handbooks, describes one of the textbooks "ISLAM:A Simulation of Islamic History and Culture, 610-1100," as *having no educational purpose* (2012). *From beginning to end, the author argues, it is nothing but a Muslim religious publication, produced by writers who seek to exploit classroom teachers for propagating Islam* (Bennetta 2012).

What the author finds particularly threatening is that the "History" part of the suggested curriculum introduces students to Islamic doctrines and beliefs as if they were facts and truths. For example, in the same handout students learn *that Muhammad received divine revelations as a historical fact and about the size of the Arabian Peninsula as geographical fact*. Thus, the author argues, students *learn that there is no qualitative difference between a claim about divine revelations and a claim about the size of the Arabian Peninsula. This strategy, in the author's opinion, pervades the writers' efforts to recruit converts for Allah* (Bennetta 2012).

The hands-on approach of the handbook serves to further introduce students to Islamic beliefs and practices. Among other things, it involves the adoption of "Islamic" names by students and their "Islamic" clothes. What is even more, the accompanying handout includes an Islamic prayer and *urges students to "try using phrases in speech such as 'in sha Allah' or 'God willing.'* In a separate "phase" of the curriculum, students are encouraged to participate in observing Islam's Five Pillars of Faith—professing, praying, fasting, practicing charity, and making a pilgrimage to Mecca. The professing part involves making a banner displaying the name of the selected city and the Bismillah. (The Bismillah is the Koran's opening invocation— "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.") The prayer is simulated by the memorization of five proverbs and the analysis of at least one verse of the Koran from the list provided by each student. The simulation of fasting involves giving up *one lunch or snack period to work on their Festival Presentation*, while practicing charity— the provision of *one service for one of the*

following: community, school, faculty, administration, rival group (Bennetta 2012).¹

The efforts of Islamic educational organizations such as the Council of Islamic Education has also met with strong opposition from the side of Christian institutions. American Christians for Law and Justice (ACLJ) in April of 2015 launched a petition addressed to Public School Officials and the Department of Education calling them to take necessary action to stop Islamic indoctrination in schools. The essential part of the petition reads:

“Pretend you are Muslim.”

That’s an assignment being given to students in at least one public high school in Wisconsin.

These kids are being indoctrinated into Islam.

They’ve been forced to watch “documentaries” and other in-class “work” to prepare them.

All across the country, there are reports of innocent school children being taught to pray Islamic prayers, make prayer rugs, and practice other Islamic rituals.

The challenge of religious diversification in public schools: the problem of culture preservation

Apart from the objective to educate the school community in the doctrines and practices of Islam, the actions of Muslim educational organizations are motivated by the idea of preservation of their own culture amid challenges of popular culture of American youth, as Prothero puts it:

Islamic educational efforts are animated by more than simply the desire to pass on religious doctrine or belief. They also constitute the recognition that the culture of Islam is at odds with some of the dominant cultural features of American youth culture generally (2006:270).

The studies carried out by Amirul Mukminin, Fridi Yanto and Hadi Yanto among four Muslim university students from Indonesia provide an insight into the form of religious stressors that challenge Islamic youth immersed in American culture (2013:33-34). The findings of the study show that during their first semester at university the students encountered unexpected difficulties to practice

¹ See also other articles by the same author: “Examining the treatment of religion in schoolbooks Houghton Mifflin’s Islamic Connection” (<http://www.textbookleague.org/113centu.htm>) “Promoting Islam in American Schoolrooms” (<http://www.textbookleague.org/111muha.htm>) and “Religious preaching makes these books unfit for use in public schools” (<http://www.textbookleague.org/sp-nogo.htm#td>).

their religious activities in an American culture. The most significant issues were: *praying difficulties, longer fasting days, no holiday for Ramadan celebration, no taraweeh prayers in mosque during Ramadan, rare halal food, and decreasing religious stressors* (2013:38).

Confronted with the problem of undesired assimilation to American youth culture obsessed with good looks rather than values and good manners, the Muslim community resorted to launching educational projects outside the public school system. Initially the projects took the form of religious education classes programs at weekends. More recently, however, full-time private Muslim schools have gained in popularity, and despite a slight drop in 2011-12 the number of Islamic schools remains high, as evidenced in the findings of Private School Universe Survey presented in the table below:

Table 1. Number of private Islamic schools, students, and full-time equivalent (FTE) teachers in the United States

Year	Number of schools	Number of students	Number of full-time equivalent teachers
2011-2012	229	32 478	3866
2007-2008	235	33,272	3,870
2005-2006	202	26,209	2,969
2003-2004	182	22,958	2,531

Source: National Centre for Education Statistics
(<http://nces.ed.gov/surveys/pss/tables0304.asp>)

For Muslim students remaining in the mainstream school system, the religious organizations work to ensure that their religious needs are duly accommodated. The needs may include:

1. Accommodating mandatory religious requirements concerning prayer, religious attire, dietary needs, e.g. pork-free diet,
2. Excusing absences and allowing makeup tests or assignments during Muslim holidays, and
3. Being excused from lunch and strenuous activity, such as running during Ramadan fasting (Jandali 2012).

With regards to prayer some students may also request a quiet place to perform the noon prayer in the winter months and on Fridays some high school students may request to be excused during or after lunch for weekly congregational prayers (Jandali 2012). In fact, as *the Muslim faith requires multiple prayer times per day*, James C. Carper and Thomas C. Hunt observe, *More anecdotes than reality may exist, but there are accounts of some school district setting aside special “prayer rooms”* (2009:147). As far as religious attire is concerned Muslim female students may wish to wear the modest dress known as hijab, and Muslim students of both

genders may request to wear sweats or longer shorts during physical education classes (Jandali 2012).²

Although these provisions are catered for and guaranteed in the New Consensus documents, school practice shows that an extended measure of protection is needed. Particularly, with regard to students' religious attire that make Muslim, but also Sikh or Hindu students, stand out from the average student population, this is reported to be a source of harassment, especially after 9/11. Students might be subjected to name-calling, teasing, using hateful or insulting words, jokes or stereotypes, e.g. "camel jockey," "raghead," "towel-head" which are used to humiliate Muslim students, as reported by Ameena K. Jandali (2012).³ Therefore, religious organizations such as Islamic Network Group (also Sikh Coalition or Hindu American Foundation) work to educate school communities in the religious rights of students and take up other necessary actions to provide safe environment for diverse religious groups represented in the school system.

Conclusion

On its way from toleration to pluralism, American society was subjected to major transformations as new religious groups fought for their recognition in the national paradigm. The most recent religious group that is growing in number and prominence on the American soil is the Muslim community. Together with the attempt to striving to preserve their religious identity despite immersion in the American culture—somewhat reserved or even hostile in the aftermath of 9/11—the Islamic population is increasingly active in making their voice heard in the school curriculum and other educational programs. These efforts occasionally evoke stern responses from other religious groups, mostly Christians, who interpret these actions as a tool of Islamic indoctrination.

All in all, the problem of the religious diversity of the American nation and its implications for the educational system is a complex issue and its thorough examination goes much beyond the scope of this article. However, in the wake of the influx of immigrants from war-stricken areas to Europe, Polish society—public schools included—may be soon faced with similar dilemmas. This is why studying American models, with their successes and failures, may be a worthwhile effort and help facilitate a smooth integration of diverse religious groups into Polish classrooms.

² By the same token Sikh students have the right to wear religious headwear (like turbans and patkas) and other articles of faith (like karas) to school (Sikh Coalition 2010).

³ Similar comments such as *Osama Bin Laden, terrorist, diaper head, towel head, Go back to your country!, nipplehead, genie, rag head* or even teacher's asking a Sikh student questions about his/her turban in a hostile or humiliating manner are addressed to Sikh students (see more at <http://www.khalsakids.org/Know%20Your%20Rights%20-%20Federal%20Law.pdf>).

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